The Life of

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Saint Wenburge

of Chester,

BY HENRY BRADSHAW.

ENGLISH A.D. 1513, PRINTED BY PYNSON A.D. 1521,
AND NOW RE-EDITED

BY

CARL HORSTMANN.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE
LYFE OF ST. WERBURGE BY HENRY BRADSHAW.

The present legend is extant only in an edition by Pynson (London), 1521 (described in Dibdin's *Typogr. Antiq.* II. 491), of which five copies are known to exist: one (the copy described by Dibdin as Heber's) in the British Museum, two in the Bodleian, one in the Minster library at York, and one in Mr. Christie Miller's collection (cf. Hawkins). It was carefully reprinted (in the type and shape of Pynson's ed., with all its faults, and without punctuation) for the Chetham Society, 1848, by E. Hawkins, with an introduction. Extracts had been given by Dibdin, and, not always correctly, by Warton (*Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, II. 371—380).

In Pynson's edition the poem is preceded by a prologue in the honour of St. Werburge by J. T. (whose name neither Herbert nor Hawkins were able to make out). This prologue in an acrostic of the two first stanzas, and in vv. 17, 23, 28, names Henry Bradsha, "sometyme monke in Chester," and servant of St. Werburge, as the author of the English legend. At the end of the book are appended three "balades" by different authors, the first of which, "A Balade to the auctour," written by an (official?) examiner to whom the book was sent for approbation (cf. p. 200, v. 8 ff), mentions that its author, "though vncertayne be

1 It was mentioned by Maittaire (who in 1741 inserts it in a list of books not before noticed), and in Ames's *Typogr. Ant.* 1749, who must have had a copy before him. However, Heber, *Typog. Ant.*, I. 270, says, that a few years before he wrote, the very existence of the book was questioned; and Dr. Foote Gower, in his Sketch of materials for the history of Chester, 1771, also doubts its existence; cf. Hawkins.
his name,"¹ died in "the present yere of this translation MDxiii"—which implies that the legend was completed that same year (1513), shortly before the author's death; the second ballad, written, as it seems, by a friend of the author, perhaps an inmate of the same abbey, shortly after his death, calls him "Harry Braddeshaa, of Chestre abbay monke" (v. 24), and laments his premature death (v. 27). All these "balades" speak of the author and his work in terms of the highest praise, and testify to the admiration it must have inspired. So, then, Henry Bradsha(w) is the author of the English life of St. Werburge.

Of this poet nothing more is known than what is recorded by Anthony à Wood, who says (in his Athenae Oxonienses, 1691, ed. Bliss, 1813, I. col. 18)—"he was born in the auncient town of Westchester, commonly called the city of Chester; and being much addicted to religion and learning, when a youth, was received among the Benedictine monks of St. Werburge's monastery in the said city. Thence at riper years he was sent to Gloucester college in the suburb of Oxon, where, after he had passed his course in theology among the novices of his order, he returned to his cell at St. Werburge, and in his elder years wrote De antiquitate et magnificentia urbis Chestriac chronicon, &c., and translated from Latin into English a book which he thus entitled, The lyfe of the glorious Virgin St. Werburge: Also many miracles that God had shewed for her, London 1521, 4°. He died in 1513 (5 Henry VIII.), and was buried in his monastery, leaving then behind him other matters to posterity; but the subject of which they treat, I know not" (cf. Hawkins). The date of his death (1513) agrees with that stated in the

¹ There cannot be the least doubt that these words refer to the author of the English legend, not to that of its Latin source, as Hawkins maintains. It seems that the legend had been sent for approbation to the authorities without the author's name, or with his Christian name only, he being a monk. The mistake was caused by the word "author," v. 6, which Hawkins applies to the composer of the Latin source as Bradshaw modestly calls himself a translator only.
"Balade to the author." He died just upon the completion of his legend (cf. p. 200, v. 20), which does not betray any traces of old age, nay, seems to have been written in his full vigour. This fact, and the expressions used in the second "balade" (p. 201, v. 27), that death had "abbreved the lyfe of this good clerke," seem to imply that he died not very old. His premature death would explain why a poet of his talents left no more works from his pen. Besides, he calls "preignaunt Barkley, nowe beyng religious" (who died in 1552), and "inuentiue Skelton, poet laureate" (laureated before 1490, died in 1529), his contemporaries (cf. p. 199, v. 2024). Assuming him to have reached 45—50 years, the date of his birth may be fixed about 1465. Of his Latin work quoted by Wood, *De antiquite et magnificentia urbis Chesteriae Chronicon*, nothing is known; it was no doubt preparatory to his *Life of St. Werburge*, and the substance of it was embodied in the legend.1 "Of the 'other matters to posterity' nothing more is positively known to us than to Wood; but Mr. Herbert was in possession of a poem, *The lyfe of St. Radegunde*, also printed by Pynson, of which he says, 'although the name of the author or translator of this book does not decidedly appear on the face of it, yet on comparing it with the life of St. Werburge, it may readily be perceived that both were penned by the same person, Henry Bradshaw, but hitherto omitted in every list of his works'"

—*Typogr. Antiq.* p. 294 (Hawkins). Of this *Lyfe of St. Radegunde*, ed. by Pynson, a unique copy is now in the

1 Hawkins thinks it not improbable that some fragments dispersed in various MSS. descriptive of Chester may have been extracted from his chronicle. He further remarks: "Mr. Cowper, in his Summary of the Life of St. Werburge, quotes more than once the Latin life of this lady by Bradshaw, and these extracts he derives from Leland's *Collectanea*; but where this collector discovered his original authority does not appear. Mr. Cowper is probably mistaken in ascribing the work to Bradshaw's own pen; it is much more probable that the extracts are derived from the original chronicle or passionary which Bradshaw translated; for he himself states distinctly that his poem was a translation from a Latin history preserved in his monastery."
possession of Mr. Miller, Britwell. I have in vain applied to the possessor to be allowed to take a copy of it for the present edition, of which the *Lyfe of St. Radegunde* was to form part, so making up the works of Bradshaw. As I have not seen that book, I cannot say more about it than what I have quoted from Hawkins.

The *Life of St. Werburge* is the work of Bradshaw's life, finished only shortly before his death. This saint was called the Patroness of Chester¹ (II. 1741); she was the patroness of Bradshaw's abbey, where her bones rested. Local saints at that time were the chief glory of their respective places, their "legend" a subject of the deepest local interest; to have their "legend" in Latin, or in the vernacular tongue, was the chief object of local ambition.² Most of the Latin *Vita* are due to this local interest. The original *Life* was often subsequently enlarged by the history of the translation, by additions and appendices containing more recent local miracles. English literature abounds not only in legends, but in local legends in prose and verse, written in the absence of a Latin life, or when that was deemed insufficient, as being intelligible to the clergy alone, or deficient and inadequate in style. Lydgate's *Edmund and Fremund*, and *Albon and Amphabell*, were the standard works of this kind in the preceding century. There were others which combined the legend of the saint with the history of the town or monastery where he rested.³ So Bradshaw undertook to write the life of *his* local saint, a task for which he was eminently qualified, both by inclination, parts, and studies.

¹ When the author calls her prioress and lady of Chester Abbey (I. 99), which she never was, he can only mean it in the sense that King Ethelred made her "lady ruler and president" over all the nunneries in his kingdom; or perhaps he only calls her so because she was enshrined there, and was considered its patroness.  
² Bradshaw considers it as a sign of a good reign when "The lyues of sayntes were soth in eche place, And written in legendes for our comfort and grace," II. 1155.  
³ So *St. Editha, sive Chronicon Viloduncense* (ed. by me, Heilbronn, 1883).
As his book shows him, he was a man of a childlike, sweet temper, simple, pious, without affectation, warm-hearted, modest, sincere, a friend of the people, to whom he dedicated his work (II. 2016). He had a natural sense of beauty, an innate grace, a deep moral feeling. He was of a religious, poetic, and antiquarian cast. His life was spent in the narrow walls of his monastery, in the stillness of his cell, of his study, far from the tumult of the great world. He was not ambitious, but unregardful of the applause of the great. His interest centred in his native place, in his abbey, in its saint. He knew Latin, and was well versed in Latin literature; he knew of course the Bible; he was well acquainted with the English literature of his time—with Chaucer, Lydgate, Barclay, Skelton;—but his chief delight was the chronicles and histories and legends of old. He had written in Latin a chronicle on the antiquities and magnificence of Chester, and was Chester's best antiquary. So it was that, not feeling so bold as "to descriybe hye hystoryes," and scorning to write "bawdy balades, to excyte lyght hertes to pleasure and vanyte" (I. 91), he, to avoid idleness and make himself useful, undertook "to wryte a legende good and true, and translate a lyfe into Englysshe, I meane Blessed saynt Werburge, Protectrice of Chester and of the abbay" (I. 92 ff.).

The Life of St. Werburge is a legendary epic after the fashion introduced by Lydgate; in two books, with the apparatus of prologues and epilogues (Lenvoye), with episodic ingredients—the lives of the immediate relations of his saint—with frequent descriptions, in the modern style full of "aureate terms," in the stanza used by Lydgate. But it is of a more comprehensive plan than the mere legendary epics of that poet, containing not only the life of his saint, and those of her relations, St. Audry, St. Sexburge, and St. Ermenilde, but connecting it with the history of the city of Chester and its abbey, and grounding the whole on the history of England and Mercia. It is the result of careful studies
of local history, and is of great antiquarian interest, the more valuable as it rests on authorities partly unknown to us. It is written for the people, not for the great, and in a more popular and simple, though less refined style than Lydgate's, in verses rich in alliteration, which remind us, in their rhythm, of the old alliterative long-line still used in the North; thus combining an artistic and popular element. It is not a mere translation, nor an imitation, but shows traces of an original genius, of a truly epic tone, with a native simplicity of feeling which sometimes reminds the reader of Homer.

I here give the contents of the poem.¹

Book I.—In a prologue the author treats of the divers dispositions of men² and of his own motive in writing, and mentions his authorities. He then begins with the Anglo-Saxon invasion and the Heptarchy, and gives a description of the kingdom of Mercia. St. Werburge was daughter of Wulfere, King of Mercia, and of St. Ermenilde, daughter of King Ercumbert of Kent (whose mother was Emma of France), and of St. Sexburge, who was daughter of King Anna of East Anglia by St. Hereswith of Northumberland (and sister to St. Audry); so that St. Werburge descended from the four chief Saxon kings (besides that of France). (The poet gives a complete and valuable genealogy of all these royal houses, so fertile in saints.)³ Wulfere was second son to Penda, King of Mercia (626—656), and brother to Peada, St. Ethelred (afterwards king, father to King Coelred), St. Merwald (father to Sts. Mildred, Milburge, Milgide, and to Mereuin, by his wife Domneva of Kent), St. Marcell, St. Keneburge, and St. Keneswyde. He succeeded his elder brother Peada, who was slain, after a three years' reign, by his wife Elfdede; and chiefly resided near Stone, in Staffordshire. He had, besides St. Werburge, three sons: Sts. Wulfade and Ruffin, who died martyrs, and Kenred, who was king afterwards, and died at Rome in the odour of sanctity. Wulfere was a valiant and politic king, but of a fierce temper. Peada had

¹ Cf. Alban Butler, Lives of the Fathers, &c., London, 1833, 3 Febr., who relies on Bra'shaw, but differs in the circumstances of the death of Wulfade and Ruffin. Another summary of the life of St. Werburge, with an historical account of the images carved on her shrine (now the episcopal throne) in the choir of the Cathedral of Chester, was given by W. Cooper, at Chester, 1749.

² The passage reminds of Horace, Od. 1. 1.

³ There are some mistakes in the printed text: v. 289, read Domneua instead of Ermenberge (cf. 448); v. 397, the name is Domneva in the Vita. The four holy daughters of King Ermenred: Ermenberge, Ermenburge, Adeldryde (r. Domneva), Ermengyde, are wanting in the Female Saints, but extant in the Vita St. Werburgae.
began to plant the faith in Mercia; Wulfere had been baptized by the bishops Finanus and Jerumannus, and had on that occasion, and at his marriage, vowed to destroy all idolatry in his kingdom; he was a good Christian at first and assisted St. Cedd (Chad), whom he obtained from Archbishop Theodorus for the bishopric of Lichfield after Jerumannus, in building churches, but he afterwards became an apostate. Young Werburge was an example of every virtue, full of humility, meekness, and piety, sober and grave, "still and womanly," and no wonder, she being of so good a stock. For her beauty and singular qualities she was desired by many; the prince of the West Saxons wooed her, but she, "abashed sore," answered that she had chosen the Lord Jesus for her spouse. A mountain might sooner be moved "than she forto graunt to suche worldly pleasure." The wicked Werebode, chief steward at her father's court, whom he had perverted, made use of his powerful influence with the king to obtain his assent to marry her, which he granted on condition he could gain that of his daughter. But her mother Ermeuidle, and her brothers, Wulfade and Ruffin, severely rebuke Werebode's temerity in making such a proposal, he being such a "carle." Therefore he meditated revenge. Wulfade, one day chasing a stag, happened to get to the oratory of St. Chad, who then lived in the wilderness. By him, Wulfade was instructed in the faith, and baptized; so was his brother Ruffin. These princes frequently resorting to St. Chad, were espied by Werebode; who slandered them to the king, their father, as having forsaken their faith and as plotting his murder. The king, to find out the truth, took Werebode to the oratory, but sent him there before him to warn the princes. Werebode, however, finding them there, and neglecting his errand, hastily returned to the king, and incensed him so against them, that he, in a rage, slew his own sons.1 He had no sooner returned to his castle, than Werebode was seized by an evil spirit, and died miserably. Whereupon the king repented, and, by the advice of his queen, went to St. Chad—whose vestments he saw hanging on a sunbeam—and did penance, and became a good Christian again; he destroyed all the idols, converted their temples into churches, and founded the Abbey of Peterborough, and the Priory of Stone, where his sons were buried. Werburge, considering the wretchedness of this life, asked her father's consent to enter monastic life in the Abbey of Ely. At first he refused, and advised her to marry, saying, "ryght joyfull wolde I be To kysse a chylde of thyne, hauynge thy lykenesse, And se the also coronate as a myghty pryneesse;" 2 but she persisted, saying she had made a vow of chastity; and pleaded her cause so

1 There is an old English "local" legend in verse on the martyrdom of Wulfade and Ruffin in MS. Cott. Nero CXII (ed. in All Engel. Legenden, Neue Folge, 1881, p. 308—314), compiled about 1450 by one of the canons of Stone priory, who quotes as his authorities "the Cronakle" and a "Table" suspended in his church. It differs in many particulars from the account given by Bradshaw.

2 These words are, to me, of Homeric simplicity.
pathetically and with so many tears, that at last her father granted her request. He conducted her in great state, with the peers of his realm in attendance, to Ely, and was met at the gate of the monastery by the abbess Audry, with all her convent in process, singing holy hymns. Werburge on her knees begged for admittance, and was received as a novice, and Te Deum was sung. The poet here inserts a splendid description of the festivities given by Wulfere in honour of the spiritual marriage of his daughter, in presence of her uncles and aunts, of King Egbyrcet of Kent, and Aldulphe of Eastanglia; of the decorations of the hall, hung with painted tapestry representing Old Testament stories, the orders of Angels, Mary, the apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and the stories of Hector, Arthur, &c.; of the feast and the songs sung during the banquet by minstrels. Having been professed after her noviciate, St. Werburge lived a holy life at Ely, in prayer, penance, and contemplation; "her body upon erthe, her soule in heuen lent." O ye fair ladies, richly clad and "proud as a peacock," take example by this holy virgin, who, being a king's daughter, has exchanged her coronet, silk and velvet, for a coarse habit and a life in penance! —The poet then inserts the lives of (1) St. Audry, who, having been married twice, yet remaining chaste, entered Canwod abbey, was made abbess of Ely—her dowry—and built a new monastery there in 673, where she died in 679, 23 June; (2) of her sister, St. Sexburge, mother to Egbyrcet, Lothary, Ermenylde, and Erkengode; who, after her husband's death, entered Sheppey monastery (in Kent), built at her cost, and thence went to Ely, where she became second abbess after St. Audry, and died 16 years later, 6 July; and (3) of St. Ermenylde, Sexburge's daughter, who, after the death of Wulfere, also entered the house of Ely under her mother, and became third abbess of it, and died there (13 Feb.). The poet adds two miracles done by St. Ermenylde after her translation: how a prisoner's fetters were broken, and how a schoolmaster was lamed for punishing his pupils on the Saint's day, but restored at the Saint's shrine. Wulfere, who died after a 17 years' reign, and was buried at Lichfield, was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, his son Kenred then being a minor. This Ethelred made Werburge, his niece, principal or superintendent of all nunneries in his kingdom, and she left Ely. By his liberality she founded the houses of Trentham (in Staffordshire), of Hanbury (near Tutbury, in Staffordshire), and of Wedon, one of the royal manors in (North) hamptonshire. The same king also built the collegiate church of St. John in the suburbs of Chester, and gave to St. Egwyn the ground for the great Abbey of Evesham upon Avon. Having reigned 29 years, he, by the advice of St. Werburge, changed his life, and took the monastic habit in Bardney monastery in Lincolnshire, resigning his crown to his nephew Kenred, Werburge's brother. Kenred was a pious king, anxious to root out vice and strife. He gave to Egwyn 84 tenements and lands in Worcestershire for the maintenance of Evesham; and going to Rome on pilgrimage, with Offa and Egwyn, ceded that monastery to the pope, and on his return had his donation confirmed by a "seyn" (synod) at Alve. After a reign of five
years he resigned the crown to Coelred, his uncle's son; and going to Rome in 708, entered the Benedictine Order. Werburg, consecrated abbess by Bishop Sexwulfus of Litchfield, governed the monasteries in her care by word and example, being "a mynystyr rather than a maystros, a handmayd rather than a pryores," a perfect model of humility, piety, and abstinence; she would rise long before matins, and recite the psalter on her knees, and after matins remain in contemplation till daybreak; she never took more than one repast in the day. For a pastime, she caused the Legendary or Vitæ Patrum to be read among her sisters, &c. She mostly resided at Wedon and Trentham. Her holiness was confirmed by many miracles. Thus, once, when wild geese (gauntes) wasted the lands of Wedon, she had them penned by a servant, and loosing them the next morning, restored to them a missing companion, which, as William of Malmesbury says, had already been roasted. When her bailiff cruelly chastised her servant Alnotus, his head was turned backward; but he was restored on asking forgiveness. Twice she was miraculously saved from being oppressed, the last time by an oak tree opening to conceal her. She cured many sick people who visited her. When her end drew near, she foretold her death, visited all places under her care, and gave her last orders; she desired her body to be buried at Hanbury. In her illness she thanked God for His visitation, and consoled her sisters, teaching them how death was birth to another life and freedom. On her last day she humbly received the sacrament in presence of her sisters, exhorted them to keep their order in charity and obedience, and recommended them to God. She died at Trentham on the 3rd of February, angels conveying her soul to heaven. Her body was brought to the church, and watched, amid the lamentations of the sisters. The folk of Trentham, wishing to retain it, watched it with strong hand, but fell asleep miraculously, and those of Hanbury came and brought it to their place, as she had desired. The "third passionary" at Chester Abbey speaks of many miracles done at Hanbury. Such was the life of St. Werburg, "a princess, a virgin, a nun, and a president." For her many miracles, her body was raised in 708, nine years after her death, in presence of Coelred, his council, and many bishops, and being found entire and sweet looking, was richly clothed and enshrined at Hanbury, 21 June, where her body remained incorrupt 200 years, till the Danish invasion.

Book II.—A prologue treats of the use of literature, and of the contents of the second book. The poet then narrates the Danish invasion, which, preceded by horrible tokens, was a scourge for the sins of men. In 875, when the Danish fury swept over Mercia, and these pirates had advanced as far as Repton (in Derbyshire), within five miles of Hanbury, and expelled King Burdrædus, the people of Hanbury, for fear of the Danes, carried the shrine of St. Werburg to Chester. Here it was solemnly received by the clergy, lords, and citizens in procession, singing Te Deum and welcoming the saint, and was deposited in the mother-church of Peter and Paul. The poet here inserts a short history of his native place—called Caerleon by
the Britons, the City of Legions by the Romans, afterwards Chester "quasi castra, being built like a comely castle"—of its uncertain foundation, its early Christianity (since King Lucius), which had been kept intact ever since, the meeting of St. Augustine and the monks of Bangor, the expulsion of the Britons by King Offa. King Edward senior, Alfred's son and successor, marrying his sister Elfleda to Ethelcrede, created him first Duke of Mercia after the expulsion of its kings. This Elfleda, holding St. Werburge in special veneration, built and endowed with secular canonries a stately minster—afterwards the Cathedral—over the relics of St. Werburge, joining it to the old church, which was new dedicated to the Trinity and St. Oswald,\(^1\) and translating the church of Peter and Paul to the centre of the city, where a parish-church was built in their honour. Elfleda, in 908, rebuilt and enlarged the city of Chester, then nearly decayed, walled it in, and fortified it with a strong castle. After the death of her husband she rebuilt the churches and towns of Stafford, Warwick, Tamworth, and Shrewsbury, and founded the great Abbey of St. Peter's in Gloucester, whither she translated the relics of St. Oswald, and where she herself was buried in 919. The poet then relates part of the miracles done since St. Werburge's translation to Chester. She saved that place from the Welsh king Griffinus, and again from the Danes and Scots under kings Harold and Mauclouyn; she thrice cured a lame woman, Eadgida; made a barren woman, Judith, conceive; helped another in labour; restored a woman struck blind for working on the Sabbath; healed six blind and lame persons; delivered a man hanged unlawfully from the gibbet; saved corn, hoarded up in her park at Upton during a raid, from being destroyed by the enemy's horses; cured one of her canons, Ulminus, who had broken his leg. Following the reigns of the next kings, Athstan, Edmund, &c., the poet dwells on the blessed reign of Edgar, "the floure of England," the reformer of the Church; who, at Chester, received the homage of eight kings, and rowed with them up the Dee to the church of St. John, and devoutly visited and enriched the church of St. Werburge. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, Leofric was Duke of Mercia and Earl of Chester, who with his pious wife Godith rebuilt many churches, founded the monastery of Leonence, near Hereford, and that of Coventry, and repaired that of Evesham. At Chester he rebuilt St. Werburge's minster, besides repairing

\(^1\) The church of St. Oswald forms the south transept of the choir of Chester Cathedral. It was set apart for the uses of the inhabitants of the parish within which the monastery was placed. "The abbot and convent afterwards, wishing to reattach it to the Cathedral, built for the parishioners a small chapel, dedicated to St. Nicholas, on the spot where the theatre now stands; but they do not appear to have been contented with their new place of worship, for in 1488 a composition was made between the abbot and the parishioners of St. Oswald for their new church. They accordingly re-entered into the south transept (which had been rebuilt by Abbot Ripley), and have ever since used it as their parish church."—See Chester Guide.
the church of St. John. William the Conqueror gave to his kins-
man, Hugh Lupus, the earldom of Chester with the sovereign
dignity of a palatinate, on condition he should conquer it.
Having been three times beaten, he at last took the city, and
divided the conquered lands of the county among his followers.
In 1093, under William Rufus, Hugh dismissed the canons
regular of St. Werburge, and, in presence of St. Anselm, laid
the foundation of a magnificent abbey in honour of St. Wer-
burge, which he handed over to Benedictine monks, brought
over from Bee in Normandy; he secured it by strong walls.
Miracles continued: St. Werburge appeared to a monk of her
abbey, Dan Simon, who was much abused by his fellows, ex-
horting him to bear wrong patiently. Earl Richard, son and
heir to Hugh Lupus, on a pilgrimage to St. Winifred's, at Holy-
well, was miraculously saved from being intercepted by Welsh-
men, the Dee giving passage to a force sent to his succour, near
Hiilb urgee; for which miracle Richard's constable, William,
the son of Nigell, gave to St. Werburge the village of Newton,
and founded the abbey of Norton on the Dee, near where his
army forded the river—which place is still called "The con-
stable's sondes." The same Richard was afterwards perverted by
his wife Matilda, niece to Henry I., so that he claimed abbey-
lands—the manor place of Salton—from the abbot, and intended
to have transferred that abbey to another order; when, on his
return from Normandy, he, with his wife and company, was
shipwrecked and drowned near Barfleur; St. Werburge herself
told her sacrifician of their fate. In 1180 a great fire broke out
at Chester, which destroyed the minster of St. Michael, and
threatened to consume the whole city, but was suddenly extin-
guished when the shrine of St. Werburge was carried about in
procession.1

Conclusion (mostly in 8-lined stanzas).—(1) All these mira-
cles, and many more, recorded in the third Passionary at Chester,
but which it would be tedious to relate, magnify this holy
virgin, who is justly called by the people Patroness of Chester,
and honoured there next our lady, "as is rehearsed at masse in
her sequens." (2) O ye lords, citizens, and matrons of Chester,
remember the privileges granted by your forefathers, the pro-
tection given by St. Werburge, the punishments inflicted on the
violators of her abbey, and "to the monastery be never un-

1 What became of her shrine afterwards, is told by Butler: The
relics being scattered in the reign of Henry VIII., her shrine was con-
verted into the episcopal throne in the same church, and remains in
that condition to this day. This monument is of stone, ten feet high,
embellished with thirty curious antique images of kings of Mercia and
other princes, ancestors or relations of this saint. See Cooper's remarks
on each.—On the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII.,
Chester was erected into an independent bishopric, and St. Werburge's
was converted into a cathedral church, which it has ever since remained
(dedicated to Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary); a dean and six
prebendaries were installed; the last abbot (Thomas Clarke) became
the first dean.
kynde." (3) O blessed Werburge, pray for thy servant, thy monastery. "I beseech thee, sweete patrones!" (4, L'envoye) Go forth, little book, which art written not for clerks, but for the merchant men and rude people; Jesus be thy speed!

For this Life, the poet has most conscientiously collected all the materials then accessible. He himself mentions his authorities in general (I. 127—133), and quotes them in special at their respective places. They are partly legends, partly chronicles. His chief source he calls "the legend," "the true legend," "the true Passionary, A boke wherein her holy lyfe wryten is, Whiche boke remayneth in Chester monastery" (I. 694-6), "the thril Passionary" (I. 3246; II. 1691)—which, therefore, seems to have formed an additional volume to an older Passionary containing the lives of the saints of the year. This book being now lost, it becomes difficult to form an estimate of it. The life contained in it is no doubt identical with the primitive Vita S. Werburge, ascribed to Goscelinus¹ by the Bollandists (Feb. 3), but augmented by later additions, as the history of the translation to Chester, and the miracles done at Chester. The life by Goscelinus is rather scanty in facts, containing only St. Werburge's descent from four kings (including that of France, but not the Northumbrian line), her holy life at home, and at Ely, where she is joined by her mother Ermenilde, both contending in

¹ This is the same Goscelinus who, after Will. of Malm., Reg. Angl. 4, 1, innumerus Sanctorum Vitae stilo extulit vel informiter editas comitius emendavit, post Bedan secundus in laudibus Sanctorum Anglice enarrandis. The Bollandists remark: Floruit is e. a. MC, a S. Anselmo Archiep. Cantuari. Allisque ob doctrinam ac pietatem singularum in Angliam evocatus e Belgio, ubi ante monachus S. Bertini apud Andomaropolim varius Sanctorum vitas illustravit casuque inter etiam stylo cultiori emendarat Vitam S. Amelbergæ Virginit . . . Eam autem Vitam dum hic Cap. 6 suo stylo recusam agnoscat, et huius se auctorem esse prodit. Utraque praetera vita cadem ratione suis est capitiibus propriisque titulis distincta. . . Vixit Ramesia non procul a monasterio Eliensi . . . Perhaps he wrote the life of St. Werburge on the occasion of her translation to Chester, and instigated by St. Anselm. Hawkins, mistaking the "balade to the author" (p. 200) to have been written by Bradshaw to the author of the Latin life, doubts the authorship of Goscelinus, because it is said there that "uncertain was the author's name."
BRADSHAW'S SOURCES FOR HIS 'ST. WERBURGHE.' xvii

humility; her being appointed lady president of all nunneries; two miracles related diffusely (wild geese penned, a bailiff punished for cruelty), her death, burial, and first translation. How much richer in details is Bradshaw's life! More particulars he found in the Vita SS. Wolfhadi et Ruffini martyrum, auctore anonymo (Act. SS. Bolland, 24 July, p. 570), from which he took the character of false Werebode, his marriage project, his intrigue, the death of the two princes by their own father. Next he used Lives of St. Sexburge (6 July), of St. Etheldrede or Audrey of Ely (23 June), and that of St. Ermenilde (probably by the same Goscelinus), which is extant only in an abridged text in Capgrave's Nova Legenda Angliae (ed. 1516), where the same two miracles recorded by our poet are found. Occasionally he quotes the legend of St. Egwyn, I. 2408. Into the narrative of the saint's life, so combined from different legends, he inserted such additional matter—descriptions of Mercia and Chester, notes on the Heptarchy, the Danish and Norman invasions, a chronicle of English kings, anecdotes, &c.—as he was pleased to extract from the various chronicles which he mentions, from Bede, William of Malmesbury, Girardus Cambrensis, Alfred of Beverley, Henry of Huntingdon (from whom he quotes several passages in Latin verse), and Ranulph Higden, his countryman and a monk of his own abbey (who died in St. Werburge's abbey ab. 1363). For the second book

1 The contents of this life were, as usual, summarily repeated in the sequence sung at Mass, which B. alludes to in II., 1689 ff., most likely also in the hymns, &c. of the Officium.

2 I cannot find from where he took the Prince of West Saxons, who wooed St. Werburge; or the miracles recorded in chap. 26: perhaps the latter were added in a marginal note to the Passionary. The miracles done at Hanbury (cf. I., 3245 ff.) were, it seems, not specified, but only generally mentioned in the Passionary.

3 The Vita is lost; the text in Capgrave Nov. Leg. Angl. contains only a short encomium.

4 Her Life in Act. SS. Boll. 23 June contains a detailed genealogy.

5 He quotes Bede, I. 136 (Anglos. invasion), 432 (Penda's victories), 507 (Wulfer made king), 1072 (St. Chad), 1844 (St. Sexburge born at Exning), 2472 (Kenred forsaking the world), II. 497 (St. Augustin
Werburge's translation to Chester, and miracles done there, with a history of Chester and its abbey—his chief authority must be sought in the 3rd Passionary, or rather in the additions appended to the Life; which appendix seems also to have contained the changes affecting the Abbey of Chester, as the miracles are classified after the two periods of the abbey (miracles done in the time of canons regular, and in the time of Benedictine monks). The history of the translation may have been added soon after the fact; the miracles go as far as 1180 (when the great fire raged at Chester), and seem to have been added soon after that date (if not simultaneously with the facts) in chronological order. When the poet speaks of many more miracles recorded in the 3rd Passionary, which he thinks proper to omit, for they "wolde require a longe tyme and space, To the reders tedious, no meruayle sothly" (II. 1690), these miracles perhaps formed another set, added later or registered with the facts, and were merely ordinary cures, such as he had mentioned before. As to the history of Chester and its abbey, we must not forget that Bradshaw had written a Latin chronicle on the antiquities of Chester, which no doubt rested partly on local sources, and also contained a history of Chester Abbey; so that he could rely on the results of former studies. That he used local

and the monks of Bangor; William of Malmesbury: I. 2189 (first abbeys of Ely), 2379 (K. Ethelred made Abbot of Bardney), 2697 (the wanting goose roasted), II. 1200 (Leofric made Earl of Chester); Alfridus: II. 133 (beginning of the Danish invasion); Giraldus: I. 2318 (Ethelred builds the collegiate church of St. John at Chester); Ranulph Higden's Policronicon: I. 177 (the kingdom of Mercia), 3451 (date of the first translation of St. Werburge), II. 379 and 386 (foundation of Chester), 1213 (foundations by Leofric). The quotations from Henricus (Henry of Huntingdon), II. 364, 666, 1205, are not without some errors (cf. ed. Saville).

1 There were several official books kept at Chester: 1. The Red Book, once in possession of the abbey of St. Werburge, containing the evidences of their endowments, copies of legal proceedings out of plea rolls; it is now carefully preserved in the archives of the Dean and Chapter; 2. A remarkable MS., Annales Cestrienses, Chester Annals, from Christ to 1255 (cf. Chester Guide).

2 In II. 561 he gives the testimony of Archbishop Antoninus for the
sources is evident from II. 597, where he refers to a table preserved at St. John's in Chester, with the history of its foundation. Several of the facts given by our poet are found elsewhere: Ranulph Higden (Polic. 5, 18) shortly mentions the translation of St. Werburge to Chester, and the institution of canons secular; the presence at Chester of King Edgar with eight kings is recorded by Florence of Worcester, and others; for Leofric, our poet quotes William of Malmesbury (II. 1201); for his foundations, R. Higden—the same foundations are also mentioned in Vita S. Edwardi Conf. (5 January), Cap. 7, including that of St. Werburge's abbey; Hugh Lupus is mentioned by William of Malmesbury, Pont. Angl. 4 (and Reg. Angl. 2, 13), and Higden. But many of the particulars we can trace to Bradshaw only, who, in the absence of other sources, himself remains our chief authority.

I here give the text of the Vita by Goscelinus, to show how greatly its scanty materials are enriched in the English legend.

Vita Auctore Goscelino monacho ex Ms. Guilielmi Cambdeni.¹

(Act SS. Bolland. Febr. 3, p. 391.)

Cap. I. Genealogia S. Wereburgae.
Cap. II. Conversatio in Elio monasterio.
Cap. III. Conversatio matris suae in codem monasterio.
Cap. IV. Praeponitur monasteriis sanctimonialium Werburga a patruo suo Rege Ethelredo. Idem Rex huius sanctitatis exemplo fit beatissimus monachus.
Cap. V. Werburga ut mater pia, ita fit omnium ministra pro magistra.
Cap. VI. Volatilium agmina praecepto captivat et relaxat.
Cap. VII. Humilitas ejus. Carnificem retorta in tergum service increpat, et supplicem reformat.
Cap. VIII. Transitus ipsius iii Nonas Februarii.
Cap. IX. Corpus ejus Triecengelhamenses custodientes obdormiunt, et Hamburgenses divinitus reseratis foribus auferunt.
Cap. X. Post novem annos elevata, inventa est toto corpore et vestibus ut vivens vernantissima.


¹ A somewhat abridged text of this life is that in Capgrave, Nova Leg. Angliae, 1516.
A tenero ergo aevi flore, cum formae pulchritudo insignitor responderei generositati suae, coepit speciosa facie cum speciosissima mente ad illum, qui speciosus est forma prae filiis hominum, contendere: cuius ut inaestimabilem dulcedinem praegustare potuit, protinus in eius amorem anhelato pectore exarist, et, ut cervus ad fontes aquarum, virginalis anima eius in ipso sitivit: adeo dulcis et suavis Spiritus Domini a Patre dilectionis procedens illum attraxit, caelestes concupiscientias in eius corde accendit, terrenas extinxit. Illa amore perpetuae virginitatis ad sanctum aeternae integritatis convolvit, proces et amatores regificos angelica pudicitiae repulit, imo Christus electam sibi inhabitans omnibus appetitoribus eripuit. Sanctissima parens non cessabat assiduis monitis irrigare Hortum Domini, et plantare in ea inmarcescibilia germina paradisi, et accendere lampadem eius oleo et flammae caritatis inextinguibili. Ad illum enim vitam magnifici geminibus inennarrabilibus suspirabant. Verum altissima Dei providentia benigne dispensans omnium, matrem eam in regno statuit omnium inopum, omnium necessitudinem refugium, simul etiam ut pisis visceribus pignus Deo gigneret acceptionem et ampliore coronam dilatorum tandem reciperc desiderium. Viluerant divitiae tam matri quam filiae; palatium habeant pro monasterio: aurum, gemmae, vestes auro textae, et quidquid fert pompaetica mundi jactantia, onerosa sibi magis erant quam gloriosa; et si forte his uti ad tempus regia compelleret dignitatis dolebant se potius vanitati subjectas tamquam captivas.

At vero virginalis B. Werburgae libertas, mox ut valuit, haec vincula exuit, et ad Eligense monasterium cum officio sublinium parentum hostia Dei commigravit: ubi primum beata et intemerata matertera sua Ætheldreda, ac deinde soror eiusdem Virginis, sua ut praedictum est, avia, principabatur Sexburga. Illico abjectur cultus terreni nitoris, induhit habitus sacrae religiosis, vestis pulla pro ornamento gloriae, velum capitis humile pro regni assumitur diademate. Ita praeclera Virgo certabat fastum mundi calcare; mente et conversatione, velut hic peregrina, ad supernam patriam tendere; tota animi summisione humillimam Christi exhibere ancillam, quam ipsae exaltare dignaretur in sponsam. Omnes monasterii famulatus anticipabat: omnibus se inferiorum exhibebat: erga omnium necessitates vulneratae caritatis viscerar impendebat.

Jam deo amabilis pater eius Wilfrus, multarum ecclesiarii acdicator, Christianae fidei summus amator ac dilatator, quippe qui etiam subjectos Regos, datis provinciis in mercedem, ad Christi cultum attractit, septimo decimo imperii sui anno de temporali regno ad perenne transivit. Tunc beatissima Regina Eormenhilda post pios fletus triumphans se solutam a mundiali catena, diu desideratam conversationem arripuit, et cum beata filia in Eligensi monasterio jugum Domini suave subiit. Hic deinceps tanta virtutum flagrantia in omni sanctitate et religione vivit infatigabilis, ut et Virginibus exemplum esset castitatis ac totius virtutis. Contendebant alterutra pietate mater et filia, quae humilior, quae possit esse subjector; mater sibi praeferebat eius quam genuerat, virginitatem, Virgo matris auctoritatem: utrimque et vincere
et vinci gaudebant. Nunc autem in eodem coenobio ad salutiferam ipsius benignissimae parentis tumbam conspiciue elucoscit, quibus clementiae visceribus se in cunctos diffuderit, dum corporaliter vixit; adeo ut experiipi ipsius beneficia audeant fideliter asserere, quod nullus credulus petitor trustretur eius ope.

Igitur patruus aliae Werburgae Rex Æthelredus, qui fratri Wilforo sucesserat, cum sancta mente totius sanctitatis esset benignissimus, videns in beata nepte divinam prudentiam ac sanctimoniam altius resplendere, qui nimirum virtutem poterat ultra germanitatem diligere, tradidit ei monasteriorum Sanctimonialium, quae in suo regno pollebant, principatum. Pulchre sane superna id actum est providentia, ut sacrae institutionis, cuius perfecta erat discipula, in salutem multorum decentissima foret magistra.

Rex vero magis ac magis coepit imperii taedere, dum se reputaret inter secularia negotia quasi animal accline terrae, illam vero columbins pennis meritorum ad caelum volitare, et quid plura? Non quievit aestus spiritus sui, donec vigesimo nono regni sui anno in Bardeniensi coenobio de Rege efficeretur monachus, qui idem jam favore supremo probatur moritis venerandus.


Cum in ipsius Weduniae mansione moraretur regia Virgo, agros eius solito infinita aecarum indomitarum, quas gantias vocant, depopulabatur multitudo. Nuntiat domesticus ruricola hoc dannuim Dominae suae. Tune illa magnanimi fide praecipit illi, ut omnes adduceret, et includeret, more scilicet animalium qui depascunt alienas segetes. Vade, inquit, et omnes hae volucres introduce huc. Itabat ille altius obstupescens, an garrire, an deliraret haec jussio. Quomodo enim suspectus advena tot volatilia ire grossibus in vincula cogeret, quibus per caelum evadere liceret? Quomodo, inquit, ad primum accessum meum in aethera fugientes huc convertam? Tune virgo propositumurgens: Vade, ait, quantocyus, et ex nostro jussu
omnes adduc in custodiam nostram. Ille timens vel super-vacuum dictum divae praeeptoriae negligere, post omnes vadit, dicensque illis: Ite, ite ad Dominam nostram; omnes ante se, asci captiva pecora, agit. Nulla avis de tanto coetu pennam levavit sed quasi implumes pulli vel alis excisae pedetentim se permovebant, pedestri incessu summissis collis velut pro confusione reatus sui adventabant: sic intra curiam judicis suae trepidae et suppressae quasi damnatae se collegere, ibique retruduntur captivae, vel magis servyuantur indulgentiae.


Quantae autem humilitatis fuerit, quantae etiam apud Deum sublimitatis, in eodem loco Wedunensi alias confirmatur indiciis. Erat illi armentarius, vir piae conversationis, et quantum licuit sub humana servitute sanctae vitae, qui et suis locis fama meritorum perpetuatur ac recolitur festivae, Alnotus nomine. Hunc villicus Dominae cum forte laniaret cruentissimo verbere, et ille omnia in Dei nomine toleraret manuuetissime, alma Virginis compassio non ferens dolorem, proruit ad pedes indignos lanistae, clamans cum prece et incriptione: Parce pro Dei amore, quare excarnificas hominem innocentem, apud altissimum Inspectorem omnibus nobis (ut credo) acceptionem? Cunque ille vel prae furore vel prae superbia tardius flecteretur, continuo dura cervix et torva facies superna indignatione in terga illi reflectit. Sic demum quod magis debuerat, ipse ad pedes Dominae provolvitur, et veniam, quam insonti negaverat, suo reatu cum lacrymis deprecatur: statimque interveniente
Virginis elementia, in pristinum statum reparatur. Vir autem
Domini memoratus jacet ad Stowam una legia a Buccabrive,
quem in silva anachoreticam vitam ducentem latrunculi mar-
tyrizaverunt, et divina signa Deo acceptabilem, uti celebratur,
prodiderunt.

Praeterea haud dubium est, amantissimam Deo Werburgam
quam multis aliis signis emicuisse, et caelesti beneficio
diversos aegros ac debiles curasse. Potuit etiam divina inspira-
tione plura praescire ac praedicere, diemque ultimum, quem
sempere praes obitus habebat totaque vigilantia cum flammanti
lampade eminus observaverat, jam proximum ignorare nequi-
bat. Cum ergo omni familiae et monasteriis sibi creditis praes
nimia caritate jugiter optaret adesse; et econtra nulli tolerabile
videretur sua dulci praesentia carere; elegit tamen divina
praescientia et voluntate Heamburgie monasterio requiescere
corpo, quae omnibus semper repraesentaretur mente. Quam-
obrem praecepit Heamburgensi familiae, ut ubicumque mi-
garet ex haec luce, ipsi inunctanter venirent corpusque eius
ad suum monasterium transportarent.

Venit ergo caelicaeae Virginii diu desideratus finis terreno-
rum laborum ac dolorum, et ingressus caelestium aeternorum-
que gaudiorum: nox mortalitatis recessit, et dies aeternitatis
illuxit: tenebrae transierunt, et lumen verum luxit, ac sol
laetitiae perennis ortus est illi. Gaudebat beata anima quasi
depulas invitata, videlicet de exilio ad patriam, de carcer
e ad regnum, de morte ad vitam, de captivitate ad triumphum, de
tyrannide seculi ad illum quem desiderabat sponsum sempiterna-
gloriae transitura. Deposita itaque in coenobio quod Tricenge-
ham appellatur, per languorem et mortem corporis ad immor-
talia solemnia ab angelis choris assumitur, et in caelestem
curiam supernis concensus triumphantur; cuius depositio tertio
Nonas Februarii celebratur.

Corpus sacrum in ecclesiis defertur, et in medio populi
Tricengachamensium obseratis diligentissime januis custoditur,
certantibus nequidquam omnibus, ut Heamburgenses exclude-
rentur, et per suum obsequium vel defensionem praeceptum
vatidicae Virginis venerator, sacerque theaurus in codem loco
perpetim retineretur. At non est sapientia, non est consilium
contra Deum. Dum enim nocte ipsa attentius vigilarent, subito
sopor gravissimus omnes occupat. Supervenit illico
copiosa plebs Heamburgensium cum Dei ministris, exemplfo
omnia ostia monasterii, cadentibus in terram seris et vectibus,
reserantur illis. Irruunt ergo, omni custodum turba somno
seulta, rapiunt nullo se adversae partis movente glebam Vir-
ginis et auferunt, secumque cum ingenti laetitia et gratiarum
actione laudisona ad Heamburgense monasterium confusis re-
bellibus ducunt.

Quis itaque pensare sufficit, quanta solemnitate ipsius anima
suscepta sit Deo, cuius corpus ad requiem praecectam transferri
tanto dedit prodigio? In hoc ergo sacro loco Dei margarita
cum debita reverentia et solemni jubilo tumulata, plurimus sig-
norum indecis se probat vivere in caelesti regia; sanitas aegrotis,
lumen caecis, auditus surdis, sermo mutis restituitur; leprosi
mundatione, et diversis languoribus oppressi una salute per-
cepta gratulantur. Tot itaque post mortem suam vitae reformat quae tam sancte vivebat.

Post haec etiam inenarrabilis Domini gratia in ipsa carne virginali diutius incorrupta evidenter ostendere est dignata, qualiter sibi placuerit intemerata ipsius pudicitia cum mente qua Deum videbat mundissima. Post novem siquidem annos eius sepulturae, suggerentibus Heamburgensibus, placuit Regi Celredo, qui tunc regnabat Mercissi, quatenus sacrosancta ipsius gleba de tumulo elevaretur, clamantibus eunctis indignum esse ut tanta lux multorum sub modo terrae abscondenderetur. Ablato ergo operculo speluncae, cum putaretur ab omnibus more humanae conditionis tota caro defluxisse et tantum nuda ossa superesse; inventa est potius Virgo integerrima quasi in dulci stratu obdormire; vestes nitidissimae et sanae, sicut primitus induta erat, omnino apparuere; facies candida, et genae roseae, tamquam in praeaevo flore, amoto reverenter velamine, sunt visae. Attollitur clamar gratiarum in caelum, tantaque gratiae admiratio in landus Domini accendit frequentem populam. Assumitur ergo a Sacerdotibus solemniter adornatis, cum supplicibus votis et canoris chorizantis Ecclesiae modulis. Explo- rantibus adhuc diligenti studio, nulla penitus in ea laesio, nulla reperta est corruption. Ita demum reconditur in theca sibi competentem parata, ubi conspicue fideles populos illustrat praelaria lampade sua.

Duravit diutius sub Angelica custodia hic honor illaesi corporis, usque ad temporae silicet Paganorum et diem ma- lorum, quando justissima Dei dispensatione haec patria Anglorum tradita est gladiis Gentilium. Tunc demum vitalis gleba voluit cedere mortali legi, atque resolvit, ne impis manibus eam contingent hostes, miraauorum Dei increduli et bene- ficiorum ingrat. Potuit plane Dei omnipotentia et in die malorum dilectam suam protegere, sicut servavit plerosque Sanctos huius patriae ab iniqua contagione, qui adhuc usque jam post quadringentos amplius annos vernant integro et incorrupto corpore, et poterunt indubitauer que est in fungo pro Divino arbitrio perdurare. Verumenimvero mirabilis et gloriosus Deus in Sanctis suis, mira et inaestimabili providentia alios in majorem gloriam resurrectionis ad tempus resolvit, alios perpetua incorruptione in exemplum promissionis suae custodit. Tot nobilissimi Martyres et summí Sacerdotes Domini a bestis, vel avibus, vel ignibus sunt consumpti. Posuerunt, inquit Psalmographus, mortalia servorum tuorum, Domine, escas volatilibus caeli, carnes Sanctorum tuorum bestis terrae, Quo maior fuít ignominia, eo maior erit gloria. Summus Martyrum primicerius Stephanus, dum legitur multa signa in vita pecisse, non ibi tamen legitur mortuos suscitasse. Post mortis vero triumphum omniumque membrorum resolutionem, plerosque mortuos describunt vitae reddidisse, ut a mortis injuria maior nasceretur vitae potentia. Magnae itaque gratiae Dei respectus erat in B. Werburgae corpore solido, sed major spes actornae renovationis restat in jam consumpto,—Celebremus ergo promp- tissima devotione sacratissimam ipsius festivitatem, quia omnis eius celebritas ad Christi Domini pertinet honorem, qui ita eam condignis meritis fecit celebrabilem quam mirimirum nobis pro-
vidit ante se Interventricem, quatenus per dilectae suae venerationem, suam mereamur propitiationem, qui non habemus meritorum executionem. Tanto quippe benignius illam exaudiet orantem pro nobis, quanto accessiores fuerimus in ipsius Deo offerendis praecooniis. Anuat nobis semper memorandae Werburgae coronator, quatenus per eius sancta suffragia et hic profutura desideria consequamur, et in aeternum beatae visionis ac resurrectionis suae consortia mereamur. Annuat, inquam, ipse Salvator, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto in omnia secula regnat et dominatur. Amen.

Comparing Bradshaw’s poem with the Latin Vita, and the other sources used by him, we find how unjust it would be to call him—as he modestly calls himself—a mere translator. Indeed, nothing would be falser. He had not only to gather his materials from the most distant sources, and to arrange all this mass of information, all these legendary, historic, anecdotic ingredients, but he added largely of his own, using freely his invention (save in facts) for poetic purposes. His own are not only the prologues, “breue rehearsal,” and epilogues (II. Capp. 21—24), but the many descriptive parts, as the splendid description of the feast at St. Werburge’s spiritual marriage (I. Cap. 16), that of the procession which brings her relics into Chester (II. 267—350), that of the great fire at Chester (II. 1598 ff.), the descriptions of war, battle and siege, with ordinance and “artillarie”; his own, the fine lyric ingredients which mostly remind us of popular songs, as the song at receiving holy communion (“Well-come my lorde, well-come my kynge,” &c., I. 2963—2990), the Lamentation of the Sisters at Werburge’s death (I. 3137 ff.), the “Welcome” to St. Werburge at the bringing-in of her relics (II. 316 ff.); his own, nearly all the numerous and long speeches (wooings, dialogues, exhortations, prayers, farewells, &c.), the apostrophe to the ladies of his time (I. 1779—1806), the reflections; his own, all the illustration, the examples taken from sacred and profane history and from nature, the quotations from the Bible, the proverbs, the metaphors, &c.¹

¹ Examples taken from sacred and profane history are, for instance: In beaute amiable, she was equall to Rachell, Comparable to Sara in syrme
In his descriptions he conforms to the taste of his time, which, since Chaucer, through the influence of Italian poetry, fidelity, In sadness and wysedom lyke to Abygael, Replete as Delbora with grace of prophecy, Equyvalent to Ruth she was in humlyyte, In pulchrytude Rebecca, lyke Hester in lodynesse, Lyke Judyth in vertue and proued holynesse, I. 799—805; similar instances, I. 2171-5, 2178—2184; I. 1044 ff.: Lyke as Archythofell, chefe counsellour to Absalon, Sundry tymes mooved hym vnto varyance, And with kyngge Assuerus in favoure was Amon, Cousenlynge hym euere vnto great mys-channce: In lyke cause Werbode, mooved to vengeuance, was chefe counsellor to Vulfer the kyngge; and II. 1500—1513: It is red in scripture howe quene Jesabell, Ambicious of honour agaynst all ryghteousnes, Perneurt her lorde Achas, kyng of Israel, To se Nabath for his vineyard doubtfuls; Also Athulia, the bible sheweth expresse, Commanded to sle the kynges children all, That she myght regne sole princesse imperiall, &c.; I. 1093—1099: To Noe came comforte after the great deluge By a doue brynyngye a braunch of Olyne, To the prophet Hely a raned dyd refuge, Brought hym his sustenance and saued hys lyne; Vuto saynt Eustach full memoratyue Our lorde appered in a hertes lykenes, To whome he obeyed gladly with mekenes—Of whiche exemples prynce Vulfafe gladde was; I. 788: The nobles ... came for to seke her, lyke as to Solomon Quene Saba approached to here of his wysedome; II. 1468: Like as to Moises deuided the redee see And the water of Jordan obeyed to Josne, Ryght so the depe riuere of Dee madie diuision; I. 1345 ff. From profane history: II. 1201, This Edgare was nominate in cronicles expresse The floure of Engelande, regnyng as emporer, Lyke-wise as Romulus to Romaines was of prowes, Cyrus to the Persis, to the Grekes their conquerour, Great Charles to Frenchemen, to Troians Hectour; II. 1626 ff.: Alas, great houynes it was to beholde The citie of Troye all flamyng as fire, More pite of Rome cite was manyfolding, Feruyently flagrant, empeiryng the empire: As to the quantite the citie of Chestire myght be assembled this tyne in like case To the sayd citiees. From nature: I. 724-8, Dothe not a royall rose from a brecre procede, Passynge the stocke with pleasaunt dylectacyon? The swete ryuer passeth by due probacyon His heed and fountayne: ryght so dothe she Transcende her parentes with great benygnyte; cf. 610; 2003: As the ryuer passeth oftetymes the heed-fountayne, The lytell graffe or ympe transcended the tree, Lykewyse theyr chyldren encresced certayne In mekenes, &c.; 2949 ff.: The swete byrde closed in a cage a longe season Gladly entendeth to fly at lybertye, The prysoner fetered and cast in depe dungeon Euer supposes to be rydde from captynyte: The soule of mankynde, moost dygne of dutye, Naturally desyreth ... to be delyuered from bodily prysyon; 1156: He watched on them ... Lyke as a hounde folowyng . . . or a dogge dothe a dere by sent of the chas; 1233, he rored and yelled lyke a wylde bull; 1805, proud as a pecocke; 1579, stones glyteringe as Phebus, and the beten golde lyke an erthly paradise (the same simile 3125, 3377); 1790, shynyngye lyke angels; 3390, more white than the lile Mixt with rosa
and the then growing arts of painting and music, had turned to picturesqueness and melody. In his description of the feast, the hall is hung with painted tapestry, paintings which represent the whole celestial hierarchy in the order then used in altar-pieces. The attitudes in which he produces his saint, her way of address, her tone of feeling, sometimes remind us of the Sancta-conversazione-pictures of the old masters, and breathe the devotion which inspired a Fra Angelico da Firenze.  

1 His genuine and true English character appears more in the lyric and dialogic ingredients, in the sense of humour which sometimes pervades his narrative, as in the miracle of the geese (I. 2612 ff.), in the invective against the proud ladies of his time (I. 1779 ff.) ; but more in the all-pervading truth which makes him cling to facts rather than fictions, and renders his performance more historical than legendary; in the truth of his feeling, his warm heart, his earnestness, his piety and devotion.

Bradshaw's powers have been very differently rated: Warton speaks slightly of him, Dibdin values him highly,

colour; 1814, Werburge professed to her rule full ryght, A redolent flore . . As Lucyfer shynyngge, a cler lampe of lyght. He compares (like Lydgate) the virtues of his saint to the precious stones and flowers (II. 313 ff., 1906 ff.), she is a myrroir of mekeness, a flower of chastitye, a well of clennes (I. 2521, 3140). He uses Venus for love (I. 44, 1884), goddes Cupyde (890); more frequently Phebus for sun (I. 1191; bryghter than Phebus in his meridian spere II. 1389, shenynge more bryght than radiant phebus in the triumphant trone I. 3330). Quotations from the Bible: I. 855-60, 1149-52, 1352-6, 2851-7, 3009-11, 3196-9; 3185; II. 8 ff. Proverbs: Tho man prepose, god dysposeth all; Who clymbeth to hye, often hath a fall, I. 930-1; Tho mankynde prepose his mynde to fulfyll, Yet god dysposeth all thynge at his wyll, 3201-2; A lad to wedde a lady is an inconuenyent, 1015; Good manners and conyngge maken a man, II. 7 (cf. Manners maken man, Quoth William of Wykeham); I. 76, 2750. On the whole his illustrations are not very rich, but adapted to the purpose, and in the character of his time.

1 It must also be remembered that the shrine of St. Werburge at Chester was decorated with thirty images of kings of Mercia and other princes, ancestors or relations of our saint (from which he took, perhaps, the Prince of West Saxons who wooed S. W.). Other instances of the influence of painting are frequent in the poetry of that time, as in Capgrave's Life of St. Katharine.
Hawkins takes a middle course.¹ In my estimation he ranks among the best of old English poets. Not only

¹ Warton, for instance, remarks: "Henry Bradshaw has rather larger pretensions to poetical fame than William of Nassington, although scarcely deserving the name of an original writer in any aspect. . . . B. is not so fond of relating visions and miracles as his argument seems to promise. Although concerned with three saints, he deals more in plain facts than in the fictions of religious romance, and on the whole his performance is rather historical than legendary; this is remarkable in an age when it was the fashion to turn history into legend. . . . But a greater degree of credulity would perhaps have afforded him a better claim to the character of a poet, and at least we should have conceived a more advantageous opinion of his imagination had he been less frugal of those traditionary fables in which ignorance and superstition had clothed every head of his argument. The most splendid passage of the poem is the description of the feast made by Wulfer in the Hall of the Abbey of Ely. . . . If there be any merit of imagination or invention to which the poet has a claim in this description, it altogether consists in the application; the circumstances themselves are faithfully copied by B. from what his own age actually presented. In this respect, I mean as a picture of ancient life, the passage is interesting, and for no other reason. The versification is infinitely inferior to Lydgate's worst manner. . . Bale, a violent reformer, observes that our poet was a person remarkably pious for the times in which he flourished. This is an indirect satire on the monks and on the period which preceded the Reformation. I believe it will readily be granted that our author has more piety than poetry. His prologue contains humble professions of his inability to treat lofty subjects and to please light readers." Dibdin says: "It is presumed that his name will stand among the foremost in the list of the poets of the period wherein he wrote. His descriptions are oftentimes happy as well as minute, and there is a tone of moral purity and rational piety in his thoughts, enriched by the legendary lore of romance that renders many passages of his poem exceedingly interesting." Hawkins: "If it is not allowed to rank B., according to Dibdin's estimate, among the foremost in the list of poets of his period, it is unjust to place him in so low a rank among his contemporaries as the severity of Warton seems to demand. There is a tone of moral principle and devotional piety so unaffectedly pervading the whole volume, and so easily and naturally introduced, as to impress the reader with the conviction that they had an habitual influence upon his mind and heart, and exhibited themselves without an effort, and almost unconsciously in all his expressions. There is much strength and apparent sincerity in his numerous exhortations to piety and devotion. . . His familiarity with the Latin language has been already noticed, and the reader can scarcely have failed to observe his intimate acquaintance with the sacred writings; numerous Scripture personages are adduced as models and examples of the various virtues which adorn the Christian character; and the language of Scripture is constantly
for his deep learning, his truth and sincerity, his warm feeling, his piety, and the purity of his moral; not only for the frequently happy and vigorous style of his narrative, his lyric parts, his graphic descriptions, &c.; but for the combination of all these powers; and because his poem is a most successful attempt at a genuine and popular epic, rude as its form may still be. There is an attempt at epic style, at epic copiousness, minuteness, and objectiveness, at epic humour, which shows that the poet not only studied in the school of Homer,¹ but had a natural talent for that kind of poetry. The poem is, to me, full of single charms, full of happy traits of character and description (cf. f. i. I. 1301); everything is to the point and interesting, nothing dry, tedious, and diffuse (as in Capgrave), or showy and ostentatious (as in Lydgate). Even in his descriptions he observes the law apparent in his exhortations and descriptions. Moral maxims and proverbs, the concentrated wisdom of ages, seem to have been familiar to him, and may be detected in many of his pages. . . The remark of Warton is probably just, that had he had a greater degree of credulity, he would have had a greater chance of being poetical; credulity indeed does not seem to be his failing, for though he records many miracles, . . . it is quite clear that he omits many marvellous tales which might have been supplied by the original work, but which would be 'to the readers tedious, no mervayle, sothly,' and to which he was not himself quite prepared to give full credit. . . B. had evidently less faith in the miracles of his monastery than had been enjoyed by his predecessors; in truth, there appears to be occasionally a lurking humour in his description which betrays as much disbelief in his own narrative as the temper of the times and the still lingering credulity of his contemporaries would permit (?). If his own good sense and the growing enfranchisement of the period from the bondage of superstition and papal imposition checked in him any tendency to imaginative flights and poetic paroxysms, it will not be denied that he frequently exhibits considerable strength of expression in his language, and great powers in his vivid and graphic descriptions. A goodly specimen of railing may be found in the rebus of Werbode for his presumption. Many of the miraculous cures are described with great force, and it will be difficult to find in any contemporary author so lively, picturesque, and humorous a narrative as that of the unhappy Geese of Wedon, 'who went meekely as yf they had reason naturall, unto her presence,' &c.

¹ I may be mistaken in assuming that he read Homer; but Homer's poems, certainly, were known at his time.
of epic progression, as when his persons move in procession one after another, according to their rank (as I. 1506 ff., II. 274 ff.). The simplicity of feeling and expression is (I think) sometimes truly Homeric (so I. 1415-23). His speeches breathe a sweetness and tenderness and delicacy characteristic of the genuine epic; even the formal way of address is truly epic. The poet is full of his subject, of his hero; all is steeped in that admiration and devotion which are the true sources of epic poetry. The details are executed with that love which springs from devotion. Sometimes, in his narrative, we even find the tone of hilarity peculiar to Homer (as in the miracle of the geese). These qualities cannot but excite our admiration, and impress the reader with agreeable feelings. There is even an attempt at epic composition; at least the inserted lives of St. Sexburge and St. Audry are, I think, intended as episodes. In giving at large the genealogy of his saint, he does exactly what Homer did before him. In other respects he is bound by the course of his narrative.

The poem is written in 7-lined stanzas (rhyme royal, introduced by Chaucer); sometimes a Latin verse is added as an 8th line: I. 2696, 3110, 3118, 3413; an English verse is added in II. 526. Once the two last verses of the 7-lined stanza are formed by Latin leonine verses: II. 1337-8. The concluding chapters (II. Cap. 21—23) are composed in 8-lined stanzas (the last verse forming the refrain), Cap. 21 with same rhymes throughout the chapter. The same change of stanzas occurs in Lydgate, the 8-lined stanza being considered more fit for magniloquent passages, prayers, admonitions, &c. The Lenvoye (Cap. 24) is again written in rhyme royal (as in Lydgate).—The verses seem at first sight rather rugged and imperfectly built. Hawkins remarks: "He had clearly not a musical ear, his versification is not smooth and harmonious, and his naturally defective appreciation of rhythmical intonation has been much exaggerated by the awkward and difficult arrangement of the stanza which he has adopted; with an easier metre his lines might have
flowed with more ease and grace." Indeed, the regular 10-syllable verses of Chaucer, with a regular change of toned and toneless syllables, are not frequently found. But he generally retains the old popular long-line (with four accents in two half-lines, and an arbitrary number of untoned syllables) used by the Anglo-Saxons, revived in the alliterative long-line of the 14th century, and still employed in the North at his time—verses which have a sort of anapaestic (or dactylic) rhythm.\(^1\) This principle does not, however, seem to be strictly observed, and verses of the regular kind seem to be mixed up with the long-lines. In choosing the popular long-line he also retained the alliteration used with the long-line, and still popular in the North; not, as a rule, in each verse, but arbitrarily, and mostly attached to certain locutions and phrases (partly of old date, partly new formed).\(^2\) Some-

\(^1\) Hawkins remarks: "To produce anything of rhythmical composition, the accent must be laid strongly upon the very last syllable of the line, even in cases when, according to the modern mode of pronunciation, the last syllable is as little dwelt upon as possible; the following illustrations may be observed: gostly remedy, parte trinite, odour savour hour, body clergy verity," &c. This is true, and more so in French or Latin words, where the accent is mostly to be put on the last syllable, which is frequently the only rhyming one; but Hawkins does not understand the principle.

\(^2\) Such phrases of old or recent date, are, for instance: brute beest, wylde wood, sharpe swerd, bare bon, harde hert, wretched world, dere derlyng, daughter dere, lonely lady, crowned kyng, chefe champyon, fa'fe fend, poore peple, royall rose, royall rene, &c.; mayn and myght, churches and chapes, wydowes and wyues, rentes and ryches, ryches and royalte, realme and royalte, vowes and anutes, princtis and prnces, hawkyng and hyntyng, fayr and fre, meke and mylde, wanton and wylde, sadde and sobre, secret and styll, well and wysely, to haue and holde, call and cry, sigh and sobbe, wayle and wepe, sing and say, mervaye and muse, gouerne and guye, conserue and saue, &c.; lyke a lady, fervent as fyre, flamyng as fyre, clerer than cristall, after cours of kynde, a lampe of lyght, lanterne of lyght, kyng of kynges, on payne of punyshtmient, in parte of payne, grace of god, for love of our lord, a well with water, deth with his darte, most of myght, knelyng on kne, dreadfully daryng, syngyng sweety, regnyng in regaly, reigne with reverence, found fals, kept in clos, sot to say, to try out the truthe, to take in a trayne, semyng as on slepe, sorowe came vsought, vertu to avaunce, moeued my mynde, &c. Many of these combinations are certainly new, as prynce prepotent, principall protectour, trusty
times, however, and mostly in descriptive passages, it is so
frequent that it occurs more than thrice in the same line, or
extends over two lines, or that two different alliterations are
found in one line. So the same popular element which
appears in the lyric parts, in the proverbs quoted, &c., also
figures in the metre of his verses, and in the alliterations.—
The rhymes are frequently defective: there are several
identical rhymes (tell tell, I. 1682; out out, II. 1161; playne
playne, I. 2608; cost (cost) cost (coast), II. 1157), or where the
rhyming syllable is identical (Englande lande, forsake sake,
past-tyme tyme, Oswolde wolde, Kenrede we rede, well-come
come, dyspleasure pleasure, olyue lyue, Eadfryde Osfryde,
Oxfenforde Herforde, Werburge Milburge; also rhymes like
sadnesse gentynnesse, ydlenes busines mekenes, example
people, resonable impossyble, dygnyte beaute, suerte pro-
perite, mighty twenty, newly ghostly, reason pryson, &c.,
rhymes which are very frequent). There are many bad

treasure, charitable chanons, tortuous tormentour, taynted traytour,
redolent rose, power and policy, pleasant and profitable, floure of
fennynte, diamond of dignite, saphire of sincerite, sufficient to suffye,
dygne of dutie, submyttyng vnder subjeccyon, &c. Sometimes we find
two alliterative words in a line: Stande vp Werbode, kyng Vulfer than
sayd; It is well knowen thou arte conen of nought; Ledynge the
Israelites to the lande of promyssyon, &c.; sometimes more: The maker
of mankynde most in maeste; Called specyall prymate and pryncypall
presydent; With mynstrels melody and myrthes amonge; Our chyfe
champyon in all our chynalry; Thou cruell pagane presumynge at thy
pleasure; he launded full lowly our lord; The people were prone and
punysshed thersfore; Manyfest wyth myraicles by meryte of her meke-
nenesse; On a rocke they ranne no remedy myght fynde, &c. The same
alliteration in two lines: Her merytes were moche more commendable
Than were her myraicles manyfest and playne (I. 2606), The messanger
merueyled and mused in his mynde Of this strange message stode styll
in a study (2633), Also she refused her fathers realme and royaltie All
ryches rentes pleasures possessions (1541). Heaped alliterations in two
lines: This wycked Werebode the bedyll of Belyall, The minister of
myschef & sergeaunt of sathanas (I. 1023-4). In French words the al-
iteration lies frequently in the first syllable before the tone, as in daily
desirynge, perceyuyng him penitent, she refused her realme, her pre-
eminence caused no presumpeyon, our counsell therto consentyng; or
in the second-toned syllable, as in vertue to avauence, conserue and saue,
aray and royaltie (cf. fortune unfrendly).
rhymes, as pylgrimage barge, express rehers I. 2206, doubtles rehers (r. express?) princes rehers, porte harte, solemnysed syde; especially where n rhymes with m, as tyme ruyne, exempt obedient, Rome alone. Another licence (frequent in the older popular Midland poetry) is, that he rhymes only the last and toneless syllables, so even in endings, as, for instance, gees feldes, I. 2619; churches richesse, II. 360; brethur tresur, I. 2329; parte trinite, 3364; is byleuys, 1113; resolued shryned, II. 231; descended notyfyed, I. 589; possessed greued, 2844; rehersed deade, or in heuyn Ruffyn, 1225; heuen (r. heuyn) nyen, 2319; maydyn dyscyplyne, 764; lenton religyon, martyr (r. marter) father, father syster, syster doughter, bretherne (r. brether) aulter, 2226; maker daunger, foundere clere; or in cases like doubtles folysshenes, doubtles quyetnes, lady be, body satisfy, Ely heuy, cruelly dayly worldly, duly monastere, evidently merveillously, consequently oratory, euyer robry, allmyghty glory, frosty sagittari, bull irefull, knowl sage rage, &c.; and so in French words in on, nee, er, our, te, ure, ell, ous, y, all, &c. (as in power dyfferre, mariner prisoner, discrecion consolacion, greuans pagans, protectour benefactour, artylere vyctorye, dygnyte beaute she, solemnyte dirige, batell befell, delicyous plentuous beauteous, precious in pontificalibus, continuall Paule, &c.); even in example people; also in Anna Delbora, I. 2813; Adda Duyna, Peade thyrty, Sledde fre, 368; Whitbye lady, Ely desydery, Deiram sam, Egnicius gracuous, &c. Full rhymes, like mother other, lolyness holynesse, I. 805; Worcester Dorchester, are

1 Complayne (subst.) certayne, I. 2626, is a sort of forced rhyme.
2 There are many more instances of this kind: tyme doctrine, tyme Collatyne, tyme Jurwyne, tyme diuine, baptyme ruyne, Salomon wysedom, region Rome, alone whom, some kyngdome, one feredom, disposition martyrdom, religion custom, reason wysedom, barowne rowme, rowme euerichone, renowne come, petitione come. Instances of the same kind frequently occur in Midland poetry.
3 The author probably wrote exampull pepull, or exampill pepill (cf. fire Chestire, yere Alexandere).
4 In all these cases the last rhyming syllable has of course the tone, or a sort of undertone.
very rare. So in these rhymes again the poet uses the liberties of popular poetry. But in a great many cases the impurity of the rhyme is not due to the poet, but to the edition, as in realme (r. reme) Jerusalem, I. 560; paganes (r. pagans) penance, parentes (r. paren) consevys, myscreanantes ordynaunce (cf. pagans Fraunce, Romans plesans), Ermenylde reconcyled begyled (r. reconcyld), heuen (r. heuyn) nyen, hande (r. honde) sounde, lande (r. londe) founde (r. fonde), strang (r. strong) among; in many cases it is made good by restoring the dialectic peculiarities which the original presented (especially northern forms), as in eight right (r. reght), destroy (r. destry) edyfy, I. 868; bretherne (r. brether) aluter, matyns (r. matens) presens, 2545; martyre (r. martyre) were, martyr father, eye (r. ye) kne (cf. ee: see Josue, II. 1466), herte (r. harte) parte, soule (r. saule) Paule (cf. Paule all specyall), slayne Finane, abbesse (r. abbas) place; or by the pronunciation, as in Lyncolne mansyon I. 565, Johan extorcyon. It is clearly proved by the rhymes that e and y had a similar pronunciation\(^1\) (in Mary fre chastite, Synaye see, Caunterbury countré, Gregorye natiuite, Ely she amyte, Dee partye, Mersee memorye, thyrt Peade, thyrtre fre Sledde, lady be pite, party humilite kne, glorye virginite, victory charite, hystoreye auctorite, myghtye royalte, mysery me, euauely humilite, tyrannye tree, &c.; cf. truly tui); wherefore we find frequently e written for y (as in womanle chastyte, gladde possibilite, truele me chyualre, trule he vanyte, solémne humilite, honorable chastyte, misere me cite, priore liberte, police chyualre, lile see, thyrtre fre; besides richely monastery, truly mystery, Ely heuy, I transitori, &c.). In this way we must also explain rhymes like vpone adowne (r. adone), I. 1302; crowne possessyon, 2360; towne alone, rowme euericheone, custome barowne rowme, renowne

\(^1\) Compare also the spelling in eche and yche, queene and quiene, chefe and chyfe, sucede; Bede, however, is rhymed with Ethelred, clere with were. û had not yet the present pronunciation, as is proved by rhymes like nyen (r. nyne) heuen (r. henyu), I. 2318, shrine virgine, tyne rayne, syde Osfryde, &c.; nyne rhymes with quene.
religion many-one; before foure honoure, sore sauyour, more rigoure (cf. hour auctour, floure coloure, hour restour succour), but also honour: pleasur tresour, I. 821 (cf. treasure endure, pleasure sure, Arthure endure sure); precious in pontificalibus. Besides, the dialect allowed the poet to use a variety of forms, as certayne playne, certan man Dunstan, certen men women; batell befell, batayle fayle, catall thrall; merciens consciens, mercians greuans; contre Canterbury, countray Journay; brether aulter, brethur tresur, I. 2329; hert and hart, almyghty and almyght, byfore and byforne, &c.

This leads us to consider whether Pynson printed the text exactly as written by the poet, or whether he altered it in some respects. His edition was made only a few years after the poem, and it is very readable, if we except some mistakes; so that we may trust that he did not materially alter the readings. There is, however, as little doubt that he modified the dialect of the original by introducing the forms used in the London press. There are still traces left which clearly prove that the dialect was marked more strongly in the original. Chester being situated on the confines of the Northern, Western, and Midland dialects, we may expect to find peculiarities of all these dialects. Indeed, there are traces of all these dialects, or at least may be gathered from the rhymes. 1 Bradshaw wrote lond hond sond (= sand) rhyming with fonde (= found) bonde sonde (= sound), as I. 23,518 (rhymes like hande sounde, I. 2275; lande founde, 246; Merce Lande founde, londe founde, probably also Merslande hande, Englande vnderstande, must therefore be altered). He wrote Paule (rhyming with all, speciall), saule II. 588 (P soule), as in the North; abbas and abbesse; knowlage (I. 932); slayne and slane (: Finane, I. 866), certayne certan (northern) and certen (midland);

1 It is chiefly owing to the influence of various dialects that the spelling is still very uncertain; we find Oswold and Oswald, trist and trust, perell and peril, batell and batayle, posturne and postrone, compassed and compassed, riall and royall, orison and orayson, &c.
he uses ee (or ye = eye), he I. 1004 (= high), distyre (as in the North); toyne (= tune). Forms like wete (: fete) I. 2212, smetyn, marter (: father were), matens (: presens), gebet, profet, perell, franches, viset were frequent in the North Midland; as also reght (P right : eight); mycle, frequent in the latter half of the poem, is the northern form, as also corecke; whome (= home), II. 1464, is a spelling peculiar to some parts of the North Midland. In endings we find u in brethur Worcestur (: tresur), I. 2329, as in the West; o in lenton (: deuocion), comon songon lynon yron Oxonford (the same forms, used mostly in the West, are however frequent in Caxton and other printers); y in byleuys (: is) I. 1113, heuyn 1225, 2318, maydyn 764, Chestire (: fire) II. 1630, all of which are found in rhymes. The text has still frequent plurals in is, as tearis, hartis, prestis, princis, actis, Persis, &c., besides in -es, which is sometimes demanded by the rhyme (as in churches : richesse, feldes gees I. 2619), and -s in citizens, Romans, pagans, Merciens, &c. (all in rhymes). The rhyme mynisters : sterres seems to demand mynisteres; Jerarchyses, I. 1629, or Jerarcheses, has to be altered in Jerarchyse (northern spelling); childer, I. 3277, brether are northern forms. The second person of the present tense ends in -s, as in the West Midland (cf. thou knowes, does, hase); thou shalt, was, dyd, suffered, gaue, toke, are without ending. The third person ends in -eth and -es (cf. dothe and serues in the same line, I. 952); the plural in -en, as in the Midland (cf. ben, lyen, shewen, obscuren). The infinitive still ends sometimes in -en, as waken; more frequently the participle, as letten, II. 1313, bounden, &c. Lent (from lenden to arrive, reside) I. 970, 1778, is a Northern form. Bradshaw still uses some old and dialectic words, as layth (lightning), II. 12; drowed, II. 1856 (r. haue drowen, from dreo^en, to suffer), anentes, bown, shalmes (I. 1689), seyn (= synod).

1 Latin verbs in ate, st, have commonly no ending in the preterite and participle (as creat, cruciat, preparat, coronate, congregate, arrest, electe; but extincted).
If in these dialectic forms, as well as in his metre and in the use of alliterations, he shows himself to be a friend of the people, and of the popular, he is more modern in other respects. He imitates Lydgate's way of construction, his asyndeta, his omission of the auxiliary 'to be', even with the participle, his frequent use of the participle, his absolute participles (as well known and founde, I. 543, proved 2543, 3200, manyfest and playne 2606), &c.; though he is more natural, and not so abstruse and difficult as Lydgate. He is still more modern in the use and formation of words. Since Chaucer and Lydgate it had been the fashion to introduce long and sonorous words from the French and Latin for the sake of melodiousness and picturesqueness; the ear delighted in the sound of words ending in aunce, oun, aunt, ous, all, able, ate, &c.; every poet tried to augment the stock of these 'aureate terms.' Our poet stands not behind in this respect. He uses words like alienat, ampliat, appropryat, confederate, congregate, consecrate, coronate, creat, cruciat, decorate, elevat, endurate, illumynate, maculate, metigate, nomynat, conomynat, pronymynat, probate, prostrate, roborate, regenerate, sacrat, tumylate, dylate, retrograt; vnyt, inhabyte, promyt, electe, extyncte; edyfy (= build), gloryfy, magnyfy, multyfyl, putryfy, specyfy, testyfy, veryfy; enterprise, psalmode, solenymse; dyscus, expulse; apperceyue, reuolue; sautynge, flourynge, pasturynge; corespondent, equypolent, equypotent, omnipotent, prepotent, resplendent, sufficient, remanent; constaunt, exuberant, rutilant, oppugnaunt, abundaunt, preignaunt, veraunt, valeaunt; facundious, memorous, tymorous, dolorous, melodyous, tedyous, vyectoryous; celestiall, corporall, eternall (besides etere), contynuall, historyall, imperiall, lynyall, marcyall, membrall, memoriall, monasticall, pudicall, sensuall, supernaturall, virginall, vitall, fragyll; commendable, comparable, incomparable, deceleuable, fauourable, honorable, mercyable, odible; myssyue, memora-tyue, primatyue; barbarike, polytike; alian, cotidian; dygne, condygne; caduce, transytory, interyor, interiously, senyor,
remedyless; sanctimoniall, moiniall, monyall (and moynes),
coronall; essentyals (sensuals); tuycyon, fruycyon, intrusyon,
extorcyon, mynystracion, nomynyon, notycyon, collusion, sus-
pection, recidiuacion; dyuydent, inconvenient, encresement;
preheminence, magnificence; audytour, enherytour, instructour;
valectance, purueaunce; spousage, parentage; fortytude, pul-
chrytude; femynyte, audacyte, lascyuyte, ambiguite, penalite,
senyorte, sensualite, amyte, volupte; desyderly, lumynary,
sagittari; pensyuenesse; musture, verdure, pasture, moynes,
souses; homycyde, fysnamy, lygne, ayde, decour, vre, cubycle,
subbarb, &c. Many of these words and formations have since
disappeared or become obsolete, as recidiuacion, nomynyon,
notycyon, suspicion, volupte, encresement, desyderly, spouses,
moiniall, vre, decour, cubycle, lygne, dygne, condygne,
caduce, odible, vyctoryall, hystoryall, memorall, memorous,
facundyous, remanent, interyously, promyt, psalmodise, apper-
ceyue, sautyng; as also formations like enuired, encronicled,
depair (= impair), dyspynt, reparel; or have taken a
different meaning, as tumylate, edyfy, recourse, transcende
(a ryuer), dyuydent. Some of them seem to have been intro-
duced by Bradshaw, as perhaps caduce, volupte, nomynyon,
more certainly circumfulsed (I. 2038). Many French words
have still the French spelling, as enherytrice, protectrice,
mediatrice, lygne, lygnage, promesse and promes, baptyme,
sautyng, covent, &c. French adjectives used adverbially,
frequently omit -ly, as playne, sure, certayn, expresse, con-
tynuall, specyey, consequent, &c.

The Glossarial Index to the text was added by Mr. W. M. Wood, for the convenience of readers, under instructions from
the Director of the E. E. Text Society.

1 vre seems first to occur in Lydgate.
2 In French words also we frequently find double forms, as promyt
(promyttinge) and promyse, descrybe and descryue, moynes and moiniall,
memorall memoriall memorous, interyour interiously, suspicion and
suspection, regalyte regaly (I. 407) realte, lynage and lygnage, discens
and dyscent, &c.
CORRECTIONS.

p. 16, v. 221, put; after delectable.
p. 19, v. 308, put 1 after Offryde.
p. 83, v. 2228, read matrone inst. of matronè.
p. 166, v. 1034, read Galway, Scot.
p. 184, headline, read Barfleur.
Here begynneth the holy lyfe and history of saynt werburge / very frutefull for all christen people to rede.

(Engraving of St. Werburg on title-page.)

The Prologe of .J. T. in the honour & laude of saint p. 2

Werburge / and to the prayse of ye translatour of the legende folowynge.

1
Honour / ioye / and glorie / the toynes organicall,
Endeles myrthes w* melodies! / prayse ye all ye princes,
Ourisshed in vertue / intact / as pure as cristall,
Elefe to all synners! / o Werburge, lady maistres;
In grace thou passed / all other, and in goodnes,
Whan thou was present in this mundayne lyfe;
None was the lyke / wydowe / maybe / ne wyfe.

2
By diuyne grace / to vs a ryche present,
Eioyce we may / in Werburgo one and all,
Gemme of vertue / a virgin resplendent,
Ielect of our lorde (in ioye and blis eternall
Surely she is set) to intercede and call,
Her mouth nat cessyng / for them to call and cryo
And in her trust / of synne to haue mercy.
O good lady maistres / declyne thy syght a-fer
And graciously beholde / thy seruaunt chast and pure,
Henry Bradsha / sometyme monke in Chester,
Whiche only for thy loue / toke the Payne and laboure
Thy legende to translate— / he dyd his busy cure,
Out of latine / in Englisshe rude and vyle,
Whiche he hath amended / with many an ornate style.

Alas, of Chestre / ye monkes haue lost a treasure,
Henry Bradsha / the styrpe of eloquence!
Chestre, thou may wayle / the deth of this floure;
So may the citezens / alas! for his absence,
So may many other / for lacke of his sentence.
O swete lady Werburge / an holy Abbasse glorious,
Remembre Henry Bradsha / thy seruauent most gracious.

In hym remayned no vice ne presumpcion,
Enuy and wrath / from hym were exyled,
Slouth ne Venus in hym had no dominion,
Auarice and glotony / he vtterly expelled;
No vice in hym regned / his felowes he excelled.
As clene as cristall / he bare these vertues thre:
Chastite / obidience / and wylfull pouerte.

O cruell deth / whiche art the perfite ende
Of this noble clerke / and euery mortall thyng,
Agaynst the / no man may hym defende;
Thou causest wo / languor / and anguissyyng.
And who on this / wolde haue remembryng
Howe from erth / to erth he must agayne,
He wolde dispise all thynges that be mundayne.
The Table of this boke.

1 The first the prologue of the translatour of this litell treatise

2 A descripccion of the realme of merciens, of the bounedes and commodites of the same

3 A descripccion of the genealogie of saynt Werburge, and howe she descended of .iii. kynges of this laude / and of the riall blodde of Fraunce

4 A playn descripccion of the actes and chialry of kyng Penda, grauntfather to saynt Werburge / and of his noble and vertuous progenie

5 Howe after the deth of kyng Penda / and of his prince Peada his seconde son Wulfer, father of saynt Werburge, was elect to be kyng of merciens

6 A lyttell descreipyon of the noble maryage bytwene kyng Wulfer and saynt Ermenilde, the kynges daughter of Kent / and of the solempnite done at the same season. The syxt chapitre.

7 A breue declaracion of the holy lyfe and conversacion of saynt Werburge / vset in her tender youth / aboue the comon cours of nature

8 Howe this yonge virgin saynt Werburge was de-sired of dukes and erles in mariage / and of the reasonable answer she gaue to them in auoydyng suche wordly pleasures
Howe the false Werebode desyred kyng Wulfer to haue his daughter Werburge in mariage / and howe he graunted thervnto.

Cap. ix.

Howe the queue saynt Ermenilde wolde nat consent ther-to / & how her bretherne saint Wulfade / and Ruffin were agaynst the sayd mariage.

Cap. x.

Howe the false Werebode complaynned vpon saynt Wulfade & Ruffyn to kyng Wulfer / and was the cause of their deth.

Cap. xi.

Howe kyng Wulfer was converted / and toke great repentunce for his offence. and by the counsell of saint Ceade was a devout man / and a good benefactour to holy churche / and founder of divers places.

Cap. xii.

Of the fervent desire & singular devociunc saynt Werburge had to be religious / and of the dayly supplications she made to her father for the same.

Cap. xiii.

Of the reasonable & meke answere saynt Werburge gaue to her father / whan he moued her to haue ben married.

Cap. xiii.

How saint Werburge was made an nonne at Ely after her desire vnder saint Audri lady and abbasse.

Ca. xv.

Of the great solemnisacion kyng Wulfer made at the gostly mariage of saynt Werburge, his daughter, at Ely / to all his louers and frendes.

Cap. xvi.

Of the holy profession and gostly conversion saynt Werburge vsed at Ely in religion vnder saint Audri.

xvii.

A litell treatise of the lyfe of saynt Audrie, abbasse of Ely / & of her holie converson & great devociunc ; which Audrie was aunt and cosyn to saynt Werburge.

xviii.

A breue rehearsal of the lyfe of saint Sexburge, grauntmoder to saint werburge / & of her comyng to Ely to her syster Audrie, thabbasse, from Shepay monasterie.

e. xix
Howe saint Ermenilde after dethe of kyng Wulfer was made a nonne at Ely vnder her moder Sexburge and Werburge, her daughter. Cap. xx.

Howe kyng Ethelrede, seynge the holy conuersacion of Werburge, his nece made her lady and president at Wedon/Trentam & Hambury. Also by her example and counsel made hym a monke at Bardeney abbay.

The holy conuersacion of kyng Kenred, brother to saynt Werburge & howe he refused his crowne & was made a monke at Rome & there departed a holy confessour.

Of the gostly deuociion of saynt Werburge, & vertuous gouvernans of her places & of the great humiliite she vsed to her systers and all creatures Ca. xxiii.

How at Wedon wilde gyse were pynned at her commandement & also relese d & put at liberte Ca. xxiii.

How a tyrande without pite was punysshed, his face set backewarde & by his mekenes was restaured to helth and prosperite agayne.

How deuers princes folowyng sensualite, entendyng to violate this virgine by power: by myracle were put to confusion.

How saynt Werburge gane knowlege to her systers of her departure & howe she ordred in vertue her sayd monasteries after her departure.

Of the gostly exortacion saint Werburge made to her systers in her sekenes & devoutly she receyued the sacramentes of holy churche afore her deth.

Of the departure of saynt Werburge at Trentam vnto heuen from this miserable lyfe & what lamentacion her systers and subiectes made for her deth Ca. xxix.

Howe the hamburgenses toke the blessed body of Werburge from Trentam by myracle & brought it to Hambury & of the buriall of this virgin & and manyfolde signes shewed of god by her merites / the space of ix. yere afore her translation Cap. xxx.
A litel breue treatise of her hole lyfe / and how for her myracles shewed after her deth / the couent of Hamburi purposed to translat her body by helpe of kyng Coelrede, reignyng in mercelande Ca. xxxi.

The solempe translacion of this glorious virgine saynt Werburge, and of the great myracles done at the same season by the might of god / and merite of this gracious lady . . . . . . . . . . . . . Cap. xxxii.

Howe the body of saynt Werburge continued hole / & substantial at Hambury after p\(^{r}\) translacion by the space of .CC. yeres / tyll the danes were comon to this lande / or it fell & resolved was vnto powder . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Cap. xxxiii.
Here foloweth the lyfe of the gloryous virgyn saynt werburge / also many miracles that god hath shewed for her. / & fyrst the pro-loge of the auctour.

[Under this title the same engraving as on p. 1, and the same engraving is also repeated at the back of the leaf.]
[ BOOK I. ]

1. The prologue of the translatour of this lytell werke, þe lyf of saynt Werburge.

1. Han Phebus had ronne his cours in sagittari
   And Capricorne entred, a sygne retrograt,
   Amydles Decembre / þe ayre colde & frosty,
   And pale Lucyna / the erthe dyd illumynat,
   I rose vp shortly / fro my cubycle preparat,
   Aboute vp shortly / fro my cubycle preparat,
   How I myght spende / the tyme conuenyent.

2. I called vnto mynde / the great vnstedfastnes
   Of this wretched worlde— / not by cours of nature—
   How there be brought / some men to busynes,
   Oppressed with pouerte / langour / and dyspleasure,
   Some other exalted / to felycyte and pleasure,
   The maker of mankynde / most in maieste,
   Ruleth all at his wyll / it may non other be.

3. Beholde dyscretly / and se the fyrmament,
   Consyder the sonne / and the mone also,
   With all the planettes / and sterres resplendent,
   How they kepe theyr cours / bothe to and fro,
   Euer obedyent / theyr creature vnto ;
   And byrdes besely / syngynge euery day,
   Praysynge theyr prymate all that they may ;
The .iii. elementes / in lyke conduckyon,  
The fyre / the water / the ayre / and the londe,  
Obseruen theyr duty / after theyr creacyon  
And buxum ben / and euer so be fonde.  
Thus euery creature / as we vnderstonde,  
Obeyeth to his creature / with humylyte—  
Except dyssolute man / folowyng sensualyte;  

If man wyll remembre / how he was create  
To the lykenes and figure / of god almyghty,  
And set in paradyse / a place moost delycate,  
To haue the fruycyon / of eternall glory /  
If not synne expulsed hym / to the vale of mysery,  
But that he wolde enclyne / his naturall reason  
To serue his maker / truely at due season.  

Dyuers people / haue dyuers condicions:  
Comynly proued / it is euery day:  
Some set to vertu / and good disposycyons,  
In penauwce / prayer / all that they may,  
Some in contemplacyon / the sothe to say,  
Some in abstynence / to chastyce the body  
And make it subget / to the soule perfytely;  

Some other reioyce / in synne and ydelnes,  
Some seruauntes to Venus / both day and nyght,  
Other to couetyse / and worldly besynes,  
Some to deceyue / by subtylte in syght,  
Some vnto marchandyse / & wynnynge full ryght,  
Some ferefull and tymerous / without audacyte,  
Some sadde and sobre / and of great grauyte;  

Many haue pleasure to spoke of rybaudry,  
Some of fyghtynge / braulynge / and actes marcyall,  
Other to flater / and paynt the company,
Some to syt bytwene the cuppe and the wall,
Some to blaspheme / and dyssemble withall,
To backbyte and sclaunder / by malyce and enuy,
Some to extorcyon / thefte and playne robry.

Thus after fraylte / and sundry compleccyons
Dyers men dyuers in lyuynge there be,
Dysposed by a contrary dysposycyon,
Some vnto vertue / some vnto vanyte;
Many maners of people / now we may se
Wauerynge in the worlde / without quyetnes,
As a shyp by tempest / is dryuen, doubtles.

When I resoluued / with due circumstaunce
The dyuers maners / and mutabylyte
Of worldly people / and the great varyaunce,
And how this lyfe / is of no suerte,
Now in great langour / now in prosperyte;
yet after our meryte / we shalbe sure
To be rewarded / at our departure:

Than to vertuous labours / we shulde apply
And spende not our tyme / all in ydlenes;
For, as a byrde is made / by nature to fly,
Ryght so we shulde vse / some good busynes
To our soule-helthe / with great mekenes;
For tyme euyl spende / in labours vayne
Is harde to be well / recouered agayne.

But now, syth I am / a relygyous man,
For losynge of tyme / can not me excuse,
Therfore I purpose / to do as I can:
All suche ydlenes / whylom to refuse,
With the grace of god / the tyme for to vse
Some small treatyse / to wryte breuely
To the comyn vulgares / theyr mynde to satysfy.
To descrybe hye hystoryes / I dare not be so bolde,
Syth it is a mater / for clerkes conuenyent,
As of the .vii. aeges / and of our parentes olde,
Or of the .iii. empyres / whylom moost excellent;
Knowynge my lernynge / therfo insuffycyent.
As for bawdy balades / ye shall haue none of me,
To excyte lyght hertes / to pleasure and vanyte.

But now in auoydynge / suche great folysshenes
I purpose to wryte / a legende good and true
And translate a lyfe / into Englysshe doubtles;
I meane the spouse / of our lorde Ihesu,
Blessed saynt Werburge / replete with vertue,
A noble prynces borne / & vyrgyne pure and gloryous,
After an holy monyall / and an abbesse gracyous.

In the abbay of Chestre / she is shryned rychely,
Pryores and lady / of that holy place,
The chyef protectryce / of the sayd monastery
Longe before the conquest / by deuyne grace;
Protectryce of the Cytee / she is and euer was,
Called specyall prymate / and pryncypall presydent,
There rulynge vnder / our lorde omnypotent.

And yf I vnworthy / begynne this lytell werke,
I praye all the reders / mekely of pardon,
To correcke and amende / syth I am no clerke,
Excuse my ignoraunce / and take the entencyon.
My mynde is to shewe / her lyfe and deuocyon,
That euery man and woman / ensample maye take
At this pure vyrgyn / synne to forsake.

And syth that she is / in blysse now gloryfyed,
It were no reason / her name be had in scylence,
But to the people / her name be magnyfyed,
To her laude and prayse / honour and reuerence.
Her parentes and bretherne / p* floures of experyence,
Haue ben kepte in close / secrete many a day :
Wherfore I purpose / somewhat of them to say.

Fyrst I entende / to make playne descrypcyon
Of her fathers kyngedome / the realme of Mercyens,
How longe it endured / vnder his tucyon,
Vnder how many kynges / it had prehemynens;
Also of her petygre / the noble excellence—
For so many sayntes / of one kynred, certayne,
Is harde to be founde / in all the worlde agayne.

Vnto this rude werke / myne auctours these shalbe:
Fyrst the true legende / and the venerable Bede,
Mayster Alfrydus / and Wylyam Maluysburye,
Gyrarde / Polycronycon / and other mo in deed.
Now gloryous god / graunt me to procede;
Blessed vyrgyn Werburge / my holy patronesse,
Helpe me to endyte / I praye the, swete maystresse.

A descrypcyon of the realme of Mercyens / of bondes and commodytes of the same.

The yere of our sauyoure / by full computacyon
Foure hundred / nyne & fourty frome his natuuite,
As venerable Bede / maketh declaracyon,
Duke Hengyst came to this lande in great royalte
With Saxons / Angles / Lutes / thre people myghtye;
Desyred by Vortyger / than kynge of Brytons,
Came to defende[him] / fro greuous oppressyons.

Also the yeres of our blessed sauyoure
Syxe hundreth foure score and nyne expresse
The Brytons were expulsed / so sayth mync auctoure,
From Englande to walles / with great wretchydnes.
In Englande than ruled / seuen kynges, doubtsles, 145
whose names we purpose / to shewe with lycens,
But pryncypally / of the kyngdome of Mercyens. 147

22

The fyurst realme of Saxons / began in Kent, 148
The yere of grace / foure hundreth fyue and fyfty;
Where duke Engystus / in honour excellent,
With septre and crowne / fyurst reyned royally.
The seconde was Southsex / sayth the hystory, 152
Wher Adla and Ella / reyned full ryght;
Whiche realme endured / but short tyme in myght. 154

23

The thyrde was Westsaxons / famous and myghty, 155
Where fyurst reyned / kynge Cerdicus,
The yere of our lorde / fyue hundreth one and twenty;
Whiche realme by processe / and power vyctoryous
Subdued all other / to hym, full memorous. 159
The pryncypall Cytees / of his regalyte
Were in olde season / Wynchester and Salesburye. 161

24

The fourth was Estsex / Where duke Erchenwyn 162
Fyrst reyned kynge / haunynge domynacyon,
By the kynge of Merselande / brought ofte to ruynye;
The chyef Cytee was Colchester / of his domynyon.
Also of eest-Englande / was the fyth kyngdome, 166
Where Vffa crowned / had fyurst the sufferaynte
Of Northfolke aðd Southfolke / knowne in certaynte. 168

25

The syxthe was the kyngdome of Merslande, 169
Where Cryda was crowned / fyurst by auctoryte,
Hauynge nyne shyres / obedyent to his hande,
As after shall appere / more euydent to be.
The seuenth was Northumberlande / vnder Ida & Alle, 173
Whylom dyuyded / in sondry kyngdomes twayne; 175
The chyfe Cytee was yorke / wher þe kynge dyd reynge.
The realme of Mercyens / by olde antyquye,
As playnly declareth / Polycronycon,
Thre hundreth yeres / endured in autcryte,
Vnder eyghtene kynges / worthy nomynyon,
Greatest of gouernaunce of all this regyon ;
Where Vulfer reygned / a kynge vyctoryous,
Father to saynt Werburge / vyrgyn moost gloryous.

The bounds and loryshyppes / of the sayd Mercyens,
As shewen dyuers bokes hystoryall,
Were large and myghty / and of great prehemynens,
Where the sayd kynge reygned by power imperyall.
This realme to dyscrybe / begyn we shall
At the Cytee of Chester / and the water of Dee,
Bytwene Engelande and wales / of the west partye ;

And so transcendynge / vp towaerde Shrewysbury
By the water of Sabryne / vnto Brystowe ;
The Eest-see mesureth / the Eest parte, truely ;
The water of Thamys / the south parte doth shewe,
Flowynge vnto London / who-so dothe it knowe ;
The water of Humbre / was on the north syde,
With the water of Mersee / theyr landes to dyuyde.

Of the foresayd ryuer / and water of Mersee
The kyng of Mercyens / taketh his name,
As moost sure dyuydent / to be had in memorye,
Mesurynge and metynge / the bondes with great fame
Of Mersee and Northumberlande / kynges of the same, 201
Bitwene chesshyr & lancashyr theyr kinglymes, certayne,
As aunycyent Cronycles descryben it full playne.

The sayd myghty kyngdome / of Mercyens dyd holde
Many noble Cytees / with townes and burghes royall,
Whiche Penda optayned / enlarged manyfolde ;
As Chester / Stafford / Lytchelfelde / Couentre memorall, 208
Lyncolne and Huntyngdon / Northampton withall, 208
Leicester and Derby / Cambragge and Oxonforde, 210
Worchester and Brystowe / with other mo, & Herforde. 210

Many royall ryuers / were conteyned in the same, 211
With sundry kyndes of fysshes / swete and delycyous— 215
It were tedyous to shewe / of them the dyuers name
In ryuers and in pooles / swymmynge full plentuous ;
Also forestes / parkes / chases large and beauteous, 215
And all beestes of venery / pleasaut for a kynge
To cours at lyberte / be founde there pasturynge. 217

Also this royall realme / holdeth, as we fynde, 218
Habundaunce of fruytes / plesaunt and profyttable,
Great plente of cornes / and graynes of euyry kynde ;
With hylles / valeys / pastures / comly and delectable
The soyle and glebe / is set plentuous and commendable. 222
In all pleasaut propurtes / no part of all this lande
May be compared / to this foresayd Merselande. 224

The people of Mercyens / the trouthe yf we dare saye, 225
Lordes / barons / knyghtes / with all the comunete,
In musture and in batayle / euer the pryce haue they
The kynges grace to serue / moost valyaunt in artylere,
In all actes Marcyall / euer haunya the vyctorye, 229
With herte / mynde and harneyes / redy day and nyght
Theyr enemies to subdue / by power, mayne & myght. 231

If they be well ordred / vnder a sure capytayne 232
And set to suche busynesse / theyr honour to auuaunce,
The tryumph they optayne— / knowen it is certayne
In Englawde and Scotlande / & in the realme of Fraunce ;
Fewe of them haue countred /by manhode and valeaunce 236
Great nombre of enemys / with knyghthode & polycy,
We meane them moost specyall / in the Weest-party. 238
Many other commodityes / pleasures and proprytes
This sayd realme / holdeth of olde antyquyte,
In royaltes and lordshyppes / landes and lybertes,
Honourably dylated / in worshyp and polye,
Flourynege in wysedome / honours /and chyualre:
Veryfyed by kyngge Offa / moost myghty and excellent,
Proued in his actes / by playne experyment.
This Offa subdued / in hystry as is founde,
The kyngge[s] of Westsaxons / Northumberlaund & Kent,
Droue Brytons to wales / out of this lande,
And made a depe dytche / for a sure dyuydent
Bytwene Englande and Wales / & to this day presente
Is called dytche Offa / so that no Bryton
On payne of punysshement / shulde entre this regyon.
Kynge Offa translated / as sayth Polycronycon,
By myghty power / the see of Canterbury
Vnto Lychefelde chyrche / with famous oblacyon,
For euer to contynu / confyrmed by auctoryte;
Also he founded / saynt Albans monasterye;
Fyrst of deuocyon / to Rome gane Peter pens.
Thus royall somtyme / was the realme of Mercyens.

A descrypcon of the Geanalogy of saynt Werburge, and
how she descended of foure kynges of this lande / & of
the royall blode of Fraunce.

Regnum Merc'. ex parte patris.

His noble prynces / the doughter of Syon,
The floure of vertu / and vyrgyn gloryous,
Blessed saynt Werburge / full of deuocyon,
Descended by auncretry / and tytle famous
Of foure myghty kynges / noble and vyctoryous,
Reynynge in this lande / by true successyon,
As her lyfe hystoryall / maketh declaracyon.

The yere of our lorde / frome the natuyte
Fyue hundreth .xiii. and also .iii. score,
Whan Austyn was sende / frome saynt Gregorye
To convert this regyon / vtto our sauyoure,
The noble kynge Cryda / than reyned with honour
Vpto kynge Wybba / and Quadriburge, hisyster.

This Wybba gate Penda / kynge of mercyens;
Whiche Penda subdued / fyue kynges of this regyon,
Reygny[n]ge thyrty yere / in worshyp and reuerens,
Was grauntfather to Werburge / by lynyall successyon.
By his quene Kyneswith / had a noble generacyon,
Fyue valeant prynces/ Peada,1 and kynge Wulfer / Penda
Kynge Ethelred / saint Marceyl / saint marwalde in-fere;

And two holy doughters / blessed and vertuous:
Saynt Keneburge / and saynt Kenewyde the vyrgyn—
Whiche ladyes were buryed / full memorous
At peturborowe abbay / and now there lyen in shryne.
The sayd kynge Ethelrede / by sufferaunce deuyne
Had a prynce Cochede1 / whiche after reynged kynge,
That translated Werburge / the .x. yere of her buryenge.

Saynt Merwalde specyfyed / vncle to saint Werburge,
By his quene saint Ermenberge, a princes doughter of kent,
Gate .iii. holy vyrgyns / saint myldred, & saint mylburge,
Saynt Mylgyde the thyrde / of vertu equypolent;
With a sone Mereuin1 / whiche frome the holy sacrament
Of baptym was taken /by myracle expresse
To the blys of heuen / to reygne there endelesse.
HER MOTHER ERMENILDE IS DAUGHTER OF ST. SEXBURGE. 19

The seconde sone of Penda/we meane kynge Wulfere, 295
A noble valyant prynce / by lynyll dyscent
Regnynge vpon the Mercyens with royale & power,
Maryed saynt Ermenylde / yer kynges doughter of kent;
Where[by] throughe the grace of god omnipotent 299
He1 had fayre yssue / saynt Werburge / saynt Kenrede,
Saynt wulfade / saynt Ruffyn / in story as we rede. 1P. They

Regnum Northumbrorum /
ex parte matris.

The seconde realme of whom saynt Werburge dyd descende,
Was of saynt Edwyn / kynge of Northumberlanye; 302
Whiche maryed Quadryburge / his ryghtes to defende,
Doughter of Cryda1 / kynge of Merslande. 1P. Gryda
Bytwene them descended / as we vnderstande,
Two comly prynces / the fyrst we call Eadfryde,1 1r. Osfr yde
The seconde sone, in batayle slayne, was named Offryde. 308

Kyng Eadfryde gate Hereryc, yᵗ was kynge of Deiram. 309
This Hereryc by Beorswyde, his quene fayre & fre,
Had saynt Hylde, the abbesse / saynt Bede sayth yᵗ same,
Lady, also foundresse / of the abbay of Whytbye.
This sayd kynge Hereryc / had another lady, 313
The quene of eest-Englanye / saynt Heryswith she hyght,
Mother to saynt Sexburge / & thre other ladies bryght. 315

This holy Sexburge / full of grace and goodnes, 316
Was maryed to Ercombert / a noble kynge of Kent.
Bytwyx them descended / a precyous ryches:
The blessyd Ermenylde / humble and pacyent;
Whiche for her vertue / was maryed full excellent 320
To Wulfer, kynge of Merciens / with great solemmpnyte,
And mother was to werburge / a swete floure of chastite. 322
The thyrde noble kyngedome / of her parentage 323
Was the realme of eest-England / whylom in great degre.
Tyttylus, kynge of the same / vyctorious and sage,
Gate Redwald his fyrst sone / a chrysten prynce was he.
This Redwalde had .ii. sones / flourynge in chyualrye : 327
The fyrst was Kenuherus / a noble man of fame,
The seconde Eorpwaldus / called by his name. 329

This foresayd kynge Tytylus / had a seconde sone, 330
Called Egnicius / accepted as a martyr.
Whiche sayd Egnicius / by lynyall progressyon
Had .iii. noble prynces / that worthy euer were :
The fyrst was called Ethelwod / þº seconde Adelhere, 334
The thyrde was saynt Anna / a kynge moost vertuous
In batayle slayne vnryghtfully / now a martyr gloryous. 336

This forsayd kynge Anna / maryed, as we rede, 337
The holy prynces Hereswith / for loue and amyte.
They had a noble yssue / to encrease theyr mede :
The blessed Sexburge / saynt Audry of Elye, [341
Saynt Ethelburge the thyrd— / in Bryges now lyeth she—
Saynt Withburge the .iii., yº martyr saynt Iurwyne, [343
And Aldulph, after kynge / whiche regned a longe tyme.

The lady saynt Sexburge / eldest of them all, 344
A gracyous matrone / endurynge all her lyfe,
Was maryed to Ercombert / þº kynge of Kent royall.
They brought fourth a progeny / noble to dyscryue :
The blessed Ermenylde / vertuous mayd and wyfe: 348
Whiche lady was mother / by grace of god almyght
Vnto blessed Werburge / our confort and our lyght. 350
The .iii. myghti kyngdome /of whom this royal princes Saynt Werburge descended / was the realme of kent;
Where reygned fyrst Hengystus / by vycroy & prowes,
Whiche was the fourth man / by lygnage euydent
Procedynge fro Woden / a prynce full prepotent,
Of whom our progenytours / Angles / Iutes / & Saxons,
Lynyally succeeded / kynges of dyuers nacyons.

This foresayd prynce Woden / as dyuers auctours sayne,
Was the .xv. fro Noe / by naturall progressyon,
Of his eldest sone Sem / descendynge playne,
In saxons tongue Geaf / after ryte and custome,
Not of the lygne of Iaphet / by theyr opynyon.
Retourne we to Hengyst / and to his successoure
And speke of theyr royalte / to please the audytoures.

Ermenrycus, kynge of kent / reygned with great power
The yere of our sauyoure / fyue hundreth fyue & thyrte,
Vnto whome Engystus was great-graundfather.
This sayd kynge Ermenryc / had yssue fayre and fre:
A daughter called Ricula / which maried was to sledde,
Of Estsex and Mydylsex /gouernoure and kynge;
Of whom a myghty kynred / by proces was comyngne.

This Ermenryc gate Ethelbryct full vertuous,
Whiche kynge reygned in kent / the yere of our sauyour
Fyue hundreth fyue & fyfty / & baptysed was gracyous
By blessyd bysshop Austyn / of Englane called doctour;
He was fyrst crysten kynge / & pryncypall protectour
Of the fayth within this lande / and founder was also
Of dyuers holy places / and monasteryes both-tow.

This sayd kynge Ethelbryc / for the great habundaunce
Of ryches and honour / was maryed solemly
To the princes Berta / the kynges daughter of Fraunce.
And of them proceeded a vertuous progeny:
Eadburg & Ethelburg saintes— / whiche Ethelburg, truly,
By Edwyne, kyng of North / had .iii. princes honorable,
And .iii. holy doughters / graciously and commendable.

Also kyng Ethelbryct / had to his successoure
Kynge Eadbalde / in Kent reygnynge a longe space;
He maryed lady Emma / of fraunce the chosen floure,
And by her had yssue / saynt Enswyde full of grace,
Also prynce Ermenred, his seconde sone / whiche wace
Maryed to quene Oslaua: / of them dyd procede
Two holy martyrs / Ethelbryct and Etheldrede.

This prynce Ermenred / had .iii. ladys bryght,
Lyke the .iii. floodes of Paradysye / shynynge in vertu:
The eldest of the systers / saynt Ermenberge hyght,
The seconde saynt Ermenburge / the spouses of Ihesu,
The thyrde saynt Adeldryde / all vyces dyd subdu,
The .iii. saynt Ermezagyde / sayth theyr lyues hystoryall;
Thre of them holy vyrgyns / the fourth matrone we call.

This foresayd Eadbalde / a souerayne myghty kyng,
By Emma of Fraunce / had to his enherytoure
The noble kyng Ereumbert / full graccyous in lyuynge;
Whiche maryed Sexburge / with worship & honour,
The kynges doughter of eest-England specyfyed afore.
This prynce loued vertue / prayer and deuocyon,
Commandynge all his realme / to kepe the fast of Lenton.

Ercombart .xxx. yere / regnynge in his regaly
Had a noble progeny / in grace and all goodnes:
His prynce hyght Egnyrct / his seconde sone Lothary;
Whiche prynce reynged but ten yere / kyng eexpress,
Lothary succeed hym / raynynge .xii. yeres doubtlesse.
Also he had two daughters / saynt Ermenylde þe quene,  
The other hyght saynt Erkengode / a moynes serene. 413

This lady Ermenylde / was maryed royally 414  
To the aforesayd Vulfer / kynge of Mercyens;  
Bytwene them descended / full gracyously  
A noble Margaryte / of hye magnyfycens,  
A roose of Paradysse / full of prehemynens: 418  
Moost blessed Werburge / the gemme of holynes,  
Our synguler suffragage / and sterre of our clerenes. 420

A descripcyon of the actes & chyualry of kynge Penda,  
groundfather to saynt Werburge / & of his noble and  
vertuous yssue and progenye.  Ca. .iii.

He yere of grace .vi. C. syxe and twenty 421  
The foresayd pryncs Penda / began for to reygne,  
The tenth man fro Woden / a prynce in Saxony;  
Sone and heyre to Wybbe / sayth myne auctour playne.  
Fyfty yeres of aege / that tyme he was, certayne, 425  
When he was fyrst crowned / kynge of Mercyens;  
Thyrty yeres he reygned / with great reuerens. 427

Fyue kynges in batayle / this Penda dyd subdue: 428  
Saintes Edwyn & Oswald / kings of Northumberlande,  
With Sygebert / Egnycius / and Anna full of vertu,  
Thre noble kynges / regnynge in eest-Englænde,  
With helpe of Brytones / by Bede we vnderstande; 432  
Dylated his regyon / with worshyp and honoures,  
Moche more than dyd / any of his predecessoures. 434

He maryed Keneswith / a lady fayre and bryght, 435  
And by her had yssue / a goodly generacyon:  
Peda his prync / Vulfer a noble knyght,
Saynt Ethelred / and Merwalde full of deuocyon,      439
Also saynt Mersellyn / of holy conversacyon,        
Saynt Keneburge / also saynt Keneswyde,            
Auntes to saynt Werburge / vpon the fathers syde.   
       441

Thre of his chylde / as we vnderstande,              442
Prynce Peada / Kyneburge / and Ethelrede,           
He maryed with Oswy / Kynge of Northumberlande,     
To .iii. of his yssue / for loue and for mede.       
Vulfer and Merwalde / the story sayth in dede,       
Were maryed vnto / the royall blode of Kent :       
To Ermenylde and Domneue¹ / two ladyes excellent.   
       448

Soone after by grace / the myddyll parte of Mercyens 449
Vnder prynce Peada / were baptysed euery-chone ;    
Whiche Peada maryed / Elflede with reuerens,        
Doughter vnto Oswy / kynge of the North regyon.     
Penda therto graunted / without contradyccyon,      
Vnder a fre lycence / his people were at lyberte    
Within all his regyon / baptysed for to be.         
       455

Also prynce Alfryde / sone to kynge Oswy,           456
Maryed saynt Keneburge / syster to prynce Peada.    
Whiche sayd Peada / brought from the north party    
Foure holy preestes / Ced / Beccy / and Adda,       
To preche to his people / the fourth was Duyna ;     
Whiche .iiii. seldom seased / day / nyght nor tyme   
To convrent the people / vnto chrystes doctryn.     
       462

Kyng Penda consented / as afore is sayd,            
And permytted doctours / to preche in evry place    
Throughout his realme / and neuer it denyed,         
To baptysye his subjectes / by fayth and ghostly grace ; 467
He ayded them with socour / and helpe in that case   
That wolde be convreted / for theyr synguler mede,   
As sayth myne auctour / the venerable Bede.         
       469
But by the temptacyon / of our ghostly enemy
This sayd kynge Penda / this vyctorous kyght,
Of valyaunt men in armure raysed a great company
And to the North partyes went / purposynge to fyght
And cruelly to slee / by power / mayne / and myght
The foresayd kynge Oswy / as he afore had slayne
Say[n]t Oswalde, his brother / kynge and martyr playne.

Shortly was forgeten / the fauour of his affynyte
That fully was contracte / bytwene these kynges twayne
Ioyned at the maryages / of theyr children thre,
Euer to haue endured / in loue by reason playne.
yet Oswy offered Penda / many ryche gyftes, certayne,
To auoyde his malyce / and for to kepe the peas;
Whiche Penda refused / replete with wyckednes.

Bytwene these .ii. kynges / was a stronge myghty batell,
Not ferre frome yorke / ny the flood of Wynwed,
In the regyon of Leedes-/ where by fortune cruell
Kynge Penda perysshed / & carefully was leed,
And .xxx. dukes with hym / were slayne and lefte deed.
The kynge Oswy offered gladly / with good entent
His yonge doughter Edelfled / to god omnypotent.

He set her for doctryne / to the abbesse saynt Hylde,
Lady of Strenyshalt— / now called Whytby—
And gaue .xii. possessyons / a monastery to buylde—
Which place is from yorke / myles thyrty.
He gaue great landes / to his sone-in-lawe, Peade.
But the thyrde yere after / this sayd prynce was slayne
By treason of his wyfe Elflede / for certayne.
PENDA’S 2ND SON, WULFER, IS ELECTED KING.

After that this Penda / of Mercyens kynge, 498

In batayle by kynge Oswy / cruelly was slayne,
And his prync Peada / after hym thre yeres reygnynge
Was put vnto deth / by his quene, in certayne,
These people of Mercyens / rebelled sore agayne 502
The foresayd Oswy / kynge of Northumberlande,
And hym refused / as ye shall vnderstande. 504

All the sayd Mercyens / by a generall counsell 505
Fortyfied themselfe / with power, myght and reason,
And crowned prync Vulfer / as Bede doth vs tell,
with honour / worshyp / and great renowne,
Whiche prync to kynge Penda / was the seconde sone ; 509
This prync was preserued / afore-tyme secretly
And saued by his subiectes / frome dethe and malady. 511

This valyaunt prync / and redoubted knyght, 512
Kynge Vulfer thus crowned / with great prosperitye
Upon the Mercyens regned / by tytle and myght—
Whiche realme was dyuyded / whylom in partes thre : [516
Fyrst in the West-marches / & in the South parte, truely,
The thyrde parte was nomynate / mydle-Englonde—
Ouer them all thre / he reygned, as is fonde. 518

This sayd kynge Vulfer / in honour famous, 519
Was deuoutely baptysed / with great solemnpyte
By two holy bysshops / the blessed Finanus
And bysshop Ierumannus / saythe the hystorye ;
The kynge made a vowe / of hye auctoryte 523
All temples of ydols / within his regyon
To destroy and chaunge / vnto chrysten relygyon. 525
This Yulfer was poltyke / replete with wysdom, Vyectoryous in batayle / proued by his chyualry, His enemies oppressed / by manhode and reasen, Subdued his adversaryes / and had the vyectory; From his realme expelled / all cruell tyrannyn, Conquered in batayle / at Ashdum ryght famous The kynge of West-Saxons / called Kenwalcus.

Also he subdued / vnto his Empyre The Ilande Vecta / called the yle of wyght: And after that he had / of it his desyre, He gaue the sayd yle / by tytle full ryght To the kynge of eest-Englynde / to enlarge his myght, Vnder that condycyon / that he baptysed wolde be; And was his godfather / of pure charyte.

In lykewyse as this prouynce / of Mercyens Whylom was greatest realme / within Englande, Many yeres contynuynge / in prehemynews, Ryght so the spyrytualte— / well knownen and founde How fyue bysshop-sees / within this sayd Merselande: As at Chester / at Lychefelde / also at Worcester, The fourth at Lyncolne / the fyfth at Dorchester.

Forthermore after dethe / of Ierumannus, Bysshop of Lychfelde / Vulfer the sayd kynge Desyred the archebysshop / and prymate Theodorus To graunt them a bysshop / of holy lyuynge, To gouerne the people / by spyrytuall techynge, To shewe to his subiectes / the ensample of vertu And to preche and teche / the fayth of Chryst Ihesu.

This holy archebyssop / and prymate Theodorus Desyred saynt Cedda / of the kynge Oswy For his perfeceyon / and lyuynge vertuous,
S T C E D D A (C H A D) BECOMES BISHOP OF L I T C H F I E L D.

To be removed / to the prouy[n]ce of Mercy.
Kynge Vulfer was gladde / of his comynge, truly: 558
Ryght so were all / the people of his realme,
Thankynge therfore / the kynge of Ierusalam. 560

81
Kynge Vulfer graunted / to saynt Cedda the confessoure,
Than bysshop of Lychefelde / moche possessyon 561
To edyfye chyrches / vn to chrystes honoure;
But namely he gaue a certayne mansyon
In the prouynce of Lyndesy / ny vn to Lyncolne,
Suffycent to suffyse / and well for to content
Fyfty seruauntes / of god,¹ relygyous, obeydent. 1 p. good 567

82
This noble sayd prynce / and redoubted souerayne,
Flourneynge in manheed / wysedome and polycy,
Excell the peres / of this realme, certayne,
In person / fortytude / and proued chyualry;
Lyberall to his seruauntes / gentyll in company,
Gracyous to the poore / and a sure protectour,
A founder of chyrches / and a good benefactour. 574

¹ A lytell descrypcyon of the noble maryage bytwene Kynge Vulfer & saynt Ermenylde, y* kynges daughter of Kent / & of the solempnyte done at p* same season. Ca. vi.

83
3 N meane whyle the kynge / mynded maryage,
By the sufferaunce of our lorde god omnipotent,
Issue to encrease / acordynge to his lygnage,
After hym to succeede / kynge and presydent.
He mynded moost / the kynges daughter of Kent,
Prynces Ermenylde / nomynate she was;
A beautefull creature / replete with great grace.

84
Certaynly her father / was called Ercomberete,
As afore is specyfied / the kynge of Kent,
Her mother Sexburge / humble in her herte;
WULFER MARRIES ERMENILDE, DAUGHTER OF K. ERCOMBERT. 20

Of whome Ermenylde / a lady excellent,
Lynyally descended / by tytle full auncyent;
Her grandsfather Edbalde / kynge Ethelbryctes sone,
The fyrst crysten prynce / of Saxons nacyon. 588
85
Of foure myghty kyngdomes / she is descended:
From the royall blode of Fraunce / also of Kent
Vpon her fathers party / as afore is notyfyed;
And on her mothers syde / by lyne auncyent
Frome the eest-Englende / famous and excellent,
Also of Northumberlende / flouryngge in honour,
Conuerted and baptysed / vnto our sauyour. 595
86
This sayd Ermenylde / this floure of vertue,
Was euer dysposed / from her natuyte
Vnto the dyscyplyne / of our lorde Ihesu;
Enspyred with his grace / and benygnyte,
Refused this worlde / ryches and vanyte;
He\textsuperscript{1} vsed the maners / of sadde dysposycyon,
Passyng fragyll youth / and naturall reason. 602
87
Suche synguler confort / of vertuous doctryne
In her so dyd water / a pure perfyte plante,
Whiche dayly encreased / by sufferraunce deuyne,
Merueylously growynge / in her fresshe and varnaunt,
With dyuers propretyts / of grace exuberaunt,
As sobrynes / dyscrecyon / and mekenesse vyrgynall,
Obedyence / grauyte / and wysedome naturall. 609
88
Euyery tree or plante / is proued enuydent
Whyther good or euyll / by experyence full sure,
By the budde and fruyte / and pleasaunt descent;
A swete tree bryngeth forth / by cours of nature
Swete fruyte and delycyous / in tast and verdure:
Ryght so Ercombert / by his quene moost mylde
Brought graciously forth / the swete Ermenylde.
30 St. ERMENILDE FOLLOWS HER MOTHER'S EXAMPLE.

She folowed her father / in worshyp and honoure, 617
At her mother Sexburge / she toke imytacyon
To lyue in clennes; / presentynge in behauyour
Her father in power / her mother in relygyon.
Humble in herte / hauynge compassyon, 621
Pyteous and lyberall / where was necessyte,
Ioynfull to obserue / the dedes of charyte.

90

Forther of her lyfe / to make declaracyon,
As the true legende playnly dothe expresse,
Consyder the hystory / with good inspeccyon
Of blessed Sexburge / that noble pryyncesse.
The sayd conversacyon / and ghostly swetennesse 628
That is perceyued / in her holy mother,
The same perfecyon / was in the other.

91

Neuertheless Ermenylde / escape ne myght 631
Worldely honours / and seculer dygnyte,
As re quyred so noble a state of ryght,
Ryches / possessyon / namely her beaute.
But vnto maryage / compelled was she 635
Of her parentes / contrary to her entent;
To whome she was founde / euuer obedyent.

92

This noble lady / by deuyne prouydens 638
Elected to her / a spouse commendable,
A valyaunt prynce / the kynges sone of Mercyens,
Called kynge Vulfer / famous and honorable,
Reygnynge in Mercelande / with ioy incomparable, 642
Excellynge many other / prynces of this regyon
In ryches / retynu / fortune / honour / and wysdome. 644

93

At this maryage / was moche solemmpnyte. 645
Her father Ercomberte / and her frendes all,
The prynces her vncles / Egbryect and Lothary,
The kynge of eest-Englantde / Aldulph in speceyll,  
Dukes / erles / barons / and knyghtes in generall:  
Whiche sayd company / were redy that same day  
To worship the matrymony / in theyr beest aray.  

This royall maryage / was solemnysed  
With synguler pleasures / ryches and royalte,  
Theyr frendes, cosyns / redy on euery syde  
To do theyr deuoyre / and shewe humanyte,  
Nothynge wantynge / euery thyng was plente,  
Of delycate metes / and myghty wynes stronge,  
With mynstrels / melody / and myrthes amonge.  

Whan this fayre prynce / resplendent in vertue,  
Came vnto Mercelande / in the order of matrymony,  
Than grace with good gouernaunce / dyd vyce subdue,  
Vertue was maystres / chefe ruler and lady;  
The faythe of holy chyrche / dyd growe and multyply,  
Relygyon encresed / honour and prosperity,  
In euery place pacynce / true loue and charyte.  

At the solempe spousage / of this lady bryght  
Kynge Vulfer promysed / on his fydeltye  
Errours to correcke / by his wysdome and myght,  
Clerely to expell / all sectes of ydolatrye  
Frome his realme / and fulfyll by his auctoryte  
The promyse truely made / at the fonte of baptyme:  
The chyrche to conserue / and saue it from ruyne.  

The myghty realme of Mercyens / also of Kent  
That season were brought / bothe vnto vnyte,  
And as one kyngedome / ruled full excellent,  
Theyr subiectes and seruauntes / in tranquyllyte.  
Kynge Vulfer by his quene / had a noble progenye:  
Vulfade and Ruffyn / with prynce Kenrede,  
And Werburge / of whome we purpose to procede.
I A breve declaracyon of the holy lyfe and conversacyon of saynt Werburge / vsed in her tender youte / above the comyn cours of nature. Ca. vii.

His blessed lady / and royall prynces, 680
Descendyng of noble / and hye parentage,
Was daughter to Vulfer / the legende dothe rehers, 1
Kynge of Mercelande / and of famous lynage, 1r. expres
Her mother Ermenylde / ioyned to hym in maryage; 684
They dwelled somtyme / a lytell frome Stone
At a place in Stafforde-shyre / amyddes his regyon. 686

They had bytwene them / other chyldren thre: 687
Vulfade and Ruffyn / martyrs full gloryous,
Synt Kenrede his prynce / of greate auctoryte,
Tumylate at Rome / a confessour gracyous.
The lyues of these thre / we wyll not now dyscus,
But speke of the ghostly / and meke conversacyon
Of blessed Werburge / now at this season. 693

For as declareth / the true Passyonary, 694
A boke wherin / her holy lyfe wryten is—
Whiche boke remayneth / in Chester monastery—
I purpose by helpe / of Ihesu, kynge of blys,
In any 1 wyse to reherse / any sentence amys, 1r. nane? 698
But folowe the legende / and true hystory,
After an humble style / and from it lytell vary. 700

This blessed Werburge / from her natyuyte 701
Folowyng the counseyll / of her noble parentes,
Dysposed her-selfe / euer to humylyte,
Obedyent to them / with all reuerens,
Loth to dysplease / or make any offens 705
Or dysquyet any reasonable creature—
Thus was her maner / in youthe, be ye sure. 707
Sadde and demure / of her countenaunce,  
Stable in gesture / proued in euery place,  
Sobre of her wordes / all vertu to anounce,  
Humble / meke / and mylde / replete with grace.  
Many vertuous maners / in her founde there was,  
And dyuers gyftes naturall / to her appropryate;  
As was conuenyent / for so noble a state.  

And as she encreased / moore and more in age,  
A newe plant of goodnes / in her dayly dyd sprynge,  
Great grace and vertue / were set in her ymage.  
Wherof her father / had moche merueylynge;  
Her mother mused / of this ghostly thynge:  
To beholde so yonge / and tender a may  
From vertu to vertu / to procede euery day.  

No merueyll it is / who-so taketh hede  
In naturall thynges / the dyuers operacyon,  
Dothe not a royall rose/ from a brere procede,  
Passyng the stocke / with pleaunt dylectacyon?  
The swete ryuer passeth / by due probacyon  
His heed and fountayne: / ryght so dothe she  
Transcende her parentes / with great benygnyte.  

And tho her bretherne / delyted for to here  
For theyr soule-helthe / ghostly exortacyon,  
yet she them passed/ manyfolde more clere  
In loue of our lorde / and meke conuersacyon.  
And lyke as Phebus / in his heuenly regyon  
Passed other stretes / shynyng moost pure,  
So dothe this vyrgyn / aboue the cours of nature.  

Lordes / dukes / barons / within the kynges hall  
Merueyled on her maners / and constaunte sobrynes;  
The plente of wysedome / and dyscrecyon withall
In so tender age / they neuer knewe expresse;
Her mynde so perfyte / auoydynge all ylnes;
But they knewe well / it pretended by all reasone
Synguler grace and goodnes / to her comynge soone,

Affyrmynge on this wyse / yf she wolde contynu
With suche vertuous maner / in yeres of hye dyscrecyon,
That she sholde do honour / by the grace of Ihesu
Vnto all her kynrede / and synguler consolacyon,
An ensample of vertu / and humylyacyon,
Theyr conforte / theyr tresure / and sterre full bryght,
And chefe luminary / shynynge day and nyght.

Fyrst in the mornynge / to chyrche she wolde go,
Folowyng her mother / the quene, every day,
With her boke and bedes / and departe not them fro,
Here all deuyne seruyce / and her deuocyons say
And to our blessed sauyour / mekely on knees pray,
Dayly hym desyrynge / for his endeles grace and pyte
To kepe her frome synne / and preserue her in chastyte.

Where youthe is dysposed / of naturall mocyon
To dysportes and pleasures / full of vanyte,
This mayde was euer / of sadde dysposycyon,
Constaunt and dyscrete / styll and womanle,
Gladde in her soule / to here speke of chastyte,
Clennes and sobrenes / and ioyfull for to here
Ghostly exortacyons / to her herte moost dere.

How this yonge vyrgyn saynt Werburge was desyred of
dukes & erles in maryage / and of the answere she gaue
to them / in auoydynge worldly pleasures.

As tender youthe passed / this blessed maydyn
Dayly encreased / more and more in vertue,
In ghostly scyence / and vertuous dyscyplyne,
Obseruyng the doctrine / of our lorde Ihesu,
Had his commaundynementes / in her herte full tru;
So that no creature / more perfyte myght be
In vertuous gyftes (by grace) than she.

She was replete / with gyftes naturall:
Her vysage moost pleasaut / fayre and amyable,
Her goodly eyes / clerer than the crystall,
Her countenaunce comly / swete and commendable;
Her herte lyberall / her gesture faourable.
She, lytell consyderynge / these gyftes transytory,
Set her felycyte / in chryst perpetually.

She hadde moche worshyp / welthe / and ryches,
Vestures / honoures / reuerence and royalte;
The ryches she dysposed / with great mekenesse
To the poore people / with great charyte.
But her sadnes / constaunce / and humylyte,
Vertue / gentylnes / so pacyent and colde,
Transcended all these other / a thousande folde.

The vertuous maners / and excellent fame
Of this holy vyrgyn / redoubted so ferre
In all this regyon / in praysyne her name,
That the nobles of this lande / wolde not dyfferre,
But with ryche apparell / and myghty power
Came for to seke her— / lyke as to Salomon
Quene Saba approched / to here of his wysedome.

So lyke-wyse some came / to her of her vertue,
Some of her sadnesse / and prudent dyscrecyon,
Some for her constaunce / so stable and true,
Some of her chastyte / and pregnaunt reason,
Some for her beaute / and famous wysedome;
And some, that were borne / of kynges lygnage,
Desyred yf they myght / haue her in maryage.
In beaute amyable / she was equall to Rachell, 799
Comparable to Sara / in fyrme fidelyte,
In sadnes and wysedom / lyke to Abygaell:
Replete as Delbora / with grace of prophecy,
Equyualent to Ruth / she was in humylyte,
In pulchrytude Rebecca / lyke Hester in lolynessc,
Lyke Iudyth in vertue / and proved holynesse. 805

The prynce of Westsaxons / a pere of this lande, 806
Wyllynge to haue her by way of maryage,
With humble reuerence / as we vnderstande,
Sayd to her these wordes / wysely and sage:
‘O souerayne lady / borne of hye lynage,
O beautefull creature / and imperyall prynces,
This is my full mynde / that I now rehers.’ 812

‘From my fathers realme / hyder I am come
Vnto our presence / yf ye be so content,
With worshyp and honour / and moche renowne,
In all honest maner / aperynge euydent;
My mynde is on you set / with loue feruent,
To haue you in maryage / all other to forsake,
If it be your pleasure / thus me for to take. 819

‘ye shalbe assured / a quene for to be,
ye shall haue ryches / worshyp / and honour,
Royall ryche appareyll / and eke the sufferaynte,
Precyous stones in golde / worthy a kynges tresour,
Landes / rentes / and lybertees / all at your pleasur,
Seruauntes euery houre / your byddynge for to do,
With ladyes in your chambre / to wayte on you also.’ 826

With these kynde wordes / the vyrgyn abasshed sore
And with mylde countenaunce / answered hym agayne
The playnes of her mynde / to rest for euermore,
Sayenge: 'O noble prynce / I thanke you now, certayne,
For youre gentyll offer / shewed to me so playne,
ye be well worthy / for your regalyte
To haue a better maryage / an hundreth folde than me.

'BUT now I shewe you / playnly my true mynde:
My purpose was neuer / maryed for to be;
A lorde I haue chosen / redemer of mankynde,
Ihesu, the seconde persone in trynyte,
To be my spouse / to Whome my vyrgynyte
I haue depely vowed / endurynge all my lyfe,
His seruaunt to be / true spouses and wyfe.

'Therefore, noble prynce / hertfully I you pray,
Tempte me no forther / after suche condycyon,
Whiche am so stedfast / and wyll be nyght and day
Neuer for to chaunge / nor make alteracyon.
Take ye this answere / for a sure conclusyon:
The promyse I haue made / and vowe of chastyte
Endurynge my lyfe / shall neuer broken be.'

'Dyuers other astates / came her for to assayle,
Made instaunt requestes / vnto this vyrgyn fre:
For all theyr busynesse / they myght not preuayle,
So constaunt, fyrme & stable / in herte & mynde was she:
A mountayne or hyll / soner, leue ye me,
Myght be remoeued / agaynst the course of nature
Than she for to graunte / to suche worldly pleasure.

'She well consydered / the texte of holy scrypture:
'Who byleueth her chast / for the loue of Ihesu,
The temple of god / they be clypped sure
And shalbe rewarded / for that noble vertu
An hundreth folde (by grace), vyces to subdu,
And heuen for to haue / at theyr departynge’—
Whiche she remembred wysely / aboue all thynge.'
How p\textsuperscript{r} false Werbode desyred kynge Vulfer to hau\nWerburge, his doughter, in maryage. And how p\textsuperscript{r} kynge\graunted therto. Ca. ix.

As afore is sayd / whan Penda the kynge
By saynt Oswy kynge / at Leedes was slayne
And Vulfer his sone / the fourth yere folowyng
Was baptysed and crowned / By bysshop Fynane,
A solempne voue he made / faythfull and certayne,
All temples of ydolles / in his realme to destroy
And chaunge them to chyrches / and newe edyfy.

The same he promysed / as he was true knyght
Whan that he maryed / blessed Ermenylde,
Dredynge sore the iustyce / of god almyght
For his fathers demerytes / vnreconsyled
On hym to fall sodeynly / and so be begyled;
Promysynge a-mendes / at his converson
Vnto holy chyrche / with humble deuocyon.

Whiche kynge Vulfer / as was the more pyte,
By the wycked counseyll / of a fals knyght
Called Werbode / ranne soone in apostasy,
For a lytell whyle / wantynge perfyte lyght;
The bryghtnes of the day / was tourned to nyght
Whan he gaue credence / that creature vnto,
Prolongynge the actes / he promysed to do.

Vnder kynge Vulfer / chefe stewarde of his hall
Was this falso Werbode / ruler of euery porte
Whome the lady Venus / brought vnto thrall,
Persed and wounded / so greuously his harte
Enflammed with loue / and with her fyry darte,
Plonget with sorowe / syghynge day and nyght:
The beaute of Werburge / moeued so his syght.
WEBBODE ASKS WULFER FOR HIS DAUGHTER WERBURGE. 39

128

The blynde goddes Cupyde / vexed so sore his mynde
With interyor loue / and sensuall desyre
Of worldely affecyon / that reste coude he none fynde;
His spyryte was troubled / he brenned as dothe the fyre.
Vpon this holy vyrgyn / his loue was so entyre,
To haue her in maryage / was all his intent,
That euerie houre was a moneth / after his iudgement.

129

Prouyded in his mynde / how that he well myght
Enforce hym wysely / with boldynesse and polycye
To shewe his full entent / in maner good and ryght,
No dyspleasure taken / vpon his lوردes partye:
By this ymagynacyon / he fell vpon his knee
Afore his lorde and kynge / desyrynge a petycyon:
His mynde to declare / with fully grace of pardon.

130

'Excellent prynce,' he sayd / 'and moost worthy kynge,
That reygnes now within the realme of Englande,
Flourynge in chyualry / in honour encreasynge,
Transcendynge other prynces / of this forsayd lande!
My full intencyon / now ye shall vnderstande,
Requyrynge your grace / in this poore cyrcumstaunce
At my petycyon / to take no greuaunce.

131

'My synguler good lorde / hertffully I you pray
With instaunte request / and humble supplycacyon:
Graunte me your daughter Werburge / as ye maye,
To haue her in maryage / auoydynge all treason.
If your grace deny / this present petycyon,
Dethe me behoues / full soone and hastely:
My loue is so feruent / there is no remedy.'

132

'Stande vp, Werbode' / kynge Vulfer than sayd,
'Our chyfe champyon / in all our chyualry!
your humble desyre / shall not be denayd
Of Werburge, our daughter / now consent wyll we,
If ye may optayne / her wyll and mynde, truele,
Her mothers also / vnder that condycyon
We graunt her to you / at your meke suggestyon.'

Of this graciously answere / a gladde man he was;
Reiysynge in his herte / began to conspyre,
Castynge in his mynde / craftely by compas
How he myght optayne / to the hye empyre
And reygne after Vulfer / at his owne desyre.
But, 'tho man prepose / god dysposed all';
'Who clymbeth to hye / often hath a fall.'

How the quene saynt Ermenylde wolde not consente therto / & how her bretherne saynt Wulfade and Ruffyn were agaynst the sayd maryage. Ca. x.

Of this busynesse / whan the quene had knowlege,
Namely of Werebode / the greuous presumcyon,
How he had moeued / throught his wycked rage
The kynge in suche causes / by synguler petycyon, 1 r. cause
And how the kynge consented / to his supplycaeyon:
She was sore greued / at this prowde crafty knyght,
Called hym in presence / and sayd these wordes ryght:

'Thou wycked tyraunt / and vnkynde creature,
Folowyng thyné appetyte / and sensualyte,
Thou cruell pagane / presumyng at thy pleasure,
Blynded with ygnoraunce / and infydelyte,
Who gaue the lycence / and suche auctoryte
Our doughter Werburge / to desyre of the kynge,
Without our counseyll / therto consentyng?

'Consyder ryght well / thy kynred and pedegre:
It is well knowne / thou arte comen of nought,
Nother of duke / erle / lorde / by auncetre,
HOW ERMENILDE REPRIMANDS WERBODE'S AUDACITY. 41

But of vylayne people / yf it be well sought;
Agaynst our honour / now that thou hase wrought,
Whiche consequently / shall be to thy payne—
For all thy labour / is spende in vayne.

137
'Thou knowes of a certayne / refused she hase
Many a ryche maryage / within this londe,
A thousande tymes better / than euer thou wase,
Is now orels shalbe / by any maner fonde.
Our daughter to the / shall neuer be bonde,
Nor suche a caytyfe / shall haue no powere
With kynges blode royall / to approche it nere.

138
'Vnder my souerayne lorde / and me also
An offycer thou arte / and of great royalte
To be a true seruaunte. / now thou arte our foo,
Tryed / proued / founde fals / in eche degre.
Thou hase well deserued / to be hanged on a tre
For thy mysdede / thou shall soone repent
Thy hye presumcyon / proude and dysobedyent.

139
'As for our daughter / and dere derlynge,
By the grace of god / and our aduysement
Soone shalbe maryed / to the moost myghty kynge
That euer was borne / and in this erth lent,
We meane our sauyour / lorde omnypotent;
Wherfore thy wretchyndes / wyll vpon the lyght.
Thou taynted traytour / out of our syght !'

140
With that saynt Werburge / came into presence,
Afore her mother / and all the company,
Doynge her duty / with all due reuerenc[e];
Folowynde her doctryne / full sapyently,
With lyence optayned / spake euydently,
After suche maner / that all the audyence
Reioyesd to here / her lusty eloquence.
141
'O souerayne lady / and kynges dochter dere, 981
My dere mother / ouer all thynge transytory,
O gracious pryncees / and quene to kyng Vulfere,
To your ghostly counseyll / do me euery apply:
As I haue promysed / ryght euently
To the kynge of kynges / and lorde celestyal,
I wyll obserue / eendurynde this lyfe mortall.

142
'And thou false Werbode / folowynde sensualyte,
I meruayle greatly / thy hye presumpyon
To moeue our father / with suche audacyte,
Knowynge my mynde / set on relygyon.
yet for thy soule-helthe / accepte this lesson:
Aske mercy and grace / of my spouse eternall,
Lest vengeaunce sodeynly / vpon the do fall.'

143
Wherwith her bretherne / Vulfaide and Ruffyn,
Two noble prynces / manfull, sadde and wyse;
Sore vexed with peyne / theyr hertes were within
At this false stwarde / whiche can so deuyse
Agayne theyr honour / to do suche preiudyse
As to attempte theyr father the kynge
In so great a mater / they not consentynge:

144
They called Werebode / afofe them all,
Sayenge: 'thou caytyfe / who gaue the lycence
To moeue this cause / so he and speyall
Touchyng a lady / of suche prehymenync
A kynge dochter / of moche magnyfysence,
None comparable to hym / in alle this regyon
In honour / royaltie / power / and dyscrecyon?'

145
'And as our mother sayd / to the byforne,
Loke well thy progeny / and all thy lynage;
A vyllayne oreles wers / sothly thou was borne,
WERBODE RESOLVES TO DESTROY WULFADE AND RUFFIN. 43

Now our dere sister / wilde haue in maryage,
As semynge for a prynce / of hye parentage;
Than for suche a carle / by a prouerbe auncyent
' A lad to wedde a lady / is an inconuenyent.

146
'Therfore we charge the / vpon greuous peyne,
Moue no suche mater / nor speke of it no more!
For yf suche mocyon / come to vs agayne
Of hye presumpcyon / as is done afore,
Thou shalt repent / the cause and dede full sore.
Now we commaunde the / no forther to contruye,
But cease of suche busynesse / in peyne of thy lyue.' 1022

How the false Werbode complayned vpon Vulfade and
Ruffyn 1 to kyngge Vulfare by malycle and envy / and was
the cause of theyr dethe. Ca. xi. 1023

P. Fussyn

His wycked Werebode / the bedyll of Belyall,
The minister of myschef / & sergeaunt of sathanas,
Consdyerynge he was / despyshed of them all
And sore rebuked / for his outragyous trespas,
He brenned in enuy / as a man without grace,
Cast in his mynde / how he myght wroken be
Vpon her bretherne / by some subtylte.

148
Euer from that tyme / he lay in wayte,
Sekynge occasyons / on them to complayne;
Dayly ymagyned / with subtyll deceyte
Them to subdue / and cause to be slayne,
Attendynge opportunyte / to take them in a trayne,
By the false enysement / of his myyster Belyall
Prompte to all myschefe / as dyscyple naturall.

149
In fauvour of his prynce / by crafte he hym brought
(As now is in custome)—with false flatery
WULFADE, HUNTING A STAG, FINDS ST. CHAD’S HERMITAGE.

Some please theyr mayster / and that is ryght nought;
So dyd this Werebode / by subtyll polycy:
His vengeable mynde / was hymselfe to magnyfy
And utterly to lose / these prynces twayne
Or destroye hym-selfe / by mysfortune playne.

Lyke as Archythofell / chefe counselour to absalon,
Sundry tymes moeued hym / vnto vrayaunce,
And with kynge Assuerus / in fauour was Amon
Counselyng hym euere / vnto great myschaunce:
In lyke cause Werbode / moeued to vengeaunce
Was chefe counselor / to Vulfer the kynge;
Whiche brought hym-selfe to shame / and euyll endynge.

The elder prynce, Vulfade / in his dysporte
Vsed haukyenge, huntynge / for a past-tyme;
But vnto huntynge namely / was his resorte
Euery day in the morowe / longe afore pryme.
And as it fortuned / vpon a tyme,
A myghty harte reysed was / coursed a longe space;
Whome Vulfade pursued / with pleasure and solace.

This harte sore strayned / ranne for his socour,
As all deer done / of theyr propryte,
To a well with water / after his great labour
Hym to reconforte / and the more fressher be,
Wherby saynt Cead / had his oratorye.
The wylde harte there lay / full secrete and styll
And suffered this holy man / to do all his wyll.

This blessed bysshop, moeued with pyte,
Couered this sayd harte / with bowes and leues also,
Put a small corde / aboute his necke, trule,
And after commaunded hym spedly to go
To the wylde woodes / whens he came fro,
His pasture to seke. / for saynt Cead knewe truly
It was a sygne folowyng / of some great mysery.

(As Bede wytnesseth) this holy confessour
Was bysshop of Lychefelde / and Couentre;
Whiche for the loue of our sauyour
In wyldernesse dwelled / all solytarye,
Contented with fruytes / of the wylde tree,
With rootes / herbes / water / for his sustentacyon,
Endurynge penaunce / with due contemplacyon.

This venerable prynce / ensuyng this great harte
Approched to his cell / with great dylygence,
Tenderly requyrynge / where and in what parte
This harte escaped / so ferre out of presence.
This holy man answered / with all reuerence:
‘Beestes / byrdes / fowles / I kepe none at all,
But I knowe the instructour / of thy helthe eternall.

‘By this brute beest / thou shall perceyue well
The sacramentes of holy chyrche euerychone,
To encrese thy byleue / by our ghostly counsell,
And so to be baptysed / and haue remyssyon:
By dyuers brute beestes / for mannes saluacyon
Our lorde hath shewed / secretes mystycall
To his electe persones / by grace supernall.

‘To Noe came conforte / after the great deluge
By a douue / bryngynge a braunche of Olyue;
To the prophet Hely / a rauen dyd refuge,
Brought hym his sustenaunce / and saued his lyue;
Vnto saynt Eustach / full memoratyue
Our lorde appered / in a hartes lykenes,
To whome he obeyed / gladly with mekenes.’

Of whiche examples / prynce Vulfade gladde was,
WULFADE AND RUFFIN ARE BAPTIZED BY ST. CHAD.

Thankynge god and saynt Cead / that he thyder come,  
And sayd : 'holy father / fulfylled with grace,  
If ye can supply / my instaunte petycyon  
That the sayd harte / myght retourne hyder soone  
Whiche is now in wyldernesse / vnto our presence,  
Than to your doctryne / I wyll gyue fully credecne.'

Saynt Cead vnto prayer / deuolutely went:  
And the wylde harte / frome the wood came hastily  
With the corde in his necke / apperynge euystent,  
And in theyr presence / stode full ryght soberly.  
'My sone,' than he sayd / 'byleue than stedfastly.  
Vnderstande ye may / all thynge possyble is  
To a faythfull persone / that perfytely byleuys.'

Vulfade, conforted / and in the fayth probate,  
Fell downe to his fete / with humble dyeuocyon,  
Desyrynge baptym / to be regenerate  
Vnto our sauyour / for his soules saluacyon.  
Saynt Cead blessed / the well that season  
And baptysed this prync / in name of the trynyte,  
Was preest and godfather / for want of companye.

This chrysten prync / taryed with hym all nyght  
In fastynge / prayer / and medytacyon,  
And was refresshed / naturally in syght  
With bodyly and ghostly sustentacyon;  
The next day receyued / the holy communyon,  
With lycence departed / to his father agayne;  
The harte to the forest / recoursed, certayne.

The thyrde day after / his brother Ruffyn,  
Folowyng the same harte / by deuyne prouydence,  
Was well instructed / in ghostly doctryne,  
Baptysed by saynt Cead / & communed with reuerence,  
And, as it fortuned / by playne experyence,
Werbode watches the brothers.

Of all the proces done / to the elder brother
All thynge dyd happe / ryght so to the other.

Afore this season / chrystes fayth moost gracuous
Throug this lande / was preched in eu[e]ry place
By bysshop Fynane / and Ierumannus—
Whiche Ieruman of eest-Englande / fyrst byssop was,
And with saynt Ermenylde / came hyder by grace;
yet fully conuerted / was not Mersee regyon
Clene frome ydolatry / vnto this season.

These forsayd prynces / conuerted newly
By blessed Cead / to chrysten relygyon,
Dayly to hym resorted / for counseyll ghostly,
To encrace in vertue / and holy perfeccyon;
With lycence pretended / they wolde togyder come
Vnto his oratory / from the kynges hall,
Vnder colour of Huntynge / as they dyd it call.

And as it is wryten / in holy scrypture
'Who-so is a sure frende / loueth stedfastly,
And who is enemy / putteth dylygent cure
Myschefe to accomplyshe / moost studyously:'
The false Werebode, suspectyng / euydently
The newe conuersyon / of these prynces twayne,
Prepared hym craftely / to take them in a trayne.

He watched on them / secretely euery day,
To knowe theyr resorte / and vnto what place,
Lyke¹ as a hounde folowynge / these prynces to bytray,
Or a dogge dothe a dere / by sent of the chas.
Whan he had perceyued / how all thynge was,
He compased in mynde / by false inuencyon
To complayne to the kyng / for theyr destruccyon.

¹ P. Kyke

'My synguler goode lorde / and moost pryncypall,'
Sayd this Werebode / the fals traytour,
‘Pleaseth your goodnes / and grace specyall
To my supplycacyon / to be a protectour.
ye haue two prynces / myghty in honour,
Whiche are my lorde / and euer shalbe,
If they wolde be true / to your soueraynte.

They haue refused— / the more pyte is,
your auncyent lawes / and sectes euerychone,
And with your lycence / haue done yet more amys:
For now they be subiecte / to a newe relygyon,
Utterly refusynge / your decrees and olde custome,
Folowynge the counseyll / and mynde of a senyor,
Called bysshop Cead / theyr specyall auctor.

Your strayte commaundymentes / they dayly despyce,
And purpose, I tell you / in secretenes,
Vnto your persone / to do moche preiudyce,
To murther or payson you / shortly, doubtles,
And so for to reygne / and gourne your rychcs,
Bytwene them twayne / to dyuyde your lande,
By fals conspyrayc / as ye shall vnderstande.

With these false tales / and many other mo
The kynge was moeued / to malyce and yre,
By his complecyon / as he was wont to do,
More cruell than a beest / as feruent as the fyre;
Depely affyrmynge / that dethe shulde be theyr hyre,
If he myght take them / in any place
They shulde be slayne / and suffer withouten grace.

In the morowe after / whan Phebus began to clere,
The kynge toke Werbode / with hym secretly,
To try out the truth / and how it wolde appere,
Wheder his prynces / were gone to the oratory;
If it were so / he sende hym pryuely
K. WULFER, IN A RAGE, SLAYS HIS OWN SONS.

To gyue them knowlege / of his entent, 1197
For to remoeue / from his hasty Judgment. 1198

The father had pyte / vpon his chyldren naturall, 1198
Wolde not haue slayne them / the sothe to say;
Wherfore he sende / the seruault of Belyall
To conuay them fro thens / some other way.
The kynge knewe hym-selfe / not able that day 1202
To refrayne his yre / and cruell hastynes,
Gyuen to hym of nature / in suche great dystresse. 1204

This wycked Werebode / came to the oratory 1205
And sawe these prynces / in great deuocyon;
Counceyled his message / by malyce and enuy,
Retourned to the kynge / hastyly and soone,
Newly complaynyngge / by fals ymagynacyon 1209
A hundreth-folde worse / than at the fyrst tyme,
With new addycyons / to brynge them to ruyne. 1211

And when the kynge / approched nygh the cell, 1212
Herynge the complayntes / of this fals knyght,
The chyldren perceyued / a voyce ryght well,
Cessed of theyr prayers / and came forth full ryght.
On whome when Vulfer / had ones a syght, 1216
He was sore moeued / as hote as the fyre
Agaynst his chyldren / that loued hym entyre. 1218

But by the malyce / and wycked temptacyon 1219
Of the deuyll / mannes olde mortall enemy,
And what by the false crafty suggestyon
Of Wycked Werebode / fulfylled with enuy,
And by his owne hastynesse / and cruell fury, 1223
These prynces were slayne / Vulfade and Ruffyn—
Now gloryous martyrs / reynynge in heuyn. 1225

After when kynge Vulfer / approched his castell 1226
SUDDEN DEATH OF WERBODE. WULFER'S REPENTANCE.

And vneth was entred / into his hall,
Incontynently a spyryte / the false fende of hell,
Entred fals Werebode / afore the people all,
Inwardly hym vexed / with peynes contynuall,
That his armes and handes / he dyd horrybly tere—
Whiche sodayne vengeaunce / all the courte dyd fare. 1232

He rored and yelled / lyke a wylde bull,
Shewed all the myschefe / malyce and enuy
Done agaynst the martyr / with a mynde yrefull—
So sore constrayned / with peynes greuously.
The deuyl ceased not / his dolours to multyply
Tyll his fylthy soule / compelled sore was
For to expyre / for his hydeous trespas.

How kyng Vulfer was converted & toke great repentaunce for his offences. And by the counseyll of saynt Ceade was a devout man / and a good benefactour to holy chyrche / and a founder of dyuers holy places religyous. Ca. xii.

Han Vulfer, consyderynge / with due dyscrecyon
His cruell hastynes / and furryous mynde,
How ferre he had / abused his reason,
Agaynst his chyldren / by nature and kynde:
He sore repented / in hystory as we fynde,
His greuous trespas / and homycyde vnnaturall,
In conscyence greued / for his synnes mortall;
Namely lamentynge / in soule his apostasy
After his baptyme / and ghostly concuersyon,
And for the departure / of his prynces truly
Contrary to ryght / kynde and all reason,
The losse of his fame / through this regyon,
A dethe to his quene / and his louers all,
Greuous to his kynnessmen / and frendes naturall.
All these consydered / with due cyrcumstaunce, 
He wayled and weped / sobbynge fullsore, 
Plonged in sorowe / heuynes / and greuaunce, 
Lamentynge his offence / a thousande tymes therfore ; 
His intollerable peyne / encreased more and more, 
Wofully he went / to his bed by and by, 
Supposynege some dethe / withouten any remedy. 
Some of his louers / beynge there present 
Gaue hym theyr counseyll / to hunte in the forest, 
Some to dysportes / and pleasures euydent, 
Some vnto melody / all thoughtes to degest. 
But Ermenylde, his quene / whiche loued hym best, 
Counseyled hym truly / to take contrycyon 
And mendes make / by due satysfaceyon. 
Of this ghostly counseyll / the kynge was very glad, 
And in the morowe after / prepared besyly 
With mekenesse to seke / blessed saynt Cead. 
So whan the kynge came / to his oratory, 
The bysshop was at masse / and ryght consequently 
Fro heuen \(^1\) descended / so gloryous a lyght \(^1\) P. heuen. 
That of the mystery / Vulfer had no syght, 
Whan masse was ended / saynt Cead his vestures caste 
\(V\)pon the sonne-beame / by myracle there hangynge, 
Supposynege on a forme / and made moche haste 
To mete at the doore / mekely the sayd kynge, 
Whiche laye there prostrate / penaunce desyrynge ; 
With reuerence hym eleuate / and gaue an exortacyon ; 
The kynge was agreable / for to do satysfaceyon. 
The bysshop hym enjoyned / in parte of penaunce 
To destroye all ydolles / and sectes of ydolatry 
In all his realme / and the temples of paganes
To translate to the honour / of god almyghty,
With preestes and clerkes / to pray and synge deuoutly, 1286
Also peas and iustye / to be kepte contynuall,
With the werkes of mercy / to be vsed in speccyall. 1288
185
Forther he enioyned hym / of his charyte 1289
Monasteryes to make / of great perfeccyon,
Endowed with landes / possessed in lyberte,
Therin for to set / men of relygyon,
To pray to our lorde / for his saluacyon ; 1293
Whiche Vulfer promysed / to fulfyll gladle,
As soone as he myght / by possybylyte. 1295
186
Than the foresayd kynge / and the holy confessour 1296
Went to theyr prayers / in the oratory.
And as the kynge loked vp / to our sauyour,
The sayd sacrat vestures / he sawe euydently
Hangyngge on the sonne-beame / full merueylously ; 1300
His gloues / his gyrdell / the kynge had vpon,
Whiche shortly to grounde / falled adowne. 1302
187
Wherby he perceyued / the great holynesse 1303
Of blessed saynt Cead / and interyor deuocyon,
Desyred his prayer / dayly with mekenesse
To almyghty god / for his remyssyon ; 1307
Frome thens departed / with his benedycyon,
Joyfull in his soule / to-warde his place,
Thankyngge god mekely / of his great grace. 1309
188
As the kynge promysed / to our sauyour,
Shortly he auoyded / all ydolatry,
Brenned theyr ydolles / correcked theyr errour,
Translated theyr temples / vnto god almyghty,
Founded monasteryes / of relygyon many, 1314
Of men and women / gane them possessyons,
Landes / rentes / ryches / to encresce deuocyons. 1316
Namely he founded / a ryche monastery
For dethe of the prynces / in satysfaccyon
To the honour of god / and saynt Peter, truly,
Called Peterborowe abbay / in all this regyon ;
Endowed it with rentes / lybertes / possessyon—
A place where many / relygyous persones be,
Seruynge day and nyght / our lorde with charyte.

Also there was founded / at Stone a pryore
In the honour of god / and the martyrs twayne,
Possessed with landes / rentes and lyberte,
Where deouute chanons / ben inhabyte, certayne,
Myracles and sygnes / haue ben shewed there playne
To the laude and prayse / of god omnypotent
And of these holy martyrs / patrones there present.

Of the fervent desyre & great dewocyon yf saynt Werlurge
hadde to be relygyous / & of þþ dayly supplycacyons she
made to the kyng, her father, for the same. Ca. xiii.

This myghty prynces / encreased in age,
So dayly encresed / her good condycyons,
That greatly enjoyed / her honorable lynage
Consyderynge in her / suche vertuous dysposycyons ;
In vygyls / prayers / and ghostly medytacyons
Set all her mynde / power / myght / and mayne,
To serue our sauyour / day and nyght, certayne.

She well consydered / with due dyscrecyon
Of this present lyfe / the great wretchydnesse,
How dredfull it is / full of varycayon,
Deceuable / peryllous / and of no sykernes ;
The tyme yncertayne / to be knownen, doublesse ;
For here is no cytee / nor sure dwellynge place,
All thynge is transytory / in short proces and space.
Werburge asks to enter a monastery.

Wherfore this vyrgyn / gladde and benyvolent, 1345
Folowynge the counseyll / of blessed Mathewe,
Was on of fyue vyrgyns / euer redy present,
Had her lampe replete / with oyle full of vertue,
Redy for to mete / her spouse, swete Ihesu, 1349
With charytable werkes / in her soule contynuall—
Therfore she was taken / to his blys eternall. 1351

194

She well consydered / the wordes of the gospell 1352
'Who refuses pleasures / and naturall generacyon
For the loue of Ihesu / rewarded shalbe well
With a hundreth-folde grace / here for theyr guerdon,
And after this lyfe / haue eterne fruyçon': 1356
Whiche she remembred / and euer fro that day
On her father wolde call / and mekely to hym say :

195

'Reuerent myghty prynce / and lorde honorable, 1359
Moost dere byloued father / my synguler helpe & socour,
My trust / tresure / and solace / to me moost amyable,
Instauntly I beseche you / for loue of our sauyoure
And of his mother marie / of vyrgyns the floure, 1363
With all the company / that in heuen be,
My humble petycyon / now graunt it vnto me. 1365

196

'Well-byloued father / this is my fully mynde, 1366
My instaunte desyre / and humble supplycacyon:
By the grace of god / maker of all mankynde,
And by your lysence / helpe / and tuycyon
I purpose to enter / into holy relygyon 1370
And utterly refuse / all pleasures transytory,
'To be professed / at the house of Ely.' 1372

197

'O my dere daughter' / sayd this noble kynge, 1373
'My pleasure / solace / and hope of my gladnesse,
Moost dere byloued / and my synguler swete derlynge,
I well consyder / your vertue and sadnesse,  
your instaunt request / and humble gentylnesse,  
And of your desyre / inwardly I am gladde;  
But yet your mocyon / makes my herte full sadde.  

All my ioye and conforte / now resteth in the,  
Syth thy dere bretherne / from vs ben agone;  
Thou arte the trusty treasure / to thy mother and me,  
Our synguler solace / and sure consolacyon.  

All my ioye and conforte / now resteth in the,  
Syth thy dere bretherne / from vs ben agone;  
Thou arte the trusty treasure / to thy mother and me,  
Our synguler solace / and sure consolacyon.  

Remembre also / how after course of kynde  
Aege dothe sore greue / thy moder and me also.  
Therfore naturall loue (swete chylde) dothe me bynde  
To gyue the best counsayll / what thou shall do,  
To honour and worship / how thou may come to:  
Which great renowne / and hye astate, certayne,  
To se the a quene / wyll make vs yonge agayne.  

God ordeyned matrymony / fyrest in Paradysse  
Bytwene man & woman / whan he the worlde dyd make,  
That mankynde myght encrese / multyple, and ryse,  
Eche persone at pleasure / a spouse for them to take;  
Now ioyned by holy chyrche / all other to forsake,  
The chylde of the father / to take his dysceplyne,  
And after that to teche / his yssue theyr doctrnye.
S T WERBURGE STILL WISHES TO ENTER A MONASTERY.

202

'Also man and beest / haue dysposycyon naturall
To brynge forth theyr lykenesse / by generacyon;
But man, hauynge reason / and fre wyll with-all,
As lawe requyreth / hath his procreacyon
Vnder true matrymony / by his owne eleccyon,
Orels to observer / and lyue in pure vyrgynyte,
For the greater meryte / and rewarde of glorye.

203

'And yf all maydens / shulde kepe theyr chastyte
As ye now do / how shulde the worlde encrese?
Swete louely creature / ryght ioyfull wolde I be
To kysse a chylde of thyne / hauynge thy lykenesse,
And se the also coronate / as a myghty pryntesse!
Enclyne, dere derlyngethy mynde to myne entent,
And all these sayd honours / wyll folowe consequent.'

1 Of the meke answere saynt Werburge gaue to her father whan
she was moeued to maryage. Ca. xiii.

204

The holi mayd / whan she knewe her fathers mynde,
Her soule was replete / with woo & pensyuenesse,
And sore began to wepe / after cours of kynde—
The salte teeres dystylled / for payne and heuynesse [1426
By her ruddy chekes shynyngge / full fayre, doubtelesse,
Pyteous to beholde. / but whan the foresayd mayde
Ceased of her sorowe / thus to hym she sayde:

205

'Moost beest byloued father / nexte to god almyght,
your kynde gentyll mocyon / wolde moeue inwardely
The mynde of any creature / to folowe you ryght,
Or any stony stomake / to relent and apply,
And resolue eche harde herte / to waylyngge dolefully,
Consyderynge on every parte / with good dyscrecyon
To accepte or refuse / this harde eleccyon.
DECLARES SHE HAS MADE A VOW OF CHASTITY.

206
‘Father, I haue ben to you / meke and obeydient
Euer syth I had / yeres of dyscrecyon,
Gladde to obserue / your hye commaundyment
With louve interyor / and humble intencyon—
And so wyll contynue / with lowly submyssyon,
In this present lyfe / whyle I do endure;
Of my loure and prayer / euer ye shalbe sure.

207
‘But, most louely father / I pray you hertfully
Take no dysplesure / pardon what I shall say.
My soule / my herte / and mynde / is set stydfastly
To serue my lorde god / nyght and also day,
Neuer to be maryed / by no maner of way:
For sothly I haue vowed / my true vyrgynyte
Vnto Ihesu / the seconde persone in trynyte.

208
‘That is my spouse / and blessed sauyour,
For whose loure refused/ in certaynte haue I
All worldly pleasures / welth / ryches and honour,
With all voyde busynesse / and cures transytory;
My loure on hym is sette / so sure and feruently,
That nothynge shall separate / my hert hym fro,
Sekenes nor helthe / pleasure / peyne / ne wo.

209
‘Also my full entent / was neuer otherwyse
Than to be handmayde / to my lorde Ihesu
And of my soule and body / to make hym sacryfyce,
For my ghostly welthe / all vyces to subdue.
He is my dere spouse / solace / helthe moost true,
On hym is all my herte / and hase ben set alway,
And euershalbe / vnto my endynge day.

210
‘In this wretched worlde / we can not longe endure
And of this present lyfe / we are in no suerte;
As we haue deserued / so we shalbe sure
After this pylumage / rewarded for to be.
For mercy and grace / therfore mekely call we
Whyle we haue tyme and space— / for than it is to late
Whan deth with his darte / sayth to vs chekemate.

'Wherfore, dere father / I shewe you now agayne
All my hole herte / desyre and entent,
Whiche euer hath ben / and so shalbe, certayne,
For to be relygyous / chast / and obedyent,
Namely at Ely / for theyr vertue excellent.
Father, I requyre you / for chrystes loun and charyte,
My meke supplycacyon / now graunte it vnto me.'

The kynge well consydered / his doughters desyre,
Her constaunte true mynde / and pure devocyon :
Graunted her petycyon / with synguler loun entyre,
Trustynge by her prayer / and dayly supplycacyon
Vnto heuen-blysse / the rather for to come.
Her mother Ermenylde / was gladde of this tydynge
And lauded full lowly / our lorde and heuen kynge.

How saynt Werburge was made a moynes after her desyre
at the monastery of Ely vnder saynt Audry / lady and abbesse. Ca. xv.

Han the kynge remembred / with due cyrcumstaunce
The excellent vertue / sadnes / and grauyte
Of his dere daughter / and the perfyte constaunce,
Her humble petycyon / and pure vyrgynyte;
He thanked our lorde / with great humylyte
Of his infynyte grace / that so royall a floure
Frome hym descended / to his prayse and honoure.

He sende messages / in all goodly hast
With letters myssyue / thrubh his regyon,
Commaundynge his subiectes / they shulde full fast
By a day assygned / be redy euerychone
In theyr best maner / with hym for to gone
To brynge his daughter / to the hous of Ely,
There to be relygyous / after her desydery.

When the day was come / of theyr appoyntment,
The nobles of the realme / and lordes were redy
To attende on theyr souerayne / at his commaundyment.
Kynge Wulfer prepared / all thynge pleaasuntly
And of his court / had chosen a noble company
In theyr best aray / royalte / and renowne,
To offer saynt werburge / to god and relygyon.

The kynge on his Iourney / rode forthe royally,
The quene hym folowed / as is the custome;
Werburge succeded them consequently;
The peeres and his counseyl / knewe well theyr rowme,
Dukes / earles / lordes / and many a worthy barowne,
Knyghtes / squyers / gentyls / of her kynred also,
With ladyes and gentylwomen / & seruauntes both-two.

Whan the kynge approched / the sayd monastery,
Saynt Audry, than abbesse / toke her holy couent
And mette the sayd kynge / and all his company
With solempne processyon / and gretyngs benyuolent,
Prasyngne our lorde god omnypotent
Whiche of his goodnes / to that congregacyon
Sende them a syster / of suche perfeccyon.

Wereburge requyred / by the order of charyte
Mekely on her knees / to enter relygyon.
Saynt Audry receyued / of her benygnyte
And graunted fre lycence / after her petycyon.
Gladde were also / the hole congregacyon
And sange (Te deum), with moche reuerence,
Magnyfycenge our lorde / of his prouydence.
She was receyued / with moche solempnyte
Into the holy order / after her entent,
To proue her sadnes / and humlyte
(As is the custome), and so be obeydent,
To lyue euer after / humble / chast / and contynent.
Than dyd theyr Ioye / merueylously encreas,
Consyderynge her pacyens / and perfyte holynes.

Her royall dyademe / and shynynge coronall
Was fyrst refuted / for loue of our sauyoure,
The poore vayle accepted / and the symple pall,
The royall ryche purpull / reiected that same houre,
With other clothes of golde / sylkes of great honoure ;
She toke lowe appareyll / vestures that were blake—
All her plesaunt garmentes / she clerely dyd forsake.

Also she refused / her fathers realme and royalte,
All ryches / rentes / pleasures / possessyon,
With all worldly honoures / full of vanyte;
Lowly submyttynge her / vnder subieccyon,
Vertu to encrese / myndynge moost relygyon;
She refused yet more her owne proper wyll,
Put all to her abbesse / her order to fulfyll.

Of the great solempnyte kynge Vulfer made at the ghostly
maryage of saynt Werburge his daughter / to al his
louers / cosyns / and frendes. Ca. xvi.

Kynge Vulfer, her father / at this ghostly spousage
Prepared great tryumphes / and solempnyte,
Made a royall feest / as custome is of maryage,
Sende for his frendes / after good humanyte,
Kepte a noble housholde / shewed great lyberalyte
Bothe to ryche and poore / that to this feest wolde come—
No man was denied / euery man was well-come. 1554

Her vnckes and auntes / were present there all : 1555
Ethelred and Merwalde / and Mercelly also—
Thre blessed kynges / whome sayntes we do call;
Saint keneswyd / saint keneburg / theyr systers both-two,
And of her noble lygnage / many other mo 1559
Were redy that season / with reuerence and honour,
At this noble tryumphe / to do all theyr deuour. 1561

Tho kynges mette them / with theyr company : 1562
Egbryct, kynge of kent / brother to the quene,
The seconde was Aldulphe / kynge of the eest party,
Brother to saynt Audry / wyfe and mayde serene,
With dyuers of theyr progeny / and nobles, as I wene ; 1566
Dukes / erles / barons / and lorde serene
In theyr best aray / were present all in-fere. 1568

It were full tedyous / to make descrypcyon 1569
Of the great tryumphes / and solempne royalte
Belongynge to the feest / the honour and prouysyon
By playne declaracyon / vpon euery partye ;
But, the sothe to say / withouten ambyguyte, 1573
All herbes and floures / fragraunt, fayre and swete
Were strawed in halles / and layd vnder theyr fete. 1575

Clothes of golde and arras / were hanged in the hall, 1576
Depaynted with pyctures / and hystoryes manyfolde,
Well wrought and crafely / with precyous stones all
Glyterynge as Phebus / and the beten golde
Lyke an erthly paradys / pleasaunt to beholde. 1580
As for the sayd moynes / was not them amonge
But prayenge in her cell / as done all nouyce yonge. 1582

The story of Adam / there was goodly wrought 1583
And of his wyfe Euæ bytwene them the serpent, 1587
How they were deceyued / and to theyr peynes brought;
There was Cayn and Abell / offerynge theyr present,
The sacryfyce of Abell / accepte full euydent;
Tuball and Tubalcaín / were purtrayed in that place,
The inuentours of musyke / and craftes by great grace.

Noe and his shyppe / was made there curyously, 1590
Sendynge forthe a rauen / whiche neuer came agayne,
And how the doune returned / with a braunche hastely,
A token of conforte and peace / to man, certayne;
Abraham there was / standynge vpon the mount playne
To offer in sacryfyce / Isaac, his dere sone,
And how the shepe for hym / was offered in oblacyon.

The twelue sones of Iacob / there were in purtrayture,
And how into Egypt / yonge Ioseph was solde,
There was inprysoned / by a false coniectour,
After in all Egypte / was ruler (as is tolde);
There was in pycture / Moyses wyse and bolde,
Our lorde apperynge / in bushe flammenthe as fyre
And nothynge therof brent / lefe / tree / nor spyre.

The ten plages of Egypte / were well embost,
The chyldren of Israel / passyng the reed see,
Kynge Pharoo drowned / with all his proude hoost;
And how the two tables / at the mounte of Synaye
Were gyuen to Moyses / and how soone to ydolatry
The people were prone / and punysshed were therfore,
How Datan and Abyron / for pryde were lost full youre.

Duke Iosue was iñyned / after them in pycture,
Ledyng the Isrehelytes / to the lande of promyssyon,
And how the sayd lande / was dyuyded by mesure,
To the people of god / by equall sundry porcyon;
The Iudges and bysshops / were there euerychone,
Theyr noble actes / and triumphes Marcyall
Fresshly were browdred / in these clothes royall. 1617

Nexte to hye borde-lorde / appered fayre and bryght 1618
Kynge Saull, and Dauyd / and prudent Salomon,
Roboas succedynge / whiche soone lost his myght,
The good kynge Eschyas / and his generacyon;
And so to the Machabees / and dyuers other nacyon 1622
All these sayd storyes / so rychely done and wrought,
Belongyng to kyng Vulfer / agayn ytyme were brought. 1624

But over the hye desse / in the pryncypall place, 1625
Where the sayd thre kynges / sate crowned all,
The best hallynge hanged / as reason was:
Wherin were wrought / the .ix. ordres angelycall
Dyuyded in thre Ierarchyses / not cysseyge to call 1629
'Sanctus / sanctus / sanctus/ blessed be the trynyte,
Dominus deus sabaoth/ thre persones in one deyte.' 1631

Nexte in ordre suynge / sette in goodly purtrayture, 1632
Was our blessed lady / floure of femynyte,
With the twelue apostles / echeone in his fygure,
And the foure euangelystes / wrought moost curyously,
Also the dyscyples / of chryst in theyr degre, 1636
Prechyng and techyng / vnto every nacyon
The faythtes of holy chyrche / for theyr saluacyon. 1638

Martyrs than folowed / ryght manyfestly : 1639
The holy innocentes / whome Herode had slayne,
Blessed saynt Stephan / the prothomartyr truly,
Saynt Laurence / saynt Vyncent / sufferynge great payne,
With many other mo / than here ben now, certayne; 1643
Of whiche sayd martyrs / exsample we may take
Pacyence to obserue / in herte for chrystes sake. 1645

Confessours approched /ryght conuenyent,
Fresshely enbrodred / in ryche tysshewe and fyne:
Saynt Nycholas, saynt Benedycte / and his couent,
Saynt Ierom / Basylus / and saynt Augustyne,
Gregory the great doctour/Ambrose & saynt Martyne; 1650
All these were sette / in goodly purtrayture—
Them to beholde / was a heuenly pleasure. 1652

Vyfgyns them folowed / crowned with the lyly, 1653
Amonge whome our lady/ chefe presydent was;
Some crowned with rooses / for theyr great vycitory:
Saynt Katheryne / saynt Margarete / saynt Agathas,
Saynt Cycyly / saynt Agnes / and saynt Charytas, 1657
Saynt Lucye / saynt Wenefryde / and saynt Apolyn;
All these were brothered / the clothes of golde within.1659

Vpon the other syde / of the hall sette were 1660
Noble auncyent storyes / & how the stronge Sampson
Subdued his enemyes / by his myghty power;
Of Hector of Troy / slayne by fals treason,
Of noble Arthur / kynge of this regyon; 1664
With many other mo / whiche it is to longe
Playnly to expresse / this tyme you amonge. 1666

The tables were couered / with clothes of Dyaper, 1667
Rychely enlarged / with syluer and with golde;
The cupborde with plate / shynyngge fayre and clere.
Marshalles theyr offfyces / fulfylled manyfolde.
Of myghty wyne plenty / bothe newe and olde, 1671
All-maner kynde / of meetes delycate
(Whan grace was sayd) to them was prepartate. 1673

To this noble feest / there was suche ordynaunce, 1674
That nothynge wanted / that goten myght be
On see and on lande / but there was habundaunce
Of all-maner pleasures / to be had for monye;
The bordes all charged / full of meet plente,
And duers subtyltes / prepared sothly were
With cordyall spyces / theyr ghestes for to chere.

The Joyfull wordes / and swete communycacyon
Spoken at the table / it were harde to tell,
Eche man at lyberte / without interrupcyon,
Bothe sadnes and myrthes / also pryue counsell,
Some adulacyon / some the truth the dyd tell;
But the great astates / spake of theyr regyons,
Knyghtes of theyr chyualry / of craftes the comons.

Certayne, at eche cours / of seruyce in the hall
Trumpettes blewe vp / shalmes and claryons,
Shewynge theyr melody with / toynes musycall,
Dyers other mynstrelles / in crafty proporcyons
Made swete concordaunce / and lusty dyuysyons—
An heuenly pleasure / suche armony to here,
Reiowsynge the hertes / of the audyence full clere.

A synguler mynstrell / all other ferre passynge,
Toyned his instrument / in pleasaunte armony
And sange moost swetely /the company gladynge,
Of myghty conquerours / the famous vyctory,
Werwith was raunysshed / theyr spyrytes and memory;
Specyally he sange / of the great Alexandere,
Of his tryumphes and honours / endurynge .xii. yere.

Solemply he songe / the state of the Romans,
Ruled vnder kynges / by polcy and wyseydome,
Of theyr hye iustyce / and ryghtfull ordynauns
Dayly encreasyng / in worshyp and renowne,
Tyll Tarquyne p* proude kynge / with y* great confusyon
Oppressed dame Lucrece / the wyfe of Colatyne;
Kynges neuer reyned in Rome / syth that tyme.

Also how the Romayns / vnder thre dycatatours
Gouerned all regyons / of the worlde ryght wysely,
Tyll Iulyus Cesar / excellynge all conquerours,
Subdued Pompeius / and toke the hole monarchy
And the rule of Rome / to hym-selfe manfully;
But Cassius Brutus / the fals conspyratour,
Caused to be slayne / the sayd noble emperour.

After the sayd Iulyus / succeeded his syster sone,
Called Octauyanus / in the imperyall see;
And by his precepte / was made descrypeyon
To euery regyon / lande / shyre / and cytee,
A trybute to pay / vnto his dygnyte:
That tyme was / vnyuersall peas and honour:
In whiche tyme was borne / our blessed sayoure.

All these hystoryes / noble and auncyent
Reiowsynge the audyence / he sange with pleasuer,
And many other mo / of the newe testament,
Pleasaunt and profytable / for theyr soules cure,
Whiche be omytted / now not put in vre.
The mynysters were redy / theyr offyce to fulfyll
To take vp the tables / at theyr lordes wyll.

Whan this noble feest / and great solempnyte,
Dayly endurynge / a longe tyme and space,
Was royally ended / with honour and roylte,
Eche kynge at other / lysence taken hace,
And so departed from thens / to theyr place;
Kynge Vulfer retourned / with worshyp and renowne
Frome the house of Ely / to his owne mansyon.
Of the holy professyon & ghostly conversacyon saynt Werburge vset at Ely in relygyon \ vnder saynt Audry her abbesse and cosyn. Ca. xvii.

249

So whan this vyrgyn / the spouse of Ihesu, 1737
Had fully contynued / in holy relygyon
With mekenesse / pacyens / and all vertu
Fully the yere / of her probacyon,
Than she made instaunce / for her professyon
Vnto saynt Audry / her lady and abbesse;
Whiche soone was graunted / with great gladnesse.

250

Ordynaunce they made / and great royalte,
Her frendes were called / agaynst that season;
She was professed / with great humlyte,
The obseruaunce done / with due deuocyon:
She made solempne vowe / of ghostly conuersacyon,
Mekely to obserue / obedynce and chastyte
Endurynge her lyfe / and wylfull pouerte.

251

By the exsample / of her perfeccyon
Many dyuers persones / of her noble lynage
Refused this worlde / and entred relygyon,
Renounsynge vayne pleasures / ryches and maryage,
Enclyned to vertue / for theyr ghostly anauntage,
As may be specifyed / here after folowynge
Theyr names / theyr astate / and theyr good lyuynge.

252

Now this gloryous vyrgyn / after her desyre
Is ghostly maryed / to our lorde Ihesu,
Accordynge to her entent / and true loue entyre,
She dayly encresed / frome vertu to vertu,
With more strayter lyfe / vyces to subdu;
The longer she endured / in relygyon
The better she prepared / her herte to deuocyon.
And tho this vyrgyn / clerely dyd forsake
All ryches, honours / and pleasures worldly,
With all possessyons / for her lordes sake,
She thought than she reygned / moost lyke a lady,
Cause that she lyued / in chrystes seruyce dayly;
And certayne it is / holy scrypture recordyng,
‘Who serues well god / dothe reyne lyke a kyngo.’

In prayer / penaunce / and / contemplacyon
Was all her busynesse / and study alway,
Compasynge by what maner of medytacyon
She myght best please / our lorde to his pay,
Offerynge her persone / a true sacryfyce euery day;
No labour her greued / loue was so feruent;
Her body vpon erthe / her soule in heuen lent.

Swete / comly creatures / ladyes euerychone,
Sekynge for pleasures / ryches and arayment,
Blynded by your beaute / and synguler affecyon,
Consyder this vyrgyn / humble and pacyent:
A spectacle of vertue / euer obedyent;
Beholde how she hase / clerely layde away
Her royall ryche clothes / and is in meke aray.

your garmentes now be gay and gloryous,
Euyer yere made / after a newe inuencyon,
Of sylke and veluet / costly and precyous,
Brothered full rychely / after the beest facyon,
Shynyngge lyke angels / in your opynyon,
Where lesse wolde suffye / and content as well
As all that great cost / folowynge wyse counsell.

A playne exsample / now ye may take
Of this myghty kynges doyghter dere,
Whiche for the loue of god / dyd forsake
HER ONLY LOVE IS CHRIST, HER SPOUSE.

All suche vayne pleasures / and garmentes clere;
She gaue herselfe / to penance and prayere:
Wherfore, fayre ladies / do way suche vanyte,
Prepare your-selfe / to vertue and humlyyte!

Some of lowe byrthe / excellynge theyr degre
Done couet to haue / as royall ryche vesture,
Worldly honours / also the sufferaynte,
As they were ladyes / by lyne of nature:
Of dredefull mystery / they bere the fygure,
Prowde as a Pecocke / whelynge full bryght;
All is but vanyte / contentyng the syght.

Gloryous vyrgyn / replete with synguler grace,
Endowed with souerayne gyftes celestyall,
Refusynge voyde pleasures / whan thou had space,
And honours transytory / whiche hath brought in thrall
A thousande persones / in ruyne to fall;
A myrrour thou arte / of vyrgynall clennes,
Of true obedyeunce / and perfyte mekenes.

So Werburge professt / to her rule full ryght,
A redolent floure / all vertue to augment,
As Lucyfer shynynge / a clere lampe of lyght;
For whome her spouse / god sone omnypotent,
Shewed many myracles / to euery pacyent,
A sygne her loue was / supernaturall,
Closed in our lorde / by grace supernall.

The excellent goodnes / of this moynes,
And fame of vertue / with humlyyte,
Transceded all other / in perfyte holynes;
So that sundry persones / approched that party
For ghostly conforte / counsell and remedy.
Suche as to her came / pensyue / woo / and sadde,
Departed joyfull / in soule mery and gladde.
She dayly prouyded / for ghostly tréasure 1828
To buylde her a place / a sure mansyon,
Euer to remayne / with ioye and endure
In pleasure perpetuall / without corrupcyon:
Whiche she optayned by her deuocyon 1832
After this departure / to reygne as a presydent
In eterne blys / with god omnypotent. 1834

A lytell treatysse of the lyfe of saynt Audry, abbesse of Ely / and of her holy couersacyon and great deuocyon / vnder whome saynt Werburge was made nonne / and professed. Ca. xviii.

He yere of our lorde .vi. C. ix. and thyrty 1835
Regned saynt Anna / kynge of eest-Engelande;
Whiche maryed saynt Hereswith / of the North party.
They had noble yssue / as we vnderstande:
Prynce Aldulph and Iurwyne / in story as is founde, 1839
Saynt Sexburge the quene / and blessed Audry,
Saynt Ethelberge / Withburge / —a holy progeny. 1841

This blessed Audry / called Etheldred, 1842
Of two great kyngedomes / lynally descendynge,
Was borne in Suffolke / as sayth saynt Bede,
In a lytell vyllage / called Exmynge.¹ 1 r. Exnynge.

This noble prynces / and dere derlynge, 1846
With many great vertues / of grace illumynate,
Magnyfyed her parage / and royall astate. 1848

This blessed Audry / from her yonge aege 1849
Was dysposed euer / vnto sadnes,
Obedyent lowly / vnto her parentage,
Encreasynge in vertue / and constaunt sobrynes;
Worldely pleasures / dysportes / and wantonnes, 1853
Lyghtnes of language / and all presumpeyon
In this sayd vyrgyn / had no domynacyon. 1855

Sad and demure / she was in countenaunce, 1856
Nothynge endyned / vn to fragylyte;
Benynge and pacyent / without perturbaunce,
Meke / curteys / gentyll / full of humylyte;
Pryde / statelenes / and sensualyte
Were not in her fouwde / by any condyceyon,
Curteyse in byhauour / vn to euery persone. 1862

No man was greued / nor toke dyspleasure 1863
At this sayd mayden / in her fathers hall,
Every honest persone / and reasonable creature
Were pleased with her / bothe one and all,
None dyscontent / pryuate nor generall;
She was so meke / and full of pacyence,
That people desyred / to come to her presence. 1869

She was beauteous / fayre and amyable, 1870
Pleasaunte to beholde / in gyftes of nature,
Her countenaunce comly / swete / louely / and stable;
Nothynge dysposed / vn to worldely pleasure,
More lyke an angell / by all coniecture
Than a fragyll mayde / of sensuall appetyte—
For in vayne pleasures / she had no delyte. 1876

Whan that she came / to yeres of dyscrecyon, 1877
Dyuers her moeued / in way of maryage;
Some offered ryches / royalte / and renowne,
Some other possessyons / landes and herytage,
And some the sufferaynte / her mynde to asswage;
All these she refused / for the loue of Thesu,
To whome she auowed / her chastyte full tru. 1883

After that Venus / had her longe assayled 1884
To peruerte her mynde / to worldly affecccyon;
And of all nettes and engynes / therof had fayled,
Than came to her presence / a prynce of renowne,
Called duke Tombert / of the eest regyon;
Whiche longe desyred / to haue her in spousage,
At the laste optayned / the wyll of her parentage.

Vnto whiche thynge / he wolde neuer enclyne,
For all the mocyon / of her hye parentes,
Tyll she was assured / by heuenly doctryne
To kepe her vyrgynyte / clere in conseycens;
Than she consented / without concupyscens,
And with the sayd duke / she lyued in chastite,
Bothe mayden and wyfe / almost yeres thre.

After whose dethe / she remayned in Ely,
In fastynge / prayer / vyglys / and penaunce—
Whiche place was gyuen / to her Ioynt and dowry
By Tombert her husbande / with great pleasaunce.
This yle of Ely / by deuyne purueaunce
With muddy waters / is compased aboute,
Theyr enemyes to greue / and strongly to holde out.

Thyder came Egbyrct / kynge of the north parte,
To desyre saynt Audry / in matrymony.
To whome she wolde neuer / consent in herte,
For no maner counsel / that myght be done, truly—
Tho her syster Sexburge / moeued her tenderly—
Tyll the angell of god / assured her to be
Quene / wyfe / and mayde / keypynge vyrgynyte.

Than Audry graunted / maryed for to be
Vnto this foresayd / noble kynge Egfride.
And at the maryage / was great solempnyte,
Tryumphes, honoures / on euery syde;
Great cost and royalte / they dyd prouyde.
AUDRY ENTERS CAN-WOD ABBEY, RETURNS TO ELY.

Frome Ely departed / vnto his owne place,
In the North parte dwellynge / with great solace. 1918

275
By the grace of our lorde god / moost of myght,
And helpe of his mother / blessed mayd mary,
By prayer of Audry / and by myracle ryght
Togyder they lyned / bothe in pure chastyte :
The naturall mocyon / of his laseyuyte
Was shortly slaked / and feruent desyre,
By myracle / as water quencheth the fyre. 1925

276
When he apperceyued / her asured constaunce,
Her perfyte holynes / and chast contynence,
His herte reiosed / of her contynuaunce.
Of whome she desyred / with humble reuerence
And synguler supplycacyon / to haue fre lysence
At Canwod abbay / to enter relygyon ;
Whiche the kynge graunted / for her deuocyon. 1932

277
Saynt Ebba, syster / vnto saynt Oswolde,
Was abbesse and ruler / of that congregacyon.
Where blessed Audry / ryght as she wolde,
Was reuerently receyued / into relygyon ;
And after the yere / of her probacyon
Professed there was / by bysshop Wylfryde ;
Where all worldly honours / she set on syde. 1939

278
Frome thens she departed / to the yle of Ely,
More quyetly to lyue / out of busynesse,
For drede of the kynge / her husbande, truly,
Purposyng to take her / frome that holynesse.
She toke two maydens / with her, doubtlesse ;
And in theyr Journay / our lorde of his grace
Shewed dyuers myracles / at eche restyng-place. 1946

279
The archebysshop of yorke / Wylfryde, her confessour, 1947
Was depreyued frome his benefyce / by the kynge cruelly;  
Obserued pacyence / laudynge our sauyour  
And folowed saynt Audry / to the place of Ely—  
Whiche (as afore is sayd) was her Ioynt and dowry.— 1951  
And electe her abbesse / on that congregacyon,  
Moost worthy to be / for her holy conuersacyon. 1953

Where Audry buylded / a chyrche of our lady, 1954  
With helpe of kynge Aldulph / her brother naturall,  
Dystaunt a myle / frome the olde monastery  
Founded by saynt Austyn / for meryte spyrytuall;  
Whiche place all desolate / she edyfyed full specyall 1958  
By her prouysyon / an other noble monastery,  
The yere of grace / syxe hundredth seuenty and thre. 1960

Whan the werke was ended / as her wyll was, 1961  
She endowed the abbay / with fraunches and lyberte  
And gane the hole yle of Ely / to that place,  
With all commodityes / profettes / and yssues, fre  
Frome all exaccyons / exempte clerely to be 1965  
Of kynge and bysshop / confirmed it at Rome,  
With all prelates & prynces / consentyng of this regyon. 1967

In short tyme and space / to Audry dyd resorte 1968  
Relygyous men and women / a great company,  
Professed in that place / for theyr ghostly conforte,  
Renounsyng eayne pleasures / & honours transsytory;  
Amonge whome saynt Werburge / professed solemply, 1972  
Promysed in audyence / to lyue a lyfe monestycall  
After saynt Benettes rule / for the lyfe eternall. 1974

Also the yere of grace / syxe hundredth seuenty and nyne  
In the moneth of Iulii / in the nynth kalendas  
To heuen departed / saynt Audry the quene,  
Than reygnyng in Kent / kynge Lothary by grace,
THE LIFE OF ST. SEXBURGE.

Aldulph in eest-Englande / her brother whiche was, 1979
Kynge Offryde 1 her husbande / in Northumberlande,
Also kynge Ethelrede / than regnyenge in Mercelande. 1981

1 A breue rehearsal of yr lyfe of saynt Sexburge / grannd-
mother to saynt Werburge. And of her comynge to Ely
to her syster Audry from Shepay monastery. Ca. xix.

284

The holy matrone / and quene saynt Sexburge, 1982
A kynge's daughter / & moder to kynges twayne,
Syster to saynt Audry / & granndmother to Werburge,
Of noble parentage / is comen, certayne,
Of two realmes descendynge / lynyally and playne: 1986
By her father / from the realme of eest-Englande
And by her mother / frome Northumberlande. 1988

285

Her father saynt Anna / as sayth myne auctour, 1989
Was kynge of the eest parte / sone to Egnicius;
Whiche Anna was maryed / with moche honour
To Hereswith / daughter to kynge Herericius
And syster to saynt Hylde / the vyrgyn gracious; 1993
To whome saynt Edwyn / the gloryous martyr,
Kynge of Northumberlande / was great-graundfather. 1995

286

This sayd kynge Anna / lyued a longe space 1996
In welthe / worsyp / honour / and prosperity
With his quene Hereswith / by synguler grace,
Obseruynge Iustyce / pacyence / and equyte,
Kepte the preceptes / of god almyghte, 2000
Mercyfull and lyberall / to the poore in payne;
Whiche kynge by Penda / was murdred and slayne. 2002

287

As the ryuer passeth / oftetymes the heed-fountayne, 2003
The lytell graffe or ympe / transcendeth the tree,
Lykewyse theyr chyldren / encresed, certayne,
In mekenes / pacyence / and perfyte charyte
Aboue theyr parentes / in vertue and benyngnyte;
So that theyr name / lynage / and hye astate
By them was magnyfied / prayed and decorate.

Kynge Anna and Hereswith / had a noble yssue:
Syxe goodly chyldren / pleasaut to beholde—
None fayrer in this lande / myndynge all vertue
And to all good maners / dysposed manyfolde;
yet was theyr fayrenes / not equall to be told
to theyr deuocyon / and synguler goodnes;
Whose names expressed / ben afore, doubtles.

Sexburge, the eldest / of the systers all,
Instructe by her parentes / in vertuous dyscyplyne,
Folowyng theyr counsell / in herte full speyall
Prepared her soule / after theyr doctryne
Fer ́ above the age / of so yonge a femynyne;
So that euery day / by grace and wysdome
In her dyd growe / some plant of deuocyon.

In all this realme / dylated was her fame;
That, whan she approched / vnto lawfull age,
Prynces / dukes / erles / herynge of her name
Desyred to haue Sexburge / in maryage,
And busyly laboured / vnto her parentage.
This mayd was maryed / with honour full excellent
Vnto Ercombert / the noble kynge of Kent.

To whome kynge Ethelbryct / graundfather was,
The fyrst chrysten kynge / of Saxons and chefe floure,
Baptysed by saynt Austyn / thrughe heuenly grace;
He was to holy chyrche / a speyall benefactour:
Monasteryes and pryores / founded with great honoure.
Kynge Eadbalde his sone / exemple of hym toke,
Whiche was father to Ercombert / as sayth my boke.
This lady Sexburge / cyrcumfulsed with grace,  
After her desyre / and vertuous entent  
Had leuer the monasterie / than the fayre palace,  
The chyrche to vysyte / than with maryage be lent;  
But to her parentes / she was euer obeydent,  
Folowyenge theyr counseyll / and of her frendes dere  
In lawfull maryage / toke the sayd kynge her fere.  

A noble generacyon / she hadde by the kynge:  
Egbryct and Lothary / two prynces prepotent,  
And two holy doughters / in vertue shynynge,  
Ermenylde and Erkengode / by lynyall descent.  
This Ermenylde, maryed / with honour equyualent  
Vnto kynge Vulfer / had a royall yssue:  
The gloryous Werburge / replete with vertue.
SEXBURGE ENTERS SHEPPEY MONASTERY.

Mekely fulfylled / the seuen werkes of mercy ;
Oftetymes in the chyrche / selde amonge company ;
yet euer whan she myght / haue tyme and space,
Magnyfyed and prayed / our lorde in secrete place.

She instructe her husbande / in ghostly vertu,
To great lolynesse / and synguler perfeccyon.
So by her counseyll / with the grace of Ihesu
Frome infydelyte / purged was that regyon ;
Destroyed theyr ydolles / theyr sectes euerychone,
Restaured temples / vnto chrystes honour,
Founded monasteryes / by her cost and labour.

The kynge by her mocyon / commaunded straytly
All his people and subiectes / vpon sharpe correccyon
To observe prayer / and penaunce deuoutely
And truly for to fast / the holy tyme of Lenton.
The archbysshop Theodorus / and fathers of relygyon,
Consyderynge her pacyence / and benygnyte
Reioyesed in her dedes / and prayed the trynyte.

Whan the famous Ercombert / the sayd kynge of Kent,
Foure & twenty yere had reygned / in honour full royall
With blessed Sexburge / his quene excellent,
Than he departed / frome this lyfe mortall.
The quene prepared / the obsequyes funerall,
With great lamentacyon / and great royalte,
As was conuenyent / for his state and degre.

After that Sexburge / refused worldely pleasure,
Entred relygyon / professed chastyte,
At Shepay monastery / in Kent full sure,
Buylded at her cost / full honorable.
After electe Abbesse / and ruler of that companye ;
To whome she was / a myrrour of mekenes
And exemple of vertue / and proued holynes.
Sexburge becomes abbess of Ely after St. Audry.

As she was occupied / in medytacyon,  2101
An heuenly messanger / to her was sent,
Shewynge how for synne / and transgressyon
Englaunde shulde suffer / great punysment
And be subdued / with greuous torment.  2105
Wherfore she lefte / in good rule that place
And dyd electe to them / an other abbace.  

Sexburge toke lycence / of her systers all,  2108
Commendyng them / vnto the trynyte,
And so departed / fro her chyllren spyrtytuall;
With labour attayned / to the hous of Elye,
There to be subiecte / to Her syster Audrye  2112
And to her doctryne / apply her entent,
Vnto relygyon / euere founde obedient.  

Saynt Audry was gladde / of her systers comynge;  2115
In lyke maner / were all the hole congregacyon,
With myrthes and solace / in soule reioysynge
To haue the presence / of so worthy a persone.
There lyued togyder / in perfyte deuocyon,  2119
Tyll blessed Audry / frome this lyfe mortall
Departed was / to the lyfe eternall. 

After whose buryall / Sexburge was electe  2122
To be abbesse and ruler / ouer that couent.
Whiche to all vertue / her mynde dyd erecte;
And the .xvi. yere after / with labours dylygent
She translate saynt Audry / that noble presydent,  2126
Beynge hole incorrupte / also substancyall
In body and in vesture / by grace supernall.  

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304
ERMENILDE ALSO ENTERS ELY MONASTERY.

How saynt Ermenylde after the deathe of kyng Vulser, her husbande, was made a nonne at Ely / under her mother saynt Sexburge abbesse / and Werburge her devoute daughter. Ca. xx.

Of Mercyera the kyng / when the foresayd Vulfer
Had regned in honour / worshyp and royalte [2129
With saynt Ermenylde his quene / fully .xvii. yere,
Vnto euerlastynge blysse / departed than he
And buryed was / with moche solempnyte
In Lychefelde chyrche. / after hym there dyd succede
In-to the kyngdome / his brother Ethelrede.

The quene for her husbande / made great lamentacyon, 2136
Dolefully lamentynge / nyght and day his departure,
As nature enquyred / endurynge a longe season,
Remayned in wydohode / and mournynge vesture;
yet after all heuynesse / penaunce / and dysconfyture
She reioysed in soule / to be at lyberte,
Entendynge relygyon / by grace of the trynyte.

Soone she departed / to the hous of Ely,
Refusynge this worlde / pleasures, possessyon,
Instauntly requyred / with perfyte humlyte
To be a moynes / accepte in relygyon.
Gladde was the abbesse / of her conuersyon
And thanked our lorde / of his specyall grace;
So dyd all the systers / within the sayd place.

Her naturall mother / blessed Sexburge,
That tyme was lady / and chefe presydent;
There was professed / her daughter Werburge,
An exemple of mekenes / to all the couent.
Ermenylde thanked god / and was obedyent
To her mother Sexburge / a myrrour of vertu,
Also to her daughter / the spouses of Thesu.

It passeth mannes reason / playnly to expresse
Her vertuous lyfe / and ghostly conversacyon,
In prayer / penaunce / and proved mekenesse,
In perfyte obedience / and synygerl deuocyon,
In vgyls / abstynence / and in hye perfececyon,
The cotydyane labours / her body to chastye,
That her soule may be / to god true sacryfye.

Bycause that Werburge / in order was senyoure,
Her mother Ermenylde / gaue her the sufferaynte,
Preferryng her daughter / with mekenes and honoure;
But yet her daughter / of a naturall amyte
Preferred her mother / with humble senyoryte;
And so bytwene them / was a swete contencyon
Wheder shulde more subiecte be / to other in relygyon.

Afore, whan Ermenylde / was vnnder maryage,
Vnto holy matrones / she was comparable:
Sara / Rebecca / Rachell / and Sybell sage,
And saynt Elysabeth / with other mo honorable;
Now in relygyon / she is moost notable,
Known by her vertues / and sadde dysposycyon
What vnnder matrymony / was her intencyon.

Ermenylde subdued / by synygerl deuyne grace
All fragyll moyons / and sensualyte,
Lyke maner as Iudyth / Olofernes slayne hace;
She mortyfyed all pleasures / lustes and volupte,
Lykewyse as Iaell / dyd the prynce Sysare;
A duches of vertue / as whylom was Delbora;
Vsed the oratory / in prayer as dyd Anna.

After the departure / and wofull buryall
Of Sexburge, her mother / abbesse and lady,
Her daughter Ermenylde / the blessed monyall,
Was chosen abbesse / and ruler of Ely—
As sheweth dan Wylyam / of Maluysbury
How fyrst was Audry / than Sexburge, her syster,
Afterwarde was abbesse / Ermenylde, her daughter.

The lyfe of Ermenylde / was euuer vertuous,
Pleasaunt to god / and her systers euerychone;
In the syght of god / her dethe was precyous,
Playnly notyfied / by her consuersacyon.
She vertuously governed / her congregacyon,
Frome this lyfe departed / to eternall glory,
As sayth her legende / the Idus of February;

And buryed was / with moche lamentacyon
In the holy monastery / and house of Ely
Amonge her parentage / and congregacyon;
Where she is shryned / with her aunt saynt Audry
And with her mother / saynt Sexburge rychely;
For whome our sauyour / of his specyall grace
Sheweth dayly myracles / in that sayd place.

One of the myracles / we shall now rehers
Our lorde for her shewed / at Ely abbay
After her translacyon / the story dothe expres.
It fortuned in Whytson weke / vpon a thursday,
An Englysshman was bounden / in wofull aray,
Fetered with yrons / bothe on handes and fete,
Wrongfully accused / as ye may all wete.

By instaunt request / he gate hym lycence
To vysyte the tombe / of saynt Ermenylde.
Whome he requyred / with humble reuerence
And meke petycyon / frome the herte full mylde,
To be delyuered / and fully reconsylde.
Whose humble desyre / and synguler supplycacyon
Was fully graunted / to his consolacyon. 2219

At this tyme / whan this holy man was prayenge, 2220
When the Deken redde the holy gospell,
By meane of Ermenylde / to our lorde and kynge
Frome his handes and fete / the yrons done fell,
By grace aboue nature / merueylously to tell,
That the sayd yrons / in syght of all the bretherne
Sprange vp sodenly / and lyght vpon the aultor. 2226

\[ Aliud miraculum. \]

\[ An other myracle / declare now may we, \] 2227
Done at the sayd Ely / by this holy matrone,
In presence of the pryor / and all the fraternyte,
Whiche pryor of this mater / had best notyceyon.
A scole-mayster of Innocentes / after the custome 2231
Gaue lyserce / vpon saynt Ermenyldes day
To all his chyldren / to sport them in play. 2233

Whan the feest / and solempnyte was done, 2234
The yonge tender chyllren / wanton and neclygent,
Dredynge theyr mayster / for fere of correcteyon
To the holy shryne / they assembled full dylygent,
Trustynge therby of pardon / after theyr entent, 2238
Desyred theyr mayster / for saynt Ermenyldes sake
To pardon theyr trespas / and no dyspleasure take. 2240

The mayster, fulfylled/ with hastynes and enuy,\(^{11}\) p. enuy. 2241
Toke them frome the tombe / with great indygnacyon,
Without dyscrecyon / punyssed them greuously,
Gyynge no honour / to the saynt ne deuocyon
Rebuked them sore / sayenge with insultacyon:
'Trowe ye to be spared / from punyshment this day
For saynt Ermenyldes sake ? / nay, nay, do way!' 2247
After all this done / the nexte nyght folowynge, 2248
Whan the sayd mayster / to his bedde was gone,
His great vnkyndenes / saynt Ermenylde remembrynge
Rewarded hym Iustly / after his guerdon: 1 P. Rewarmed.
His handes and his fete / prompte to persecucyon, 2252
Were sodenly smytten / made lame / contracte also;
No power had to ryse / to moeue nor to go. 2254

This sodayne punysshemement / langour / confusyon 2255
Vexed hym greuously in all his body,
Moost terryble of all / of helthe despearcyon
Inwardly hym troubled / with peynes horryble.
But yet by grace / he thought best remedy 2259
Sende for his chyldren / vpon the other day,
Humble asked them pardon / in a wofull aray; 2261

Desyrynge his scolers / for loue and charyte 2262
To cary hym moost carefull / to her sepulture,
To requyre for hym grace / helthe and prosperity
Of god and saynt Ermenylde / with all theyr cure.
They toke hym tenderly / ye may me leue full sure, 2266
Amonge them all / with mynde dylygent
And brought to the shryne / this wretched impotent. 2268

They prayed for hym / to our blessed sauyour 2269
And to saynt Ermenylde / a longe tyme and space,
Knelynge on theyr knees / wepynge full sore,
In prayer and psalmody / for his helthe and solace:
And so contynuynge / by our lordes great grace
He that afore was lame / bothe on fote and hande,
Restored to helthe / departed hole and sounde.
St. Werburge Made Principal of All Nunries.

1 How kynge Ethelrede, seynge the holy conversacyon of Werburge, his nece / made her lady and abbesse at Wedon / Trentam / and Hambury.\(^1\) And by her counseyll and example was made monk at Bardenemy abbay. Ca. xxi. \(^1\) P. Humbury.

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The famous prynce / and foresayd Ethelrede, 2276

Brother to kyng Vulfer / as lawfull enherytour

To the sayd kyngedome / dyd nexte hym succede,

Electe of his peeres / with worship and honour,

Permytted by his chyrche / to be theyr gouernour,

Bycause prynce Kenrede / his brother sone,

Was yonge and not able / to rule his kyngdome.

327

This sayd kynge Ethelrede / clerely consyderynge 2283

With due cyrcumstaunce / the hye perfeccyon

Of Werburge, his nece / and vertuous lyuynge,

Her great holynesse / and ghostly conversacyon,

Dayly encresynge / with feruent deuocyon,

The excellent fame / and myracles full ryght

Shewed by our sauyour / bothe day and nyght:

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These good exsamples / grounded in vertu, 2290

Moeued kynge Ethelrede / in soule and in mynde:

And clerely converted / throwe the grace of Ihesu

To despise this worlde / wretched and blynde,

Prynypally by grace / wryten as we fynde,

For her great goodnes / and vertues excellent

He made her lady / ruler / and presydent

329

Ouer all the nonnes / of euery monastery 2297

Within his realme / to gouerne and to guyde,

To instructe and informe / and to exemplyfy,

To encresse deuocyon / vpon euery syde,

Vertue to exalte / to subdue vyce and pryde; 2301
That holy relygyon / pleasaunt to chryst Ihesu,
Myght dayly encrese / frome vertu to vertu. 2303

Also he gaue Werburge / great possessyon, 2304
Landes / and rentes / ryches withall,
To edyfy and repayre / places of relygyon
After her desyre / with faour specyall.
Wherwith she byulded / famous memoryall 2308
Two fayre monasteryes / Trentam and Hambury,\textsuperscript{1}
Possessed with rentes / landes / and lyberte. 2310

Also by sufferaunc / of the sayd kynge, truly, 2311
She translate the kynges maner of Wedon,
Whiche was in Hamptonshyre / vnto a monastery
Of holy women / obseruynge relygyon,
Suffycyently endowed / with lybertes / possessyon. 2315
Of which sayd places / she had the gouernaunce,
As worthy maystres / all vertue to auauence. 2317

The yere of grace / syxe hundreth foure score and nyen,
As sheweth myne auctour / a Bryton Giraldus, [2318
Kynge Ethelred / myndynge moost the blysse of heuen,
Edyfyed a collage-chyrche / notable and famous
In the subbarbes of Chester / pleasaunt and beauteous, 2322
In the honour of god / and the Baptyst saynt Iohan,
With helpe of bysshop Vulfrype / and good exortacyon. 2324

Also at the humble / and synguler supplycacyon 2325
Of blessed Egwyn / bysshop of worcestar,
This kynge gaue a place / for a fundacyon
To byulde a monastery / to relygyous brethur
At Eusam vpon Auen / for heuenly tresur, 2329
With a large precynct / to compas all the abbay,
More quyetly to serue / our sauyour nyght and day. 2331

After this tyme / Ethelrede the kynge 2332
K. Ethelred Forsakes the World.

By his counseyll maried / a beautefull lady, 2336
Called quene Ostryde / a woman of good lyuynge,
Borne in the North parte / doughter to kyng Oswy—
To whome saynt Oswalde / was vncl, truly. 2336
The yssue bytwene them / after to succeede
Was a noble pryence / nomynate Colrede. 2338

A gaynst his enemyes / the kyng gate vyctory, 2339
Fortunate in batayle / sore oppressed Kent.
In all this regyon / famous was his chyualry;
Namely he subdued / at the water of Trent
Egfryde of Northumberlande / a kyng auncyent, 2343
His brother-in-lawe / whan Egfryde agaynst reason
Entred his landes / by subtyll intrusyon.

But after that Ostryde / his quene, was slayne 2346
By people of the North parte / moost cruelly,
The kyng frome that tyme / by grace, certayne,
Chaunged his maners / and lyuynge dayly
Frome temporall cures / and busynesse worldly
To ghostly werkes / and contemplacyon,
Sekynge for heuen / with pure deuocyon.

S pecyally he folowed / saynt Werburge counsell, 2353
Vsynge hym after / her swete ghostly doctryne;
The clere exsamples / as we afore dyd tell,
Moeued his conscyece / to ghostly dyscyplyne
With suche contrycyon / by specyall grace deuyne,
That all vayne pleasures / and honours transytory
Were clere expelled / and put out of memory.

This kyng refused / his septre and crowne, 2360
Clothes of Tyshew / and purpull full royall,
With ryches / lybertes / pleasures / possessyon,
For the loue of Ihesu / in herte pryncypall1 / 1P. pryncypall.
And for the meryte / of his soule-helthe withall.

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2364
ETHELRED BECOMES MONK AND ABBOT OF BARDNEY.

So whan he had reygned / nyne and twenty yere, He chaunged his habyte / sayth the story clere;  

At a relgyous place / nomynate Bardenay,  
In Lyncolne-shyre / vnder his domynyon,  
Synguler byloued / of hym alway,  
Desyred the habyte / with meke supplycacyon  
And was receyued / professyng relygyon,  
Euer after to observer / the essencylas thre:  
Obedyence / chastyte / and wylyfull pouerte.  

He assygned his crowne / and temporall dygnyte  
Vnto prynce Kenrede / his brother sone,  
As true enherytoure / to haue regalyte.  
For in pure obedyence / prayer and medytacyon  
Ethelrede encresed / with feruent deuocyon;  
And as declareth / wylyam of Maluysbury,  
After was made abbot / of the sayd monastery.

The holy conversacyon of kynge Kenred, brother to saynt Werburge / & how he refused his crowne / and was made monks at Rome / & ther departed a holy confessour. Ca. xxii.

O whan kynge Etheldrede / by heuenable grace  
At Bardenay abbay / professsed relygyon,  
Than prynce Kenrede / his successour was  
And toke the Empyre / the septre and the crowne  
With moche worshyp / royalte / and renowne,  
As nexte of inherytaunce / by law naturall  
To be kynge of Mercyens / by dyscent lynyll.  

This noble kynge Kenrede / replete with vertu,  
Brother to Werburge / observerd truly  
The commaundymyntes of god / & his lawes moost tru,
Obedyent to our sauyour / and lorde almyghty,
Loued holy chyrche / moost tenderly,  
Mynystred Iustyce / to his subiectes all,
Mercyfull to the poore / pyteous and lyberall.  

In all his realme / was no dyuersyte,
Malyce was subdued / rancour and debate,
Vertue encreased / true loue and charyte,
Enuy was exyled / and all pryuy hate;
Thefte / murther / robry / were founde at no gate,
True men myght lyne / without vexacyon;
Pollers / promoters had no domynacyon.

He gaue to our sauyour / and bysshop Egwyn
For ghostly meryte / with moche honoure
Of tenementes and landes / playnely to determyne,
Within worcetur-shyre .iii. score and foure,
To maynteyne the monastery / spoken of before,
Euesham vpon Auen / byfore lawfull wytnes,
As the legende of Egwyn / truly dothe expres.

To the courte of Rome / kynge Kenred went;
So dyd Offa kynge / of the eest-Saxons,
Also bysshop Egwyn / by one assent,
Deuoutly to vysyte / all the hole stacyons
Of the cytee of Rome / with humble supplycacyons,
Thankynge our lorde / of his mercy
Hath them preserued / and all theyr company.

This holy bysshop / and kynge Kenrede
Offered to our holy father / pope boneface
With mekenes, deuocyon / for ghostly mede
Afore his collage / wytnes in that case,
The foresayd monastery / and relgyous place,
Frome that day euer after / to be clerely exempte,
To the popes holynes / immedyatly obeydient.
90 KENRED'S DONATION CONFIRMED BY A 'SEYN' (SYNOD).

347

When they had optayned / perfyte expedycyon
Of all theyr bulles / after theyr entent,
They toke lycence / and had the popes beneson,
And towarde Englande / returned and went,
Praysynge our lorde / with herte and loue feruent
For theyr good spede / and prosperous Iournay,
Preserued in good helthe / all to theyr countray.

348

After all this done / Kenrede the sayd kynge
Commaunded to be had / a counseyll generall,
By letters myssyue / his peeres and lorde cytynge
Shortly to be present / with hym, one and all,
As well the spyrytualte / as the temporall.
The Seyn was kepte / at a place called Alue,
And thyder assembled / his prelates of degre.

349

Berhtunaldus / the archebysshop of Canturbury,
The archbysshop of yorke / called Wylfryde,
With byssshops / suffreganes / archdekens many,
Dukes / erles / barons / vpon euery syde,
Knyghtes / esquyers / and comunes that tyde
Were redy to knowe / the kynges mynde and pleasure,
Well ordred in place / and scylence kepte sure.

350

This glorious Kenrede / crowned with golde,
Clothed in purpull / rose vp fro his place,
After due salutacyon / the cause mekely he tolde
Why he for them sende / and wherfore it was:
That they shulde testyfy / with hym in this case
What landes he gaue / towarde the fundacyon
Of the sayd monastery / with grete deuocyon,

351

And how for that abbay / he went to Rome
And made the place subiecte / immedyatly
To our father boniface / and gate an exempcyon
For euer to remayne / to the sayd monastery,
With pardons and pryuleges / there redde openly, 2455
And many other benefytes /of great commodyte,
Wryten in theyr grauntes / who lyst them to se; 2457
352
Requyrynge the lorde / spyrytuall and temporall 2458
To graunte to the same / with good entent
And it to confyrme / and roborate specyall
With charters and dedes / and scales patent.
To whose petycyon / they dyd all consent, 2462
Made confyrmacyons and grauntes them amonge,
With a terryble sentence / who dothe the place wronge. 2464
353
Kynge Kenrede, consyderynge / the great holynes 2465
Of his noble parentes / his vnclcs everychone,
Theyr royall progeny / the sufferaunt\(^1\) goodnes, \(^1\) r. sufferane.
From this lyfe transytory / to heuen agone;
Namely the vertue / and feruent deuocyon 2469
Of his syster Werburge / and his auntes all
Moeued his mynde / to seke for lyfe eternall; 2471
354
And, as saynt Bede sayth / whan this noble kynge 2472
Had regned fyue yere / in great prosperyte,
He forsoke this worlde / and chaunged his lyuynge,
Refusynge his crowne / septre / and dygnyte,
All vayne honours / ryches and regalyte, 2476
And made his vnclcs sone / prync Coelrede,
To take his empyre / after hym to succede. 2478
355
So with all gentynes / and humlyte 2479
The kynge of his subiectes / teke leue specyall,
Commendynge his people / to the trynyte
Them to conserue / spyrytuall and temporall.
Of his departure / dolorous were they all. 2483
Thus for the loue / of our sauyoure
He refused this worlde / pleasures and honoure. 2485
And went to Rome agayne / the yere of grace  2486
Seuen hundreth and eyght / by full computacyon,
Vysytynge the stacyons / frome place to place;
There was professed / to saynt Benettes relygyon,
Vsed vygyls / fastynges / prayer / medytacyon;
Where this holy monke / frome this lyfe transytory
With vertu departed / to eternall glory.  2492

Of p' fervent & ghostly devocyon of saynt Werburge / &
vertuous gouernaunce of her places / & of p' great humi-
lite she vsed to her sisters / & al other creatures.
Ca. xxiii.  357

This venerable Werburge / & moynes gracous,
For her great vertue / and perfyte holynesse
Electe to be gouernour / ouer the nonnes relygeois
By her vncele kynge Ethelrede / of his goodnesse
Ouer dyuers monasteryes (as is sayd) expresse,
Was consecrate abbesse / and lady gracuous
By the bysshop of Lychefelde / nomynat Sexwulfus.  2499

And thus she departed / fro the hous of Ely,
Wherin she vsed / heuenly medytacyon,
With lycence optayned / in mynde sad and heuy;
So were the systers / and all the congregacyon
Of her departure / knowynge her conversacyon;
But, as wolde charyte / they had great gladnes,
Knowynge by her vertue / relygyon to encres.  2506

The spouses of Ihesu / and flour of benygnyte
Consyderynge her-selfe / a lady and presydent,
Ordered her monasteryes: ryght well and wysele,
Receyued in systers / chast / hümble / obeydent,
Ouer them made rulers / vertuous / and pacyent,
HOW SHE GOVERNS HER SISTERS BY HER OWN EXAMPLE. 93

Her subjectes to instructe / and counseyl day and nyght,
Vertue to exalte / and vyce depryue aryght. 2513
360
This noble abbesse / remembrynge her duty,
What charge it is / to rule a congregacyon,
Humble requyred / the grace of god almyghty
And dylygently prepared / to supple her rowme;
Prynçypally she gane / to them euerychone 2518
Perfyte exsample / of vertue in her dede,
With vertuous doctrine / the same to procede. 2520
361
A myrroour of mekennesse / she was to them all,
A floure of chastitye / and well of clennes,
The fruyte of obedience / in her was specyall;
Refusynge vayne pleasures / honours and ryches
Content with lytell / an exsample of lowlynes 2525
As dothe belongeth / vnto dwlfull pouerte;
Pryde had no resydence / but all humylyte. 2527
362
She was a mynyster / rather than a maystres,
Her great preemynence / caused no presumcpyon;
She was a handmayd / rather than a pryores,
Seruynge her systers / with humble subieccyon;
Subduynge her body / to penaunce and afflyccyon, 2532
Subiecte to the soule / as reason wolde shulde be,
A true sacryfyce / offered to the trynyte. 2534
363
It was no merueyll / tho all her count
Vnder suche a ruler / encreased in vertu,
Seynge her exsample / afore them dayly present,
Euer augmentynge / throwe the helpe of Ihesu;
Worldy desyres / she clerely dyd subdue; 2539
She neuer ware lynon / by day or by nyght,
All ryche vayne vestures / she set by them but lyght. 2541
364
In prayer, medytacyon / the tyme she dyspent, 2542
Proued: for euery nyght / longe afore matyns
She\(^1\) wolde vpryse / at an houre conuenyent \(^1\) P. The.
And deuoutely say / afore our lordes presens
Dauyd spalter holly knelynge / with great reuerence, \(^{2546}\)
Or that her systers / came to the oratory
To say dyuyne seruyce / fyndynge her all redy. \(^{2548}\)
365
At after matyns / she vsed contemplacyon, \(^{2549}\)
Contynually abdyynge / vnsto the day-lyght
Prostrate on the grounde / or knelynge in deuocyon,
Wepyng full tenderly / with teeres downe ryght;
Many holy oraysons / she sayd day and nyght; \(^{2553}\)
Pyteous / mercyable / and full\(^1\) of charyte \(^1\) P. full.
To the poore people / in theyr neccessyte. \(^{2555}\)
366
This lady obsuerued / suche sharpe abstynence \(^{2556}\)
That one dayly repast / wolde her well suffye;
Delycate dysshe meetes / were put out of her presence;
So nature were content / in moost humble wyse,
The Worde of god / was moost delycate seruyse;
Myndynge moche more / the soule to satysfy
Than please and content / her enemy, the body. \(^{2562}\)
367
These sayd exemples / with many other mo
Pleasaunte vnsto Ihesu / she taught her couent,
Them to preserue / frome theyr mortall fo,
By synguler vertue / grace to augment.
Her precepte and lyuyng / were euer corespondent, \(^{2567}\)
She neuer commaunded syster / do any thynge
But it was fulfylled / in her owne doynge. \(^{2569}\)
368
She exorted her chyldren / euer to deuocyon,
With manyfolde doctrynes / ydlenes to excewe;
Lyke a tender mother / had pyte and compassyon,
She dayly fedde them / and nourysshed in all vertue,
And dylygently prayed / our sauyour Ihesu \(^{2574}\)
Them to preserve / of his infinite grace
From peryll of peryshynge / in blysse to se his face. 2576
369
Also the .xii. degrees / of humlyte,
Pacyence / quyetnes / and great perfeccyon
Were well observed / with true loue and charyte,
Amonge her systers / the hole congregacyon ;
And the thre essencyals / of relygyon :
Wylfull pouerte / chastyte / and obedyence,
were truly fullylled / proved by the consequence. 2583
370
As for a pastyme / amonge her systers all
She caused to be redde / auoydynge ydlenesse,
The swete legendary / for a memoryall,
And Vitas patrum / shewynge great swetenesse,
With other narracyons / of grace and goodnesse.
Ofttymes to her couent / she had a comyn sayenge :
' Please god and loue hym / and doubte ye nothynge.' 2590
371
All reders excuse me / tho I can not expresse
For lacke of lernynge / the vertues morall,
The hye perfeccyon / and proued holynesse
Of this pure vyrgyn / and sanctymonyall,
Wherwith was decorate / her lyfe monestycall,
Manyfest with myracles / by meryte of her mekenesse,
As the true hystory / playnly dothe expresse. 2597
372
The worthy myracles / of this vyrgyn pure
Dylated were / thrugh all this regyon,
By deuyne sufferaunce / aboue nature,
Profytable / to euery chrysten synguler persone ;
In sekenesse /trouble / payne or vexacyon
Of her they haue refuge / helpe / and socoure
By her merytes / and prayer / that euery honour ( !). 2604
373
Her merytes were / moche more commendable 2605
Than were her myracles— / manyfest and playne:
For why by her merytes / famous and notable
Sygnes and myracles / were shewed full playne,
In the house of Ely / by grace of our sufferayne
And in eucy place / where she kepte resydence.
Of whome parte folowen / in this rude sentence.

I How at Wedon wylde gees were pynned by her commaundy-
ment / & also releshed & put at lyberte. Ca. xxiii.

This holy vyrgyn / whan she dwelled at Wedon, In Northamptonshyrn / with a deuoute couent—
Whiche place somtyme / was the kynges mansyon,
Translated to an abbay / by her commaundyment—
A myracle was done / by this noble presydent,
As the true legende / playnly dothe vs say
And all the inhabytauntes / vnto this present day.

A great multytude / somtyme of wylde gees—
Comunely called Gauntes— / made great destruccyon ¹
Vpon her landes / pastures / waters / and feldes, ¹P. descrypcyon.
Deuourynge the cornes / and fruytes of Wedon,
Greuous to her subiectes / within that possessyon;
The people coude fynde / no suffycyent remedy,
But shewed theyr complaynte / to Werburge theyr lady.

Whan Werburge had herde / this greuous complayne
How the cornes were wasted / þæ tenauntes hurte therby,
Her herte was moeued / with charyte than, certayne,
To saue her fruytes / and helpe her company;
Wertherfore she commaunded a seruautnt go hastely
To dryue those wylde gees / & brynge home to her place,
There to be pynned / and punysshed for theyr trespace.

The messanger merueyled / and mused in his mynde
WERBURGE BIDS A SERVANT DRIVE THEM TO HER HOUSE. 97

Of this straunge message / stode styll in a study;
Knowynge it well / it passed course of kynde
Wylde gees for to pynne / by any mannes polycy,
Syth nature hath ordeyned / suche byrdes to fly;
Supposynge his lady / had ben unreasonable
Commaundynge to do / a thynge vnpossyble.

With wordes of conforte / she sayd to hym agayne:
'Go in my name / do my commaundyment.'
The seruaunt went forth / thynkynge all but vayne,
Vnto the foldes / where the byrdes were lent,
And sayd his message / with mynde and good entent:
'My lady commaundes you / byrdes euerychone,
Afore me to go / vnto her proper mansyone.'

A merueylous thynge / transcendynge nature:
Vnto his wordes / the gees were obedyent,
Not one departed / fro thens, ye may be sure,
Of all the nombre / that there were present;
Toward her place / afore hym they went,
Mekely / as yf they had reason naturall;
Vnto her presence / he brought the gauntes all.

Dredefully darynge / comen now they be,
Theyr wynges traylynge / entred into the hall,
For great confusyon / after theyrr kynde and propryte,
Mournynge in theyrr maner / abydynge one and all
Her wyll and Judgement / with mercy specyall;
Lamentynge all nyght / there in captuyyte
Tyll the morowe after / withouten lyberte.

All that same nyght / Werburge dyd contynue
In deuoute prayers / and ympnes celestyall,
After her olde custome / vsed in all vertue.
In the mornynge after / the byrdes that were thrall
With hye voyces (as yf it were) on her dyd call
For grace and pardon / of theyr offence, 2667 382
And of departure / to haue fre lycence. 2668

Than she, full pyteous / to every creature, 2669
Vpon these byrdes hauynge compassyon
Delyuered them / frome all daunger and cure,
Frely to departe / vnder this condycyon
That none of them / vpon the lordshyp of Wedon 2672
Shulde make destruccyon / nor lyght by any way
On cornes or fruytes / neuer after that day. 2674

Neuertheles a seruaunt / one of the gees dyd take 2675
And pryuely hydde it / agaynst iustyce and ryght,
Vnknowynge to Werburge / suche brybry to make.
The byrdes departed / most glad to take theyr flyght,
From theyr tender Iudge. / but whan they sawe in syght
One of theyr felawes / taken frome theyr company, [2679
The sayd great nombre / of gees retourned hastily. 2681

They flewe ouer / this blessed vyrgyns hall 2682
Mournynge and waylynge / after theyr entent,
And wolde not departe / but fast on her dyd call—
yet they durst not lyght / for drede of her commaundyment—
But in theyr maner & kynde they sayd / ' o swete presydent,
Why suffer ye suche wyckednes / done for to be [2686
Anendes our felawe / agaynst all ryght and charyte?' 2688

Werburge went fyrst / to knowe wherfore and why 2689
These byrdes retourned / so hastily, certayne.
By grace she perceyued / the cause of it, truly,
And tryed out the truthe / of all the mater playne.
She restaured the byrde / to his felyshyp agayne, 2693
And gaue them a lesson / or they went her fro,
How they shulde prayse / theyr maker and sufferayne, 2695
Sayenge (benedicite volucres celi domino).
WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN ROASTED. ANOTHER MIRACLE: 99

386

But, as Wyllyam Maluysbury / sheweth expresse, 2697
The goos that was taken / and stollen afore away,
Was rosted and eten / the same nyght, doubtlesse;
So when it was asked / for vpon the other day, 1 r. after
The bare bones were brough[t] / afor^1 this lady, veray: 2701
And there by the vertue / of her benedycyon
The byrde was restaured / and flewe away full soone. 2703

387

Certaynly, frome that tyme / vnto this present day, 2704
As all the people knowe / dwellynge aboute Wedon,
The foresayd wylde gees / attempten by no way
To hurte theyr fruytes / ne lyght in that possessyon.
No merueyll it is / remembrynge the deuocyon 2708
And true loun she had / to god omnipotent:
For vnto vertue / all thynge is obeydent. 2710

How a tyrant without pyte punyshynge an Innocent was punyshed / & after made hole. Ca. xxv.

388

Orther to declare / the pacyence and humylyte 2711
And the synguler grace / grounded in this abbas,
As in the true legende / playnly ye may se
We shall parte rehers / to augment your solas.
Werburge had a seruaunte / whiche named was 2715
Alnotus, a man / of meke conversacyon,
Knowen by his merytes / after due probacyon. 2717

Also a baylyfe she had / a cruell tyrant; 2718
Whiche pyteously punysshed / without reason
And wounded greuosly / Alnot, her seruaunt,
Without any greuaunce / at the place of Wedon.
Werburge for pyte / and great compassyon 2722
Afore this caytyfe / kneled on her knee,
Prayenge hym to cease / for lowne of the trynyte; 2724

II 2
HER 'BAILIF' IS PUNISHED FOR HIS CRUELTY.

390
Sayenge: 'why does thou punyssh / this innocent, Causeles, without mercy / whiche I byleue playne Is more acceptable / to our lorde omnypotent Than many other be / for his mekenesse, certayne?' The baylyfe at her prayer / wolle not refrayne, But punysshed hym styl / in his fury and pryde; Tyll the vengeaunce of god / fell on hym that tyde.

391
Incontynente his heed / his necke / and his face Were tourned backwarde / lyke a persone monstruous, Contrary to nature / for his great trespace, Crucyate with sorowe / and peynes hyduous, Contynually encreasynge / to beholde pyteous. At the last remembred / of the best remedy: Fell prostrate to the fete / of Werburge, his lady, And cryed vpon her / with wofull chere, Wepyng / lamentynge / his great inyquyte: 'My louely lady / and maystres moost dere, Helpe me, sweete abbesse / in this necessyte! I haue offended god / now pray for me, And I wyll neuer / endurynge all my lyfe Dysplease no more / man / mayde / ne wyfe.'

392
Whan Werburge consydered / his great contrycyon, His woofull herte / and lamentable crye, Vpon hym she had / tender compassyon; Beholdynge his greuaunce / and tender agony, 'Good brother,' she sayd / 'who-so wyll haue mercy Must be mercyable / as in proverbe wryten is; Who is without mercy / of mercy shall mys.

393
'Call vnto mynde / thy owne wycked dede In punyshynge this poore man / without offence; To se his punyshment / my herte sore dyd blede,
A MIRACLE SAVES WERBURGE FROM BEING OPPRESSED. 101

I kneeled afore thy fete / desyrynge indulgence; Thou toke no regarde / to my prayer ne presence, 2757
Wherfore the Justycz / of god almyghty
Upon the is fallen / for thy synne soday[n]ly.' 2759
395
When she had ended / her ghostly exortacyon, 2760
Perceyuynge hym penytent / with great humylyte,
Gladde to amende / vyce and transgressyon,
Anone vnto prayer / she went with charyte,
Opteyned forguyenesse / of the blessed trynyte: 2764
His fysnamy / restaured to his kynde agayne,
Bothe bodyly and ghostly / cured was, certayne. 2766
396
This forsayd Alnotus / by synguler grace
Refused this worlde / pleasures and vanyte,
Went vnto wyldernesse / and anchoryte1 was. 1 P. machoryte.
Whome theues martyrred / to heuen blysse went he,
At Stow besyde Bukbrydge / buryed was, trule; 2771
For whome our lorde / of his infynyte goodnes
Shewed many myracles / affyrmynge his holynes. 2773

I How dyuers prynces folowyng sensualyte, intendyng to violate this vyrgyn bi power / bi myracle were put to confusyon. Ca. xxvi.

397

A Nother sygne was shewed / by the kynge of blys 2774
Of a wanton prynce / folowyng sensualyte
And his fragyll appetyte / in doynge amys;
Entendyng by vyolence / power / and auctoryte
To depreyue Werburge / of her vyrgnynte, 2778
Espyed a season / to fullfyll his entent,
Whan she was solytary / and no man there present. 2780
398
By force than he began / this mayd to assayle. 2781
But she trustynte in god / to be her protectour,
Escapynge his presence / cast her sacrat vayle
For lyghtnesse and ease / to fle from the traytour:
The sonne-beame receyued it/whiche hanged that houre.2785
Whiche myracle sene / the prynce fledde away ;
That vyrgyn was preserued / by grace that day. 2787

1 An other myracle / was done in Kent
In the vyllage of Hoo / yet full memorous,
A sensuall prynce / of wycked consent
Purposed to maculate / this vyrgyn gloryous,
Consyderynge her persone / so fayre and beauteous ; 2792
Taryed the season / to fynde her solatry,
By power to oppresse / this graciously lady. 2794

Whan the tyme was comen / he thought conuenyent, 2795
After her furyously / he ranne a fast pace.
She, knowynge his mynde / and vnchast entent, 1 P. add
Seynge no remedy / by man in that place
Called to our sauyoure / for his helpe and grace,
Sayenge: 'blessed lorde / for thy endeles pyte
Defende me this daye / and saue my chastitye!' 2801

And as she fledde / frome this cruell persone,
She ranne for socour / to a great oke-tree.
By grace the sayd tree / opened that same season,
Sufferynge this mayd / to haue sure and fre entree ;
Wherby she escaped his / wycked tyrannye. 2806
Whiche tree to this day / endurynge all the yere
By myracle is vernaunte / fresshe / grene / and clere. 2808

Of the sayd oke-tree / is a famous opynyon :
That no man may entre / the sayd concawyte
In deedly synne bounden / without contrypey;
But in clene perfyte lyfe / who-soeuer he be,
May entre the sayd oke / with fre lyberte. 2813
And nygh to that place / a chyrche is now dedicatyte
In the honour of god / and werburge immaculate. 2815
SHE CURES MANY SICK FOLK WHO VISIT HER.

403

¶ Many other myracles / our blessed sauyour
Shewed for this vyrgyn / of his goodnes,
Conforte to the people / in sekenes and langour
That to her wyl seke / in theyr dystresse.
Her excellent vertue / and great holynesse
By sygnes and myracles / were dayly manyfes
To many a creature / with peynes opprest.

404

The fama wherof sprange / so fast aboute,
Notyfyed playne / in all this regyon :
The people approched / withouten doubtte
To knowe her blessed / and holy conuersacyon
And of these myracles / to haue probacyon,
By the syght wherof / they myght all gloryfy
With ioy and gladnesse / our lorde god almyghty.

405

There was no sekenesse / nor infyrmyte
That mankynde had / nor vexacyon,
But by her prayer / and humylyte
Makyng for them / to our lorde intercessyon
They were restaured / to helthe and saluacyon
All, by the meryte / of this vyrgyn pure,
A synguler refuge / vnto euery creature.

406

To the dombe was gyuen / speche and language,
To blynde theyr syght / to defe theyr herynge,
To halte and lame people / helthe, in euery aege,
By deuyne grace / and her ghostly lyuynge.
The people approchynge / nygh to her in dwellynge,
By cally[n]ge to her / in the name of Ihesu
Had theyr petycyon / by her synguler vertu.

407

Some other that were / fully possessed
With wycked spyrytes / vexynge the mynde,
Or with sekenes incurable / myserably greued,
WERBURGE TELLS HER SISTERS OF HER APPROACHING END.

By her dayly prayer / aboue course of kynde
Of theyr dyseases / they shulde remedy fynde,
And from her departe / in soule with gladnesse
Whiche to her came / sory in peyne and wretchednes.

How saynt Werburge gaue knowlege to her systers of her departure, & how she ordered in vertue her sayd monas-
teryes afore her dethe. Ca. xxvii.

This blessed abbesse / and vertuous floure,
The well of clennes / and humlyte,
Called to mynde / the words of our sauyour
Rehersed by Mathewe / in his euangely:
'The vyctoryall crowne / of eterne glory
Is gyuen to them / that be redy eche houre,
Wysely attendynge / whan they be sende fore.'

This texte was euer / in her memoryall,
Prompte alway redy / as a true spouses
To wayte on her spouse / whan he wyll call,
Her lampe replete / with oyle of mekenes.
Synguler gyftes / she had of chrystes goodnes:
Inspyred with the spyryte / of prophecy,
Secrete thynges to come/ knowynge therby.

She knewe the season / was hastely comyng
Of her departure / fro this lyfe mortall.
Wherfore she ordred / sadly euery thyng
Within her monasteryes / and charges spyrytnall,
Vysytynge her couent / with her presence personall
Gaue knowlege to them / that soone and hastely
She shulde departe / frome this lyfe transytory.

Afore her were called / the systers of yche place,
And were apoynted / who shulde succede
SHE ORDERS HER BODY TO BE BURIED AT HANBURY. 105

After to be gouernour / ruler / and abbesse
To the pleasure of god / and theyr ghostly mede;
Specyally commendyenge / vertue, as we rede,
What meryte they shall haue / of god almyghty
In spyrytuall cures / that done well theyr duty. 2876

All other offycers / within eche monastery
Wereassygned by Werburge / theyr presydent,
And vnder obedyence / charged full depely
Theyr offyce to execute / vertue to augment,
For the synguler profyte / of all the couent. 2883
She gaue to yche place / landes and possessyon
Suffycyently to serue / all the congreacyon. 2885

Whan she had ordeyned / eche place in charyte,
Dyschargynge her conscyence / chargynge them all
To obserue relygyon / with perfyte humylyte
After her exemple / and doctryne pryncypall,
She had perfyte knowlege / by grace supernaturall
Her body shulde rest / in the place of Hamburgens
After her departure / by deuyne prouydens. 2890

Wherfore she commaunded / the couent of Hambury
Wysely to attende / with all theyr dylygence
Vpon the ende / of her lyfe transytorie,
Wheresoeuer it be / to come with benyuolence
And incontynent take / her body with reuerence
And brynge it shortly / vnto theyr monastery,
There to be tumylate / after her desydery. 2899

As it pleaseth our lorde / and celestyall sufferayne
To sende to his seruaunte / his vysytacyon—
The day was apoynted / the houre incertayne
Of her departure / frome worldly vexacyon :
The messanger of dethe / the ende of trybulacyon,
Oppressed this lady / moost worthy fame
Ryght at her monastery / nomynat Trentame.

She thanked her maker / sayenge day and nyght
‘Well-come be the vysytacyon / of god almyghty.’
She called her systers / present afore her syght,
Her entente rehersynge / to them tenderly,
Desyrnyge all them / to folowe dylygently
The lawes of god / with honour and reuerence
And to her counseyll / to gyue fully credence;

Sayenge: ‘dere byloued systers / in our sauyour,
O spyrytual children / my derlynges moost dere,
Whiche haue refused / all worldly honour
To serue our lorde / with herte and mynde clere,
Suffer no synne / in your soule to apere,
But wasshe it away / by bytter contrycyon,
With prayer, penaunce / and true confessyon.

‘And trust ye well, your true obedyence,
your chast lyuynge / and wylfull pouerte,
your dayly prayers / vygyls / and abstynence
That ye haue obserued / her vnder me,
Shalbe recompensed / a thousande-folde, trule,
Whan ye shalbe taken / fro this lyfe transytory;
your rewarde shalbe / with immortall glory.

‘As for my deth / whiche approches nere,
I drede nothynge / tho nature ferefull be:
I knowe for certayne / who departeth well here
Is newe-borne agayne / to Ioye and felcyte.
Iche chrysten man hath / a threfolde natuyyte:
Fyrst of his parentes / by cours of nature
Borne to many troubles / and sorowes, sure;

‘By the seconde byrthe / whiche is more excellent,
HOW DEATH IS BIRTH TO A NEW LIFE AND TO FREEDOM.

At fonte of baptym / we haue regeneracyon,
By fayth professed / to god omnipotent
And made the chyldren / of ghostly saluacyon,
To auoyde by grace / all wycked temptacyon,
To be inherytours / of Ioy perpetuall,
Folowyng the counseyll / of holy chyrche withall;

'The thyrde byrthe / moost ferefull and to be dredde,
Is whan the soule / departeth fro the body
To payne or blysse / and leues the corps dedde
To tourne agayne to erthe / to wast and putryfy.
In this thyrde byrthe / by callynge aferre\textsuperscript{1} for mercy
Our soule shall lyue in blysse / euerlastynge,
Crowned with vycitory / for our chast lyuynge.

'The swete byrde, closed / in a cage a longe season,
Gladly entendeth / to fly at lyberte;
The prysoner fetered / and cast in depe dongeon
Euer supposes / to be rydde frome captyuyte:
The soule of mankynde / moost dygne of dutye,
Naturally desyreth / proued by reason,
To be delyuered / frome bodily pryson.'

\textsuperscript{1} Of \textsuperscript{p} ghostli exortacyon saynt Werburge made to her systers in her sekenesse / and how devoutely she receyued \textsuperscript{p} sacramentes of holy chyrche before her deth.

He day knowen / to her by reuelacyon
Of her departure / by sygnes euydenb,
She sende for all / the hole congregacyon,
And in presence / of all her holy couent
She called for the blessed sacrament;
To whome she sayd / with wordes expresse
With wepyng teeres / and great mekenesse:

\textsuperscript{1} r. afofe?
Werburge Humbly Receives the Sacrament.

Well-come my lorde / well-come my kynge,
Well-come my sufferayne / and sauyouyr,
Well-come my conforte / and ioy euerylastynge,
My trust / my treasure / my helpe and socour,
Well-come my maker / and my redemptour,
The sone of god / moost in maieste,
Withouten begynnynge / and endeles shalbe.

I byleue that thou / for all mankynde
Frome heuen descended / of thy charyte
And was incarnate / scrypture dothe mynde,
In the vyrgynall wombe / of blessed marye,
And suffered dethe / to make vs all fre,
Descended to hell / roose the thyrde day,
Ascended to heuen / and our raunson dyd pay;

And I knowlege to the / with pure entent:
On Shorpthursday / after thy passyon
Thy moost blessed body / in sacrament
Thou gaue to vs / for our communyon,
To be our defence / and ghostly tuyceyon,
Now present here / in forme of brede,
To Iudge mankynde / bothe quycke and deed.

O sufferayne sauyouyr / replete with grace,
I the beseeche / haue pyte vpon me
And in my soule / make a dwellynge-place,
Expulse all vyce / synne and mysery;
Defende my soule / frome our adversaries,
Saue and protecte me / from paynes infernall
And brynge throug thy mercy / to ioye perpetuall.

Thus with reuerence / and great humylyte
She receyued / the blessed sacrament,
The seconde persone / in trynyte,
SHE EXHORTS HER SISTERS TO VIRTUE AND CHARITY. 109

In perfyte fayth / hope / and loue feruent,
With great contrycyon / as it was apparent,
Her herte lyfte vp / to-warde heuen on hye
Abydynge the wyll / of god almyghty. 2997

She exorted / her systers everychone
That were there present / in companye,
Desyrynge them all / with supplycaeyon
To remembere her / sayenge with humlyte:
'My systers in god / now knowe may ye
My dayes ben ferre past / comynge is the houre.
Wherfore I betake you / fyrst to our sauyour;

'Prayenge you tenderly / for the loue of me
In deuyne seruyce / loke ye contynu;
Obseruyng pacyence / mekenes / and chastyte,
Encresyng in relygyon / by the grace of Ihesu—

'Also remembre / that all worldly royalte,
Honour / ryches / pleasure / possessyon,
If ye consyder / are but a vanyte,
Nothyng assured / to trust therupon;
Wherfore dyspose you / to vertue alon
Whyle ye endure / in this lyfe mortall,
Tyll that ye come / to Ioy perpetuall.

'Secondly' she sayd / 'systers, I you pray
Kepe 1 well the order / of perfyte charyte,
Neuer declynyng / fro it by no way,
As ye haue taken / exemple of me;
Iche loue other / and worshyp in theyr degre,
So that no murmure / nor dyssymulacyon
Be founde amonge / this holy congrogacyon.
Werburge Prays for Her Conuent.

433
Be ever lowly / humble / and obeydent
With due reverence / worshyp and honoure,
Folowe the mynde / of your presydent,
Vnto your heed / and ghostly gouernoure.
Kepe well chastyte / that precyous flour,
So that no thought / of sensualyte
Corrupte your mynde / to breke vyrgynyte.

434
Se that ye use / discreet temperaunce,
Abstenyng frome vayne superfluyte;
Se that amonge you / be founde no varyaunce,
Kepe well the degrees / of humylyte.'
These and many other / exemples of charyte
She taught her couent / of synguler deuocyon,
How they shulde optayne / to hye perfeccyon.

435
Thyrdly she prayed / sayenge with mynde dylygent:
'O blessed sauyour / I desyre the
Saue and defende / my hole couent
And theyr monasteryes / of thy great pyte
Frome peryll of peryshyng / and frome enmyte,
That all the subiectes / of our congregacyon
May well obserue / theyr holy professyon.

436
'And graunt me, swete lorde / throwe thy goodnes:
Who-so in thy name / vpon me dothe call
In langour / mysery / in peyne / or sekenes,
Also women with chylde / in peynes thrall,
May haue remedy / and helpe specyall;
And people in pryson / halte / blynde / and lame
By me may magnyfy / thy glorious name.'

437
Than she requyred / with humylyte
The spyrytuall sufferage / of holy vnccyon,
Her soule to conforte / frome all aduersyte;
WERBURGE DIES AT TRENTHAM 3 FEB. (699).

She took her leave / and kissed them ycheon.
Alas, what herte / myght shewe the lamentacyon,
The wepynge / waylynge / and wofull heuynes
At the departure / of theyr swete maystres ?

Of the departure of saynt Werburge vnto heuen at the abbay
of Trentam / fro this mysserable lyfe / & what lamentacyon her systers made for her dethe. Ca. xxix.

All her infyrmyte / peyne and busynesse
She vsed prayer / and medytacyon,
Callynge for mercy / by interyor mekenesse
With wepyng eyes / and great lamentacyon ;
Remembrynge in herte / our lorde's passyon ;
Commendynge her couent / vnto our savyour
To be theyr defence / ayde / and protectour.

The peynes encreased / of her infyrmyte,
The panges doubled / her peyne to augment,
Nature decayed / vnto suche deblyte
That the sygnes of dethe / appered euident.
The houre approched / after all Judgment :
Wherfore all thynges / were redy preparte,
As was conuenyent / for so noble a state.

Her spouse Ihesus / hauynge pyte and cure
Upon his spouses / in extreme dystresse,
Wolde not suffer her peyne / longer endure,
But sende his angels / with great lyghtnesse
To conforte his seruaunt / in peyne and sekenesse,
To dyssolue her wo / and great penalte
And brynge vp her soule / to eterne felycye.

There derknes was tourned / all vnto lyght,
Langour and trouble / vnto prosperity,
The day was governour / ouer the nyght
Whan that she passed / this lyfe transytorie,
Bondage and thraldome / were brought to lyberte.
The tyme of 1 Love / and euerlastynge pleasure
Was approchynge to Werburge / euer to endure.

A multytude of angelles / shynynge moost clere
Were redy to gyde / with humble reuerence
The soule of werburge / as truly dyd apere,
And brought it to blys / vnto the hye presence
Of almyghty god / moost of magnyfycence,
Clerely released / frome peynes of purgatory
To be rewarded / with euerlastynge glory.

This blessed vyrgyn / gloryous and pure,
In stedfast fayth / hope / loue / and charyte
The thyrde day of February / ye may be sure,
Expyred frome this lyfe / caduce and transytorie
To eterne blysse / coronate with vyctory,
Chaungynge her lyfe / myserable and thrall
For infynyte ioye / and glory eternall.

With moche honour / these spyrtyuall mynysters
Conueyed the soule / aboue the fyrmament,
Passynge the seuen planettes / and all the sterres,
Vnto the presence / of god omnipotent,
Syngynge full swetely / theyr songes equyalent
Of pleasaunt armony / of conforte and blys,
Salutynge her mekely / with wordes reuerent
Veni dilecta : veni coronabiris.

The thre Ierarcheses / were redy present
With heuenly melody / to receyue this monyall,
The quere of vyrgyns / mette her incontynent
With great solempnyte / and processyon royall,
Presentynge her soule / with myrthes angelycall
To Ihesu, her spouse / to whome he sayd, truly,

‘Well-come, dere daughter / to blysse celestyal,

Intra in gaudium: domui tui.’

In meane tyme and space / this venerable body
(The soule departed) lay whyte / streyght / and colde,
Semyenge as on slepe / she had ben, verely,
With swete odours fragrant / passynge manyfolde
All spyces and herbes / in erth may be tolde;
The place was so pleasaunt / full of delyce
Lyke as it had ben / an erthly paradyce.

This forsayd venerable congregacyon
With wepyng teeres / and syghes lamentable
Wasshed the swete body / after the olde custome,
And dressed the corps / with clothes honorable,
Prepared all necessaryes / pleasaunt and commendable;
To churche she was brought / solemnly in syght,
With feruent deuocyon / to be watched all nyght.

And as they watched / with due mynystracyon
Ouer the sayd corps / devoutly prayenge,
They made great mournyng / and lamentacyon
Everychone to other / for her departynge;
‘Alas,’ they all sayd / with wofull waylynge,
‘Our solace / our helthe / is clere gone away!'
Alas for sorowe / what shall we now say?

‘The sterre of our conforte / is extynte clere,
The lanturne of our lyght / is taken vs fro,
The floure of chastyte / is layd vpon a bere,
The myrrour of mekenes / now lyeth full loo,
The treasure of relygyon / from vs now is ago.
Our sorowe encreased / wretchednes / and mystery,
Syth thou arte departed. / alas, what remedy?
114  ‘SWETE LADY, THOU ART GONE! O CRUEL DEATH!’

450

‘Our heretes ben plonged / in great wo and peyne, 3147
Our myndes are medled / with heuy langour;
How shulde we now rest / frome mornynge, certayne,
Beholdynge now deed / whylom our protectour?
Swete lady, thou art gone / frome vs for euermore;
Our deedly sorowe / replete with bytternes,
For waylynge and wepyng / can neuer ceas.

451

‘With herte, mynde and voyce / to the we do call: 3154
O blessed Werburge / our moost dere maystres,
O sufferayne lady / and ruler of vs all,
Why hase thou vs lefte / in suche heuynesse?
If thy wyll had ben / it is knowen expresse,
Thou myght haue taryed / with vs by petycyon.
Alas, remedylesse / is our lamentacyon!

452

‘Frome vs thou arte taken / and gone is our solace, 3161
The myrrour of vertue / is deed now with the,
The tryed stock of truth / and the grounde of grace
Is pyteously decayed / our hope and sufferaynte,
O blessed sauyour /vpon vs haue pyte,
Sende vs our conforte / by thy great myght agayne
As thou hase reysed many / from dethe to lyfe, certayne.3167

453

‘O dredefull dethe / cruell enemy to nature, 3168
With dolefull heuynes / on the we may complayne,
Takynge our heed frome vs / to our great dysconftyure,
Hath brought vs to thraldome / wofulnes and peyne;
Nother kynge ne emperour / thy fauour may optayne,
But he must departe /arested with thy launce.
Thanke we god of all / for it is his pleasance.’ 3174
The folk of Trentham wish to retain the body.

How the hamburgenses take the blessed body of Werburge from Trentam by myrracle & brought it to Hambury & of y' buryall of werburge & of manyfolde myracles shewed for her merites ix. yere after her translacyon. Ca. xxx.

His glorious virgin / and moost blessed abbace Departed from this lyfe / caduce and transytory (As afore is sayd) the yere and tyme of grace Almoost seuen hundreth / the thyrde day of February, To celestyall blysse / and infynyte glory; Her subjectes oppressed / with wyrfull pensyuenesse, With great trybulacyon / care and heuynesse.

But where werburge gaue / in commaundyment To bury her corps / at place of Hambury, As was the wyll / of our lorde omnypotent; Her subjectes of Trentam / whiche had her body, Purposed her wyll / and entent to deny, Prepared to kepe / the corps by stronge hande, With them to remayne / as ye shall vnderstande.

The sayd people of Trentam / watched full dylygent Her corps, fulfyllynge / the obsequyes funerall, Entendynge to auoyde / and frustrate her testament Gate a great company / by power Marcyall, Closed fast theyr doores / and gates one and all, Made sure yche place / by theyr prouydens For to kepe the corps / excludyng Thamburgens.

But, as Salomon sayth / sentencyously, 'There may be no counseyll / power ne prudence, Wysedome of man / nor naturall polycy, To derogate or chaunge / deuyne sentence;' Proued euery day / by true experyence:
‘Tho mankynde prepose / his mynde to fulfyll,
yet god dysposeth / all thynge at his wyll.’

And as they watched / the same sayd nyght
Moost busly / to execute they[r] wyll and entent,
By deuyne prouydence / passynge mannes myght
Sodeynly on slepe / was all that couent,
Their company and mynysters / that were there lent,
Hauynge no power / for to waken, doubtles;
God so prouyded / for theyr great maystres.

Than shortly resembled / vnto that sayd place
The people of Hamburgens / a great company,
With the mynsters of god / people full of grace:
And anone by the wyll / of our lorde almyghty
The lockes and the barres / of that sayd monastery
Fell downe to the grounde / by power supernall,
Without mannes hande / that enter they myght all.

Whiche myracle proued / the people of Hambury
Entred Trentam abbay / with mynde reuerent,
And founde there on slepe / all the other company,
Man / woman / and chylde / all that were present.
They kneled all downe / and worshypped the sacrament,
Praysynge our maker / of theyr good spede,
Their specyll socour / euer at theyr nede.

Her blessed body / from Trentam they dyd take,
Gladly departynge / out of the monastery—
Nother man nor woman / had power to wake,
Tyll they were passed / all greuous Jeopardy;
Magnyfyenge our lorde / of his grace deuoutly,
Solemply syngyng their songes celestiall
With infinite gladnes / and comfort spirituall.

After all this done / this holy congregacion
AND BURY IT AT HANBURY. MIRACLES.

With reverence / honour / and solemnly,
With weeping tears / for pure affection,
With lamentable songs / masse and dirige
Buried the corps / of this blessed ladie
Right in the chauncell / of the sayd abbay,
There bodily to rest / as her wyll was alway.

All obsequies ended / therto belongynge
As was agreeable for suche a president,
The systers departed / with clamour and mournynge,
Plonged in heuynes / and to their celles went,
To wepe and wayle secretly / their hartis to content,
Criynge: ‘alas, alas / nowe buried haue we
The exemple of vertu / mekenes / and chastite!’

And as the history of her lyfe / doth expresse
In a boke nominat / the thrid Passionary,
After the buriall of this patronesse
The place was decorat / with myracles many,
Manifest to the people / of euery progeny
Howe god almyghty of his speciall grace
Hath done for his servaunt / in short tyme and space.

For many people greued with infirmite,
Dolorous of hert / and interiour tribulacion,
Heuynes of mynde / or other penalite,
To her graue resortyng / with feruent deuocion,
Sekyngre for remedy / with great contriccion,
Anon by her prayer / vnto our sauyour
They were released from peyne and langour.

Also by her merite, suffrage and peticion
Euery humble creature had helpe and succour;
To distract persons / was yelded reason,
wikked spirites expulsed were that same hour,
Impotent and feble to helth she dyd restour,

With reverence / honour / and solemnly,
With wepyng tears / for pure affection,
With lamentable songs / masse and dirige
Buried the corps / of this blessed ladie
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They were released from peyne and langour.

Also by her merite, suffrage and peticion
Euery humble creature had helpe and succour;
To distract persons / was yelded reason,
wikked spirites expulsed were that same hour,
Impotent and feble to helth she dyd restour,
Halt and lame had passage / the blynde had perfect syght, 3265
The dombe had speche / the deffe herynge ryght.  

Women with childe / beynge in great jeopardy, 3266
Namely in trauelyng / greued with wo and Payne,  
When they myght nat come / sendyng to her oratorye,  
Makyng true oblacion / restaured were, certayne,  
To heith and prosperite / from wo delyuered playne; 3270
And if they obteyned a relique from the place,  
The mother and childe / by it founde speciall grace. 3272

The deuout pilgrym / the perfit maryner, 3273
The true laborer / the marchant with richesse,  
The carefull pore man / the peynfull prisoner  
Were sondry tymes delyuered from wo and distresse;  
Men / women / childer / sekynge with mekenes 3277
This glorious virgyn / with humble supplicacion,  
Founde soone remedie / helpe and consolacion. 3279

| A little breue rehersall of her lyfe / and howe for her myracles shewed ye couent of Hambury purposed to translate her body / by the helpe of Mercyens. Ca. xxxi. |

| His gloryous lady / and gemme of holynesse 3280 |
| Of fyue myghty kynges / descended lynyally,  |
| A prynces / an enherytryce / replete with mekenes  |
| Refused all pleasures / pompe / and vayne glory, 3284 |
| Entred relygyon / professed at Ely,  |
| A spectacle of vertue / dwellynge in that place  |
| And a floure of chastyte / electe by synguler grace. 3286 |

| Her honorable vncle / kynge Ethelrede, 3287 |
| Consyderynge her vertue / and hye deuocyon  |
| Made her gouernour / for ghostly helthe and mede  |
| Ouer all the monasteryes / within his regyon,  |

118 SHORT RECAPITULATION OF ST. WERBURGE'S LIFE.
For the sure encresement / of perfyte relygyon; 3291
Foure of these monasteryes / we haue in memory: 3293
As Wedon / Trentam / Repton / and Hambury.

When she was ruler / and chefe presydent 3294
Of these sayd places / vnder god almyghty,
Than vertue and goodnes / dayly dyd augment
By heuenly grace / to the soule-helthe of many,
And by her exemple / and doctryne ghostly 3298
Kynges / lوردes / barons / refusynge theyr royalte
Entred relygyon / with great humylyte.

Her lyfe and doctryne / agreed bothe in one, 3301
Proued in effecte / by specyall gyftes of grace:
Many she converted / vnto contemplacyon,
To prayer and penaunce / whyle they had here space.
Her couent and subjectes / within euery place 3305
By her excellent vertue / and hye dyscrecyon
Were gratiously gouerned / for theyr salvacion.

Her dwellynge was most at the place of Wedon, 3308
Where many myracles were shewed openly;
And at Trentam abbay / of her foundacion,
From peyne she departed to eternall glory;
After her entent was buried at Hambury;
Of whom it may be sayd / 'here lyeth nowe present
A princesse / a virgin / a nonne / and a president.' 3314

The deuout couent of her congregacion,
Whiche hath long wayled / with sorowfull payne,
Nowe haue great cause to make consolacion
And gyue due honour to our lorde and sufferayne,
Knowynge that Werburge / in blysse is nowe, certayne,
For them all dayly a true mediatrice
In the heuynly trone / afore the hie Justice.
Our sauiour Jesus / graunter of all goodnes, 3322
Consydering the mokenes / and pure virginite
Of Werburge his spouse / and proved holynes,
By speciall grace / preserued her body
To his laude and honour / his name to magnifye, 3326
Both hole and sounde / from naturall resolucion,
As her soule was clere from vice and corruption. 3328

This immaculat mayde / shenyng more bryght 3329
Than radiant phebus in the triumphant trone,
With the quere of virgins / prayseth day and nyght
The blessed trinite with due adoracion,
Of perpetuall pleasure hauyng the fruyycion,
A singular intercessour for her seruauntes all
That here in erth mekely to her wyll call. 3335

And though her body do rest nowe in graue, 3336
yet notable signes contynually be done:
Some warned in their slepe comfort to haue
By visityng her place / callynge her vpon,
With contrite hert makyng true oblacion. 3340
Whiche thynge contynued by space of .ix. yere
With meruailous myracles euydent and clere.

The couent, consyderyng suche great company 3343
From diuers partes / resortynge to theyr place
In pylgrimage to Werburge / for helpe and remedy,
Entended to translate this glorious abbasse,
To exalte her body replet with great grace 3347
To her great honour / comfort to eche creature—
Pite that suche a relique shulde lye in sepulture. 3349

To the prayes and honour of god omnipotent 3350
And of saint Werburge laude and reuerence
The couent and the people by one assent
Desired Coelrede, than kynge of merciens,
For aide in this case / helpe and diligence. 3354
(Whiche thyng graunted ) the day appointed was;
The clergy and the comons reioised with solace. 3356

 ¶ Of the solemne translacion of this glorious virgyn saynt
Werburge / and of the great myracles done at the sayd season by the myght of god and merite of this gracious lady. Cap. xxxii.

480
At the day appoynted of her translacion 3357
Kyng Coelred and his counsell were redy-present,
With bysshops, and the clergy, men of deuocion,
Her systers and subiettes, a religious couent;
The comon people from eche place thider went 3361
With great gladnes / the hole for pleasure gostly,
The seke and impotent for helth and remedy. 3363

481
The bysshops and clergy stode vpon one parte 3364
Of her holy graue / and her systers echone,
Syngynge and praysynge the blessed trinite;
The kyng and his counsell with great deuocion
Stode on the other parte in contemplacion. 3368
The graue was opened, eleuat was the chest
Wherin her holy corps .ix. yere fully dyd rest. 3370

482
Whan this sayd monument discouered was, 3371
Suche a suauite and fragrant odoure
Ascended from the corps by singular grace,
Passyng all wordly swetnes and saouur,
That all there present that day and hour 3375
Supposed they had ben / in the felicite
Of erthely paradise / without ambiguite. 3377

483
And as eche man thought¹ by naturall reason ¹ P. thought 3378
Nothyng shulde remayn of that blessed body
But the bare boones / all els to resolucion:
The couerture remoued by the sayd clergy,
The corps hole and sounde was funde, verely,
Apperyng to them / on slepe as she had ben,
Nothyng depaired / that ther coude be seen.

Her vesture appered hole, clere and white,
No parte consumed / for all the longe space,
Fragrant in odoure / repleit with delite,
As at the fyrst season when she buried was;
But when discovered was her swete face,
Beautye appered more white than the lile,
Mixt with rose colour / moost faire for to se.

Her louely countenaunce / so comly to beholde,
And her swete fisnomy / with fairenes decorat
As fresshely apparant / moost pleasant to be tolde,
As at the fyrst day / when she was tumulat.
No doubt therof / for she, with synne nat maculat,
Vsyng all her lyfe in clennes and virginite,
From bodily corruption / by grace must saued be.

The clergy, yet serchyng more diligently
Her precious body / and interiour vesture,
Eleuat the corps full reuerently
With moche worship, honour and cure,
Founde nothyng perished in shap nor figure
For all the long space, tyme and contynuance
She lay in sepulture by diuine ordynaunce.

Whiche famous myracle / notified so clere,
The clergy with her systers in ioy and honour,
The kyng and his counsell all therat present were,
With voice melodious made a great clamour,
Praysyng and magnifiyng our blessed sauiour
With celestiall songes / and hymnes full of blys,
The body is clothed and enshrined at Hanbury.

Deoutly rehersyng / with all their deuour
Mirabilis deus in sanctis suis.

With that the comon rude people euerychone
In the sayd churche-yarde standyng without,
Heryng the clergy syng with suche deuocion,
Toward heuen they cried / and busely dyd shout,
The space of .iii. hours / or nere there-about,
Worshippyng our lorde / with voice shrill and loude
In hert, wyll and mynde / as well as they coude.

After all this done / her blessed body
Was wasshed and reclothed with vesture precious
By the sayd couent of the place of Hambury.
The bysshops were reuesshed in pontificalibus,
And all the clergy syngyng with voice melodious
Kneled all downe and gaue due reuerence,
Honour and worship to her corporall presence.

Thus they rescuyed with perfit humilite
This sacrat relicue, hole and substanciall,
And layd it in a shryne with great solemnite,
Enowrned with riches sumptuous and roiall,
Prepared by the kyng / and ordeyned inspeciall,
Entendyng that this relicue and gostly treasure
Perpetually with them shulde remayne and endure.

People oppressed with greuous infirmite,
Distract persons / halt, blynde and lame,
Resortynge to her shryne with humilite
Shortly were cured by callynge of her name;
Impotent creatures (the legende sayth the same)
Touchyng her tumbe / were cured from payne;
Whiche tumbe remayneth at Hambury, certayne.

After she was translate / knowen it is well,
DATE OF THE TRANSLATION: 708, 21 JUNE.

The clergy to procession / went after to mas, Honoryng and praysing / the kyng of Israel And blessed Werburge / with moche solace. Whan diuine service duely ended was, The bisshops gaue theyr holy benedictions; The people departed glad to their mansions.

This holy sayd fest of her translatcion Was ordeyned and celebrate with solemnite, As sayeth Ranulphus in his policricon, About the yere of grace .vii. hundreth and .viii., sothle, The .xi. Kalendas of the moneth Iulii; Regnyng in mercelande the said Kyng Coelrede, Than bysshop of Lichefelde was Hedda / as we rede.

Howe the body of saynt Werburge contynued hole / and substanciall at Hambury after the translatcion by the space of two hundreth yeres / tyll the danes were comon to this lande / or it felle and was resolved vnto powder. The .xxxiii. Chapitre.

This rutilant gemme and specious floure Hole and substanciall remayned at Hambury Two hundreth yeres in beaute and colour, By singular grace / and angelicall custodye, Tyll the danes were comon of malice and misery, Of ire and myschief / as we vnderstande; We meane the comyng of pagans to this lande.

Whiche danes by sufferaunce and dispensacion Of almyghty god / for synne and iniquite Punysshed vnpiteously all this region with a wofull plage of great crudelite, The sharpe swerde of deth / hauynge no pite, Spared no creature / prest nor religious, Long tyme duryng in their malice odious.
Than this vitall glebe by diuine ordinaunce
Voluntary permytted naturall resolution,
Lest the cruell gentils / and wiked myscreauntes
With pollute handes full of corrupcion
Shulde touche her body / by indignation;
Whiche pagans were enemys to our lorde Iesu,
Rebels to holy churche, vnfeithfull and vntrue.

Howe-be-it the power of our swete sauyour
Myght haue continued the body of his syruant
All that longe season in worshyp and honour,
As he preserued of his grace abundaunt
Many sayntes of this realme hole, fresshe and vernant
viii. hundreth yeres agon / to this present day,
And like so to endure / hole and clere alway.

Sothely to considre / our lorde omnipotent,
Glorious in his sayntes / scripture doth specifie,
Of his diuine prouidence / pleasure and intent
Some haue resolued / for the greatter glorie
Of their resurrection for the tyme, truly,
Some other to continue without corruption,
To the true example of his promission.

Many holy martyrs / for Christ haue byn slayne,
The hie prestis of god murdred cruelly;
Some with wylde bestes deuoured, in certayne,
Some cast in fiers, on cooles to broyle and fry,
Vpon many other byrdes fedyng openly—
Of whom the prophet clerely doth reherce:
‘The more peyne here and wo/the more glory, doubtles.’

The glorious martyr Stephan (as is red)
In this present lyfe dyd myracles many,
Neuertherles / he raised no people that were deed;
But after the resoluyng of his blessed body
He raised deed men to lyfe agayne, truely,
That the great power of lyfe myght sprynge
From iniurie of deth / by our heuen kynge.

3502
3504
501

Great was the respect of diuyne grace
In the body of Werburge / without resolucion,
Shewed by her myracles / for mannes helth and solace;
But greatter was the hope of the eterne renouacion
In her body resolued to naturall consumption,
Whiche for her merites to this present day
Helpeth all her servauentes that to her wyll praye.

3505
3509
3511
502

Therfore worshyp we with singular deuocion
The holy lyuynge of this virgin gratious;
For why / all the halowynge of her conuersacion
Belongeth to the honour of our lorde Iesus,
Whiche of his grace hath made her so glorious
And graunteth his mercy / and of synne remysson
To all them / for whom / she maketh intercession.

3512
3516
3518
503

Blessed pure virgin / moines and abbasse,
O venerable werburge / mekely we the pray,
Make thou supplycacyon / to the graunter of grace,
After this lyfe present / that all we may
Come to heuen-blysse / whiche lasteth for ay,
There to beholde / the gloryous trynyte,
To whom be laude / worshyp / honour / & endelos glorye.
[ BOOK II. ]

† The table of the seconde boke of yᵉ gloryous vyrgyn saynt Werburge.

Of the comynge to this lande of paganes / and of the trouble of this lande / and how yᵉ kynge of Mercyens for drede departed out of this lande / and how longe saynt Werburge contynued incorrupte and hole at the abbay of Hambury . . . Ca. i.

† How the people of Hambury brought the shryne to Chester / and of the solempne receuyynge of it / by all the inhabytauntes of the countre . . Ca. ii.

† A lytell descrypcyon of the fundacyon of Chester / and of yᵉ abbay-church within the sayd cytee./ where the holy shryne remayneth . . . . . . . Ca. iii.

† A breue rehersall / of the fyrst fundacyon of the mynster of Chester/& of the instytucyon of seculer chanons / in the tyme of kynge Edwarde senyor. Ca. iii.

† Of the notable myracle[s] of saynt Werburge in yᵉ tyme of chanons / and fyrst how she saued Chester from the destruccyon of Walshe men . Ca. v.

‖ Howe saynte Werburge cured and healed a woman thre tymes, whiche was halt and lame, to helthe and prosperite agayne . . . . . . . . . . Cap. vi.

‖ Howe saynt Werburge saued and defended Chester from innumerable barbarik nacions purposynge to destoye and spoyle the same cite vtterly . . Cap. vii.
Howe saynt Werburge by her merite sent fruyte to a barayne Woman by synguler prayer made vnto her. Cap. viii.

Howe a woman with childe by peyne brought out of her mynde & reason by saynt Werburge was restaured to prosperite and helthe agayne. Cap. ix.

Of a nother woman, vnlaufullly wurkyng was made blynde and sore punyshed / and by saint Werburge was restored to syght agayne. Cap. x.

Howe saint Werburge restored to helth & prosperite. vi. lame & halt persons by singular grace. Ca. xi.

Of a yonge man vnryghtfnlly hanged, was thries delyuered from deth by saynt Werburge to helth and prosperite. Cap. xii.

Howe at the maner of Vpton saynt Werburge refrayned wilde horses from distruction of her cornes. Ca. xiii.

Of a chanon of Chester hauyng his leg broken, was restored to helth by saint Werburge his patrones. Ca. xiii.

A breue rehersall or cronicle of certayne kyngis / and howe kyng Edgar came to Chester / also howe erle Leofrice repared divers churches. Ca. xiv.

Of the comyng of Willyam conquerour to this lande / & how Lupe was fonder of Chester monastery. Ca. xv.

Howe saint Werburge taught her monke to kepe pacience for the greater merite and glori to come. Ca. xvi.

Howe sandes rose vp within the salt see ayenst Hilburghde by saint Werburge at the peticion of William constable of Chestre. Ca. xvii.

Howe Matilde countesse of Chestre, counsellynge her husband agaynst the monasterie, was drowned at Bartlowe with many other mo. Ca. xviii.

Howe a great fire, like to destroye all Chestre, by myracle ceassed whan the holy shryne was borne about the towne by the monkes. Ca. xix.
A breue rehearsall of the myracles of saynt Werburge after her translacion to Chestre... Ca. xxi.

A charitable mocion / counsel / & desire to al thinha bitantes w'in the countie palatin of Chester for p° monastori... ca. xxii.

A little orison or prayer to p° blessed virgin saint Werburge by the translatour of this warke... Ca. xxiii.

A short conclusion of this little werke to the reders by the translatour... Ca. xxiii.
[ BOOK II. ]

The prologe of the translaitour of this lytell treatyse in the seconde boke.

1

Ow whan we consyder / with mynde dylygent
The merueylous maners / & synguler condycion
Of the comyn people / symple and neclygent,
Whiche without lytterature / and good informacyon
Ben lyke to Brute beestes / as in comparyson,
Rude / wylde / and boystous / by a prouerbe, certan,
' Good maners and conynge / maken a man.'

2

Saynt Paule sayth / shewynge to the Romans
How all thynge wryten / in holy scription
Is wryten for our doctryne / and ghostly ordynans,
For our great conforte / and endeles pleasure.
All thynge is knowne playnly / by lytterature,
Morall vertues / be noted by it full playne
Frome vyce and neclygence / to abstayne, certayne.

3

What were mankynde / without lytterature?
Full lytell worthy / blynded by ignoraunce.
The way to heuen / it declareth ryght sure
Throug perfyte lyuynge / and good perseuerance;

k 2
PROLOGUE TO BOOK II: ON THE USE OF LITERATURE.

By it we may be taught / for to do penaunce
When we transgresse / our lordes commandment;
It is a swete cordyall / for mannes entent.

How shulde the seuen / scyences lyberall
Haue ben preserued / vnto this day,
The wysdome / of the phylosophers all,
But alone by lernynge / it is no nay.
The notable actes / of our fathers, I say,
(yf litterature were nat) myght nat nowe be tolde,
Nor auncient histories and cronyles olde.

The lawe of ciuile / and of holy canon
By study be preferred with moche honour
To execute iustice / and for due reformacion;
The most blessed doctrine of our sauiour,
The actis of the apostoles / with the doctours four,
Be preserued by wrytyng / and put in memorie,
With the lyues of saintes many a noble storie.

Of whiche histories we purpose speciall
To spake of saint Werburge / vnder your protection,
Declaryng the ende of her lyfe historiall
As we haue begun / and made playne mencion
In the fyrst volume by breue compilacion,
There playnly descriuyng her liniall discens
Of .iiii. myghty kyngdomes by true experience;

Also we haue shewed in the sayd littell boke
Her goodly maners / and vertuous disposicion
Of her yonge age / who-so lyst theron to loke;
And howe her bretherne suffred martyrdome;
Of her fathers realme a litell discrpcion;
Howe she was professed in the place of Ely;
Of her conversacion within the sayd monastery;
8
After for her vertue / howe she was made abbasse Of diuers monasteries, flouryng in vertue ;
And of the great miracles whiche there done was
For her great charite / by the grace of Iesu ;
Howe diuers of her kynrede dyd clerely exchewe
All wordly pleasures and honours transetory, Professynge obedience at the place of Ely ;

Also we haue shewed vnder your licence
Of her departure from this lyfe mortall, And of her sepulture at the place of Hamburgence ;
The manyfolde myracles shewed by grace supernall, The wofull lamentacion of her systers all ;
And howe after .ix. yere of her translacion
By diuine ordinaunce miracles were done.

We humble require you of your charite
To this seconde abstract to graunt pardon,
Consyderynge we omytte whilom the historie
And speke of cronicles / makyng a digression ;
It is of no ignoraunce / nor presumption,
But to enlarge the mater and sentence,
To gladde the auditours / and moue their diligence.

In ourseconde boke expresse nowe wyll we,
Vnder your licence and speciall tuicion,
Of this blessed virgin / flourynge in chastite,
Why and wherfore she came to Chestre towne,
Principally by miracle / and diuine prouision,
And howe for synne / vice / and wykednes
Danes oppressed this lande with wretchednes,

And howe she was receyued at Chestre citie ;
Of the fyrst foundacion of towne and the place ;
Of the great myracles there shewed openlie
I shall add the history of Chester and its Abbey.

To chanons and monkes / by singular grace,
Unto every creature in extreme case,
Howe Werburge deleyuered the towne from enmite,
From dredfull fire / and plages of miserye.

Also encronicled foloweth here expresse
A brefe compilacion of kyng Edwarde seniour,
Of kyng Ethelstam / the great worthynes,
Of humble kyng Edgare regnyng as emperour,
Of his comyng to Chestre / of his great honour;
And howe Erle Leofrice repared of his charite
The mynstre of Werburge, gyuyng therto libertye;

Of the seconde foundacion of the sayd monastery
From secular chanons to monkes religious
Soone after the conquest, sayth the historye,
By the erle of Chestre nominat Hug. Lupus,
With counsell and helpe of blessed Anselmus;
And of the great compas of the sayd abbay,
Enuired with wallses myghty to assay;

Howe Richard erle of Chestre by myracle ryght
Was preserued from daunger of Walshemen,
And howe he was drowned about mydnyght
Purposyng to distroye the monastery, certen.
Celestiall signes were shewed to men and women,
To children and innocentes by singular grace
Of blessed Werburge, patronesse of the place:

These miracles specified / and many other mo
This virgin shewed within Chestre cite,
Whiche at this tyme we let ouer go,
Lest to the reders tedious it shulde be.
Almyghty god, both one two and thre,
Sende vs of theyr grace to make a good ende:
Helpe, lady Werburge, this warke to amende.
Horrible tokens precede the invasion of the Danes.

I Of the comynge of cruell pagans to this lande / and howe saint Werburge longe lyenge hole and incorrupt at Hambury, than was resolued to powder. And howe the kynge of merciens was chased from his lande. Ca. i.

17

Fore the comyng of danes to this lande
Merueilous signes were shewed in syght,
To convuert the people (as we vnde[r]stande):
Sterres in the heuen shynyng full bryght,
Dyuersly mouyng apperyng day and nyght,
Rennyng in the ayre dredfull to beholde,
By longe continuaunce, sayth the story olde;

18

Flamyng fire / dragons in the ayre fleynge,
Thondryng / and layth / erth-quake moost terrible,
With many other signes / as cometis blasyng,
Were seen in the ayre / to nature horrible;
Vpon clothynge of people bloddy dropes odible
Euydently appered: the yere of grace
vii. hundreth .lxxxvi. in many a place.

19

By whiche sayd signes wonderfull to se
Two plages of pestilence folowed incontinent:
The first was great derthes, hungre and pouerle,
The seconde was the greuous and sore punysshement
Of the cruell Danes, cursed and fraudulent;
Whiche trouble began the .iii. yere of Bricticus,
Kyng of westsaxon[s] / saith maister Alfridus.

20

The thyrde yere folowyng these signes, in certen,
Danes and Norwaies enterprised this lande,
In the north partie, an hoost of armed men,
Whiche cruelly spoiled and distroied holy Ilande,
With Tynmouth abbay / and all that myght be fonde,
WHY GOD SUFFERED THE DANES TO WASTE ENGLAND.

Drowned and slewe the people euerychone,
Brenned churches / townes / spared no religion.

In short tyme after the prenominate pagans
At tamysmouth reentred this realme agayne,
Destroyed many cites by their myghty ordynaunce,
Oppressed London / Canturbury by power, certayne;
The kyng of Merciens to escape was fayne;
Kyng Adoulfus made the danes a batell,
To whiche kyng by grace the victorye befell.

yf ye wyll consydyre the cause wherfore and why
Our lorde suffred pagans to punysshe this region,
The treuth was this: for synne specially.
For in the primatiue churche / with great perfection
Kynges / quiennes / dukes entred religion,
Professed obedient, chaste, without propurte,
Vertue to encrease / true loue and charite:

That tyme was iustice ministred with mercy,
True loue and amite founde in euery place;
Dissimulacion / pride and fals enuye
Durst nat appere in halle nor in palace,
Extorcion, pollynge opteyned no grace;
The commaundementes of god were obserued a-ryght,
Charite was feruent / encreasynge day and nyght.

By proces of tyme / as sayth myn auctour,
Through great possession / power / and liberte
Vertue decreased in holy churche day and houre,
Holy religion decayed pitiousle,
Charite was colde / iustice and equite,
Extorcion, disceyte were vsed euery day,
Couetise / pride / lechery were ryued alway:

Therfore our lorde of his great ryghtwisnes
Suffred cruell people to entre this region,  
A scourge, to correct synne and wykednes;  
Like a swarme of bees from dyuers nacion,  
Whiche had no pite, mercy nor compassion:
Danes, Gotes, Norways, and scottes also,  
Pictes and the wandeles, with mony other mo.

These foresayd fearfull and cruell nacions,  
Moost cruell pagans, dyd great persecucion,  
From the begynnyng of Adelwlefe, kyng of westsaxons,  
Tyll the comyng of normans vnto this region,  
The space enduryng by full computacion
Two hundreth yeres complet.xxx. also,  
With the swerde of vengeaunce, fire and moche wo.

The yere of our lorde .D.CCC. fyfty and one  
At Tamysmouth arriued a great hoost of pagans  
With .iii. hundreth ships, and .l. men of armes echone;  
Whiche destroyed Douer / and put the lande to greuans;  
Agyne Bernulphus, the kyng of Mericians,  
The paynyms preuayled / and caused his hoost to fle;  
Whiche fortune enforced them more bolder to be.

But the yere of grace .D.CCC. sixe and sixtie  
The greatestt noumbré of the pagans all,  
viii. kynges, entred this realme by victorie,  
Norwaiés / gootes / Wandels / danes in especiall,  
With many other nacions within in generall;  
Kyng Hingware and Hubba than came to this lande,  
Whiche slewe saint Edmunde, kyng of Estenglande.

The cruell paynyms and tyrauntes moost furious,  
Repleit with malice / pride / and enuye,  
Seruauntes to satan and ministres malicious,  
Purposed to desolate holy churche wyckedly:
Brenned monasteries and spoiled vitterly
Many churches, chapels, of a mortal hate,
Slew religious men, and nonnes dyd violate.
The people were punysshed in euery place;
To olde, sicke and impotent they shewed no mercy,
Yonge soukyng children coude fynde no grace,
Wyddowes and wyues were put to vilany,
Maydens were corrupt / and slayne chamfully.
So all this realme endured confusion,
Put to greuous payne / deth / and affliction.
After these infidels had ben at London
And there accomplisshed theyr cruell entent,
They soone proceded towards Lincoln region,
From thens directly with hasty iugement
To the realme of Merciens, noble and auncient
Right vnto Repton, where the kynge lay;
Robbyng and spoilynge all in theyr way.
This kynge of Mercelande, called Burdredus,
Regnyng .xxii. yere upon the merciens,
Was clerely expelled by the pagans furious,
And went vnto rome with pure conscience;
Where he is buried by divine prouidence—
Whiche kynge was cosyn by descent liniall
To blessed Werburge so glorious and pudicall.
This gracious virgin and preelect abbasse,
Buried at Hambury (as is sayd before)
Continued incorrupt and hole in that place
In vesture and body .ii. hundreth yere and more;
But whan the danes came with suche rigour
To Repton abbay / than she was resolved,
And of deuocion full richely shryned.
Howe the people of Hambury brought the shryne to Chestre / and of the solemne receuyng of it by all the inhabitauntes of Chesshyre. Cap. ii.

34

N meane tyme the danes pitously destroyed The monasteries of Werburge / Trentam & Wedon,
As they many other places had euyll oppressed
In the north and eest part of this region ;
The kyngdome of Kent suffred lyke punicion,
The Ile of Wyght endured moche torment :
So dyd the Westmarches / for punysshement.

35

The people of Hambury, wysely consyderyng The comynge of danes vnto Repton,
And of the departure of Burdred, theyr kyng,
Howe all Englande was in great affliction,
And howe they were next to endure punicion—
Whiche forsayd Repton was distaunt from Hambury
The space of .v. mile, sayth the history—

36

The Hamburgenses with all the comons and clergy,
Dredynge full sore the pagans flagellacions,
Of their lyues desperate / but for the shryne specially,
To our blessed sauiour made dayly inuocacions
With vigils, prayers and feruent meditacions,
To preserue the countrey / the relique / the shryne
From daunger of enmite and miserabe ruyne.

37

As they continued in cotidian prayer,
The best remedie sekyng for to fynde
To auoide vexacion and all greuous daunger
Of theyr great enimies cursed and vnkynde,
The holy goost inspired theyr mynde
To take the shryne with great humilite
And brynge it to Chestre from perill and enmyte.
THE CLERGY, &c., GO IN PROCESSION TO MEET THE SHRINE.

38

They toke this riall relique of reuerence
With great mekenes, deuociyon and feruour,
Through the grace of god, theyr helpe and defence,
Came to-warde Chester with diligence and honour—
A place preordinat by our sauiour
Where her body shulde rest and worshipped be,
Magnified with miracles next our ladie.

39

Whan the clergie of Chestre and the citezens
Herde tell of the comynge of this noble abbasse,
They made preparacion and great diligence,
In theyr best-maner worship and solace
To mete this relique of singular grace;
The great estates / and rulers of the countray
Were redy to honour saint Werburge that day.

40

First was ordeyned a solemne procession,
With crosses / and baners / and surges clere lyght,
The belles were tolled for ioye and deuociyon;
The ministres of god in coopes redy dight,
With censours of siluer / to encense her body right;
All prestis and clerkes redy to say and synge
Proceded in ordre / this holy virgin praysyng.

41

Next to the clergie approched in degree
The lordes of the shyre, knyghtes, barons, all;
With feruent deuociyon / praysyng the trinite
Whiche sent to them suche comfort spirituall.
The citezens ensued with gladnes cordiall,
With bokes and beades / magnifieng our maker
For this great treasure to kepe them from daunger.

42

Venerable virgins next sette in ordre clere,
With lilies in theyr handes / coronate with chastite,
Good widowes and wyues appoynted well were,
WELCOME TO CHESTER, SWETE LADY.

Gyuynge true thankes vnto this virgin fre.
Nex[t] them assemble all the commonte
In all goodly maner, dyuised by discrcion,
Praysyne saynt Werburge with humiliacion.

When they approched to her hie presence
And comon were afore this relique most riall,
They kneled all downe with mycle reuerence,
Salutyng the shryne with honour victoriall,
Magnifiying with melodye and tunys musicall
This glorious virgin / nothyng done amis,
Syngynge Te deum to the kyng of blysse.

The lorde / the cite^ins / and all the commons
Mekely submytted them-selfe to the shryne,
With manyfolde prayses and humble supplacions,
With interiour loue / and morall discipline,
Trustyng all in her to saue them from ruyne,
From greuous daunger / and cruell enmite
By her entercession vnto the trinite.

They gaue due thankes vnto this abbasse,
Deuoutly sayenge knelyng vpon kne:
"Welcome, swete lady, replet with grace,
The floure of mekenes / and of chastite,
The cristall of clennes and virginite;
Welcome thou art to vs euerychone,
A speciall comfort for vs to trust vpon!

"Welcome, swete princesse / kynges doughter dere,
Welcome, faire creature / and rose of merciens,
The diamonde of dignite / and gemme shenyng clere,
Virgin and moiniall of mycle excellence;
Welcome, holy abbasse of hie preeminence,
The rutilant saphire of syncerite,
Welcome, swete patronesse, to Chestre cite!"
"Thou art our refuge / and singular succour,
Oure sure tuicion, next to the trinite,
Oure speciall defence at every hours
To releue thy servauntes in all necessite;
Thou art our solace and helpe in eche degre,
Oure joye / trust / and comfort / and goostly treasure:
Welcome to this towne, for euer to endure!"

Against her comynge into Chestre cite
The stretes were strawed with flowrs fragrant,
The mancions and halles edified rialle
Were hanged with arras precious and pleasaunt,
Torches were caried on eche syde flagrant;
Also ouer the shryne was prepared a canaby
Of cloth of golde and tissewe riche and costly.

Thus with great worship, decoure and dignite
Of all the clergie, lordis and citéens
She was receyued with great humilite
Into the cite with humble reverence,
The clergie syngyng with mycle diligence,
The comons prayeng with loue feruent,
Folowyng this relic after their entent.

In procession they passed all in to the towne,
With ioye and great gladnes, ye may be sure,
In ordre togyther, in charite and deuocion,
Praysyng our sauionr and this virgin pure;
They brought full solempne with gostly pleasure
This riall relic to the moost noble place
Within all the cite, as our lordes wyll was.

This seconde translacion of this virgin bright
From Hambury abbay vnto Chestre cite
Was celebrate, with ioye and gladnes full right,
The yere of our saueour in his humanite
viii. hundreth complet .v. and seuentie;
355
Alured regned than kyng of this region,
Victorious and liberall / coronate at London.
357
52
This kyng deuyded in .iii. partes his richesse:
One parte to the poore, the seconde to religion,
The thyrde part to scholers / the fourth to bild churches;
And of a day naturall / he made trium diuision:
viii. hours to rede and praye with feruent deuocion,
viii. hours occupied with businesse naturall,
And other .viii. hours to rule his realme riall.
362

henric'. li°. v.
 Nobilitas innata tibi probita[ti]s honorem,
Armi potens Alurede, dedit / probitasq3 laborem,
Perpetuumq3 labor nomen : cui mixta dolori
Gaudia semper erant : spes semper mixta timori.
Si modo victus erat / ad crastina bella parabat,
Si modo victor erat / ad crastina bella pauebat;
Tam post transactos regni viteq3 labores/
Christe1 ei sit vera quies / scep trumq3 perenne. 1 r. Christus

A lital description of the foundacion of Chestre / and of
the abbay-churche within the sayd cite / where yf holy
shryne by grace remayneth. Cap. iii.

53

Two cites of legions in cronicles we fynde:
One in south-Wales / in the tyme of Claudius
Called Caeruska / by britons had in mynde,
Orels Caerleon / byylde by kyng Belinus;
Where somtyme was a legion of knyghtes chiualrous.
This cite of legions was whilom the bysshops se
Vnto all south-wales / nominat Wenedocie.

54

Another cite of legions we may fynde also
In the west part of Englande / by the water of Dee, 
Called Caerlleon of britons longe ago, 
After named Chestre, by great auctorite; 
Iulius the emperour sende to this sayd cite 
A legion of knyghtes / for to subdue Irelande; 
Like-wyse dyd Claudius (as we vnderstande).

The founder of Chestre / as sayth Policronicon, 
Was Lleon Gauer / a myghty stronge gyaunt, 
Whiche buylded caues and dongions many one, 
No goodly buyldyng / propre ne pleasaunt; 
But the Kynge Leil, a briton sure and valiaunt, 
Was founder of Chestre by pleasaut buyldyng, 
And of Caerleil also / named by the kynge.

Ranulphus in his cronicle yet doth expresse 
The cite of Chestre edified for to be 
By the noble romans prudence and richesse 
Whan a legion of knyghtes was sende to the cite, 
Rather than by the wysdome of Britons or policie; 
Obiectyng clere agaynst the britons fundacion, 
Whiche auctour resteth in his owne opinion. 
A° gratie. lxv.

Kyng Marius, a bryton, regnyng in prosperite 
In the West partie of this noble region, 
Ampliat and walled strongly Chestre cite 
And myghtly fortified the sayd foundation. 
Thus eche auctour holdeth a singular opinion. 
This Marius sleue Reodric, kyng of pictis lande, 
Callyng the place of his name Westmariland.

This 'cite of legions,' so called by the Romans, 
Nowe is nominat in latine of his proprete 
Cestria quasi castria / of honour and pleasance: 
Proued by the buyldyng of olde antiquite
In cellers and lowe voultes / and halles of realte
Lyke a comly castell / myghty, stronge and sure,
Eche house like a toure, somtyme of great pleasure.

Vnto the sayd Chestre all northwales suject were
For reformacion, Iustice and iugement;
Theyr bysshops see also it was many a yere
Enduryng the gouernaunce of brutes auncient;
To saxons and britons a place indifferent;
The inhabitauntes of it manfull and liberall,
Constant, sad and vertuous / and gentyll continuall.

Of frutes and cornes there is great habundaunce,
Woddes / parkes / forestes / and beestis of venare,
Pastures / feeldes / comons / the cite to auauce,
Waters /pooles/ pondes / of fysshe great plente;
Most sweete holsome ayre by the water of dee;
There is great marchandise / shyps / and wynes strang,
With all thyng of pleasure the citezens amonge.

The yere of our lorde a hundreth sixe and fyfty
Reigned vpon this lande a briton kyng Lucius,
Whiche with great desire required instantly
His realme to be baptizd of pope Eleutherius.
Whose charitable mocion was harde full gratius:
The pope enioyed / graunted his peticion
And sende .ii. doctours to convuerte this region.

The doctours by prechyng and singular grace
In short tyme converted the greatter Britayne;
The people confessed their synne and trespase,
Baptizd all were / forguyenes dyd attayne;
Idolatrie cessed through-out this lande, certayne;
With grace circumfulced and lyghtned was Englande,
By faith to god professed was all Wales and scotlande.
Kynge Lucius ordeyned / by the doctours mocion
xxviii. bisshops in this realme for to be,
And .iii. archebisshops, for gostly exhortacion,
To reduce the people to vertue and humilite.
At London was set the chiefe archebisshops se,
The seconde in south-Wales at cite of legions,
The thyrde was at yorke, all subiect to the britons.

Churches were edified in many a place
Here in the more Britayne with diligent labour,
Christis faith encreased by speciall grace,
Faithfull religion delated euery hour;
Diuine servise was songon & sayd with great honour,
True faith and deuocion were dayly encreasynge,
Namely in Chestre by grace continuall abidyenge.

Certaynly, sith baptym came to Chestre cite,
Soone after Lucius / and afore kynge Arthure,
By the grace of god and their humilite,
The faith of holy churche dyd euer there endure
Without recidiuacion and infection / sure;
Wherfore it is worthy a singular commendacion,
Aboue all the citees and townes of this region.

The perfect begynnyng and fyrst foundacion
Of the monasterie within the sayd cite
Was at the same tyme by famus opinion
That baptym began within this countre;
The great lorde of Chestre of landes and auncetre
First edified the churche for comfort spirituall
In honour of the apostels Peter and Paule.

Whiche churche was principall to all the citie,
And the mouther-churche called withouten doubt;
It was their buriall by great auctorite,
THE FAITH REMAINS INTACT IN CHESTER.

To all this sayd cite / and .vii. myle without;
The cemiterie was large to compase it about.
But what by sufferaunce and processe of tyme
Many olde customes ben brought now to ruyn.

In whiche mother-churche of Peter and Paule
All holy sacramentes ministred dayly were,
With great encreasement of vertues all,
Continuall endurynge more than .CCC. yere,

In the britons tyme / of blodde noble and clere,
Afore the comyng of saxons to this lande,
Whiche with apostasie enfected all Engelande.

So after that the Angles / Iutes / and saxons
By fortune of batell / power and policie
Had clerely subdued all the olde britons
And them expulsed to wales and wylde countre,
The faith of holy churche remayned at chestre cite

In the sayd churche, truely, by singular grace alone,
Like as the faith of Peter neuer fayled at Rome.

What tyme saint Austin, the doctour of Engelande,
Had baptized Ethelbrut, r. Ethelbriet
And by relation dyd fully vnderstande
That the faith of Christ most digne and excellent
In the citie of legions was truely remanent,
In the churche of the apostoles Peter and Paule,
He magnified our lorde with thanke speciall.

That season there was a noble monasterie
xii. myles from Chestre, nominate Bangour,
Where religious monkes lyued vertuouslye,
Almost .iii. thousande / obedient euery hose,
Without possessions / lyuyng by theyr labour:
Vnto whiche place he sende for helpe at nede,
To convuert the saxons (sayth venerable Bede).
KING OFFA EXPELS THE BRITONS.

72
Saynt Austin approched the cite of legions, Whom he required to preche to the saxons The faith of holy churche and baptym diligent. To whose humble prayer / they were disobedient, Many of them were slayne by kyng Ethelfride.

73
That season the britons remayned vnder licence Of Angles and saxons within the sayd cite, Tyll the dayes of Offa, kynge of merciens, Regnyng in the west marche with great victorie; Whiche kynge expulsed by power and chialerie All brutes and walshemen clere out of his londe, In peyne of punysshement none there to be fonde.

74
Whan the said churche, hauynge great liberto, Dayly augmented in vertue and holynes, Prestis and clerkes praysed the holy trinite And the sayd apostoles with great mekenes, The cite encreased in worshyp and ryches; Churches were edified with feruent deuocion In sondrie places within the sayd towne.

75
This noble kyng Offa agaynst the pagans Of .xvii. batels had euer the victorye; Confederate was with great Charles, kyng of Fraunce, And edified saint Albans monasterye; Of Englande first toke the hole monarchie; Gaue Peter pens vnto the court of Rome; Translate to Lichefeld e the se of Canturbury; xxxix. yere regned fully in this region.
S. Werburgh's Shrine Translated to Chester in 875.

A brief reheasall of the first foundacion of the mynstre of Chestre | and of the institucion of secular chanons in the tyme of kyng Edwarde senior. Cap. iiiii.

The yere of grace D.CCC. seuynte and fyue, 527
Kyng Alured regned 1 vpon 2 this region, 

The relique, the shryne full memoraigntye
Was brought to Chestre for our consolacion,
Reuerently receyued, set with devotion
In the mouth-er-churche of saint Peter and Paule,
(As afore is sayd), a place moost principall.

In whiche holy place vnto this present day
She bodilye resteth by diuine prouidence,
And so by his grace shall continue alway,
In honour, worshyp / and mycle reuerence;
A devout oratorie of vertue and excellencye,
Prepared by our lorde / where speciall remedy
Is agayne all greuans in soule and in body.

The primatyue gyftes gyuen to the place
Immediatly were after her comynge
Of devout people replet with grace
In the dayes of the forsayd Alured kyng:
Of landes and libertes they made moche offerynge
To god and saint Werburge / after ther possession,
Tristyng to her prayer and sure protection.

The people with devotion and mynde feruent
Gane diuers enornmentes vnto this place:
Some gaue a coope / and some a vestement,
Some other a chalice / and some a corporace,
Many albes and other clothes offred ther was,
Some crosses of golde / some bokes / some belles;
The pore folke gaue surges / torches / and towelles.
The citizens offered to the sayd virgine

For the great miracles amongst them wrought

Many riall gyftes of Jewels to the shrine,

Thankynge our lorde, that hath vs all bought,

And blessed Werburge in worde, dede, and thought—

Women and children she mynded full gracious,

As testifieth the archebisphe Antoninus.

Divine service was observed devoutly

Every day, encreasyng with fervent adoracion

As the feast required / and the solemnite,

To the honour of our lorde and his glorificacion;

Preistis and clerkes with pure meditacion

Obseruynge their dutie gaue vertuous example

Of great perfection to the common people.

After kyng Alured / regned his son

Edwarde senior, by liniall discence,

Crowned the yere of grace .ix. hundreth and one,

with wordly glorie and great preeminence;

Buylded castels, townes of myghty defence,

Subdued the danes .vii. tymes in batell;

Encreased his realme manfully and well.

That tyme the realme of merciens was translate

By the kynge / and gyuen to duke Ethelrede,

A noble man of auncetre / politicke and fortunate,

Whiche maried his syster, lady Elflede,

Doughter to the forsaid valiant kynge Alured;

The sayd gentilman was wyse and vertuous,

Sad and discrete, pacient and famous.

This lady Elflede, duchesse of merciens,

Had speciall loue and singular affection

To blessed Werburge, and true confidence:
ELFLEDE INSTITUTES SECULAR CANONS.

Wherfore she mynded with great dilectacion
To edifie a mynstre, a place of deuocion,
To this holy virgin, for profite of her soule,
Enlargynge the churche of Peter and of Paule.

She moued her husbande with great mekenes
To supplie the same dede of his charite,
And diuers other nobles of theyr goodnes
For aide in that cause after their degree.
Joyfull was the duke of the mocion gostle,
Glad were the nobles within all the shire
To founde a mynstre after her desire.

Afore the holy roode in a table writen is
At saint Iohans churche without the sayd cite,
Howe that prince Edmunde, the thyrde son e-wis
Of Edwarde senior, true foundour shulde be—
To whom lady Elflede was aunt by aunctrer.
So betwix twayne was founded in short space
An holy mynstre, of vertue full and grace.

They sende for masons vpon euery syde,
Counnyngge in geometrie / the foundacion to take
For a large mynstre, longe, hie, and wyde,
Substancially wrought / the best that they can make,
To the honour of god / for saynt Werburge sake;
At the est ende taken theyr sure foundacion
Of the apostoles churche / ioynynge both as one.

Whan it was edified / and curiously wrought
And all thyng ended / in goodly proporscion,
Than riche enormentes were offred and brought
Of the said nobles with great deuocion;
Temporall landes / rentes / possession
Were gyuen, for euer to mayntayne the place
Of blessed Werburge by singular grace.
Spiritual ministers were elect also:
Secular chanons, of great humilite,
To synge and psalmode our sauiour vnto,
Within the sayd mynstre hauynge a perpetuite;
Prebendes were assigned to that fraternite,
With townes / borowes / and fredomes manifest,
Continually encreasyng vnto the conquest.

And the olde churche of Peter and of Paule
By a generall couensell of the spiritualte
With helpe of the duke moost principall
Was translate to the myddes of the sayd cite;
Where a paresshe-churche was edified, truele,
In honour of the aforesayd apostoles twayne,
Whiche shall for euer by grace diuine remayne.

Also we may note, holdyng none opinion,
This lady Elflede of her charite
Of the sayd mother-churche translate the patron,
Caused the sayd oratorie reconciled to be
In the honour of the most blessed trinite
And of saynt Oswalde, martyr and kyng,
For the loue she had to hym continuynge.

The yere of our lorde ix. hundreth and viii.
This noble duchesse with mycle royalty
Reedified Chestre / and fortified it full ryght,
Churche / house / and wall, decayed piteousle.
Thus brought vnto ruyne was Chestre cite
First, by Ethelfride, kyng of Northumberlande,
And by danes / norwaiies, vexyng all Englande.

Also she enlarged this sayd olde cite
With newe myghty walles stronge all-about,
Almost by proporcion double in quantite
To the forther byldyne brought without dout;
She compassed in the castell enemies to hold out
Within the sayd Walles, to defende the towne
Agaynst danes and walshemen, to dryue them all downe.

After the deth of her husband Ethclrede
She ruled the realme of mercelande manfully,
Buylde churches / and townes repared in dede,
As Staforde / Warwike / Thomwort / and Shirisbury;
Of newe she edified Runcorñ and Edisbury.
The body of saynt Oswalde also she translate
From Bardeney to Gloucetur, there to be tumulate:

Where she edified a noble monastery,
With licence of her brother afore nominate,
In honour of saint Peter / over the blessed body
Of the sayd saint Oswalde / kyng and martyr coronate.
In wiche monastery this lady was tumulate,
The yere of our lorde .ix. hundreth and nyntene;
Whom myn auctour prayseth in this wordes serene:

O Elfleda potens / o terror virgo virorum:
Victrix nature, nomine digna viri.
Te quoq splendidior fecit \(^1\) natura puellam, \(^1\) r. Tu quo sp. fieres
Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.
Te mutare docet \(^1\) sed solum \(^2\) nomina sexus, \(^1\) r. decet, \(^2\) solam
Tu regina potens / rexoq3 trophea parans.
Iam nec cesarei tantum meruere triumphi,
Caesare splendidior virgo virago. Vale.

Of the notable myracles of saynt Werburge shewed in the
tyme of chanons / and fyrst houe she saued Chester from
distruision of walshemen. Cap. v.

His glorious Werburge and virgin pure
By singular grace of god omnipotent
Shewed many myracles to euery creature,
MIRACLES OF ST. WERBURGE AFTER HER TRANSLATION.

To blynde / dombe / halt / lame / and impotent,
In the cite of Chestre / whan her shryne was present,
Like-wyse as in her lyfe at Wedon / at Hambury—
Witneseth the same her true legende and history.

Wherfor e to the honour / prayse / and laudacion
Of Iesu / the seconde persone in trinite, 1 P. Where
And of this virgin a speciall commendacion, 1 r. to?
We purpose to reherse nowe with charite,
Vnder the protection of you that shall the reders be,
Parte of the myracles / with mynde diligent
In this humble stile / and sentence consequent.

The first myracle / that our blessed sauiour
Shewed for his spouses / after her translacion
To Chestre: was nye the tyme of Edwarde seniour,
Son to kyng Alured, famous of renowne.
The Name of britons was chaunged that season,
Were named walshemen, in the montaynes segregate,
Euer to the saxons hauynge inwarde hate.

The Walshemen that tyme had ouer them a kyng
Called Griffinus / to be theyr gouernour,
Electe by the comons their appetite folowyng,
Endurate with malice / couetise and rancour,
Ennemies to englisshemen / as is said before.
This kyng entended by mortall enuy
The cite of Chestre to spoyle and distrye

A myghty host descended from the mountans,
Well armed and strongely approchyyng the cite,
Prepared for batell, with them great ordinaunce.
The sayd Griffinus and all his company
With his power passed ouer the water of Dee—
Whiche ryuer adioynmeth to the sayd towne,
Betwene Englande and Wales a sure diuision.
This kynge layd siege vnto Chestre cite
With all his great host / there honour to wyn—
By policie of warre / encreasynge myghtyle.
For whiche the citezens remaynyng within
were sore disconsolate, like for to twyn:
With wofull heuy hartes they dyd call and crye
Vpon blessed Werburge for helpe and remedye.

The charitable chanons with great deuocioun
Toke the holy shryne of theyr patrones,
Set it on the towne-walles for helpe and tuicion,
Trustynge on her to be saued from distres.

But one of the ennemyes with great wyckednes
Smot the sayd shryne in castygng of a stone,
And it empaired / piteous to loke vpon.

Anone great punysshement vpon them all lyght:
The kyng and his host were smytten with blyndnes,
That of the cite / they had no maner of syght;
And he that smote the holy shryne, doubtles,
Was greuously vexed with a sprite of darkenes,
And with hidous payne expired miserably—
The kyng was sore a-dred / and all his company.

Shortly the kyng remoued his great host,
Departed from the cite without any praye,
And gaue in commandement in every coost
Saynt Werburge landes to meynteyne alway,
Assigned her possessions euer after that day
With the signe of the crosse, a token evident,
In pleasyng this virgin / for drede of punysshement.
Howe saynt Werburge cured and healed a woman thre tymes (whiche was halte and lame) to helth and prosperite agayne. Cap. vi.

An honest matrone dwelled / Eadgida nominat, Whiche by continuaunce / and payne of sickenes Was made halt and lame / of helth all desperate; yet to saynt Werburge her hart was eleuate, Instantly required with humble supplicacion This holy virgin for helth / and preseruacion.

Anone by the merite of this lady clere The pacient restored to helth and prosperite, Gaue honour and thankes to Werburge and prayer, Entendyng euer after her true servaunt to be And truely continue lyuyng in pure chastite. But shortly she brake her promesse made in syght, Folowyng her appetite and carnall lustes full ryght.

She had great riches, welth and prosperite And maried with pleasure after her entencion; Wher[for]e thries she endurred her olde infirmite, And thries was cured, by meke intercession, To helth of body from peynfull contraction. Thus by the merite of this virgin pure She was deliuered from peyne thries to pleasure.

This forsayd Eadgide, prudently ponderyng These notable miracles with her gostly eye, Gaue great commendacion and speciall thankynge To almyghty god / with feruent humilite And to saynt Werburge, knelynge on kne, Came to her oratorie and gaue an oblacion To the holy shryne with singular deuocion.
She saves Chester from the Danes and Scots.

Howe saynt Werburge saved Chester from innumerable barbarike nacions / purposyng to distroye and spoyle the sayd cite utterly. Cap. vii.

An other tyme innumerable barbarike nacions Came to spoyle Chester, to robbe it and distroy,
(Sayth the historye) from diuers regions:
Harolde kyng of danes / the kynge of gotes & galwed, Maucolyn of Scotlan, and all theyr company, With baners displayed, well armed to fyght;
Theyr tentes rially in hoole heth were pyght.

They set theyr ordinaunce agaynst the town
Upon every side / timorous for to se,
Namely at the northgate they were redy-bowne
By myght, police to haue entred the cite.
The citezens dredyng to be in captiuite,
Made intercession vnto this holy abbasse
For theyr deliuerance in suche extreme case.

The deuout chanons sette the holy shryne
Agaynst theyr enemies at the sayd northgate,
Trustyne to Werburge to saue them from ruyne
And shewe some myracle to them disconsolate.
For the citezens were of their lyues desperate,
Passynge mannys mynde to escape theyr daunger
But all-only by merite of this virgin clere.

As the kynges were sautyng this forsayd cite,
Trustyng for a praye to haue it eyvery hour,
One of the sayd ennemies, replet with iniquite,
Nat worshyppyng ye virgin / nor dredyng our sauiour,
Smote this riall relique with a stone in his rancour,
Brake therof a corner, curiously wrought,
Cast all to the grounde: then sorowe came vnsought.
The sayd malefactour nat passyng the place
Vexed with the deuill for his greuous offence,
Roryng and yellyng his outrageous trespase,
Tore his tonge a-sonder in wodely violence,
Miserable expired afore them in presence;
Satan ceased nat to shewe great punysshement
Vpon his soule and body / by signes euident.

These kynges considerynge this soden vengeaunce
Amonge them all lyght so soone and hastely,
Shortly remoued their great ordinaunce,
Departed from the cite with their company;
Callyng on this virgin fast for grace and mercy,
Promyttynge neuer after to retourne agayne
To disquiete her seruauntes and cite, in certayne.

\* Howe saynt Werburge by her merite sent frute to a
barrayne woman by syngular prayer made vnto her.
The .viii. chapitre.

Noble gentilman / a consul in office,
Descendyng of the hie and riall blodde of costy,
Elected a spouses at his owne deuice,
A swete faire gentilwoman, curtes and comly,
Nominat Iudith / ioynned to hym in matrimony ;
With whom this lady lyued a longe season
Barrayn and fruteles of generacion.

She daily lamented her great wretchednes,
As woman infortuniate full of miserye,
Prayed to saynt Werburge with interiour mekenes
For remedy and helpe agaynst that wofull infamye,
Desired to haue issue and frute of her bodye,
If it pleased god / and this virgin also,
Most greattest comfort to brynge her hert from wo.
WHO, FOLLOWING HER INSTRUCTIONS, CONCEIVES.

117
Saynt Werburge appered to her in vision,
In white bright vesture / clere as the cristall,
Expressyng words of great consolation,
Most joyfull to Judith to make rehersall:
Commaundyng her by the effect speciall
To go to her churche with singular devotion
And praye our sauiour with humble supplication,

118
Also for to compasse her holy aulter
With a linen cloth / knelyng on her kne,
And after for to take the same cloth in-fere
And compas her wombe about reverentle.
This Judith was joyfull / and rose vp yerle
And truely fulfylled this gostly vision;
From thens departed to her propre mancion.

119
Soone after this wyfe afore-rehersed
Conceyued a childe and had succession,
Praysyng this virgin in hart, worde and dede;
And after the tyme of her purificacion
Of the same faire cloth she made oblacion,'
Richely set in syluer / well wrought in compas
With many riche enormentes she sende to this place.

120
After came her-selfe vnto the monastery
With many of her neyghbours / there nye dwellynge,
Praysyng and laudyng this glorious lady,
With cordiall thankynes g makynge theyr offerynge,
Of this great myracles 1 true witnes bearyng; 1 r. myracle
Departed from the place with ioy and devotion
All the sayd company / eche to theyr mancion.
Of a woman great with childe with peyne brought out of her wytte / by saynt Werburge was restored to reason agayne. Cap. ix.

In the province of Chestre / knowen it is of olde, A certayne man dwelled / of great honeste, Whiche had a doughter disposed manyfolde To sondrye vertues / clennes / and humilitie. This humble mayde ioyned was in matrimonye To an honest yong man / of whom she conceyued And was great with childe / openly perceyued.

Whan the tyme approched of her deliueraunce, Vexed she was with mycle wo and payne, Continually enduryng / with suche hidous greuaunce That out of her mynde she went, incertayne; All phisike and medicyns were founde to her in vayne: No comfort in erth, helpe nor remedye For her myght be founde in suche extremite.

Her father and mother / and her frendes all Brought theyr dere doughter with great deuocion To saynt Werburge churche /requiryng speciall This blessed virgin / with humble intercession To helpe the pacient from all vexacion, Promyttynge an oblacion to this lady bryght Whan she vnto reason were comen a-ryght.

And as she slepped at the aulter ende, Wofully cruciat with peynes hiduous, Passyng mannes cure it for to amende: Anone by the merite of this virgin glorious She was released from all payne greuous And fully restored to her reason agayne, Had good deliueraunce / and spedde well, in certayne.
A WOMAN, STRUCK BLIND, IS CURED BY ST. WERBURGE. 161

125

Whiche myracle known / her frendes euerychone 870
And all the good matrons of the sayd cite
Came holly togyther with theyr oblacion
To the holy shryn, thankynge with hart fre
This blessed virgin of her benigne,
Whiche is so redy a mediatrice alway
To helpe her true seruauntes both nyght and day. 876

126

Within the same cite afore the abbay-gate 877
 Dwelled a woman / which brake the commaundement
 Of god and holy churche / hye sabbot-day dyd violate
 Vnlauffuly wurkynge: wherfore great punysshement
 Fell vpon this woman with peynes equiualent,
 Sodaynly smytten / wurkynge full busely
 With greuous blyndnes / and mycle miserye. 883

127

This woman, consyderynge her syght was gone,
The pleasure of this worlde, her helpe and succour,
Hauynge to lye by / small riches or none,
Cried maynly 'out out, alas' euery hour,
'Wo is me wretche, fulfylled with dolour! 888
Alas, I was borne to abyde this wofull day
My maker to displease! / alas, what shall I say?' 890

128

She called to memorie with hye discretion
The myracles that Werburge shewed to mankynde:
By grace she repented / with suche contricion
That water distilled from her eyes blynde,
Dolefully lamentynge / that she was so vnkynde;
Ruthfully was brought to Werburge oratory,
Trustyng in this virgin to haue remedy. 897
As she continued in her supplicacion, Woefully wepynge / abidyng the great grace Of blessed Werburge / with singular inuocacion, Anone she was cured to helth and solace, Restored to her eye-sight / she passed the place, Prayed our lorde and this virgin pure, Was a holy woman after, ye may be sure.

How saint Werburge restored to helth and prosperite vi. lame and halt persons by singular grace. Cap. xi.

The excellent fame of this glorious lady Dilated was through all this region, Manifest by myracles full honorably: Therfore from diuers partes came many a person For helth of body and gostly conuersacion, Some to be cured from Payne intollerable And some of olde sores that were incurable.

Amonge whom there came vnto her place Sixe wofull persones / cured for to be, Halt, blynde and lame, besekyng her of grace With humble supplicacion vpon them haue pite, ¹ P. treares. With wepynge teares¹ sayenge / 'o souerayn ladie, O imperiall princesse / and kynges doughter dere, Heele our disease by thy instant prayer!

'O blessed virgin and holy moiniall, O glorious abbasse / and worthy gouernour, O pereles parens and ministre spirituall, O celestiall gemme resplendent with honour, Praye for vs wretches vnto our sauiour, That we may opteyne here mercy and grace, Cured of our sekenes / after to se thy face.

¹ Dilated was through all this region, Manifest by myracles full honorably: Therfore from diuers partes came many a person For helth of body and gostly conuersacion, Some to be cured from Payne intollerable And some of olde sores that were incurable.
A YOUNG MAN IS CONDEMNED TO THE GIBBET:

133

‘Thy name transcendeth this realme, swete lady,
Thy myracles magnisien thy great goodnes,
Thy worship encreaseth with honour and glorie
Daily euermore through thy great holynes:
Shewe nowe thy power / cure vs from sekenes,
That by the we may prayse the kyng of blis,
As thou hast cured many one or this.’

134

By these meke prayers / in hert full penitent,
And many other orisons sayd priautly
Callyng on this virgin with denocion feruent,
For certayne / or they passed the monastery
They were all cured from peyne and malady.
In wytnes wherof / and triall as it was
Theyr staues remayned longe after in the place.

1 Howe a yonge man thries hanged vnlaulyfully, was thries
delyuered by saynt Werburge from dethe to lyfe and lyberte. Cap. xii.

135

A lmyghty god gaue in commaundement
By moises lawe / to his people echone,
No innocent to slee by wrongfull judgement
Nor causeles to punysshe by greuous oppression,
Also to beware of lyght suspection.
Wherof a myracle we shall nowe expresse,
Done in Chestre cite by Werburge theyr patronesse.

136

A certayne yonge man dwelled in the cite,
Honest in maners / and of good conuersacion,
Disposed to vertue and humilite;
Was arrest and taken of a lyght suspicion
By the officers and rule[r]s of the sayd towne,
Gyltles accused most innocently,
Condemned and judged to deth shamfully.
Supposynge the soule separate from the body,
A white dove descended afore them in presence of them,
And lyght vpon the gebbet immediatly;
The byrde with his byll brake the rope, truely,
The prisoner escaped that tyme from deth,
Shortly reuiuynge toke naturall breth.

Whiche thynge notified, so meruallous in syght,
The ministers returned / theyr labour in wayne:
Toke this innocent by power and myght,
Vpon the sayd gebbet hanged hym agayne.
Thus he was deleyuered by myracle from payne:
The tortuous tormentours cessed their tyranny,
Permytted the prisoner to go at liberte.

Whiche myracle knownen / his frendes and cosyns all
Returned agayne with glad mynde and chere.
The prisoner mette them, louyng god in speciall
And blessed Werburge in his best manere.
The devout citezens approched them nere,
Went all to the shryne the virgin thankynge;
The belles were tolled for joy of this thyng.

† Howe at the maner-place of Vpton saint Werburge restrayned wylde horses from distruction of cornes put in by theyr ennemyes. Cap. xiii.

Also the thyrde season approched to Chestre cite

Many cruell ennemyes in the part of Wirall, Purposyng to spoyle / and distroy all the countre, The people and theyr frutes / theyr corne and catall. The citezens, dreadyng to be captyue and thrall, Fortified the cite with men of armes bright, Hauynge sure artillarie for to defende and fight.

The husbandes of the countrey about there dwellyng, Agaynst the sayd ennemyes makyng sore prouysion Brought their corne & cattell / their husolde remaynyng, In assurance to be / to the parke of Vpton, Saynt Werburge landes, from all distruction— Whiche parke from Vpton was distaunt a myle space, A prebende to a chanon of her mynstre and place.

These wycked ennemies fulfylled with malice, Agaynst all conscience and ordre of charite, In no-maner wise dreadynge the hie iustice Entred the sayd parke with mycle cruelte, Pulled downe the paale at pleasure and liberte, Put in theyr horses, made great distruction Of cornes and catell, of a hie presumpcion.

Werburge, remembrynge theyr great wyckednes, Theyr malice and myschief agaynst her possession, By myracle shewed her power and goodnes,
Preseruynge her seruauntes from all vexacion
And punysshyng her ennemies with great affliction,
As she hath done many seasons or this
By mean to her spouse, our lorde kyng of blis.

When the corne-sheuys laye broken afore them playne, the horses had no power any part to take:
For why? by myracle / theyr heedes all, in certayne,
Were vp holden in the ayre / theyr bodyes sore dyd quake,
They touched no frutes / wast they dyd none make.
Of the principall doers / some raged out of mynde,
Some smetyn with palsy / some lepre, halt and blynde.

Whiche punysshement knowen vnto all the host,
The rulers and captens without any delaye
Knyt agayne the sheuys / that none shulde be lost,
With tremblynge hartes humbly began to praye
This holy virgin to saue them that daye;
Upon a condicion / escapynge from payne:
Endurynge theyr lyfe neuer to turne agayne.

From that tyme furth ther dare no nacion,
Consyderyng the power of this virgin pure,
Approchyng Chestre cite to make derogacion;
Denmarke, Goet, nor Galway-scot, ye may be sure,
Cruell danes nor walshemen dare nat procure.
Wherfore the citezens haue cause to loue the place
And thanke this virgin for her helpe and grace.

† Howe a chanon of Chestre hauyng his leg and thie broken,
was restaured to helth by saynt Werburge, hys patronesse. Cap. xiii.

Within Chestre-mynstre, that holy place,
Dwelless a chanon nominate Vlminus,
Sad of disposicion by syngular grace,
A CANON, ULMINUS, BREAKS HIS LEG:

Humble and pacient / discrete and vertuous,
Liberall and honest / gentyll and piteous;
And for a pastyme this was his pleasure,
To hunt and to hauke to confort nature.

And as this chanon rode for his solace
On huntyng with other honest company,
By fortune vnfrendly— / the more pite was,
Both horse and man fell to grounde sodendly,
In perill of theyr lyues standynge in ieperdye:
The horse downe lyenge oppressed the chanon,
Brake his leg a-sondre / with blod great effusion.

Whan by his company the chanon was vp take,
He fell in a swowne for anguisshe, wo and payne,
All wordly riches redy to forsake
For one hour of quietnes to be had agayne;
Vnto his mancion they brought hym, certayne,
Where he continued in mycle wo and langour,
Abydyng allonly the mercy of our sauiour.

Couznyng surgeons were sought vpon euery syde,
To cure this gentylman from penalite;
But none of them / by wysdome coude prouyde
Clerely to heele hym / and do hym remedye.
Thus he remediles / in extreme ieopardye
Prayed to saynt Werburge, his patronesse,
For helth and remedye / of her great goodnesse.

Whose humble prayer with inward loue feruent
Was graciously harde of her charite:
For right soone after appered evident
A byrde like a doue, most clere for to see,
Into the chanons chambre the byrde flow, trule,
Among the company / and anone, doubtes,
The place was repleit with odour and swetnes.
Soone after the company euerichone
Were sadly on slepe, a thynge meruaylous,
And afore the pacient by playne vision
Saynt Werburge appered in his syght full glorious,
Sayeng: 'my chaplayne and seruaunt vertuous,
Why be ye absent from diuine seruice,
Nat doynge your dutie accordyng to iustice?'

'Ma dame,' he sayd / 'and swete president,
It is well knowen to all the cite
Of my mysfortune and harmes euydent,
Howe my horse almost had oppressed me.
Wherfore an impotent I endure mysere;
It is no feyned cause / that I do expresse.
I beseke you of helpe nowe, swete maistres.'

Saynt Werburge, euer piteous and merciable
Vpon her servantes in great distresse,
Conforted her chaplayne with wordes delectable,
Proued in effect by her excellent goodnes
To his syght and felynge, as he dyd expresse:
She touched the foote / that sore and broken was,
Cured it holly from payne by singular grace.

When she had cured thus this impotent,
Anone she departed out of his syght.
The chanon gaue honour to god omnipotent
And to this virgin and lady bryght
Of this gostly vision, comfort and lyght;
All payne was past, sekenes, vexacion,
Helth was come, by playne probacion.

The chanon rose vp the same mydnyght
And went to mattens, as custome was.
His bretherne were glad with all theyr myght,
Prayed our lorde of his singular grace
And Werburge, patrones of the sayd place;
Also with honour, reuerence and humilite
The bretherne sange te deum solemle.

A brefe rehersall of certayne kynges | and how kyng
Edgare came to Chestre. Also hove Leofrice, Erle of
Chestre, repaired divers churches. Cap xv.

After the decesse of kyng Edwarde seniour
Ethelstan his sonne was coronate at London
Kynge of this lande / regnyng in honour
With power, regalite by true succession;
Valeant in chialry and actes euerychone,
Subdued danes / scottes / norwayes / britons all,
Opteyned triumphe / and dignite imperiall.

The fourth yere of his reigne / and the yere of grace
viii. hundreth .ii. and seuenty by full computacion
Guy erle of Warwike by fortune slayne hase
Colbrownd the gyaunt / floure of danes nacion.
The sayd kyng Ethelstan by power and renowne
Thries subdued danes / and slewe the kyng of Irelawde,
Nominat prince Anlaff / as we vnderstande.

This noble Ethelstan was good and gracious
To all-holy churche / namely to religion,
Rygthfull in judgement / liberall and piteous
To his true subiectes through his dominion;
To mynstres and holy places had great affection,
Confirmed theyr foundacions with libertes clere,
Whose noble actes be touched a lytell here:

Regia progenies produxit nobile stemma,
Cum tenebris nostris illuxit splendida gemma,
Magnus Ethelstanus, patrie decus / orbita recti,
Illustris probitas a vero nescia flecti.
After Ethelstan regned Edmund, his brothur, Fyue yeres in honour / hauyng great victory. Princis Elred and Edwyn succided eytherothur, In great busines with scottes and danes, truly. Next whom meke Edgare / sayth the history, xvi. yere of age / coronate at Kyngston, With peace and quietnes first ruled this region. In whose natiuite the blessed Dunstan Herde angels singe with mycle melody: 'Peace is nowe come to Englande, certan, Quietnes / and rest / honour / and victory.' Of cornes and frutes that tyme was plentie; Danes / norwaiies / scottes / britons in euery place Submytted them-selfe to the kynges grace. Science encreased, true loue and amite, Vertue was exalted in all this region; Monasteries were edified of his benigne, Endowed with riches / and riall possession: xl. religious places by famous opinion Were newly buylded by the sayd noble kyng, In sondry places of this realme standyng. Secular prestes expulsed sothely were From diuers monasteries with great discretion, Religious persones, repleit with vertue clere, Entred their places cause of deuocioun; Charite was feruent and holy religion; The lyues of sayntes were soth in eche place, And written in legendes for our comfort and grace. Many shyps were made vpon the kynges cost To serche by the se all his lande about, That no alian entre in no-manner cost,
EDGAR, AT CHESTER, RECEIVES THE HOMAGE OF 8 KINGS. 171

By policie and manhod to holde all his enemys out.
Danes / norwaies / scottes durst nat ones loke out— 1161
Suche drede all nacions had ensuyng the tyme
That kyng Edgare regned by prouidence diuine. 1163

167

In progresse he passed ones in the yere 1164
Eche quarter of the realme with his company,
To se that his subjectes well ordred were
And the lawe observerd / iustice with mercy.
Than was none oppression, wronges nor injury,
Debate, malice, rancour myght nat be founde;
True loue and charite was in all the londe. 1170

168
Kynge Edgare approched the cite of legions,
Nowe called Chestre / specified afore;
Where .viii. kynges mette of diuers nacions,
Redy to gyue Edgare reuerence and honour,
Legiance and fidelite depely sworne full sore
At the same cite: after to be obedient,
Promyt at his callyng to come to his parliament. 1177

169
From the Castell he went to the water of Dee
By a priue posturne through walles of the town;
The kyng toke his barge with mycle rialte,
Rowyng vpwarde to the churche of saynt Iohn;
The forsayd .viii. kynges with hym went alone:
Kynge Edgare kept the storne / as most principall,
Eche prince had an ore to labour with-all. 1184

170
When the kyng had done his pylgrimage
And to the holy roode made oblacion,
They entred agayne into the sayd barge,
Passynge to his place with great renowne.
Than Edgare spake in praysyng of the crowne:
‘All my successours may glad and joyfull be
To haue suche homage, honour and dignite.’ 1191
Also it is to be had in memory
That this sayd Edgare and his princis all
Came with great reverence vnto the monastery,
To worshyp saynt Werburge with mynde liberall;
Where he gaue fredoms and priuileges speciall,
With singular possessions of his charite,
Confirmynge the olde grauntes by hye auctorite.

This Edgare was nominate in cronicles expresse

‘The floure of Englande’ / regnyng as emperour,
Lyke-wise as Romulus to romains was of prowes,
Cyrus to the persis / to the grekes their conquerour,
Great Charles to frenchemen / to troians Hectour;
Famous in victorye, preignant in wysdome,
Vertuous and pacient / feruent in deuocion.

Also from the byrthe of our blessed sauiour
A thousande fyfty yere / and seuyn expresse,
In the tyme of saynt Edwarde kyng and confessour,
As William Maluesbury beareth wytnes,
Than Leofricus, a man of great mekenes,
Was erle of Chestre and duke of merciens,
Son to duke Leoffwin by liniall discence.

This noble Leofric, sayth policronicon,
Of his deuocion and beningne grace,
Namely by the counsell and vertues mocion
Of his lady Godith, countes whiche was,
Reedified churches decayed in many a place, 1217
Also he founded the monastery of Leonence,
By the towne of Herforde / and the place of Wenlece.1219

175
This erle repareled a noble olde monastery,
Euesham vpon Auen / gaue them great riches ;
Also founder was of the abbay in couentre,
Made the cite free, for loue of his countesse:
At the cite of Chestre of his great goodnes
He repared the College-churche of saynt Iohn,
Endowed it with riches and enormentes many on. 1226

176
This erle of Chestre, the sayd Leofricus,
Of his charite / and fervent deuocion
To the honour of god / reedified full gracious
The mynstre of Werburge within the sayd towne,
Gaue vnto it riches and singular possession,
Endowed the sayd place with Fredoms and liberte
And speciall privileges, confirmed by auctorite.

177
So the sayd place encreased in honour,
In great possessions / fredoms / and richesse ;
With singular deuocion vnto our sauiour
And prayse to saynt Werburge, theyr patronesse,
The chanons obserued vertue and clennes,
Daily augmentyng by diuine sufferaunce
Vnto the comyling to this lande of normans.

178
Of the comyling of Willyam conquerour to this lande, and
howe Hug. Lupe, his syster sonne, was founder of Chestre
monasterye. Cap. xvi.

The yere of grace .M. sixe and thre-scour,
The .xiii. day of the moneth of october
The duke of Normandy / William conquerour,
Pight a stronge batell / displayed his baner, 1245
Of normans and frenchemen hauynge great power, 1246
Subdued kyng Harold / opteyned all the londe, 1247
Was coronate at London / made saxons all bonde. 1248

For diuerse great causes he came to this countre: 1249
First for deth of Alured, his nere kynsman;
The proscirpcion of Robert archebisshop of Canterbury;
The periury of Harold against conscience playne;
The promys of saynt Edward made to hym, certayne, 1250
That the sayd Wylliam shulde enjoye the crowne,
If the kyng departed without succession. 1251

A generall counsell was celebrate at London, 1252
That all bysshops sees by helpe of the conquerour
From borowes shulde be translate to a famous towne
Within their diocese / to the greatter honour.
Ryght so they all were / sayth myn auctour;
Also the see of Lichefeld was translate to Chester,
By helpe and sufferaunce of the bysshop Peter. 1253

With Wylliam conquerour came to this region 1254
A noble worthy prynce nominate Hug. Lupus,
The dukes son of Britayne / and his syster son;
Flourynge in chialrly, bolde and victorious,
Manfull in batell / liberall and vertuous:
To whom the kyng gaue for his enhertainc
The counte of Chesshire, with the appurtinaunce,

By victorie to wynne the Forsayd Erledom, 1256
Frely to gouerne it as by conquest right;
Made a sure chartre to hym and his succession,
By the swerde of dignite to holde it with myght,
And to calle a parlement to his wyll and syght,
To ordre his subiectes after true iustice
As a prepotent prince / and statutes to deuise.
HUGH LUPUS CONQUERS CHESHIRE.

183

This valeant knyght with a myghty host
Descended from London to wynne the sayd counte.
But the lordes of Chesshire rose from euery cost,
Agaynst hym made batell and had the victorie;
Thries they preuayed agaynst the erle, trulie.
After he optayned to his fame and honour
The erledome of Chestre, entred as a conquerour.

184

He gaue to his knyghtes after theyr desire
Lordshyps and franches / and great possession,
With riche mariages, within all Chesshire,
Exalted his seruauntes to hye promocion;
Vnto holy churche had special deuocion,
Maynte[in]ynge iustice / commendyng vertue,
Deposyng vice by the helpe of Iesu.

185

After the departure of his vncle, the conquerour,
Whan William Ruff. toke the regalite,
Than blessed Anselme, the famous doctour,
Dyd viset this lande oft-tymes of his charite,
Glad to refourme / and brynge vnto vnite
Where was debate / and mycle diuision,
By diligent labour / and good exhortacion.

186

This forsayd erle of his benignite,
Interiously louynge holy religion,
Repleit with vertue and feruent charite,
Sende for saynt Anselme vnto London,
To come to Chestre at his peticion
And there for to founde a religious place
In honour of Werburge by diuine grace.

187

Blessed Anselme at the erles supplicacion
Came vnto Chestre with gladde chere shortly:
Where he founded an abbyae of holy religion,
A pleasaunt place and a noble monasterye,
In worshyp of god / and saynt Werburge, sothely,
The yere of grace by full computacion
A thousands .iii. score .xiii. yere alon.

All secular prestes / and chanons also,
Within the sayd place afore-tyme dwellyng
Were clerely dismyssed / and letten go;
Religious monkes, perfect in lyuynge,
Receyued were gladly their rule professynge.
Saynt Anselme ordeyned Richard of Beccense
To be their abbot with great preeminence.

Landes / rentes / libertes / and great possession,
Franches / fredoms / and priviileges riall
Were gyuen mekely to that foundation,
Maners / borowes / townes / with the people thrall,
And many faire churches / chapels withall,
Wardes and mariages were gyuen that season
To god and saynt Werburge, cause of deuocion;

Kyng Wyllyam Ruff, son to the conquerour,
Confirmed the foundation / with great auctorite,
Endowed the monastery with mycle honour
Of fredoms / franches / also liberte.
The place that tyme was made as fre
As the sayd erle was in his castell,
Or as hert myght thynke / or tonge myght tell.

Saynt Anselme departed thence vnto London
And was made archebisshop of Canturbury.
To the place he gaue a sure confirmacion,
With singular priviileges to be had in memory;
Of whom it is written here folowyng, truly:

Werburge iura presentia siuo futura.
This noble prince gaue of his charite  
Riall riche enornentes vnto the sayd place,  
Coopes / crosses / Jewels of great rialte,  
Chales / censures / vesture / and landes dyd purchase;  
A librarie of bokes to rede and synge there was—  
Of whiche riall ieweles and bokes some remayne  
Within the sayd monastery to this day, certayne.  

The founder also buylde within the monasterie  
Many myghty places / conuenient for religion,  
Compased with stronge walles on the west partie  
And on the other syde with Walles of the townie,  
Closed at euery ende with a sure postron,  
In south part the cimiterie inuironed rounde about,  
For a sure defence ennemies to holde out.  

The .ix. yere aftre this riall foundacion,  
This noble founder the .xxvii. day of Iuly  
Departed to-warde the heuenly mancion.  
Next whom his son Richarde succeeded, truly,  
Than regnyng in honour the first kyng Henry.  
Also the place had their fraunches and fredom  
Afore the sayd cite a hundreth yere and one.  

Howe saynt Werburge taught her monke and chaplayne to kepe paciens for his greater merite and glorye to come.  
Cap. xvii.  

After the translacion of Chestre monasterye  
From secular chanons to monkes religious  
By helpe of Anselme archebisshop of Canturburye,  
Supportyng therto the founder Hug. Lupus,  
As afore is specified full memorous,  
A monke there dwelled of vertuous disposicion  
Vnder obedience / nominate dan Symon.
This brother Simon, his tyme well vsyng, 1367
Nowe in vertuous study / nowe in contemplacion, 1368
Nowe in deuout prayer / nowe busely wryttyng, 1369
Somtyme in solace / and honest recreacion, 1370
Obserued deuoutly his holy religion, 1371
Obedience / pacience / and wylfull pouerte, 1372
Mekenes / meditacion / with pure chastite. 1373

For whiche examples and signes of vertue 1374
Diuers of his bretherne repleit with enuy 1375
Were fully confederate, enteynyng to subdue 1376
This honest prest by malice and policy : 1377
They layd to his charge open wronges and inury, 1378
They punysshed & oppressed hym with great affliction, 1379
Dayly augmentyng by subtyll collusion. 1380

Dan Symon, offenyng no brother at all, 1381
Obserued pacience / euer callynge for grace, 1382
Wepyng, lamentyng with syghes cordiall 1383
His fortune vnfrendly, remediles / in that case ; 1384
Entended to depart to some other place, 1385
Of a scrupulous conscience / seyng no redresse, 1386
Was redy to procede plonged in heuynes. 1387

Werburge appered to this monke in vision, 1388
Bryghter than Phebus in his meridian spere : 1389
' My seruaunt,' she sayd, callyng hym vpon, 1390
' Why be ye so sad / and heuy of chere ? 1391
Wheder entende ye? shewe the mater clere !' 1392
' Alas,' he sayd, ' ma dame and patronesse, 1393
For sorowe I can nat my peynes expresse. 1394

' Diuers of my bretherne ben greued at me, 1395
Wexyng me dayly with great tribulacion, 1396
Causeles on my part deserued, trule,
In wordes or en dede gyyng none occasion.
I can nat be quiet amonge that congregacion;
Wherfore, swete lady, vnnder your licence
I purpose to departe in sauynge my conscience.'

Saynt Werburge pacified his mynde and entent
With wordes of comfort and holy scripture,
Made hym be humble in hert and pacient,
'Thy sufferaunce shalbe great ioye and pleasure,
And for thy pacience thou maist be sure
To haue rewarde in blis perpetuall
At thy departure from this lyfe mortall.'

Wherwith saynt Werburge departed sodeinl[y]
To the blys of heuyn euer-endurynge.
The monke was meke in hert and mery,
Obserued her doctrine this lyfe continuuyng,
Gaue good example of perfect lyuynge
Vnto his bretherne / and at his departure
For his pacience passed to eternall pleasure.

Howe sondes rose vp within the salt see agaynst Hilburghee
by saynt Werburge at the peticion of the constable of Chestre.  Ca. xviii.

The seconde erle of Chestre after the conquest
Was erle Richard / son to Hug. Lupus :
Whiche Richardes entended all thyng to the best;
To visite saynt Winifride in hert desirous,
Vpon his iourney went / myn auctour sayth thus,
Deuoutly to holy-well in pylgrimage,
For his great merite and gostly aduantage.

Whan the wicked walshemen herd of his comyng
After a meke maner vnto that party,
They made insurrection, inwardly gladdynge,
180  A FORCE SENT TO HIS ASSISTANCE FINDS NO SHIPPING.

Descended from the mountaynes most furiously,
Agaynst the erle raised a cruell company ;
Bytwxt hym and Chestre lettynge the kyngis way,
Purposynege to slee or take hym for a praye.

205
The erle son perceyued theyr malicious entent :
In all hast possible sende to Chestre secretly,
To warne his constable by loue and commaundemen[t],
Wyllyam the son of Nigell / to rayse a great army,
To mete hym at Basyngwerke right sone and spedely
For his deliueraunce from deth and captiuite
Of the wyld walshemen / without humanite.

206
The constable congregate in all goody hast
A myghty stronge host / in theyr best arraye,
To-warde Hilburghee on iourney ridyng fast,
Trustyng vpon shippes all them to convaye—
Whiche was a riall rode that tyme, nyght and daye.
And whan they theder came, shyppyng none there was
To carie all them ouer in conuenient space.

207
Alas, what hert may thynke / or tongue well expresse
The dolorous greuaunce / and great lamentacion
That the host made / for loue and tendernes,
Knowyne their great maister in suche persecution ?
Some wept and wayled without consolacion,
Some sighed and sobbed / some were in extasy,
Without perfect reason. / alas, what remedy ?

208
Wyllyam the constable, most carefull man on lyue
Of his mysfortune, in suche extreme necessite
Called to hym a monke there dwellyng contemplatyue,
Required hym for counsayle and prayer for his charite.
The monke exhorted hym to knele vpon his kne,
Humblie to beseke Werburge, his patronesse,
For helpe and remedy in suche great distresse.
The constable content anone began to pray:

'O blessed Werburge and virgin pure,
I beseeke the mekely, helpe me this day,
That we may transcende this ryuer safe and sure,
To saue and defende my lorde from discomfiture;
And here I promytte to god and the alone
To offre to the a gyfte at my comyng-whome.'

Whiche prayer ended, with wepyng and langour,
Beholde and consydr well with your gostly ee
The infinite goodnes of our sauiour:
For like as to Moises deuided the redde see,
And the water of Iordan obeyed to Iosue,
Ryght so the depe riner of Dee made division,
The sondes drye appered in syght of them echone.

The constable consyderynge / and all the company
This great myracle transcendyng nature,
Praysed and magnified our lorde god almyghty
And blessed Werburge, the virgin pure.
They went into wales vpon the sondes sure,
Deliuered their lorde from drede and enmite,
Brought hym in safe-garde agayne to Chestre cite.

The said Wyllyam constable came to the monasterye,
Thanked saynt Werburge with meke supplicacion,
Fulfilles his promes made in extremite:
Offred to the place the village of Neuton;
Afterwarde he founded the abbay of Norton.
And where the host passed / ouer betwix bondes,
To this day ben called 'the constable sondes.'
Howe Matilde countesse of Chester, counsellynge her husbande agaynst the monastery of Chester, was drowned at Barflewe, with many other mo. Cap. xix.

After the decesse of Hug. Lupe premominate
Richarde, his son, .vii. yeres of age,
Was elect Erle by the kyng, and creat;
With counsaile governed his landes and heritage.
At yeres of discretion he toke in mariage
The lady Matild / nece to the first kyng Henry,
Doughter to erle Stephan, (sayth the history).

At his begynnyng he was a benefactour,
A founder to the place by landes and possession,
By franches and libertes / ayde / helpe / and succour,
Gyuen to the abbay / augmentyng the foundacion:
Proued by his actes of singular deuocion
Enduryng long tyme / tyll that his lady
By wycked counsaile mowed hym the contrarye.

It is red in scripture howe quene Iesabell,
Ambicious of honour agaynst all ryghtousnes,
Peruerted her lorde Achas / kyng of Israeli,
To sle Nabath for his vineyard, doubtsles;
Also Athalia / the bible sheweth expresse,
Commaunded to slee the kynges children all,
That she myght regne sole princesse imperiall:

Ryght so this Matilde, clerely refusyng
The steppes of Sara / Rebecca / and Rachell
And other good matrons : but imitation ¹ takynge ¹ R. mutaçon
Of these wycked women Athali and Iesabell,
Peruerted her husbande by her subtyll counsell
To aske of the abbot the maner-place of Salton
With the appurtinaunce / by famous opinion.
Thabbot, by counsell of his bretherne all, 
Denied to graunt their propre possession, 
The patrimony of Christ, and their landes seuerall 
To the sayd erle Richard and his succession, 
Gyuen by his father at the first foundacion. 
For whiche thyng the erle and Matilde, his lady, 
Hated thabbot / the bretherne / and the monastery.

The erle and his countesse went to Normandy, 
To viset their frendes and cosyns naturall; 
So dyd the princis / their father kyng Henry, 
With many estates of the blodde riall. 
These princis fauored no saxon at all; 
The erle conominat in malice and hate 
Agaynst the monasterie / as a man endurate.

Satan sende forth his seruauntes in hast 
To enfect the erles hert with venomous poison. 
The bedyls of Belial attempted full fast 
The erle and his countesse / to kepe theyr opinion; 
Detractours, flaterers, cause of promocion, 
Trustyng therby to opteyne fauour and grace 
Excited their myndes agaynst the sayd place.

The erle sore attempted by his gostly ennemy, 
By wycked people callyng hym vpon, 
Namely by the counsell of Matilde, his lady, 
Entended to alter and chaunge the foundacion 
Of the sayd abbay to a nother religion, 
Confirmed the same, sweryng most depely, 
At his whom-comyng to Englande / from Normandy.

Thabbot and couent, knowyng this great perell 
By speciall louers and frendes secretly, 
Were pensyue and sorowfull (it was no meruell),
Their hertes plonged in wo and misery,
By naturall reason hauyng no remedy,
Consyderyng his malice encreased more and more
Agaynst the monastery / with wordes of rigour.

222
They had their hope, trust and confidence
In blessed Werburge, their patronesse:
With wepyng eies, clere in conscience
They called her vpon in all their distresse:
'O glorious virgin, lady and swee maistres,
Metigate the malice by thy benignite
Of Richarde our lorde / mekely we praye the.

223
'Suffre hym neuer to distroye thy place
By wycked consell, malice and enuy,
Founded and dedicate by heuenly grace
In honour of god / and the specially;
Protect / defende / and saue thy monastery,
Thy landes / thy libertes / and thy servauntes all,
As thou afore-tyme hast done continuall.'

224
In meane tyme the erle entended spedely
From thens to depart / and retourne agayne,
To fullfyll his entent agaynst the monasterye,
By the subtyll mocion of his countesse, playne.
A ship was prepared / all thyng redy, certayne;
The prince of England / the erle and his lady
Toke shippyng at Barflewe, and all their comp[any].

225
Certaynly, they sayled but a lytell space
Whan agaynst them roose a contrarie wynde.
The mariners to gyde the ship had no grace,
The stormes so great, hiduous agaynst kynde;
On a rocke they ranne / no remedy myght fynde;
Incontinently the ship barst all in-sondre;
The erle and his feliship were turned all vndre.
S° WERBURGE TELLS THE SACRISTAN OF THEIR FATE. 185

226
No man ne childe scaped from deth that tyme, 1577
But one pore seruaunt, whiche swamme to the londe.
Suche was theyr fortune by sufferaunce diuyne.
Many of theyr bodis 1 were neuer fonde, 1 P. bodis.
Thus was their power made thrall and bonde, 1581
Theyr lyues were lost within a s[h]ort space
Whiche were cruell ennemyes vnto her place. 1583

227
On saynt Katharins day at after mydnyght, 1584
Whan matens were ended / and bretherne gon,
Some mournyng, waylyng for drede full ryght,
Some busie in prayer and contemplacion :
Werburge appered to the secristan alone,
Sayenge: ‘ye may be ioyfull in god and mery:
Erle Richardes is drowned, your mortall ennemy.’ 1590

228
The same glad tidying shewed an honest woman 1591
Tollyng at the churche-dore the sayd day and hour,
As she was commaunded by Werburge, in certan,
To thabbot and couent plonged in great langour.
(Whiche myracle herde) they pray[s]ed our sauiour 1595
And blessed Werburge / with hert deuotly,
Syngyng Te deum full solemnly. 1597

1 Howe a great fire, like to distroye all Chestre, by myracle ceased / whan the holy skryne was borne about the townes by the monkes. Cap. xx.

229
From the incarnacion of our sauiour 1598
A thousand / a hundreth yere, .lxxx. also,
On sonday in mydlenton / the .viii. houre,
Whan euery paresshen theyr churche went to
As all christen people of dutie shulde do,
A fyre by infortune rose vp sodeinly,
All flamyng feruente or the people dyd espy. 1604
IN 1180 A GREAT FIRE BREAKS OUT IN CHESTER.

This fearefull fire encreased more and more, 1605
Piteously wastyng hous / chambre / and hall;
The citezens were redy their cite to succour,
Shewed all their diligence / and labour continuall,
Some cried for water / and some for hookes dyd call, 1609
Some vsed other engins by crafe and policy,
Some pulled downe howses afore the fire, truly. 1611

Other, that were impotent / mekely gan praye 1612
Our blessed lorde / on them to haue pite;
Women and children cried ‘out and waile-a-way,’
Beholdyng the daunger and perill of the cite;
Préstes made hast diuine servise to supple,
Redy for to succour their neygbhours in distres (As charite required) and helpe their heuynes. 1618

The fire contynued without any cessyng, 1619
Feruently flamyng euer contynuall,
From place to place meruaylously rennyng,
As it were tynder consumyng toure and wall.
The citezens sadly laboured in vayne all; 1623
By the policie of man was founde no remedy
To cesse the fire so feruent and myghty. 1625

Alas, great heuynes it was to beholde 1626
The cite of Troye all flamyng as fire;
More pite of Rome cite was manyfolde,
Feruently flagrant / empeiryng the empire:
As to the quantite, the cite of Chestire 1630
Myght be assembled this tyme in like case
To the sayd citees, remedele, alas ! 1632

Many riall places fell adowne that day, 1633
Riche marchauntes houses brought to distruccion,
Churches and chapels went to great decay;
That tyme was brest the more part of the towne;
And to this present day is a famous opinion
Howe a myghty churche, a mynstre of saynt Michaell,
That season was brest and to ruynes fell.

When the people sawe their power insufficient,
By diligent labour / wysdome and policye
To subdue the fire / but styll dyd augment:
To almyghty god they dyd call and crye
And to saynt Werburge, the gracious lady,
For helpe and succour in suche wretchenedes,
Wepyng and waylyng for woo and heuynes.

Thabbot and couent of the sayd monasterie,
Religiously lyuyng in holy conuersacion,
Repleit with mekenes and feruent charite,
Toke the holy shryne in prayer and deuocion,
Syngyng the letanie bare it in procession,
Compasyng the fyre in euery strete and place,
Trustyng in Werburge for helpe, aide and grace.

Whan they had ended the holy letanye
From place to place procedyng in stacion,
Anone a stremyng sterre appered sodaynlye,
A white doue descended afore the congregacion
Approchyng as to helpe them / a signe of consolacion.
The people reioysed of that gostly syght
And prayed saynt Werburge with power and myght.

So by the merite of this blessed virgin
The fire began to cesse— / a myracle clere—
Nat passyng the place / where the holy shryne
Was borne by the bretherne / as playnly dyd appere.
The citegens dyd helpe in their best manere;
The feruent great fire extincted was in-dede
By grace aboue nature / in story we may rede.
The clergie, the burges / and the comons all, Consydering the goodnes of this virgin bright, With tendernes of hert and loue in speciall Magnified and praysed our lorde god almyght And blessed Werburge by day, also nyght, Whiche hath preserued of her great charite Chestre from distraction in extreme necessite. Vnto her shryne the people all went, The clergie before, in maner of procession, Thankyng this virgin with loue feruent For her mercy and grace shewed them ypon ; Deuoutly knelynge there made oblacion, Sayeng full sadly / 'we shall neuer able be The place to recompence for this dede of charite.'

A breue rehersall of the myracles of saynt Werburge after her translacion to Chestre. Cap. xxi.

Hese fore-sayd myracles and signes celestiall, By diuine sufferaunce shewed manifestly, Magnificen this virgin and blessed moiniall With mycle worshyp, honour and victoery, Playnly declaryng vnto your memory What singular grace / worshyp / and excellence Our sauiour shewed for his spouse openly, As is rehersed at masse in her sequens. To expresse all myracles written in the place In a boke nominate the thrid passionarye, It wolde require a longe tyme and space, To the reders tedious (no meruayle sothly). Wher[for]e we omytte to writte of them specially, But touched in generall vnto your audience,
A SHORT SUMMARY OF ST. WERBURGE’S MIRACLES.

To rejoyse and comfort your hertes inwardly,
As ye may considre in her sequens.

Certaynly, it is knowne by bokes expresse:
Sith that saynt Werburge came to Chestre cite,
By the power of god and myracle, doubtles,
She hath defended the town from enemite,
From barbaryke nacions full of crudelitie,
Of whom we haue shewed with diligence,
Preseryng her seruauntes / and the monastery,
As is declared in her true sequence.

Also of her goodnes preseryed she hose
The sayd towne from fire in extreme necessitie;
Many divers tymes to their ioye and solace
Releuyng the citezens in wo and penaltie.
For it is well knowne, by olde antiquite
Sith the holy shryne came to their presence,
It hath ben their comfort and gladnes, truly,
As playnyly appereth in her sequens.

Also to blynde men she hath gyuen syght,
To dombe men speche right perfectly,
To deffe men their heryng pleasaut and right,
And helth to sicke men repleit with debilite,
Delyuered prisoners from captiuite,
Passage to lame men / to mad men intelligence;
Suche myracles shewed this blessed lady,
As ye may vnderstande in her sequens.

Women with childe by her had good delyueraunce,
Virgins defended from shame and vilany;
Her seruauntes were cured from wofull greuaunce,
Marchantes and mariners delyuered from jeopardye;
Other were saued from hangyng shamfully;
A speciall comfort, succour and defence
To all carefull creatures sekyng for remedy,

By singular grace / as sayth the sequens.  

No wofull person in payne and wretchednes,  
Man, woman, childe / who-so-euer they be,
Comynge to the abbay with perfit mekenes,
Makyng supplicacion to this lady free,
But they departed ioyfull and merie
To theyr dwellyng-place by her beniuolence,'  
And for their lyuyng had all thyng necessarie,
As written is playnly in her sequens.

For whiche great myracles and signes continuall
This blessed Werburge, floure of humilite,
Of the people is called for grace supernall
Patrones of Chestre' / protectrice of the countre.
Where next our sauiour and his mother Marie
She hath great honour, prayse and preeminence,
As most condigne to beare the principalite,
In witnes werof recordeth her sequens.

This holy abbasse and lady imperiall
Hath ben president in Chestre monasterie,
Theyr trust / theyr treasure / and defence speciall
In mycle reuerence .vii. hundreth yere, trulie;
And so shall continue, by grace of god almyghty,
To the worldes ende in hie magnificence.
To whom be honour, worship and glorie
Euer to endure / as sayth her sequens.

A charitable mocion and a desyre to all the inhabytauntes
within the countie palatine of Chestre for the monasterie.
Cap. xxii.

ye worthye nobles of the west partye,
Considre in your mynde with hye discretion
The perfite goodnes of this swete ladye,
We mean saynt Werburge, nowe at this season, Whiche hath ben your helpe and singular tuicion, And so euer wylbe— / haue this in your mynde Wherfore to her call with humble supplicacion: Wherfore to the monasterye be neuer vnkynde. 1759
1761
251
Remembre / at the foundacion of the sayd place your predecessours and fore-fathers redy were To gyue for their soule-helth by singular grace Parcell of their landes and possessions mere To our sauiour and to saynt Werburge clere, Redy to offre them with humble hert and mynde In perfit oblation, with Hug. Lupe their foundere: Wherfore to the monasterie be neuer vnkynde. 1767
1769
252
Many helde their landes of the sayd monasterie By tenure grand-seriante / and some by homage, By tenure franke-almoigne / other by fealtie With seruice de chiualere / and some by escuage, Some by petit-seriant / and by tenure burgage, As in their euidentes and grauntes they may fynde: 1775 Tres maners de rentes / with tenure villenage: Wherfore to the monasterie be neuer vnkynde. 1777
253
The place hath speciall franches and liberte, Hauynge certayne wardes of landes and mariage Of diuers gentilmen within the sayd counte; All theyr tenauntes and servauntes haue fre passage Within all chesshire without tolle and pillage— Suche auncient fredoms in their dedes they fynde, Gyuen by theyr founders for gostly auauntage: Wherfore to the monasterie be neuer vnkynde. 1783
1785
254
The erle gaue the place many great fredoms 1786 Within Chestre cite / whiche ben knownen of olde, With singular priuileges and auncient customs,
Saynt Werburge faire / with profites manyfolde,
That no marchandise shulde be bought ne solde
Enduryng the faire-dayes (in writyng as we fynde) 1791
But afore thabbay-gate / to haue and to holde:
Wherfore to the monasterie be neuer vnkynde. 1793

Therfore, lordes, barons / ye rulers of the countre, 1794
We you nowe exhorte in our sauiour,
Discretly considre with your gostlie eie
The myght of this mayden and chaste floure,
Shewed by myracles every day and hour—
Whan she was required with true hert and mynde, 1799
In all busines she hath ben their protectour:
Wherfore to the monasterie be neuer vnkynde. 1801

Whan your forefathers haue ben in great perell, 1802
In ioperdie of lyfe on see and on londe,
Or like to be slayne by ennemies in batell,
Or taken by warre in prison fast bonde:
Vnto this virgin / as we vnderstonde,
Whan they called and cryed with contrite mynde, 1807
They escaped all daunger / cam whom safe and sonde:
Wherfore to the monasterie be neuer vnkynde. 1809

Marchauntes passynge with marchaundise, 1810
From lande to lande truly entendyng,
If they were taken with cruell ennemyse
Orels were put in perill of perisshyng:
If they to this virgin deuoutly praying
Made supplicacion with humble hert and mynde, 1815
Anone they opteyned theyr humble askyng:
Wherfore to the monasterie be neuer vnkynde. 1817

If any of you [was] vexed with infirmite, 1818
With sekenes incurable / or other vexacion,
As wronges, injuries, and other maladie.
Vnto saynt Werburge makyng intercession
And to her place promysyng an oblacion
With contrite hert and penitent mynde,
They were soone cured from all affliction:
Wherfore to the monasterie be neuer vnkynde.

And you, honest matrons, remembre you all
The goodnes of this virgin full of grace:
Whan ye in trauelyng vpon her do call
Or haue any relique sende from the place,
ye fortune and spede well in short tyme and space;
And diuers maydens louyng a chaste mynde
From vilany ben saued by her purchase:
Wherfore to the monasterie be neuer vnkynde.

But eche contray / shire / and congregacion,
Some be disposed to vertues generall,
And some to the contrarie, proued by reason:
Folowyng their mynde and appetite sensuall
Haue shewed vnkyndnes to the place spirituall,
And haue ben sore punysshed / take this in mynde,
To all other folowyng and example speciall:
Wherfore to the monastery be neuer vnkynd.

There was neuer man of high nor lowe degree,
Lorde / baron / knyght / marchaunt / and burges,
Attempts to infringe their rightes and libertes,
Remaynyng in the same malice and wyckednes,
But if they repent shortly theyr busynes
Askyng absolution to theyr conscience blynde,
Vengeance on them doth lyght, doubtles:
Wherfore to the monastery be neuer vnkynd.

Diuers malefactours agayne good conscience
Attempts to take there seuerall possession
By subtell policy and wrong-feyned euidens,
By proved perjury and fals collusion, 1855
Whiche in theyr injury and wronge mesprision
Without repentauns in theyr consciens blynde 1856
Sodenly have ben drowed a sharpe punycion:
Wherfore to the monastery be neuer vnkynde. 1857
263

Other have be glad to alienat the patronage 1858
Of certayne churches by malice and enuy,
By a fals enquest for theyr owne auantage,
Defraudyng the right of the holy monastery:
Suche euill doers remaynynge in theyr tyranny,
Without satisfaccion, in their consciens blynde, 1863
Lyke wretches expired moste myserably:
Wherfore to the monastery be neuer vnkynde. 1865
264

Other have ben besy serching day and nyght 1866
To infringe theyr fraunchis and fridome auncient
By fals records, oppugnant to ryght,
As hath ben proud by persones indifferent;
yet they have procured and sought wronge iugement
Agaynst their libertes, in conscience blynde:
Sodayne and euill deth folowed them consequent:
Wherfore to the monasterye be neuer vnkynde. 1873
265

Some other have be, parauenture on late, 1874
Studious to disquiet the place, the company,
And diuers libertes haue alienate,
Also tolled their franchis fraudulently,
From the sayd place well knownen in memory;
Suche mysdoers we moue in conscience blynde 1879
To mende their wronges, lest Payne come sodeynly:
Wherfore to the monasterie be neuer vnkynde. 1881
266

Suche malefactours considre nat discretly 1882
Howe all suche landes, libertes and fredoms
Were gyuen to Christ and ben his patrimonye,
And nat allonly to religious persons;
For all suche fraunches, priviileges, possessions
Of charite were gyuen, of pure conscience and mynde.
To god and saynt Werburge with great deuocions:
Wherfore to the monasterie be neuer vnkynde.

Noe for to make a finall conclusion,
We well perceyue in auncient bokes olde,
All suche transgressours / holdyng their opinion,
Obstinate in malice, indurate and bolde,
Some haue ben slayne / some drowned in water colde,
Some shamfully hanged rebukyng their kynde,
Some wretchedly departed / some cruciat manyfolde:
Wherfore to the monasterie be neuer vnkynde.

A litell orison or prayer to the blessed virgin saynte Werburge by the translatour of this werke. Ca. xxiii.

Blessed Werburge and virgin glorious,
Descended by auncetrie of blod victoriall,
Doughter to kyng Yulfere / and Ormenilde vertuous,
O sufferayne lady and famous moiniall:
With hert and true mynde on the I call,
Thou art my succour / my helpe in all distres:
Defende and saue me from peynes infernall
By thy meke prayer, swete patrones.

O rutilant gemme clerer than the cristall,
O redolent rose repleit with suauite,
Whiche for the loue of thy spouse eternall
Refused hast all vayne pleasures transetore,
Honours / riches / and secular dignite;
Nowe regnyng in heuyn as a quene, doubtles,
Praye for thy seruaunt to the lorde of mercy,
Mekely I beseke the, swete patronesse.
O sufferayne lady full of singular vertue,
Myndyng most religion from thy infancy
Elect to the a spouse our sauiour Iesu,
Professed obedience at the house of Ely,
Where thou observed the sensualls
By grace aboue nature, playn to expresse;
Opteyne me power to haue victory
Ageynst myn ennemyes, swete patrones.

O floure of virgins and comly creature,
Syngyng with angels in the heuenly toure,
Transcendyng the saphir and diamounde pure
In worship, praisyng, Beaute and decur;
What tong can reherse thy ioy and honour,
Whiche is ineffable for man to expresse?
Beseke thy spouse, our blessyd sauiour,
To graunte me mercy, swete patrones.

For thy great vertu and hie discretion
Chosen thou was a pyler here to be
Of diuers monasteryes, to encrease religion
By thy gostly doctrine and humilitie;
Exsample thou gaue of perfit charite
Vnto thi subgettis as a kynde maistres:
Helpe me thy seruaunt of thy benigne
To please my maker, swete patrones.

No maruell it was thought thy subgettis all
Were vertuous and perfect in contemplacion,
Vnder suche a ruler, a hed and principall,
Whose gostly example and exortion
Were corespondent, accordyng in one—
Thy precept and deed were vnit with mekenes:
In this vale [of] misery be my protection,
I humble the require, swete patrones.
Glorious abbasse and flore of chastite,
Carboncle shenyng bothe day and nyght,
All this region by thy noble progenie
And by the is decorat vnder god almyght ;
The presens of thy blessyd body right
Reioisith thy seruauntis in all distres,
Thou art our refuge and lanterne of light :
Succour thy seruauntes, swete patrones.

O pereles princes, lady imperiall,
O gemme of holynes and noble president,
Comfort to all creatures in paynes thrall,
Releuyng all secke, feble and impotent ;
A myrrour of mekenes to euery pacient,
Whose myracles magnifien thy great goodnes :
Defende thy seruaunt[es] from greuous turment
By thy supplicacion, swete patronesesse.

O noble sufferayne and singular protectrice
Of thy true subiectes by speciall grace,
In all necessite a sure mediatrice,
From greuous oppression preseruyng thy place,
A lanterne of lyght in eche wofull case
To illumine thy people plonged in heuynes
With great consolacion and gostly solace :
Nowe lyghten our conscience, swete patronesse.

Swete louely lady, mekely I the praye,
For thy great mekenes and perfect charite,
Make thou intercession both nyght and day
For thy true seruauntes vnto the trinite,
That we may opteyne here grace and mercy
And of our synne to haue forgyuenes,
Afterwarde to come to eternall glorie ;
Helpe nowe and euer, swete patronesse.
A breue conclusion of this litell werke vnto the reders, by the translatour. Cap. xxiii.

278
With tremblynge penne / and hand full of drede
In termes rude translate nowe haue we
The noble historye of saynt Werburge in-dede,
Besekyng all them for their good humanite
Whiche this litell proces shall beholde and se,
For to adde and minisshe and cause reformacion
Where nede requireth after your discrecion.

279
At her lyfe historiall example may take
Every great estate / quene / duches / and lady,
To encrease in vertue / and synne to forsake,
To obserue mekenes and prayer deuoutly,
With pacience of hert / and almesdede, truly.
If thou be widowe / her lyfe well folowyng
Thou mayst be sure in blis to haue a wonnyng.

280
If thou be religious / wearyng blacke vesture,
Take good example at this holy abbasse;
Her lyfe wyll teche the how thou shalt endure
In holy religion / opteynyng mycle grace
With mekenes / meditacion / mesure in eche place,
And howe thou shalt kepe thy sensuals thre
Considerying in heuen thy rewarde to be.

281
If thou be a virgin, of hie or low degre,
Takyng imitation of this virgin bright
Thou mayst well obserue the floure of chastite
And thy spouse shalbe the lorde most of myght;
On whom if thou attende redy day and nyght,
Thou shalt haue merite, as recordeth scripture,
With .v. wise virgins after thy departure.
The cause mouyng vs this werke to begyn,
It was to auoyde slouth and idelnes,
And most for the loue of this holy virgin,
Whiche is our sufferayn lady and patrones.
As for baudy balades full of wretchednes,
And wanton wylde gestis / we purpose none to make,
For drede of losyng tyme / clothed in vesture blake.

Go forth, litell boke / Iesu be thy spede
And saue the alway from mysreportyng,
Whiche art compiled, for no clerke in-dede,
But for marchaunt men / hauyng litell lernyng,
And that rude people therby may haue knowyng
Of this holy virgin / and redolent rose,
Whiche hath ben kept full longe tyme in close.

To all auncient poetes, litell boke, submytte the,
Whilom flouryng in eloquence facundious,
And to all other / whiche present nowe be,
Fyrst to maister Chaucer / and Ludgate sentencious,
Also to preignaunt Barkley / nowe beyng religious,
To inuentiue Skelton and poet laureate;
Praye them all of pardon both erly and late.

If there be any thynge within this litell boke
Pleasaunt to the audience / contentyng the mynde,
We praye all reders / whan they theron do loke,
To gyue thankes to god maker of mankynde,
Nat to the translatour ignoraunt and blynde ;
For euery good dede / done in any cost
It cometh allonly of the holy gost.

Almyghty god, both one two and thre,
We desire the with humble supplicacion,
Saue holy churche of thy benigne,
And all ministres in holy religion;
Preserve the kyngis grace, the Peiris, the region,
Defende our monasterie and thy serua[n]tes all,
And graunt vs by grace to come to blis eternall!

FINIS.

A balade to the auctour.

O thou disciple of Tully most famous
Nowe flourisshyng in the floures of glorious eloquence,
Like as appereth by your stile facundius,
Full worthe laude, prayse and preeminence,
Put forth your werkes full sure of sentence—
Whose auctour / what though vncertayne be his name
Of all the reders exalted shalbe in fame.

Alas, why shulde this delicious werke,
Thus surely sette by pured science,
To be examined by my rudenes all derke,
Whiche knowe full well myn insufficience,
Sith I haue lerned by longe experience
That dulled age in werkes of poetry
Must nedes gyue to poetes place and victory.

Glorious god and kynge eternall,
We magnifie thy name as is but ryght,
Sith thou gaue to vs a floure most riall,
Redolent in cronicles with historicall syght;
Which nowe is departed from this temporall lyght
The present yere of this translacion
M.D. xiii. of Christis incarnacion.
Cuius anime propicietur deus.

An other balade.

O frutefull histore / o digne memoriall,
Enbawmed with doctrine of virtues infinito,
With termes exquised / and sence retoriall,
To spirituall hertes a singular delite,
Fragrant and facunde / of englisshe exquisite,
Holsome in doctrine / for those that it desire:
Auaunce you to rede it / for it is exquisite,
Folowynge theeffect to kepe you from hell-fire.

Rejoyse Chestre / rejoyse ye religious
And thanke your maker of his beniuolence
That hath you gyuen suche treasure precious,
Adocatrice / in your most indigence!
O virgin werburge / of double excellence,
Conserue thy servauntes dayly familier,
Preseruyng them from inconuenience,
The for tensue / that art theyr lode-sterre.

Amonges the whiche to thyth honour
One of thyclientes / with morall retorique
Hath chaunged newly / o mayde most swete flour,
Thy legende latine / to our language publique:
Preserue his soule / and make hym domestique
Within the heuyns / in whiche that thou art sonke—
With deth preuent / he myght nothyng replique:
Harry Braddeshaa, of Chestre abbay monke.

O cruell deth / o theffe vindicatyfe,
To persons vertuous ennemy mortall,
Of this good clerke thou hast abreged the lyfe,
Preuentyng hym with thy dede stronge fatall.
yet in dispite of thy most venomus gall
He hath translate this legende profitable
And left it for holsome memoriall
To all his sequaces— / a gyft most couenable,

With polysshed termes / and good sence litterall,
No place there voyde / but vertue abundeth.
The effect is manifest: for science ouer all
Rethorically thy sentence groundeth,
All vices surely it confoundeth.
Shewynge the legende of this mayde pure,
Her shenyng lyfe eche-where redoundeth.
Suche steppes folowyng / we hope in them tendure.

An other balade to saynt werburge.

With hert contrite accepte my supplicacion,
Aydynge my fraylete and lyfe vacillaunt,
Renegate and contumace in all obstinacion,
Bewrapt with all synne / detestable and recreaunt;
Vouchsafe to supplie Iesu and geat graunt
Remyssion to haue of my synnes generall,
Greuous and thrall / that I may the auaunt:
A, gentill Werburge / to thy doctrine me call.

Wherfore thy father / thy mother Ermenilde
Enclined both to dedes catholique,
Ruffine and Kenrede / thy bretherne were fulfilde
Both with great grace / through martyrdome both like,
With diuers of thy kynne magnifique
Redact in the catholique papall:
Geat me suche grace to voyde all synnes inique
And gentill Werburge, to thy doctrine me call.

With faithfull clennes / thy soule was sure preserued,
Euer contynuyng in doctrine celicall,
Refusyng vanite / from vertue neuer swarued
But in all grace remaynyng principall;
Vnto thy deth exhortyng great and small
Ruled to be / to the preceptes diuine—
Gouerned by grace / were thy disciples all:
A, gentill Werburge, call me to suche doctrine.
Wordly felicite abiect from my courage;
Enuy and pride / with lustes voluptuous,
Rancorous cupidite myn hert sore do aswage,
Bryng oyntmentes sanatiue for my sores dolorous;
Vnclose thy succours / and be beniuolous,
Redy to be preseruyng me from pyne:
Gouerne my lyfe from all actes daungerous,
And gentill Werburge, call me to thy doctrine.

Be nowe beniuolent / whan I shall on the call,
Vnto thy slaue / as my trust hath ben sure;
Leue vnto me for a memoriall
Knowlege effectuall of thy lyfe pure,
Lyuynge ther-after / and so tendure,
Euer in purite my lyfe to contynue,
yeldyng thankes for thy most holsome lure—
Christ ouer vs holde his hande / al vices teschue. Amen.

And thus endeth the lyfe and historye of saynt Werburge.
Imprinted by Richard Pynson / printer to the kynges noble grace / With privileege to hym graunted by our souerayne lorde the kyng. A°.M.D. xxi.

(Engraving on the last page, with the printer's monogram.)
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BY W. M. WOOD.

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bytwyx, 19/318, betwixt, between.
caduce, 112/3099, 115/3176, caducous, falling early or by chance.
Caerleil, 144/385, Carlisle, the city of, founded by king Leil.
Caerleon, the ancient name of Chester, 144/374.
canally, 142/335, canopy.
captens, 166/1025, captains, officers.
carboncle, 197/1947, carbuncle.
cattal, 163/992, cattle.
cause, 170/1153, because.
caytyfe, 41/958, caiffit.
Cead (Ced, 24/459, Cedda, 27/555). St. = St. Chad, instructs Vulfade and Ruffyn
in the Christian faith, 44 et seq.; miracle worked by, 61 et seq.
celicall, 202/18, heavenly, celestial.
cemiterie, 147/467, cemetery.
censours, 140/278, censures, 177/1342, censers.
Cerdicus, first king of the West Saxons, 14/156.
cesse, 186/1625, cease.
cessed, 49/1215, ceased, stopped.
chasles, 177/1342, chalices.
chamfully, 138/208, shamefully.
chanons, 53/1327, canons.
Charles = Charlemagne of France, 148/531.
chartre, 174/1271, charter, agreement.
chastyce, v., 10/41, chastise.
checkemate, 58/1470, checkmate.
chere, 178/1391, countenance.
Cheshyr, 15/202, Cheshire.
chest, 121/3369, coffin.
Chester, the reception of the shrine of St. Werburghhe at, 141 et seq.; the foundation of, 143 et seq.; called a "city of legions," 143/372; the city of, saved from king Griffinus, 154; also from innumerable barbaric nations, 157; the burning of, 186.
Chester cathedral, the foundation and building of, 149 et seq.
chyfe, 14/175, 39/916, chief.
chyrches, 28/563, churches.
cemiterie, 177/1351, cemetery.
citizens, 2/25, citizens.
"City of legions," two places so named, 149/365.
ciule, 132/29, civil (law).
clene, 47/1141, clean.
clennes, 69/1812, 104/2852, cleanliness.
clerke, 12/108, scholar.
clerely, 98/2539, clearly.
clothes 63/1617, tapestry.
clypped, 37/857, called, elected.
Cochede [Coelrede], a son of king Ethelrede, 18/286.
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Colbrond the giant, 169/1118.
collage-chyrche, 86/2321, collegiate church, cathedral.
comen, 40/947, come.
comly, 145/405, comely.
commonte, 141/292, commons, commonalty.
communed, 46/1131, received the holy communion.
comon, v., 141/296, come.
compasynge, 68/1774, endeavoring.
complayne, 96/2626, complaint.
compleccyon, 48/u86, complexion.
compleccyons, 11/57, appearances.
comunes, 90/2441, commons (the people).
comunete, 16/226, community, commonalty.
comynly, 10/37, commonly.
concauyte, 102/2810, hollow of a tree.
concordaunce, 65/1692, concord, harmony, melody.
confort, 20/350, comfort.
coniectour, 62/1599, conjecture.
consecrate, 92/2498, consecrated.
conserue, 91/2482, preserve.
constaunce, 35/794, constancy.
contracte, 25/478, 84/2253, contracted.
contynu, 202/3, contumaciousness.
contynu, 17/256, continue.
conuenyent, 78/2093, proper.
conynghe, 131/7, knowledge.
cooles, 125/3494, coals, fires.
coopes, 140/277, copes, clerical raiment.
coreespondent, 196/1942, corresponding.
cornes, 96/2627, grain.
coronall, 60/1534, coronet, crown.
cornate, 56/1419, crowned.
corporace, 149/551, linen cloth to cover consecrated bread.
correcte, 12/108, correct.
corrected, 52/1312, corrected.
corrupt, 138/208, corrupted.

cost, 175/1278, coast, side.
cosyn, 138/223, cousin.
cosyns, 164/958, relatives.
cotidian, 189/253, cotydyane, 81/2162, quotidian, daily.
couenable, 201/32, convenient.
count, 59/1514, convent.
couerture, 122/3381, cover, the clothing of a corpse.
couneyled, 49/1207, concealed, contrived, misconstrued.
cunninge, 151/605, cunning, learned.
countray, 140/272, country.
countred, 16/236, encountered.
cours, v., 16/217, hunt.
course of kynde, 97/2635, the custom of nature.
create, 10/29, creat, 182/1488, created.
cruciat, 160/864, tormented.
crucyte, 100/2735, excruciating.
crudelite, 124/3466, 189/1702, cruelty.
Cryda, the first king of Mercia, 14/170.
Crysten, 21/376, Christian.
cubycle, 9/5, place for lying down in, bedroom.
cupborde, 64/1669, sideboard holding the plate. [Not the modern cupboard.]
cure, 2/19, labour, work; 66/1726, health.
cures, 57/1453, charges.
curteys, 71/1859, courteous.
cyrcumfulsed, 77/2038, circumfulgent, shining.
cyte, 53/1343, city.
debate, 175/1295, disputation.
debylyte, 111/3070, debility.
decesse, 169/1108, decease, death.
deceuable, 53/1341, deceitful.
declyne, 2/15, incline, cast down.
derorate, 76/2009, decorated.
decoure, 142/337, decorum.
dedes, 191/1783, title deeds relating to lands.
dedycate, 102/2814, dedicated.
Dec, the river, 15/188; miracle of its drying up, 181.
defe, 103/2838; defle, 189/1716, deaf.
degest, 51/1264, disperse.
Deiram, Hereryc, the king of, 19/309.
deken, 88/2221, deacon.
delated, 146/445, increased.
Delbora, 86/802, Deborah.
delyce, 118/3124, delight.
delyted, 88/729, delighted.
demerytes, 88/872, faults, sins.
denayed, 24/465, denied.
depaynted, 61/1577, pictured.
depely, 105/2881, deeply, carefully.
derlynge, 41/967, darling, loved one.
derogate, v., 115/3119, make void, overturn.
derogacion, 166/1033, disparagement.
derogacion, 132/41, describing.
descriuyng, 132/41, describing.
discriuyng, 15/199, a divider (said of the Mersey as separating the kingdoms of Mercia and Northumberland); see also 17/249.

Eadbalde, king of Kent, 22/387.
Eadburg, St., 22/383.
Eadfryde, a son of king Edwyn, 19/307.

Edgide, Eagida, miraculously cured by St. Werburge, 156.
echeone, 63/1634, echone, 181/1471, each one.
eche-where, 202/39, everywhere.

Edelfled, daughter of king Oswy, 25/490.
Edgar, king of England, 170/1133; receives the hommage of eight kings at Chester, 171.

Edmunde, prince, one of the
founders of Chester minster, 151/599.
Edwyn, king of Northumberland, 19/303.
edwy, v., 28/563, build.
ee, 181/1466, eye.
Eest-Englande, the fifth Saxon realm, 14/166.
Eflede, the duchess, one of the founders of Chester minster, 150/583.
Egnicius, a son of king Titylus, 20/331.
Egbyrct (=Egfrid), king, second husband of St. Audry, 72/1905.
Egwyn, bishop, 89/2402.
eies, 184/1551, eyes.
electe, 154/690, elected.
elected to, 80/639, chose for.
Eleutherius, the Pope, 145/424.
eeluat, 121/3369, elevate, 51/1280, elevated, raised up.
Elflede, wife of Peada, 25/497.
Ella, a South Saxon king, 14/153.
embost, 62/1604, embossed, depicted.
Emma, wife of king Eadbalde, 22/388.
empaired, 155/715, damaged.
empeiryng, 186/1629, impairing.
enbawmed, 200, last line, embalmed.
enbrodred, 64/1647, embroidered.
encense, 140/278, incense.
encreased, 88/2378, increased.
endurate, 154/601, endured, filled with; 183/1527, enraged.
Engystus, Duke, rules in Kent, 14/150.
enherytour, 88/2376, inheritor.
enherytryce, 118/3282, inheritrict.
enjoyed, 53/1333, found favour with; 145/426, filled with joy.
enormentes, 149/549, 151/613, ornaments.
enwrm, 123/3431, put in an urn, or environed, surrounded, or adorned.
enquest, 194/1860, inquiry.
enquyred, 80/2138, required.
ensample, 12/111, example.
enspyred, 29/599, inspired.
ensued, 140/285, followed.
Enswyde, St., son of king Eadbalde.
enterprised, 135/135, entered, overran, endeavoured to make prize of.
entree, 102/2805, entry, entrance.
entysement, 43/1035, enticement.
enuired, 134/98, environed, surrounded.
Eorwaldus, a son of Redwalde, 20/329.
equypolent, 18/291, having power.
equyualent, 36/803, equivalent.
Erestwyn, first king of the Eastsaxons, 14/162.
Ercombort, king of Kent, 19/317 (Ercumbert, 22/402).
Erkengode, daughter of king Ercombort, 23/413.
erle, 40/948, earl.
Ermenberge, St., wife of St. Merwalde, 18/289.
Ermenberge, St., daughter of Prince Ermenred, 22/395.
Ermenspur, St., daughter of Prince Ermenred, 22/396.
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escuage, 191/1773, scutage, holding by knight service. essencylas, 88/2372, essentials.
est, 151/609, east.
Estsex = Essex, the fourth Saxon realm, 14/162.
eterne, 54/1356, eternal.
ethelbryct, son of king Ermenryc, 21/372.
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ethelrede, uncle of St. Werburge, becomes a monk, 85 et seq.
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etheistan, king of England, 169/1109.
euangely, 104/2854, gospel.
euery-chone, 24/450, everyone.
euidens, 193/1852, evidence.
evidentes, 191/1775, indentures.
eustach, St., 45/1097.
exaccyons, 74/1655, exc duties, taxes, imposts.
exchewe, 133/54, eschew.
exemples, 94/2563, examples.
exhortacion, 33/739, 51/1280, exhortation.
expedycyon, 90/2423, despatched.
expresse, 13/142, 22/410, exactly.
expulse, 108/2987, expel.
expulsed, 10/33, expelled, banished.
exquisèd, 201/3, exquisèt.
extincted, 187/1666, made extinct, put out, extinguished.
e-wis = ywis, 1wis, 151/599, I know.
eytherothur, 170/1131, one the other.
facundious, 190/2021, full of words.
falled, v., 52/1302, fell, did fall.
fayres, 76/2014, fairness.
faythtes, 63/1638, facts.
fealtie, 101/1772, the oath of loyalty.
felawes, 98/2680, fellows, companions.
feldes, 96/2621, fields.
 feliship, 184/1576, fellowship.
femynyne, 76/2021, woman.
femynyte, 63/1633, women, womanhood.
fere, v., 50/1232, fear.
ferefull, 10/48, afraid.
ferre, 45/1082, far.
feruent, 185/1604, fiercely.
fettred, 104/956, fettered.
fire, 133/120, fiery.
fiers, 125/3494, fires.
finanus, bishop, 26/521.
finomy, 122/3393, face.
flammyng, 62/1602, flaming.
flynge, 125/120, flying.
floure, 104/2851, flower.
floure, 54/1363, chief, most eminent.
flourynge, 17/243, 20/327, flourishing.
foo, 42/962, foe, enemy.
foldes, 97/2643, folds for sheep, etc.
folowen, pi, 96/2611, follow.
folysshenes, 12/92, foolishness.
fonde, 10/25, found.
forsayd, 175/1297, aforesaid.
forthermore, 27/547, furthermore.
fortuned, 44/1055, happened.
fragyll, 71/1875, frail.
fraglyyte, 71/1837, frailness.
franches, 175/1284, franchises.
franke almoigne, 191/1772, holding land by praying for the souls of the dead.
franches, 74/1962, franchises.
fraylete, 202/2, frailty.
fredoms, 191/1783, liberties, rights, free from taxes.
fridome, 194/1867, freedom.
 fro, 9/5, from.
fruyceon, 120/3334, fruyceyon, 10/32, fruition.
fruteles, 158/806, fruitless, barren.
fully, 39/903, complete, full.
fullsore, 51/1255, full sore, sorrowfully.
fundacyon, 86/2327, foundation.
fundy, 122/3383, found.
forth, 166/1031, forth.
fysnarny, 101/2765, face.
fyry, 88/887, fiery, fierce.
fysshe, 145/417, fish.
galwedy, 157/761, Galway Scot, the people of Ireland.
garde, 181/1478, guard.
gate, 18/290, begot.
Gauer, 144/380, Gower.
gauntes, 96/2620, gannets (wild ducks).
Geaf, 21/361, Saxon for Shem.
geanalogy, 171, line 1 of chapter heading, genealogy.
geat, 202/5, get.
gebbet, 164/956, gibbet.
gentyls, 59/1511, gentlefolk.
gestis, 199/2011, jests, merry tales.
ghestes, 65/1680, guests.
ghostly, 32/692, 45/1088, 46/1124, holy, spiritual.
ghostly science, 34/766, holy knowledge.
gladde, 133/70, gladden, make glad.
gladle, 52/1294, gladly.
gladlynge, 66/1697, making glad.
glotony, 2/32, glutony.
goddes, 39/890, goddess.
Goc, 166/1034, Goth.
gostle, 151/594, spiritual, holy.
Gotes, 137/174, Goths.
grand-seriant, 191/1771, holding land by great service.
gratius, 145/425, gracious.
grauntes, 101/1775, grants, leases.
grauntfather, 18/277, grandfather.
Hereswith, wife of St. Anna, 20/338.
Herforde, 16/210, Hereford, hertfully, 39/411, heartily.
herynyge, 49/1213, hearing, 76/2026.
Heryswith, St., wife of king Hererye, 19/314.
heuen, 51/1273, heaven.
heuen-blysse, 58/1482, the bliss of heaven.
heuynes, 51/1256, heaviness.
heyre, 55/1384, heir.
hideous, 155/721, hideous, horrible.
hie, 120/3492, high.
historical, 132/38, history, historical.
hole, 58/1472, whole.
holly, 161/872, 168/1093, wholly.
holsome, 145/418, wholesome.
human, 15/195, the river Humber.
husbandes, 165/996, husbandmen, farmers.
husolde, 165/998, household.
hyduous, 100/2735, hideous.
hye, 12/85, 40/931, high, mighty.
Hyld, St., daughter of king Hererye, 19/311, 25/491.
hystoryall, 18/266, historical.
hyght, 19/314, called.
Iaphet, 21/362, Japhet.
iece, 109/3023, each.
Ida, a Mercian king, 14/173.
Ierarchyeses, 63/1629, hierarchies, the threefold order of priesthood.
Ieramannus, Bishop, 26/522.
Hande Vecta, 27/534, the Isle of Wight.
illumynate, 70/1847, illuminated.
imytyacon, 30/618, imitation.
incertayne, 105/2902, in certain, certainly.
incontynente, 100/2732, forthwith.
indurate, 195/1893, hardened, obdurate.
infortune, 185/1603, mischance, misfortune.
inhabyte, 53/1327, in residence.
inique, 202/15, iniquitous.
innoctes, 85/2231, children.
inprisoned, 62/1599, imprisoned.
ispeciall, 123/3432, in special, specially.
instaunt, 82/2213, pertinacious.
instructe, 78/2073, instructed.
insultacyon, 83/2245, insult.
interiously, 175/1298, interally, earnestly.
inprysoned, 62/1599, imprisoned.
inspeciall, 123/3432, in special, specially.
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instructe, 78/2073, instructed.
insultacyon, 83/2245, insult.
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interyor, 39/891, internal.
joyned, 158/804, joined.
ioynt, 72/1900, jointure, marriage portion.
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Ken, the first realm of Saxons in, 14/148.
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knowes, 41/953, knowest.
knowlege, 108/2977, acknowledge.
Kyneswith, the queen of king Penda, 18/278.
kynred, 18/125, kindred.
lad, 43/1015, lout, ungainly fellow.
Lancashyr, 15/202, Lancashire.
lanturne, 113/3141, lantern.
lande of promyssyon, 62/i6i2, Land of Promise.
lascyuyte, 73/1923, lasciviousness.
layth, 135/121, lightning.
leed, 25/487, laid (i.e. buried).
lefe, 62/1603, leaf.
legiance, 171/1175, allegiance.
Leil, a British king, the founder of Chester and Carlisle, 144/383.
Lent, 41/970. It means that "the most mighty king that ever was born" (i.e. the Saviour) was only lent to the world.
Lenton, 78/2083, Lent.
Leofric, Earl of Chester, 172/1213, re-edifies the minster of Chester, 173/1230.
lepre, 166/1023, leperous.
leu, v., 37/852, 84/2266, believe.
leues, v., 107/2944, leaves.
leues, n., 44/1066, leaves (of trees).
stile, 122/3390, lily.
liniall, 132/41, lineal.
Lleon, 144/380, Llewellyn.
lolynesse, 36/804, 78/2074, lowness, humility.
lorshyppes, 15/183, lordships.
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louers, 50/1252, friends, kinsmen.
Lucius, a British king, causes the realm to be baptized, 145/422.
Lupus, Earl of Chester, 174-175.
lycense, 79/2108, leave.
lycens, 14/146, licence.
lyen, v., pl., 18/284, lie.
lygnage, 21/354, lineage.
lygne, 21/362, line, lineage.
lyght, 93/2541, little.
lyght, v., 88/2226, lighted.
lyghtned, 145/433, enlightened.
lynon, 93/2540, linen.
lynyall, 18/277, lineal.
lysence, 54/1369, licence, leave, lytell, 12/106, 70/1845, little, small.
lytterature, 131/4, literature, letters.
lyue, 43/1022, life.
ma dame, 168/1080, madam, my lady.
maculate, v., 102/2791, stain, defile; 122/3396, stained, defiled.
maende, v., 194/1880, mend.
magnifie, 188/1684, magnify.
magnifique, 202/13, magnificent.
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maydyn, 34/764, maiden.
maynteynge, 175/1288, maintaining.
maystres, 86/2317, maystresse, 13/133, mistress.
mede, 20/339, happiness; 89/2418, merit.
mediatrice, 119/3320, mediator.
medicyns, 160/853, medicines.
medled, 114/3148, oppressed.
meetes, 64/1672, meats.
melody, 51/1264, music, mirth.
memoratyue, 45/1097, memorable.
memorous, 14/159, memorable
memoryall, 104/2858, memory, mind.
menges, 51/1267, amends.
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meruayle, 42/989, merueyll, 33/722, marvelous.
mesprision, 194/1854, misprison.
metigate, 184/1554, mitigate.
mocyon, 55/1379, intention; 56/1430, proposition.
moder, 75/1983, mother.
moued, 88/889, moved.
moynes, 126/3519; moynes, 23/413, 61/1581; moiniall, 141/319; monyall, 12/98, 82/2187, nun.
mone, 9/16, moon.
monestycall, 74/1973, monastic.
montaynes, 154/686, mountains.
monye, 64/1677, money.
moost, 108/2968, most.
more Britayne, 146/443, greater Britain.
most, 9/13, greatest.
mother-church, 146/464, mother-church.
mundayne, 1/6, worldly.
musture, 16/227, mustering together for warlike purposes.
myrthes angelycall, 112/3115, angelical mirth.
myschefe, 50/1234, treachery, wickedness.
mysere, 168/1084, misery.
mysyue, 58/1493, missive, fit for sending.
nat, 1/13, not.
natyuye, 106/2932, nativity.
ne, 1/7, nor.
nee, 182/1491, niece.
neclygent, 88/2235, 131/3, negligent.
Noe, 21/359, 45/1093, Noah.
номynate, 26/517, named.
номyonyon, 15/179, remembrance.
nonnes, 138/203, nuns.
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Norwaies, 135/135, Norwegians.

ny, 28/565, nigh.
nyen, 86/2318, nine.
oak-tree, miracle of the,
102/2802.
obsenques funerall, 78/2091,
funeral obsequies.

parage, 70/1848, quality, high
parentage, blue blood.

party, 39/900, part.
uncle, 116/3226, neither.
notice, 61/1582, notice.
notyce, 62/1614, portion.
pollute, 125/3473, polluted.
pollers, 89/2401, tax-gatherers.
plague, 191/1782, taxation.
plaghe, 124/3466, plague.
plonget, 38/888, plunged.
plouget, 125/3473, polluted.
plum, 135/124, odious.
opple, 17/242, policy.
oppliment, 191/1782, taxation.

poynt, 10/52, gloze over, flatter.
payynys, 137/188, pagans.

Passyonary, the, a book in
Chester monastery, 32/694.

Peter's pence first sent to Rome
by king Offa, 17/258.

Peterborowe = Peterborough
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tion of, 53.

pityng, 191/124, pedigree.
peyne, 62/1585, 95/2602,
160/864, pain, trouble.
peynes infernall, 195/1904, the
pains of hell.

pith, 174/1244, pitched,
fought.
pillage, 191/1782, taxation.

pityously, 136/165, piteously.

unjust, taxation.
polyce, 17/242, policy.
Polyveronycon, 13/130, the
Polychromicon.

pontificallibus, 123/3424, ponti-
ficial, clerical robes.

poynt, 10/52, gloze over, flatter.
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postron, 177/1359, posturne, 171/1179, gate.
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punysment, 79/2104, punishment.
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purpull, 90/2445, purple.
purtrayed, 62/1588, portrayed.
purtrayture, 62/1597, portraiture.
purtrayed, 62/1588, portrayed, got the better of.
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prynned, 96/2632, impounded.
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88/2376, royalty.
rehers, 32/682, rehearse.
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releashed, 112/3094, released.
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sadde, 29/601, solemn.
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Salomon, 35/790, Solomon.
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saucour, 143/354, Saviour.
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seld, 78/2070, seldom.
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sence, 201/3, sense.

roborate, 91/2460, corroborate.
robry, 11/56, robbery.
rude, 180/1441, road.
ronne, 9/1, run.
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rored, v., 50/1233, roared.
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ryghtwisnes, 136/169, righteousness.
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sensuals thre, 196/1918, essen-
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 smot, 155/714, smote.
 sobrynes, 29/608, sobriety.
 socour, 24/467, succour, aid.
 sodayne, 50/1232, sudden.
 sodeynly, 42/994, sodendly,
167/1048, suddenly.
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 solemnly, 21/380, 65/1702,
solemple, 142/343, solemnly.
solempne, 98/866, solemn.
solempnyte, 60/1527, solemnity.
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 songon, 146/446, sung.
 sonne, 9/16, sun.
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the sun.
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the soul.
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 strang, 145/419, strong.
 strawed, 61/1575, 142/331,
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 strayned, 44/1058, worn out
with fatigue.
 strayer, 67/1762, strictly.
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shining.
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 stydfastly, 57/1445, steadfastly.
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vacillaunt, 202/2, vacillating.

valeance, 16/236, valour.

varnaunt, 29/606, verdant.

varyacyon, 53/1340, variation, changeableness.

veyle, 60/1536, veil.

venare, 145/415, venery, the chase.

venery, 16/216, the chase.

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vernaunte, 51/1275, clerical garments, sacred apparel.

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viset, 175/1293, visit.

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vnneth, 50/1227, uneaey.

vnit, 196/1943, united.

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vnpossyble, 97/2639, impossible.

vnryghtfully, 20/336, wrongfully, treacherously.

vnto, 47/1141, until.

vnyte, 31/674, unity.

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Walshemen, 148/510, Welshmen.

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warke, 134/112, work.

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wolfen, 43/1028, wreaked.

wylkmyng, 159/1852, false.

wyrken, 50/1235, full of ire, raging.

wyre, 104/2972, each.

yche, 111/3057, each one.

ycheon, 111/3057, each one.

ydolles, 88/867, idols.

ympe, 75/2004, scion.

ymynes, 97/2662, hymns.

ynes, 34/740, evil.

ympe, 49/2004, scion.

yron, 82/2211, irons.

Withburne, St., daughter of St. Anna, 40/342.

Withoten, pl., 48/1190, without.

woddes, 145/415, woods.

Woden, the progenitor of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, 21/356; his ancestry traced back to Sem [Shem], 21/360.

wolydly, 158/789, madly.


worldy, 93/2539, worldly.

wronken, 150/572, worldly.

wydohode, 82/2139, widowhood.

Wylfride, the Archbishop of York, 73/1938.

wynes, 145/419, wines.

wysele, 92/2509, wisely.

Wulfade, St., 19/300.

Wulfer, a son of king Penda, 18/279.

Wybba, king of Mercia, son of Cryda, 18/273.

Wydehode, 82/2139, widowhood.

Westmarlunde = Westmorland, 144/399, named after a British king Marius.

Westsaxons, the third realm of Saxons, 14/155.

Whan, 18/269, when.

Wheder, 48/1194, 178/1392,

Whithen, 69/1805, wheeling,

Whilom, 199/2021, sometime.

Whom, 19/312, Whitby.

Whiche, 158/664, which.

Whiked, 125/3472, wicked.

Wild gese, the miracle of the, at Wedon, 96.

William the Conqueror comes to England, 173/1241.
Vices and Virtues.

(PART I.)
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Vices and Virtues,

BEING

A Soul's Confession of its Sins, with

Reason's Description of the Virtues.

A MIDDLE-ENGLISH DIALOGUE
OF ABOUT 1200 A.D.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY, FROM THE STOWE MS. 240
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

BY

FERD. HOLTHAUSEN, Ph.D.

PART I.—TEXT AND TRANSLATION

LONDON:
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any man may do. They all are refused by God’s own mouth, which says thus: *Vade prius reconciliari fratri tuo,* ‘Go first and be reconciled with thy brother. No offer is so dear to Me as the love of God and of all men.’

**Of sorrow.**

Again, there is another secret sin that has deceived me and many other souls. It is called *tristitia,* that is, sorrow. This is one of the cardinal sins, although it be secret. It is called sorrow—*tristitia mortem operante,* ‘sorrow working death’—because all good which is begun to be done for God’s love displeases it. This cursed spirit makes the religious man, who has renounced all worldly things for God’s love, sorrowful and dreary and heavy in God’s works, and often causes [him] to regret that he ever has done so. So he does the men who have promised to forsake sins, and so he does also the men who have promised God to do good, or to seek saints, or to fast, or to do some other good thing. In every wise he tries how he may hinder good works, or cause them to be done with displeasure, and with sorrow, and unblithely.

**Of sloth, listlessness.**

Again, this deceptive sin has a sister, who is called *accidia,* that is, sloth, who has deceived me many times through my negligence. It has made me heavy and slow in God’s works through idleness; it has often caused me to consume other people’s sore toil quite unearned. Often it has made me sleep where I ought to have been awake in God’s service by day and by night. Such [as I], no other might be. This cursed sin is one of the cardinal sins,
OF WRATH, SORROW, AND SLOTH.

[The beginning of the MS. is lost.]

...eni mann mai don. Alle hie bieð forsakene on godes awene muðe, ðe ðus seic: Vade prius reconciliari fratri tuo, 'Ga arst and seithle wið ðine bróðer. Nis me nan ofrende swa lief swa godes lune and alre mannes.'

Of sorinesse.

GIET is an ðer derne senne ðe me and maníže ðvre saule hað beswiken. Hie hatte tristicia, þat is, sarinesse. Þes is an 8 of ðe heued-sennes, seih hie dierne bie. Hie is icleped sarinesse, tristicia mortem 8 operante, 'sarinesse deað wurchende,' for ðan hire ofspingen of alle gode ðe azunnen bieð for godes lune te donne. Þes awerżyede gast, hie makeð ðane religiiuse man, ðe alle 12 world-þing for godes lune hað forlaten, sari and drieri and heun on godes workes, and ofte doð ofspenchen þat he æure swo haunde 4 idon. Al swo he deð po men ðe sennen habbeð forhaten te laten, and swa h(i)e 5 doð iec ðo menn ðe habbeð gode behaten god te 16 donne, ðer halze to sechen, ðer to fasten, ðer sum ðer god te donne. On alle wise he fandeð hu he muþe gode weorkes letten, ðððe mid ofSanche and mid sarinesse and unblefeliche 6 hes don [don].

Of a-solknesse. Vnlust.

DIES swikele senne hauneð ziet ane suster, ðe is icleped accidia, ðat 7 is, asolkenesse, ðe me haunæ þurh mire 3emeleaste maniže sidæ beswiken. Hie me hauneð imaked heuy and slaw on 24 godes weorkes þurh idelnesse; hie me hauneð ofte idon eten ðer- mannes sare swink alle un-of-earned. Ofte hie me hauneð idon slæpen ðar ic scolde wakien on godes seruise be daizæ and be nihte. Swilch hit non ðer bien ne nihte. Ðies awerżyede senne is on of 28 ðe heued-sennes, and hie beswikð mucheles ðe mare ðe me of hire

1 page 1. 2 Evangelista. red at side. 3 Sanctus Paulus. red at side. 4 hauned MS. 5 The ( ) mean that the letter they enclose is a correction over the line or in the margin. 6 and unblefeliche on erasure by another hand. 7 dat corrected from sad, the d being crossed red and a red t added.
and it deceives much the more as one takes little heed of it. That is the end of this sin, that it would that one should take no heed of oneself, but that he should lead his life in sloth and in idleness even up to his last day, and that he should therefore be condemned to the pain of hell. This is sooth, take heed who will!

**Of pride.**

After this comes another, which is called *superbia*, that is, pride. It was the beginning of all sins, and it brought the brightest angel from the height of Heaven down into the depth of hell. Concerning it is written: *Deus superbis resistit*, 'God withstands all proud men.' Because all those who will exalt themselves are adversaries of God. God Himself says that they shall be lowered. Therefore I am low and powerless, because I have been proud and haughty, and have thought much of myself. Neither ever hated I this cursed cardinal sin, nor shunned [it] as I should, but I often did on account of it what God would not. Woe to me for that! This same pride, though it has lot and part among all other sins, nevertheless has one, that is very near to it and very compliant, which has very often deceived me, that is, *vana gloria*, vain glory or vain boasting. This makes the man who is deceived by it, double his sin; just as the man who has slain a man against God's prohibition, boasts then that he is well avenged on his enemy; or if he has deceived a maiden, or a rich lady who is wedded, thereby he thinks all the better of himself, and so becomes deceived. Because he never wept over this, but still adds more thereto, that is, if he for his sins goes out of the country to seek saints, or if he fasts much, or gives alms, then he often boasts, or does them in such wise, that he has praise thereof and so loses [the merits of] them. Thereof says the Gospel: *Receperunt mercem suam*, 'They have received their reward.' These are all who do any good, and like praise thereof. Think hereof ye that do your good [deeds] before men! Some others leave the world and take the clothes of a religious order, and soon esteem themselves holy, and think unworthily of others. They nevertheless
litel 3eme nimp.  Pat is pe ande of ßessere senne, dat hie wolde dat man none 3ieme ne name of him seluen, ac dat he on slauphe and on ydelnesse his lif ladde anon to his ande-daiye, and dat he herfore wurse forsemld into helle pine. Dis is soe, neme 3eme se 4 de wile!

1 Of modinesse. pride.

HIERAFTER cump an ober, se is i-cleped superbia, pat is, modinesse. Hie was anjinn of alle senes, and hie brohte 8 dane brihteeste angel fram fare heuene heinesse niper into helle depnesse. Of hire iszewritten: Deus superbis resistit, 'Godd wißstant alle modi mannen.' Forçan hie bieß godes wiserwicen, alle ße se willen hem seluen heizin. Godd seiß him self dat hie 12 sculen bien inextere. Hierfore ic am never and unmihti, forçan ic habbe (zeben) prud and modi, and michel ilaten of me seluen. Ne ßese were3ede heaued-senne ic nure ne hatede ne ne scunede swa swa ic scodule, ac ofte ich dede ßurh hire dat ße godd nolde. 16 Wa me ßas! ßies ilche modinesse, ßeiß hie habbe hlot 2 and dale mang alle oðre senes, naðelæs hie haves ßane, ße is hire swiðe neih and swiðe hersum, ße me haves swiðe ofte beswiken, pat is, Vana Gloria, idel wulder 3 oðer idel zelp. ßies dieß ße manne 20 ße ßurh hire is beswiken dat he twisealdeß his senne; alswo ße man ße haves islaʒe ßanne mann æzanes godes forbode, ßanne zelpß he dat he is wel iwreken of his unwine; ober zif he haßß beswiken an maiden, ober an riche lafði ße is bewedded 4, ßar 5 of he lat ße 24 bett of him seluen, and swa he wurß beswiken. For ßan he nureß ßis ne beweop 7, ac get ßar to more he eßß, dat is, zif 8 he for his senes farß ut of lande haljen te seken, ober hie michel fast, ober almesse doß, dat he ofte bizelpß, ober on swilche wise hes dieß, dat 28 he herienge ßar of hafß and swa hes forliest. Darß seßß dat god-spell: Recuperunt mercedem suam, 'Hie habbeß inumen here lean.' Dat bieß alle ße ani god doß, and ßar of herienge lunicß. ßencheß herof 3ß ße doß 3ewer god teßoren mannen! Sume oðre 32 forlasteß ße world and nimeß ße closes of religiun, and some hem seluen healded for hali, and unwurß healded of oðreß, ße neure 3iete
[do not repent] their own sins with humility nor with true repentance. Some think well of themselves, if they are of high family, or if they are of a high office, or if they have some high command [authority], or if men of the world esteem them holy men; they forget too much themselves within, and hearken to the idle works without. Hereof I am conscious myself that this cursed spirit has made me [such], that I have greatly sinned against my Lord God Almighty.

(Here ought to be put ill-will, which this soul seems to forget in its confession. Envy should not be forgotten, because death entered the earth through the devil's cunning and ill-will.)

Of disobedience.

Again, I have much misdone through another sin which is called inobedientia, that is, disobedience. As the angel was driven out of the kingdom of Heaven for pride, so was Adam, our forefather, out of Paradise for this disobedience. For that, he suffered death—and afterwards, all mankind—and the pain of hell more than five thousand winters [years], until Christ released him by obedience. All who see, and read, or hear this, I beg and warn, for the love of God and for your dear soul, that you hate and shun, above all things, this cursed sin. For it we shall all suffer death, as those have done who were before us. It is the key of all the other sins; no sin can be done but through disobedience. So deeply has God forbidden us all the cardinal sins, as he did Adam the tree of Paradise, both by the old law and also by the new one. What shall I do, wretched soul, that am guilty through disobedience, because I never have been obedient, neither to God, nor to my spiritual fathers, nor to my baptism, nor ever yet kept obedience well? But pray we all our Lord Christ, who was obedient to His Father even
[bietet] here æzene sennen mid eadmodnesse ne mid soðre berewstringe. Sume læteð 1 wel 2 of hem seluen, ʒif hie biecð of heıze kenne, oðer ʒif hie bie of heıze menstre, oðer ʒif hie haftð sum hei obedience, oðer ʒif menn of ðe world hes healdeð for hali mennu; hie 4 forziteð to swicðe hem seluen wid-innen, and harkieð to ðe idele werkes wid -uten. Her-of ic am becnaue me self ðat ðie[s] iwerzede gast me haftð idon, ðat ic am swicðe forzelt æzanees mine laferde god al-mihtin.

[The following comment is written at the end of the page.]
(Hic deberet poni inuidia, quam uidetur obliuisci hec anima in sua confessione. Nith nere nohutt te forȝeten, quia sapientia et inuidia diabolii, mors intrauit in orbem 12 terre, et cetera.)

Of vnbuhsunnesse 5.

GIET ic habbe muchel misdon ðurh ane oðre senne þe is ʒecleped inobediencia, þat is, unhersumnesse. Al swa þe 16 angel, ure forme fader, ut of paradise for ðessere unhersumnesse. For hire he ʒolede dead, and seðen all mankeñn, and þe pine of helle ma ðanne ðif ðusend wintre, al hwat Crist him liese wid 20 hersumnesse. Alþe þe ðis isieð, and radeð, oðer þeþiøreð, i bidde and warni, for þe luue of gode 6 and for ʒuer lieue saule, þat þie hatien and scuñien, ouer alle ping, ðes awerȝhede senne. For hire we sculen alle dead þolien, al swo habben idon þe te-foren us wærën. 24 Hie is kæie of alle oðre sennes; non senne ne mai bien idon bute ðurh unhersumnesse. Al swo dieþliche haftð godd us forboden alle heaued-sennes, swo he deede Þadme þe treu of paradise, aiðer ðurh ðare ealde lazwe and iec ðurh ðare n(i)ewe. Hwat do ic, 28 wrecche saule, ðe am forgilt ðurh unhersumnesse, for ði ðat ic 7 naure hersum ne habbe ibien, ne gode, ne mine gastliche faderes, ne min cristendom, ne obedience nauерʒiete wel ne h(i)eld? Ac bidde we alle ure lauerd Crist, ðe was hersum his fader anon to ðe deade 8, 32

1 læted MS. 2 page 3. 3 ʒ on erasure. 4 h on erasure. 5 Originally vnhusumnesse, h altered to b; uh written above er, er underlined by a different hand. 6 g corr. from d. 7 ic wrecche saule MS., the last two words underlined. 8 d corr. from ʒ.
unto death, that, as we lose this short life by disobedience, He will give us might that we may be obedient to Him in all good works even until death, and so may go forth into the eternal life which He has promised us through His mercy.

Of swearing oaths.

Again, here is more of the evil kind of seed, that has often made me forswear God’s own name and also His saints, and in many ways to curse myself, or one of my friends whom I helped to swear, and in such wise fancied to help both of us, and brought both of us into much harm. This I did against God’s commandment, which says: *Nolite jurare, neque per coelum neque per terram,* ‘Do not swear, neither by Heaven nor by earth, nor by any other thing, but yea, yea, nay, nay.’ All that we swear more, is evil and sin. Some fancy to be guiltless of this sin, because they are compelled to the oath. Though one compel me to the oath, one does not compel me to forswear, but to say the truth concerning what I am accused of. If I were a true Christian, I would rather suffer the death of the body, than kill the wretched soul so piteously.

Of lying.

Often I have committed another sin, since I could speak, up to this day, that is *mendatium* by name, that is, lying, which has polluted all the offspring of Adam, who could or might speak, save Christ alone, who is rightly called Truth, and Saint Mary, His mother. The same devil is rightly called father of lying, when he said: *Ero similis altissimo,* ‘I shall be like the Highest.’ This was the first lie that ever was found. There thou liest, thou false devil! and so thou doest still, concerning all that thou ever promised. Thou thinkest well to accuse me before God for this sin; but I accuse myself now before God and before all His saints, and forsake thee and all thy leasings. There is nothing more, contrary to Christ, who is called Truth, than lying is. Beware who will!
OF SWEARING AND LYING.

hat, al swo we forliesed vis scorte lif surh unhersumnesse, hat he us 3iue mihte hat we moten him bien hersum on alle gode 1 woerkes anaon to te deade, and swa cumes ford in to te eche liue te he has 5 us behoten surh his mil(d)ce.

Of oðe(s) 2 sueriingge.

GIET hier is mare of se eyeles kennes sade, se me has ofte idon godes aȝwene name forsweren 3 and ec his halzen, and a manies kennes me seluen to werizen, oðer sume of mine friende se ic halp to swerizyn, and on swilche wise wende helpen unc bade, and brohte unc bade in to muchele harme. PIs ic dede aȝezan godes 4 bebode, ðe seid: Nolite iurare, neque per celum neque per terram, 'Ne swerizëd, naider ne be heuene ne be ierðe, ne bie 12 nan oðer æing, bute ia, ia, nai, nai.' Al pat we more swerized, swo it is euel and senne. Sume weneð bien sacleş of ðessere ðenne, for ðan ðe me nett hem to ðan aðe. Þeih me niecde me to ðan aðe, me ne net me noht te forsweren, ac soð te seggen 16 of ðan ðe ic am bicleped. Þif ic ware riht cristeneman, ic wolde bïðelicor polizên ðas lichames deað, ðanne ic wolde ðe wrecchede saule sa rewliche aewellan.

Of lesinge.

OF ic habbe beuclen an oðer 5 senne, fram ðat ic cuðe speken, ziet to ðese daie, ðat is mendatium be name, ðat is, lesinge, ðe all Adames ospring hað be-smiten, ðe speken cuðen oðer mihten, wid-uten Crist ane, ðe is mid rihte icleped soð, and seinte 24 Marie, his moder. Þe selue dieuel is icleped mid rihte fader of lesinge, ða ða he sade: Ero simili's altissimo, 6 'Ic scal bien zelich ðan heisten.' Þis was ðe forme lesinge ðe æure was zefunde. Ðar ðu luse, ðu lease dieuel, and swa ðu diest ziet, of al 28 ðat tu aure behatst. Ðu me þen(c)st wel to wreigen to-fore gode for ðessere senne; ac ic wreize me nu to-fore gode and teforen alle his halzen, and te forsake and alle ðine leasinges. Nis nan ðing mare aȝeanes Criste, ðe is icleped soð, ðanne is lesinge. Bie war 32 se ðe wile!

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1 page 4. 2 o corr. above a. 3 another s inserted over the first r. 4 yodes MS. 5 oder MS. 6 page 5.
Of evil backbiting.

Another sin is called *detractio*, which reaves God's love from man's heart, that is, evil backbiting. It has often made me guilty against God's prohibition, that forbids me all evil speeches, and reproves me thus: *Sedens adversus fratrem tuum loquebaris,* 'Thou satst,' He said, 'over against thy brother, and both of you each day cry to Me, who am your Father, and say: *pater noster.* Before him thou spokkest good, behind him evil, so that he did not hear it. Thus thou didst, and I was still; and therefore thou thoughtst that I was like thee, that it pleased Me as it did thee. But thou shalt stand before Me on Doomsday, and before all mankind, where I shall reprove thee with the same words which thou often hast heard in order to warn thee, and thus say: *Dilexisti malitiam super benignitatem.* That is: 'Thou lovedst evil more than good, to speak unrighteousness more than righteousness; therefore God Almighty shall destroy thee, both body and soul. Go away from Me, thou cursed, forth with the devil!' Who is there that is not adread of this great thunderclap that comes out of God's own mouth? Take heed who will! How great danger it is to break God's prohibition!

Of deceit.

Again, I have committed more bad practices. I have deceived my fellow-Christian with fair words which I have spoken unto him, and have shown him otherwise by my works, and have often promised him upon my word of honour, what I never afterwards accomplished for him. If I bought from him or sold him anything, it was always more preferable to me, that I should gain and he lose, than that our bargain should be given up. God forbids us to have twofold weights or twofold measures, but [bids us] give and lend joyfully, without earthly meed, to all that have need and beseech us, for His love, for the same goods that He has lent us. Sooth to say, I do not know whether I ever yet did anything that I would not have some kind of reward thereof, either
Of heule ¹ bafte(s)pache.

DETRACTIO hatte an oðer senne, ðe reaued godes luue of mannes hierte, ðat is, euel bafte-spache. Hie me haueoft ofte zemaked forzielt azeanes godes forbode, ðe me forbett alle euele 4 spaches, and ðus me underworld: Sedens aduersus fratrem tunum loquebaris, 'Du sate,' (he seið), 'aæeanes ðine broðer, ðe selche dai bæe clepiede to me, ðe am pure fader, and segged: pater noster. Aæeanes him ðu spake (god), bafte him euele, þat 8 he it ne herde. ðus ðu dedest, and ic was stille; and for ði ðu wendest þat ic ðe ware ılich, þat hit likede me swa swa hit dede ðe. Ac ðu scalt stonden tefore me a domesdae, and tefore all mankenne, þar ic þeascal undermined mid ða ilche wordes ðe ðu ¹² ofte haest zeherd for þe te warnien, and ðus cweðen: Dilexisti maliciam super benignitatem. Dat is: 'Du luedest euelnesse mare ðanne godnesse, unrihtwisnesse more to spekene ðanne rihtwisnesse; for þi þeascal god almihti³ forliesen, bæe lichame and 16 saule. Ga awei fram me, ðu zewerezede, forð mid te dieule!' Hwa is ðat nis ofdradd of ðese mu-schele ðpunresleig⁴ ðe cump ut of godes-aȝene muðe? Nime þiemen se ðe wile! Hu michel haht hit is godes forbod to brekene!

Of swicedome.

GIET ich babbe ma vnðacawes beuolen. Ic babbe beswiken min emcristen mid faire wordes ðe ic to him babbe ȝespeken, and oðerlicor mid weorkes him ȝekydd, and uppe mine lahalfulness 24 ofte him behet, þat ic neure eft him neʒelæste. Gif ich at him ani þing bouhte oðer him sealde, œure me was leuere þat ic bigate and he forlure, ðanne unker chepinge bileafde. Godd us forbett ðat we ne sculen babbe twifalde ðæʒe ne twifalde imett, ac ðat 28 we sculen bliðeliche þiuen and leanen, wið-uten ertosliche mede, alle ðe niede babbeð and us for his luue besecheð of ðan ilche gode ðe he us hafð ilænd. Sop to seggen, ic not zif ich ⁵ anerþete ani þing dede ðat ic nolde babbe sumes kennes (lean), oðer ⁶ of ðoultes 32

¹ The first c corrected above u. ² almihtin MS. ³ page 6. ⁴ a c above re. ⁵ ich corrected over hit. ⁶ Before oðer is ðer of underdotted, behind it one word erased.
of thoughts or of words or of works; and if I had not, methought
that it was not well bestowed, when I had done it.

Of cursing.

Again, we find that the apostle says: *Maledici regnum Dei non
possidebunt,* that is, 'The cursing men, who so blithely will curse,
ye never may dwell in the kingdom of Heaven,' because they
curse God's handiwork, that He has blessed. Hereof I am guilty,
and acknowledge that I have cursed, both clerics and laymen, rela-
tions and strangers, and many things which I should not curse.

Of impatience.

Another sin is named *impatientia,* that is, unbearingness [im-
patience]. It seizes the man whom it overpowers, that he may not
control himself neither in thoughts, nor in words, nor in works.
So it has done me always too oft. Through it I am guilty against
God, who gave me example, first of Himself, and afterwards
with holy words instructed me: *Qui te percusserit in maxillam,
praebe ei et aliam,* 'Who smites thee under the ear, turn to him the
other;' He said, 'and do good for evil. If he cursed thee, do thou
bless him.' This I never did; but if my Lord God would chastise
me with any rod, as a father does his son, I was impatient at it, and
both thought and said: 'Why should such mishaps come to me? Many
another was there who had misdone more, and no mishap came,
but he had all bliss and rest enough.' Therefore said God Almighty
of me and my like: *Et dimisi eos secundum desideria cordis eorum,*
'I let them [go],' He says, 'after their own will; after what their
heart lusted, I followed them.'

Of self-will.

Through this sin I, unhappy soul, fell into another sin, which is
called *propria voluntas,* that is, self-will. Certainly, God has re-
jected that same man who omits to do God's and his spiritual fathers'
OF CURSING, IMPATIENCE, AND SELF-WILL.

oder of wordes oder of weorkes; and zif ic nadde, me ðulte þat hit nas naht$ wel betowen, þar ic hit idon hadde.

Of wer3hinde.

EFT we finde$ dat se apostel seti$: Maledici² rengnum dei 4 non possidebut, dat bie$: 'Da wer3inde mean, se swa bleðeliche willeð werʒien, þat hie naure on henenrich ne wunʒen ne muʒen,' for ði þat hie werʒies godes handiwerc, ðe he haʃð iblesced. Hereof ic am sceldi, and wel am becnawe þat ic zewerʒed$ habbe aiʒer ze hodede ze leawede, sibbe and framde, and mani ping þe ic werʒi ne scolde.

Of vnʒolemodnesse.

INPACIENCIA hatte an oder senne$², þat is, unʒolemodnesse. Hie 12 benemð Se manne ³se hie ouermai, þat he ne mai wealden him seluen ne a þouhtes, ne on wordes, ne on weorkes. Swa hie haunce me idon aure to ofte. Purh hirc ic am forʒelt aʒeanes gode, ðe me forbisne 3af, arst of him seluen, and seeʃen mid haliʒe wordes 16 me wissede: Qui te percusserit in maxillam, (prebe⁵) ei et aliam, 'Se þe smit under þa eare, want to þat oder,' he sade, 'and do god aʒean euel. Gif he þe wereʒede, ðu hine blesci.' Dis ne dede ic neure; ac zif min lauerd godd me wolde swingen mid ani 20 swinge⁷, al swa fader do§ his sune, ic was þar aʒeæn unʒolemod, and aiʒer ðohte and ec sæede: 'Hwi me scolde cumen swilche unʒelimpes? Mani oder was ðe more hafde misdon, and non unʒelimp ne cam, ac hadde alle blisse and reste inowh.' For ði saide 24 god almihtë⁹ be me and be mine i-liche¹⁰: Et dimisi eos secundum desideria¹¹ cordis eorum, 'Ich hem let,' he seio, 'after here awene wille; after ðan þe here herte leste, ic hem folʒede.'

Of aʒen-wille.

DURH ðessere senne ic, unʒeszali saule, fel ðin to an oder senne, ðe is iclesped propriæ voluntæs, þat is, auʒen-wille. Þeis wæs ðaf þodd forworpen þan ilche mann se lat godes (wille) and his

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¹ Corrected from naltt. ² ditci or dieci MS. ³ senne MS. ⁴ page 7. ⁵ Added over the line and twice at side. ⁶ d barred red; and ðu MS. ⁷ swilche MS. ⁸ Corrected from def. ⁹ almihtin MS. ¹⁰ an erasure between i and l. ¹¹ s on erasure.
will, unless He again through His great mercy take it [this sin] away from him, before he goes out of this life. No creature that is rational, as are angels and men, ought to have their self-will, because they are not, nor ever can be, righteous nor good, save they follow God's will in all ways. Therefore we find in the holy Writ: 'The man that will follow his self-will, he is hostile to God, as is the man who is hostile to the king and wishes to deprive him of his crown.' Christ Himself says in His Gospel: Non veni facere voluntatem meam, 'I came not to give you an example of doing My own will, but I came in order to do My Father's will.' When Christ was born, the angels of Heaven came and sang that precious song, Gloria in excelsis Deo, and proclaimed peace to all those men who have good will, that is, to none but those who love and follow God's will. Alas and well-a-day, that I have followed my own self-will, so that I have to suffer for my obstinacy evermore, except God's holy mercy deliver me!

Of unrighteousness.

Another sin is called unrighteousness, which has ever too long deceived me with its treacherous vices. It is always against righteousness, because no man can be saved, except he be righteous and not twofold [double-faced], neither in speeches nor in deeds. Other have I been than I have shown myself. Men see me outside. I and my like, we are on the outside like the dead man's tomb, that without is whited, and within is stinking and full of worms. So have I been full of evil thoughts. Woe to me for this! Mea culpa! Because I have not had right belief, nor fast hope, nor true love to our Lord God as I should, therefore I have been unmighty and unstrong against all these foressed sins. I cannot number nor tell all the sins, nor all the vices, nor all the wonders that I, wretched sinful one, have done and committed, since I first could sin. But of Him who alone knows them, the Almighty God, I beg mercy and forgiveness.
gastliche faderes (wille 1) to donne, bute he eft Æurch his muchele mildce hes him benime, ær Æane he of Æese liue fare. Non sçafte Æe is scadwis, al Æwo bie 2 aangles and menn, ne æge 3 te hauen here æge -will, forðan hie ne bie<, ne ne mu<en cien, nœure riht-wise ne gode, 4 bute hie folʒin godes wille on alle 2 wi<en. Forðan we finde< on hali write: 'Se mann Æe wile folʒin his æge wille, he is ægetnes gode, alswa is Æe mann Æe is ægetnes Æe kinge and wile his curune him benemen.' Crist self seid 3 on his godspelle: Non scæftæ Se is scadwis, al swa Se iangles and menu, ne aje< te haue< here a$en £e wille, forSan we findeS on bise, ne ne mujen bie<, naeure riht-wise ne gode, 4 forSan we finde< on hali write: 'Se mann Æe wile folʒin his æge wille, he is ægetnes gode, alswa is Æe mann Æe is ægetnes Æe kinge and wile his curune him benemen.' Crist self seid 3 on his godspelle: Non scæftæ Se is scadwis, al swa Se iangles and menu, ne aje< te haue< here a$en £e wille, forSan we finde< on bise, ne ne mujen bie<, naeure riht-wise ne gode, 4

**Of hunrihtwisnesse.**

UNRIHTWISNESSE hatte an oðer senne, Æe me haue< æure to longe Æedweld mid hire swikele undeawes. Hie is æure ægean rihtwisnesse, forðan no man ne mai bie< æeborge<wen, bute he bie 20 rihtwis and naht twiseald, ne on speches ne on dades. Oðer ic habbe ibien Æanne ic habbe me i-seeawes. Menn me isie< wi<ute<. Ic and mine icle, we beo< wi<ute< al swa Æe deade man[n]es þruh, þe is wi<ute< ihwite<, and wi<<inne stinkende 6 and full of wermes. 24 Swa ic habbe ibien full of eue< þohte<. Wa me þas! Mea< culpa! Forði Æat ic habbe iha<ð rihte ileaue, ne faste hope, ne soðe luue to ure lauerde gode swa swa ic scodel, forði ic haue bien 28 unmiht< and unstrong onæeanes alle þese forenammde sennes. Ic ne mai rimen ne tellen alle Æo sennes, ne alle Æo undeawes, ne alle Æo wundren Æe ich, wrecche senfulle, habbe idon and beuolen, see<en ic arst mihte sen<in. Ac him Æe hes one wat, almiht< 32 god, ic bidde are and forʒiu[en]esse.

1 Added over the line and at side. 2 Corrected from alt. 3 page 8. 4 Corrected from do. 5 es corr. from ss. 6 de corr. from dr.
Of the five senses.

Again, my heart accuses me of the five senses that God assigned me to look after my wretched body, that is, *visus, auditus, gustus, odoratus, et tactus*; that is, sight, hearing, taste, and smell, and touch. These five senses, betoken the five golden Bezants [talents] which the Lord entrusted to his thrall in order to gain therewith. So did the good servant that gained five others. Therefore his Lord said to him: 'Well then, good servant! Over little things thou wast true; over great things I shall set thee. Go into thy Lord's bliss!' This I have not earned, that have done no good with the same Bezants of the five senses, but through them and through my carelessness I have lost my Lord's property. Each day messengers come into my thoughts that I shall soon come before Him, and give Him answer, what I have done with His property. He will have it well coined, and by right weight well weighed; and of well refined gold; and except I have this, in those days when He sends after me, I shall hear rueful tidings. 'Answer Me now, thou unhappy soul,' He will say, 'what hast thou so long done in the world? A long respite I gave thee well to do if thou wouldst, and little good thou hast gotten with the five Bezants of the five senses I entrusted to thee. More than five thousand Bezants of good thoughts, and of good words, and of good works, thou mightst have gained if thou wouldst, in the long space I gave thee; but thou, poor soul, wouldst not think of thy departure, when thou shouldst separate thyself from thy body, and come before Me, and answer Me for all thy deeds.' Then He calls His tormentors, and bids them take me, and bind me, both hands and feet, and throw me into the uttermost darkness. The inmost darkness is in the heart which will not foreshow whither he shall go when he goes hence. The uttermost is the darkness of hell, where never yet light came, save those nights when Christ's soul came therein after His chosen ones. But always there is weeping and wailing through the great heat
Of sa fif wittes.

GIET me wreiden herte of sa fif wittes &e god me (be)tahte to lokin of mine wrecche lichame, pat is, visus, auditus, gustus, odoratus, et tactus, pat is, resithne, seherhpe, smac, and smell, and tactpe. Dass fif wittes, hie taenip sa fif gildene be-santes &e sho haierd betahte his pralle (for) to bizeten sar mide. Swa deede &e gode prall &e bizaatt oher fif. For &i his haierd him sede: 'Welin, gode Sirall! Ouer litel ping &u ware trewe; over 8 michel ping ic &e scal setten. Ga in to Sine lauerdes blisse!' Pis ne habbe ic nauht of saearned, &e no god ne habbe idon mid &o ilke besantes of &e fif wittes, ac &uirm helm and purh mine zeme-leaste ic habbe mines lauerdes eihte forloren. &elche dai me cumed sonden on mine pohtes pat ic scall neuliche cumen te-foren him, and ziuem him and-sware, hwat ic habbe mid his eihte zedon. He wile hes habben wel imotet, and bi rihte wei3e wel i-weigen, and wel inered gold; and bute ich pis habbe, das daiges &e he after 16 me sant, ic scal iheren neuliche tidinge. 'Andswere me nu, pu un-jesaelie saule,' he wile seggen, 'hwat haft &u swa lange idon on sare worsel? La[n]ghe first ic &e zaf wel to donne zif &u woldest, and litel god &u hafst bizeten mid &a fif besantes of &e 20 fif gewittes &e ic pe betahte. Mo Sanne fif &usende besantes of gode pohtes, and of gode wordes, and of gode woerkes, &u mihtest habben bizeten, zif &u woldest, on &a lange firste &e ic &e zaf; ac &u, earme saule, noldest penchen of Sine for(i)side, pat tu fram Sine 24 lichame&7 scoldest skelien, and tefore me cumen, and me andswerien of alle Sine daden.' Sanne clepe3d he his pineres, and hat hem me nemen, and binden me, ba3e han8-den and fiet, and werpen me in &e uttreste piesterses. Pe inrestes9 pesterennes10 (is) in11 sare hierete 28 &e ne wile forsceawin h(w)ider12 he scal Sanne he henem far8. Pe uttreste (i)s13 se piestersenes of helle, sare naure jete liht ne cam, bute das nihtes &e Cristes saule sar inne cam after his 3ekorene. Ac aueur sare is wop and woninge for sare michele haete and un3e-32

1 The underdotted letters are scarcely legible. 2 page 9. 3 On the margin. 4 nauht MS. 5 So has the MS. 6 on MS., the s not being crossed. 7 Only li... me still legible. 8 page 10. 9 The final e on erasure and an s erased behind it. 10 On erasure. 11 i corrected into i. 12 w red above the line. 13 s corr. from l.
and immeasurable burning, and there is gnashing of teeth through
the immeasurable chill; and there is sorrow and pain through the
great despair that comes at the thought that they never more shall see
God nor one of His saints, nor relation or strangers who will be saved,
but evermore shall dwell with the awful devils, who are so loath-
some and so grisly to look at, that if a man now saw one just as he
is in his proper shape, he would soon be out of his wit, and endure
this [madness] evermore without end. I cannot think, nor say with
mouth, nor write in a book, all the pains of hell. Woe to them that
they ever were created, who deserve these pains! Understand, all who
read or hear this, and have wit to understand, God's great forbearance
towards us in this life, how He admonishes us each day, and says to
us: Convertimini ad me, et agile poenitentiam, 'Turn to Me,' He
says, 'ye that are turned away from Me, through the devil's lore,
take and do penance, each after what his sin is; and speed,
because your end-day is near, and comes unavoidably as a thief by
night. Fast, and keep vigil, and turn from evil, and do good, weep
and wail, sigh and yearningly beg mercy and forgiveness, the
little while we dwell here. Because, unless ye earn it here, mercy
will never betide you elsewhere.' Those who will not listen to nor
observe these, God's holy words, listen to what the Holy Ghost says
through the prophet David: Maledicti qui declinant a mandatis
tuis, Domine, 'Cursed be all they, Lord, who will not hold Thy
commandments!' Those who are not aghast of this awful cursing,
that all ordained each day curse the while they sing God's praise
at prime, listen to another cursing that comes out of God's own
mouth, because this curse is nothing but an earnest of the last
[curse], when God shall say Himself with much awe: Discedite a
me, maledicti, in ignem æternum, 'Go away from Me, ye cursed by
all ordained heads, into everlasting fire, ye that would not listen
to My counsel, nor love My commandments, nor hold them. Be
gone away from Me, forth with the devils, where ye never more
again shall see Me!' All ye that have Christ's charity, that is, God's
mæte brene 1, and ɔar is chiueringe of točen for ɔe unnate chele; and ɔar is sorwʒe and sarinessse for ɔare muchełe ortrewnesse ɔe cump of ɔan ʒepanke ɔe hie næure mo godd 2 ne seulen isien ne nan of his halžen, ne sibbe ne framde ɔe iboržen seulen bien, ac aure 4 ma wunien mid ɔa cifulle dieulen, ɔe bie ɔ ra ʃycliche and swo grislich 3 an to lokin, ɔat ʒif a maun iseʃje nu anne 4 al swilch al se he is on his ʒekynde, he scolde sone bien ut of his iwitte, and ɔis poliʒen æure ma wiʃ-utan ande. Ne mai ic ʃenchen, ne mid 8 muʃe seggen, ne on boke write, alle ɔo pinnen of helle. Wa ʃem ʒatt h(i)e æure iscapene weren, ɔe ɔo pinnen of-earniʃ! ʃnderstandeʃ, alle ɔe ɔis radeʃ over ihereʃ, and witt habbeʃ to under-standen, ʃe mucheʃ ʃolemodnesse of us on ʃeʃe liue, hv godd us 12 meneʃʃe alche dai, and ʃo to us ʃeiʃ: Conversimini ad me, et agiʃte penitenciam, ‘Wandeʃ to me,’ he ʃeiʃ, ‘zie ɔe bere ʃiwand fraʃm ʃe, ʃurh dieules lare, and nemeʃ and doʃ serif 5, [ʃall]ʃch after ʃat his senne is; and spedec ʃeu, forʃan ʃure ænde-dai neʃiʃeʃ, and 16 cumʃ ungewares al swa pief be nihte. Faʃed and wakiʃeʃ and buʒeʃ fraʃm euelʃ and doʃ god, we[p]eʃ 6 and waniʃ, siʃtʃeʃ and ʒeʃone ʃiʃedʃ ʃe and ʃorfiusenesse, ɔa liʃle hwile ɔe we her wунiʃʒ. ʃ For-ʃan, bute ʒif ʒo 7 hier (hit) ne ɔef-earniʃeʃ, ne ʃo wurp ʃeu næure mille elceshwar.’ ʃa ʃe ʃelleʃ ʃeʃe godes hali (wordes) hleʃten ne healden, harkiʃ hwat ʃe haʃigast ʃeiʃ ʃurh ʃe profiʃte Dauiʃ: Maledeʃi qui declinant a mandatis tuis, domiʃe, ‘ʃeʃerwed bien hie, lauerd 8, alle ʃe ʃine beʃode healden 24 nelleʃ.’ ʃa ʃe ne bieʃ ʃofdrad of ʃessere eʃiliche werziʃe, ɔe alle hadede 9 æellche dai werziʃ ɔar hwile ɔe h(i)e singeʃ ʃodes lofsang at prime, harkiʃ ʃan ʃer ʃar ʒeʃing ʃe cump ut of ʃodes awene mufe, forʃan ʃes werziʃeʃ niʃ bute erres of ʃare lacʃte, 23 ʃanne god ʃeʃ him self mid mucheʃe ʃiʃe: Discedite a me, male-dicti, in ignem eternum, ‘Gaʃ aweiʃ ʃr am me, ʃie ʃwerʒede of alle hadede hafde, in to ʃan echʃ fiʃe, ʃie ʃe ʃolden mine rad hleʃten, ne mine beʃode luuiʃ ne healden. Witeʃ aweiʃ ʃr am me, 32 forʃ mid ɔa dieulen, ɔar ʃie næure ma eʃt me ne ʃesien!’ Alle ʃe habbeʃʃ Cristes kariteʃ, ʃat ʃis, godes liue ʃand maʃnes, wepeʃ 1 n written over a blotted-out letter.  2 gode MS.  3 e erased after h.  4 aine MS.  5 The following three or four letters are totally destroyed.  6 w half, p totally destroyed.  7 page 11.  8 l corrected from h.  9 i scratched out before h.
and man's love, weep and wail ever with me, and let us try to cool God's wrath with tears, which are very agreeable to Him with other sacrifices of bitter sorrow! He who knows all things knows that they sorely pain me. To you I cry also who are dwelling in fellowship with the Lord God, and to our Lady St. Mary. Mother of mercy, I beg thee, through thy great mercy, that thou beseech for me forgiveness of my sins of Jesus Christ, thy dear son, that has might to forgive all sins, through the same love He has to my kind which He had from thee without a... thereof has given as lot and part His flesh and His blood, through which I believe firmly that I should have mercy and pity, if I received it as worthily, as it was worthy. To all the saints who here were born in this life, and now are dwelling with our Lord God, I cry and beg through the great charity that is in you, that ye think of us who are here in this wretched life, where the way is slippery, and we are easy to fell, and where many foes are, before and behind and on each side. We thank God and praise Him after our might, who has brought you out of this great wretchedness. Pray ye that we may come to you, not through our deserving, but through God's great mercy and through your [merits]. So truly as He had mercy and pity on you, and sent you the gift of the Holy Ghost without merits, as truly may He have mercy and pity on us, who are His handiwork as well as you, and may grant us that we may, with your help and with His holy grace, so lead here this short life, that we may ever abide with you in bliss, and evermore love Him and praise Him in eternity. Amen.

Now, dear friend, thou that raisedst me, sinful soul, from death, [and] through God's grace instructedst and warnedst [me] to do well, —may God requite thee! —and taughtst me to be conscious of my sins, now thou hast heard [by] my bemoaning that I am so very guilty: for the love of God I beseech thee that thou teachest me still, in what wise I might best be reconciled to my Saviour Christ,
and wanieð forð mid me, and fondie we te kelien gode(s) wrađđe mid teares, ḍe him bieð swide icwene mid oðre loke⁴ of sare birew-
nesse! He hit wat ḍe wat alle þing, ḍat sare hie me rewende. To
þeu ic clepizhe iec ḍe bieð wuniʒende mid ʒemaneliche hlaunerde gode, 4
and]to ure lafdi-sainte Marie. Moder of mildeç⁵, ḍe ic bidde, for ḍine
mucheile mildze, ḍat tu me besieke⁸ forjuuenesse of mine sennes
to Jesu Criste, pine liue sune, ḍe hafñ⁴ mihte te forgiuene alle
sennes, foricare ilke liue ḍe he hafn⁵ to mine ikynde ḍe he nam of 8
gré wiʒ-uten a⁶ . . . . Tarof iðjuen hafn lott and dale, his flesec
and his blod, Surh hwan ich⁷ iliue fastliche are and mildze te
habben, zif ic hit swa wurdliche underfenge, swa hit wurde wäre.
To alle ḍo halzen ḍe hier on liue weren ibrorn, and nu mid ure 12
lauerde gode wuniʒende bieç, ic clepiz and bidde for ḍo muchele
kariteç ḍe is an þeu, ḍat zìe Ŝenchen an us ḍe bieç hier on ḍese
arme⁸ liue, ḍar ḍe wei is slider and we lihtliche te fællen, and
fele unwines, teforen and haften and on alche side. We Ŝankieñ¹⁶
gode and heriè after ure mihte, ḍe ʒew haueç of Ŝessere (michele)
wrecchade ibroht⁹. Biddeþ ḍat we moten to ʒew cumen, naht for
ure earninge, ac for godes muchele midde and for ʒewer! Al swa
soñliche swa he hadde are and mildze of þeu¹⁰, and ḍa giue of ḍe 20
hali gaste ʒew sænte wiʒuten earninge, sa soñliche habbe he are
and mildce of us, ḍe bieç his handeworec al swa zìe, and us unne
ḥat we moten, mid ʒeure helpe and mid his hali grace, swa ñís
scorte lif her laden, ḍat we moten forç mid ʒew on blisse wuniʒen, 24
and him eure ma luuien and herien on ecnese. Amen.

N V, liue friend, ḍu ḍe me, senfulle saule, aweithet of deade,
Surh godes grace wissedest and warnepest wel te donne,
—zielde pe godd!—and lardest ḍat ic scolde bien icnawe of mine 28
sennes, nu ḍu hafst ilherd mine bemonu þat ich am swa swide for-
zelt¹¹: for ḍe liue of gode ic ḍe besieche ḍat [tu]¹² me wissi ziet, an
hwaelche wisce ic mihte betst sahtlin wiçi mine halend Criste, ḍe
whom I chose as Lord through His own mercy, if I sinful might have mercy in this short time. And I will blithely listen to thy counsel, and all the more blithely, if thou wouldst show me thy unknown name.

How Reason answers and says to the soul.

Almighty God be thanked that thou so well understandest thyself! Haec mutatio dextrae excelsi, 'This turning is truly through God's right hand.' Now as thou wilt so eagerly know my name, I will tell thee forsooth. I am a gleam of God's face that was shaped in thee, dear, dear soul, Ratio by name, that is, Discernment. I left thee, because thou followedst more thy self-will than thou didst my counsel. When I went from thee, then went forth with me the same good will and that good mind which God had shaped in thee, all three of us after His own likeness to help thee. Then thou couldst do no good nor any of the holy virtues that God had shaped to help thee. They all went away from thee, because thou followedst thy self-will and leftst God's own likeness. Thus the devil betrays many other souls that prefer to follow their bodies' will, than to learn God's lore or follow it. When the cursed spirits saw that thou wast naked and helpless, they spoke between themselves and said: 'Let us go to this idle and empty soul, since it has let discernment go from it, and follows the will of its flesh. It desires all that we desire. Let us keep together with it against all the holy virtues that ever strive against us!' Afterwards came to thee the cursed spirits of greed, of drunkenness, of lechery, of covetousness, and many others, all too many, and have ruled thee after their own will in their thralldom ever too long. Now as thou hast forsaken them through God's grace, now is great need to thee that thou understandest with sharp wit what these virtues are, which can shield thee from these cursed spirits, and with God's help and with theirs may bring thee
ihe cheas to lauerde ðurh his awene mildce, zif\(^1\) ic sensulle are mihte habben en ðese scorte tyme. And ic ðis bliðeliche ðine rad wile hliesten, and micheles ðe bliðe\(^2\)-liker, zif ðu me ðin uncude name\(^3\) woldest kyðen.

**Hu andswered Ratio and syeð to þare saule.**

ALMIHTI godd bie þepanked ðat tu swa wel understand(c)st ðe seluen! Hee mutacio dextere excelsi, 'Dies wændinge is iwi(s) ðurh godes swiðere hand.' Nu ðu\(^4\) wilt mine name swa ðiernliche witen, soð ic ðe wile seggen. Ic am an lene of godes anlicnesse ðe was iscapen on ðe, lieue, lieue\(^5\) saule, Racio be name, þat is, seadwisnesse. Ic ðe forliet, forðan\(^6\) ðu folȝedest map ðin azen iwill ðanne ðu dedest mine rad. Da ðe ic wænte fram ðe, ic\(^7\) wente forð mid ðe ðiche gode wille and ðat gode imiend ðe godd hafde iscapen on ðe, us ðe orie after his azen anlicnesse ðe to helpe. Da ne mihtest ðu nan god don ne nan of ðe hali mihtes ðe godd hadde iscapen ðe to helpen. Alle hie wanten awei fram ðe, for ðan ðe ðu folȝedest ðin azen(e) wille and forliete godes auȝ(e)ane anlicnesse. Dus beswickeð ðe deuel maniȝe ðobre saules ðe willeð folȝin bleðelicher here liðches wille, ðanne hie willen godes lare lierlin in ðe folȝin. Da ðe werewede gastes 60 iseijen ðat ðu naked ware and helpleas, ða spaken hie hem betwienen and seiden: 'Wuten we fare te ðessere idele saule and amti, seðen hie hafð forlaten seadwisnesse fram hire, and folȝeð hire flesches wille. All hie wile ðat we willeð. Healde we forð 24 mid hire azenes alle ðe hali mihtes ðe œære winned azenes us!'

Seðen comen\(^8\) to ða waðerede gastes of giuernesse, of druckenesse, of galnesse, of jitsinge, and maniȝe ðobre, alles te ðele, and þe habbeð iwelt after here azenes wille on here þewdome œære to longe. Nu 28 ðurh godes grace þu hes hafst forsaken, nu is þe michel nied þat ðu understande mid scarphe witte hwat hie bien, þese mihtes, ðe ðie muȝen scilden fram ðese ðewerede gaste(s), and mid godes fultere and mid here ðe muȝen bringen ham to ðin earde, ðar ðu 32

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\(^{1}\) Gif MS.  \(^{2}\) page 13.  \(^{3}\) name me MS.  \(^{4}\) G corr. from w.  \(^{5}\) li looks like k.  \(^{6}\) On the margin.  \(^{7}\) G corr. from o.  \(^{8}\) page 14.
home to thy land, whereeto thou wast shaped. And know that forsooth, without them thou wilt never come there! This too few souls ever understand, and therefore they often are bereft of many good things, and in the end often deceived.

Of right belief.

One holy virtue is called fides recta, that is, right belief. It is the beginning of all Christianity, it can earn much happiness from our Lord God, because it believes what it never saw. Therefore said Christ: 'Blessed are the men who believe in Me and never saw Me!' This holy virtue makes thee believe that Father and Son and Holy Ghost are called one true Almighty God in three persons, and in oneness ever honoured with the Holy Trinity. Thou shalt believe that the Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten by the Father, as His Wisdom, in Heaven without mother, and on earth without father. The Holy Ghost comes from both of them, as the Love of both of them. These three are even in age and in wisdom, and in goodness and in strength, and in every wise after their godhead. This I believe. This one true God, He is without beginning in Himself, even although He is the beginning of all things which are shaped. So much He loved mankind, that He sent His own Son, who took our kind in soul and in body without sin, and is both true God and true man. He took this manhood as He who was God's Wisdom, very wonderfully from St. Mary the holy virgin, through the Holy Ghost. Through His manhood He suffered death, and through His godhead He arose from death, and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on His Father's right hand, whence He shall come on Doomsday to judge all mankind. Qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam aeternam, qui vero mala in ignem aeternum.' 'Then shall they all who have done good go into eternal life, and they that have done evil and not atoned, they shall go into eternal fire.' If thou wilt be sure of right faith, confess with St. Peter: 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' and hearken what He
to gescapen were. And dat wite ðu to sope, wis-uten hem ne cumst ðu ðar naure! Dis understandeþ auer to feawe saules, and for ði hie biec ofte bireaued of manîge gode, and at ten ænde ofte beswiken.

Of rihte 3eleaue.

AN hali mihte is icleped fides recta, pat is, rihte 3eleaue. Hie is anginn of alle cristendome, hie mai michelie eadinesse of-earned at ure lauerde gode, for ðan ðe hie ilief ðat hie naure 8 niseih. For ði sade Crist: 'Eadi biec ða menn ðe on me believe and naure me ne seizan!' Dis hali mihte ðe dieð ilieuen ðat fader and sune and hali gast is an sôp almihti godd on prie hades inammed, and an annesse 3ewurçed forð mid ðære hali ðrinnesse. Du scalt ilieuen pat þe fader is un-akenned, ðe sune of ðe fader akenned, al swa hiswisedom, on heuene wis-uten moder, and on ierde wis-uten fader. Þe hali gast, he cump forþ of hem bam, al swa here beire luue. Ðese ðrie bieþ emliche on ielde 2 and on 16 wisdom, and on godnesse and on strenge, and on alles kennes wisen after here godd-cundnesse. Dis ic ilieue. Ðies an sos godd, he is wis-uten anginne on him seluen, and þeih he is anginn of alle ðing ðe iscapene biec. Swa muchel he luuede manynkyn, 30 pat he his awene sometime, ðe nam ured ekynule on saule and on lichame wis-uten sennen, and is bade sos godd and sos mann. Ðese mannisnesse he nam alswþo he ðe was godes wisdom, swiðe selcucliche of sainte Marie ðe hali maiden, ðurh ðe hali gaste. Ðurh his 24 mannisnesse he þolede deað, and ðurh his goddcundnesse he aras of deaðe, and steih in to heuene, and sitt on his fader swiðre, ðanen he cump a domesdai al mann-kenn to demen. (Qui bona egerunt ibunt in uitam eternam, qui uero mala in ignem eternum*). 28 'Danne sculen hi alle ðe god habbeð idon to ðan 5 eche liue, and þo ðe euele habbeð idon and naht ibett, he sculent in to ðan eche fiere.' Gif ðu wilt bien siker of 6 rihte ileaue, ðane sei ðu forð mid seinte Petre: Tu es Christus 7, filius (dei uiui) 4, and harke hwat 32 he him ansdwarede: Beatus es, Simon Bariona, 'Eadi art þu,

1 were corr. from wore. 2 ielde MS. 3 page 15. 4 On the margin. 5 dan MS. 6 eche li blotted out. 7 xpc MS.
answered him: *Beatus es, Simon Sarjona*, 'Blessed art thou, because no earthly man taught thee this, that I am Christ, the Son of the living God; but My Father in Heaven revealed it unto thy heart. And upon this stone that thou here hast named, Christ, God's Son, I will rear My Church, in order that all they who ever believe this which thou believest, shall be My limbs, and I their head. And so we shall be one body and one Church, *et portae inferi non prae-valebunt adversus eam*, 'The gates of hell may not have any strength against this faith.' The gates of hell are the cardinal sins assuredly, for through them one goes into hell. But no sin nor any devil may have strength against this good faith, that Christ, God's Son, can and will forgive all sins to them who believe in Him and work thereafter. In this little lesson I cannot say all that were good to hear of this holy virtue. But what our holy Fathers wrote before us, and taught in the *Credo in Deum* and in *Quicunque vult*, all that believe thou firmly, else neither thou nor any man may be saved except we believe all that. But nevertheless I will, on God's behalf, that thou be warned, so that thou follow not any heretics, who misbelieve much. Of all such whom he had turned to Christ with much labour said the apostle: *Timeo ne frustra laboraverim*, 'I am afraid,' he said, 'that all my trouble on you has been lost, who take heed of days, what one day can be better than another to begin something, or a new moon better than an old moon to go into a new house or to lead home a wife.' Except the doctor who watches the new or old [moon], after man's nature, and the carpenter who carves his timber according to the moon, which is a natural thing; all else is error, which has been retained from heathendom, or except it be of sowing seed on account of the nature of these seeds of the earth. But do as the apostle teaches thee, who says: *Quae-cunque vultis facere, in nomine Domini facile*, 'All that ye have to do, do it in God's name, with good belief, and it shall go well with you.' Again, know forsooth, and believe it well, that nothing may happen nor betide thee, neither evil nor good, nor in right nor
forcan scis ne talte sce non cor(d)lic\(^1\) man, pat ic am Crist, 
godes liuendes sune; ac min fader on heuene hit openede in 
to (pine) herte. \(\text{And uppe pese stane sce tu hier hasf 3enamd, Crist,}

godes sune, ich wille araren mine cherche, (bat alle) sce aure sis 4
(be)lieued\(^2\) pat tu zelieest, hie sculen bien mine lemen, and ich here
heaued. And swa we sculen bien an lichame (and) an cherche, 
et porte inferi non prenalebunt aduersus eam, ‘\(\text{Do zaten}
\)
of helle ne muzen hauen none strengepe azean cesserle ileaue.’ \(\text{Da 8}
\)
zaten of helle, dat bie\(^3\) so heuedscennes fulliwis, (for) curh hem 
me far\(\text{d}^{\text{i}}\) in to helle. Ac we mai non sene ne non dieuel habben 
strengepe azean cesserle gode\(^4\) ileaue, pat Crist, godes sune\(^5\), mai
and wille alle scennes forziuen hem sce on him believed\(^6\) and cur 12
after werche\(\text{d}\). On cesserle little radiage ic ne mai al seggen pat
god were to iheren of cesserle hali mihte. Ac dat we re hali 
faderes tesoren us writen, and talte on sce credo in deum and
and on quieunque uult, all zelief sce fastliche, elles sce ne namenn 
16 ne mai bien zebore\(\text{e}\)n bute we all dat ilieuuen. Ac na\(\text{d}^{\text{e}}\)las ic wille, 
a godes half, pat tu bie zelwarned, dat tu ne sol\(\text{h}^{\text{i}}\) none dwelmenu, 
scuen mulch mislewu. Of al swi\(\text{(c)he}^{\text{d}}\)\(^6\) sade sce apostel, pe he mid 
muchele iswinke hadde iwant to Criste: "\(\text{Timeo ne frustra la-}
\)
borauerim, ‘\(\text{Ic am ofsrad,}^{\text{e}}\) he saede, ‘dat\(^7\) ich habbe al forloren
min 3eswink on zeu, sce nemed zeme of da\(\text{z}^{\text{a}}\)s, hwilch an dai bie
betere dan an o\(\text{d}^{\text{e}}\)r to angiuen sumping, o\(\text{d}^{\text{e}}\r\)r newe mone betere
zan a\(\text{e}^{\text{d}}\)m-mone in to newe huse to w\(\text{a}^{\text{e}}\)nd o\(\text{d}^{\text{e}}\r\)r wif ham to leden.’ \(\text{24}
\)
W\(\text{i}^{\text{r}}\)t-uten sce laeche sce lo\(\text{c}^{\text{e}}\)d (after)\(^8\) mannnes ikynde\(^9\) pe newe o\(\text{d}^{\text{e}}\r\)r
pelue, and sce writhte his timber to keruen after dare mone, sce is
ikyndelich ping; elles hit is al zedwoll and of had\(\text{e}^{\text{n}}\)esesse ziet wic-
healden, bute hit bie eft of sade to sawen for \(\text{z}^{\text{a}}\)s sades zekinde 28
of dare cor\(\text{d}^{\text{a}}\)a. Ac do al swo sce apostel sce tach\(\text{p}^{\text{d}}\) and seid: "Qu-
cunque ultris facere, in nomine domin\(\text{i}^{\text{m}}\)i facite, ‘\(\text{All dat ze}
habbed to donne, an godes name dop hit, mit gode zeleaue, and zew
scal wel zelimpen.’ Eft wite sce to eode, and wel hit ilief, dat na 32
ping ne mai sce zelimpen ne to-cumen, nei\(\text{d}^{\text{e}}\r\)r ne euel ne god, ne on

1 cor(d)lic MS. 
2 be put above an underdotted i. 
3 u put above an underdotted f, the second e corrected from o. 
4 page 16. 5 sune ne MS. 6 che over erasure. 7 \(\text{o}^{\text{r}}\) corr. from o. 
8 on side, a word in the text scratched out. 9 y written over r.
in wrong, nor in health nor in sickness, nor through fire nor through water, nor through man nor through devil, nor through any of the things which both of them may do, except as God will allow it to them. When good comes to thee, and it well befalls thee, thank thy Lord God for it, and believe that it is through His great goodness, and not through thy merit. Again, when some evil or some mishap betides thee, in whatsoever wise it comes, believe not as some, who never well believed, say that they met evil foot, priest or monk; or some other error they entertain, and say that he had not good handsel who sold him that. Whatsoever harm or mishap befalls thee, think that thou art well deserving of the evil, because thou hast well earned it, that and much more; and thank thereof God very willingly, and so thou mayst make that all this evil may turn out to be of much good to thee.

Christ Himself says a remarkable thing of this blessed virtue: *Omnia possibilia sunt credenti,* 'All the things which ever the well-believing man wishes have done, they are granted him by God's own mouth through this holy virtue.' Again, He said of it a parable, that it is like the mustard-corn, which is little in sight and great in strength. The more one beats and stamps it, the stronger and better is it. Just so is it concerning the man who has with him this blessed virtue: the more he is troubled with griefs, temptations of the devil or of man, the stronger and better is he in good works. Again, it is written about it: *Fides sine operibus mortua est,* 'Faith without works is dead.' 'Many believe with words,' said the apostle, 'with works they forsake.' So does the devil, he believes, but he nevertheless does no good. And so there are all too many men that believe, and do not work accordingly. Beware who will!

**Of firm hope.**

After this comes another holy virtue that is called *firma spes,* that is, firm hope in God Almighty. All that her sister, the right faith, says to her, she trusts in it all firmly. This same holy virtue, where it comes and is with man, makes worthless to him all the fair things which in the deceptive world seem fair; he does
wele ne on wauzhe, ne on hale ne on unhale, ne Surh fier ne Surh water, (ne Surh maze ne Surh dieule), ne Surh nan dere pinge de hie bade muzen don, bute al swo godd hit wile hem polisen. Panne de cump god, and pe wel ilimp, panke Gar of sine lauerde gode, 4 and ilief dat hit is for his mucheile godnesse, and noht for tin ear-ninge. Danne de cump est sum euel oder sum unzelimp, an hwil- che(s) kennes wise de hit aere cump, ne zelief deu naht al swa sume, de naure wel ne zeliefden, segge that hie imetten euel fot, priest 8 oder munec; oder sum oder dwel hie drueð, and segge that he naufde naht gode han(d)sselle de him pat sealde. Hwilch harm oher hwilc unzelimp de de to-cump, pench dat deu art wel wurde des eueles, for dat deu hit hauest wel ofesame, pat and michel 12 more; and danke serof gode swiçe zierne, and swa deu miht don dat all euel de mai wanden te michile gode.

Crist self seïð an selcud ping of dessere eadi mihte: Omnia possibilitia sunt credenti, 'Alle de ping de aere de wel beliefde 16 (mann) 2 wile habben 3edon, hie bieð him iteipd of godes augene muðe Surh dessere hali mihte.' Giet he sade of hire ane forbisme,dat hie is zelich de seneueies corne, de is litel an sei(ht)pe and michel on strenge. Eüere de mann de hit more bat and stampeþ, de hit 20 strengere and betere is. Also is of de manne de ðese eadi mihte mid him haueð: de he more is swaient mid deules, fondinges of dieule oder of manne, de he strengere and betere is on gode werkes. Eft is iwríten die hire: Fideð(s) sine operibus mortua, 'Ileaue 24 wið-uten werkes, hie is dead.' 'Maniʒe ilieueð mid wordes,' sæde de apostel, 'mid werkes he forsakeð.' Swo deð deuel, ilieð, ac he ðar after no god ne deð. And swa bieð alle(s) to fele menn de zelieð-neð, and noht ðar after ne wercep. Bie zewar se de wile ! 28

Of feste hope.

Hier after cump an oðer hali mihte de is iclæped fir ma spes, pat is, fast hope to godalmihti. All ðat hire suster, de rihte 3eleane, hire seiʒeð, all hie hit fastliche hopeð. Dies ilike halize 32 mihte, ðar de hie cumeð and bieð mid de manne, hie makeð him unwurðe alle de faire pinges de on ðare swikele worlde 4 faire þen-

1 page 17. 2 On side. 3 page 18. 4 r corrected from l.
not account it more than filth, compared with the great mirth he hopes to have in the kingdom of Heaven. That is the same that St. Paul teaches us in his Epistles, who says thus: *Apparuit gratia Dei omnibus hominibus erudiens nos*, 'God's grace,' he says, (which he called it), 'God's Son showed Himself to all men, and He taught us that we should forsake the frail belief of heathendom, and all worldly evil lusts, and live moderately, and rightly, and piously, awaiting the blessed hope and the coming of the great bliss of Christ, God's Son, when He comes again to show Himself, and to repay all the promises He promised us, that is, that He will turn the body of our humility into great brightness, so that it shall shine as bright as the sun, like the angels with God evermore in mirth and in bliss.' Nobody may have this blessed hope, unless he well believe it and love it truly. Therefore, said David, the prophet: *Multi dicunt: quis ostendit nobis bona?* 'Many say,' he said, 'who do not believe well: Who is he, that can show us the good things that ye promise us? Here we may see all the world's weal and have it, but it is a mere assumption whether we may have what ye promise.' What doest thou say, David? Hast thou any certainty hereof? Teach us, instruct us, it is need! *Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine; dedisti laetitiam in corde meo.* 'Yes,' he says, 'we are all sure of God's promise, because the light of His face is marked right upon us. I know Him, and believe well by a token He has given me.' *Dedisti laetitiam in corde meo,* 'Thou, O Lord, gavest bliss into my heart, so that to me there is naught of all the world's bliss. And Thou hast given me this as an earnest of that eternal bliss.' Dear soul, if thou hast this bliss in thy heart, which does not come from any world's bliss, then thou mayst be sure of God's grace; and if thou hast not, do not cease neither night nor day ere thou have it. But listen to what this same prophet says of him who had got it: *Dilexisti justitiam et odisti iniquitatem, propterea unxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo laetitiae;* 'Because,' he
OF FIRM HOPE.

cheô; ne telp hie namore xarof ñanne of horewe, azenes xare michele ¹ merhpe ñe hie hoped ñe habbene on heuene riche. Pat is se ilke ñe san[c] tus Paulus us takê on his pisteles, and þus seið: Aparuit gratia dei omnibus hominibus erudiens 4 nos, ‘Godes grace,’ he seið, pat he clepede her, ‘godes sune hine sceawede alle mannên, and he us tahte ñat we scolden forsaken 5 ña un-wraste ileaute of hæcen-dome, and alle woreldliches euele lustes, and maðliche libben, and rihtliche, and arfastliche, anbidende ña eadi 8 hope and ñane to-cyme of ñare ² michele blisse of Criste(s) sune, þanne he cump eftsones to sceawien him soluen, and to zielden alle ño behotes ñe he us behiet, pat is, pat he wile þane lichame of ure e(a)dmodesnesse in to michele brihtnesse ³ wanden, ñat he scal ¹² seinen swa briht swa suane, emlich ño aingles mid gode œure mo on merhpe and on blisse.’ Ne mai no man ñese eadi hope habben, bute he hit wel ilieue and soðliche luuie. For ñi sade Dauið, ñe profiete: Multî diciunt: quîs ostendit nobis bona? ‘Manize 16 seggeû,’ (he) sade, ‘ñe noht wel ne believed: Hwo is, ñat us mue ⁴ sceawin ña gode ñe 3e us behoteû⁵? Hier we muçen isien al ña werdles wele and habben; of ñan ñe zie behoteû is a wene hwedr we it habben muçen.’ Hwat seist þu, Dauið? Hafst þu anje ²⁰ sikernesse herof? Tach vs,⁶ wisse us, hit is nied! Signatum est super nos lumen uultus tui, domine; dedisti leticium in corde meo. ‘Ʒise,’ (he) seið, ‘we bieû all sikere of godes behate, for ñan ñat liht of his ansiene is (3e)marked riht uppen ²⁴ us. Ich hine icnawe, and wel ilieue be are tacne ñe he haft Ʒijuuen me.’ Dedisti leticium in corde meo, ‘Ðu, hlauerd, ñane blisse on mire herte, ñat me nis naht of alles woredles blisse; and ñese ñu hauest Ʒijuuen me to earres of ñare eche blisse.’ Lieiue saule, zif ñu ²⁸ ñese blisse hauest on ñine hierte, ñe ne cump of nanes woredles blisse, ñane miht þu bien sikere mid ⁷ godes grace; and zif ñu ne hafst, ne swic ñu naure niht ne dai ær ñu hes habhê. Ac hærce hwat tes ilke profiete seið be him ñe hes hadde biȝoten: Dilex- ³² isti iusticiam et odisti iniquitatem, propteræa vnxit te

¹ hope blotted out. ⁴ muçen MS. ² r corr. from 3. ⁶ page 19. ³ Before h an s blotted out. ⁵ teð on erasure. ⁷ mid corrected over of.
said, 'thou lovedst righteousness and hatedst unrighteousness, therefore thy Lord hath anointed thee with the oil of bliss.' Oil has three qualities in it: it will float over all liquids (so will God's love be over all other loves); it will burn in the lamp brightly (so will this virtue give good example to all them that dwell in God's house); it softens all hardness (so does this holy bliss all sorrow for sins). Well [is] him that may get it! All the men who labour in this toilsome world, they all labour for some hope they have, which often deceives them in the end. David: In illa die peribunt omnes cogitationes eorum, 'At their end-day all their thoughts they had thought to carry out will perish.' But those who labour for this blessed hope, they are not deceived. Have thou no trust in gold nor in silver, nor in any possessions of the world, nor even in man. It is written: Maledictus homo qui confidit in homine, 'Cursed be the man who hath his trust in man, who turneth his heart and his thoughts more to man's service than to God's.' Let all thy trust be upon our Saviour Christ, who will raise thee and thy body from death as truly as He Himself arose from death, and will bring thee unto eternal life! If thou shouldst live as long as this world lasteth, and always sufferdest pain, thou couldst not earn so much happiness as is promised to thee. But thy Lord earned it on the holy cross; therefore thou hast to bear thy cross after His instruction, who said: Qui vult venire post me, tollat crucem suam et sequatur me, 'Who will come after Me into Heaven, let him bear his cross on earth as I did, and so he may follow Me and come where I am.' The cross betokens pain. Pain thyself for His love who suffered pain for thee unto death, in fasting, and in watching, and in patience, and in restraining thy self-will. If thou thus doest, then thou bearest thy cross. Never let it seem to thee so bitter, that this hope does not sweeten it. So it did all the holy martyrs. All the kinds of pains men might do to them men did to them; this holy virtue made them all sweet to them. So it did [make sweet] to all
deus deus tuus oleo leticie, 'Forcan,' he sade, 'Sat tu luue-dest rihtwisnesse and hatedest unri(h)twisnesse, for ci haueci cin lauerd ismered pe mid ca ele of blisse.' Ele hafci prie zekynden on him: hit wile flotten ouer alle waetes, swa wile godes lune 4 bien ouer alle oore luen; hit wile on lampe beren brihte 2, swa wile ces mihte gode forbisne ziiuen alle hem ce on godes huse wunien; hie lipega( alle [h]ardnesse), swa dise ciies halige blisse alle sarinesses of sennes. Wel him ce hes biyeten mai! Alle ceo menn 8 ce swinke( on cessere swinkfulle 4 world, alle hie swinke( for sumere hope ce hie habbe(, ce hem ofte aten and beswic(. Dauic(:

In illa die peribunt 5 omnes cogitationes eorum, 'On here ande-daije forwur(ce alle here pohtes ce hie hadden ipoht to 12 done.' Ac ce ce swinke( for cessere eadi hope, hie ne biec( naht becaht. Ne hane cu hope te golde ne to seluer, ne to none 6 wor(d)lles cihtne, ne for(en te manne. Hit is iwrten: Male-dictus homo qui confidit in homine, '3euered hie ce 16 mann pe haueci his hope te manne, pe 7 want his herte and his (3epanc 4) more to mannes seruise cenne te godes.' All hie cin hope uppen ure halende Criste, pe wile araren pe and pine 9 lichame of deac( swa sodliche swa he him self aros of deac(, and bringe pe 20 to can eche lif! Gif cu liuedest swa lange swa ces world ilast, and œure poldedest pine, ne mihte ciu of-earnin swa michel eadinnesse swa ce is behaten. Ac cin lauerd hes ofearnede on sare halu rode; for ci cu aust te berene cine rode after his wissinge, ce 24 sade: Qui uult uenire post me, tollat crucem suam et se-quatur me, 'Se ce wile cumen after me in to heuene, bere his rode on ier( swa ic dede, and swo he mai me fol( and cumen car ic am.' Rode tacnic( pine. Pine ce seluen for his luue ce 28 dolede pine for ce anon to ce deac(, on fasten and on wacchen and on poleomdesse, and on cine awene wille to laten. 3if 10 cu dus dost, cenne berest pu pin rode. Ne pinche hit te naeure swa bitter, cat pies hope hit ne sw(i)etc(.

Swa hie dede alle ceo halie martirs. 32 Alle cias kennes pines ce me hem mihte don me hem dede; all cias halie mihte hes maken hem swiете. Swa hie dede alle ce hali

1 deus deus on erasure. 2 Corrected from osier. 3 Five or six words erased.
4 fullie MS. 5 b corrected over d. 6 nones MS. 7 page 20.
8 Written above seruise. 9 p corr. from b. 10 3 corrected from G.
the holy confessors and the holy virgins all that they suffered through it. So it does still in this time to monks, canons, anchorites, and hermits. For this blessed hope they forsake father and mother, wife and children, house and home, and all the world's weal and bliss. So do pilgrims who forsake their own country, and go into other lands. So ought to do all who ever do any good. They all shall do it in order to have reward from God Almighty in the other world and not here; that be their hope! The holy apostle calls these three holy virtues together, _fidelis, spes, caritas_, and says that this which is called _caritas_, is the highest and best of these three, and so it is above all the others. Therefore it shall last evermore, as well in this world as in the other. Of it, we will tell something by God's grace.

**Of charity.**

_Caritas_ is very holy, because God Himself is called _caritas_, that is, love of God and man. God dwells within all who have this holy love, and they within God. Understand now well, how God dwells in the man who has this blessed virtue, and so thou mayst know, whether God dwells in thee and whether thou hast this virtue. God dwells in the man who loves Him in such a wise that He kindles his heart and his thoughts with the fire which Christ brought on earth. At first He gives him light in his heart, in order to see the good which he ought to do. Of this blessed light said St. John the Evangelist: _Erat lux vera quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum_.

He said of Christ, God's Son, that 'He was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into this life.' He is called God's Wisdom. He instructs the man's thoughts to whom He comes, either through holy writings or through holy sermons, which He sends him through some wise man in whom He is dwelling. Then comes the Holy Ghost who is an all burning fire, as He came upon the apostles, and inflames the heart, and reminds it often by day and by night, and brings it into good will. If
confessores and se halie uirgines all sat hic soleden surh hire. Swa hie doþ ziet on sese time munekes, kanunekes, ancre, and eremites. For sessere eadi hope hie forlatef fader and moder, wif and children, hus and ham, and alle worldes wele and blisse. 4 Swa doþ pilegrimes se latep her awen eard, and fared in to oðre lande. Swo awe to donne alle se œure ani god do. Alle hie hit don for to habben lean of godalmhtin on sare oðre worlde and naht hier; pat bie here hope ! De hali apostel namnec sese 8 prie halije mihtes to-gedere, fidem, spem, karitatem 1, and seggte pat pies se hatte karitas, is heijest and betst of sese prie, and swo hie is ouer alle oðre. For bie hie scal œure mo 3elasten, aiçer on sessere worlde and ec on sare oðre. Of hire we willed 12 sumdæl keðen be godes grace.

Of charite.

CARITAS is swiðe hali, forðan se godd self is icleped karitas, pat is, godes lune and mannes. Alle se habbed sese 16 halie lune, godd wunec inne hem, and hie inne gode. Vnderstond nu wel, hu godd wuned on se manne se sese eadi mihte haued, and swa seu miht 3ecnawen, zif godd wuned on se and zif seu sese mihte haust. Godd wunec on se manne se him luued. On ñelicche 20 wise pat is, pat he his herte (and) his zeþanc on-alð mid sa fiere se Crist bröhte on ierðe. Arst he zif(him) liht on ñare hierte, to 3esiene dat god dat he aw te donne. Of sese eadigen lihte 2 sade sanctus Iohannes se godspellere: Eraug lux uera que illu- 24 minat omnem hominem uenientem 3 in hunc mundum. He sade se Criste, goddes sune, pat 'he was dat soce liht þe lihtep alche manne se cump on sese liue.' He is icleped godes wisdom. Hie wisseþ ses mannes iðang[æ] se he to-cumð, ðæð surh halije 28 writes ðæð surh halie sermunes, þe he him surh sume wise manne se he is inne wuniende 4, sant. Panne cump se hali gast se is all fier barnende, swa he com up þe apostles, and analæ 5 se hierte, and menezec hie ofte be daiæ and be nihte, and bringþ hie on 32 gode will. Gif se herte bliðeliche underfoþ godes hali wordes se

1 page 21. 2 Corr. from sese eadiæ mihte. 3 u on erasure. 4 wudiende him MS. 5 analæ MS.
the heart blithely receives God's holy words which come from His Son, who is Wisdom, and receives them with much love as the Holy Ghost, who is the Love of both of them: then comes thereafter Almighty God the Father and gives the power to do all this, and [they] make their abode in this blessed soul. Thus Christ promised that He and His Father would love the man and be abiding with him who would love Him and keep His words. Thus says the Gospel: *Si quis diliget me, sermonem meum servabit; et pater meus diliget eum, et mansionem apud eum faciemus.*

Now, thou hast heard, how God abides in the man who loves Him; hear now, how the man may abide within God, as St. John says: *Qui manet in caritate, in Deo manet, et Deus in eo,* 'He that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him.' Some misunderstand here the holy Writ, [and many a one] assumes, if he gives blithely to eat and to drink, and of his other property gives for God's love blithely, and himself lies in some cardinal sin, which he will not give up, but hopes to be saved through his doing so much for God's love. Against this says God Himself: *Si recte offeris, et non recte dividis, peccasti,* 'If thou rightly offerest and doest not rightly divide, thou sinnest more than thou doest good.' Thou givest thy own to God, and thyself to the devil. That is not rightly divided; for better is a good soul, than all the world with all its possessions. If thou lovest the same thing that God firmly forbids thee, how canst thou then abide in charity, that is, love of God and of men? How canst thou love thy neighbour as thyself, when thou lovest not thyself? The holy Writ says: *Qui diligit iniquitatem, odit animam suam,* 'The man who loves unrighteousness, hates his own soul.' For when he breaks God's forbidding, then he is unrighteous; and through his unrighteousness he brings his soul into the pain of hell. Nevertheless let the man never cease to give alms, because, whatsoever becomes of him, he remains not unrewarded. If thou wilt surely abide in charity and in God, then do thou as we find it
OF CHARITY.

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cum fram 1 his sune, ðe is wisedom, and hes mid michele lune underfoð al swa ðane hali gast, ðe is here heire lune: ðanne ðar after cum almichti godd ðe fader and ʒif ðe mihte al 2 ðis te donne, and makieð here wunienge on ðessere eadi saule. ðus 4 behet Crist ðat þe mann ðe him wolde luuiʒen and his wordes healden: þat he and his fader hine scolden luuiʒen and mid him wuniende h(i)en. ðus seeð ðat godspell: Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum seruabit; et pater meus diliget 3 eum, et mansionem apud 3 eum faciemus. Nu ðu haft þehrde, hu godd wunec on ðe manne ðe him luueð; harke nu, hu ðe man mai wuniʒen inne gode, al swo sanctus Iohannes seeð:

Qui manet in karitate, in deo manet, et deus 4 in eo, 'Se 12 ðe wunec on karite, he wunec on gode, and godd on him.' Sume mis-understandet 5 (hier) ðis hali writt, weneð, ʒif he ʒif ʒi bleōelige to eten and to drinken, and of his ʒer eihete dop for godes lune bleōelige, and him self lið on sume heaned-senne, ne ðo ne wile 16 læten, ac hopeð to bien iboreʒen ðurh ðat he dieð swa michel for godes lune 6. Hier æʒan seeð god him self: Si recte offers, et non recte diuidis, peccasti, 'Gif ðu riht ofrest and noht riht ne sciftst, ðu senegest mare ðan ðu god do.' ðu ʒifst 7 ðine 20 eihete gode, and ðe seluen ðe dieule 8. þat nis naht riht iscift; for ðan betere is an gode saule, ðan all ðe woreld mid all hire eihete. Gif ðu luuest ðat ilke þing ðe godd fastliche ðe forbett 9, hu mihte ðu ðanne wuniʒen on karite, þat is, luue of gode and of 24 mannen? Hu mihte ðu luuiʒen ðine nexte al swa ðe seluen, (ðane þu ne luuest noht þe seluen?) Þat hali writ seeð:  AudioClip  

Quo diliget iniquitatem, odi animam suam, 'De man ðe luueð unrihtwisnes, he hateð his awene saule.' Forðan ðanne he breçp godes 28 forbod, ðanne is he un-rihtwis; and ðurh his unrihtwisnesse he brie[n]ɡp his saule in to helle pine. Ñæðelas ne læte ðe mann neure almesse te donne 10, for ðan 11, hwat swo ource of him betide, ne wurp he naht un-forzolden. ʒif ðu wilt sikerliche wuniʒen on 32 karite and on gode, ðanne do ðu alswa we hit a boke findeñ

1 f corr. from a. 2 page 22. 3 apud MS. 4 ðs MS. 5 t on erasure. 6 luuen MS. 7 3 corr. from G. 8 ð. d. on erasure. 9 forbett MS. 10 page 23. 11 for ðan twice in MS., the first crossed red.
written in the book, that is, that thou shouldst work, with right belief and with firm hope and with true love the good things which thou believest. All thou knowest that God forbids, avoid doing it in every way; and if thou breakest any [of His commandments], do penance anon. Never suffer the devil to reign in thee through any sin, but have thy thoughts fixed in God, and beg His forgiveness, and humbly entreat Him to give thee might and strength to withstand the devil's temptations and the lusts of thy flesh. Then thou wilt truly abide in God, if thou thinkest more of Him than thou doest of any thing in the world, by day and by night, for thou hast great need that He always be thy shield against all evils, and thy helper to all good. If thou hast thus thy love in God, it then behooves thee, if thou wilt have charity in thee, to be well aware that thou shouldst love thy neighbour, that is, every man who bears thy likeness. Of this the holy apostle Paul warns us, who says thus: Si distribuero omnes facultates meas in cibos pauperum, 'If I give all that I have to wretched men, and in addition to that give my body to be burned all to dust for God's love, and I hate a single man, then I have not charity, nor may I be saved in any wise, except I have it.' St. Gregory gives an example of this, that just as no web can be woven without two beams, so charity can never be finished without two loves, that is, God's and man's, and just as many threads are necessary ere it be made, so is much reflecting of thoughts and words and works needful to charity during all thy life-time, ere it be ordained in thee as it is necessary. It is a great pity for many a man who is in great error about himself, and presumes that he is wise and that he has with him love of God and man, but has none. Many a man says in words that he loves God. The true love of God is rather in works than in words. If thou loveth nothing in the world by which thou mayst lose God's love or man's; and wrath does not abide with thee one day's length, but thou either forgivest every trespass [against thee] or requitest [it] with love: if thou doest thus,
OF CHARITY.

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iwiten, pat is, cat tu mid rihte zeleane and mid faste hope and mid soce luue bie werchinde cat god ce du iliest. Al cat su wast cat godd forbett, forbuh hit to donne on alle wisen; and zif su au(h)te trebcest, anon siech su nine bote. Ne sole su naure cat dieul rixi on ce for none senne, ac fastliche haue sin ipanc te godd, and bide him forziuenesse, and besiec him eadmoldiche cat he jine ce mihte and strengpe to wibidden azeanes dieules fondinges and nine flesches lustes. Danne wunest su sikerliche on gode, panne su pen[ce]st more of him Danne su do of anige pinge of Care woreld, be daixe and be nihte, for Care michele niede ce su hauest pat he euer bie pin sceld azeanes alle eueles, and pin helpend to alle gode. Danne su sus hauest nine luue te gode, 12 Danne behoued ce cat su bie wel warr pat tu luitive nine neste, cat is, aurich mann ce ber9nin anlicnesse, zif su karite scalt habben on ce. Herof us warned ce holi apostel Paulus, and sus seige: Si distribuero omnes facultates meas in cibos pauperum, 'Gif ic dale all cat ic habbe wrecche mannern, and ziet sar uppen nine lichame all to barnen to duste for godes luue, and ich hatede anlepine mann, Danne ne habbe ic naht charite, ne ich iborezen a none wise ne mai bien, bute ic hes habbe.' 20 Sanctus Gregorius seid hier on ane forbisne, pat al swa nan webb ne mai bien iweuen wid-uten twa beames, al swo ne mai ncause karite bien fulsreem wid-uten twa luues, pat is, godes and mannern, and alswo9 sar behoued to manije preades ser hit bie full- wroht, al swo behoup to charite on alle nine luues time michel embepanic of pohtes and of wordes and of werkes, ser hie bie 3ediht on ce swa swa hit nied is. Hit is a michel reunesse of mani mann ce is on michele dwele on him selen, wenp pat he bie wis and cat he haue mid him godes luue and mannern, and ne haue9 naht. Mani mann seid mid wordes pat he godd luen9, ce soce luue of godd, hie is mare on werkes Danne on wordes. Gif su na ping ne luuest on Care woreld Curh hwat su miht forliesen godes luue over mannes; ne wra9de ce ne wune9 ones dai3es lente, ac alchnie gylt forjpest o9e mid luue sa(t)lest: Danne su sus

1 senum MS. 2 3 corr. from G. 3 page 24. 4 corr. from foltes. 5 a letter erased after s.
then thou hast charity in thee and assuredly God's love and man's. If thou doest not this, do not deceive thyself by believing that Christ abides with thee, or thou with Him, whilst thou hast wrath or envy in thee, or lovest any thing in this false world against His commandment. Of this St. John the Evangelist bears witness, who says thus: *Qui diliget mundum, non est caritas patris in eo,* 'Whoso loveth this world, the love of the Father the Almighty God is not in him.' Woe then to every man who is so much deprived of understanding, that he, through this false love of the treacherous world, should lose the sweet love of Christ and the joy of the everlasting land! It may happen that some one, who sees or hears this, thinks: 'How can I dwell in the world and not love it? Or how can I dwell therein, and also be saved?' According to what holy Writ says: 'Thou who dwellest in the world, and art bound therein with house and with wedded wife and with children, if thou wilt be saved, thou oughtest to follow the righteous and simple Job, who lived in the world with wife and with children, and with great property, which was shared in by all the needful, and who was also tempted with great wealth, and with great distress, and with great sickness, and with many evil upbraidings, both from his own wife and also from his own friends, from relations and from strangers, and from the devil himself; but none could bereave him of this holy virtue which we are speaking about, that is, charity, of God's love or man's, nor break this patience with one intemperate word.' Listen here, listen here, ye proud men, the devil's followers, who follow the devil, that stirs up wrath and strife and bitter words and the forbidden cursings, and will have neither place of rest nor any softness in your heart, on which the Holy Ghost might rest Himself! Cease, cease, if ye will have the Holy Ghost dwelling with you, and drive the fellowship of the cursed spirit from you. Know forsooth, ye worldly men, who are bound in the world, that except ye love the
OF CHARITY.

dest, manne hast ou charite mid se and iwis godes luue and mannes. Gif ou dis ne diest, ne beswic ou noht se seluen cat tu iliene cat Crist wuniȝe mid se, oder ou mid him, all dere hwhile se ou wraðde oder niȝ hauest mid te, oder ani ping on esse lease 4 worlde luuest aȝanes his bebode. Hier of berp ȝewitnesse sanctus Johannes se godspellere, and pus soiȝ: Qui diliguit mundum, non est charitas patris in eo, 'Se se lueȝe esse worlde, ses fader lune god-almiȝtines nis naht an him.' Wa dan ilke manne se is swa 1 swide wittes bedaeȝ, cat he, for dessere lease luue of se swikele worlde, scal forliesen se swete luue of Criste and se merhde of se liuiȝende lande 2 ! Hit mai ilimpen cat sum mann, se dis geseðð oder jeherð, pat he pen(c)3: 'Hu mai ic on ðane world 12 wunijen and naht hes ne luuiȝen? Oder hu mai ic ðær on wunijen, and ec be ðebozren?' After dan se ðat hali writt seid: 'Du ðe wunest on ðære worlde, and art ðær inne ibunde mid huse and mid weddede wuie and mid childre, swa swa ðu wilt bien ðebozren, 16 ðu aust te folʒin ðane riȝ[t]wise and onsfald Iob 4, ðe was wunijende on ðære worlde mid wuie and mid children, and mid michelere heihte, þe was þemanlich alle niedfullen, ðe was iec fonded mid michele wele, and mid michelere nafte, and mid michel unhaele, and 20 mid maniȝe eule upbreides, aþer of his aȝene wuie and ec of his auene frienden 5, of sibbe and of framde, and of se selue dieule; swa nan ne mihte him benemen ðas halizge mihte ðe we embe spekeð, pat is, charite, godes luue ne mannes, ne ðis Solemodnesse 24 tobreceþ naht mid one unbehealdene worde.' Hlesteð hider, hlesteð hider, þe modi menn, ðes dieules folʒeres, ðe folʒiȝ 6 ðe dieule, ðe ararð upp ðe wraððhes and þe cheastes and te bitere wordes and te forbode ðertinges 7, þe ne willeð nane reste ne 28 nane soft(n)esse on seuere herte habben, ðar ðe hali gast him mihte resten! ȝeswikeð, iswikeð 8, al swa 3e willeð ðes hali-gastes wunamiȝe habben mid þeu, and ðas ðeþerȝede gaste(s) felauscipe fram e(u)wȝ drieuþ. Wite 3e te soðe, 3e worldmenn, ðe bieð on 32 ðære worlde ibunden, bute þie ðeses riȝtwises mannes lif luuiȝen

1 swa twice in the MS., the first underlined.
2 terra uuentium, gloss at the side.
3 page 25.
4 iustus et simplex erat, added at the side.
5 friemden MS.
6 d corrected from ð. 7 werzinjinges MS., the last g corr. from e. 8 -d MS.
life of this righteous man and follow [it], ye shall never come to
the great happiness which he [Job] has with God Almighty. Those, who have forsaken this deceitful world and serve our Lord
in orders, follow Daniel, the holy prophet, who is called *vir desideriorum*, that is, the man who was never overcome by the
covetousness of the world, and was never defiled by the lusts of the
flesh, and never yearned or cared for, or loved any of the things
which were in this world, but his neighbour and the lawful things
which God had bidden him to do. Nevertheless, above all things
he loved after God *abstinentiam, castitatem*, that is, abstinence from
meat, drink, and all kinds of lecheries. None of them could defile
him. Although he was long brought up and nourished in [the]
king's retinue, it was more agreeable to him to eat beans and
peas and such coarse meats, and to drink water, than the costly
dishes or the good wines which came from the king. All who
have forsaken this world for God's sake, must follow this holy
man Daniel in abstaining from all evil things, and in avoiding
all kinds of lecheries, if they will attain the great happiness
which Daniel has with the angels in Heaven. The spiritual
shepherds, who must both guard and direct those who are in the
world, and also those who are without, follow Noah, the good
steersman, who was very dear and pleasing to God through the
great obedience [with] which he wrought for many years, ere he
could make the ark; and he afterwards steered it in such a way
in the great terrible flood which overflooded all the earth, amidst
strong winds and storms, that he lost none of those whom God
had intrusted him to keep alive and to bring to land. So ought
the spiritual steersmen to steer the ark of the holy Church in such
a way that they lose neither a body nor a soul of it, through no
wind of human temptation, nor through any storm of devilish
temptation; and again, in fair weather, they should not be too
sure, because so many little drops of various kinds of carelessness
might come into the boat of souls, that they might sink with all
and folgein, ne cume 3e neure mo to sare michele eadinesse 3e he haued mid godalmihtin. Do 3e 3ese swikele worlde habbed forlaten 1 and scriuit ure drihten on religioun, hie folgieth Daniele, 3e hali profiote, 3e is icleped uir desideri(o)rum 2, Sat is, 3e man 4 de naure 5 worlde zitsinge n(e) 6 overcam, ne neure 3e flesliches lustes him 6 ne besielde, ne non sare 3inge 3e on 3esse worlde waren 6 he ne zernde, ne he ne rohte, ne he ne luuede, bute his nexte and 3o lazeliche ping 3e god him hadde zehote te done. 8 Nafeles, ouer alle ping he luuede under gode abstineneciam, castitatem, pat is, wi3heal[d]nesse of metes and of drenches, and of alles kennes galnesses. Ne mihte him na3er beselen. Swa swa he was on kynges byrde lange ifedd and 3efostred, leure him was to 12 eten benen and pesen and swilche unorne metes, and Sat water to drinken, 3anne him ware 3o derewur3e sondes 3e comen fro 3e kyngne, och 3e gode wines. Alle 3e 3ese worlde for godes lune habbed 7 forlaten, alle hie moten 3isne hali mann Daniele folgieth 16 mid wi3healdennesse of alle euele pinges, and mid clamnesse fram alles kennes galnesse(s), swa swa hie willed cumen to sare michele eadinesse 3e 8 Daniel haueth mid 3o angles on heuene. De gastliche hierdes, 3e seulen bo3e lokin and stieren 30 3e bi3e in 3are 20 worlde, and ec (3o) 3e bi3e ute, hie folgieth Noe 3ane gode stieres-maan, 3e gode was wi3he lief and 3ecweme for sare michele her-sumnesse 3e he manije wimtre swanc, ær he (3a) arche mihte habben 3emaked, and se3dhen hie swa stierde on 3e michele wilde flode 3e 24 ouer3iede all middeneard, mang stronge windes and stormes, 3at he 3arof 3e for-liesen naping 3e godd him hadde betaht to liue and to londe to bringen. Swa seulle 3a gastlich(e) 9 stieres-menn (stieren) 3a arche of 3e hali cherche, 3at hie 3arof 3e for-liesen se licha3e 28 ne saule, for none windel of mannliche fundinge, 10 ne for none storme of dieuliche fundinge; and eft, on faire wederne, ne bien hie nalht to sikere, for3an swo manije little dropes of manijes kennes 3emelastes mihten cumen in to 3e saule bote, 3at hie mihten sinken 32 mid alle hire bizeates; ac lokien 11 hie alle 3e wi3-innen scipes borde

1 page 26. 2 The last r on erasure. 3 After this fourteen letters erased. 4 o red over no. 5 I on erasure. 6 was MS. 7 habbed MS. 8 @ corr. from o. 9 o above erasure. 10 page 27. 11 lokies MS.
its contents; but let them all take heed who dwell within the board of the ship, that they be obedient and buxom to their steersman, if they wish to come to the everlasting land with soul and with body. And listen what the Lord who owns the ship says to the steersmen and to all who dwell therein: Qui vos audit, me audit, 'Whoso listens to your counsel,' says He, 'listens to Myself;' and whoso forsakes you and your lore, forsakes full surely Myself.' This He says to the steersmen. In great peril we all sail who sail in hoc mare magnum, 'in this great sea of the bitter world.' Of our steersmen is written: Ascendunt usque ad coelos, et descendunt usque ad abyssos, 'They mount up to Heaven' in their spiritual thoughts in order to view the great joy of the kingdom of Heaven, in order to view the winds and the evil storms which come from the devil's blasts, and in order to warn us lest our ropes break, which are woven of three strings, of right belief and of firm hope in God and of the true love which is called charity, which Christ loves most. Again, it is said that 'they go down to the depths' in their thoughts, in order again to warn us against the stone-rocks of the hard heart which never will soften with any water of wisdom, but if a ship comes thereto it breaks up. So does the unwise man who comes to the unbelieving man that neither will nor can understand God's lore through the hardness of his heart: he [the unwise man] breaks up, if he has any good will, for he hurts his good will. And he breaks up with such words: 'What doest thou?' he [the unbelieving man] says, 'thou givest away all that thou hast! If thou listenest to preachers and priests and monks and these ordained men, thou wilt never have any goods. They would swallow all the world, if they could. Be a faithful man and keep thy goods; thou wilt find few who will give thee anything, except they do it for a reason.' The unguarded man who hears this, thinks that he [the unbeliever] gives him good counsel. If he before did little for God, after that he does much less; and so he perishes, because he will neither listen to nor follow his priest's lore nor his counsel. Charity
wunizë, pat hie bien hersum and lecebeîze here stieres-manne, swa swa hie wille cumen to ñe liuende lande mid saule and mid lichame. And hlested hwat ñe hlauerd seî, ñe ñat seip ahu, to ñe stieresmannen and to alle ñe ñar inne wunizë: Qui uos audît, me auît, 'Se ñe ñeu(u)er ra(d) hleste', he seî, 'he hleste me seluen; and se ñe ñew forsakp and ñewere laire, he forsakp fullje-wiss me seluen.' Pis he seî to ña stieresmannen. On michele halthe we fare(sys) alle ñe fare in hoc mare magnum, 'on ñessere 8 michele sea of ñare biteræ worlde.' Of ure stieresman is 3ewritten: Ascendunt usque ad celos, et descendunt usque ad abissos, 'Hie stieð up to heuene.' Mid here gastliche pohtes for to seeawin ñe michele merhîde of heuene riche, for to seeawin ñe windes and ñe euele stormes ñe cumeð of deules blastes; and for us to warin ñat ure ropes ne to-breken, ñe bieð ibroiden mid þrie stranges, of rihte icaue and of faste hope te gode and of ñare soðe luve ñe is ihoten carite, ñe Crist ñæst luveð. Eft hit seî ñat hie stîk 16 nîðer in to nielnesse mid here ñohtes, for us eft to warin wîð 6 stanroches of ñe harde hierte ñe ñære ne wile nesin for none watere of wisdome, ac 3if ñar cunt scip to hit tobrekð. Alsoð doç ñat unwise mæn ñe cunt to ñan unblisfeld manne ñe ne wile 20 ne ne mai godes laere understanðen for his herte hardnesse: he to-brekð, 3if he ani god wille hafð, forðan he hert his gode wille. And hie tobreç 8 mid þelliche wordes: 'Hwat dest þu?' he seîð, 'ðu dalst al ñat tu hafst! Wile þu hlesten spelleres and pr(i)estes and manukes and þese hadede mannen, ne scalt þu ñære habben god. Hie wolden for(i)swelejan all ñe worlde, 3if hie mihten. Be trewe mæn and halt tin god; þu finst seawe ñe wile þiuðn ñe ani ping, bute hie witen hwarfore.' ðe unware mæn ñe 23 þis þeðerð, dineþ ñat he seîð him god rad. 3if he arrer dede liðel te gode, ñar after he doç michel(e) lasse; and swo he forfað, for þan ñe ñe his priestes laere ne ñe his red lesten ne folþin ne wile. Carite sprat his bowes 10 on bærede and on lengþe swiðe ferr. 32

1 The 2nd e destroyed. 2 d above erasure. 3 seîd MS. 4 stormes euele MS., with signs of transposition. 5 Corr. from lirue. 6 abissos on the margin. 7 d MS. 8 page 28.—At the bottom of p. 27 in a different hand: qui cum in forma dei e(s)et non rapinam arbitratus est semet. 9 3 corr. from G. 10 u altered to w.
spreads its boughs very far in breadth and in length. It has caused me to speak further than I had intended. But now, by God's help, I will turn to the holy virtues just as I had begun before. But methinks that thou lookest wayward, and appearest heavy, and it is [for] me too much labour to think or to speak about them, unless thou wilt listen to it with good will and understand them.

How the Soul answers and says:

I entreat thee for the same Lord who created thee, to help me, that thou wilt bring forth and teach me these holy virtues just as thou hast begun and laid the ground-work of them. For they are very unknown to me because of the many vices which I have had in me too long. But now I will stop them, and with God's help desist from them, and keep my thoughts in thy teaching. For the holy virtue which is called charity, I beseech and beg thee that thou puttest in writing this hallowed lore, because I ponder much whilst I dwell in this wretched body, and often forget what would be good to me to keep; and it will also help some other soul.

How Reason answers and thus says:

Methinks that thou wilt blithely understand and learn God's teaching; and that, I like very well, because it is said in the holy Gospel: *Qui est ex Deo, verba Dei audit,* 'He that is of God heareth blithely God's words.' Now an example comes into my mind which St. Gregory tells us: *Qui virtutes sine humilitate congregat, quasi in vento pulverem portat,* 'He that gathers virtues without humility,' he says, 'he is like the man who bears dust in the wind.' Therefore methinks it is wise, that we first of all things speak of this holy virtue, without which none may be restrained to any advantage or to any good.
Hie me haue idon speken forser Sane ic hadde ʒepouht. Ac nu ic wile wenden to se hali mihtes alswo ich er hadde izunnen be godes fultume. Ac me þineþ þat tu lokest aweiward, and heuiliche latt, and hit is me to muchel iswinch Sar embe to þenken 1 4 oþer to speken, butif su woldest mid god wille Sarto lhesten and hes understanden.

Hu andswereð se saule and seið:

ICH þe bidde for dan ilche hlauerd þe þe iscop, me to helpe, þat 8 alswo þu hauest þegunnen and þane grundwall ileid of þese hali mihtes, þat tu hes forð-bringe and me hes tæche 2. Forðan hie bieð me swiðe unbeœnawe for þe manige unþeawes þe ic mid me to longe habbe ʒharfd. Ac nu ic hes wile leten, and mid godes 12 fultume of hem þeswiken, and min þepanc to þine lore healden. For þare hali mihte þe cariteð is ʒcleped, ic þe besche and bidde þat tu þese halwende lore on write sette, for þan ic am michel þen-chinde þar hwile þe ic on þese wrecche lichame am wuniende, and 16 ofte forȝete þat me god wære te healden; and ec sum oþer saule hit wile helpen.

3Hu andswereð Scadwisnesse and þus seið:

Das þe me þineþ þu wilt godes lore bliðeliche understonden and 20 liernin; and þat me likeð swiðe wel, forði þat hit seið on þe hali godspelle: Qui est ex deo, ʒerba dei audit, ‘Se þe is of gode, he harked blëðeliche godes wordes.’ Nu me cump on ðanke an forbisne þe sanctus Gregoriws us seið 4: Qui uir- 24 tutes sine humilitate congregat, quasi in uento puluerem portat, ‘Se þe gadereð mihtes wiþuten eadmodnesse,’ he seið, ‘he is ilych þe manne þe berð dust amidewarde þe winde.’ For þe me þineþ þat is wisdom, þat we alre ðinge arst speken of 28 ðessere hali mihte, wiþ 5-uten hwam non ne mai bien wiþhealden te none freme ne te none gode.

1 MS. þenken. 
2 c corr. from s. 
3 page 29. 
4 MS. seid. 
5 MS. wid.
Of humility.

This holy virtue about which we speak, is called humilitas, that is, humility. The holy apostle calls it virtutem Christi, 'Christ's own virtue,' because through His manhood, and through the great humility He showed with it, as an example to all mankind, He overcame [the] devil, and all his power over the deceived world. So thou mayst also, if thou wilt learn this virtue of Him, and follow Him. Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et invenietis requiem animabus vestris, 'Learn of Me,' says Christ, 'that am meek, and of humble heart: and so ye may find rest unto your souls.' Hear now the first example He showed to mankind and which we can understand. The apostle says about Him: Qui cum in forma Dei esset, exinanivit semet ipsum, formam servi accipiens, 'Though Christ, God's Son, was like God, His Father, in age and in power and in every way, He humbled Himself before man's eyes, with His body of a thrall, which He took, and bore therein the burning light which enlightened all His chosen ones who would follow Him.' If thou canst see this light, full surely the higher thou art, the more cautiously wilt thou humble thyself. If thou wilt not humble thyself for this example, know forsooth that thou shalt see little or naught of this light. Woe be to the blind man, who stands amidst the shining sun and sees naught of it! Again, thou mayst learn more examples of this blessed virtue from Christ. He who lifts up with His finger Heaven and earth, and all the things which are therein, like He who created them all, He made Himself as little as is the child of one night's age. He, through whom kings reign, and from whom all power and strength comes, lay wrapt in rags and bound with swaddling bands; and He who is God's Wisdom, from whom come all understanding and all wisdom, and all speaking tongues, He lay as the child which
OF EDMODNESSE.

DIES hali mihte ðe we embe spekeð, hie hadde humilitas, pat is, ceadmodnesse. ðe hali apostel hes clepèd uirtutem Christi, 'Cristes awene mihte', forði ðat purh his mannisnesse, 4 and ðurh ðære michale ceadmodnesse ðe he mid hire scæwede, all mannkyne te forbisne, he ouercam deuel, and all his mihte of ðære beswikene woreld. Swa ðu niht alswo, ðif ðu wilt ðese mihte at him lernin, and him folzin. Di[sc]ite a me, quia mitis sum 8 et humilis corre, et inuenietis requiem animabus ues- tris, 'Liernið at me,' seið Crist, 'pat ic am softe, and of ceadmod hierte: and swa þe mùgen finden reste te þeure saule.' Harke nu þe formeste forbyssne þe he mankenn scæwede þas þe we cumnen 12 understonden. ðe apostel seið be him: Qui cum in forma dei esset, exinaniiuit semet ipsum, formam servui accipiens, 'Do ðe Crist, godes sune, was ðelich godd his fader on ielde and on mihte 8 and alles kewanë wisen, he litlede him selue 16 to-foren mannes eïgen, mid his þralles lichame þe he nam, and þar inne bar ðat liht barninde þe lihte 4 alle his þecorene þe him wolde folzin.' Gif ðu ðis liht miht isien, full ðewiss þe ðu heizer art, þe warliker 6 þe seluen wilt neðerin. Gif ðu ðe seluen for ðessere 20 forbisne ne wift naht neperin, wite ðu to soxe þat tu of ðese lihte liete ðer 7 naht ne þesikst. Wa mai bien Þe bliade, Þe stant ami- dewarde Þe sceninde sunne and of hire naht ne isikð! 3iet 8 Þu miht of Þessere eadi mihte ma forbisne liernen at Criste. He Þe 24 weijþ upp mid his fingre heuene and ierðe and alle ðo ping Þe ðar inne beode, al swo he Þe hes alle icscop, he makede him swa liete swo is ðat child of one nicht ielde. He, ðurh hwam kinges rixit, and alle mihtes and alle strengþes of him cumed, he lai bewunden 28 on fiteres and mid swædelbonde ibunden; and he Þe is godes wis- dom, ðurh hwam bieð alle wittes and alle wisdomes and alle tungen spekinde, he lai alswa Þat child Þe nan god ne canu, ne spoken

1 a final s erased. 3 page 30.
2 m corr. over n. 4 At side: erat lux uera que illuminat (the last t corrected from d).
3 A letter erased before f. 5 A letter erased before f. 6 hwarliker MS. 7 tel o on erasure.
8 3 corr. from G.
knows no good, nor can speak, nor see, nor rule itself, through whom all ears hear, and all men rule themselves, and all eyes see. He to whom all knees kneel, and all men bow, was obedient [to] a mortal man, Joseph the carpenter, and His mother. This same Lord Jesus Christ abode here in this life three-and-thirty winters [years] and a half among sinful men, very God (whom they could not see), and very man (whom they could see), and kept all the laws fully, and was obedient to His Father unto death, for this great humility which He showed to man as [an] example, and ate and drank, and rested and slept, and [did] all things as very man, except without sins. Therefore [the] devil was deceived, and urged the heathen with his wicked admonitions until they doomed Him to death with great injustice, and also the most ignominious death, and the most loathly they could think of, that was on the cross, and also between two thieves. This they did to increase all the shames and the insults which they had done to Him before undeservedly. In such wise Christ, God's Son, overcame the treacherous devil through this blessed virtue; [He] willed to tear mankind away from him by no force, because the devil brought him [man] out of Paradise, not by any force, but by deceiving him; and by right doom of God he [Adam] was put out, because God had warned him before: In quacunque die comederis ex hoc ligno, morte morieris, 'In the day,' He said, 'that thou eatest of this tree thou art guilty unto death.' All ye Adam's children who are lustful after new fruits, run, run to the tree which stands amidst Paradise, viz. of the knowledge both of good and evil! For your behoof is planted a blessed tree amidst the holy Church, that is, the holy cross whereon Christ hung, the most precious fruit which ever yet any tree bore. Use this with right belief and with firm hope, and with the true love which is called charity: and to you shall be forgiven the guilt which our father earned, that is, eternal death. And to increase it, then ye shall surely have eternal life, all who ever believe in this true belief, and partake of this holy fruit, which is rightly called corpus Domini. Take what ye see, bread and wine without; and in your thoughts believe that which ye see not: that is, Christ's
ne mai, ne isien, ne him seluen walden, "Surh hwam alle earen geheirec, and alle menn hem seluen walden, and alle eizene isiec. He dat alle cnewes to enelid, and alle menn to buxedi, he was buhsum ane deadliche manne, Iosepe de smide, and his moder. 4 Dies ilke hlauerd Jesus 1 Crist, he was her on cese line wunizinge prie and prihti wintre and an half mang sensulle mannens, sox godd, (de hie ne mihten isien 2), and sox mann, de hie isien mihten, and alle de lazes fulliche hield, and hersum was his fader anon 8 to de deacche, for cessere muchele eadmodnesse de he sceawede manne to forbisne, and att and dranc, and reste and sliep, and 3 alle xing alswo sox mann, wiituten sennen ane. For Si warde diuel be-swiken and beuall po hadene mid his ledre meneinges al hwat hie 12 hine foremdenden to deacde mid muchele unrihte, and de cane forcupeste deac, and cane laudlichest de hie becench fen mihten, pat was on rode, and iec betwelen twa pieues. Dis 4 hie deden to echen alle de scanes and de bismeres de hie arrer him hadde idon un-of-16 earned. On Selliche wise ouercam Crist, godes sune, cane swikele diuel Surh cessere iblescede mihte; nolde mid none strengpe him binemen mankenn, for cæn de de diuel mid none strengpe ut of paradise hine ne brohte, ac he him beswoc; and mid rihte godes 20 dome he was ut 3edon, for Si dat godd hadde iwarned him beefore: In quacunque die comederis ex hoc ligno, morte mori-eris, ‘Hwilche dajie,’ he sede, ‘se Du etst of cese trewe Du art deacdes sceldi(h).’ Alle 3e Adames children de bicx lustfull uppe 24 newe wastmes, iernxed, ierned to de trewe de stant amidewarde paradise, witende boode god and euel! Te 3ewere behofde ys 3e-planted an iblesced treu amidde cære halie chereche, pat is, de halie rode de Crist on hangede, de derewrudeste wastme dat aure ziete 28 ani treu bar. Notiéc hier of mid rihte ilecaue and mid faste hope, and mid cære socé luue de is ilecled karite; and 3eu scel bien forziuen de gelt de ure fader of-earnedede, pat is, de eche deac. And to eche, dean 3e sculen habben sikerliche dat eche lif, alle de aure 32 belieued on cessere socé beleaue, and of cese halie wasme notiéc, de is mid rihte ilecled corpus domini. Notiéc dat 3e isied, bread and win wiituten; and on yeure ipanke ilieued dat 3e naht ne

1 ifnu MS.  
2 added at side.  
3 page 31.  
4 Dis MS.
flesh and His blood. And know forsooth, as truly as bread and wine feed the body, while it dwells in this life, so this holy corpus Domini truly feeds both soul and body unto eternal life. And as truly as the tree of Paradise was called 'knowledge both of good and evil,' so this same tree truly bears the fruit which turns many to life, and also some to death, through misbelief and for the irreverence with which one takes it as unworthily as one takes the bread of the board [table], with foul heart and with foul thought and with foul belly. Whoever eats this holy fruit of Him that hung on this tree of life, and is bound with [any] cardinal sin, who can never be unbound but through the mouth of a priest or a bishop, so truly may he know, as it is certainly the flesh and blood of Him who shall judge all mankind, that he there rightly forejudges himself ere he come to the doom. Beware whoso will! I had thought that I should write nought but of these holy virtues, though I myself have none as it behoved me; then I am led aside sometimes, ere I know anything of it, to another thing: for if it does not help one, it helps another. Dear soul, of this holy virtue humility I cannot stop without letting thee hear more of it; because it is so very needful to thee, that thou canst not have nor keep any other virtue, nor be saved in any wise, unless thou hast this. These holy virtues which we speak about are spiritual and invisible, and therefore it is the more difficult to speak about them. They are rightly called God's gifts. Therefore said the angel Gabriel to our Lady St. Mary: Ave, gratia plena! 'Hail thou, Mary,' he said, 'full of God's gifts; thou shalt bear in thy womb God's own Son.' Well might she then know that she should be highest over all things in Heaven and on earth (as God's own mother), except Himself. But she declared soon that this holy virtue was in her, when she said: Ecce ancilla Domini, 'Look here,' quoth she, 'God's own servant!' Hark, hark, Eve's daughters, ye who think so highly of yourselves, that one calls you ladies, go to
OF HUMILITY.

53

Ipat: pat is, Cristes flasch and his blod! And wite 3e te sode, all swo sodliche swa bread and win fede Chane lichame, Sør hwile Se he on dese liue wunized, swa sodliche fett dis halie corpus domini bade saule and lichame to Cen echc liue. And al swa 4 sodliche swa Cet trewe of paradise was icleped 'witinde bade god and euel,' swa sodliche berC dis ilche trew Cet wastme Cc manize want to liue, and ec sume to deadC, for Cøre misibileaue and for Cøre unwurscipe Cc me nimC hit al swa unwurScliche swa me nimC 8 Cet bread (of Cc borde), mid fule herte and mid fule panke and mid fule buce. Hwa se dis halie wastme of Cc Cc heng on dese liues trewe noteC, and is mid heued-senne ibunden, (pe naure ne mai ben unbunden) bute Surh priestes mude oSer Surh bishops, 12 al swa sodliche wite he, al swa hit is sikercliche his flese and his blod Cc seal all manken demen, Cet he Sør rhites for-demp him seluen ær he to Cc dome cume. Bie war se Cc wile! Ich hadde ipoht Cet ic naht ne scolde writen bute of dese hali3e mihtes, Ccic 16 ic me selu none ne habbe swa (swa) me behosde; Ccannie am ic iladd ut oSerhwile, ær ic hit ouht wite, to oSer ping: for Cc 3if hit ne helpC one, hit helpC an oSer. Lieue saule, of Ccesserere halie mihtes eadmodesse ic ne mai swa laten Cet tu of hire 3iet more ne 2o sehiere; for Cc hie is pe swa swi3e nedfull, Cet tu ne miht none oSer mihtes habben ne healden, ne on one wise zebo3en bien, bute pu dese habbe. Dese halie mihtes Cc we embe speked, hie biec gastliche and unaseizleniche, and for Cc hit is Cc strengere embe 24 hem to spekene. Hie 2 biec mid rihte godes 3iues icleped. For Cc sade Cc angle Gabriel to ure lafdi sainte Marie: Ave, gratia plena! 'Hail Cc, Marie,' he seide, 'full of godes 3iues; Cc scalt beren on Ccine wombe godes auwen 3 suene.' Wel hie mihte 28 Cc (witen) 4 pat hie scolde bien heizest ouer alle ping on heuene and on ierC, alswo godes azen moder, wiC-uten him 5 seluen. Ac hie kedde sone Cet pies halie mihtes was on hire, Cc hie sade: Ecce ancilla domini, 'Loke hier,' cwaC hie, 'godes azen pralle!' 32 HarkieC, harkieC, Eue dohtren, 3e Cc telleC swa wel of 3eu seluen, pat me 6 clepe3 zhen lafdies, gáC to Cøre rihte lafdi and lierneC ead-

1 page 32.
4 added red above.
2 ie on erasure.
5 m on erasure.
6 before m an erasure.
3 page 33.
the right Lady and learn meekness! In the time when she was here living in life, it was written: *Maledicta sterilis, quae non peperit,* 'Cursed be the wife who cannot have a child!' They who would not, or could not, bear a child, were very much despised in those days; and nevertheless she would not on that account forbear, but vowed to keep her maidenhood evermore to her Lord God. She would rather be despised here among men, than lose the great honour among the angels. Therefore she said: *Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae. Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes,* 'Because my Lord God regarded the humility of His servant, inasmuch as I had made myself despised among my kin of Israeliitish folk, because I would not have man's company nor bear children, but offered Him both my body and soul, and promised Him evermore to keep my maidenhood, therefore all mankind will say that I am blessed that I believed in God's message, which He sent to tell me by Gabriel, His high angel, that I should be, through His great mercy, the mother of God's Son, and also ever remain a maiden. This wonder He did to me, *Quia potens est,* 'because He is mighty and holy;' *et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies timentibus eum.* 'This great mercy He made known in me. Ever more it lasteth with Him from generation to generation, unto all those men who fear Him.' The holy words which I have written in *magnificat,* know thou forsooth that they are of the holy Gospel, which St. Mary said herself to help men, and to warn all those who fear Him, and for His fear forsake all unrighteousness, to have much hope in God's mercy. And as for those who will not so, she says further again: *Dispersit superbos mente cordis sui, et exaltavit humiles,* 'All who are proud and think much of themselves in the imagination of their hearts, if they do not humble themselves ere they go out of this life; just as truly as St. Mary said it with her holy mouth, so truly shall God Almighty destroy them, in soul and in body, as those who are against Him and follow
modnesse! On ça time ēe hie was¹ hier² on liue libbende, hit was
iwritten: Maledicta sterilis, que non (pe)perit, ‘Jewerzed
bie pat wif ēe child ne mai habben!’ Ėie ēe child nolden beren
ōðer ne mihten, ēie waren ihealden swīde unwurðē be ōan daipæ;⁴
and napelaes nold ēie naht ēarsføre læten pat ēie ne behiért ēire
maidenhad œure mo to healden ēire lauerde gode. Wolde blīde-
licor ēiern bien unwurðēd mang mannæ, ēanne⁶ ēie scolde forliesen
ēa michele wurðscipe mang so aingles. For ēi ēie sæide: Quia
respexit humilitatem ancille sue. Ecce enim ex⁴ hoc
beatam dicent omnes generaciones, ‘For ēi ēa(t) mi
lauerd godd lokede tō ēare eadmodnesse of ēis pralle, pat ic me
haddē madek unst uwrē mang mine kenne of israelisce folke, for ēi
记者在 nold ēabben wapmanes imone ne childre beren, ac ēim ic
ofrede bāēe mine lichame and saule, and min maidenhad him be-
hiért eure mo to healden: for ēi sæggeŷ all mankyynn pat ic am eadi
pat ic beliďede on godes sonde, ēe ēe me sante sæggen bi Gabriel, 16
his heih œangel, pat ic scolde, ēurh his michele mildce, biën godes
sunes moder, and ec œure ēurh-wunigen maiden. Dies seleuē ēe
dede be me, Quia potens est, ‘fordan⁸ ēi is mihti and hali,’
et misericordia eius a progenie in progenies timentibus⁶ eosc
ēum. ‘Desē michele mildce ēe keded on me. ‘Eure mo hie ȝelast
mid him frou kenæ to kenæ, to alle so mannæ ēe him ondradeū.’
Edward wordes ēe ic habbeŷ iwritten on magnificat, wite ēu te
soe ōat hie bieŷ of ēe hali godspelle, sēe sainte Marie sāede ēire 24
self mannæ to helpe, and to warniţen pat hie michele hope to godes
milce hauen, alle ēe ēim ondradeū, and for his eiphe alle unriht-
isnesse forlateū. And po ēe svo mo willeŷ, ēis sæiō jiet forďer:
Dispersit superbos mente cordis sui, et exaltavit humi-
les, ‘Alle ēe bieŷ modi and michel læteŷ of hem seluen ēurh⁸ ūe
pance of here hiertæ, butæ hie⁹ hem seluen nederiēn ær ēanne hie
of ēese liue faren: al swa soûliche swa sainte Marie hit sade¹⁰ mid
hire hali muûe, (swa soûliche)¹¹ sca goddalmihti¹² ēes forliesen, 32
mid saule and mid lichame, al svo so ēe bieŷ æeanes hie and

¹ hie was twice, the middle was hie underlined. ² o corr. from o.
³ ñanne MS. ⁴ corr. from hex by underdottting the h. ⁵ page 34.
⁶ bus on erasure. ⁷ bbe on erasure. ⁸ rh corr. from ch.
⁹ e corr. from o. ¹⁰ de corr. from ε. ¹¹ added at side. ¹² almihtin MS.
the devil, who would glorify himself.' But He sent him very low into hell, and all his followers. Again, she says further: *Et exaltavit humiles, 'Just as He has cast down into the ground of hell all the proud who in this life followed the devil, so He has raised all those who have loved Christ's meekness and kept it, into the joy of the kingdom of Heaven.' Dear soul, call willingly to our Lady St. Mary, that she, for the great meekness which she had in this life, bear thy errand to Christ, her dear Son, that this holy virtue may reign in thee, ere thou departest from thy body! And how thou mayst know it, I will warn thee. To some men it comes and goes, and with some men it is abiding, and in very few men it is reigning. In the man in whom it is reigning, this is the token: as the worldling lightly laughs at vanities which he sees or hears, so the spiritual man in whom it [humility] reigns, lightly weeps or sobs, sometimes with bitter tears, at other times with very sweet tears, according to what he sees or hears or thinks. Of all the things in which the worldling has consolation and bliss, this spiritual man has nought but grief and sorrow. Though he do better than another, yet let him think worse of himself, than he does of others, who do not so. He thinks in his heart that he is of the same mould as those are who do evil; and if God had not given it to him, he would full surely do just so or worse; and as God has mercy and pity on him, He may [also] on them, when it is His will. They are not all humble who live coarsely in meat and in clothes, and go after worldly possessions. Some live coarsely in meat and in clothes, not for God's love, but as it may be natural to them. Reward they shall have, but not such as those shall have who could live exaltedly, but humble themselves in order to have humility and to help God's needy ones. Some others take God's mark upon them, change their clothes and not their manners, judge themselves, and say that they are the most sinful of all men; but if
OF HUMILITY.

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1 dieule MS. 2 G altered to 3. 3 e corr. from o. 4 written above gode. 5 page 35. 6 On erasure. 7 w corr. from h. 8 willen MS. 9 a on erasure. 10 e on erasure. 11 a letter scratched out between w and e.
anybody reproves them for any vice, they soon show with bitter answer and with evil words that the doom with which they so strongly condemned themselves did not come from a meek heart. Beware, if thou wilt! Thou hast never true humility in thee, until thou causeth suffer all harms and shame and insults, that any man may do to thee. And then thou shalt still say, and with the heart believe it: 'All that I have suffered, I am well worthy to suffer that and more, for His love who suffered much more for me, all undeservedly.' Again, beware of one thing! It is written: _Nimia humilitas est maxima superbia_, that is: 'If thou behavest thyself otherwise, than other good meek men, and thou hast [it] not so in thy heart as thou showest outside, know thou then forsooth that that is great pride.' Though thou do a great goodness before many others, it is all lost save humility be with it. Because we have written here before that God's mercy lasteth evermore on all men who fear Him, as St. Mary herself bears witness, therefore, with God's grace, I will tell thee of His fear, after what the holy scriptures say and reveal to us.

Of fear.

_Timor domini_ is another holy virtue, which, as Solomon said, is _initium sapientiae_, 'the beginning of wisdom.' The Holy Ghost speaks through David the prophet, and says thus: _Venite filii, audite me, timorem Domini docebo vos_, 'Come children, [ye] who will learn, and listen to me, and I will teach you the fear of God.' _Quis est homo qui vult vitam?_ 'Who is there of you,' he says, 'who will have eternal life, long life, and happy life, who so dearly love this short life?' If thou answerest with heart or with mouth, and sayst: 'I yearn for it and I will have it very blithely, if I may,' he teaches thee yet further, and says: _Prohibe linguam tuam a malo_, 'keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips that they speak not guile;' _diverte a malo et fac bonum_, 'turn from evil habits, and do good; seek to have peace with God, so that thou
and mid euele wordes ȝat hit ne cam noht of eadmode \( horte, \) de dom de hie swa swiðe fordemden hem seluen. Bie war, ȝif ȝu wiwil! Ne haft tu næure soðe eadmodnesse on \( 2 \) pe, ær ȝu muge poliz en alle harms and scames and bismeres, ȝat ani man ȝe mai 4 don. And ëanne scalt tu ziet seggen, and mid herte hit ilieuen: 'All ȝat ic habbe ipoled, ic am wel wurde ȝat and more to polien, for his luue ȝe polede \( 8 \) michel more for me, all un-of-earned.' Giet bie war of one pinge! It his ëewritten: Nimi(a) humilitas \( (est) \) maxima superbia, ȝat is, 'ȝif ȝu latst ȝe seluen óðerliker ëanne òðre gode eadmode menn, and tu ne haft swa on ëine herte swa ëu sceawest wiðuten, ëanne wite ȝu te soðe ëat ëat is michel modinesse.' Æleþ þu do ane michele godnesse teforen maniʒe òðre, \( 12 \) all it is forloren bute eadmodnesse bie ëar mide. For ëan ëe we habbed hier te-foren writen ëat godes milsce last ëœremo (to) alle ëo maunn en ëe him bið dradinde, swa swa sainte Marie hire self berð ȝewitenes, for ëi, mid godes grace, ic ëe wile seggen of his \( 16 \) drædnesse, after ëan (ȝe) hali writes segged ëand us openied.

**Of dradnesse.**

**TIMOR domini** is an óðer hali mihte, ȝat ëe Salamun seide hie is initium sapientie, 'Anginn of wisdom.' Òe hali \( 30 \) gast spekeð ñurh Dauið ëe profete, and ëus seip: Venite filli, audite me, timorem domini docebo uos, 'Comeð children, ðe liernien willeð, and (h)lestëd me, and ic eu wile tachen godes drædnesse.' *Quis est homo qui uult uitam? 'Hwa is ëat,' \( 24 \) he seip, 'ȝe wile hauen ëat eche lif, ëat lange lif, ëat eadi lif of ëeu, ñe luuið ëswa swiðe ëis scorte lif?' ȝif ȝu auðswerest mid herte óðer mid muðe, and seist: 'Ic hit ȝ(i)erne and ic hit wile hauen swiðe bliðliche, ȝif ic mai,' he wisseð ñe ziet forðer, and \( 28 \) seip: *Proibe linguam tuam a malo, 'forbet ñine tunge fram euele, and ñine lippen ñat he ne spoken swikedom;' diuerte a malo et fac (bonum) \( 4 \), 'wænd fro euel wune, and \( 5 \) do god; siec ñat tu haue pais aʒeanes gode, ȝat ȝu naht ne healde aʒeanes \( 32 \)

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1. The first e on erasure.
2. A letter scratched out behind n.
3. page 36.
4. bonum above erasure.
5. an erasure before a.
hold not against His commandments nor against any man, neither with word nor with deed, which thou canst rule.' When thou hast found this peace, then thou art righteous: and have always the fear of God with thee, lest thou lose this. 'Then will God's eyes be upon thee, that nothing may hurt thee, and His ears open unto thy cries, that He will deny thee nothing.' Thus the Holy Ghost advises thee, who speaks still every day through the psalm which thou seest or hearest. Beware, if thou wilt! Let him who will not understand, nor keep this holy lore of the Holy Ghost, listen what He says thereafter: Vultus autem Domini super facientes mala, ut disperdat de terra memoriam eorum, 'God,' He says, 'looks wrathfully upon them that do evil, and who will not cease through His fear. Therefore will God's wrath come upon them, ere they know it, and cut them off, both body and soul, from this mortal land wherein they dwell and which they love so much.' So they shall also lose the everlasting land, which is eternal life, because they would not listen to God's love nor follow [it]. Again, He says that their remembrance will be so lost, that men will neither speak nor think of them. Again, saith holy Writ: Qui timet Deum, faciet bona; qui autem duri cordis est, corruet in malum, 'He that feareth God, forbeareth always, for awe of Him, to do evil; he who is of hard heart, feareth not God, and therefore he goeth from evil unto evil and from sin unto sin.' Many men are greatly deceived who fear a mortal man more than they do God Almighty, [they] who for shame of the world or for their short life, forswear themselves wholly, and slay their own soul, and lose eternal life. Therefore Jesus Christ warns us, and says thus: Nolite timere eos qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere, 'Fear not,' He said, 'them who can kill your body; but of Him ye ought to be adread, who can cast both body and soul into the fire of hell.' Again says the Book of Wisdom: Deum time, et mandata ejus observa, 'Fear God, and keep His commandments!' Every man ought to do this, because nothing will fail them, neither in this life nor in the other, who fear and love Him
his bebode ne azean none manne, ne mid worde ne mid weork, čas če šu muže wealde.' Danne šu čese sibsummnesse haefst 3efunden, ¹ Danne art tu rihtwis: and haue œure godes drædesse mid pe, pat ču čis ne forlies. ² Danne sculen godes eízen bien uppe če, 4 sat nanuing ne mai če derizen, and his earen opene to Vine b(i)enes, čat naping he če ne wilne wærnen.' Dus če ratt če halie gast, če spek[i] ziet alche dai ēurh čene seln če šu 3esiket őver iherst. Bie war, 3if šu wile! Se še nele čese halí lare of če halí 8 gast understanden, (ne wiðealde?), hlest hwat he seíð čar after: Vultus autem domini super facientes mala, ut disperdat de terra memoriam eorum, 'Godd,' he ³ seíð, 'lokeɗ wraðliche uppe hem če eulec doč, če for his dradnesse ne willec iswiken. ¹² For Ši scal godes wraðde cumen on hem, āer hie hit aut witen, and forliesen hem, bađe li(came) ⁴ and saule, of čese deadliche lande če hie on wuniec and swa michel luuiʒec.' Swa hie sculen iec for- liesen čat lüiende land, pat is, čat eche lif, for čan še hie nolden ¹⁶ godes lare hlesten ne fölžin. Giet he seíð čat here zemiend scal swo biol forloren, čat me of hem ne scal neiđer ne speken ne penchen ⁵. Giet seíð čat hali writ: Qui timet deum, faciet bona; qui autem duri cordis est, corruit in malum, 'Se ²⁰ če ondrat godd, he lat œure če euel to done for his heige; se če is of harde hierte, he nondratt noht godd, and for Ši he farů from eulec to eulec and fram senne to senne.' Hit bieô manie men swide beswike Šat more dradeŠ ane deadliche manne čane he doč ²⁴ god almihtin, če for ēare worldes scame őver for here scorte liue, hem al forswerpied, and seliec here augene saule, and forlieséδ čat eche lif. Forši us warneδ Jesus ⁶ Crist, and čus seíð: No lite timere eos qui corpus occidunt, animam autem ⁷ non ²⁸ possunt occiderre, 'Ne drædes naht,' he sade, 'hem če sure ⁸ lichame muouched ofslean; ac of him ʒe aves to ben ofdrad, pe mai bađe lichame and saule werpen in to če fier of helle.' Eft seíð če boc of wisdome: Deum time, et mandata eius obserua, ³² 'Dræd godd, and hald his bebode!' Šis auₜ(t) elch mann te donne, foršan no ping hem ne scall trukien, on čese liue ne on

¹ page 37. ² On the side. ³ h corr. from s. ⁴ came written above f. ⁵ On the side: ut disperdat de terra memoriam eorum. ⁶ ifu MS. ⁷ page 38. ⁸ corr. from zeuere above here.
in truth. After this fear of pain, comes another which is called 
timor sanctus, that is, holy fear, which shall last for ever, world 
without end, because it is mingled with the true love which is 
called charity. This fear is as sweet as the son's who fears his 
father, not for any pain, but fears him lest he lose his sweet love; 
and therefore he serves his father with great love, mingled with fear. 
This same fear is needful to us. Qui timet Deum nihil negligit, 
'He who feareth God, for his carelessness he omitteth to do nought 
of what he hath to do.' From this fear of God springs another of 
God's gifts, which is very needful to every man who will be saved.

Of ruth (pity).

Pietas is called one of these holy virtues, that is, ruth (pity) in 
English. It comes from the wounded hearts which are wounded 
with God's arrows. Of them says the prophet: Sagittae trae acutae, 
'Lord,' he said, 'sharp are Thy arrows;' they wound the guilty 
man who fought against Thee through the devil's lore. Thou 
throwest him down, so that he lies stretched upon the bare earth, 
and esteems himself as earth, weeps and wails that he ever was shaped 
to man, that he should have misdone so much against his Creator, 
for which he deserves the pain of hell. Ruth (pity) causes [him] to 
do this, which is assuredly God's gift. It causes him at first to have 
ruth (pity) on himself, and then on his neighbour, for all [the] mis-
fortunes which befall him for his sins. If thou canst get this gift of 
God's, then thou wilt have a soft and good heart, and compassionate 
to help thyself, and to save thy soul from the pains which it has de-
served. Have thou no hope in father nor in mother, in son nor in 
daughter, in brother nor in sister, nor in any earthly man, when thy 
body lies under the earth separated from all living men, alone, 
soul, stinking, full of worms, and in the darkness [away] from 
all light, and thou, poor soul, in the boiling heat of the hot fire, 
and again, sometimes, in the shivering chill, so that thou canst not 
help thyself, until thou have redeemed all thy sins, and be all cleansed
OF FEAR AND RUTH (PITY).

Sere oüre, àe him draced and lnuizé, inne soóe. After þesse dreaddenæse ðe is of pine, cumß an oúer ðe is icleped timor sanctus, pât is, hail dradnesse, ðe æure scal ilasten, on worelde woreld, foran ðe hie is iæmëng(d) mid þare soðe luue ðe hatte kariteë. 4 Ñies dradnesse is swete, al swa ðe (sunë ðe) drat his fader, naht for nonë pine, ac drat him ðat he forliese his swete luue; and for ði he þeneð his fader mid muchele luue, iæmingd mid dradnesse, Ñies ilke dradnesse us behouveë. Qui timet deum nichil ne-s gligit, 'Se ðe gode on-dratt, for his zemeleste ne latt he naht te ðonne of ðat he haueë te ðonne.' Of þeses gode dradnesse springë ut an oðer gode ziuë, ðe is swiðe niedfull auriche manne ðe i-borezën scal bien.

Of reuhë ðe4.

PIETAS hatte on of þese hali mihtes, pât is, reuhë on engelisë. Hic cump of þare iwunndede herte ðe bien iwunnd mid godes arewen. Of hem soië ðe profiète: Sagitte tue acute, 16 'Lauerd,' he sæde, 'scarpe bien ðine arewen'; hie wundieë ðane forgilte mann ðe waun ongeane(s) ðe þurh dieules lare. Þu wer-pest him ðer niðer, pât he lið istreith upe ðare bare ierðe, and halt him seluen5 for ierðe, wepð and woneð ðat he æure was to manne 20 iscapen, ðat he scolde swa michel habben misdon æcæn his seep- pend, for hwat he 6 ofsearneð 7 helle pine. Dis doð reuhë don, ðe is iwis godes ziuë. Hie dieð him arst habben reuhë of him seluen, and ðanne of his nexten, of alle unzelimpes ðe him for his sennes 24 to-cumeë. Gif ðu ðese godes ziuë bizeten miht, þanne scalt tu hauen nexce herte (and) gode, and riencesnde ðe seluen to helpe, and ðine saule to aliesen fram ðo pines ðe hie ofsearneð hafë. Ñe haue ðu hope te fader ne te moder, te sune ne te dohter, te broðer ne 28 te swuster, ne te nam ier[ð]lich mann, ðanne þin lichame lið under ierðe ðetwam fram alle liuiende manne, all-ane, fule, stinkende, full of wermes, and on ða ðiusterines fram alle lihte, and ðu, earmé saule, on ðe wallende brene of ðe hote fiere, and eft, embehwile, on 32 ðe chiuerinde chele, ðat tu ðe seluen naht ne miht helpen, ær

1 desse MS.  2 A later hand has inserted to.  3 t corr. from d.  4 u corr. from w.  5 on erasure.  6 page 39.  7 earned MS.
from all thy misdeeds through the pains which thou sufferest, and through masses and prayers and alms which one does for thee. Then thou wilt sorely repent that thou hadst not helped thyself better the while thou couldst. How should God, or any of His saints, or any of thy friends, relation or stranger, have ruth or mercy on thee, since thou thyself hast now here none of thyself? This is God's gift, if thou thus considerest and workest thereafter.

Of knowledge.

After this comes another gift of God, which is called scientia, that is, understanding or knowledge. Through it thou canst know all the crafts which are written in books. It teaches thee good manners and to lead [a] good life, how thou shalt turn from evil, and how thou shalt do good works. But there are some who are held very wise through this gift of God, and turn for themselves and also for some others to great harm, what God gave them for their great good. Hereof said the apostle: Scientia inflat, caritas aedificat. He says that 'this sharp knowledge puffs up the man who has it without charity.' In such a way it puffs [him] up that he thinks well of himself and despises others who cannot [do] so; and in such a way he loses what should help him best, that is, God's and man's love. Therefore know thou full well, when thou losest man's love through thy pride, it seems to thee that thou needst not honour, nor love, a man lower than thyself, or because he is not so wise as thou, or is not so rich as thou, or of so high family as thou, or not so honoured [a] man as thou in the false world, and for such things thou despisest him and omittest to call on him, or to help him in his need. Full assuredly, thou justly losest here God's love and His grace; and take this for example! Except thou hast God's and all men's love, thou canst not do any good [thing] that will ever be agreeable to God. Of this said the apostle: Si distribuero omnes facultates meas, et cetera, 'If I bestow all that I have for God's love, and still, over and above it,
Dan ne du habbe dine sennes al aboht, and all bie iclensed of alle dine misdædes thurh sa pinges de su polest, and thurh masses and bienes and wemesses de me do for de. Danne de wiele sure rewen dat tu de seluen ne haddest betere iholpen dare hwile de du mihtest. Hu scoldde godd, oSer ani of his halzen, oSer ani of dine friend, sibbe oSer framde, hauen rewde oSer mildce of de, sebben du de seluen ne hafst nu hier none of de seluen? Pis is godes ziu, zif su dus de bepekst and dar after werest.

Of witte.

Hier after cump an oSer godes ziu, pe is iclepeth sciencia, pat is, inziehied oSer witt. Thurh hire du miht witen alle craftes de on boche bied zewritten. Hie de takde gode peawes and god lif to leden, hu du scalt fram dan euele buzen, a hu du scalt gode werkex don. Ac hit bied sume de bied swiwe wise ihealden thurh dessere godes ziu, and want hem seluen and iec sumen oSer te michele hearme, pat de godd hem zaf for here michele gode. Herof sade de apostel: Scientia inflat, karitas edificat. He seid pat 'dis scarpe iwitt swelð dane manz de hes haued wiutten charite.' On swilche wise hie swelð dat he latt wel of him seluen, and forhowed oSer de swo ne cumen; and on swilche wise he forliest dat him betst scolde helpen, pat is, godes luue and mannes. For dan (pat) wite du te fulle sohe, danne su forliest mannes luue for si modinesse, pe pingð dat pu naust naht to wurdin ne te luue(n) ane wurse mainz dane su 24 art, oSer dat he nis alswa wis alse su, oSer he nis na swa riche se su, oSer of swa heije kenne swa su, oSer naht alswa wurdel mainz swa su on dare lease woreld; and for selliche pinge hine forhowest, and forlatst dat tu ne wilt to him clepisen, ne to his niede him helpen. Fulzewis su forliest hier rihtes godes luue and his grace, and nem dis to forbisne! Bute su habbe godes luue and alre manne, su ne miht don non god de æure gode bie sceweme. Darof sade de apostele: Si distribuero omnes facultates meas, et cetera, 'Gif ic deale all dat ic habbe for godes luue, (and ziet on-uen dan ziu mine likame to barnin

1 An erasure between l and e.
2 takd MS.
3 a letter erased after e.
4 page 40.
give my body to be burned all to dust for God's love, and I hate a
single man, then I have not charity, and so I have lost all.' Now
some one may say: 'Shall I love the evil man?' Listen what
The Most High says to thee: *Diliges proximum sicut te ipsum,
'Love they neighbour as thyself, whatever man he be!' Be he
never so much guilty, he is always thy neighbour by nature.
Love the [human] nature [in him], and hate his evil! If thou
canst mend it, mend it as thou wouldst wish men to mend thine,
if thou wert as guilty as he, and think what the Writ says: 'Mercy
should always be above righteous doom.' For such things, many
very wise men lose God's love and His grace, because they neither
have, nor care to have, their fellow-Christians' love, but rely
upon their great wisdom; and are often deceived. Would they
[only] listen to the holy apostle, they would not stand in this
need! *Si quis videtur inter vos sapiens esse, stultus fiat, ut sit
sapiens,* 'If any man among you,' says he, 'seemeth to be wise in
this world, let him become a fool, and so he may be wise.' The
wise worldling esteems it great folly for a man to leave, for God's
love, house and home, wife and child, gold and silver, and all
worldly wealth, and to become such a great wretch as he who had
nothing; [he] says that it is better [for] him to sit in his own
[house], and to give alms and to harbour blessed men, than to
leave all this, and live by other men's alms. Concerning this,
let us listen to Christ's own doom, and so we may be all the
more sure in this conflict. It is said in the holy Gospel that a
rich young man came to Christ in the days when He was dwelling
here in the body, and said: *Quid faciam, Domine, ut habeam
vitam aeternam?* 'Lord,' quoth he, 'what shall I do that I may
have eternal life?' Our Lord answered him, and said: *Mandata
nosti,* 'Thou knowest God's commandments. Thou shalt not slay,
nor steal, nor rob, nor commit adultery, nor break the other
commandments of God.' 'Oh, Lord,' quoth he, 'all these com-
mandments have I kept from childhood up, and I have broken
none.' Then again Christ answered him: 'Good man, thou art as
he who has done no cardinal sin.' *Si vis perfectus esse, vade et
al to duste for godes luue)¹, and ic hatie on-lepi mænn, ðanne ne habbe ic naht kariteð, and swa ic habbe al forloren. Nu seid sum mænn: ‘Scal ic luuiʒe ðane euele mænn?’ Hlest hwat se heijeste ðe seid: Diliges proximum sicut te ipsum, 4 ‘Luue ðine nexte al swa ðe seluen, hwat mænne swo he œure bie!’ Ne bie he nœure swa swiðe forȝelt, œure he is ðin nexte after ȝekynde. Luue ða ȝekynde, and hate his enel. ȝif ðu miht hit bieten, b(i)et hit alswu ðu woldest ðat me² bette þin, ȝif³ ðu swære swo forȝilt al so he, and þenc ðat ðe writte seid þat œure bie ðe midde ouer ðe rihte dome. For ðelliche pinge manize of ðe wel wise mænn forliesed godes luue and his grace, for ði ðat hie ne habbeð, ne ne reccheð to habben, here emcristenes luue, ac 12 hopið to here michelne wisdome, and ofte bieð beswikene. Wolden hie hlesthen ðane hali apostel, swa hie ne þorften! Si quis uidetur inter nos sapiens esse, stultus sit ut sit sapiens, ‘ȝif œure ani,’ he seid, ‘is ihealden for wis on ðare worield, become 16 sott, and swa he mei bien wis.’ De wise woreld-mænn, he halt michel sothade ðat mænn forlate, for godes luue, hus and ham, wif and child, and gold and seluer, and alle worldes wele, and become swo michel wrecche al swo he ðe naht ne hadde; seid 20 ðat him is betere to sitten on his æzen, and ðiuen almessen and herberζin sæli mænn, ðanne he scolde al ðat laten, and libben bi œores mannes almesse. Hleste we herof Cristes æzene dom, and swa we muζen bien ðe sikerere of ðese ifite. Hit seid on 24 ða hali goddesspelle ðat an riche iungman cam to Crist be ðo daizen ðe he hier lichamliche was wuniende, and seide: Quid faciam, domine, ut habeam vitam eternam? ‘Hlauerd,’ cwæð he, ‘hwat mai ic don ðat ic mihte hauen ðat eche lif?’ 28 Vre drihten him andswerede, and seide: Mandata nosti, ‘ʒecnoust þu godes bebodes. Ne sleib, ne ne stell, ne reau, ne forlize⁴ ðe on hordomes, ne œre godes forbodes ne tebrec.’ ‘A, hlauerd,’ cwæð he, ‘alle ðese bebodes ic habbe ihealde fram 32 childhade, swa ðat ic nabhbe nan tebrocen.’ ðe ziet him andswerede Crist: ‘God⁵ man, ðu art al swo he ðe non heued-sennen ne hanζ idon.’ Si uis perfectus esse, vade et uende omnia

¹ written above and on the side. ² page 41 ³ Gif MS. ⁴ x corr. from l. ⁵ page 42
vende omnia quae habes, etc., 'If thou wilt,' He said, 'become a perfectly good man, go and sell all that thou hast, and give it to God's wretched [folk], and follow me!' This young man went away sorry. Here we have learned that it is better to forsake all that one owns, with good will, than to abide until death take it from him, against his will. Listen now what Christ said concerning the rich man who went away sorry, and would not listen to His counsel: 'A rich man can no more,' quoth He, 'enter into the kingdom of Heaven, than a camel can go through the eye of a needle.' Vae vobis divitibus, qui habetis consolationem vestram, 'Woe unto you,' quoth He, 'ye rich men, who have so great joy in your great riches, that ye forget God and the salvation of your souls!' Therefore no good seed of God's words can grow in the mould of your hearts, through the great care ye have about your wealth, which ye much covet, and love and like, and dread to lose. Amongst all these thoughts the wretched heart is made so heavy, that no word of God can spring up, nor remembrance of God, nor of His kingdom, nor of the salvation of one's soul. But glee and amusements, and hounds and hawks, and all the things which here may gladden you, ye will blithely see and hear; and ye might have all this if ye loved God more than all this which we have spoken about. Many of you are greatly deceived. Ye fancy that ye love God more than ye do your possessions; but let Him tell what is most true, who is rightly called Truth: Ubi est thesaurus, ibi est et cor tuum, 'Where thy hoard is, there is thy heart,' said He. There is thy heart where thy thoughts mostly are, and there is thy greatest love. Understand now well thyself, and look whether thou thinkest more of God than of thy possessions, and know thou forsooth: that of which thou thinkest more, thou loveth more. Woe to the way of the man to whom God has given understanding and wisdom, who will love more the creatures which God created, than he does his Creator, who created him and all things! Dear soul, I warn and beg thee eagerly, that thou, with this gift of God's which is called scientia, mayst understand and learn firmly the kinds of sins, whence and when they
OF KNOWLEDGE.

que habes, et cetera\(^1\), 'Gif du wilt,' he seide, 'bien surhut god man, ga and sell all dat tu haest, and zif hit gode(s) wrechen, and swa folge me!' Dies zunge mann ziede a-wei sari. Hier we habbe\(^2\) ilierned dat it is betere to laten all dat te mann awh,\(^4\) mid gode Willie, panne he abide all hwat dea\(^2\) hit him beneme, his un\(\)pankes\(^2\). Hlest nu hwat\(^3\) Crist sade be ça riche manne tre ziede awei sari, and his rød molde lestén: 'Ne mai na more,' cwa\(\)d he, 'De riche mann cumen in to heuene riche, ŝanne mai če 8 oluende cumen surh če needle eïzen.' Ve uobis diuitibus, qui habetis consolationem uestr\(\)am\(^1\), 'Wa ŝeu,' cwa\(\)d he, 'zie riche menn, če habbe\(\)d swa michele blisse of 3euer michele\(^4\) richeise, pat zie godd for\(\)geten and 3eure saule hæle!' For či ne\(^12\) mai wexen non god sad of godes wordes on 3eure herte molde, for ŝan michele emebănc če zie habbe\(\)d on 3eure michele wele, če zie micheł zitsi\(\)d, and luuičd and lichte, and drade\(\)d to forliesen\(^6\). (A)mang\(^8\) alle čee emebăunque is če wreche hierte swa ihenuęd,\(^16\) pat non godes word upp ne mai springen, ne of godd ŝenk'en, ne of his riche, ne of his saule hale. Ac gleuës and skentinges, and hundes and hauokes, and alle čo ping če ŝeu hier gladien mai, pat zë willen bliδeliche isien and zehieren; and all čis zë mihlen hauen, zif zë godd luuenden mare čanne all čis če we embe hauen ispeken. Maiije of ŝeu bien swiδe beswikiene. Weneč ċat zë luuen more godd čanne zë dën 3eure eïhte; ac lët him seggen ċat sôdeste, če is mid rihte Soč icleped: Vbi est\(^7\) tesaurus, ľbi est et cor tuum, 'Dar če ĕiu hord is, per is pin herte,' he sêde. Dar is čin herte čarođ če ču mæst ŝenkst, and ďar is čin mæste luue. Vnderstand nu wel če seluen, and loke hwäder ču ŝenke more of godd če of čin eïhte, and wite ču te sope: ĥvarof ču mare ŝenkst, ċat tu luuest mare! Walewa čas siδes, pat ani mann čat godd haf\(\)d iziuen witt and wisdom, scall luuien\(^8\) more če saestes če godd ŝescop, čanne he do his sceppend, če him and alle ping\(^9\) ŝescop! Lieue saule, ic če warni and zierne bidde, čat\(^3\) tu, mid ĉesserere godes iuë če scientia hatte, understande and lierne fastliche ča 3ekyndes of sennes, hwannen and hwanne\(^10\) (hie

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1 Evangelista on side, red.
2 unstanke MS.
3 hwat twice.
4 i on erasure.
5 an erasure above n.
6 A added red.
7 page 43.
8 liuien MS.
9 pinng MS.
10 w corr. from a.
will come, that thou mayst guard against them; and when thou art wounded through them, that thou mayst know how to heal thy wounds; and again, concerning those holy virtues, that thou mayst know how to recognise them well, and to keep them with God's help.

Of counsel.

Here comes another of God's gifts, which is called consilium, that is, counsel. Of this said Solomon: *Omnia fac cum consilio, et postea non poenitebis,* 'Do all things after counsel; afterwards thou wilt not repent.' Thou hast heard and learned many good things; accordingly take counsel, not from a wise man only, but from one who is both wise and also God-fearing, and tried in religion. What sort of life thou oughtst to lead best, depends much, whether thou hast misdone much, or little; and then, one must look after thy state, and thy body's health or sickness. Because it is a great danger for thee, if thou undertakest such things as thou canst not perform through sickness, which thou hadst promised to God. Again, be aware, if thou hast promised God to do much good, and to keep a holy life: thou canst not keep again the less good life thou hadst before, and be saved. Concerning this says the holy Gospel: *Qui mittit manum suam ad aratum, et respicit retro, non est aptus regno Dei,* 'Who puts his hand to the plough of the Gospel, and will bear Christ's yoke, and forsakes all the world, and [then] looks back, turning to the world, is not worthy of the kingdom of Heaven.' This is said of the man who forsakes all the world, and follows God's voice, which says thus: *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onorati estis, et cet., 'Come unto Me,' says He, 'all ye that labour with evil works, and are heavy laden with many kinds of sins, and I will give you rest unto your souls; and I will lighten your burden, if ye will listen to My counsel. Bear My yoke of obedience upon you, which is soft, and the burden of My commandments is light to hold. With My help ye can do everything; without Me, nothing.' For this sweet calling come both good and evil, and leave all the world, and take Christ's mark of true religion upon them, of whatsoever kind it may
OF COUNSEL.

cumen), that sue muse bien war with hem; and dar sue art surh hem newnund, dat sue cumne hes halen; and eft, of these hali mihetes, that tu hes kunne wel zeenawen, and mid godes fultume wid-healden.

Of rade.

Hier after cumde an other godes zyne, he is icleped consilium, that is, ræd. Herof seide Salomon: Omnia fac cum consilio, et postea non penitebis, 'Do alle ping after rade, theer after hit se scal pe ofpenchen.' Manize gode pinges sue haest iherd and ilierned; nim dar after rad, naht at wise manne one, and pe bie baS 2 wis and ec goddfrihti, and isfonded of religiun. Hwileh lif sue betst muce laden, dat aup to beinne michel after dan he Sue sue haist michel midson, ower litel; and denne mot me lokin thin ikinde, and sinue lichame(s) hale ower unhale. For dan, zif sue underinium stiuch dat tu for unhale ne miht isforthin, dat Sue godd haddest behaten, hit is he 3 michel 4 hault 5. Eftsones bie warr, 16 zif sue behast god michel god te done, and heih lif te healden: dat lasse gode lif he Sue arreer haest, ne miht tu naht est healden, and bien 3ebores2en 6. Hier of seii that halie godspell: Qui mittit manum s(u)am ad aratrum, et respicit retro, non est aptus regno dei, 'Se he doS his hand to dere sull of godspelle, and Cristes 30c wile beren, and forlat al hee woreld, and loced abach, wændinde to hee woreld, he nis naht wurde 7 heeune riche.' Dis is zeesed be he manne he forlat al hee woreld, and fol3ed godes stiefne, he Sue seii: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et honorati estis, et cetera, 'Cumez to me,' he seii, 'alle he swinked mid euele werkes, and 3eheuez3ed heeS mid mani-kennes sennes, and ic eu wile 3iue reste to jeuer saule, and ic wile 28 lihten jeuer berDene, zif 3e mine rad hlesten willez. BereS min 30c uppe 3eu, of hersummesse, he is softe, and min berDen is liht, of mine bebodes to healden. Mid mine fultume alle Ding 3e muzen; widsuten me, nanping.' For cessere swete clepienge 32 cumde baS gede and euele, and late3 all hee woreld, and minez Cristes marc uppenn hem, of soke religiun, hwilche kennes swa hit

1 red above; the last word is written cinneri or cinnery. 2 bade MS. 3 page 44. 4 hit is to repeated on page 44; between to and michel a little stroke (like i) above the line. 5 hault MS. 6 The second 3 corr. from c. 7 wurde MS.
be. The Holy Ghost warns them, who says: 'God who hath called you out of the false world into good life, doeth not force you to it, but sayeth: \textit{Si vis perfectus esse}, 'If thou wilt,' He says, 'be a perfectly good man, forsake the world; and if thou wilt not, thou mayst dwell in the world, and also be saved, if thou well keepest thy baptism.' But if thou canst not save thyself well, or thou wilt suffer more, for Christ's love, and lead a better life: listen. I will warn thee concerning it. \textit{Fili, accedens ad servitudo-nem Dei}, etc., 'Dear son,' says He, 'if thou comest to God's house to serve Him, be well aware, and prepare thy soul against many kinds of temptations, and stand with great dread, because thou shalt be tried in the holy life as is the pot which is put into the burning oven. If it bursts in it and breaks, it is lost and soon thrown out; if it remains whole and sound, the potter puts it where it was destined to.' The apostle says that God will not suffer one of His chosen ones to be tried more than he can bear. But they who burst within their dwellings, through the pride with which their heart is as much filled as a bladder is with wind, are thrown out through the devil's lore, not for their own sake only, but also in order to put others to flight. Then they will go again into the world, and be worse than they were before. They will cast away their counsel and their clothes, and betake themselves to the world and are apostates from Christ, forsakers, not with words, but with works, which is worse, if it may be. A monk may go out with leave into a hermitage, or to live in solitude, if he has God to witness that he does so with a pure heart, in order to do better. We find in the Writ that a hermit ought not to live in the wilderness, except he be at first tried through rule and through a master in the spiritual oven that we spoke about before. An anchorite's life is a very spiritual one. These two lives, the hermit's and a solitary life, which we now call an anchorite's, were formerly spent far from men and [those] were much loved and exalted by the holy Fathers who lived so and kept it honourably. So one may still find some—thanked be God!—who lead a very spiritual life according to the world which is now. Also one may find, among men of all kinds of
bie. De hali gast\(^1\) (hem) warne\(^2\), and seid: 'Godd yeu haunc\(^3\) icleped ut of dare lease worlde in to gode liue, he ne nett yeu naht yer to, ac seid: Siuis perfectus esse; '3if ou wilt,' he seid, 'bien surhut god manu, sanne forlat ou se worlde; and 3if\(^2\) ou\(^4\) 4 nelt naht, pu miht wuniolen on dare worlde, and ec bien zeboeren, 3if ou sanne cristendom wel hal'dest.' Ac 3if ou ne miht oue naht wel herzen, ouer ou wilt, for Cristes liue, more polizen, and betere lif laden: ihist\(^5\), eorof ic oue wile warnin. Fili, accedens ad se servitutinem dei, et cetera\(^6\), 'Lieve sune,' he seid, 'ynanne ou cumst to godes huse him to Senin, bie wel war, and zarke dine saule azen manizes kennes standinges, and stand mid michel dradness, forSan ou scalt bien zefondered on ha liue al swo is pe 12 pott ic is idon on oue barneende ofne. Gif ou car izane bersted\(^7\) and brek, he is forlorn and sone ut-zeworpen; 3if he behalf hal and gesund, ou potter eune de\(^8\) car to ic e iscape was.' De apostele seid 'at good ne wile naht polizen of none his icorene more to 16 fondin sanne he mue polien. Ac oue ou bersted\(^9\) wit-inne here wunienege for here modinesse, hwarof here herte is swe full swa is bladdre of winde, hie biec\(^5\) ut-iworpen surh dieules lare, naht for hem seluen ane, ac for ohere ec awei te afflicen. Sanne faren\(^8\) hie 20 eft to dare worlde, and biec forcu\(^{10}\)ere sanne hie arrer weren. Hie forwerpe\(^{11}\) hie reed and here claes, and nemee\(^7\) hem to dare worlde and biec apostate Criste, forsakene, naht mid wordes, ac mid werkes, oue wers is, 3if hit mai. Munec mai ut-faren mid 24 ileane in to hermitorie, ouer in to onnesse te wuniene, 3if\(^8\) he godd hal\(^5\) to iwitnesse \(\hat{\text{\texta}}\)at he mid hlufer herte hit do, for bett to donne. We finde\(^{12}\) on swe write \(\hat{\text{\texta}}\) et ermite ne owh on wildene te wu-nien, bute he arst bie zefanded surh regule and surh maistre in 28 san gastliche ofne oue ouer embe spaken. Ancer is swe\(^{13}\) gastlich lif. \(\hat{\text{\texta}}\)see 10 twa lif, hermite and ansaele lif, oue we nu clepe\(^{12}\) anker, hie weren hwile ferr fram manner wuniende, and waren swe\(^{14}\) iluuede and ilheizod surh oua hali faderes oue ouere wumen and 32 hit orliche hielden. Swa me mai ziet sume finde—ipanked\(^{11}\) bie godd!—oue swe\(^{13}\) gastlich lif laedet after dare worlde oue ou is. Al

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1 a letter erased, hem on the side. 2\(\text{\texta}\) is MS. 3 page 45. 4 bergen, MS. 5 ihist MS. 6 Salamon written against this at side. 7 Between neme and ou a slit in the vellum. 8\(\text{\texta}\) another MS. 9 page 46. 10 s cor. from d. 11 ipanked MS.
lives, some good and some evil. He knows it, who knows everything. If thou wilt remain in the world, and have wife and children, and till land and weary thyself, thou shalt have all the more toil. But if thou hast a good counsellor, thou mayst well live there, and also earn good reward from God. Do all the things which thou hast to do, with counsel; and let the counsel be such, that thou doest nothing against the holy Writ. Christ warns us of this, who says thus: *Dum es cum adversario tuo in via*, etc., 'While thou art in the way with thine adversary, grant him what he will have done, lest he take thee and deliver thee to the dun (creditor), and he afterwards deliver thee to the tormenters and to the killers!' Follow this Gospel, if thou wilt. God's word, God's counsel is thy enemy, because it does not say all that thou wouldst wish. But if thou wilt listen to God, thou must be obedient to the holy Writ, the little while thou art with it here in this road, in this short life; and know forsooth, except thou agreeest to it here whatever it advises thee to do: when thou comest into the higher way, when thou art separated from thy body, it will deliver thee up to the dun (creditor), who will claim thee for each sin, and maintain his right after God's own word, that thou hast to follow him to hell, because thou hast been disobedient to God as he [is]. Therefore listen now to what God advises thee: *Divitiae si affluant, nolite cor apponere*, 'If the world's riches much increase towards thee, set not thy heart upon them, but set it on Me. Riches will fail thee, I will never fail thee. Why is thy coffer dearer to thee than I? Did I not send to thee, saying by the writ of the Gospel that thou shouldst make thy hoard above in the kingdom of Heaven, and not upon earth? Why wilt thou not be obedient to Me?' Listen still further to Christ's advice, what He says in the holy Gospel: *Cum facis prandium aut coenam, noli vocare amicos tuos*, etc., 'When thou wilt make a dinner,' Christ says, 'call not thy friends, nor thy brethren to it, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy neighbours. If any of these can repay thee for thy dinner, do not call them. But call the poor and the weak, the blind, the dumb, the deaf, the halt, who cannot repay thee for it; then thou art blessed: [for] thou shalt be recompensed in
swa me mai, mang alles kennes liues menn, sume gode and sume euele finden. He it wot, sce all wot. 3if ðu wilt on ðare woredl beleauen, and wif and childre hauen, and land telizet and werizet, ðu scalt hauen ðas to more iswink. Ac 3if ðu hauest godne rad- 4 jiue, ðu miht ðar wel libben, and ec at gode god lean ofearneizet. Alle ðo ping ðe ðu hauest te donne, do it mit ræde; and ðe rad bie swulch, ðat tu noht ne do æzenes ðe holi write. Hierof us warneð Crist, and ðus seîdh: Dum es cum aduersario tuo in ui(a), et 8 cetera, 'Darhwile ðe ðu art mid þine wiserwine on ða weizæ, bie him teipinde Ŝat ðe he wile hauen iden, læste he ðe nime and betæche ðe ðe craniere, and he seððen betachen ðe ðe pineres and ðe dwelleres!' Dis godspell folge, 3if ðu wille. Godes word, godes 12 rad is ðin unwine, forŠat hit ne seîdh noht al ðat tu woldest. Ac 3if ðu wilt lsten godd, ðu scalt bien ðe hali write buhsum, so litle hwile ðe ðu art mid him her on ðese weizæ, on ðese scorte liue; and wite ðu te soðe, bute ðu him bie hier teîðinde hwat swa hit ðe 16 ratt1 to donne: Ŝanne ðu cumst on ða hei(g)ere2 weizæ, Ŝanne ðu art itwamid fram ðine lichame, hit te wile betachen ðe ðe craniere, ðe ðe wile cranen of elchere senne, and betellen riht after godes awene worde, ðat tu aust him to folžin to helle, forðan ðe ðu art 20 godd unhersum al swa he. Forði hlest ny hwat godd ðe ratt: Diuicie si affluant, nolite cor apponere, 'Worldes eihte, 3if hie is swiðe rixinde to ðeward, ne do ðu naht ðine herte ðerto, ac do hes to me. De richeise ðe scal truken, ic ne truke ðe naure. 24 Hwi is te ðin huche4 trewer Ŝanne ich? Ne sente ic ðe seggen bi ða write of godspelle Ŝat tu scoldest makie ðin hord up in heuen- riche5, and naht upen ierðe? Hwi ne wilt tu me bien buhsum?' Hlest jiet furch Cristes rad, hwat he seîdh on ða hali godspelle: 28 Cum facis prandium aut cenam, noli6 uocare amicos tuos, et cetera, 'Ŝanne ðu wilt makien gestninge,' seîdh Crist, 'ne clepe ðu naht ðine friend, ne ðine breljeren ðarto, ne ðine kenesmen, ne ðine neihibures. Gif æni of ðesen ðe muzen forzielden ðine 32 gestninge, Ñane ne clepe ðu hes naht. Ac clepe ðo wrecches and to unmihti, þe blinde, þe dumbe, Þe deane, Þe halte, Þe ne muzen naht hit te forzielden; Ŝanne art tu isælþ: hit te scal bien forzolden

1 page 47. 2 g red above i. 3 deuele at side. 4 u on erasure. 5 c corr. from another letter. 6 Corr. from Nolite.
resurrectione justorum, that is, when the righteous will arise, and
thou among them, on God's right hand.' If thou doest not so, the
devil cannot well maintain that thou art disobedient to God. Who
does this? Who keeps this? Why do men say that one cannot
well be saved in the world? Why wilt thou not follow God's
counsel and His teaching? This is truly one of the holy virtues
which God divides among His chosen ones, that He gives them
good counsel through the holy Writ, which He sends them in order
to say how they may work His will, and so be saved. Let him
listen and follow whoso will! Omni petenti te, tribue, 'Give to
every man that asketh of thee, if thou hast what he has not, as thou
wouldst that he should do to thee, if thou hadst not.' Therefore
He says: 'If thou givest to the man who gave to thee, or whom
thou knowest will give to thee, what reward oughtst thou to have
from God? Do not so the sinful men who know nothing of God?
If thou lovest the same that love thee: do not so the worst men of
the world? Do not so the heathen? But love thy enemies for the
love of God; thou shalt have great reward for it from God; and
let Him revenge who is a righteous judge over the living and over
the dead! If a needful man will borrow from thee of thy property,
 lend him blithely, as to thy fellow-Christian, without any reward,
and thou shalt have the reward from God.' If thou lendest him
 anything of thine, and thou takest again more than thou lentst
him: surely thou actest against God's commandment, and deservest
His wrath, except thou repayest it. For after the holy Writ, every
reward is reckoned for usury; and the usurers will never come into
the kingdom of Heaven; for, though they would divide all that they
have got with usury and with unrighteousness, it is not agreeable
to God, who is righteous. The rich men who lend their property
upon churches and upon the church-lands, or upon towns, or upon
other things which yield rents, and keep them longer than until
they have as much as they lent upon them, full assuredly they are
doomed as usurers; and they shall have all such reward for it as
usurers, that is, the pain of hell, except they repay it. And the
amendment is no other than to repay what they have taken unjustly,
and with penitence. Concerning this said the prophet: Domine,
quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo, aut quis, etc., 'Lord,' said he, 'who
in resurrectione iustorum, Cat is, Satane se 1iih(t)wise sculen arisen, and tu amang1 hem, on godes siwde. Gif Su naht herof ne dest, ne mai se deuel betellen wel Sat tu art gode unbersum. Hwa doS pis? Hwa halt pis? Whi segged men Sat me ne mai 4 naht wel bien 3eborezen on Care worlde? Hwi ne wilt tu fol3in godes rad and his lore? Pís is iwis on de 1e halí mihtes de godd scif mang his 3ecorene, Sat he zif2 hem god rad purh de halizé writes, de he sent hem seggen hu hie mujen his willc werchen, and 8 swa bien 3eborezen. Hlest and fol3ih se se wile! Omni petenti te, tribue3, 'Aelche maané se Se hitt Su aust to zienun, zif4 Su haft Sat te he ne haucé, swa Su woldest Sat he dede Se, zif Su ne haftdest.' Fordan he seí: 'zif Su zifst Se manne Se gaf Se, ouer 12 Se wost Sat wile zienun Se, which lean aust Su te hauen of gôdd? Ne don swa Se senfulle men Se of gode noht ne cumen? Gif Su luonest Se ilche Se Se luui3é: ne don swa Se werste menn of Se worlde? Ne don swa Se heçene? Ac luue pine unwines for Se 16 luue of gôdd; 3arof Su scalt hauen michel lean of gôdd; and lat him wreké Se is riht deeme ouer Se liuiende and ouer Se deade. zif nedfull mann wile bornin at te of Sin eilte, lean him ble3eliche, al swa Sin emcristen, wiÝten elchere mede, and Su scalt hauen Se 20 mede of god.' Gif Su him lanst ani ping of Sinen, and tu nimst a3ean more Cauune Su him laendest: iwis Su art a3eane(s) godes bebode, and his wraddé of-earnest, bute Su hit ib(i)ete. Fordan after Se hali writes, elach miede is iteld for gauelc; and Se gaueleres 24 ne cumen neure into heueriche; for Cau, Seih hie dailden all Sat hie mid gauelc býyeten 5 habbeb and mid unrihtwisnesse, hit nis naht gode icweme, Se is rihtwis. Da riche menn Se lanaé here eilte uppe cherches and uppe 3a chirch-landes, ouer uppe tu-4nes, 0Se uppe 28 oué pinges 3e rentes ziué, and healden hes lenger Cauane hie hauen al swa michel swa hie 3ar uppe laendens, fullzewan hie bi3e idemt for goueleres; and al swulch lean hie sculen 3arof habben alse gaueleres, Sat is, helle pine, bute hie hit biete 7. And Se bote nis 32 nan ouer bute zielden Sat hie habben mid unrihte inomen, and mid scritfe. Her of sæde Se profiete: Domine, quis habitatit in tabernaculo tuo, aut quis, et cetera8, 'Hlauercd; he sæde, 'Iwa

1 aman3, MS. 2 page 48. 3 Ewangelista at side, over a red lu or lif. 4 Gif MS. 5 bijetens MS. 6 page 49. 7 an erasure above te. 8 psalmista written at side, red.
shall abide with Thee in Thy house, or who shall rest himself on Thy holy hill of the kingdom of Heaven?' The Holy Ghost answered him, after other things, and said: *Qui jurat proximo suo, etc.*, 'He that sweareth truth to his neighbour, that is, his fellow-Christian, and deceiveth him not with any bargain or with any other thing; and he that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward from the *innocentes*, that is, harmless men who intend no evil to anybody: these shall abide in God's tent, and rest themselves on His hill.' And those who take reward, shall never come there, if they are taken away with it. Now there are some others who esteem themselves wise and crafty, and entrust their money to the heathen, in order to have gain from it; and some lend to their fellow-Christian for half-gain, who travels with it by land and by water in great danger of life and of soul, and with great toil: and they [themselves] sit at home and have no trouble for it, except in their thoughts and in their speeches. Clerics and laymen see and hear this; but through the evil custom it seems to them no misdeed, but those are esteemed wise and crafty men. Of such said God through the prophet: *Vae, qui sapientes estis in oculis vestris, et coram vobismet ipsis prudentes*, 'Woe unto you that esteem yourselves wise, and are prudent in your eyes! Ye deceive My people by your evil example, and by your sharp intellect. Ye understand how to defend yourselves by your manifold speeches; ye justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him!' Therefore he is now esteemed a fool, except he gets much property; and ye justify those who get much property by your great property, and say that they are worthy and good men. The prophet says still further: *Vae, qui dicitis bonum malum, et malum bonum*, 'Woe unto you who say that it is good to get much property, which cannot be got without unrighteousness!' Therefore it is called by God's mouth *Mammon of iniquity*. Woe unto you who say that he is unhappy who has no worldly property, who will get none by any injustice, and who, after having
mai wunen mid ðe on ðine huse, oðer hwa mai him resten upe ðin haliz munte of heueneriche?

De haliz gast him andswerede, after ðëre pinges, and sêde: Qui iurat proximo suo, et cetera, 'Se ðe swereð soð his nexte, pat is, his emcristenn, and him naht ne 4 beswikð mid none chiepinge ne mid nan ðdre ðinge; and se ðe ne 3ið naht his eihte te goule, and se ðe ne nimð none mede of ða innocentes, dat bien unellinde meen ðe none manne eucl ne willeð: ðese muþen wunigen on godes telde, and uppen³ his munte ð hem resten.' And ða ðe mede nemeð, hie ne seulen ðar neure cumen, 3if hie bien ðar mide 3enomene. Nu bien sume ðdre ðat healdden hem seluen wise and 3eape, and befasted here panezes ðe hâðene meen, for to habben of hem bizate; and sume, hi heneð 12 here emcristen te halue bizate, ðe sareð ðar mide be londe and be watere on michele halte on liue and on saule, and mid michele swinke: ðe hie sitteð at ham and ne hauen ðarof non 3eswink, bute on here ðohtes and on here spaches. Dis 3esied and zeherede 16 hadede and leeavede; and for ðare euulp 3ewune ne ðin(c)² hit hem no misdade, ac bieð ihealden for wi-⁴se meen and for 3eape. Of swilche sade godd ðurh ðe profiete: Ve, qui sapientes estis in oculis uestrís, et coram uobís met⁵ ipsis prudentes!⁶ 'Wa 20 zeu ðe healdeð zeu seluen for wise, and to-foren zeu seluen bieð 3eape! 3ie beswikeð mi folk mid 3eure euulp forbisne, and mid 3eure scarpe witt. 3ie cumen 3euz bewerien mid 3eureu manifelde spaches; 3erihtwisið ðâne forzelte for medes, and ðe rih(t)wisnesse 24 of ðe rihwise manne 3e him benemeð.' For ðan he is ihealde nu for sott, bute he michel eihte bezate; and po ðe michel eihte bizateð mid 3eure michele eihte, hem 3ie rihtwisë, and segged ðat he bien auhte men and gode meen. He seïð 3iet forðer, ðe profiete: 28 Ve, qui dicitis bonum malum, et malum bonum, 'Wa zeu ðe segged ðat it is god te bizeten michel eihte, ðe ne mai bien bizeten wid-uten⁷ unrihtwisnesse ⁶!' For ði hie is icleped of godes muðe Mammona iniquitatis. Wa zeu ðe segged ðat he is 32 unsali ðat none wordles eihte ne hafð, ðe mid nane unrihte none ne wile bizeten, and ða ðat he hadde mid manize unrihtes bizeten

1 use on erasure. 2 riche(s) MS. 3 the stroke above e is red.
4 page 50. 5 t corr. from ð. 6 propheta red at side.
7 a letter erased behind e. 8 unirht- MS.
lost what he had got by much unrighteousness, suffers it with patience, and thanks God. God says in another place: \textit{Vae, qui ridetis, quia plorabitis}, 'Woe unto you that laugh now for the vain bliss of this world, and for your great wealth which ye have now! Woe unto you that tax your fellow-Christian, and turn the right into wrong, and the wrong into right, and that take reward for your deceitful speeches, that speak on either side, as if ye were friend of both of them!' If thou wilt dwell in the world, and follow the blessed Job, who was a good worldly man, thou canst save thyself with God's help.

\textbf{Of strength.}

Here follows another of God's gifts, which is called \textit{fortitudo}, that is, strength of God. It is very needful; be thou never so wise, nor so cunning, nor so prudent to do what thou shalt do: except thou hast this strength of God, thou canst do no good. Thou canst see many a very wise clerk, who certainly does not instruct himself, and thinks that he has enough in his knowledge which he understands, and does not beg this strength from God; therefore he remains among them who understand no good, and is like them in works. Just as easily he sometimes will misdo, as he who understands no good. Whoso for fear of God keeps himself from all cardinal sins and from all the things which God forbids him, has this strength of God. David the king lost this holy virtue, when he committed adultery with Bath-sheba, Solomon's mother, who was wedded to Uriah. But he never ceased until he had [got] it again. \textit{Miserere mei, Deus}, this precious psalm he made anon, and cooled God's wrath by it. 'Lord,' quoth he, 'according to Thy great commiseration, have mercy upon my great sin! And according unto Thy manifold mercies, which Thou hast had towards mankind, do away from me this great unrighteousness, so that Thy tender eyes may never see in me what mislikes them! But let the stream of Thy sweet mercy, which never ceases, run to me, so that I may understand when it comes, through the flowing tears which it brings with it unto the dried-
OF COUNSEL AND STRENGTH. 81

(he haue forlorn) 1, and dat sole mid solemodnesse, and gode panked. An odf stede he seid, godd: Ve qui ridetis, quia plorabitis 2, 'Wa zeu se nu leihe for dese 3 wordles lease blisse, and for seure michele wele se ze nu hauen! Wa zeu se beplaiti 4 zeuer emeristen, and waende dat rihte te w(r)ohze 4, and dat wohze te rihte, and se nime mede for seuer swikele spache(s), se speke an aifor half, swiche zie here beire friend ware.' Zif du wilt on vare world wunigen, and vurh dese godes wordes war bien and s vane eadie Iob folzin, se was god worldmann: du miht mid godes fultume se seluen berzen 5.

Of stren[g]de.

Hier after cump an odf godes ziu, se is icleped fortitudo, 12 pat is, strengpe of gode. Hie is swide niedfull; ne bie du naure swa wis, ne so 3cap, ne swa witti to donne dat tu scalt don: bute du habbe dese strengpe of gode, ne miht tu non god don. Du miht isien sum wel wis clerec, se wisliche him seluen naht ne wisse, and pincp dat he haft inohz on his witte se he can, ne dese strengpe ne besek 8 (nauht) at gode; for se he belaft among than se non god ne cumnen, and hie he is ilich of werk. Alswe lihtliche odfhwife he misdox, al swo he se non god ne 20 can. Se se for godes eiithe him halt fram alle heued-sennes and fram alle se forbodes se god him forbiet, he haft dese strengpe of gode. Dese hali mihte forleas Dani 3 kyng, sa se he forlaiz mid Bersabee, Salomones moder, se was bewedded Vrie. 24 Ac he naure ne 3eswoe 6 aer he hes eft (h)afde. Miserere mei deus, sance derewurde salm anon he makede, and godes wrad he sar mide acolede. 'Hlauerd,' cwa 6 he, 'after dat se tin mildec ys michel, haue ore of mine michele senne! And after 28 sime manifealde mildecse se su hafst ihaus to mankenne, do awei fram me dese michele unrihtwisnesse, dat naure sine milde eizen ne 3eseo on me dat hem mislikie. Ac let sime wellstream, sa naure ne truke, of sine swete mildec iernen to me, swa (dat) 7 ic 32 must understanden hwanne he cum 8 vurh se flowinde teares se he

1 On the slide. 2 Evangeliusta, red at side. 3 s corr. from d. 4 red above. 5 page 51. 6 a underdotted before o. 7 written above, red. 8 cumen MS.
up heart. And besprinkle me with the hyssop of the holy cross, of the holy water which came out of the right side of Thy holy temple. Then shall I become cleansed from all my sins, and whiter than any snow. Lord, still I have more need! *Cor mundum crea in me, Deus!* My heart is much defiled with foul thoughts, for the sin which I first thought to do, and I know that Thou neither wilt nor canst dwell in it. But make it pure and clean, so that Thou mayst dwell within me, and renew a right spirit within me. For my spirit is grown very old, and wasted away, through the great error when it went out of Thy right way, and followed the devil's doctrine, and rejected Thine. *Ne projicias me,* because, my dear Lord, I am well conscious that I have deserved to be rejected by Thee, as I rejected Thee and Thy teaching. But now I beg Thee, through Thy great goodness, that Thou mayst not reject me from Thy face, as the lord who is wrath against his servant, and drives him from his face. And never take from me Thy Holy Ghost that Thou hast given me through Thy great goodness! Sorry and sorrowful am I, night and day, until I have Him. *Redde mihi laetitiam*, Lord, give me now again the same bliss of Thy salvation which I had before, ere I sinned! Thou hadst made me glad and blithe; but I have lost it because of my weakness. And fasten in me the spirit of strength, and make me strong through Thy power! I fancied to have strength of myself, and therefore I fell. But if Thou now wilt raise me, and bestow upon me a right and strong spirit: *docebo iniquos, etc.*, [then] will I teach the unrighteous Thy ways, and tell them how great mercy Thou hast [had] on me, who was all guilty against Thee; and the merciless who never yet had mercy on themselves nor on others, shall turn to Thee, and believe in Thee, and praise and bless Thee, and become holy men by Thy grace, who were the devil's before. Lord, I now thank Thee above all things! I feel my heart consoled through Thy great mercy, that Thou hast sent upon me, sinful man, the spirit of consolation, which fills my sorry heart with the sweet bliss of its dear vision, through the tears which come running,
brinkgā mid 1 him to 僻ere fordru3ede hierte. And spræng me mid tare ysope of 僻ere holi rode, of 僻an holie watere 僻e 3iede ut of 僻e riht 2 side of 僻ine hali temple. Ğanne wurc ic iclansed of alle mine sennes, and hwittere 僻ane ani snaw. Lauerd, zict ic 4 habbe more niede. Cor mundum crea in me, deus 3! Min herte is swiče befeld mid fule pohtes, for 僻ere senne 僻e ic arst pohte to donne, and ic wat 僻at þu ne wilt ne 僻u ne miht on hire wunijen. Ac make hes blutter and clene, þat tu muʒe wunijen 8 mid me, and rihtne gost newe inne me. For 僻an min gast is swiçe for-sealed and forworwþen, for 僻e michele dwule, 僻a 僻e he 3iede ut of 僻e rihte weieʒe, and folȝede dieules lare, and forwpær 僻ine. Ne proicias me 5, for 僻a, min leue lauerd, ic am 12 wel bicnawe Þat ic habbe ofearned þat 僻u scoldest me forwrurpen, swa swa ic forwpær þe and 僻ine lore 6. Acu nu ic bidde 僻e, for 僻ine michele godnesse, Þat tu ne forwpær me fram 僻ine ansiene, al swa 僻e lauerd 僻e is wraʒ of his pralle, and drifþ him ut of his 16 ansiene. And 僻ine hali gast 僻e 僻u me haft ðiʒuʒe for 僻ine michele godnesse, ne benem 僻u me neare. Sari and sorhfull am ic, niht and dai, al hwat ic hine habbe. Redde mihi leticiam 6, Hlauerd, ʒif me nu æʒan 僻e ilche blisse þat ic (h)adde ær, ar ic 20 sineʒede, of 僻ire hale. 僻u hafdest me imaked glad and biʒe; ac icaid hes haue forlören for mine woonesse. And faste on me 僻ane gost of strengþe, and make me strong 僻urh 僻ire mihte. Ic wende habben strengþe of me seluhen, and for 僻i i fell. Ac ʒif 僻u nu me 24 wilt aræren, and rihte gost and stronge me betachen, docebo iniquos, et cetera 6, ic wile tache 僻o unrigh[i]wisen 僻ine weizæ, and hem kyðen hu michel mildce 僻u haft of me, 僻e was all forzelæt æʒanes þe; and to oreleæse 僻e næure ʒiete ne hadden ore 28 of hemseluen ne of ⌕orden 7, hie sculen wenden to 僻e, and ʒelieuen on 僻e, and 僻e heriʒen and bleþcien, and mid þine grace hali menn becumæn, þe ærrer waren 僻es dieules. Lauerd, nu ic 僻e panki over alle þing. Ic ʒeʃeʃe min herto ʒerfreʃed 僻urh þine michele 32 mildce, 僻e on me senfulle haft ʒesænt 僻ane froure gost, 僻e felð mine sari herto mid 僻are swete blisse of his lieue sune, 僻urh 僻o

1 min MS. 2 page 52. 3 Psalmista written at the side, red. 4 between for and e a letter erased. 5 and 僻ine lare repeated. 6 Psalmista red at side. 7 page 53.
with great bliss, on the dried-up land. Lord, now I would praise Thee, and offer a sacrifice, if I had anything which would be agreeable unto Thee. But I know well that bonorum meorum non
eyes, Thou hast no need of any of the goods which I have. But if it is Thy will that I must offer Thee a sacrifice, for Thy worship and my salvation, then Thou must do as Thou hast always done to all Thy people. Thou hast sent them their sacrifice, just as the good lord who sends offerings to his men for his own worship, and for their service. *Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus*, according to what Thy Holy Ghost says: "The most agreeable sacrifice which one can offer Thee, is the spirit and the heart that are greatly afflicted with humility and with manifold thoughts of true repentance, which make the heart sorry and sob, and the eyes wet with running tears." St. Peter offered this sacrifice, when he had great guilt by forsaking Thee. He went out, *et flevit amare*, and bewept his sin very bitterly, and Thou forgavest it him. Mary Magdalene offered this sacrifice upon Thy precious feet, and she left there all her sins. Hannah offered Thee this sacrifice, who was barren, and despised among the people of Israel; and she was soon heard, and Thou answeredst her prayer, so that she might have a child and brought forth Thy prophet Samuel. We find written in the Holy Scripture that everyone was heard according to his need to whom it was Thy will to send this sacrifice.'

Dear soul, I have written this in order to console thee when thou hast need. Look and read; as for this holy virtue, it will please thee by night and by day, if thou wilt think of it with all thy heart.

**Of understanding.**

After this comes another of God's gifts, which is called *intellectus*, that is, understanding. This holy virtue makes [thee] understand God and all spiritual things, as much as thou canst understand while thou art bound in thy wretched body. God speaks of it through the prophet, and says to thee: *Intellectum tibi dabo, et instruam te, etc.*, 'I will give thee understanding, and I will instruct thee in this way which thou goest now. Because thou hast forsaken thy sins and thy evil customs, andlearnest so
teares ße cuíneõ ierninde, mid michelie blisse, uppe ße fordruzede londe. Hlauerd, nu ic ße wolde wurðízen, and loc ofriew, zif ic hadde ani ping ßat ße ieweme ßære. Ac ic wot wel ßat bonorum meorum non eges¹, ßu nehaft none niëde of non 4 ßare gode ße ic habbe. Ac ßanne hit is þin wille ßat ic ße loc ofrin mote, ße to wurðíce ² and me to hale, ßanne most þu don al swa ßu haßt aûre idon bi alle ßinen. ßu haßt isænt hem here ofrende, al swa ße gode hlauerd ße sent his mein ofrende ³ for his azene wurðíce, and for here seruise. Sacrificium deo spiritus contribulatus ¹, after ßan ße ßin halíi gast seid: "Þat iewemeste loc ßat (mann ße) mai ofrin, ßat is ße gast and ße híerte ße bied swíde 3esväint mid eadmodnese and mid manifealde 12 pohtes of soðe bereusinge, ße makieõ ße híerte sari and sobbiende, and ße eigene wate mid teares ierninde." Dis lac ofrede sanctus Petrus, ßa ßa he was swa swíde for3(i)elt ßat he hadde ße forsaken. He ßiede ut, et fleuit amare, and beweop hi(s) senne 16 swíde biterliche, and þu hes him forzane. Dis loc ofrede Marie Magdalene upe ßine dere wurðíce fiet, and alle hire senny hie ßar forliet. Dis loc ße ofrede Anna, ße was unberinde, and unwurð mang Israele folke; and hie was sone iherd, and hire biene ßu 20 hire tei3edest, þat hie chilt moste habben and brohte forð ßine profiête Samuel. On ßa halíže write we hit findeõ, hwam swo ßin wille was te senden ßis loc to ofriew, he was jeherd of his niëde.' Lïeuë saule, ßis ic habbe iwriwen for ße te frieurien ßanne ßu 24 niëde haßt. Loke and ræd; ßis holi mihte, hit te wile likin be nihtë ßer be daizë, zif⁴ ßu mid alre herte hier embe wilt penchen.

Of andzet.

Hierafter cumß an ßer gode æue, ße is iclepêd intellec- ²⁸ tus, þat is, andʒeat. Dies halíc mihte, hie dieõi understanden of gode and of alle gastliche þinges, swa michel swa ßu miht understanden ße hwile ße ßu art on ßine wrecche lichame 3ebunden. Hier of spekõ godd ßurh ße profiête, and seid to ße: Intellectum ³² tibi dabo, et instruam te, et cetera, 'Ich ße wile æuen and[d]ʒeat, and ic ße wile wissin on ßese weize ße ßu nu gost. For ßi ßat tu

¹ Psalmista, red at side. ² wurd-MS. ³ page 54. ⁴ ³ corr. red from t.
blithely these holy virtues and receivest them well: My eyes shall be upon thee, and I will shield thee from all evil, as long as thou art conscious that thou hast no good but from Me.' Through this gift of God thou canst know all the thoughts which come from thy heart; which are of God, and which are of thy flesh, and which are of the devil. It is great need for thee to understand well the thoughts which come from God. Concerning this said the prophet: *Audiam, quid loquatur in me Dominus Deus,* 'I will listen to and understand what my Lord God speaketh in me.' Sometimes He will reprehend thee and make thee think thus: 'Why wilt thou continue in thy sins until death? Why can I have no dwelling with thee? Thy sins separate Me from thee; I can never dwell in a foul heart. As often as thou thinkest of Me, or hearest speak of Me: then I am with thee. Thou wast created, and afterwards hallowed, to My use, and that I, for thy profit, might dwell in thee. But thou drivest Me out of thee through thy manifold lusts which thou wilt follow, against My will. Unless thou ceasest, thou wilt repent it the more bitterly for ever!' At another time, when thou thinkest that God has forsaken or forgotten thee, He will say: *Numquid potest mater oblivisci filium uteri sui,* 'How can the mother forget the child which she bore in her womb? Though she forget it, I never forget thee.' At another time come many thoughts of God's threat, concerning the pains of hell; at another time He promises thee great joy in Heaven; at another time He consoles thee about thy sorrow for thy sins. But that is a great danger, except thou take much care of it, and thank Him much for it. The thoughts which come from thy flesh are always weak, either of meat, or of drink, or of clothes, or of sleep, or of some idleness. God forbids us to be either anxious or full of cares. He will find for all of us what is needful, if we first make Him rest in ourselves. *Primum quaerite regnum Dei, et haec omnia adjicientur vobis,* 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God,' and afterwards, says He,
OF UNDERSTANDING, 87

hauest pine sennen 1 and vine euele peawes forlaten, and esse hali
mihtes swa blewife liernest 2 and wel undernimst: mine eieene
sculen bien uppe se, and ic se wile scilden fram alle euele, swa
longe swa su wilt bien icnawen dat tu nan god ne hauest toute of 4
me.' Durh cesserre godes ziue su miht alle su Sohtes icnawe se
cume of sire herte; hwilche biec of gode, and hwilche of vine
flesche, and hwilche bic of se dieule. Da Sohtes se cume of
gode, se is michel nied dat tu wel understande 8. Hier of sade 8
se profite: Audiam, quid loquatur in me dominus deus,
'ic wile lest en and understanden hwat min lauerd godd spek' in 4
me.' Oder hwile he se wile undernemen and su se don 5
penchen: 'Hwi wilt su Durhwunigen on vine sennes anon to 12
vin(e) 6 deae? Hwi me mai ich none wuningen haveb en mid se? 
Dine sennes me 7 twame of fram se; ich me mai naure wunigen on
fulle herte. Swa ofte swa su Senchst on me, oser ihierst spoken
of me: pare hwile ich am mid se. Su ware 3escaen, and eft 16
zechalzed, to mine behofter and for Mine freme me ontewunigen. Ac
su me drifst ut of te for Vine manifalde willes se su fol'jin wilt,
aseanes mine wille. Bute su iswik, se hwatliker hit te scall naure
ma rewen.' Oderhwile, hwanne su Senest dat godd se haft 20
forlaten oser forzetten, vannes seic he: Numquid potest
mater obliuiisci filium uteri sui, 'Hv mai dat moder
forzeten dat child se hie bar in hire wombe? Peih hie hit forzete,
ic naure ne forzete se.' Oderhwile cume of manige pohtes of godes 24
preatt of helle pines. Oderhwile he behat se michele merhpe 6 on
heuene. Oderhwile he se frieure of vine sarinesse for Vine
sennes. Ac dat is michel hauht, bute su hierof nene michele
zieme, and him hierof michel Caniki. Da Sohtes dat cume of 28
vine flesche, aure hi bec nexe, oser of mete, oser of drenckh, oser
of clades, (oser of slape) 8, oser of some idelnesse. Dis forbet
godd, pat we houhfull ne care-sull ne scule bien. All he wile us
finden dat nied is, zif we arst him makiede reste on us seluen. 32
Primum querite regnum dei, et hec omnia adicientur
uobis, 'Arst seche godes riche,' and sicden he sai'd dat alle

1 sen-nnen MS. 2 liernest MS. with dots under ed. 3 understanden MS. 
4 i corr. from O. 5 spoken underlined between don and p. 
6 in corr. from m. 7 page 55. 8 mehrpe MS. 9 on the side.
we shall have all these things. Against such thoughts thou shalt answer: *Non in solo pane vivit homo,* 'Man liveth not by bread alone, but liveth by the words that proceed out of the mouth of God.' If thou wilt know what the kingdom of God is, which thou shalt first seek: the holy apostle instructs us, who says: *Regnum Dei non est esca et potus, sed justitia, et pax, et gaudium in spiritu sancto,* 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' That is the kingdom of God!

Dear soul, I beg and warn thee to have no hope in thy fasting, nor in thy watching, nor in any other good. Except thou have these three things, God will never reign in thee, nor thou evermore with Him, viz. that thou be righteous towards God and towards all men. Give to each what he ought to have! Again, [it is necessary] that thou have peace with God and with all men; and if thou breakest it, may God shield thee! Do thou not so. Thou hast no longer respite than the apostle says: *Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram,* 'On the same day that thou breakest [peace], see that thou be reconciled, ere the sun goes to rest!' Take now great care of this third thing: that is, let thy bliss not be in any earthly thing, but in the Holy Ghost alone. Woe, Eve's children, how are ye deceived, who seek bliss without Paradise, where no bliss is! Turn back, turn back, and go home, otherwise you will never have any! Even the thoughts which come from the devil are always bitter, except thou givest way to his deceitful admonition; at first it seems sweet to thee, but in the end it is very bitter. When thoughts of avidity, or of luxury, or of covetousness, or of wrath, and of envy and indignation, or of vain boasting, or of haughtiness and pride come to thee, know thou forsooth that it is the devil or his messenger. The will of the flesh holds sometimes with him; do not love either of them! *Nolite fieri, etc.,* 'Be not like the horse or the mule, which have no understanding,' but above all take heed of your heart. Every day thoughts come to it, as flies to a sore. Let him resist who will! As long as thou art in this poor life, thou art in a great fight. Those who fight not, are all trodden down under the devil's feet. Be prudent
Vese ping we sculen habben. Onzeanes telliche sohtes du scalt andswerizen: Non in solo pane uiiuit homo, 'De manne ne leue1 naht he bread ane, ac leue2 bi sa wordes se gat ut2 of godes muDe.' 3if du wilt witen hway bie godes riche, se du arst4 scalt siechen: pe hali apostel us wisse6, and seie7, Regnum dei non est esca et potus, sed iusticia, et pax, et gaudium in spiritu sancto, 'Godes riche nis naht mete and drench, ac is righthwisnesse, and sibsumnesse, and blisse in se hali gaste.' Pat is 8 godes riche.

Lieu saule, ic se bidde and warmi dat tu none hope ne haue upe dine fastene, ne upe dine wacche, ne uppe non oDe gode. Bute du vese prie sing habbe, ne rixit neure god on se, ne du neure mo12 mid him. Dat is, dat tu bie righthwise azenes gode and azenes alle mannen. Gield aelche dat he auh te habben. Eftsones, dat tu haue paiz azenes godd and azenes alle mannen; and 3if du brekst, scilde se godd! Dat tu ne do. Ne hafst tu no lengere 4(ierst denne 16 se apostele seid: Sol non occidat super iracundiam ues-tram, 'On han ilche daize se du tebrecest, er se sunne go te reste, loce dat tu bie sahtled!' Of vese Friddle ping nim nu michele ziemene. Pat is, dat tun blisse ne bie of non ierlichliche pinge, bute of se halige 20 gast ane. Waleawa, Eve children, hu zie byed beswiken, se sechede blisse wihten paradise, star se nan nis! Wanede3 azean, wendede azean and fared hom, elles ne wurde jew neure mo non! Do ilche sohtes se cumed of se dieule, aere hie byed bitere, bute 3if du 24 teicest his swikele menejinge; hie se singp arst swete, ac hie is at ten ande wel bitter. Danne se sohtes cumed5 of ziurnesse, oDer of galnesse, oDer of jitsinge, oDer of wratde, and of ne and of ande, oDer of idel zelp, oDer of modinesse and priede, wite du to sede dat 28 it is dieuel oDer his sandez. Des flesces iwill halt oDer-h(w)ile mid him; ne lief4 pu here nozer. Nolite fieri, et cetera, 'Ne byed zelich de horse ne se mule, se ne habbe6 non andyet!' Ac neme6 zieme ouer alle ping te zeure5 herte. Al dai star cumed7 to pohtes, 32 al swo doch dijena to sare. Werije se se wile! All sere hwile se du art on vese earme liue, du art on muchele isfihte. Pa se noht ne sihten, he byed al te-treden under dieules siet. Bie zeap azean

1 an erasure between e and u. 2 t on erasure. 3 page 56. 4 page 57. 5 to zeure before it, underlined.
against all the thoughts which I named to you before, and withstand them just as thou wouldst so many devils, if thou couldst see them. Take thy sword, that is, God's Word, and say: Vade retro, Satana, 'Go back, thou Satan, with all thy cursed spirits, not through my strength, but through His who overcame thee and drove thee away!'

Of wisdom.

After this comes another gift of God, which is called sapientia, that is, wisdom. Solomon says that sapientia aedificavit sibi domum, etc., 'Wisdom,' says he, 'reared up herself a house, and she carved herself seven posts.' These are the seven holy virtues which we before have spoken about, beginning with that which is called the fear of God, which is the beginning of this wisdom. Here is gathered such timber as can never rot, and this precious virtue is work-master over it. Vere, non est hic aliud, nisi domus Dei et porta coeli, 'Verily, here is nothing else among such timbering but the house of God and the gate of the kingdom of Heaven!' This is certainly the holy virtue which is called God's wisdom, God's word. He says in the holy Gospel: Si quis diligit me, etc., 'Whoso loveth Me will keep My words: and My Father will love him, and We will come unto him,' et mansionem apud eum faciemus, 'and We will make our abode with him.' Courage, thou dear soul, be now glad and blithe in the Holy Ghost, as I said before! Because thou hast gathered fair timber of these holy virtues, and God's own Wisdom is work-master over it, and says that He will dwell there with thee, because thou lovest Him and His words. We must now let thy wretched body rest, which is very weak and very frail, Its head aches, its eyes relax, its sustenance is little, for it has nothing but through its hand-work to live upon, and what men will give it, for the love of God, who have pity on it. It has toiled much about this: may God Almighty repay it, for it has now need to rest.
OF UNDERSTANDING AND WISDOM.

alle þe ðohtes ðe ic þe eu hier te-fore namely, and wiðstond hem al swa þu woldest aþeanes al so ðele dieulen, zif þu hes isien mihtest. 
Nim þin sowerd, þat is, godes word 2, and seige : Vade retro, satana, 'Go abach, (þu) sathanas, mid alle þine awerþede 4 go(st)es', naht þurh mine strængþe, ac þurh his þe þe ouercam and awei þe dor.'

Of wisdom.

HIER after cumè another godes ðiue, þat is sapiencia 3e-8 

named, þat is, wisdom. Salemon seið þat sapiencia edificauit sibi domum, et cetera, 'Wisdom,' he seið, 'ararde hire an þus, and hie karf hire seuen postes.' 

Pat bið þo seuen hali mihtes þe we hier toforew habbe'd zeþþeken, þe anginneð at 12 
tare þe is iþcleped godes drædnesse, þe is anginn of þese wisdom. 
Hier is igadered switch timber þe þære rotien ne mai, and þis 
derewurðe mihte is wrihte þerover 5. Vere, non est hic aliud, nisi domus dei et porta celli, 'Fullþewiss, nis her nan oðer 16
mang þelliche timbringe bute godes húsd and heuneneriches gate.' 

Dis 9 is þewiss þe holïže mihte þe is iþcleped godes wisdom, godes 
word. He seið on þe holïże godspelle : Si quis diligit me, et cetera, 'Sce þe luneð me he wile lokin mine wordes, and min fader 20 

him wile luuižen, and to him we willeð cumen,' et mansionem 
apud eum faciemus, 'and mid him willeð maþ kien wuniþenge.' 
Ælle, ðu lieue saule, bie nu gladd and blyðe in þe hali goste, all 
swæ ic ær sade ! Forðan þu hauest fair timber 3e(i)gadered of þese 24 
hali mihtes(s), and godes auþen wisdom is þar ouer wrihte, and seið 
þat he wile þar mid þe wuniþen, for þi þat tu luuest him and his 
wordes. Wit mote nu læte resten þine wrecche licheame, þe is 
swiðe unstræng and swiðe brusel. His heaued him acph, þe 8 eïene 28 
him trukieð, his blif is litel, forðan he ne haff þut þurh his 
handiswinke bi to libbenne, and þat menn, for godes lune, him 
giuen willeð, ðo þe ofh him rewðe habbeð. He haff michel hier 
abuten iswunken, yielde him godalmihtin, for þi him is nied nu to 32 

resten.

1 e corr. from i. 2 þat is godes word repeated. 3 On the side.
4 d underdotted before e. 5 & corr. from h. 6 D crossed red.
7 page 58. 8 a letter erased after e. 9 f crossed red.
Now answers the soul:

I beg thee and conjure thee, too, upon the Holy Trinity, which is Father and Son and Holy Ghost, one true God, that thou leave not this work, because I have much help and good strength by it, God be thanked! Just as the body can have no strength without bones, so can I have no strength of soul, no power, without these holy virtues. Do thou not spare for our body! One cannot easily believe it; it has often deceived me. I have followed its will ever too long; I shall never [do] so again. But one ought to do with it as with the ass: *Ut jumentum factus sum apud te, et ego semper tecum,* that it may tell this truth: 'I am made as a beast toiling before Thee, that I may rest again with Thee.'

Again, this same prophet said: *Sitivit in te anima mea, corpus multipliciter,* 'My soul was thirsty,' he said, 'after Thee, Lord, and my flesh much more, for the manifold labours of fasting and of its sustenance, which I got for my sins with my sweat.' Think of, and seek very willingly after these holy virtues, and put them into writ, so that they may do good to some other soul.

Reason.

Dear soul, if thou hast well understood, God's temple is reared upon thee, after what the apostle says: *Templum Dei, quod estis vos,* 'God's temple is holy; and that ye are yourselves.' But he says after this very awfully: *Si quis autem violaverit templum Dei, disperdet eum Deus,* 'Whoso defileth the temple of God with any foul sin, him shall God destroy, both body and soul.' Right belief is the ground-work of this holy temple. Concerning this the apostle says: *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere, praeter idem quod positum est, quod est Jesus Christus,* 'Other foundation can no man 'lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ,' when Peter said: 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God'; and all Christians who believe in Christ ought to believe and say so. The posts which
Nu andswere ye saule:

ICH se bidde and ec halisye, uppe xare hali prynnesse, se is fader and sune and hali gost, on so godd, pat ou pis weork naht ne forlate, for saan ic habbe sarof michel help and gode stre[n]gpe, 4 ehpanked bie godd! Riht alswo se lichame none strençepe ne mai habben wiç-uten bonen, al swo ne mai ic ne non saule stre[n]gpe ne mihtte habben wiç-uten þese hali mihten. Ne wonde ou naht (for) ure lichame! He nis naht lihtlīch to ilieuen. He me hafō ofte 8 beswiken. Ic habbe ifolζed his iwill caure to longe; swo ne scall ic næure mo eft. Ac me scal don bi him al swo bi ðan asse: Vt iumentum factits sum apoζ te, et ego [semper] t[ecum], pat he muȝe (ðis) soð seggen: 'Ich am imaked al swo a dier 12 swinkende beforen se, ðat ic eft muȝe resten mid se.' Est sæde ðes ilke profiete: Situït in te anima mea, corpus multipliciter, 'Mi saule was ʊpærst,' he sæde, 'after ðe, hlauerd, and ðin fleșc michele swiðere, for ðo manifesle swinche(s) of fasten and of 16 his bilie, ðe ic for mine sernen mid mine swote bizatt.' Dench and siech well ʒ(i)erne after ðese hali mihtes, and sete hes on ʒewrite, ðat hie muȝen sum ðre saule don god 3.

Ratio.

LIEUE saule, ʒif ðu wel hafst understonden, godes temple is ʒerard uppe on (þe), after ðat ðe apostel seït: Templum dei, quod estis uos, 'Godes temple is hali, and ðat se bieȝ ʒeu seluen.' Ac he seït þar after swiðe eisliche: Si quis autem uiolauerit templum dei, disperdet illum deus, 'Se se bifelec godes temple mid ani full sernen, godd him scal forl(i)esen, baðe licame and saule.' Of ðese hali temple se rihte beleaue is grundwall. Herof seït ðe apostele: Fundamentum aliuc nemo potest ponere, preter idem quod positum est, quod est Jesus Christus, 'Ne mai no mann leïgen ɔðer grundwall penne ðat se is ileid, ðat is, Ises Crist,' þar ðe Peter sade: Tu

1 s. t. MS. 2 page 59. 3 a letter erased between g and o. 4 Tempilim MS. 5 ihe ʒpec MS. 6 grundwall MS.
are to bear this work are named before. Charity rises up from the foundation, and encircles all the walls, and all those who are dwelling in the holy house; and it rises up to the roof, for all the rafters of the holy virtues are fastened to it. Steadfast Hope has its place on high, because it is the roof, and covers all who are beneath it with the shingles of holy thoughts, which Wisdom finds for it. This holy virtue is wholly work-master of this blessed temple. It locks it within and without, so that He, who is King of all kings, may have His rest within. Therefore He begs that peace shall be as well in body as in soul, and that this holy virtue Peace shall be reigning in both of you; and the Justice of God shall pass sentence upon that of you who breaks it.

Now answers the body, and says:

I am very much surprised at thee, Reason, who shalt after God's ordinance instruct and direct, as well the soul as the body, that thou dost not understand that I and the soul are not of one nature, though both of us had one Creator. I am heavy, as one who is made of earth; and she is light as the air, which is called spiraculum vitae, that is, 'the breath of life.' She is a spirit, and I am dust; she is heavenly, and I earthly; she is of high nature as one who is God's own likeness, I am the likeness of the guilty Adam, through whom I am in great difficulties: in hunger and in thirst, in watches and in toils, and in many kinds of wretchedness, sorry and sorrowful, wailing and weeping. He knows it who knows all things, that scarcely could I write this through the tears which came running from the well-spring of repentance. Weep, weep along with me all who esteem yourselves guilty, and let us wash out the spots of our evil manners! There is no lye so good as tears: they make a face bright. Well is he who is made clean, and has the fair shroud of charity all beset with gem-stones of good works! He may come, with God's help, to the bridal before the bridegroom, and abide with Him in great joy and in great happiness. Dear Reason, this is my comfort, that I think (though you,
es Christus, filius dei uiui, and pis sculen ilieuen and seggen
alle Cristene he on Criste belieued. De postes pat sculen beren up
dis weore, he bien inamned hier te-foren. Carite5 ariste up fram he
groundvalle, and beclep6 all he woun, (and) alle he bie7 in he halie 4
huse wuniende; and hie ariste up anon to he roue, for5an to hire
bied9 ifastned alle he raftres of he halie mihtes. De faste hope ha8
hire stede8 up an heih, for 8i hie is rof and wri5 alle he hire bied9
benefen 8 mid he scircles of holie pohtes, pe sapientia9 hire sint. 8
Dies hali mihtes is all wrihte of sesen eadi temple. Hie hit beloke5
widi-innen and wi5uten, pat he, he is ale kiningene kyng, mu5e
hauen his reste wdi-innen. For 8i he bitt dat pais bie aifer on
licame and on saule, and dat pies hali mihte sibsumnesse bie rix-
ende on 3eu bâc50; and hwa5fer junker hes tobre55: justicia dei
call scar of don riht.

NV andswerp5 dat lichame, and seid: ‘Swi6e ich am ze unwund6
of he, Ratio, pe scalt6 after godes isetnesse wissin and stieren 16
ze he saule ze he lichame, pat ou ne undernemst pat ic and he
saule ne bied9 nauht of one ikende, heih wit bo5e anne sceppe7
hadden. Ic am heui, al so he he is imaked of ier5; and hie is liht
alswo he left, dat is icleped spiraculum uite, pat is, ‘he blast 20
of liue.’ Hie is gost, and ic am dust; hie is heuenli5, and ich
ie(r)âlich; hie is of heije kenne al swo hie he is godes az5en ali5nesse,
ic ham he ses forzeltes Adames ali5nesse, purh hwam ic am on
muche6 aruednesshes, on hungre and on hurste(s), on wacches and 24
on swinkes, and on manize(s) kennes wrecchades, sor5 and sor5hull,
woninde and wepinde. Pat he wot he wot alle ping, pat unne7e
ich mihte dis writen for dis teares he comen ierninde from dare wel-
ri6 of rewnesse. Wepeâ, wepeâ for6 mid me alle he healed6 3e5
seluen forzelte, and waschen he spottes of ure euele seawes! Nis
âr non swo god leize se teares: hie make5 scene anisiene. Wel
him he is clepe iprownen, and ha5f dat fare scrud of charite all
besett mid 3imesstanes of gode werkes! He mai cumen, mid gode(s) 32
fultume, in to he bredale to-fore he bredgume, and mid him
wunien on michele merhe5 and on michele edinesse. Lieue Racio,

1 Xc MS. 2 sted on erasure. 3 a letter erased before m.
1 underlined, and wisdom written at side by another hand. 4 d MS.
6 page 60. 7 d corr. from t.
with good right, esteemed me unworthy) my hope is nevertheless always steadfastly on Christ, God's Son, who shaped Himself after my likeness, and became true Man; who was, and is, and evermore will be, true God. Thanked be He! He brought my nature, after much unworthiness which He suffered here for me, to great worship, and set it very high on His Father's right hand; and He has promised me forsooth that, as truly as He came hither and took my humanity and my nature, as truly shall I come to Him, and receive of His Godhood and His nature, through His great mercy, if I will listen to Him and follow His advice. For His love I beg you to forbear me and so to instruct and to guide me, that I may follow and be obedient to both of you in all good works, the little while that we dwell together.

Reason.

Now answers Reason, and says thus: Let it not seem strange to thee, that I begged thee to have peace in thee and in thy soul. I know well that God cannot abide in any soul which is in discord through sins. The prophet bears witness of it, who says: *In pace factus est locus ejus*, 'In peace is made His stead, wherein He shall dwell.' I know well what the apostle says about both of you: *Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, et spiritus adversus carnem*, 'The flesh,' says he, 'lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh.' And nevertheless ye may have peace, for he says afterwards: *Ut non quacunque vultis, ita faciatis*, 'Because,' says he, 'ye strive between you, so that neither of you shall have his will.' But ye shall both, through this strife, follow God's will; then there will soon be peace over all thy land. But help now all that thou canst, that thy soul may have a little rest, and that this holy temple be reared on both of you, so that God, your Creator, may dwell therein; then you are certainly blessed. We must still work a little, that it may be, with God's help, still better stored.
THE BODY'S SPEECH AND REASON'S ANSWER.

97

sis is min froure, šat ic šenche, peih þie be gode rihte unwurð helden of me, nāðesles (min [h]ope is aure fastliche) þape Criste, gode(s) sune, þe scop him seluen after mire andlicnesse, and becam soð mann; se þe was, and is, and œuremo bieð, an soð gôdd. 4 Ipanked bie he! Mine ikynde, after maniʒe unwurðscipes þe he for me hier polder, he brohte to muchele wurðscipe, and sette hes wel heige on his fader swiçer hand, and hafð me soðliche behoten þat, al swa soðliche swa he cam hider and underfeng 1 8 mine mannischnesse and mine þekynde, swa soðliche ic scal cumen to him, and underfon of his gôdðcunðnesse and of his þekynde, ßurh his michele mildce, þif ic him wile hlesten and his rad folþin. For his luue ic þeu bidde þat þe me forberen and swa wissien and 12 swa stieren, þat ic mot folþin and buhsum bien þing bam on alle gode werke(s), þe litle hwile þe we tegedere wunieð.

† Ratio.

NV andswered Ratio, and ūu(s) seið: Ne þenche þe ne selcuð, 16 šat ic þe badd habben pais on þe and on Þire saule. Íc hit wat wel þat gôdd ne mai bien wunijende on noue saule þat unfric is of sennes. Herof berð iwitnessse þe þrofite, þe seið: In pace factus est locus eius, 'On sibsumnesse is imaked his stedel þe he 20 on scal wunijen.' Íc wol wel hwat þe apostel seið be 2 3eu baðe: Caro concupiscit aduersu(s) spiritum, et spirituB aduerswscar-nem, 'De flæsch,' he seið, 'hit ziteið æzean þe goste, and þe gôst æzean þe flesche.' And naðelas þit mujen habben pais, forðan he seið after: 24 Vt non quecunque uultis, ita faciatis, 'For Þi,' he seið, 'þit winedʒ jung betwen, þat þunker noþer ne scal habben his jœwil.' Ac þit sculen baðe, ßurh 3 þese zewinne, folþin godes wille; þanne is some pais ouer al Þine londe. Ac help nu all þat 28 ūu miht, þat þin saule hadde a litel reste, and þat þis 4 hali temple (be) 6 arard on zine, þat gôdd, þinker sceppend, mihte þarinne wunien; þanne bie þit iwis isali. Wit moten þiet a litel swinken, þat hit bie, mid godes fultume, þiet bet astored 6. 

1 page 61. 2 e on erasure. 3 r corr. from w. 4 an i erased after s. 5 be written above in. 6 on erasure.
Of peace.

Dear soul, this same virtue that is called Peace, about which we now shall speak, is very necessary for thee to keep and have, because, though thou hast toiled never so much in God's temple, He will never dwell in it, except peace be there. He brought this peace with Him from Heaven to earth, and gave it to all men who were bonae voluntatis, 'of good will,' that is, none save those who follow God's will. Because nobody is neither good nor righteous, but those who [are] God's and follow Him. Nobody can be full of wrath against him who has this blessed virtue. Of this says the prophet: Pax multa diligentibus legem tuam, et non est illis scandalam, 'Great peace have all who love Thy law: they are never wrathful.' Charity is God's law, which can hate no man, on account of any of the things one may do [against] it. Again, when Christ sent His disciples into the world, to teach them [viz. mankind] the way to the kingdom of Heaven, He then commanded them to say thus in each house where they would come: Pax huic domui, that is: 'Peace be unto this house!' If they found in it the man of peace, then their peace should remain there; and if they did not, it should turn again to them.

Of prudence.

After this it behoves thee to have one of the holy virtues that well knows how, and is able to look after the gates and the doors of this holy temple. If thou couldst get prudentiam, [as] one [of them] is called, it [viz. prudence] would be very profitable to thee to look after this office. It is justly called Prudence. It is wise and prudent anent all thoughts, anent all words, anent all works. It will know all that they seek and that they wish for. If there comes any thought or any word on the part of God, they are very welcome to it. If they come from the devil, Prudence knows them soon, and drives them shamefully away. They can have no entrance there. If they come from men, Prudence can quickly find out, on whose behalf he is come, and receives him accordingly. For
Of sibsumnesse.¹

LIEUE saule, ples ilche mihte se is icleped pæx, se we nu embe speke, hie is swiðe niedfull se to healden and to habben, for ² San, ne haue su næure swo michel iswunken on godes temple, ⁴ bute ðer bie pais inne, ne wunce he ðar næure. Das sibsumnesse he brohte mid him from heuene to ierse, and ¾ af hes alle ðo mannenn ðat waren bone voluntatis, 'of gode wilde,' (Þat nis non bute se ⁵ se foljið godes wilde). For Þan non nis god ne rihtwis, bute godes ð and se se him foljið. Se ðe hafð ðese eadi mihte, him ne mai no mann wræðin. Herof seið ðe profiete: Pax multa diligentibus legem tuam, et non est illis scandalum, 'Michel sib-
sumnesse is allen ðe luuiðe ðine lase, ne bieð hie naure wroðe.' ¹² Charite is godes lase, ðe ne mai nanne man hatien, for non ðare pingæ ðe me hire do. Efsones, se ðe Crist sente his lierning-
(e)mhtes in to ðe world, hem to tachen ðane wei to heuene riche, ðo hiet he hem Þat hie scolden in to ælchen huse ðar hie comen, Þus ¹⁶ seggen: Pax huic domui, pat is: 'Sibsumnesse bie ðe ðesen huse!' ⁷ zif hie funden ðar inne ðane ðanne ðann of pais, ðanne scolde here pais belæuen ðerinne; and ⁸ zif h(i)e ne deden, hie scolde æcean wanden to hem.

Of zepnesse.

HIER after ðe behoued Þat tu habbe on of ðe holie mihtes ðe
wel cumne and wel mupe ðo gaten and ðo duren wel bilokin of ðis holi temple. ⁹ zif Þu mihtest bizeten prudentiam, [swa] hatte ²⁴ an, hie ðe ware swiðe beheue ðese wike to lokin. Hie is zepamnesse inamned mid gode rihte. Heo is wis and zeaþ æcean alle þohtes, æcean alle wordes, æcean alle werkes. Hwat hie siechen and hwat hie willen, all hie wile iwiten. ¹⁰ zif ðær cumþ ani poht ðer ðer ani ²⁸ word a godes half, hie bieð hire swiðe welcome. ¹¹ zif hie cumde fræm dieule, prudencia hes icnauð sone, and drisp hes awei scandliche. Ne muðen hie ðar habben non infare. ¹² zif hie cumde fræm maenn, hie cann hwatliche underfinden, an hwos half he ³⁴ is icumen, and ðar after hie hine underfeng ⁸. ⁶ For Þat hit ilimp ⁵

¹ i corr. from u.  ² page 62.  ³ foljid MS.  ⁴ corrected from hie.  ⁵ g and ð connected.  ⁶ page 63.
it often happens that God sends a man to help another one, or to instruct him; and again, it happens that a man comes to another through the devil's admonition, though he may not know it. If thou wilt know a man, keep this Prudence with thee! Listen what he speaks most and oftest. If it is of God, or of things which belong to thee, he is to be loved and to be retained. If he speaks of sins and foolishness, then it is as if God said Himself: *Ex abundantia cordis os loquitur,* 'That of which the heart is full, the mouth speaketh.' The same man who is bound by a cardinal sin, and loves it, and speaks most about it, is not to be retained, unless he will listen to the words of God. If somebody comes there who asks for anything which is necessary for body or soul, advise him, help him, if thou canst! If thou canst not, have pity on him, and pray for him and all who help him. If anyone comes and brings tidings of idleness, and is speaking foolish words which raise laughter, he shall have no dwelling with thee, as thou lovest God and peace. Jesus Christ commanded us to be prudent, and said: *Estate prudentes sicut serpentes,* 'Be prudent as adders,' He said. The prudence of the adder is, that it lies down all rolled up, and its head in the middle, in order to save the head. The head is ever the beginning of all things which thou wilt do. Turn thyself all about! First think whether the thing which thou wishest to begin will be agreeable to God, or profitable to thee, or will become harmful to thy neighbour. If a righteous man has done so before thee, and if the holy Writ does not contradict thee, and bears witness to thee: do then what thou wilt do so. And [mind] that the beginning of all things be ever begun in God's name! Again, it [the adder] has another prudence, which we ought to follow: it has its hole. As soon as anything will do harm to it, it creeps into its hole, and so it saves its life. Just so do thou, after God's own counsel, when the devil, or any evil man, or anything which displeases thee, will harm thee; anon creep thou into thy hole, into Christ's open side, with thy good belief, and say unto thy Saviour: *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me, Domine,* 'Lord,' say, 'under the shadow of Thy wings, of Thy arms, which were fastened on the holy
of PRUDENCE.

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ofte dat godd: sant ane man an oðer to helpe, oðer him to wissin; and eft hit 3elimpð dat a mann cwmp tan oðer ðurh dieules mene-zinge, þeih he hit naht ne wite. 3if ðu wilt mann icnownen, haue þese zeapnesse mid ðe! Hiest hwat he speke mest and oftest. 4 3if it is of gode oðer of pinges ðe to ðe belimpde, he is to luuijen and to wiðhealden. 3if he spekð of sennes and of sothades, ðanne hit is alswu gode sadde him self: Ex habundantia cordis os lo-quitur, 'Of dat ðe herte is full, ðarof spekð ðe muð.' ðe ikke þ mann ðe is ibunden mid heaued-senne, and hes luweð, and mast þar embe spekð, nis he noht to wiðhealden, bute 3if he wolde godes wordes lest. 3if þar cwmp sum ðe sehþ of anizere niede ðe belemð to lichame oðer to saule, ðæd him, help him, 3if ðu miht. 12 3if ðu ne miht, haue rewðe of 3 him, and bide for him and for alle ðe him helpen. 3if ani cwmp and bri[n]gþ tidinges of ideine(s)ses, and is spekende sostwords ðe aræreð up hleitres, none wunenige ne haue he mid ðe, swa se ðu luuest godd and sibsumnesse. Iesv 16 Crist hiet dat we scolden bien 3eape, and sæde: Estote pru- dentes sicut serpentes, 'Bieð 3eape al swa næddre,' he sæde. Dare næddre zeapnesse is, dat hie lið al abuten itrand, and hire heaued on midden, for to berzen dat heaued. Of alle þing dat tu 20 wilt don, æure is dat anginn dat heaued. Bewænt te all abuten! ðene arst whaðer hit wile bien gode iæweme, dat ðing ðe ðu wilt-aginnen, oðer ðe beheune 4, oðer ðine nexte to none harme ne wande. 3if rihtwis maun habbe swo 3edon te-sore ðe, 3if dat halie wriht ne 24 wiðseid ðe naht, and berð þe iwitnessse: ðat tu wilt so don, do hit ðanne. And æure of alle þinge dat ðe anginn bi a gode names gegeunen! 5 3iet hie haueð an oðer zeapnesse, ðe we sculen folsein: hie haueð hire hol. Swa raðe swa ani þing harm hire wile don, 28 swo hie creþp in to hire hole, and swo hie berhð hire lif. Riht alswu do ðu, after gode(s) awene rade, ðanne dieuel ðe wile deiien, oðer ani euel maun, oðer ani þing dat te misliki; anon creþp ðu in to ðine hole, in to Cristes opene side, mid ðine gode ileaue, and 32-seize to ðine aliesende: Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me, domine, 'Lauerd,' seize, vnder ðare scadewe of ðine fiðeres,

1 scorr. from h.  
2 gif MS.  
4 corr. from behieue.  
5 page 64.
cross, shield me from all kinds of evils that come from the devil (whom Thou overcamest there), and cool my wretched heart, which is envenomed by his manifold temptations! Cool the great heat of my sorrows with the blessed stream which comes out of Thy holy side!' If thou believest this, and doest so, be sure, nothing can be of harm to thee. Though thou mayst suffer harm, all that thou sufferest for God's love will turn out to be good for thee.

Of foresight.

*Providentia*, that is, foresight, is another holy virtue, which thinks of and looks after all things ere they come. Therefore it repents nothing which it has done. Before the city of Jerusalem is a great hill, which is called Zion, that means 'Sight.' Upon it were the watchmen who looked after the holy city, and guarded it against all its enemies. So does this virtue upon the hill of great Consideration. It spies and looks from afar, and says thus: 'Well, thou wretched soul, which, I say, takest no heed of thyself! Couldst thou see all thy enemies who are round about thee, as I do, sorry wouldst thou be, eagerly wouldst thou cry to God to save thee! I warn thee before. Thou wilt not long be dwelling here; forsake thy sins! If thou forsakest them not here, ere thou goest out of the world, certainly they will never forsake thee, ere they bring thee to their parents. These are the cursed spirits which here above in the clouds wait for souls. If they find upon thee any of their deeds, no angel may help thee from going into pain, and paying the penalty there. *Quia nullum malum impunitum*, "No evil shall be unpunished, either here or there." It sees and hears a merry song of the good soul: *Veni, sponsa Christi, accipe coronam*, "Come, thou Christ's own bride, and receive the great worship and the great joy of the kingdom of Heaven, which He has prepared for thee to have for evermore for the good fidelity which thou borest in Him!"
of mine armes, & were ifast(u)ed on sure halie rode, scild me fram alle ses kennez euesel 3 & cumez fro se dieule, se su sar ouercome, and kiel mine wreche herte, pe is iatred of his manifalde fondinges! Kiel se muchele hate of mine sarinesses mid dan eadize wel-streme se cump of sine halie side!' 4 Gif su sis zeliefst, and swa diest, bie su siker, ne mai pe non ping to harme [bien]. Peih su harm all hit want (se) to gode 2 sat tu for godes luue polest.

Of forsceaw[n]esse 8.

PROUIDENTIA, pat is, forsceawnesse, is an oder halie mihte, se penep and lokez alle ping beforen (ar sannie hie cumen). For si ne rewé hire naht after hire daedes. To-boren sare burh of Ierusalem is an muchel dune, se hatte Syon, pat is tokned 'Sceawing'. Pærupon weren se sceaweres se lokeden se halie burh, and warnden fram alle alle here unwines. Al swo doz sies mihte upe sa dune of muchel embezanke. Hie sceawe and loke ferrene to, and sus seiz: 'VVelle, su earme saule, se, ic segge, se none 16 zieme ne nemst of se seluen! Mihntest tu isien alle sine unwines se bie 9 aßbuten pe, also also i do, sari woldest tu bien, zierne woldestu clepient to gode pat he se areddel! Ic se warni te-boren. Ne biest su naht hier lange wunizinge; forlat sine seannen! 9 if 20 su hier he(s) ne forlatst, ær Sannie su fare of sare woreld, full zweiss ne forlatst hie se næure, ær Sannie hie se bringen to here eldren. Dat bit su werewede gostes se waitid se soules hier buuen on se wolkne. P(0) 10 pe hie findepe upe se of here werkes, ne 11 mai pe helpen non angel sat tu ne scalt in to pine, and sar abeggen. Quia nullum malum in punitum, "Ne scall non euel bien unpined, oder hier oder sar." Of sare gode saule hie zesie and hie merigne song: Veni, sponsa Christi, accipe coro nam, "Cum, su Cristes awen bried, and underfoh se michele wrecscipe and se michele merhpe of heuene riche, pe he se haued ijarked seurema to habben for sare gode trewöe se su him bere!"
Of righteousness.

Another holy virtue is called *justitia*, that is, righteousness. Certainly it desires that God should first pass His judgment on all His creatures, and that afterwards every creature should have its right, according to what is prepared for them. Truly, it ought to be justice within God's temple. *Justitia et judicium praeparatio sedis ejus*, this is written of it: 'Righteousness and judgment make God's seat.' *Anima justi sedes sapientiae*, 'The soul of the righteous is verily God's seat.' The same holy virtue *justitia*—that is, the justice of God's temple—asks right and judgment of all our misdeeds, because all creatures which God has created keep their nature better than man alone. Anent this said the prophet: *Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo, Domine*, 'Lord,' said he, 'enter not into judgment with Thy servant, because all that is living in Heaven and on earth could not be justified before Thee.' This same justice threw out him who was [a] bright angel in Heaven. It threw Adam out of Paradise; it brought Christ to death, for God had said to Adam: *Morte morieris!* There shall none escape who comes from him, so that he shall not suffer death. Since this is true, that it [justice] spared not, either the angel, or the man, or Christ Himself: how may it spare thee? Here we are affrighted. But the holy apostle consoles us: *Si nosmet ipsos judicaremus*, 'If we sift ourselves in penitence with true repentance, and judge ourselves with right satisfaction, we shall nevermore again be doomed.' The strength of this holy virtue takes up into Heaven and down into hell, and spreads as wide as the earth. For all the wrongs which are done on earth, it will have right. It takes no reward for holding up wrong, nor for pulling down right. Those who will revenge themselves for wrong which is done to them, take its judgment away from it, because it says: *Mihi vindictam*, 'Let me avenge, judgment is mine!' I cannot believe that anybody suffers death without the judgment of this awful virtue, be the death as it may. Neither devil nor man can have any power or strength over others, except in so much as this mighty
Of rihtwisnesse.

A N oðer hali mihte is icleped iusticia, pat is, rihtwisnesse.

Fulȝewis hie wile ðat godd a-forewarde habbe his þerihte of alle his iscafte, and sæðen aurich þescafte here rihte, after ðan ðe 4 hem iscapecen is. Hie awȝ wel to bene iustise inne godes temple. Iusticia et iudicium preparatio sedis eius, ðis is ȝezritten be hire: 'Rihtwisnesse and dom, hi makie ð godes sate.' Anima iusti sedes sapientie, 'Das rihtwises saule iswis is godes sate.' 8 Þis ilche hali mihte iusticia, pat is, godes temple-rihtwisnesse, hie acsed riht of alle ure misdades and dom, forðan alle ðe scaftes ðat godd haue þescapen, alle hie healdeð bet here ıkynde ðanne mann one. Hier ȝeȝan sæde ðe prosiute: Non intres in iudicium cum seruo tuo, domine, 'Hlauerd,' he sade, 'ne go ȝu noht in to dome mid Ȝine pralle, forðan all ðat is liues on heuene and on ierche ne mihte bien irihtwised on þeane þe.' Þis ilche iustise warp ut him ðe was briht angel on heuene. Hie warp ut 16 Adam of para(d)ise; hie brohte Criste to ðe deafde, for ði ðat godd isæd 2 hadde to Adame: Morte morieris! Ne scall ðar non atbersten ðe cump of him, pat he deað ne scal soligen. Sæðen þis is soð, pat hie ne wânde, ne ðe angele, ne ðe manne, ne 20 Crist self: hu mai hie wonde ðe? Her we bieð offeruht. Ac ðe hali apostel us freureð: Si nosmet ð ipsos iudicaremus, 'þif we seigeð us seluen on scrifte mid soðe birewnesse, and we demen us seluen mid 4 rihte deadbote, ne sculen we ðeure mo eft bien 24 idemd.' Se strengþe of ðessere hali mihte, hie takþ up in to heuene and niper in to helle, and spratt swo wide swo middenard. Of alle ðe unrihte(s) þe bieð idon on ierche, hie wile habben riht. Ne nimð hie none miec for unriht to healden, ne for riht to leien. 23 Þa ðe willeð hem seluen wreken of unrihte ðe hem is idon, hie benemeð hire hire dom, forðan hie seigeð: Mïhi uindictam, 'Læt me wreken, (d)om 5 is min!' Ne mai ic ilyene ðat ani mann deað ðolige wið-uten ðe dome of ðessere cisliche mihte, bie hit swilch 32 deað swo hit eure bie. Ne dieuel ne mann none mihte ne none strengþe habben ne muȝen ouer oðren, bute alswo michel swo ðis

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1 page 66. 2 a altered to w. 3 með M.S. 4 o under dotted before m. 5 d corrected over ð.
virtue will give them. Thou must love and follow this holy virtue, that is, be righteous in thyself and towards all others, if thou wishest to be saved.

Of strength.

Fortitudo, that is, God's strength, is another holy virtue, which is needful to shield God's temple from all enemies. The prophet said of it: Esto nobis, Domine, turris fortitudinis, 'Lord, be our tower of strength against all enemies!' This same holy virtue is the tower and strength to all the virtues which dwell in it, and so it is to all the chosen ones of Christ.

[Of moderation.]

Temperantia is another holy virtue, which has very great discretion and moderation in all kinds of things. It will not suffer any overdone thing; [and] on the other side, neither too little nor too much. Whoso will listen to its counsel, shall neither eat too much, nor drink too much, nor too little; nor shall he rest or sleep too much, nor too little; nor shall he speak too much, nor [be] too much silent; nor shall he be clad too proudly, nor too coarsely; nor shall he be too glad, nor too sorry. As one regulates a bath, so that it is neither too hot nor too cold, so this holy virtue regulates all the manners of the man who loves it and knows how to keep it. He is happy who keeps it! This one regulates all these blessed virtues; and those who will not listen to it, become powerless, and they shall ever repent it. It regulates all the temptations and all the displeasures and all the unwillingness, which come from man, and withholds [him] from misdoing.

Of obedience.

Another virtue is called obedientia, that is, obedience. This is very profitable in God's house. All who love God ought to love
maini mihte hem wile ʒiuen. Deze hali mihte ðu most luuiʒen and folʒen, pat is, pat þu bie rihtwis on þe seluen and æzean alle ɔðren⁴, swa swa ðu wilt bien iborewen.

Of stren[ɡ]e.

FORTITUDO, pat is, godes strenɡpe, is an ɔþer hali mihte, ðe is niedfull to scilden godes temple fran alle unwines. Of hire sade ðe profiete: Esto nobis, domine, turris fortituidinis, 'Hlauerd, bie ure tur of strenɡpe æzean alle² unwines!' Dies ʒ ilche haliʒe mihte, hie is tur and strenɡpe to alle ðo mihte(s) ðe ðar inne bieð wunijende, and swa hie is alle Cristes zecorene.

TEMPERANTIA is an ɔþer hali mihte, ðe cann swiðe michel seile and mæse of alle kenneʒ pinge. Hie ne wile ʒolizens² non ouerdon pinge; an ɔþer halue, ne to litel ne to michel. ðe ðe hire ređ hlesten³ wile, ne seal he noðer etzen to michel, ne drinken to michel, ne to litel; ne he ne scall resten ne slapen to michel, ne to litel; ne he ne seal to michel bien spekende, ne to michel swi-⁶ (g)ende; ne he ne seal to prudeliche bien isc(r)edd, ne to unorne- liche; ne he ne seal bien to glad, ne to sori. Al so me tempred⁵ an bap, ðat hit ne bie to hot ne to cold, also ðeð ðis haliʒe mihte alle ðes mannes ðeawes ðe hes luuiʒed⁷ and healden cann. He is isali²⁰ ðe hes halt! Alle ðese eadi mihtes ðes one atempred; and ðo ðe⁴ hire ne wyle⁵ ilsten, hie becameð to umihte⁶, and eure hit hem scal rewen. Alle ðe fondinges and alle ðe unluste(s) and alle⁷ unwilles ðe cumed⁵ of ðe manne, ðies hes atempred, and withdalt to 2⁴ misdon.

Of hersumnesse⁸.

AN ɔþer mihte is ʒehoteŋ obedientiæ, ðat is, hersumnesse⁹. Dies is swiðe behieue on godes huse. Alle ðe godð luuiʒed²⁸

1 odren MS.  ² page 67.  ³ leshten MS.
4 ne MS.  ⁵ over erasure, w=w, not p. Also an erasure on the margin.
6 a letter erased after e.  ⁷ The first i on erasure.  ⁸ buh is written above her in another hand, black.
9 her underdotted, i-buh written above it.
and keep it. As all mankind had death through disobedience, so it came to life through obedience. This holy virtue makes the man pliant and obedient to God and to his parents; and afterwards, to old and young and every man. After this, as to what he can perform, he takes no heed whether it is fair or loathsome, or hot or cold, or heavy or light; he thinks all to be good, for His love who was obedient to His Father even until death, Jesus Christ. This is very profitable to every man whoever will be saved, that he be obedient to God, and, for His love, to the bishop, and to his priest, and to his lord. But one ought not to be obedient except in good [things]. If a man commands or bids to do a sin, one ought not to be obedient to it. Where God gives this virtue, it soon shows itself. A man may be of never so high a family, it makes him become a servant. Just as it does these monks, who are obedient to a mortal man as if it were God Himself, so it does them who dwell in the world. They are very eager to learn God's laws, and then to work after them, and they beseech him who knows well how to instruct them, and listen blithely to and follow his counsel, lest they fall with the blind into the pit which Christ Himself spoke of. He called them dumb dogs through the prophet, who said: Canes muti, non valentes latrare, 'They are the dumb dogs which cannot or may not bark.' For the love of God I beg, do not look unworthier on this account, because thou knowest who it is. Through this holy virtue and through his good belief Abraham was blessed by God, and it was promised to him that One should come of his kind through whom all mankind should be blessed. Thus spoke God to Abraham: Exi de terra tua, etc., 'Go,' quoth He, 'out of thy land and out of thy kindred and out of thy father's house, and come into the land that I will show thee.' Abraham believed what God said to him, and was obedient to Him. This same says God to them whom He wishes to be obedient to Him: 'Go out of thy land!' Thy land is thy flesh, which is nothing but earth. Go out of the lusts of thy flesh and follow them no more. 'And out of thy kindred!'
OF OBEDIENCE.

hes aec to luuien and to healden. Al swa al mankin urch un-
nersumnesse hafden dead, al swa urch hersumnesse hit cam to liue.
Dies holi mihte makev 3ane mann lebebih and hersum gode and
his eldren; and 3ar after calde and 3unge and alle manne. After 4
 dat, iche he iforSen mai, ne nimp he none zieme hwaser hit bie fair iche
lodlich, yche hot iche cold, iche heui iche liht; all him iche god, for
his luue iche was hersum his fader anon to iche deade, Iesv Crist.
Dies is swic 1 beheue aeurilch mann iche aere i-borezen scal bien, 8
pat iche bie hersum gode, and, for his luue, iche biscope, and his prieste,
and his louerde. Ac me ne auh to bien hersum bute of gode. 3if
mann hat oSer bitt 2 senne 3 to donne, par to ne awh me naht to
bien hersym. Whar iche godd 3if iche mihte, hit kydh hit sone. 12
H(i)e makev 3ane mann—nis he of swo heie kenne, pat iche him
ne makev—preall. Al swa hie de 3ese munokes, iche bie 3ersum one
deadliche manne al swa hit were godd self, swa hie diev hem iche
on 3are world wunisen. Hie bien swic 3iernful full godes 1aze to 16
lierin, and 3aane 3ar after werchen, and him iche hem wel cannon
wissen hie beseked, and his raed 4 bliveliche hliest 5 and folji6, iche
laste hie falles mid 3a blinde in to 3ar 7 pette iche Crist self embe
spak. He hem clepede dumbe hundes urch 3e profiete, iche sade: 20
Canes mu(ti), non ualentes latrare, 'Hie bie 3e dumbe
hundes iche ne cummen oSer ne muZen berken.' For iche luue of godd
ic bidde, ne latt tu herfore non iche unwurpere, for 3an 3u wost
hwo it is. Durr 3isse holi mihte and urch 8 his gode ileauen 7 was 24
Abraham iblesced of godd, and him behoten 3at on scolde cumen
of his kenne urch hwan all mannekenn scolde bien iblesced. Dus
spak godd to Abrahame: Exi de terra tua, et cetera, 'Ga ut,
swa 3e, he, 'of 3ine lande and ut of 3ine kenne and ut of 3ines fader 28
huse, and cum in to 3o londe 3e ic 3e wile sceawin.' Abraham
iliedfe 3att godd 9 him sade, and was him hersum. Dis ilche sei 10
godd to hem 3e he wile 3at bie him hersum: 'Ga ut of 3ine landel!' 11
Pin land 3at is 3in flesc, 3e nis bute ierSe. Ga ut of 3ines flasches 33
lustes, 3at tu 14 hem na 10 more ne folge. 'And ut of 3ine kenne!' 12
Pat biev alle 3ine euele 3eawes 3e 3u mide ware iboren and ec ifeddd.

1 page 68. 2 oSer bitt double, the first time crossed with red colour.
3 senne MS. 4 or rad? 5 or 3em? 6 an erasure above r.
7 or ileuine The little line over ne very short and curved. 8 g corr. from d.
9 an erasure over t. 10 page 69.
That are all thy evil manners wherewith thou wast born and also fed. 'And out of thy father's house I' The while the man lies in cardinal sins, he is the devil's son, as the good man is God's son when he loves and follows God. All this world was the devil's house ere Christ came, who cast him out. Thereof He said: Nunc princeps mundi hujus ejicietur foras, 'Now shall the prince of this world be driven out.' Here God teaches thee that thou shalt for-sake the world voluntarily, ere death takes it from thee against thy will, and come to the land which He will show thee, that is, the land of the heavenly Jerusalem. Again He tried him [viz. Abraham], and found him true. Tolle filium tuum, quem diligis, Isaac, 'Take thy son, whom thou loveth so much, and offer him to Me on the hill which I will show thee!' Abraham had no son by his right spouse but one, and that was begotten in his great age. Therefore he was called Isaac, that is, Bliss. So says God to thee: 'Offer me thy son Isaac, that is, the thing which thou loveth most!' Understand now well what that may be, and look whether thou couldst be obedient in this respect to God Almighty. If thou loveth thy own will most of all, it is very wholesome for thee to offer this to thy Lord God, because it is a very agreeable sacrifice to Him that thou forsakest thy own will and followest His. This thou shalt offer upon the high hill of Obedience. There is no virtue in God's temple which has not lot and part with this blessed virtue.

Of mercy.

Another holy virtue is called misericordia, that is, mercy, which is very agreeable to God. He showed it Himself to all the needful who besought Him. So were Mary and Martha, who besought Him for their dead brother, Lazarus, whom He soon raised from a double death, [viz.] of the soul and of the body. So He soon had pity on the adulterous woman, who was to be stoned to death, after the old law. He forgave her the death, and all her sins. He forgave. So He did St. Peter, who had forsaken Him. Anon, when He looked upon him, he began to weep, and his sins were forgiven him. How [did] the thief, who never had done good? This mercy made him come from the cross anon into Paradise. There is none who
'And vt of pines fader huse!' Dar hwile ðe mann lið on heaued-
sennes, he is ðes dieules sune, al swo ðe gode mann ðe is godes sune pænne he godd lœocking and folجمه. All ðis worlde was ðes dieules hus ær Crist come, ðe him ut warp. Ðerof he sade: NuRTC 4 princeps mundi huimus eicietur fora(s), 'Nu scal ðe alder of ðis worlde ut bien ðedriuen.' Hier ðe læðgod ðat tu scule ðe worlde forlaten ðines azenes þankes, ær ðe deade hes te benime pines unpankes, and cumen to ðo lande ðe he ðe wile sceawin, ðat 8 is, ðat lond of ðare heuanliche Ierusale. Efsones¹ he him fondede, and fond him treuwe. Tolle filium tuum, quem diligis, Isaac, 'Nim ðine sune, ðe ðu luuest swa michel, and offre hine me upe ðare dune ðe ic ðe wile sceawin!' Abraam ne hadde 12 naune sune be his rihte spuse bute æanne, and ðat was bijetæn on his michele ielde. For ði he was icleped Isaac, ðat is, blisse. Al swo seið godd to ðe: 'Offre me ðine sune Ysaac, ðat is, ðat ping ðe ðu mast luuest!' Vnderstood nu wel what ðat bie, and loke 16 hwæðer ðu muʒe ðerof bien hersum goddalmihton. Jif ðu luuest ðin azena wille alre mast, pænne ðe ðwiðe holsum ðat ðu ðis ofri ðine lowerde ² god, forðan hit is (him) ðiwidʒe ðecweme loac ðat ðu lat ðine azena wille and folʒe his. Ðis ðu scalt ofriuen upe 20 þare (heijæ) ³ dune ⁴ of hersumnesse. Nis non mihte on godes temple ðat ne haþ lott and ðole mid ðessere eadiʒe mihte ⁵.

Of milce.

MISERICORDIA hatte an ører hali mihte, ðat is, milce, ²⁴ ðe gode is (swiðe) icweme. Ðat he sceawede him selu to alle nied-fulle ðe him besohten. Also was Marie and Martha, ðe him besohten of here deade broȝer, Lazarum, ðe he sone arearde of tua deade, of saule and of lichame. Swa he hadde some midloe of ²⁸ ðe forleiene wine, ðe scolde bien ofsteande deade, after ðare calde la(u)ȝe. He forȝaf hire ðane deade, and alle hire sinnen he forȝaf. Swa he dede seintæ ⁶ Petre, ðe hine hadde forsaken. Anon, ðo ðe he lokede upen him, he agan to wepen, and his seannen him ³² waren forþiuenæ. Hu ðe ðeof ⁷, ðe næure god nadde idon? Ðis

¹ an erasure between E and f. ² o corr. from d. ⁴ sune MS. ⁵ page 70. ⁶ seintre MS. ⁷ o corr. over another letter.
could know all the mercies which God has done, and does still, ever through this blessed virtue. Of this Jesus Christ reminds us, who says: *Estote misericordes,* 'Be merciful, as your Father is in Heaven!' Again, He says Himself: *Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam,* etc. 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall have mercy from God, as they have mercy on men.' Of this holy virtue is written in the Psalter: *Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi,* 'God's Mercy and Truth, that is, God, met together.' All that ever is in the holy Writ, is all a prefiguration of God. It says that these two, Mercy and Truth, met one another, and I shall write as if Mercy spoke with Truth; and thus she says: 'Tell me, Truth, what is thy counsel concerning guilty Adam, and all his offspring? Can he nevermore come back? Wherefore was he ever shaped to man? Why was he not shaped to have ever, with the angels, the joy of the kingdom of Heaven?' Then answered Truth: 'No injustice is done to him. I warned him, and said forsooth, that the day on which he would break God's commandment, he should suffer death; and he had [his] own choice to do whichever he would. The devil used no force against him.' Then answered *Misericordia* again: 'Consider that just as thou saidst that he should suffer death, so thou saidst [also]: "Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness!" After thy likeness thou shapedst him. Never let thy own likeness perish, but let him come, through thy great goodness, to the happiness for which he was created, although his great evilness has not earned it!' Truth was compliant, as her custom ever is, and said to Mercy: 'Let us go before God and His Justice and His Judgment and before all His holy Virtues, and complain there. All that I can do to help thee I will [do] blithely.' *Misericordia* took with her *Pietatem* and *Pacem,* and they came before God, and very meekly besought Him, and the happy Mercy soon stretched herself down before God, and said thus: 'Holy, holy Lord, have mercy and pity on Adam, Thy guilty man, who so many hundred years has suffered the darkness
milde] him dede cumen fram ðare rode anon in to paradise. Nis non ðe mihte written alle ðe milcen ðe godd hâf ðon, and ziet dieð, ðeûre ðurh ðessere eadi mihte. Herof us meneged Iesu Crist 1, and seijd: Estote mi(sericordes), 'Bieð mildciende, al swo zeuer 4 fader is on heuene!' Eft he 2 seijd him self: Beati 3 misericordes, quoniam ipsis misericordiam 4, et cetera, 'Eadi bieð ðe milde, forðan hie seulen hauen milce of gode, swo swo hie habbeð milce of maunen.' Bi ðessere holi mihte is iwriten on ðe salterce: Misericordia et Uerita(s) obuiauerunt sibi, 'Godes Mildce and Soð, ðat is, godd, zemetten hem to gedere.' All ðat ðeûre is on ðe hali write, all 5 hit is forbisne of gode. Hit seijd 5 pat ðese two, Mildce and Soð, hem imetten, and ic write swilch 6 Mildce speke ðið Soðe, and 12 ðus seijd: 'Sei me, Soðe, hwat is ðin rad of ðe forgilte Adame, and of all his ofsprenge? Ne mai he nauere mo ægean cumen? Hwarto was he aure iscapen te manne? Hu ne was he iscapen for to habben 8 mid ðo aingles heueneriches merhpe?' Da andswerede 16 Soð: 'Nis him idon non unriht. Ich him warnede, and soðe sade, hwilche dai ðe he tobreke godes forbode, he scolde 7 deað polizen; and he hadde außene kere to donne hwaðer swo he wolde. Ne dede dieuel him none strengeðe.' Da andswerede 3iæt Misericordia: 'Be- 20 þenc pat alswa swa ðu sadest ðat he deað scolde polizen, alswa ðu ðu sadest: Faciamus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudi- nem! After ðine aulicnesse ðu hine scope. Ne latt ðu naure forfaren ðine ðazen aulicnesse, ac to ðare eadinesse ðe he to was iscapen, lat him Þarto cumen, for ðire muchele godnesse, pei his miche[le] euelnesse hit nabette noht ofserne1.' Soð was leðebei, else hire iwune is aures, and sade to Mildce: 'Cume we te-fore gode and his Rihtwisnesse and his Dome and beforen alle his holi mihtes, and 28 bemæn ðe ðar! Al ðat ic mai ðe bien te fultume ich wille bleðe- liche.' Misericordia nam mid hire Pietatem and (Pacent), 24 and komen before gode, and swìde eadmodliche him besohten, and se eadige Mildce hire astrehte sone teforen gode, and ðus sade: 'Hali, 32 hali lauerd, haue are and milce of Adame, ðine forgilte manne, ðe swo maniʒe hundred wintre hafð ðoleð po ðesternesse of helle, ðe

1 jhu crist in luca written above & apostel. 2 h on erasure.
3 in Math qa. written above. 4 m written over the following &.
5 a over &. 6 an e erased after h. 7 page 71.
of hell, who was shaped to the great happiness of Thy kingdom! But the devil has not him alone, but all his offspring so in his power, that none can come into the kingdom for which they were shaped; but he brings [them] all into hell, both good and evil. Lord, have mercy and compassion and pity on Thy handiwork! Ever they have hope that thou wouldst have pity and mercy upon them.' Anon Pity complained, and said: 'Ay, Thou, Lord, beginning and source of all goodness, have mercy and pity on wretched Adam's soul, that was shaped after Thy likeness, and on Thy patriarchs and on Thy prophets, and on many thousand holy souls, which all suffer pain through Adam's guilt, with good right, for his disobedience! They all weep and wail, and hope in Thy great mercy and look to Thee, until Thou shalt send them some release. I am so sorry for them that I cannot have rest.' 'Lord, if it is Thy will,' said Peace, 'this cannot be in Thy kingdom. Thy peace is so very great that not a single thought can exist there except with all softness and with all meekness. Make reconciliation between Mercy and Justice, and make Judgment and Pity [to do] well together! Nevertheless, I know well that Thou wilt have pity on mankind. Thy goodness cannot help it.' Then said Justice: 'With much right Adam suffers what he suffers, for he was disobedient to his Creator. He disdained God when he allowed His adversary to overpower him, without force. To his Lord he did first great harm, he slew first himself, and since all mankind, and for his disobedience he bereft God's kingdom of himself and of all his offspring, so that he nevermore can come again [here] by right doom.'

Then said Truth: 'That is right that God's mercy is ever higher and more than His right judgment. Lord, it is truth that Thou promisedst to Abraham, Thy dear friend, that through One of his kin all mankind should be blessed. Afterwards, thou promisedst to David, the righteous king: De fructu ventris tui ponam super
was iscapen to fare muchele eadinesse of dine riche! Ac noht he one, ac all his ofsp(r)eng hafde dieuel swo on his walte, bat non ne mai cumen into fare riche se hie to waren iscapen; ac alle he bringp in to helle, baue gode and euele. Hlauerd, haue ore and 4 rewhpe and mild(c)e of din handiwere! Aure hie habbec hope dutu scule haben ore and milce of hem.'

Anoe hire bemande Rewë 5, and sade: 'Ælle, ūu, lauerd, angin and welle of alle godnesse, haue rewëhe and milce of se wrecche 8 Adame(s) soule, se was iscapen after dine andlicnesse, and of dine patriarches and of dine profietes, and mani þusende halie saules, se alle polie5 pine for Adames gelte, mid gode rihte, for his un-her-sumnesse! Alle hie wepe5 and woni5, and hopi5 to dine 12 muchele milce and to se loki5, all hwat ūu send hem sume aliesendnesse. Hi me rewë5 (swa) 5 swideät ic reste ne mai habben.'

'Lauerd, 5if hit is ūin wille,' sœde Sibsumnesse, 'pis ne mai noht 16 bien on dine riche. Ūin sibsumnesse is swo (swide) michel cat on lepí poht 5 ne mai õer bien bute mid alle soff[en]nesse and mid alle eadiness. Make seithte between Milce and Rih[t]winesse, and Dom and Rewë-make wel to-gedere! Nācéles, ic hit wot 7 wel cat tu 20 wilt hauen ore of mankenne. Ūin godnesse 8 hit ne mai noht lœten.'

Dat sede Rihtwis-nesse: 'Mid michel riht ūole5 Adam Cat he ūole, for ūan he was his sceppend unhersum. Godd he unwur5cede 5a pa he ūolede 5at his wiðerwine him ouercam, wið-uteñ strençp. 24 His loernd he dede arst michel harm, he slou arst him seluen, and sœd5en all mankenn, and for his unhersumnesse he bereaude godes riche of him seluen and of all his ofsprenge, pat naure mo he ne mai æcean cumen be rihte dome.'

Da sade So5: 'Dat is riht 5at godes milce bie aue heier and more õanne his rihte dom. Hlauerd, hit (is) 9 so5 5at tu behete Abraham, 5ine lieue friend, pat þurh an of his kenne scolde bieñ iblesced all mankenn. Eft ūu behete Davi5ë, the rihtwise kyng: 32 De fructu uentris tui ponam super sedem tuam, "Of 5o

1 an erasure above o. 2 e over two erased letters. 3 picture(s) written on the margin. 4 page 72. 5 on the margin. 6 ne mai 5oht erased. 7 a letter erased after t. 8 an erasure before g. 9 red above t.
sedem tuam, "Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne."
Again, he says in another place: "The Lord hath said unto me: Thou art My Son; [this day have I begotten Thee]."

Then spoke Almighty God, and said: 'This day has ever been with me and evermore will [be]. It is true that thou sayest: "On this day have I begotten Thee in Heaven, without mother."
So Thou shalt be begotten on earth, without father, by a mother.
Thus Thou shalt become a true Son of Man as Thou art the true Son of God. I demand no other sacrifice for Adam's guilt but Thee. Postula a me, and ask of Me as much folk as Thou wilt long for, and I shall give [it] Thee for Thine inheritance, and Thou shalt rule all the earth and all what therein is.'

Tunc dixi: ecce, venio! Then said Truth: 'Lord, Father, Thou wouldst no other sacrifice nor other offering but that I accepted man's body and soul, and that I offered Thee here for their guilt. Ecce venio, look, I am ready to work Thy will, and to release mankind.'

That said God's Justice: 'Now Thou wilt become man, Thou shalt suffer death after Thy own doom, if that wonder can be true that Eternal Life may suffer death; and Thou shalt in every way atone for what he has broken. Hail Thy goodness!'

That said Truth: 'For this I am all ready, to be obedient to God even until death in order to release mankind.' Justitia et Pax osculatae sunt; the prophet says that 'Justice and Peace have kissed each other.' When this was done, Truth sprang out of the earth, and as true kind of earth. Our earth was cursed through Adam's guilts. Maledicta terra in opere tuo, 'Cursed be the earth in thy work,' quoth God to Adam. Now says the prophet: 'Lord, Thou hast been favourable unto Thy land.'—Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus . . . 'Blessed be thou,' said the angel, 'on God's behalf among all women, and blessed be the fruit of thy womb, which is true God and true Man!' Through this Man Jesus Christ, who was of Adam's kind, the earth became blessed, which was before cursed. ' He paid for all the harm which had come through Adam, very wisely as He who was Wisdom Himself. Through Eve, who was still virgin, all mankind was lost; through
OF MERCY. AN ALLEGORY. 117

wastme of Sine wombe ic wille setten uppe Sine setle." Eft he sei an oðer stede: Dominus dixit ad me: filius meus.'

Da spac almihiti godd, and sade: 'Dies dai hauecit aure ibien mid me and æure ma wurc. Hit is soo dat tu seiest: "On þese daiþe 4 ic þe habbe istriend on heuene, wið-uten moder." Swa þu scalt on ierðe, wið-uten fader istr(i)end of moder. On ðelliche wise þu scalt becumen soo mañnes sune swo swo þu art soo godes sune 1. Ne bidde ic non oðer loc for Adames gelte bute þe. Postula a 8 me, and besiech at me swo muchel folc swo þu wilt after þiernen, and ic þe wile þiuæn to Sïn eruename, and þu scalt wealden all middeneard and all þat ðar izane is.'

Tunc dixi: ecce, uenio. Do sade Soþ: 'Hlauerd, fader, þu ne woldest non oðer lonc ne oðer ofrenda bute þat ic underfenge mañnes lichame and his saule, and þat ic þe her ofrede for here gelte. Ecce venio, loke, ic am (i)radi þine wille to werchen, and mankenn to aliesen.'

Dat sade godes Rih[t]wisnesse: 'Ny þu wilt maññ becumen, þu scalt deað polien after þine auçene dome, zif þat wunder mai bien soo þat eche lif mai ðolizan deað; and þu scalt on alle wise bieten þe he hauecit tebroken. Hoal þi godnesse!'

Dat sade Soþ: 'Hierto ic am all iradi, te bien hersum godd anon to þe deaðe for mankenn to aliesen.' Lœstitia et Pax osculate sunt; þe profite seid þat 'Rih(t)wisnesse and Sibsumnesse kesten hem to-gerede.' Do ðis was þedon 2, Veritas de terra orta 24 est, and swo swo soo zekyz of ierðe. Vre ierðe was þewirz Œurh Adames geltes. Maledicta terra in opere tuo, 'þewirz þe þe ierðe on þine werke,' cwað godd te Adame. Nu seiþ þe profite: Benedixisti, domine, terram tuam.—Benedicta tua 28 in mulieribus, et benedictus, 'Iblesced þe þu,' seide þe angel, 'on godes half mang alle wiues, and ibrlesced þe þat wasme of þine wombe, þe is soo godd and soo maññ!' Ðurh þese mañne Iesu Crist, þe was of Adames kevne, warð se ierðe ibrlesced, þe was arer iwerzæd. 32 All he þeald þane harm þe was þecumen Œurh Adam, swiðe wisliche al swo he þe was wisdom him self. Ðurh Eue, þe was ziet maiden, was all mankenn forloren; Œurh Marie, þe eadi

1 page 73.  
2 þedon and MS.
Mary, the blessed Virgin, it became saved again. Through the tree and its fruit all mankind was doomed to death; through the tree of the dear holy cross and through the blessed fruit which hung thereon, it came again to eternal life. Through obedience concerning the tree, the devil overcame Adam; through obedience Christ overcame the old devil on the holy cross. Because He was obedient to His Father until death, although He Himself had not deserved it, for He never did a sin; and nevertheless He suffered the cross, as if He were guilty. Adam saw with his eyes the fruit of the tree which he liked, but Christ suffered that one blind-folded Him. His feet bore him [Adam] to the forbidden tree, but Christ’s feet were bored through with iron nails to the cross. His hands took the fruit of the tree, but Christ’s hands were nailed through to the holy cross. The fruit in his mouth seemed sweet to him, but God received the bitter gall in His mouth. Adam’s heart was poisoned through the devil’s admonition, so that he both liked it well and also yielded, but Christ suffered that one stung through His heart; and for the two great [sins of] liking and granting, two great blessings came to us from the holy wound, that was, water and blood. In the water we are washed from all sins; by the fruit which hung on the holy cross, and by the blood which came out of it, we taste on [our] palates all kinds of poison of the devil, and so we cool our wretched heart, which is often scorched by the great burning of the devil’s temptations. Thus our Saviour Jesus Christ healed us, thus our Redeemer redeemed us; and afterwards, He arose from the dead as He who was true life, and bore our sacrifice and our offering up to Heaven, His holy body, which He took of our kind, and offered to His Father a very agreeable sacrifice, by His own witness who said: *Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui,* ‘This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.’ He has opened the gate of the kingdom of Heaven to all who believe in Him and will
maiden, hit ward est 3eboregen. Durh 3a trowe and his wastme werd al manken idem to deade1; purh 3e trowe of 3e lieue halie rode and Durh 3are ilesedede wastme 3e 3ar on heng, hit cam est te 3an eche liue. Durh unhersumnesse of 3e trowe ouercam 3e 4 dieuel Adam; purh hersumnesse of 3e hali rode ouercam Crist 3ane ealde dieuel2. For 3an he was hersum his fader anon to 3e deade, swa swa he him self hit ne hadde noht ofearned, for 3an he neure senne ne dede; and na7eles polede 3 3e rode, swilch he 8 ware for3(e)ilt. A3eanes 3at Adam mid his eisene iseih 3at 4 wastme of 3e treewe 3e him likede, a3eanes 3at polede Crist 3at me blind-fallede his(e)5. A3eanes 3at his siet him baren to 3e forbodene treewe, a3eanes 3at waren Cristes siet Durhbornele mid ise ne nailes 12 to 3are rode. A3eanes 3at his hounden namen 3as trewe wastme, a3eanes 3at waren Cristes handes Durhnailed te 3a hali rode. A3eanes 3at him Ehte swete 3at wastme on his mu3e, a3eanes 3at underfeng godd 3e bit(r)e 3alle on his mu3e. A3eanes 3at Adames 16 hierte was i-attred Durh dieules menezinge, swa 3at him ba3e hit wel likede and ec teipede, Solede Crist 3at me purh-stong his hierte; and a3eanes 6 3a twa michele likeinge and teipinge, us comen twa michele gode7 of 3are hali wunde, 3at was, water and 20 blod. On 3a watere we bie3 iwascen of alle sennes; of 3a wastme 3e hangede on 3e hali rode, and of 3a blode 3e 3ar 8 utjiede, we notied on 3omes alles kenne of dieule, and swa we kylie3E vre wreche hierte, 3e his ofte forswald of 3an michele brene of 24 dieules costningses9. 3us us halde ure halend Jesu10 Crist11, pus us aliesde ure aliesend, and 12 seoden aros of deade, also 3e he was so3E lif, and bar up to heuene ure loac and ure ofrende, his hali13 lichame, 3e he nam of ure 3ekynde, and ofrede his fader swi3e 28 icweme loc, be his azene iwitnesse 3e sade: Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui, 'Dis is mi leue sune, on him me like3E swi3e.' Heueneriches gate he haued opened alle 3e on him (leued14 and him fol3in wille3. Alle his ikorense he had15 32

1 page 74. 2 an erasure above d. 3 o red inserted. 4 treu underlined. 5 e is red inserted. 6 Here begins another hand. 7 3ode MS. 8 dar MS. 9 costnings MS. 10 jhu MS. 11 end of second hand, old hand goes on. 12 pu undecotted. 13 his hali once more, underlined. 14 Added red on the margin.
Of penitence.

When Christ first began to preach, that was, when He went from the river Jordan, He said: *Poenitentiam agite, appropinquabit enim regnum coelorum,* 'Repent of your sins, the kingdom of Heaven approacheth.' Full surely a clean soul is Christ's kingdom. Therefore our Lord admonishes us first of all things about this blessed virtue, that we should repent of our sins, and so look to us with His help, that we may not fall into sin again. That says St. Jerom: *Est autem poenitere peccata ante acta deflere, et flenda non repetere,* 'So shall,' says he, 'a man repent of his sins, that he do not again what he again needs to repent of.' This says St. Austin: *Poenitere est poenam tenere,* 'That is true repentance,' says he, 'to hold oneself ever in some pain.' Again, we find in the holy Writ that neither the knight who bears weapons unlawfully, nor the chapman who buys and sells with unrighteousness, can ever do true repentance, the while they defile this office; nor he who perseveres in wrath, nor he who habitually lies in whoredom, nor gleemen, nor usurers, nor witches, nor unjust judges, nor any of those men who lie in cardinal sins and love them. Let a man who will be very repentant, not only repent of his sins, but moreover repent that through his carelessness he has not done good in the time which he nevermore will recover again, and [which] is gone by. Those who are in a religious order are ever under penance, as it also behooves us.

Of confession.

Here follows another holy virtue, which is called *confessio,* that is, confession; that is, when the man opens his heart, and tells his confessor his sins through his mouth, which were before concealed
bihoten, swa soðliche ¹ swa he aros of deade, þat hie sculen al swo mid lichame and mid saule, and mid ðe hali angles and mid him aue mo wunizên. Amen.

Of scrifte.

A ðe Crist gann (arst) to spellen, ðat was, ðo ðe he ziede from flumen Iordan ², ða sade he: Penitenciam agite, appropinquabit enim regnum celorum, 'Nimeð scrifte of þewer sennes, hit neiheð ³ heuene riche.' Fullzewis is clene saule Cristes ⁸ riche. For ði us meneð allre pingre arst ure lauerde of ðesre eadi mihte, þat we scolden beon rewsende ⁴ ure sennen, and swa hus l(o)kin ⁶ mid his fultume, þat we eft ne befallen on senne, Dat seið sanctus Ieronimus: Est autem penitere peccata ¹² ante acta deflere, et flenda non repetere, 'Swa scal,' he seið, 'mann his senne berewisen, þat he eft ne do þat he eft ðurue be-riwsin.' Dis seið sanctus Augustinus: Penitere est penam tenere, 'Dat his,' he seið, 'sode berewisinge, þat mann him healde cure on 16 sumere pine.' Eft we findeð on ða hali writt ðat ðe cnihet ðe weapne berð unlawliche, ne chapmann ðe beið ⁴ and selð mid unri[h]twisnesse, ne muþen neure some scrifte don, ðære [h]wile ðe hie ðese wike befeleð; ne he (þe) ëurchwuned on wræþðe, ne he ðe ²⁰ wuneliche lið on hordome, ne glewmen, ne gau(e)leres, ne wi(c)chen, ne unriht domesmann, ne non ðære manne ðe on heaued-senne lið and ða lunieð. Mann ðe wel wile bien riwsinde, ne rewe him nauht ani hise sennes, ac þet ðat (he) for [h]is ⁶⁵ zemelaste ne hafð ¹⁰⁴ god ⁶ residon on ða time ðe he naure mo est nacoureð, and is forð ⁶⁳ þegan. ða ðe bied on reliquion, hie biede aue under scrifte, swa bihoued ⁷ us alswa.

Of andetnesse.

Hier after cumed ⁴ an ðer hali mihte, ðe is icleped con-
fessio, ðat his, andetetdnesse; ðat is, ðanne ðe mann undett [h]is herte, ⁶ and seið his scrifte his sennes ðurh his muðe, ðe

¹ page 75. ² Here begins a new hand which goes on to end. ³ Some letters erased behind ð. ⁴ s corr. from h. ⁵ o corrected above i. ⁶ a half g before ⁷ underdotted. ⁷ bihoued MS. ⁸ and seið twice, the first time underdotted.
in his heart. Of this said God: *Dic tu iniquitates tuas, ut justificeris,* 'Tell thou thy unrighteousness, if thou wilt be justified.' Concerning it said St. Austin: *Qui per vos peccatis, per vos erubesceatis,* 'Ye who sin of your own accord, be ashamed of yourselves. And know ye forsooth that same shame is a lot of the forgiveness.' *Fit enim veniale per confessionem, quod criminale fuerat per operationem,* 'It is a pardonable sin through confession what was before a cardinal sin through work.' But it behooves it to be well clear, and that no venom be concealed. Of this said the prophet: *Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus,* 'Confess your sins,' he said, 'to God Almighty, because He is good, because His mercy is here in the world.' He who gets God's mercy not here will never get it elsewhere. We find in the holy Writ that if a man were suddenly upon his death, and he could have no priest, he ought to confess his sins to him who is nearest to him, and he should have mercy, except it were that he contemned the priest; or if he were alone, then he must [confess] to God only. And let every man look that he never mistrust in God's grace nor in His mercy, nor, again, be no man too bold to sin, and say: 'More can God forgive than we can sin.' *Non adlices peccatum super peccatum et dices: quoniam misericordia Domini magna est!*

**Of cleanness.**

Another blessed virtue is called *munditia,* that is, cleanness, which is much loved within God's house. It cannot suffer any uncleanness in God's temple, neither beneath in thy body, nor above in thy soul, neither in thoughts—for it knows well that thoughts are more open before God than speeches are before man—nor can it suffer aught of foul speeches—for it knows that God hears them and mislikes them all—nor can it dwell near to evil works, for God bids to shun them. *Mundamini qui fertis vasa Domini,* 'Make yourselves clean who bear God's vessels!' Cleanse thy heart, because it ought to be God's vessel. One shall bear in
OF CONFESSION AND CLEANNESS. 123

waren arrer 3edett on his herte. Hier of sade godd: Die tu ini-
quitates tuas, ut iustificeris, 'Sei ëu ëine unrihtwieneses, 
3if ëu wilt bien irihtwised. 1' Herof sade sanctus Avgustinus:
Qui per usu peccatis, per usu erubescatis, '3ie ëe sene3in be 4 
3ew seluen, do8 scame 3ew seluen. And wite 3ie to so8e ëat ilke 
scame is on lott of ëare forziifnesse.' Fit enim ueniale per con-
fessionem, quod criminales fuerat per operacionem, 'Hitt is 
forziuentialie senne ëurh andettonesse ëe was arrer heaued-senne 8 
ëurh weorke.' Ac hit be[h]one8 ëat hie bie wiel (h)lutter, and ëat 
ëar ne bie forholen non atter. Hier of sade ëe profete: Confi-
temini domino, quoniam bonus, 'Andettë ëewer senen;' he 
sade, 'goddalmhithin, for ëan ëe he is god z, for ëan his mildsce is 12 
hier on world.' Se ëe her godes mildsce ne bezet, ne wurë hie 
him naure mo calles huer. We finde8 on ëe hali write ëat 3if 
mann ware firliche 8 uppen (h)is deade, and he prest ne mihte 
habben, andette his senen him ëe ware neest him, and he scolde 16 
habben mildsce, bute 3if hit ware ëat he ëane prest forhowede;
óëëer 3if he ware all hone, ëanne most he to godd ane. And 
belokie elch mann ëat he naure nortriwi godes are ne ëis mildsce, 
ne eft sones ne bie no mann to prist to sene3in, and sege: 'Mare 20 
mai godd forziuen ëanne we mu3en sene3in.' Non adicies 
peccatum super peccatum et dices: quoniam misericordia 
domini magna est!

Of clennesse.

A N óëëer eadi mihte his 3ehaten mundicia, ëat is, clannesse, 
ëe is inne godes huse swiëe 3eluued. Ne mai 3ie îSoliëen none 
unclannesse on godes temple, ne bene3ëen on ëi likame, ne abuuen 
on ëire saule, ne on ëouhtes, for ëan hie wat wel ëat openlicor ben 28 
poultes to-foren gode ëanne be8 spaches be-foren manne; ne of 
fule spaches hie ne mai nauht ëoliëen, for ëan h(i)e wot ëat god his 
3ehiere8 and alle mislikë; ne euëłe workes hie ne mai nieh 
wunien, for ëan ëat godd his hat scunien. Mundamini qui 32 
fertis uasa domini, 'Makie8 ëew clave ëe bere8 godes faten!' 
Clanse ëine hirte, for ëan pe hie owh to benne 4 godes fatt. On

1 page 76. 2 sod MS. 3 The i and corr. from a. 4 page 77.
it God's message, God's word. *In corde meo abscondi eloquia tua, ut non pecem tibi,* 'In my heart I hid Thy words, Lord, lest I should sin against Thee.' So did St. Mary; she bore God's words in her heart, that she often might think of Him whom she loved much, *conferens in corde suo.* She bore in her heart what God said: *Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt,* 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.' God cannot be seen with any other eyes but with the heart's. Wash and wipe well clean the eyes, because it is true what they tell thee. If thou wilt know which eyes the heart may have, they are named *intellectus et ratio.* These can see about as well at mid-night as at mid-day. Intellect and reason are the two eyes. Through intellect thou understandest all things, and through discernment thou shalt discern the evil from the good. All that thou thinkest thou seest with these eyes. But ever too many are short-sighted with the one of these eyes, and too many with both. Of all the blessings which God promised in His preaching, there is none so high as is 'who is pure in heart.' May he get it whoso can! I warn thee, thou never gettest it clean whilst thou doest not care what thou thinkest, nor what thou speakest, nor what thou hearest speak. And except thou gladly maketh it clean as much as possible, with God's help, thou shalt never see God Almighty with these eyes with which thou seest sun and moon. Love this holy virtue *munditiam,* and it will make thee pure in heart. Amen.

**Of lore.**

*Disciplina* is another holy virtue, which God Himself bids us to take through the prophet, who says: *Apprehendite disciplinam, etc.,* 'Take discipline of all the misdeeds which ye do, lest God be angry, and ye perish from the right way!' Except thou doest justice to thyself for the misdeeds which thou misdoest, with fasting, or with watching, or with wailing and sore repentance, or with weary-
hier me scal beren godes sande, godes word. In corde meo abscondi eloquia tua, ut non peccem tibi, 'On mine hierte ich hedde pine wordes, hlaueurd, pat ich nolde naht senezin aseanes ce.' Swa dede sancta Maria; hie bar godes wordes on hire 4 hierte, pat hie ofte mihte penken on him ce hie michel luuede, conferens in corde suo. Hie bar on hire hierte pat pe godd sade: Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi deum uidebunt, 'Eadi bieö ça clane-hierte menn, for sån hie sculen gode 3esen.'

Godd ne mai ben 3esigen mid none oven eizen àanne mid pare hierte. Wassce and wipe wol clane ça eizene, for sån soö is çat hie ce sijgen. Gif 2 pu wilt witen wilke eizene ce hierte muze haben, hie bieö zennaed intellecutus et racio. Æse muñzen 12 3esen alswa wel onbuten mid-niht alswa on mid-dai3. Andzæet and skæle bieö ça twa eizene. Æurh andzæet pu unde(r)stanst alle ping, and Æurh scadwisnesse pu scalt skilien ce euele fram gode. All çat ce pu pençst pu ziesichst mid þese eizene. Ac aure to fele bieö 16 bisne mid þan onen of þese eizên, and to fele mid baçe. Of alle ça edmodnesses ce godd 3 behet on his spelle, nis çar non swo heih swa is 'ce is 4 clane-hierte.' Bejiete se ce muze! Ich 5 pe warni, ne bejiethst çu his naure clane çar wilie çat pu ne recst wat pu 20 penche, ne wat pu speke, ne wat çu zehire speken. And bute pu his zier[n]e make clane after þine mihte, mid godes helpe, ne scal tu naure 3esen mid çase eizene ce pu mide 3esiest sunne and mone, godd almihthin. Luue Æse hali mihte mundiciam, and hie ce 24 makeö clane-hierte. Amen.

Of lore.

DISCIPLINA is on òper hali mihte, ce godself us hat nemen 6 durh 7 ce prophete, ce seiö: Apprehendite disciplinam, 28 et cet., 'Nemeö discipline of alle ce misdades ce 3e deö, pe las te godd him wraöpi, and zie forfaren of ça rihte weize!' Bute çu neme riht of ce seluen of ce misdades ce çu mis-dest, mid fasten, oöder mid wake, oöder mid wope and sare beriwsinge, oöder mid weringe 8, 32

1 an i underdotted after the 2nd a.  2 G with a j inserted above.  
3 gode MS.  4 Seies MS.  5 ic inserted red above between ich and pe.  
6 page 78.  7 and Æurh MS.  8 peringe MS., a letter erased between r and i.
ing [thysel], or with kneeling, or with toil, or with pure prayer, or with pure alms, with the counsel of thy confessor: God’s wrath will come upon thee, so that thou losest the one right way which goes to Heaven. That is a great wrath of God that man is so blind that he goes to hell laughing. Though he much misdo, he is therefore not more sorry, than if he had not misdone. *Excaeca cor populi hujus, ne videant et intelligant.* Of them said God: ‘Blind the heart of this people, lest they see or understand the right way to the kingdom of Heaven.’ Their hard heart and their evilness have deserved it that the blind leads the blind. That is, he who should instruct him, does the same sins and gives an example of them, and he also teaches him and says that [neither] for eating nor for drinking nor for woman, whom God has shaped as companion to man, anybody ever shall be lost. Woe to this lore and this deed! Do thou not so, dear soul. But when thou feelest that thou hast neither God’s love nor His fear as thou shouldst, cry to Him and say with the prophet: *Illumina oculos meos, Domine,* ‘Lord, open my eyes and lighten them with the true light, so that I never be sleeping in the soul’s death, nor that the devils may boast that they had the upper hand over me.’ *Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me, etc.,* ‘But Thou, Lord, teach me goodness, through which I may be good, and teach me such discipline, that I may soften Thy wrath, and such knowledge, that I may know and please Thee!’

**Of patience.**

*Patientia* is a holy virtue, that is, patience, which God Himself taught us with word and also with example. In His Gospel He said: *Qui te percusserit in maxillam, praebē ei et aliam,* ‘Whosoever shall smite thee under the ear, suffer it for My love, and turn to him the other. Whosoever shall take away thy coat, give him thy mantle. Whosoever shall compel thee to go with him two miles, go with him three.’ This seems foolishness to the fool, but nevertheless Wisdom said it. The blessed man who has this virtue will suffer, for God’s love, all kinds of things which one may do him,
OF LORE AND PATIENCE.

Of lore and patience.

Osser mid newlinge, osser mid swinke, osser mid clane bede, osser mid flutter almesse, mid he rade of pine scritte: godes wraesse cumpe uppen ce, swa pat du forliest ce aine rihte weiz pe gaf to heuene. Dat is michel godes wraepe pat man is swa blind 4 pat he far to helle leizinde. Peih he michel mis-do, nis for ce na mare sori, panne zif he nadde naht mis-don. Exceca cor populi huius, ne uideant et intelligant. Of hem sade godd: 'Bland dies folkes hierte, pat hie ne sien ne understande ce rihte weije to s heuene riche.' Heare harde hierte and here euelnesse hit haue of-earned pat ce blinde latt ceane blinde. Pat is, se ce him wissin scolde, deci ce ilke sennes and haueci dar of forbisne, and ec he him lareci and seici pat for ates ne for drenches ne for wifmanne, ce 12 godd haueci zescapen manne to zemoane, ne seal man naure ben forloren. Walawa pessere lare and cesere dade! Swa ne do pu naht, lieue saule. Ac panne cu 3efelst pat cu godes luue ne his eije ne hafst swa swa cu scoldest, clepe to him and seih mid ce 16 prophete: Illumina oculos meos, domine, 'Hlauerd, opene mine eijene and liht his mid pe soce lihte, pat ich naure ne bie slapinde on ceare saule deae, ne pat ci dieule(s) 2 muzen bezelpen pat hie hafden ce heijere hand ouer me.' Bonitatatem 3 et disciplo plinam et scienciam doce me, et cetera, 'Ac cu, hlauerd, tach me godnesse, Surh wan ich god muze bien, and tach me swilche discipline, pat ich pine wraece muze softin, and swilch andzet, dat ich ce muze zecnawen and zecwemen!'

Of Solemodnesse.

PACIENCIA is an hali mihte, sat is, Solemodnesse, ce godd 4 self us tahte mid worde and ech mid forbisne. On his spelle he sade: Qvi te percusserit in maxillam, prebe ei 28 et aliam, 'Se ce smit pe under sat (e)are, pole 5 hit for mine luue, and wand him to pat oSer. Se pe beninc ce pine kiertel 6, zif him pine mantel. Se ce net pe to goune mid him twa milen, ga mid him prie.' Pis pince ci sothade, ac naSelas wisdom hit 32 sade. De sali mann pe ceses mihte halci, alleskennes ping ce

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1 an erasure under de.  2 s inserted above, red.  3 page 79.
4 goSN MS.  5 e corr. from a.  6 kie on erasure.
except sin only. That said Solomon: *Melior est patiens viro forti,*

‘Better is,’ he said, ‘the patient man than the strong who taketh castles.’ Because to do evil is no strength, but is impotence, for he is esteemed as stronger who overcomes his own mood, than he who slays and takes castles. Dear soul, all the while thou dwellest in the smoke-house of thy body, whence many kinds of smokes of impatience come, it is very great need to thee to have this virtue with thee; and full surely it will bring thee to the kingdom where thou never more shalt find anything which thou mayst dislike.

**Of maidenhood.**

*Virginitas* is a very precious virtue, that is, maidenhood, which follows the holy Lamb, and is nearest to it. For the great purity this same holy virtue is hallowed in Christ, St. Mary’s Son, who was and is evermore maiden. She promised to keep [her] maidenhood, and she performed it well; and after her many thousands, through her good example, kept their purity and suffered therefore many kinds of martyrdom. Neither God nor the apostle bade [anyone] to keep this maidenhood, except those who would vow it with their good will. But when it is vowed, it must be kept, if they will be saved. It is angelic life of Heaven whose humbly keeps maidenhood on earth. *Qui potest capere, capiat,* ‘Whosoever can have it, let him receive and keep it!’ He is certainly blessed.

**Of chastity.**

*Castitas* is also [a] very holy virtue, that is, chastity. Without maidenhood man can be saved, but without chastity or right spouse no man can be saved. Of this said the apostle: *Pacem et sanctimoniam diligite, sine qua nemo videbit Deum,* ‘Love peace and holiness, that is, this chastity; without it man never shall see God.’
mahn him maiz don, wîz-uten senne one, he wile þoleieþen for
godes luue. Dat sade Salemun: Melior est paciens uiro
forti, 'Bettre his,' he sade, 'Se polemode mann þanne þe stronge
þe nimô castales.' For þan euel to done nis non strençeþe, ac 4
is unmihte, fo(r) 1 þi he is ihealden strengere Se ouor-cump his
auzen mod, þanne he Se slecþ and castales nemô. Lieue 2 saule,
al þe (h)wile 3 Se þu wunest on þe smec-huse of þine likame,
hwane ne cumën 4 manies kennes smekes of unpolemodnesse, þe is 8
swiþe michel nied þat þu þese mihte mid þe habbe; and full-
þewis hie þe þringiþ to þare riche þar þu naurema ne scalt finden
(no)ne 5 (pinge) þe þe misliki.

Of maiden-had.

U RGINITAS is an swiþe derwurþe mihte, þat is, maiden-
had 6, þe folziþ þe hali lombe, and him his neþest. For
pare michel clannesse Sies ilke hali mihte is þehalþed on Criste,
seinte Marie sune, þe was and is aurema maiden. Hie behet 16
maidenhad to healden, and hie wel it þelaste; and after hire
manize pusend, for hire gode forbisne, here clannesse ihelden and
manieskennes martirdom þar fore þolede. Naðer ne godd ne þe
apostel ne hieten þis maidenhad to healden, buten þo þe wolden 20
mid here gode wille hit behaten. Ac seþen hit is behaten,
siþen hit is to healden, alswa hie willen ben iborþen. Hit is
angelich lif of heuene, se þe eadmodliche halt maidenhad on ierþe.
Qvi potest capere, capiat, 'Se þe hit mai habben, he hit neme 24
and healde!' He is iwiss isali.

Of clannesse.

C ASTITAS is ech swiþe hali mihte, þat is, clannesse. Wiþ-
uten maidenhad mann mai bien þeþorþen, ac wiþ-uten 28
clannesse oðþer rihte spuse nan mann (ne) 7 mai ben þeþorþen.
Hier of sade þe apostel: Pacem et sanctimoniam diligite,
sine qua nemo uidebit deum, 'Luuieþ sibsumnesse and hali-

1 x added, red.  2 Before 1 another one by another hand.  3 h inserted red.
4 Þ corr. from t.  5 nan þare underdotted.  6 page 80.  7 red above the line.
This holy virtue has three gifts from the Holy Ghost, that is, that the devil never can overcome it, where it reigns, by any kind of lechery, [neither] working with limbs, nor speaking with ill-mannered speeches, nor thinking with foul thoughts; but anon if they come they are driven out of the heart with sorry mood and with running tears. So one shall do with them who will not [keep] peace.

Pudicitia is her sister, [a] maiden holy in thoughts, and pure from all filth. That says St. Austin: 'If a maiden has this holy virtue in her thoughts, though she became deflowered against her will, she is before God nevertheless maiden;' and afterwards: 'She who is a pure maiden in body, and has not this holy virtue in her thoughts, but willed what she may not, she is no maiden before God.' Pudicitia is the pure maidenhood of the thoughts, as castitas is the purity of the body.

Of continence.

Continentia is continence concerning fornication. It is very much loved by all those who hope in God's mercy. Because the apostle has well promised them that, if they keep and love these three holy virtues together: castitatem, pudicitiam, continentiam, though they have lost their bodily maidenhood, he has espoused them to Christ, and says thus: Despandi enim vos unum virum, virginem castam exhibere Christo, 'I have wedded you to one husband [as a] chaste maiden, that is, to Christ,' that is [a] right spouse to every good soul. For all Christ's chosen are Christ's limbs, and He is the head of all of us, and with right belief we are all one with His flesh and with His blood, so that nothing can divide us. Quis nos
OF CHASTITY, SHAMEFACEDNESS, AND CONTINENCE. 131

dom, tat is, pes clannesse; wið-uten hire ne scal naure mann isien godd. Pies hali mihte haue of ðe hali gaste þrie (giues), tat is, þat naure deuel ne mai hes ouercumen, þar hie rixið, mid nanesken kes galnesse, mid lemes werchinde, ne mid undeaufulle spaches specinde, ne mid fule þowtes þenkinde; ac anon þif hie cu með hie bieð idriuen ut of þare hierte mid sari mode and mid ierniende teares. Swa me scal don of hem ðe grið ne wilde.

PUDICICIA is hire suster, hali maiden of þanke, and clone of alle felsches. Dat seid sanctus Augustinus: ‘Gif maiden hað þese hali mihte on hire þanke, þeih hie wurðe hire unðankes forleiken, hie is to-foren gode naþelas maiden’; and eft: ‘H[i]e ðe is clan maiden on likame, and þese mihte ne hað on hire þeþanke, ac wolde þat hie ne mai, hie nis naht maiden to-foren gode.’ Pudicicia is ðe hlutter maiden(ad of þe þanke, alswa castitas is þe clannesse of ðe likame.

Of wið(h)ealdnesse.

CONTINENCIA is wið[h]ealdnesse after þe forleire. Hie is swiðe 3eluued of alle ðe hopieð to godes mildsce. For þan þe apostel hem hað wel hehaten þat, þif hie healdeð and lunieð þese þrie hali mihtes to-gedere: castitatem, pudiciciam, 20 continenciam, þeih hie here likamliche maiden-had habbe forloren, he [h]is haueð 3espused to Criste, and þus seid: De- spondi enim uos uni uiro, virginem castam exibere Christo, ‘Ich zoue habbe bewedded ane were clan maiden, þat 24 is, to Criste,’ þat is riht spus ta alchere gode saule. For þan alle Cristes ſecorene bieð Cristes lemen, and he is ure alre heaud, and mid rihte 3eleuen mid his flesse and mid his blode we bieð all an, swa þat nan þing ne mai us twammen. Qvis nos sępara- 28

1 Written above þinges, which is underlined. 2 page 81. 3 wid- MS. 4 haðl MS. 5 xpo MS. 6 m partly on erasure. 7 The first m on erasure.

K 2
separabit a caritate Christi? Full certainly these holy virtues bind us also together.

Of harmlessness.

*Innocentia* is another holy virtue, that is, harmlessness. He is certainly *innocens*, that is, harmless, who never yet did harm to himself or to any other. Such was none except Christ. The holy children who were martyred for Christ are rightly called *innocentes*, because they never yet did harm either to God or to man, either in thoughts or in words. Therefore they are blessed. Follow this holy virtue in thoughts, in words, in works, and think that first thou dost harm to thyself, if thou thinkest amiss, or speakest or dost anything in another way to thy fellow-Christian, than as thou wouldst wish that he did to thee. Think hereof! Again, says the holy Writ about this: *Manus in manes non erit innocens malus*, 'Though hand [join] in hand, the evil man is not guiltless.' That is said about the man who has done evil against God and against his neighbour, and thinks and deceives himself that he does no more evil, than the man who sits idle and holds his one hand in his other, and does evil to nobody. Yet, though this man do so, he is not *innocens*, except he atones for what he has broken before. Ever too few men think about to have this holy virtue, and [yet] without it no man can please God well.

*Honestas* is called another virtue, which is needful to every good man. That is, that he looks decent with all the limbs of his body. It (honesty) withholds his eyes, lest they be too much looking hither and thither; the ears, lest they blithely listen to vanities, and therewith prevent the soul hearing good thoughts of good words; the tongue, lest he become the unworthier for it, and when it shall speak with God in its prayers, the more disagreeable. It makes the man look decent who loves it, both with his hands and his feet. It does not let the hands play with [a] stick or with
OF HARMLESSNESS AND HONESTY.

bit a karitate Christi? Ful3ewis ðese halizë mihtes us bindeã
ec to-gedere.

Of vneilindnesse.

INNOCENCIA is an oðer hali mihte, þat is, vneilind[ness]e. 4
He is iwis innocens, þat is, vneilinde, þe nauzer3ete him
seluen ne eiled e ne nan oðer. Þat nas nan wiçuten Criste. Þa
hali children þe waren zemartired for Criste, hie bieð mid rihtë
icleped innocentes, for þan hie ne eileden nauzer3ete ne 8
gode ne manne, ne a poutes ne a wordes. For þi hie bieð
eadi. Fol3e ðese hali mihte on þouhtes, on wordes, on workes,
and þene þat arst þu eilest ðe seluen, zif þu mispencst, oðer
spekest oðer dest auht oðerlikë on3eanes pin emeristen, þanne 12
ðu woldest þat he dede ðe. Pench hier of ! 3iæ 2 seĩþ þat hali
writ herof: Manus in manus non erit innocens malus3,
'Hande on hande nis naht ðe euele man gylt-leas.' Þat is iseid 4 bi
ðo manne ðe euele haueð zedon azean godd and azean [h]is nexte, 16
and bepeincð him and beswicð þat he namare euel ne dieð, þanne
ðe man ðe sitt idel and halt [h]is on hand in oðer, and none
manne euel-ne deð. 3iæ 2, þeh þis mann swa do, nis he nauht
innocens, bute zif he biete 5 þat he harrer hafde tobroken. Aure 20
to feawe men bien abuten to habben ðese hali mihte, and wiç 6
uten hire ne mai non mann godd wel 3ecwemen.

HONESTAS is cleped an oðer mihte, ðe is niedfull alche
gode manne. Þat is, þat he wor3liche him loki mid alle hise 24
lemes of his likame. Hise eizene, þat hie ne bien to swiðe
gawrinde hider and 3eond; þo earen, þat hie bliðelike ne hlesten
ydelinesses, and ðare mide benîne ðare saule gode pohtes of gode
wordes to 3e(he)ren 7; þe tunge hie wiþhalt, þat he ne wurðë for 28
hire ðunworðere, and þanne hie wið gode scall speken on hire
benes, þe uncwemer. Wur3liche hie deð lokin ðe manne ðe hes
luuieð, ba3e his handen and hise fett. Ne lat hie nauht ðe hande

1 page 82. 2 G is altered into 3 by inserting a j above.
3 In libro sapiencie red, at side. 4 d corr. from 3.
5 bejiete MS., the 3 underdotted. 6 wid MS. 7 he written above a, red.
[a] straw—that is no good token of a mature man, the heart is not yet steadfast—nor [a man] sit tottering with [his] foot, nor throw the one over the other. Blessed is that man who takes good heed of himself, and thinks that nobody lives for his own behoof alone, but is an example either of good or of evil to all who see him or hear of him. If thou takest heed hereof, thou wilt be honoured before God and before man.

**Of abstinence.**

Another holy virtue is called *abstinetia*, that is, abstinence. Concerning the man who withholds himself not only from eating and drinking, but from all the things which God forbids to do, said the apostle: *Abstine te vos a carnalibus desideriis, quae militant adversus animam,* 'Abstain,' said he, 'from the lusts of the flesh, which war against the soul.' That is that wholesome abstinence. Again, he said for it: *Haec est enim voluntas Dei, sanctificatio vestra,* 'This is verily the will of God,' said he, 'that ye be holy,' *ut abstineatis vos a fornicatione,* 'and that ye should abstain from fornication,' *ut sciat unaquisque vas suum possidere,* 'and that ye should know how to hold the vessel of your body with great worthiness and with great purity, as the same vessel wherein ye bear the precious treasure, that is, the Holy Ghost.' When a great lust comes to thee after a thing, do not yield to it anon, but bethink thyself well eagerly and abstain firmly. If it comes often smiting to thy heart, know thou forsooth that it is of the devil. If thou yieldest to it, thou makest thyself [a] slave, and not [a] man's, but the devil's. If thou doest something else, and refrainest this lust, and overcomest it with prayer, thou shalt have great reward from God, and make thyself free.
pleyende mid stikke, ne mid strawe—nis þat non god tocene of ripe manne 1, nis þe hierte nauhlt þiet stedefast—ne mid fote sitten 2 toterinde, ne þen enne worpen ouer þan oþre. 3esali 3 is þe ilke man þe gode þeme nimð (of him seluen), and þencð þat no man 4 ne leueð to [þ]is æzene be[þ]ofte ane, ac is forbisne oþre of gode offer of euele to alle þe hine þeseð offer of him hiered. 3if 5 su herof þieme nemest, þu best þewurðed to-foren gode and to-foren manne.

Of wiðheldnesse 4.

ABSTINENCIA hatte an ofer hali mihte, þat is, wið[h]ealdnesse. De man þe him wiðhult naht one of ates and of drenches, ac fram alle þo þinges þe godd forbett to donne, herof 12 sabe þe apostel: Abstineite uos a carnalibus desideriiis, que militantis aduersus 5 animam 6, 'Wiðhealdep,' he saide, 'þew wið þa fleches (h)lustes 7, þe winneð æzæn care sawle.' þat is þat halsume wið[h]ealdnesse. 3iet 8 he sabe for þare: Hec est enim 16 voluntas dei, san[c]tificatio uenstra 6, 'Dis is iwis godes wille,' he saide, 'þat hie ben hali,' vt abstineatis uos a fornicacione, 'and þat þie wið[h]ealden þew fram galnesse,' vt sciat unusquisque uos suum possidere 6, 'and þat þie healden 20 cunnen þewer fatt of þewer likame mid michele wurscipe and mid michele clannesse, alswa þat ilke fatt þe 8 þie bereð inne þat derworðe tresor, þat is, þe hali gast.' Danne þe cumð a michel lust after ane þinge, ne teipe þu him naht anoan, ac beðene þu þe wel 24 þerne and fastliche wið[h]eald 9 þe. 3if 5 hitt cumð ofte smitende to þin hierte, wite þu to soðe þat hit is of dieule. 3if þu him teipest, þu makest þe seluen þrall, and noht mannes, ac deules. 3if 9 þu dest sumping elles, and dwellset þisne lust, and mid ibede hine 28 ouercumst, þu scalt habben michel lean of godd 10, and þe seluen makest frie.

1 page 83. 2 an erasure between s and i. 3 a ð inserted above in G. 4 wiðheldnesse MS. 5 deum underdotted. 6 apostolus, red on the margin. 7 (h)lustess MS., the last s underdotted. 8 de MS. 9 wid eald MS. 10 page 84.
Of fasting.

*Jejunium* is another virtue which has often cooled God's wrath, that is, holy fasting. Through fasting God's wrath became assuaged against Nineveh, the great city which took three days to go [round it]. All the people that dwelt therein were to be destroyed through God's right doom, if they had not fasted. Then this holy virtue helps much in all the needs which man has to do. It gets forgiveness for the sinful, rest for the toilful, gladness for the sorry. Christ Himself hallowed this fasting when He fasted forty days in the wilderness, [away] from all men, There He gave to anchorites and hermits who love loneliness [a] good example to flee the world and to love loneliness, since He, whom nobody could hinder, nevertheless flew from men when He would fast. So did Moses. He fasted forty days when he took the law from God Himself, upon the Mount of Sinai. So did Elijah, the prophet, in the wilderness; forty days he fasted. All these three fasts were as wonderful as no others, viz. without all kinds of meats. God is ever fasting. Therefore ought all who think to dwell with Him to love fasting much, just as one can suffer it. In great trouble we are while we shall strive and care about meats. But there are some who think too much of them, and give their heart ever too much to them. So strongly they are deceived, and so sweet it seems to them and pleases them so [much], that they have no other bliss, nor care to have, but of eating and of drinking and of their body's lusts. When they shall fast at all, they fast scarcely all the noon; then after noon they drink all the day, and some still by night. They do not understand that it is as great a sin to break fasts by drinking after noon without great need, as it is before noon by eating without just as much need. Such unhappy men bemoans the apostle weeping sorely, who says: *Quorum Deus venter est,* 'Of their belly they make their God.' For the good man is thinking night and day how he may please God, and obey Him best. So is this deceived man thinking night and day how he may fill his unhappy belly with sweet meats and drinks. *Quorum finis interitus,* 'They are certainly lost who end in this.' *Quoniam*
Of fasten.

I EIVNIUM is an ofter mihte de godes wradpe hafode ofte ikeled, pat is, hali fasten. Durh fasten war of godes wradpe zeleid of Ninuœ, dare muchele burzh de zelaste olie daiæs fare. All ðat folk of de perinne was scolde ben forfaren purh godes rihte dome, zif here fasten bare. To alle ðo nedes de mann hafode to donne panne is (pes) hali mihte swiðe helpinde. Hie bæjet de senfulle forziennesse, de swinkfulle reste, de sari gladnesse. Crist self haljede ðis fasten þo þe he faste fowerti daiæs on ða wilderne, fram alle mann. Dar he þaif ancres and hermites de luuieð onnesse gode forbisne ðe world to flene and onnesse to luuien, seove he, ðe no mann de mihte letten, fleih naðelas menn, ða ðe he fasten wolde. 12 Swa dede Moyses. He fastede fowerti daiæs þar (ðe) he þe laðhe nam of godd self, uppe ðe munte of Synay. Swa dede Helyas, ðe prophete, on þe wilderne; fowerti daiæs he faste. Alle þeþe prie fasten waren swa selecðliche swa non ðære, wið-uten alles kennes 16 metes. Godd is haure fastinde. For ði æzen alle ðe mid him þeken to wuñien, michel to luuien fasten, swa swa me hit poïlen mai. On michele 3eswinke we bieð dar [h]wife ðe we abuten metes seulen striuuen 3 and hojizen. Ac hit bieð sume ðe to michel 20 þar of þenceð, and aere to michel her hierte þar to doð. Swa swiðe hie bieð beswikent, and swa swete hit hem þinceð and swa him likede, pat hie nan ofter blisse ne habbed, ne 4 ne reccheð to habben, buten of ates and of drenches and of here likames hlustes. 24 Þanne hie alles fasten seulen, ðane fastede hie all þat none nœade; ðanne after non drinkeð all daiȝ, and sume ziet benihte. Ne understandede hie naht þat alswa michel senne hit is to breken fasten mid drinke after none wið-uten michele nede, a(l)swa hit is 28 to-foren non of aten wið-uten alswa michele niede. Of ðelliche unsali meen bemaneð ðe apostel sore wepine, and seið: Qvorum deus uenter est, ‘Of here wombe hie makieð here godd.’ For ðan ðe gode mann is niðt and daiȝ þeinkinde hu he muȝe gode 32 icwemen, and him betst hersumen; alswa is ðies beswikene mann niðt and daiȝ þeinkinde hwu he muȝe fellen [h]is unþesali beli mid swete metes and drenches. Quorum finis interitus, ‘Hie bieð

1 h corr. from i. 2 þes written above ðe. 3 steruín MS. 4 page 85.
ebriosi regnum Dei non possidebunt, 'Great drinkers shall never, never forsooth, enjoy the kingdom of Heaven.' Thou who committest this and wilt not be deceived, go to the burying-place of him who committed this with thee or before thee, and think how lonely he lies from all his fellows with whom he was wont to drink and to play, and how dark he lies there who was accustomed to the fair fire and to the bright candles, and think that the soul belly is crawling full of worms, which he was wont to fill with good meats and sweet drinks, and try; if thou doest not shudder hereof, thou art not in the life which thou shouldst live. Woe be to the same man who sees and hears this and never is the better!

Of sobriety.

Sobrietas is another virtue, that is, sobriety. This makes the man sober who was too greedy. Of this said the apostle: Sobrii estate et vigilate, etc., 'Be sober and watch with thoughts, because your adversary goeth about every man whom he might swallow with some cardinal sin. As the lion who goes about the animals to swallow them, so does the devil about you.' Beware whoso will! Sobrietas est nimii cibi et potus repressio. This virtue makes the man who will follow it sinless and free from shame before God and before man as for eating and drinking. There are some who know no moderation in feeding themselves, as there are ever too many other men who give without distinction as well the things which they should not give, as those which they should give. That this virtue wills that thou givest those things gladly which shall be given rightly. Quia hilarem datorem diliget Deus, 'God loveth a cheerful giver.' And those things which shall not be given, are to be withheld with great discretion. One ought to give [neither] church-things, nor tithes, nor offerings, nor alms anywhere but where great need is and where he nevermore in this life seeks to have reward or meed. Think hereof ye who love the world's love!
OF FASTING AND SOBRIETY.

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iwis forlorene as fier on andies. Quoniam ebriosi regnum dei non possidebunt, 'De michele drinkeres soßliche naure, naure heuene riche ne sculen bruken.' Du as pis befelst and ne wilt [bien] beswiken, ga to his berieles as vis beuall mid pe odver 4 beforen as, and þenk hu anliche he lið fram alle hise felawes as he he was bewune mide to drinken and to pleizen, and hu viester he lið ðar pe was bewune to ve faire fiere and to ve briehte kan- deles, and þench vat ve fule wombe is crewlinde full of weormes, Ḷ pe he was bewune to fellen mid gode metes and swete drenches, and fonde; zif pe hero ef noht nagrist, nart þu naht liues þar ve ðu 2 libben scoldest. Wa mai bien ve ilke mann ve pis þesikp and þehiereð and na ve bettre ne bieð!

Of ʒe-meθe.

SOBRIETAS is an oʃer mihte, pat is, mae. Dies makeθ þanne mann maθfull ve was to grady. Her of sade ve apostel: Sobrii estote et uigilat, et cet., 'Bieð imeðfull and 16 wakieθ mid poutes, for ðan þewer wiðerwine gað abuten alche manne (w)ham he mihte forswolezen mid sume [h]eaued-senne. Alswa ve lyon ve gað abuten þe dier hem to forswolezen, swa deθ deuel abuten þew.' Bie war se ve wil! Sobrietas est nimii 3 cibi et potus repressio. Dies mihte, hie makeθ þanne mann ve hire wile folþin senne-leas and scameleas to-foren godd and to- foren manne of ates and of drenches. Hit bieθ sume þat non imeðe ne cuñnen of hem seluen to feden, alswa bieθ aure to fele 24 oʃre menn ve þiueð wið-uten schele alswa ða þinges ve hie naht ne scolden þiuen, alswa ða ve hie scolden þiuen. Dat wile þies mihte þat þu þiue ða þinges þe sculen bien mid rihte þiuen, gladliche. Qvia hillarem datorem diligat deus, 'Gladne þiure luueð 28 godd.' And ða þinges ðe ne sculen ben þiuen, þa bieθ to wið- [h]ealden mid michele skele. Chierche-þinges, tiȝepes, ne offrendes, ne almesses ne awh me nauhwer to þiune buten ðar þe michel nied is and ðar he naure ma on vese liue lean ne mede ne secθ to 32 habben. Þeinekeð hier of þie þe luueð worldes luue!

page 86. 2 bewunden MS. 3 The second i is half erased.
Again, there is another virtue—very happy [he] who may get it!—which is called pura conscientia, that is, pure conscience. It dwells so concealed in the heart that nobody can see or know it but God alone. It bears good witness of all kinds of good deeds, because it is glad and blithe of them, and of all kinds of evil works, words, or thoughts which come before it—so they must all, evil and good. All these it receives blithely or sorrowly. All which are agreeable to God are very welcome to it. Of those which are not so and come before it, it is very sorry, and reprehends the heart strongly and accuses [it] before God. Concerning this said the blessed apostle St. John: Si cor nostrum non reprehenderit nos, 'If our heart,' he said, 'does not reprehend nor accuse us of any sin which God hates and thou lovest: whatsoever we beseech God for, He will soon grant us.'

Of prayer.

Now we have quite come to this blessed virtue which one calls oratio sancta, that is, holy prayer. It is not right that we leave it, without saying something of it. When we read in the book, God speaks with us; when we say our prayer, we speak with God. If thou wouldst beseech the king for any thing, and thou camest into his hall where he sat among his rich men, and thou shouldst speak alone before all his men, thou wouldst speak with great dread and with great consideration. With much more fear and love thou oughtst to come before God, who is King of all kings, and beseech Him very humbly for thy need, so that thou shouldst say at the end of each petition what Christ said Himself as an example for us, because we do not know whether we beg what is agreeable to God and useful for us, or is not so: Non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis, 'Lord,' He said, 'do not as I will, but as Thou wilt.' Christ
OF IN\{E\}HEIED.

G\{E\}T is an o\{E\}er mihte—swi\{E\}e eadi \{E\}e hes bezeten mai !—\{E\}e \{E\}cleped pura consciencia, \{E\}at is, h\{E\}utter in\{E\}heied. H\{E\}e wun\{E\}\{E\}e swa der\{E\}neliche on \{E\}ar \{E\}iere, \{E\}at no maun \{E\}es ne mai isien 4 ne witen bute godd one. H\{E\}e ber\{E\}\{E\} gode \{E\}e\{E\}w\{E\}n\{E\}esse of al\{E\}eskenn\{E\}e gode dades, for \{E\}\{E\}an h\{E\}e is \{E\}er of glad and bli\{E\}e; of al\{E\}es kennis e\{E\}ele \{E\}\{E\}ek \{E\}o\{E\}r \{E\}e to\{E\}\{E\}oren \{E\}ire, swa h\{E\}e moten alle, e\{E\}ele and gode. Alle h\{E\}e his unders\{E\}ong\{E\}e bli\{E\}e\{E\}iche o\{E\}\{E\}er \{E\}ar\{E\}icliche. Alle \{E\}e gode be\{E\}\{E\} ic\{E\}wem\{E\}, h\{E\}e\{E\}f\{E\} hire\{E\} swi\{E\}e welcome. \{E\}\{E\}a \{E\}e swa ne bie\{E\} and\{E\} cum\{E\} to\{E\}oren \{E\}ire, h\{E\}e is \{E\}\{E\}ar\{E\}of \{E\}swi\{E\}e sari, and\{E\}\{E\}e\{E\}a \{E\}iere under\{E\}nim\{E\} and \{E\}\{E\}e\{E\}\{E\}e to\{E\}oren gode. \{E\}\{E\}or\{E\}e sade \{E\}e eadi apostel sanctus Iohannes: Si cor nostrum 12 non reprehenderit nos, 'zi\{E\}\{E\} ure \{E\}iere,' h\{E\}e sade, 'us ne under- neme\{E\} na\{E\}t ne ne \{E\}e\{E\}\{E\}e of …

OF BIENE.

\{E\}^u we al\{E\}es bie\{E\} zecumen to \{E\}\{E\}e\{E\}ere eadi mihte \{E\}e me clepe\{E\} oratio sancta, \{E\}at is, hal\{E\} bede. Nis hit na\{E\}t riht \{E\}at we h\{E\}e for\{E\}\{E\}en, \{E\}at we of hire sun \{E\}ing ne seggen. \{E\}anne we on boke rade\{E\}, \{E\}anne speke\{E\} godd wi\{E\} us; \{E\}anne we \{E\}\\{E\}e bede 20 segge\{E\}, \{E\}anne speke (we) wi\{E\} gode. Gif pu wolgest at te (k)inge 5 ani ping beseken, and \{E\}u come into his [h]alle, \{E\}\{E\}ar he sate mang (his) riche mann\{E\}, and \{E\}u scoldest ane \{E\}epek to\{E\}oren alle h\{E\}e mann\{E\}, mid michele dradnesse and mid michele embe\{E\}panke \{E\}u 24 scoldest speken. Mid muchel mare e\{E\}e and lume \{E\}u au\{E\}\{E\}st to cumen to\{E\}oren gode, \{E\}e is alre kinge king, and \{E\}im swi\{E\}e ead- modliche beseken of \{E\}iere niede, swa \{E\}at 6 pu hat alchere bede ende [scoldest] seggen \{E\}at Crist sade himself us to forbisne, 28 for\{E\}\{E\}an we ne witen hw\{E\}\{E\}er \{E\}e bidden \{E\}at godd be \{E\}e\{E\}wem\{E\}e and us biheue, o\{E\}\{E\}er hit ne bie: Non sicut ego uolo, set sicut tu uis, 'Hlauerd,' h\{E\}e sade, 'na\{E\}t alswa ich wille ne do \{E\}u, ac alswa \{E\}u wilt.' Crist self us tahte hu we scolden don, and sade: Tu 32

1 page 87.  2 \{E\}ar MS.  3 fon\{E\} MS.  4 G with j inserted.  5 k corr. above \{E\}.  6 page 88.
Himself taught us how we should do, and said: _Tu autem, cum oraveris, intra in cubiculum tuum_, etc., 'When thou wilt pray,' He said, 'go into thy bed-room and shut the door upon thee, and pray so to thy Father, God Almighty. And He who knoweth and seeth all things will hear thee.' Go into thy bed-room, that is, into thy heart—there ought to be thy rest—and shut the door, so that thou lettest no other thoughts into thee but of God and of thy need. Thus He taught with word and showed with works that we should seek loneliness and a private place for such a need. The Gospel says of Him: _Ascendit Jesus in montem solus orare._ It says that 'He went up into a mountain apart to pray.' All the men of the world were about Him; they could not prevent Him to think one thought but as He would. But [He did so] in order to give an example to hermits and anchorites, who ought to love and to keep loneliness more than all other men. And those who cannot dwell in loneliness, however, when they will pray their prayer to God, may do it as secretly as they can. For all the needs which ever come to man he always ought to beseech God first of all things, and then it will speed him always the better. This holy prayer is very agreeable to God, if it is sent forth with tears, with clean heart, and with burning love. Of this said the prophet: _Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea_, etc., 'Lord,' said he, 'so may go upwards my prayer before Thee, as the incense doeth out of the censer!' All the goods which one ought to have, must all be got through holy prayer and through good works. _Multum valet deprecatio justi assidua._ This said St. James, the holy apostle: 'The prayer of a righteous man availeth much,' and he gives such an example of it: 'There was a man, mortal as we are, and he besought God that it should not rain, to chasten the people. God heard him—that was Elias—and withheld all the rains three years and six months, so that they were all overcome through hunger and with thirst. And so they turned to God and begged forgiveness; and again, this
autem, cum oraueris, intra in cubiculum tuum, et cet.,
'Danne Du wilt 3ebidden &e,' he sade, 'ga into pine bedde, and
s(c)ette pe d(ure)1 uppen &e, and bidde pe swa to pine fader,
godd amlhtin. And he pe wat and isikë alle ping, he Se 4
wile 3eheren.' Ga into pine bedde, pat is, in to pine hierte—
Car ali to bene pine reste—and scete &e dure 2, swa Sat pu ne lat
none o'ere pahtes 3 in to pe bute of gode and of pine niede. Dus
he tahete mid worde, and mid workes he sceawede pat we annesse 8
and senderlincn stede scolde scechen to pelliche niede. Dat
godspell see of him: Ascendit Iesus in montem solus orare.
Hitt see pat 'he steih uppen ane dune ane him to bidden.' Alle
&e menn of Cære world waren abuten him; ne mihten hie him 12
benemen anne pouht to þenken buten alswa he walde. Ac for to
ziuene 4 forbisne her(e)mites and ancrers, &e annesse azen to luuen
and to healden over alle o'ere manne. And So pe on annesse
wunigen ne muzen, hure and hure, ßanne hie willed here ibede to 16
godde bidden, swa 5 dernelicne swa hie muzen, swa don hie! To
alle So niedes &e aure cume6 to manne aure hie awh gode to
beseken alre sing arst, and ßanne scal him aure &e bettre selim-
pen. Dies hali 3ebede, hie is gode swi6e 3ecweme, ßan hie mid 20
clane hierte and mid barminde luue for8 mid teares bie9 3esant.
Dar of sade &e prophete: Dirigatur, domine, oracio mea,
et cet., 'Hlauerd,' he sade, 'swa go upp mine 3ebede to-foren &e,
swa Sat stor dieth ut of storf(a)te 6! ' Alle &e gode &e mann awh 24
to habben, alle hie moten bien bezeten þurgh hali bede and þurgh
gode workes. Multum ualet deprecacio iusti assidua.
Dis sade sanctus Iacobus, ße hali apostel: 'Swiûe michel
help& pas rihtwismannes bede,' and &ar of he seeû ßelliche 28
forbisne: 'Hit was (on) mann, dedlich alswa we bieû, and he
besohnte at gode þat naht ne scolde reinein, for ße folke to kastin.
Godd him ihierde—³at was Helyas—and wiõ[h]eld alle reines
prie hier and six monepes, swa Sat hie waren ßurh hunger and 32

1 Two letters have been scratched out, ure is written above, and ur inserted on
the erasure by a later hand.
2 One or two letters erased.
3 a corr. from o.
4 Ac for to 3 is written twice, but the second time underdotted.
5 page 8g.
6 Corrected from storafte.
same Elias besought God for rain, and all joy came to them.'

Again, it is written: *Qui avertit aurem suam ne audiat legem, oratio ejus erit execrabilis,* 'From him that turneth away his ears from God's law, will God also turn away, when he beseecheth Him for aught.' Again, God Almighty Himself says: *Antequam vocetis, dicam: ecce assum,* 'Ere thou shalt cry to Me, I shall say: Look, here I am, beg what thou wilt.' When thou wilt beseech God for anything, kneel down before His feet, and think as if He were right there before thee, and say as he did who esteemed himself all guilty and got forgiveness: *Deus, propitius esto mihi peccator,* 'Lord God, have mercy upon me sinful!' I am well conscious that I am all guilty as he who has lost and despised the happiness of the kingdom of Heaven, and deserved the pain of hell. But I believe that Thou art the Highest God, and graceful and willing to forgive, and that Thou wilt, through Thy great goodness, and that Thou canst, because Thou art almighty, make sinful me righteous, and that Thou canst make me, who am all guilty, one of Thy chosen ones, if I have true repentance, so that I would sin nevermore again. But I cannot have this, except Thou wilt give it me through Thy great goodness and through Thy great mercy. And I believe and know it well that as good and as merciful Thou art to-day, so Thou wast that day when St. Peter forsook Thee. But as soon as Thou lookedst at him he quickly repented that he had done so, and he bewept it with bitter tears, and so Thou forgavest it him. So Thou didst to the guilty thief who hung on Thy right [hand]. So Thou didst to guilty Mary Magdalene. Thou madest her, sinful as she was, [a] thoroughly holy [one]. So Thou hast done to all to whom it was Thy will to give true repentance in their hearts.

Now, my dear Lord, I beseech Thee, through Thy great goodness, to look upon me as Thou didst upon St. Peter, and send a drop of Thy sweet mercy to my wretched, dry heart, so that it might soften and melt and send out some tears. Then I may hope that Thou
mid Jürst all ouercumen. And swa hie wanten to gode and forgisnesse beden; and eft ēies ilke Helyas besolhte godd of reine, and heom cam alle winne. Eft is ȝewriten: Qvi auertit aurem suam ne audiat legem, oracio eius erit excræabilis, ‘Se 4 ē want his earen fram godes lazhe, alswa wile godd wanden fram him, þanne he him awht besêke.’ Eft seîð goddalmihti 1 him self: Ante-quam * uocetis, dicam: ecce assum, ‘Ar Æanne 3u clepîge to me, ich sêgge: loke, hier ich am, bide þat 3u 8 wilt.’ Dannæ 3u wilt at gode ani þing beseken, cnyle þar niðer to-foren hise fet, and þinc swilch he bie riht þar to-foren ëe, and seîse alswa he dede ëe him [h]eald all forgelt and forgisnesse beât: Deus, propicius esto mihi peccatori 2, ‘Hlauerd godd, 12 [h]aue are 3 of me senfulfe!’ Ich am wel beenawe ëat ich am all-forgelt alswa se ëe halî forloven and forgaud ëo eadinesses of heuen-riche, and of-earned helle-pine. Ac ich ilieue þat þu art heîlest godd, and orefull and forsjuenlich, and ëat þu wilt, for 16 þine michele godnesse, and ëat þu miht, for ëi þat þu art almihti, of me senfulle maken rihtwis, and of me allforgelt miht maken on of þine ñecorene, þîf ich hadde soðe berewnesse, þat i(c)h nauermæ est seneçin nolde. Ac ich þis ne mai habben, bute ñu for ÿine 20 michele god-nesse and for þire michele mildsce 4 hit me þiuen wille. And ich ilieue and wel hit wot þat alswa god 5 and alswa milde þu art nu to daiz, alswa ñu ware ñas daiez ñe seinte Peter þe forsöch. Ac swa raðe so ñu to him lokâdest, sone him rewþ þat 24 he hadde swa ðie-don, and mid bittere teares hit bewop, and swa ñu hit him forþaue. Swa þu dedest þe (al) ë fo[r]gelte þieue þe he(ng) on þire 7 swipere. Swa ñu dedest þe forgilte Marie Magdalene. ðu makedest of hire senfulle þat hie was, þurhali. 28 Swa ñu hauest þedon alle þar þin wille was soðe berewsinge to þieue on here hierte. Nu, min leue hlauerd, ich ëe besieke, for þire michele godnesse, þat þu lokie to me ñwaswa þu dedest to seinte Petre 8, and sand âne drope of þire swete mildsce to mire 32 wrecche, fordruþede hierte, þat hie mihte nexeþ in and mealten and ut-sanden sume tear. (Danne mai ic hopien) ëat tu wilt of me

1 almihtin MS.  * page 90.  2 Evangelista red at side.  
3 an erasure before a.  4 an erasure above Id.  5 the second d underdotted.  
6 the second l erased.  7 page 91.  8 corrected above Marie.
wilt have mercy upon me as Thou hadst upon them upon whom Thou lookedst and to whom Thou gavest tears.

Of tears.

Know thou forsooth that these tears which we speak about are certainly God's gift, and very needful to the needy ones who shall be heard by God. Of them said the prophet: *Fuerunt mihi lacrimae meae panes die ac nocte*, 'My tears,' said he, 'were my bread day and night; so good they seemed [to be].' Of other kinds of tears he said: *Lacrimis meis stratum meum rigabo*, 'I shall water my bed with my tears.' This bed betokens the *conscientia*, that is, the conscience within. Where the good soul has its rest, there the evil soul has its pain. Therefore he said that he would wash with tears the conscience from that of which his heart accused him. We find nowhere that God denied anything for which any man besought Him with tears. God sent to Hezekiah, the king, by His prophet, and said: *Dispone domui tuae, quia morieris tu, et non vives*, 'Bequeath thy legacy,' He said, 'for thou shalt be dead, and thou shalt not live.' The King became sorry, as it is loathsome to leave riches, and very dear to live. He then turned to the wall, and did the best. 'Oh Lord God,' said he, 'remember now that I have loved Thee and have done blithely for Thy love, and give me still a little respite through Thy goodness!' This was a good conscience, that he could show forth his good deeds when he had need. Therefore God heard him and said to His prophet, who was homeward: 'Turn again,' quoth He, 'and say to the king: *Vidi lacrimam tuam*, 'I saw,' quoth He, 'thy tears, and I heard thy prayer. Thou shalt still live fifteen years; so much I have increased thy life.' When thou in great need wilt beseech God it is very good for thee that thou canst draw forth some good deeds; thy heart is the gladder, and thou mayst beg the more assuredly. Let us now say with the prophet: *Ciba nos pane lacrimarum*, 'Lord, feed us with the bread of sweet tears,' et
OF TEARS.

WITE ọu to soce ọat pese teares ọe we embe speke� hues bieδ 4
iweis godes ụine, and swiδe niedfulle to ọcan inede 4 pat iherd
lacrimae me panes die ac nocte, 'Mine teares,' he sade, 'me
waren bred dai3 and niht; swa gode hie ponhten.' Of opres 8
kennes teares he sade: Lacrimis meis stratum meum rigabo,
'Ich seal watrien min bedd mid mine teares.' Dies bedd taceδ pe
consciencia, pat is 8, pat inzied wiδ-innen. ọr ọe gode sawle
haueδ hire reste, ọr haueδ se eule sawle hire pine. For ọpi he sade 12
pat he wolde mid teares wascen pat inzied 9 ọr of ọe his herte him
wreiđede. Ne finde we nawher pat godd wernde ani ọing ọe ani
mazperienced mid teares he besouhte. God sante to Ezechie, ọe kinge, be
his prophete, and sade: Dispone domui tue, quia morieris 16
tu', et non uiues, 'Beceδ ọine cowied,' he sade, 'for ọcan ọu scalt
bien dead, anđ naht ne scalt tu libben.' De king wàrd δari, alswa
richeise is laδ 9 to laten, and swiδe lef to libben. He wante ọp to
ọe wau3e, and dede ọat 10 betste. '(A) hlauerd godd,' sade he, 20
'pench nu ọat ich ọe habbe ẹẹ-luued and for ọpine luue bliδeliche
idon, and zif me ziet a ẹlit ferst, for ọpine godnesse!' Dies was
god inzied, pat he mihte his gode dade forsδceawin ọp ọe he niede
hadde. For ọpi him ẹeherde godd and sade to [h]is prophete, ọe 24
was ham-word: 'Wand a3ean,' cwaδ he, 'and sai to ọe kinge: Vidi
lacrimam tuam, 'Ich ieseδ,' cwaδ he, 'ọpine tear, and ich iherδe
pine bene. ọpu scalt ziet libben fiftene ọear; swa michel ich habbe
ieith ọi lif.' Danne ọu on michele niede gode wilt beseken, ọpanne 28
is ọe wel god pat ọpu mu3e forsδdra3en sume gode dade; ọin
hierte bieδ ọe gladdere, and ọe sikerliker ọu miht bidden. Segge
we nu forδ mid ọe prophete: Ciba nos pane lacrimarum,
potum da nobis in lacrimis in mensura, 'and give us to drink of other kinds of tears, and that in measure.' I will that thou be well warned that, if God gives thee these sweet tears, no wine in the world is so sweet. And as a man may drink too much wine, so a man may weep too much, though they [viz. the tears] are sweet; and therefore it is good for thee that thou beseechest God for one virtue which is called discretio, that is, discretion.

It is very useful among all the other virtues. Thus say the holy Fathers: 'She is mother of all the other virtues; where she reigns man can never perish who wills her to reign and will follow her.' It is said in Vitae patrum that the holy Fathers were gathered together in some room, and were speaking among themselves in which way one might come to God most rightly and most surely. Some said: through fasting, some: through vigil, some: through prayer, some said: through obedience, some said: through loneliness, some said: through harbouring wretched men and feeding and shrouding [them], some said: through looking after sick men; and in manifold ways they mentioned according to what the holy Gospel says. Then said one of the oldest and one of the wisest: 'Through all these we have seen and heard a great many saved, and many by all these named virtues perished, because discretio failed them, that is, discretion and discernment. For some did much more than they could well complete, some did too little, some did evil and fancied to do well, some began well and ended badly. But we never saw that a man who had this holy virtue with him ever fared amiss.' Get it whoso can!

One holy virtue is called perseverantia. It is not to be disregarded, because it makes the man to whom God sends it persevere in his goodness. In the old law it was bidden anent all the animals which
OF DISCERNMENT AND PERSEVERANCE.

'Blauerd, fed us mid ðo breade of swete teares,' et potum da nobis in laerimis in mensura, 'and zif us drinken of ðores-
kennes teares, and ðat mid imele!' Dat ich wil ðat ðu wel be
iwarned, zif' godd ðe zifð ðese swete teares, ðat non win in ðare
world nis swa swete. And alswa alswa man' to michel mai drinken
of ðare wine, alswa mai ðe mann to michel wepen, ðeih hie
swete bien; and for ði ðe is god ðat þu besake at gode one mihte
ðe hatte discerecio, ðat is 8, sckeleynesse.

HIE is swifðe beheue mang alle ðe ðore mihtes. Dis ðe hali
faderes seggene: 'Hie is moder of alle ðe ðore mihtes; Þar ðe
hie rixin nm ei naure' man forfaren ðe hire wile rixin and folzin.'
Hit scife in Vitas patrum ðat at some sal waren ðe hali faderes
to-gedere igadered, and waren spekinde betwen hem on (h)williche
wise mihte rihst and sikestre to gode cumen. Sum sade:
þurh fasten, sum: þurh wacchen, sum: ðurh bede, sum sade:
þurh hersumnesse, sum sade: ðurh annesse, sum sade: ðurh her-
borin 5 wrecche menn and feden and screden, sum sade: ðurh seke
menn to lokin; and on manieskennes wisen hie namden after ðan
þe ðat hali goddespell seife. Da sade on of ða eldest 6 and on of ða
wisest: 'Þurh alle ðesen we habbet iseje and iherd swifðe manishe
geborpen, and manie of alle ðesen inamde mihten forfaren, for þi
ðat hem trukede discerecio, ðat is, scadwisnesse and skel. For
ði 7 sume deden michel mare þan hie mihtin wel andin, sume deden
to litel, sume deden euele and wenden wel don, sume wel a-gunnen 24
and euele andeden. Ac naure ne þeseige we manne þat hadde þese
hari mihte mid him, þat hie aure misferde.' Bejete se þe muge!

PERSEUERANCIA hatte an hali mihte. Hie nis naht 8 to
laten, for ðan hie makeð ðanne man ðe godd (l)is to-sant 28
þat he þurwineð on his godnesse. On ðare ealde laze hit was
[i|h]oten 9 þat alle dier ðe me gode scolde offrin, þat hie lokeden wel

1 Gif MS., with a j inserted in G. 2 a letter erased after n.
3 page 93. 4 two words erased. 5 on erasure.
6 t destroyed by a hole. 7 Si on erasure. 8 page 94.
9 io corr. from two other letters by erasure.
one should offer to God, to care well that the tail were on every animal. That betokens that each man who offers God any service persevere therein. In this new law said Christ: "Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, his salus erit, 'He that endureth in his goodness which he has begun, shall be saved and not otherwise, for no good which he has done, whatsoever it is.'

**Ratio dicit animae:**

Dear soul, I have made this little writ with sore toil—He knows it who knows all things!—in order to instruct thee, to warn thee, and to help thee and to save thee. If thou wilt understand it well and learn and follow and keep [it] without any doubt, thou mayst save thyself with God's help and surely gain the joy of the kingdom of Heaven with these holy virtues.

**Nunc auctor loquitur finaliter:**

Let us now thank and praise our Lord, Almighty God, for this knowledge and for this wisdom which we have here gathered from His hoard and from many a holy man's labours, who worked much for the love of God and in order to teach us! It is right that we praise and thank and bless Father and Son and Holy Ghost in the Holy Trinity, which is one true God in unity, who liveth and reigneth evermore world [without end]. Amen. Never forget thou to praise God and to thank [Him] for all good things. Just as we have need to beg Him by day and by night, and often and frequently; so it is need to praise Him. Amen.
Veni, creator spiritus, mentes tuorum uisita; implet superna gracia que tu creasti pectora. 17

1 see was written twice, the first erased.
2 Evangelista, red on the margin.
3 dura MS.
4 written above on erasure.
5 red, corr. above ratio, which is red underlined.
6 corr. above write.
7 pa MS., with underdotted a.
8 f is later inserted.
9 G with inserted j.
10 c corr. from i.
11 r corr. above l.
12 a corr. above e.
13 page 95.
14 u correction above i.
15 i written above an underdotted e.
16 i over erasure.
17 the Latin verses are written in a much larger type.
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The Rule of S. Benet.

LATIN AND ANGLO-SAXON

INTERLINEAR VERSION.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

DR. H. LOGEMAN.

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MDCCCLXXXVIII.
On some pages of the Introduction to this volume, and also in the Notes at the end, I have had to mention gratefully the help I have received from various quarters.

But apart from the aid specified there, I must here give the names of two gentlemen, whose assistance to me has been very valuable. First and foremost my thanks are due to Dr. Furnivall, who with great kindness has facilitated the publishing of this book, both as my doctoral dissertation, to be presented to the Faculty of Letters at the Utrecht University, and as one of the issues for the Early English Text Society. I must also thank him heartily for the trouble he has taken in correcting my necessarily faulty English. Secondly to my brother, Mr. W. S. Logeman, who volunteered to extract by far the greater part of the text for lexicographical purposes. I need hardly say that this labour has been of material service to me, and I gladly take this opportunity of publicly acknowledging my obligations.

H. LOGEMAN.
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TEXT.

THE PROLOGUE. It contains a hortatory sermon, admonishing the monks to pray to the Lord for perfection, to be up and doing, to fear the Lord, to walk in His paths, and to bear in mind that, like every beginning, the finding of the way to salvation is difficult

LATIN LIST OF CHAPTERS ........................................... 1

CHAPTER I. There are four classes of monks. Coenobites, i.e. those who fight the battle of life under a Rule or an Abbot. The anchorites, who fight alone against the weaknesses of the flesh and their sinful thoughts. The Sarabaites, a very bad class: they follow the dictates of their desires; what they wish to do, they call a holy act; what they do not like, they say is not allowed. The Gyrovagi, who roam about the country, and who, addicted to the pleasures of the stomach and the body, are even worse than the Sarabaites ........................................... 6

CHAPTER II. The Abbot who is worthy to reign over the monastery must always remember that he represents Christ. He must not teach anything but the precepts of the Lord. He is responsible for all that happens in his flock, and must set a good example in everything. There should be no distinction of persons in the monastery, and, above all, one of noble birth should have no privilege over a menial. The Abbot must always be aware of the difficulty of his task, and bear in mind that the more important are the things entrusted to his care, the greater are his responsibilities; and earthly cares and worldly considerations should not distract him from his serious work ........................................... 11

1 Those showing the order or sequence of the A.-Saxon words in construing the Latin.
2 Part of a word put for the whole of it, as pra for pravost.
Chapter III. When anything of importance is to be decided upon, all the monks should be consulted; for sometimes God reveals the truth unto the youngest of the brethren. In minor points the advice of the elder brethren suffices. The monks should give their advice in all humility to the Abbot, and not contend with him. The decision rests in all cases with the latter.

Chapter IV. Good works are here enumerated. These precepts are mostly couched in Scriptural language, and always pithily expressed. The first is: to love God with all one's heart, all one's soul, and all one's might, and one's neighbour as oneself. The last, never to despair of God's mercy.

Chapter V urges unlimited obedience on all. Whatever a monk has on hand, he is to leave that alone, be it finished or not, to obey the voice of an elder brother. And this obedience will be especially acceptable to God, if everything be done quickly and without a murmur.

Chapter VI urges silence on all, especially as regards scurrilous matter. But for wholesome and edifying words the Rule is not so stringent.

Chapter VII urges humility, for all exultation is a kind of pride. The twelve degrees of humility are enumerated, of which the first is: always to have the fear of the Lord before one's eyes. The second, to put the Lord's pleasure before one's own. The third, to submit to one's elders for the love of God. The fourth, to persevere notwithstanding all obstacles. The fifth, to confess evil deeds and bad thoughts. The sixth, to be content at the meanest labour being imposed upon one. The seventh, not only to say, but to think, that one is inferior to all others. The eighth, not to do anything but follow the ruling of the elders. The ninth, not to speak until one is addressed. The tenth, not to laugh at the slightest provocation, and at everything. The eleventh, to speak humbly, gravely, and not too much. The twelfth, to show one's humility, not only inwardly, but also by one's ways and meek habits.

Chapter VIII. In winter, the monks must get up at a fixed time after midnight, but so that they have had a good night's rest. In summer, the matins, which must be said at daybreak, should follow immediately on the vigils.

Chapter IX. The psalms that must be sung at the nocturns, as well as the responsories and the lessons, are here enumerated. Both the Old and New Testament should be read, as well as the approved commentaries on them.
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**Chapter X.** In summer time, the above-mentioned lessons should not be read, but one of the Old Testament should be said by heart instead.

**Chapter XI.** On Sundays, the brethren should rise earlier for the nocturns, in order to get through the special arrangement of services for that day. The lessons, psalms, and versicles are then specified.

**Chapter XII.** The psalms, benedictions, lessons, canticles, etc., to be said during matins on Sundays.

**Chapter XIII.** Matins on week-days. A special psalm for each day. Especial stress is laid on the Lord's prayer being said aloud by the Prior, so that all may hear it.

**Chapter XIV.** On Saints' days, the vigils should be said as on Sundays; and only the special psalms, antiphons, and lessons of the day are to be said.

**Chapter XV.** When the *Alleluia* is to be said, depends on the time of year. On Sundays, it should always be said.

**Chapter XVI.** In accordance with the words of the prophet: 'Seven times a day have I praised thee,' we must observe this sacred number, and we shall be doing so, if we keep the seven canonical hours.

**Chapter XVII.** The psalms, hymns, lessons, etc., to be said at Prime, Tierce, Sext, None, Vesper, and Compline.

**Chapter XVIII.** The order and number of the psalms to be said. S. Benet allows every one to have another arrangement, if only the whole Psalter be distributed over each week. In former times, he adds, it used to be the practice of our Holy Fathers to do all this in one day.

**Chapter XIX.** As we believe in the omnipresence of God, and that His eyes look alike on the good and the evil, let us take care that, during the divine office, our mind finds utterance in our words.

**Chapter XX.** Our prayer should be short and reverent, and pure, unless it should be prolonged by divine inspiration.

**Chapter XXI.** Deans should be chosen solely from the larger congregations. Only humble men should be elected, and, should they become too proud, they must be deposed, just like the Provost, after being rebuked three times.

**Chapter XXII.** Each monk is to sleep in a separate bed, but all, if possible, in one hall. If there are too many, let there be ten or twenty together under the supervision of an elder. A candle must burn in the dormitory until morning.

**Chapter XXIII.** If any brother does not observe the precepts of the Rule, he must be rebuked if necessary twice, secretly, and after
that, publicly. If he do not then mend, he shall be excom- 
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<td>man. He must remember that he has one day to render account of his</td>
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<td>management, and must bear in mind that his task is to benefit the</td>
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Chapter LXVI. A wise old man is to be appointed gatekeeper, and if he wants help, he can have it from one of the young men. The monastery must be so constituted that every requisite is there, so that the monks need not go abroad, to the detriment of their souls. The Rule should be read frequently to the brethren.

Chapter LXVII. Prayers are to be said for all those that go on a journey. No one is to speak to another of his adventures on a journey; nor is any one to leave the monastery, be the distance ever so small, without the consent of the Abbot.

Chapter LXVIII. All that a brother is enjoined to undertake, he must try to do, even if it should seem to him to be too much. Let him trust to God and obey.

Chapter LXIX. No one is to defend another in the monastery, not even if they are of near kindred.

Chapter LXX. No one is to strike another. Lads under fifteen years of age must be watched diligently, but if they are treated too severely, let the offender suffer the penalty enacted by the Rule.

Chapter LXXI. The brethren must be obedient, not only to the Abbot, but to one another. A brother who refuses to do penance, and remains refractory, should be expelled.

Chapter LXXII. Good zeal leads to God, and to life eternal. Let no one do what he thinks is good for himself, but only what is profitable to another. Let Christ be loved above all.

Chapter LXXIII. Epilogue. The Rule is not intended to be exhaustive in its teaching. The reader is referred to the writings of the Holy Fathers, the rule of S. Basil, etc. To those that live up to this Rule, the Kingdom of Heaven is always open.

Notes.
INTRODUCTION.

I. OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF BENEDICTINISM IN ENGLAND UNTIL THE REFORMATION.

The Latin convent rule, known under the name of the Rule of S. Benet, was written by that Saint about the year 516 A.D. 1 Saint Benedict was not the first who found it necessary to lay down rules for monks to live by. He wrote only for those ‘qui regulas nigris monachis ediderunt’ (i.e. those that were afterwards called Black Friars, and Benedictines). Dugdale, on the page cited below, enumerates some six and more fathers who were the authors of Rules. Of these we may especially mention S. Basilius, and refer the reader to page 118 2 infra, where Benedictus of Nursia himself speaks of the Regula sanctis patris nostri Basilii, as ‘bene viventium et oboedientium monachorum instituta virtutum.’

According to the commonly accepted idea, Pope Gregory the Great introduced Benedictinism, along with Christianity, into England in the year 596, when Augustine, prior of the Monastery of S. Andrew at Rome, came across with several

1 See Dugdale’s Monasticon, ed. 1817 and 1846, I, p. xxiii. S. Benedictus pater nostrer . . . regulam monachorum edidit circa annum Christi 516.
2 I here give the translation from the Durham MS., Bb. i. 6 (see Wanley, p. 298), a collation of which was not given by Professor Schröer: ‘Eac swylce þera haligra fæder lif. þeora drohtnunga. 7 se regol ures halgan fæder basili swet is hit elles butan ge tunbrunga haligra manna. 7 þæra muneca þ (read þe) wel 7 rihte libbaþ, 7 ge hersume ðynd.’ See A. Schröer, Die Angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel, Kassel, 1885-1888, p. 133. I may here thankfully mention the service rendered me by the Rev. Canon D. Greenwell, Librarian to the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral, who, on my applying for the loan of the MS., volunteered to transcribe the whole of the Ben. Rule contained in it, and who, assisted by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, Librarian to the University of Durham, did so entirely as ‘a labour of love.’ Let me here publicly thank the reverend gentlemen for this extraordinary kindness.
other Benedictine monks. Hook adds that 'Before Dunstan's time we may doubt the existence anywhere in England of the Benedictine Rule in its completeness.' Lingard argues against this. According to this learned historian, Benedictine writers have unsuccessfully tried to establish and maintain that S. Gregory was a Benedictine himself. According to him, it was not until Wilfrid's time (latter half of the seventh century) that the monks of Britain got acquainted with the Rule of S. Benedict. Be this as it may, all are agreed in attributing a high character and a great authority to the Rule in England when once introduced.

A few notes on the fate of the Benedictines in England may be convenient to the reader. Dugdale, in his great collection of materials for the study of Monasticism in England, says:

'Tres autem apud nos celebres fuerunt monachismi veteris reformationes. . . . Altera sub Dunstano fuit, in consilio Wintoniensi anno 965 regnante Edgarn. magnificentissimo coenobiorum instauratore. Tunc primum monachis praeimporta fuit constitutio generalis tam ex Benedicti Regula quam ex veteribus consuetudinibus contexta quae dicta est Regularis Concordia Anglica nationis?'

If this 'Regularis Concordia' is not Dunstan's, it owes its origin at least to his mind, which pervades the time in which he lived. His was the age of the revival of monasticism. It is Dunstan's mind that speaks through Eadgar's mouth when the latter prompts Aethelwold to a translation of the Benedictine Rule. What Dunstan aimed at, was to lead back monastic life to its original purity and severe discipline in accordance with the Rule of S. Benet, and to infuse the spirit of monasticism into the whole of the English Church. When, after sundry vicissitudes, Dunstan came to power shortly after Eadgar's accession, the reforms sadly wanted

1 See Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Christ. Antiquities; and Hook, Church Dictionary, in voce.
2 Alterthühmer der Angelsächsischen Kirche. Deutsch von Dr. F. H., in Rom. Breslau, 1847. When writing, I had not the English ed. at my disposal.
3 This is not the place for further investigations of the matter. I refer to Lingard, pp. 64, 70, and 72.
4 Monasticon Anglicanum, I, p. xiii.
5 See infra, Ch. II of this Introduction, sub I.
6 See Schröer, Die Prosabearbeitungen, pp. xiii–xviii ; infra, p. xxxiv.
were carried into effect. And his faithful friend Aethelwold followed in his footsteps.

The institution of several affiliated congregations, as those of the Cistercian and Cluniac monks, shows on the one hand great interest in Benedict's Regulations; on the other hand, however, the fact that this revival was deemed necessary, clearly indicates that here and there the observance of the Rule had gradually become laxer. The same may be said with regard to the Councils held every now and then at London, and in other places. When we find one synod revive an enactment that no meat shall be eaten, it is a sure sign that for some time this precept had not been observed.

About the year 1421 we find that degeneration had again set in, and that a reform was contemplated. At a meeting in Westminster Abbey between King Henry V and the Abbots and prelates of the Order of Black Monks, more than 360 in number, a reform was decided upon.

Coming a hundred years down, we now approach Henry the Eighth's time, the age of the decline of monasticism, the time when monasteries were to be dissolved, along with the ties that had bound Henry VIII to Rome. That corruption had set in, is a fact recognised alike by both Roman Catholic and Protestant writers. 'It is not pretended that every single community of the very numerous houses in England,' says Weldon, 'where the Rule of S. Benet was followed, was at the time of its dispersion in the highest state of regular discipline,' and:

1 I cannot but refer to B. ten Brink's words on this subject, which are very characteristic (Engl. Litt. Geschichte, 1877, I, p. 129); to Cockayne, Leechdoms, III, p. 412; and Bishop Stubbs, Memorials of S. Dunstan, Introduction, passim, but especially pp. cv and cviii.
2 *Sana de constitutione quam paulo ante concilium fecerant abbates ordinis Sancti Benedicti per Angliam constituti de carnibus non comedendis sacro approbante concilio his verbis diffinitum est.* Luard, Annales Monastici, II, 318; Annales de Waverleia, MCCCCXVII. For other councils, see ib., IV, 547-550.
4 Ib., p. xii.
The complaints—against the inmates, as will be seen, of not a very serious nature—'relate for the most part to certain anticipations by some of the more youthful monks of the teachings of what has lately been called muscular Christianity, as shown in their addiction to the practice of long-bow archery in the Hyde meadows, and to that of keeping late hours, sitting for long discussions, sometimes to the hour of eight in the evening and even beyond it (and, it is much to be feared, occasionally over a potation to freshen their talk), instead of betaking themselves to bed immediately after supper, according to the good wont of their predecessors.'

And now a complaint on the part of the Roman Catholics, which is at the same time a serious accusation:—

In estimating the case with which so many venerable monasteries were overthrown, it must be borne in mind that for some years previous to their final suppression, many steps had been taken by those in power to render that suppression more easy. One of these, and perhaps the chief, was the appointment by the Court of complainant and suborned men, already apostates at heart, to highest positions in the religious houses. No one was more prominent in this disgraceful intrigue than the highest ecclesiastical authority in the kingdom, the primate Cranmer.'

As a proof of this, D. Weldon instances the case of a man who was recommended for a vacancy, and who was—in an introductory letter quoted—said to be 'very tractable, and as ready to set forward his prince's causes as no man more of his coat' (1538). And the late Professor Brewer, a Protestant historian of Henry VIII, has an admission bearing on this subject, when he says: (Nothing) . . . . 'warrant(s) us in believing that the era preceding the Reformation was more corrupt than that which succeeded it.'

We now understand the preamble of the Act 27 Henry VIII, intitled 'An act concerning the suppression or Dissolution of certain Religious houses and given to the Kings Highness and to his Heirs for ever.

For as much as manifest sinne, vycyous carnal and abominable living ys daily used and committed in such littell and small abbayes and priories and other religious houses of monkes chanons and nonnes where the congregation is under the number of xir'3, etc.

How the new hope to which Mary's accession gave birth

1 Weldon, pref., p. xiii.
2 The Reign of Henry VIII, from his accession to the death of Wolsey, by the late J. S. Brewer, M.A., ed. by James Gairdner, of the Public Record Office, I, 1884; see p. 600.
3 Monasticon Anglicanum, Appendix to Vol. VIII, p. 1654.
II.

THE MS. TIB. A. 3. xix

was cut short with the end of her brief reign, and the succession of the Protestant Elizabeth, who undid all, and how the Benedictines fared unto this very day, all this and more the curious may pursue in the works I have cited in the foot-notes. I may fitly close this section of the introduction by two more passages from Professor Brewer's book, which are worth quoting:—

'The greater monasteries were necessarily modified by the circumstances of the times, and their religious characters impaired. They admitted a number of lay inmates, or, at least, kept open house for persons not connected with their foundations' (I, p. 50) and (ib., p. 51):

'That in so large a body of men, so widely dispersed, seated for so many centuries in the richest and fairest estates of England, for which they were mainly indebted to their own skill, perseverance, and industry, discredytable members were to be found (and what literary chiffonier, raking in the scandalous annals of any profession, cannot find filth and corruption) is likely enough, but that the corruption was either so black or so general as party spirit would make us believe, is contrary to all analogy, and is unsupported by impartial and contemporary evidence'.


The manuscript from which the present copy of the Benedictine Rule is taken, is the Cotton MS., Tiberius A. 3. It is described by Wanley on pp. 193²–199 of his catalogue. The MS. is slightly injured, but has been rebound and beautifully pasted up. At p. 198, section LXI, Wanley records the very gaps that I have noted below (on p. 1, ll. 1, 2, etc.), so that these injuries must be anterior to him, and therefore also to the fire of 1731.

The MS. is a miscellaneous one, containing a varied col-

1 Just now a notice reaches me of a book only recently published, 'Henry VIII and the English Monasteries; an attempt to illustrate the History of their Suppression.' By Francis Aidan Gasquet. Vol. I. The book, which lays blame on Protestants as well as on Roman Catholics, is characterised as being 'most conscientiously fair.' For a full statement of the case against the monasteries, I refer the reader to Ch. V of R. W. Dixon's History of the Church of England. Vol. I, 1878 (London: Smith, Elder, and Co.).

2 Wanley, by a misprint, 793.
lection of interlinear versions, prayers, confessions, and other treatises. The authorities of the great public libraries are not, so far as I know, keeping registers of the MSS. published or transcribed. The work in arrear is of course enormous; but an inverted Wanley to begin with,—to which the present is a humble contribution—would be an invaluable boon to students of the Oldest English, and would be a foundation for librarians to work upon. I therefore proceed to give notes of where the various pieces in the MS. Tiberius A. 3 are printed, if they have been edited at all; and I hope that all who have ever turned over the leaves of MSS. to hunt for unpublished matter, will be glad of my attempt; especially those who have diligently copied out page after page, only to find that this had been already done by some one else. Since Wanley’s time the pagination of the MS. has been slightly altered, and my statements refer to this new pagination.

That some one will take this work up for all MSS. is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

The greater part of the MS. was copied out by Junius (see below, p. xxxii, on the value of these transcriptions), and his copies are kept in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. It is to the various MSS. of this collection that the words ‘MS. Junius’ (infra) refer.

**Contents of the MS. Tiberius A. 3.**

No. I (fo. 3). Regularis Concordia Anglica Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque.

MSS. Jun. 52. 109 (now = No. 46). Wanley, pp. 92 and 99. VII.

Of this, the Latin text has been printed in full at least twice: (a) in R. P. Clem. Reineri Apostolatus Benedictinorum, and (b) in the later editions of the Monasticon Anglicanum, see edd. 1817, 1846, I, p. xxvii. The Anglo-Saxon text has never been printed in full. Besides the smaller quotations given from it by Wanley himself, other extracts have been put in type several times. Selden printed the prologue and the greater part of the epilogue in his notes to Eadmer. See his Works, ed. 1726, II (tomus 2), pp. 1612–1621 (see MS. Junius, 18; Wanley, p. 103). Selden, in accordance with the usage of his time, ‘edits’ the MS., and though he does not mention the MS. from which his text is taken, it is highly probable that our MS. is the one. Th. Wright, in his Biographia Litt.

1 See Skeat, Preface to the Gospel of S. Matthew, p. viii.
Brit., Anglo-Saxon period (I), p. 459, prints the 11th chapter by way of specimen. Quite recently the prologue and part of the first chapter have been published—critically edited, as the title page says—by Dr. Edward Breck, 'Fragment of Aelfric's translation of Aethelwold's De consuetudine Monachorum,' etc., Leipsic. W. Drugulin's printing office, 1887.

An edition of the whole text is preparing by Mr. W. S. Logeman. I may here add that the work is generally supposed to be one of Dunstan's, but it has been attributed also to Aelfric, whilst of late, independently of each other, Professor A. Ebert (Allgemeine Gesch. der Litt. des Mittelalters III, p. 506), and the above-named Dr. Breck, have fathered it upon Aethelwold, Abbot of Abingdon, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester.

II–XVII, inclusive, are all of a nature that makes us turn to Cockayne's Leechdoms (London, 1864–1866) to see if any are printed in it. As a matter of fact, I find the following state of affairs:

No. II (fo. 27 b). Leechdoms, III, 198.

No. III (fo. 32 b). Leechdoms, III, 184 (without the Latin text).
MS. Jun. 44. Wanley, p. 89 (imperfect? Wanley).

No. IV (fo. 35 b). Unprinted¹ (but copied by me for publication).


No. VI (fo. 36 b). Unprinted.

No. VII (fo. 36 b). Leechdoms, III, 150.
MS. Jun. 44. Wanley, p. 89.

No. VIII (fo. 37). Unprinted, but copied for publication.
MS. Jun. 44. Wanley, p. 89, sub VIII.

No. IX (fo. 37 b). Leechdoms, III, 154 and 168.
MS. Jun. 43. Wanley, p. 88, sub II and V. There is, however, a discrepancy in the two concluding passages of the texts. Having at the moment of writing no access to either MS., I am unable to solve the difficulty, which was perhaps also felt by Wanley. At least, he says, very prudently: 'Idem Codex, inquit, ch. Junius,' etc.

MS. Jun. 44. Wanley, p. 89, sub V.

¹ I consulted Professor Napier on this subject. He was so kind as to put his bibliographical knowledge at my disposal whenever I wished to draw upon it.
No. XI (fo. 40). Leechdoms, III, 180. MS. Jun. 44. Wanley, p. 89, sub IX.

No. XII (fo. 40 b). Leechdoms, III, 180. MS. Jun. 44. Wanley, p. 89, sub VII.


No. XIV (fo. 41). Leechdoms, III, 156. No. XV (fo. 41 b). Unprinted (copied). MS. Jun. 44. Wanley, pp. 89 and 90, sub XI.


Nos. XVIII–XX, and Nos. XXIII, XXIV inclusive, (ff. 43–44), are small tracts, very short notes, in fact (‘Notulae’ Wanley), on Adam, Noah, Fasting, the Virgin’s Age, and on Crime. They are shortly to appear in the Anglia XI.

No. XVIII. MS. Jun. 44. Wanley, p. 90, sub XIV.

No. XXI is Latin (fo. 43 b).

No. XXII (fo. 44). Leechdoms, III, 228 (partly, only, and from the MS. Caligula A. XV).

No. XXIII. MS. Jun. 44. Wanley, p. 90, sub XIV.

No. XXV (ff. 44–57). A collection of confessions and prayers as yet unprinted. They will shortly appear in the Anglia. Only the latter part (Wanley, p. 196), beginning: ‘Dæt sceal geþencan,’ also appearing in an Oxford MS. (Wanley, p. 51), was used by Thorpe in Ancient Laws, II, 260.


No. XXVI (ff. 57–60 b). ‘Missa, cum rubricis Saxonice.’ I am not aware that it has been printed.

No. XXVII (fo. 60 b) has been published several times; see Wülker’s Grundrisz, p. 476 (III, § 568).

MS. Jun. 66. Wanley, p. 95. Zupitza (Zeitschr. f. D. Alt. 31, 28 ff.) has recently treated of the relation of the two MSS. known to exist. I must here mention a note in the preface to Wanley’s Catalogue. Amongst some books that used to be in the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, he names (p. 8) a ‘Locutio Latina glosata Anglice, ad instruendos pueros (forte Aelfric Bata).’ I have no means of de-
terminating whether this is the identical copy that is now in the Cottonian Library. It would seem not, from the fact that it is mentioned as a separate book, whereas both the Oxford and the London copies are part of a collection of treatises. The query rises, were they always so? The Oxford MS. is to be published by Zupitza.

Nos. XXVIII–XXXI (fo. 65). Latin.

No. XXXII (fo. 65b). Leechdoms, III, 238 (here, as in some of the cases quoted before, only as 'variae lectiones').

The notae that Wanley mentions on p. 196 b of his catalogue (Nota de Archa noë, de S. Petri Ecclesia, et de Templo Salomonis, Saxonice, fo. 73 a, b) have not yet been printed, but I presume they are shortly to appear in the Anglia (xi). MS. Jun. 44. Wanley, p. 90, sub XIV.


No. XXXV (fo. 83). Is in Napier's ed. of Wulfstan's Homilies.

MS. Jun. 69. Wanley, p. 95.

No. XXXVI (fo. 87). Kemble's Salomon and Saturn, p. 84.

MS. Jun. 69. Wanley, p. 96. It will be included in Professor Napier's first volume of Homilies, to be edited for the Early English Text Society.

Nos. XXXVII–XLVIII (fo. 88 b), inclusive, will all be found in Professor Napier's Wulfstan.

No. XLIX (fo. 93 b). Latin.

No. L (fo. 94 b). I. Edited in Thorpe's Anc. Laws, II, 260. Nos. 2–6 inclusive are also to be found there, but printed from other MSS. See above, under No. 25.


Nos. LII and LIII (fo. 101 b). So far as I know, unprinted. One would expect these to be included in Cockayne's Leechdoms.

No. LIV (fo. 102). See Kluge, E. Stud., VIII, 472. It contains a reminiscence of the A.-S. poem, the Seafarer.
No. LV (fo. 103). 'Que sunt instrumenta Bonorum, Latine et eadem Saxonice. Sectio excerpta ex Regula S. Benedicti,' says Wanley. It is a copy of chapter four, of the work which, as I have said above (p. xv) and below (p. xxxi), has been edited, with some variae lectiones, by Professor A. Schröer; but he has not given a collation of this Tiberius MS.

Nos. LVI, LVII (fo. 105). These will probably be included in Professor Napier’s collection of Homilies.


No. LXI (fo. 118). This is our Benedictine Rule. See below, sections III and IV.

MS. Jun. 92. Wanley, p. 103. Junius copied only part of the gloss into a printed text: ‘Regula S. Benedicti Latine Duaci impressa, A.D. 1611, Saxonice per Junium glossata ex Cottoniano codice qui inscribitur, Tiberius A. 3.’ When preparing my text for the press, I was not in a position to compare Junius’s copy.

No. LXII (fo. 163 b) Regulae S. Fulgentii Latine, cum interlineata versione Saxonicæ.’

MS. Jun. 52. Wanley, pp. 91, 92. Wanley, in bestowing this name on this collection of monastic precepts, evidently followed Junius, who, at the beginning of his copy, says: Benedicti regulam interlinearam, quam habet Cottonianus codex qui inscribitur, Tiberius A. 3, mox excipiunt S. Fulgentii regulae, similibre interlinearatae.

The Precepts, as in the present MS., begin thus:—

‘DICEBAT VERO SANCTUS FULGENTIUS.

‘Juxta’ régulam patrum vivere semper studete; maxime autem secundum sancti confessoris tui benedicti; Non declines ab ea in quoquam: nec illi addas quippiam, nec minus; Totum enim quod sufficit habet, et nusquam minus habet; cujus verba atque imperia sectatores suos perducant ad celi palatia;’ and then follows immediately—

‘A KALENDIS AUTEM OCTOBRIS USQUE IN PASCHA

‘hora nona hoc faciunt,’ etc.

These words: ‘A kalendis autem Octobris,’ etc., to the end of our

1 I leave out the interlinear gloss, and here tacitly correct the Latin. These rules will be printed separately elsewhere.
so-called Regulae S. Fulgentii, at fo. 168 b, form part of a treatise printed in Migne's Patrol. Cursus completus, Vol. 66, p. 938, where it is headed: Ordo·Monasticus S. P. Benedicto attributus. It is this fact that makes it all but necessary for me to say a word on the subject.

The reason why these Precepts have been ascribed to S. Benet seems to be this. A monk at St. German du Pré\(^1\) stated that they were found in a 'vetus quoddam MS. Cassinense,' which enjoys a high reputation for genuineness.

This circumstance seems to have been sufficient reason for Arnoldus Wion to print the Precepts with the edition of the Benedictine Rule in 1593 at Venice, and thus silently\(^2\) sanction S. Benet's authorship. The argument is, however, a very shallow one, and so long as no other proofs are adduced, 'hoc opusculum non pro vero fetu magni S. Benedicti vendere praesumimus' (Migne, Vol. 66, p. 938).

The words at the beginning: Juxta regulam to celi palatia, headed by Dicebat vero sanctus Fulgentius, and especially the latter, must have given rise to Junius's error.

Nos. LXIII and LXIV (fo. 168 b) are Latin monastic precepts which, variis lectionibus, also occur in MS. Titus A. 4, ff. 107 and 117.

No. LXV (fo. 174). 'Aethelwoldus de consuetudine monachorum Saxonice.' It has been printed by A. Schröer, Englische Studien, IX, 291. See E. Breek, as quoted supra, passim.

MS. Jun. 52. Wanley, p. 91.

No. LXVI (fo. 177) is a Latin fragment, and, I think, unprinted.

No. LXVII (fo. 178). This did not originally belong to the MS. It most probably belonged to MS. Tib. A. 6. See Wanley's note, and Prof. Earle's ed. of the two parallel Chronicles, p. xxv (Oxford, 1865). See Wanley, p. 84 (MS. Laud, G. 36, II).

MS. Jun. 66. Wanley, p. 95. It appears from Wanley's note that in his time it belonged to MS. Tib. A. 3.


No. LXIX (fo. 179 b). Latin, and, so far as I know, not printed.

\(^1\) R. P. Jacobus du Brevil monachus S. Germani a Pratis; see Migne, Vol. 66, note at the end of the treatise there, p. 942.

\(^2\) I have not seen this edition, but presume that Wion does not expressly attribute the Precepts to S. Benet.

Manner of Editing.

We have already seen (p. xv) that S. Benedict of Nursia wrote his Rule about the year 516. No earlier writers have yet been pointed out as his sources. It is quite probable that he had none 1. The Rule no doubt originated in the saint's desire to provide his own followers with a code of laws to live by. However much he venerated his foregengan, as the conditions under which his monks lived differed from those of his predecessors, he must have been mainly, if not quite, original in the choice of his precepts. No doubt, his reading the works of a S. Basil and others may have made him feel the desirability of writing regulations of his own. But I should be surprised to hear that after-search had established a definite and direct relationship of matter between our Rule and any one of the works whose key-note it has more or less struck 2.

The number of commentaries that our Rule has called forth would seem to be legion. This Introduction is hardly the place for their enumeration. Neither can we allow ourselves to copy out the encomia of which S. Benedict and his followers can boast. Suffice it to refer for these to Migne, (see below) volume 66, which contains the greater part of these encomia, and references to more works on the subject.

Our Latin text has been edited several times. Apart from the older editions, such as the one of 1593 (printed at Venice by Fr. Arnoldus Wion), I here enumerate those nineteenth century edd. that have come to my knowledge:


These commentaries make the edition a very useful one. However, the work is very difficult to be got at, its enormous bulk—over 200 volumes—makes few persons care to buy it.

1 See Guéranger, as quoted infra, 'sanctus spiritus per beatum Benedictum Regulam Monachorum editit' (p. vi).
2 See however: Concordia Regularum, auctore S. Benedicto, ... auctore Fr. Hugone Menardo ... Parisiis, 1638.


(d) Regula Sancti Patris Benedicti juxta antiquissimos codices recognita, a P(atre) Edmundo Schmidt. Cum Permissu Superiorum. MDCCCLXXX. Ratisbonae, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati. Sumptibus, Chartis et Typis Friderici Priset, S. Sedis Apostolicae Typographi. This contains twenty-two pages of Prolegomena, in which the author treats of the relations of the MSS., and in which he wishes to establish that S. Benet prepared two drafts of his Rule. The work appears to be printed privately. At my request, however, the author kindly placed a copy at my disposal, for which I here beg to thank him most heartily.


(f) ‘Die Winteney Version der Regula S. Benedicti, lateinisch und englisch zum erstenmale herausgegeben’ has just appeared at Halle (M. Niemeyer), with a most interesting Preface. Before the work was published, the editor, Herr Dr. A. Schröer, professor at the University of Freiburg, presented me with a copy of the advance sheets of the text. For this courteous act I here express my sincere gratitude, as well as for other kindnesses received at that gentleman’s hands.

The English work is a thirteenth century text, taken from the MS. Cott. Claud. D. III, whence the Latin text is also transcribed.
Herr Schmidt used fifteen Latin texts for his edition; Professor Schröer only those four of which he published the Anglo-Saxon version. As Herr Schmidt used a collation of our codex (Schmidt = F) as well as one of the MS. Tib. A. IV (= Schröer's T, Schmidt's G), the total number of Latin codices to which I shall subsequently have occasion to refer is nineteen. I designate them as follows:—

E. " Frisingensis. Royal Libr., Munich (clm. 6255).
F. " Londinensis I. Cott. Libr., Tib. (A. 3).
G. " Londinensis II. Cott. Libr., Tit. (A. 4).
H. " Veronensis I. City Library.
K. " Romanus. Vatican Cod. Lat. 5949.
L. " Einsidlensis. No. 236.
O. " Oxoniensis. Bodl. Libr., Hatton MS.
P. " Faucensis. Library of the Cathedral Chapter at Augsburg.
Q. " Veronensis II. Library of the Cath. Ch. at Verona.
W. " Wells fragment, belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Wells Cathedral. Schröer, ib., p. xxv.

For further particulars about MSS. A–R, the few privileged persons who possess the book may be referred to Schmidt's Preface, pp. xii–xv, from which part of the above has been abstracted. For G, see also Schröer, Die Prosabearbeitungen, p. xxxiii. For F, see supra, Ch. II. The collation of our text, undertaken for Herr Schmidt by a friend, appears to be rather incorrect.

It must not be supposed that there are no more Latin texts than those enumerated. I have casually come across others in the Library of Durham Cathedral, in the Lambeth Palace Library, in the Phillips Library at Cheltenham, and

1 See A. Schröer, Die Prosabearbeitungen der B. R., p. xxvi, and now the above-mentioned preface, p. xi.
(of the fourth chapter only) in MS. Tib. A. 3, fo. 103 (see above, p. xxiv).

In the MS. Tib. A. 3 (fo. 118, above, p. xxiv), our Latin text occurs in an exceedingly corrupt state. 'Scatetque mendis,' justly observes Schmidt (p. xiii). Guéranger, Schmidt, Migne, etc., have, in their editions, largely deviated from the MS. readings. Lower down in this Introduction, in §§ 7 and 8 of No. V, some remarks will be found bearing on the edition of the Latin text, to which I beg to refer the reader. It will be seen from those, what my position is with regard to hitherto prevalent modes of editing Latin texts. The principles there stated have led me to deviate as little as possible from the MS. readings, nay, I have tried to keep to them always, except in cases where their spelling would make the text absolutely unintelligible to the ordinary reader. No one will for a moment feel doubts as to the meaning of debead, prospiciad, habbatis, etc., but I deem it possible that the spelling medicetur, as lemma to he smæge (96. 2), might throw those off the track who did not at the moment think of the phenomenon which will be found discussed, infra, No. V, § 63. Hence, such spellings have been banished from the text, but I have been careful to mark these divergencies in the foot-notes, whereas the spelling differences whose meaning was obvious, I have put in the text itself.

I have adhered to the paragraphs of the MS., as well as to its peculiar punctuation. The contractions have all been expanded, and to denote them, the letters not actually found in the MS. are printed in Roman type, whereas the rest of the Latin text is in italics.

In the first few pages of this Rule, some gaps occur; see the Text, p. r ff., passim. The Latin letters, so far as they may be supposed to have disappeared, are added in brackets. The headings of the chapters are almost always majuscules in

1 So peculiar that I afterwards, but too late, wished I had adopted a less embarrassing plan.

2 I am unable to agree with E. Kölbing, E. Stud., III, 469 note, in so far as he says that it is unnecessary to denote these contractions.
black ink, but mostly tinged with red. The first line, or part of it, of the Latin text in each chapter is usually also in capital black letters, no red ink being applied here. In this edition they have been denoted by small capitals. The illuminated capitals found in the MS. at the beginning of the chapters are mostly of a red, green, or blue colour; once or twice they have been forgotten. The glossator or glossators has or have sometimes added Latin words in the line of the gloss above the Latin. These additions are sometimes words that also occur in other Latin texts, so that we may suppose the then glossator to have copied these from another Latin text. In this case the added word has been inserted in the text, and in the Latin foot-notes attention has been drawn to this by the words: added or supplied by glossator. Of a different nature are the words that are scribbled over the Latin text, without being at all found in the other texts. They may be termed Latin glosses, and though comparatively rare, are found, e.g. where the word debere or debemus (see text, Cap. IV, passim) is added to explain the infinitive used as an imperative. Of this nature is the gloss 1 plane to sane (78. 17). These words, although Latin, are always put in the line above, as partaking of the nature of glosses. They, too, may be due to more than one scribe, but they are now found in the MS. in the characteristic handwriting of the Anglo-Saxon scribe. Attention has mostly been drawn to these additions in the Anglo-Saxon foot-notes.

IV. The Anglo-Saxon Text. Manner of Editing.

The prose paraphrases of the Rule of S. Benet in Anglo-Saxon that have been edited by A. Schröer 2 have no connection

1 Our MS. is a copy; so that if more than one glossator has been at work—which I have every reason to believe—the external traces of their work are effaced. The reader will see that the existence of more than one glossator must be assumed, by referring to the work, and especially the notes (e.g. note to 10. 7, p. 121; and 47. 3, etc.)

2 (a) Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa, von C. W. M. Grein, fortgesetzt von R. P. Wülker, Zweiter Band: Die Angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen
whatever with the present interlinear text. Of course, some words are the same, both in the interlinear and paraphrastical translations, but the greater number of them are different. This constitutes the principal claim of our text to a separate edition. It would be an interesting task to compare the vocabulary of the two versions together. There is no doubt that where the meaning of an Anglo-Saxon word can be demonstrated from glosses, there is a chance of its being the correct one. But still the glossator may have misunderstood his Latin\(^1\), a fact of very frequent occurrence; and in some cases, through lack of other instances, we may be unable to control his rendering, which, of course, is not checked by any context. But in the case of a running text, the translation, even if corresponding word for word, is free, and we cannot always depend on the translated word being an exact equivalent of the original. Where we have an interlinear translation—a sort of crib—as well as a paraphrase, we may be certain that those words which occur in both translations are accurate renderings.

So far as I am aware, the thirty-ninth chapter, which Thomas Wright published in his 'Biographia Britannica Literaria' (I, p. 442, Latin and gloss), is the only part of the present Benedictine Rule that has been edited, excepting, of course, the few specimen lines that may be found in Wanley's and in other catalogues. But the MS. appears to have been extracted from for lexicographical purposes, and consequently words and phraseological quotations from it are to be found in the various A.-S. dictionaries. Part of the glossing was copied into a Latin printed text by the indefatigable Junius. His texts, however useful they may be to the student of literature, should not be used for linguistic purposes. Junius der Benedictiner Regel. Herausgegeben von A. Schröer. Kassel, 1885-1888.


\(^1\) It seems like biting sarcasm when in the historical tract in MS. Faustina, A. io we read of the 'scearpdanclan witan þe . . . þisse engilscean geþeodnesse behofen' (Cockayne, Leechdoms, III, 440; i.e. the keen-witted sages that . . . do not need this English translation.)
appears to enjoy the reputation of being a faithful copyist, but when collating his copy of the so-called 'Regulæ S. Fulgentii' (above, p. xxiv) with the MS., I observed that this reputation was entirely unfounded 1. He adds words not in his MSS. He leaves out words found in his original, or transposes them. He does not distinguish between ñ and ḯ, which he consequently uses indiscriminately 2. He entirely disregards the punctuation of the MS., and he adds numbers of chapters after his own pleasure or notions of how they ought to have been. Lastly, he corrects his text without giving the reading of the MS.

The convent to which this MS. belonged is not known. Nor is there any author on whom we have reason to father our version. The likelihood indeed is that this interlinear version gradually developed, so that it cannot be assigned to any one person.

The object of this edition is to furnish the student with a text as it is found in the manuscript, with all its gaps, imperfections, and absurdities. I am of opinion that however stupidly a scribe may have mangled his original, the reading of the MS. is still the only thing of which we are sure. I have tampered so little with the MS. that I have left even the most palpable errors unchanged; here, however, I have followed the example set by former editors, and starred the forms which without doubt are merely clerical errors. It need hardly be said that I should not have followed this plan, were this text destined for the use of those desirous of learning the rudiments of Anglo-Saxon. Moreover, if the present were the only version extant, I might have taken into consideration the wants of those students who wished to read this text for the 'realia,' and I should thus

1 See H. Sweet, Introduction to Gregory's Pastoral Care, p. xix, whose sole blame is that Junius 'sometimes swerved from the path of literal accuracy in a few unimportant particulars.' See, on the contrary, Zupitza, Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum, 31. 2; Breck, Fragment, etc. (supra, p. xxi), p. 5; MacLean, Anglia, 6. 448.

2 It is generally assumed that the scribes themselves did not distinguish between the ñ and ḯ, and used them promiscuously. But if even any distinction is to be found, editors should take care not to obscure this find by not adhering strictly to the writing of the MSS.
have been compelled to make a more or less readable text of it. But for this there is, of course, no occasion. Those who wish to read S. Benet's precepts for the sake of their contents will find their wishes gratified in the present volume by looking up the Latin text; and if any one desires to read it in Anglo-Saxon, the very handy editions of Professor Schröer are now available. There can be no doubt, to my thinking, that it must be the aim of an editor to give the text as the manuscript records it. Of course he may then set to work and, by dint of exterior and interior criticism, try to eliminate some mistakes, but—in the case of an edition like the present—I am of opinion that this should be done in foot-notes. Nothing can be gained by imprudently introducing one's own—if I may so express it—one's own Anglo-Saxon amidst the language—though a corrupted specimen of it—of our forefathers. Indeed a great deal may be lost—unity.

Now, doubtless, it may be objected that when, e.g. the word *gebetrode* is found in the MS. as *gebeorode*, there can be no doubt that this was not a mistake, but simply a blunder, and that therefore no purpose is served by retaining it in the text. True, partly! But even here there is this consideration, that to watch the mistakes of scribes is not without interest, for the study of culture in a given period.

In accordance with the principles laid down, I have given the text of this Rule exactly as it is found in the MS. Only the following must be observed. The *i*, which is in the MS. written undotted, has been printed with a dot over it. Absolutely wrong forms are starred. Elucidations to forms in any way remarkable, will be found in the foot-notes, or in those at the end of the volume, or, when the matter is one of phonological or grammatical interest, in the fifth division of this Introduction. Italics denote the expansions of the scribal contractions, when no foot-note is appended. Other-

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1 In most cases attention has been drawn to these by the words *see note*. The editor is sorry to own that, owing to a want of foresight, no very definite, at least no very scholarly, principle can be laid down as to what notes may be found at the foot of the page, and what at the end of the volume. As a rule, palaeographical notes are at the bottom of the page, and elucidations of different nature on p. 119, etc. But various causes prevented this rule being always adhered to.
wise, those letters are italicised to which attention has been called in the foot-note. Thus *pet means that the MS. has the contraction *p, as no foot-note is there. But the letters *nce in *geswince (1.6) are italicised merely to call the attention to the note. Whenever I have thought it necessary to propose an emendation, it has been only when some reason for the corruption could be adduced, either from a graphical error, or a psychical process. But where these reasons were more or less obscure, I have stated them in words.

Our Anglo-Saxon text is a copy, i.e. the glosses have not been put over the Latin text only in our MS. Both have been copied from another text or from other texts, most likely at the same time, and possibly by the same scribe. The chances are—indeed, there is every reason to believe—that our MS. was copied often. That the last copyist had an interlinear translation before him, is evident from the frequent occurrence of wrong forms that can only be explained by influence of the lemma on the gloss, or vice versa (see foot-notes, passim). When an original Latin text was first glossed, we may a priori assume two possibilities. Either the glosses were copied into our original Latin from a ready-made Anglo-Saxon translation, or the glossators worked without a model of any kind.

Let us consider the first assumption. If this were true, the Anglo-Saxon text must have been supplied either from the text commonly attributed to Aethelwold, or from some other hitherto unknown text. We need, of course, not speak of the latter possibility, as the establishment of this point, as well as its rejection, are utterly beyond determination. As to the text edited by Schröer, it is not likely to have been the original, for, as we have already seen, the vocabulary of the two is somewhat different.

We are therefore led to the theory of the gloss-origin. And, indeed, even if we could have for a moment thought of the other theory, the evidence in favour of the former is so overwhelming that there can be no doubt about it; and I

1 Thus Schröer, ib., p. xvii. I am not sure that he has established his point.
have but to refer to the appearance of the text, passim, without entering into particulars in any way.

We find then that our version developed,—just like the glossaries that Henry Sweet has so ably treated of in his Oldest English Texts, p. 7—out of a few interlinear glosses, that have multiplied gradually until, in our MS., the Latin is very nearly fully-glossed, every copyist having contributed some more glosses to those which he found in his original. The scribe of our MS. has also acted as a glossator. His work can be traced, e.g. in the words *gesawen* and *visum* (as its lemma, 13. 3), that he himself put instead of the *calra, omnium*, which is a misreading that does not belong to the text.

That we can still be positive about the fact that more than one scribe has been at work is rather curious, considering that through the last copy all external traces of former glossators are lost. Yet a place like (13. 1)

> learn forebeon i. enihtum
> *preece* *discipulis*

... can hardly be otherwise explained than as the work of two glossators.

**The 'Paving' Letters.**

Those who happen to have looked into the text of our Rule before reading this part of the Introduction will have been struck at seeing numerous letters enclosed—in our print\(^1\)—in square brackets spread all over the volume. In the notes they will be found referred to as *paving letters* or *gloss-letters.* The word, as well as the matter, I now proceed to explain.

As to the letters themselves, they are found in our MS. Tib. A. 3, over most of the Latin words, both in our Benedictine Rule, and in those tracts that Wanley styled the *Regulae S. Fulgentii* (supra, p. xxiv), but, so far as I have been able to find out, they do not occur anywhere else. No one I could consult—I may thankfully and especially mention Dr. E. Maunde Thompson, now Chief Librarian of the British

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\(^1\) Not so in the MS. See next paragraph.
Museum—knew of their existence in any other manuscript. The only man who mentions them is that accurate worthy, Wanley, who, at p. 199 of his Catalogue, speaking of these letters, says: 'N.B. Super voces Latinas, exaratas esse Literas Saxonicas, quae, quo ordine construendas sunt, ostendunt.' Had Wanley written in English, his would have been the task, which now devolves upon a foreigner, of bestowing an English name on these 'Literae.'

He would, no doubt, have followed the ordinary school-crib ordo, which gives the English construing order of a Latin author, and would have called these unfortunate waifs 'order- or sequence-letters.' But when I talked to Dr. Thompson on the subject, he said that the Rugby boys' slang term for this process was paving—paving smooth (I suppose) the rough road of learning Latin. The term struck me as a happy one, suiting Wanley's construendae, and so I adopted it, though perhaps without due consideration of how it would puzzle readers to whom 'paving' suggests only laying stones on a carriage-road or a footpath.

That Wanley is right in saying that these 'paving' or sequence letters show the order of construing Latin into Anglo-Saxon, is not so apparent at first sight as on closer investigation. The idea must have been, of course, to put the letters over these words that wanted construing, in such a way that they had but to be arranged in the alphabetical order thus indicated, in order to yield an intelligible meaning. Now it is, e.g. not clear why the scribe at one time begins with a and goes on to the end of the alphabet, whereas at another time he proceeds only as far as g or f, or almost any letter, and begins again at a. The Latin wanted 'paving;' not the gloss-text. A friend suggested to me that it must have been the Anglo-Saxon text whose syntactical word-order was thus pointed out. 'In order to get an Anglo-Saxon translation, not glosses'—thus my friend writes—'some one put in those "paving" letters to indicate the word-order of the vernacular text. A later copyist, not being able to read the text well, copied the paving letters,

1 See below, V, § 6.
but omitted the glosses.' I am inclined to think that this view is not correct. It must be admitted that the several blunders—see the starred forms—for which we must blame one or more of the scribes, point to an imperfectly legible text\(^1\) at one time or another. But is it likely that the gloss should have been unintelligible so wholesale, and the paving letters quite clear? Must we not \textit{a priori} accept the fact that the Latin text stood in need of comment? What could have been the object of him who thus tried to transmute the interlinear translation into a more or less paraphrastical one? I do not wish to lay undue stress on the fact that the gloss-letters are in Latin characters, like the Latin text, whereas the A.-S. text is naturally written in A.-S. characters. I only say that, although it perhaps remains an open question, the likeliest thing seems to be, that we must look upon the gloss-letters as 'paving' the Latin text.

At one time we find two gloss-letters over one Latin word, not only where this is glossed by \textit{two} Anglo-Saxon ones, but also where only one A.-S. rendering is given. At another, a few non-paved words may be seen intervening between two sets of paved ones. Sometimes these non-paved words must be taken into account when construing the sentence, whereas a little further on we may find an instance where they need not be taken into consideration. From this it is clear that, whatever explanation we fall back upon to solve the difficulty—and none other but the one propounded by Wanley seems plausible, or even possible—we must not strain it; we must rather be content to apply the key somewhat loosely; for there can be no doubt that our 'paving' letters have suffered by the frequent transcribing which our text has undergone. In consequence of this we may expect:—

\[ a. \text{Letters to have been put over the wrong words;} \]
\[ \beta. \text{Letters not to have been transcribed;} \]
\[ \gamma. \text{Letters to have been misunderstood as part of gloss-words, which in reality are nothing but gloss-letters;} \]

\(^1\) To this cause the same gentleman also attributes the phenomena I have discussed below, V, § 4.

§ 1. The language of the present text will be considered in this chapter in its most striking peculiarities. In all essentials, I think, we shall find it a document of the later periods of Anglo-Saxon. External criticism cannot be called in to bear
out this statement, for, as we have seen, there is no person on whom to father it, nor is there any external reason to attribute it to an inmate or to inmates of any particular convent. Considering that the only evidence we have—the palæography of the MS.—gives us the limit of about 1020–1030, and further remembering that we have some reason to believe that the MS. was copied more than once, we may perhaps roughly assign it to the first years of the eleventh century.

§ 2. The text will not be treated exhaustively. Such treatment had better be reserved for the works of a standard author of the period. Now that we have a statistical grammar of two representative works of King Alfred's, in Prof. Cosijn’s Altwestsächsische Grammatik, it is highly desirable that some one should take up this labour and commence a similar work for, say, Aelfric. A work which is fit for such treatment should yield material not only for phonetic studies, but also for the study of inflections, and also of syntax. Our text lacks the former to a certain extent, and the latter altogether.

§ 3. For the want of inflections, to a certain extent, I refer to what in a letter to the Academy (for July 21, 1888), and borrowing a term from Sanskrit philology, I have called ‘crude forms.’ A glossator wishes to write down the sense of the Latin word merely as an aid to his memory; and without regard to either number or case, he just jots down the word—no more. It is not so much the nominative which he selects, as ‘the word’ in the abstract, which of course in Teutonic philology always coincides in form with the nominative. I shall here enumerate some cases of crude forms:—

sidfæt (itinera, 3. 12), twyfeald (dupplici, 12. 17), hyrde (pastoris, 12. 8; 17. 5), leas (gewitnesse; falsum testimonium, 19. 13), læncenfæsten (quadragesime, 45. 13, etc.), vers (versuum, 50. 2), mid gewunelic feaw (68. 5, 6; probably mid was added afterwards to indicate the case; more solido), gewordenum forecnyll (facto primo signo, 82. 11), wrað (iratum, 116. 13).

Here the crude form is always singular, as also where we find hæc, neuter plural, glossed by the neuter singular pis (5. 3). But once I found ‘utentibus’ glossed by brucendas (92. 6),
which looks very much like a plural crude form. This may be also the case with *bebodu* (preceptis, 21. 17; 55. 13; and also 54. 2).

Conversely we find a singular glossed by a plural in *gymneleastum* (42. 7), and a nominative by a genitive in *ealra heardnessa* (96. 7), but these must surely be due to a mistake. A similar occurrence is when verbal forms are glossed by infinitives. We cannot be astonished at this, if we think of what a school-boy in the present time, who had to prepare a piece of Latin for translation, would do. Suppose he found the form *taxarimus* in his text; the ending would naturally be clear to him, and he might ask, What is *taxare*, and having remembered it, or having been told, he would *perhaps* write down *we write*, if he took the ending into consideration, but it is quite possible that he would jot down *to write* only. In the same way we must bear in mind that it was quite as often the aim of the glossators to aid their own memory, as to further the use of the text by *others*. This is lost sight of, I think, by those scholars, who look upon any gloss as a *mistake* which does not in all particulars of tense, person, or number, case, etc., correspond with the lemma. For instances, see *beon* (fueris, 75. 4), *underfon* (subjaceat, 91. 8), and *infaran* (96. 13; ingredere, which, however, may not be in point, as the glossator was liable to the mistake of looking upon *ingredere* as an infinitive). See note to (97. 2).

§ 4. A phenomenon akin in character to the above, is one which, for want of a better name, I was forced to call *merography*, because only part of the gloss was in these instances written. It would seem as if the glossator, when writing down only a few letters, thought: ‘If I see but this part, I shall remember the whole easily enough;’ or, in cases where the ending is given only: ‘I know the word well, it is only the case which I am in doubt of.’ Hence, we find forms like the following1—

*becuman* (5. 17), *æm tigæd* (5. 17), *lea des* (10. 8), *for ma* (23. 5), *cal dre* (26. 11), *hlæd dre*2 (28. 1), *hlæd dran* (28. 9), *moundes*,

1 The parts which I supply are printed in Roman characters.

2 The *h* is here, possibly, a corruption of a ‘paving’ letter *b*.
monē es (39. 10), on ænde byrdnesse (41. 15), ead modnesse (53. 8), under fo (56. 13), ge mæn sumunge (? 70. 5; cf. 69. 6, or must we read gesomunge?) becumen dum (? 75. 2), sin gendra (77. 5), ræd an (83. 17), anfeald lice (101. 16), genan (probably a mistake for genam ian; 105. 17), wege dihtaft (110. 16, i), pravost (111. 9), to wurpon nesse (113. 15).

Perhaps also in rihtwisnesse (injustitias 33. 11, but it may more likely have been understood by the glossator as: in justitias), and in geunrotsaled (62. 18) which must be supposed to stand for geunrotsad or geunrotsed.

See, for another view of the origin of these glosses, IV, p. xxxvii, note.

§ 5. As regards the lack of syntax, it is but natural that syntax could not be expected in a collection of glossarial renderings, constituting a text, like the present. Slight traces of it may however be found, as when a gloss follows the government of a preceding English word, instead of the lemma, e.g. heardlices, as gloss to asperum (6. 4), being a genitive dependent on the words ænig linc, going before. Cf. also the following:—on ðam, referring to hive (masculine, 14. 13), but gloss to in qua; lareowlicum hi fylian regole (magistram sequantur regulam, 18. 9); which may be also owing to the tendency in Latin, of mixing up dative and accusative forms.

In ðam gereaddum (qua perlecta, 41. 13), the gloss is wrongly put in the masculine; the glossator evidently thinking of the godspelle which goes before; whereas in reality the qua refers to lectio.

§ 6. I must remind the reader, at this point, of how narrowly we have missed possessing a valuable contribution to the study of English syntax in our document. If we had but the original, instead of a much defiled third or fourth-hand copy, how the ‘paving’ letters would repay the trouble of an investigation! For there can be little doubt that if we could re-arrange the Latin words in the alphabetical order of the original position of these paving-letters, we should find that the words were then put in the Anglo-Saxon word-
order, or nearly so. Why this is not now the case, may be seen above, p. xxxvii.

§ 7. In making my choice as to what I should take up and what reject, I have been guided by the principle of noting only that which may be thought in any way to supplement Sievers's Standard Grammar. It is to his second edition that my quotations of his sections refer, which, however, I do not always cite. I also give what is characteristic of the period to which the present text belongs.

In what follows, the evidence will be found to be based, with one or two exceptions, on material drawn from our Old English text. But, when lately investigating this matter, I came to the conclusion that a careful analysis of a Latin text may sometimes yield valuable matter for phonetic investigation too. In a letter to the Academy ¹ for Sept. 22, 1888, I tried to lay down the general principles by which we should be guided when working at a Latin text for this purpose. What will be found there, may be summarised as follows:—Where we know a Latin text to be written in the country whose language we are investigating—in our case, English,—and where we know that the spelling-differences presented by the text under consideration are deviations from the ordinary Latin taught in the Middle Ages; that is, where we have reason to suppose that the peculiar spellings in this text are due to an English scribe, we may take those Latin spellings into account to corroborate the evidence of the spelling in our English text.

Now although our MS. dates from the eleventh century, i.e. about four centuries after the reported introduction of Benedictinism into England, yet the ultimate source is a Latin original. The fact, however, that the other MSS. appear not to present the peculiarities of this manuscript, enables us to rely more on the following evidence, especially in conjunction with that of the Anglo-Saxon. I have here brought together the little evidence that our text yields. But my knowledge of Middle Latin is so slight that I am by

¹ See also the subsequent numbers of that periodical.
no means confident of having been at all consistent in distinguishing between what is general, and what is peculiar to the English scribe. (See above, p. xxix.)

§ 8. That ae becomes e (passim) is, of course, quite general, but perhaps the reverse process may be thought to illustrate what will be found stated below in § 15. Cf. desiderent (24. 13), item (31. 13), occupentur (82. 4.) The general levelling of unstressed vowels may be perhaps exemplified by corda (19. 10), murmurantis (25. 10, 11), opore (35. 16), leganter (38. 15), memoriter (39. 16), etc. As to what has been said of the possible existence of nasal vowels, if any importance is to be attached to the examples in §§ 41, 70, we may here instance utipona (43. 7), emendaverit (= -int, 59. 4), injugat (80. 16, etc.). Do, perhaps, spellings such as completori, subsellis, versum (40. 11, 46. 6, 50. 2, for completoriis, etc.) prove that our scribe was accustomed to indicate vowel-length by doubling the letter?

As to § 42, cp. sompno (2. 9, 28. 2), contemponentes (28. 16, where p is added below the line), ampticet = applicet (21. 1), etc.

For the pronunciation of b = v, cf. in our text habitavit (3. 16, etc.), which, however, is of very frequent occurrence as in the O.S. Heliand, e.g. bar = far). See Sweet, O.E.T., p. 185. If, as I have reason to suppose, this change obtains only in this ending, -abit, -avit, I doubt whether it is anything but a graphical, or a continually occurring, blunder.

As to § 50, see debead (63. 12), prospiciad (68. 14), capud 73. 15), hospidum (75. 8), deliquid (79. 15), and compare jube oddare, which is, of course, jubeat dare (91. 5). Hence in 64. 14) I put agad in the text, not agat, on account of the leo following.

Medicetur (96. 2, paet he smæge, MS.) = meditetur, is equally interesting, as the word secende = setende (below, § 63). Ad § 66, cf. siens = sciens (97. 5).

As to § 72 compare habbatis (79. 8), cohereceat (15. 12), in has signato (75. 3 = in (h)assignato), as well as omnibus (MS., evidently a corruption of ominibus = hominibus, 30. 6), ospitum 61. 15), ospite (88. 12), abitant (91. 11), ortu(s) (112. 15), etc.; richilum (4. 8) is, I believe, quite common elsewhere.
We shall now have to examine the Anglo-Saxon text.

§ 9. Sounds.—A. Stressed short a before nasals has passed through the second o-stage (Sievers, § 65), and has again become a, passim, e.g. underfangan (97. 4), langsumum (97. 7). Stressed short o otherwise placed is stable; the only cases where it is found as o are ut to foranne (65. 16; cf. § 20), and upahofen-nesse (22. 7).

Half-stressed and unstressed a passes into e and o. Cf. andsweras (3. 1), andswore (112. 6, 112. 9), and for the latter case eadmōdren (14. 9), forhīegende (15. 4), witen (72. 13), and befrinonne (26. 12).

§ 10. o. Stressed short o is sometimes found as eo before r, f, and h: feorwyrde (interitum, 57. 5), gode leof (ambrosianus, 38. 7, but lof and lofswang, passim), to geleohgenne (92. 8). I also find ò represented by u, strwe (36. 10) and locæd (110. 12), which latter is possibly a mistake for lociæd.

§ 11. Stressed long o is represented by, possibly its umlaut, e in werigende (vagari, 112. 17), but u in du=do (103. 7).

§ 12. Unstressed o becomes a in abbade (116. 2; Latin influence?). It is rendered by u, e.g. in furður (26. 13), and often by e in the case of the ending -æst of the superlatives (e.g. leofestan, 3. 9, etc.). Cf. also nýgeda (37. 4), nigeða (37. 11).

§ 13. u. There is little to be said of the u’s in stressed syllables: on a possible nasal ū, see below, § 41.

u, in unstressed syllables, is represented by o in höfholnesse (54. 1 and 57. 18), and by a in oðram (14. 9).

§ 14. ē, ē. Genetically speaking, e is either palatal or guttural. Traces of this may be seen in the fact that g is retained longer before guttural e’s than before palatal ones, where it soon runs into the palatal spirant (j). Thus we find the prefix ge- (=ga) unswervingly represented in this way. It is not until the end of the eleventh century that we find it represented by i (Vices and Vertues, ab 1200, passim, icleped, idon, etc.).

§ 15. Short ę, stressed, half-stressed, and unstressed, very frequently becomes æ; conversely æ, in all three positions is often written e. The natural inference is, that the two sounds
have run together, and are assimilated. In fact, three originally different vowel values may be said to have dwindled down into one. \( e = \) West Teutonic \( i \); \( e = a + i \), and \( e = \alpha = \) W. S. \( a \) before non-nasals + palatal vowels (Sievers, § 49; Sweet, History of Engl. Sounds, second ed., § 413).

Cp. anlebyrdnesse (14. 3), ælfremedne (20. 5), ælles (28. 4), bigængæ (86. 3), Jœnce (104. 16).

wævels (32. 14), monðæs (39. 10), luþænde (68. 1), hei aspendæ (98. 9), etc. In ælmasænan (99. 16), and in heafmæstæ (76. 5), the non-italicised symbol may owe its sound to a confusion with. masse, -maest, due to and explained by popular etymology.

§ 16. \( \dot{A} \).—Both short and long \( \alpha \) are often found in our text represented by \( a \). Parrihte (23. 16), stape (28. 13), hvar (36. 1), radan (72. 10), mage (72. 15). They are also written \( e \): seigð (2. 18), stepe (31. 9), gemenlica (communis, 34. 12), geedlehtæ (51. 17), afterfilige (54. 10), afered (prostratus, 78. 11), and lastly, both short and long \( \alpha \) is expressed by the symbol \( ee \): geedlehte (51. 3), geheef (101. 16).

§ 17. \( \alpha \) is \( ea \) possibly in eallpeodscipa (89. 5), if it is not a mistake, influenced by eall; gehealdenæ (61. 2), which must then be supposed to be wrong for getealde (but cf. note, infra, on p. 123), and perhaps in teallic, = taelic (54. 7).

§ 18. \( \alpha \) is \( y \) in gyjstes (94. 5).

An \( i \) has developed after a long \( e \) in the case of hei aspendæ (98. 9). It may be due to the analogy of the \( e \) in some cases, e.g. aweig (1. 7), etc., where a \( g \) followed.

§ 19. \( \acute{e} \) has developed into \( ea \) in fealaspcreocala (35. 5; cf. infra § 30); into eo in the same word fealaspcreocala, as well as in beotwux (51. 8), and in neodlehwfe (69. 14, but regularly behefe, 81. 14, etc.).

§ 20. \( e \) becomes \( o \), swoðunga (Somenta, 59. 11), and possibly in ut to foranne (65. 16), where, however, the \( o \) may equally well be the representative of \( a \); cf. § 9).

§ 21. \( \check{e} \) has become \( y \) in bid beigten (adquiritur, 65. 9), and \( i \) in ælwigan (92. 16).

§ 22. \( \check{e} \) in unstressed syllables is very frequently represented by \( a \); thus in foræspæc (1. 2), foragláewlice (18. 7), forabeon (11. 9, 24. 13), forahradian (55. 4, 5), forascawunga (73. 11);
in the following two verbal forms: he gemuna (memininert, 16. 14), of acerfa (amputet, 108. 11); then in the gen. sing. m. g. lareowas (10. 8, etc.), belodas (22. 2).

Conversely, the ending -as of the plural being written -es occasioned the corruption asyndrodest (56. 9).

§ 23. This a for e is most probably phonetically correct in the above-mentioned cases. In to smeagenuda (26. 11), hlæddra (28. 7), it may be from the influence of the respective lemmata. The lemma has probably also influenced the gloss in the case of gewrita (32. 5, scriptura).

§ 24. Syncope of e follows the rule as laid down by Sievers (§§ 144, 293). Hence we find forms like regolicere (63. 10), regollicere (103. 15), by the side of regolicre (113. 16, 115. 16), etc.

§ 25. i, i. Although of different origin, these two vowels may, in the stage to which the language of the present Text belongs, be safely considered together, as they are both levelled under one sound, probably the i. That this should be under the former sound, is first of all made likely by such spellings as forpig (17. 16), ingehide = ingehyde (94. 12), in both of which cases the ig, i represents the long ĕ, and is secondly borne out by the subsequent history of the letters, both of which are diphthongised into the present Ī. Hence we find such spellings as kin (genus, 10. 6), cinchelm (31. 14), mycel having again (cf. Sievers, § 31 note) become micel (72. 15, etc.).

§ 26. I, y are rendered by u, in wursan (11. 4), and in cwude (24. 14), oferfull (71. 9), geffallan (81. 4).

§ 27. e for i resp. ĕ is found in the following instances:—

gef (3. 1), smede (officium, 23. 1), pen(g) (71. 7), tender (75. 17), gement (decreverit, 78. 17), begeme (intendat, 96. 5), etc.

§ 28. For an apparently long ĕ in līlic, see § 42.

§ 29. EA, EO. That these were stressed on the second element, in the period to which this text belongs, and that, consequently, the first e had become a half-vowel is, to my thinking, beyond doubt. I adduce in support of it the following forms:—iornfullestan (1. 12), iarcie (16. 17), which may easily be multiplied from the present and other texts. code is spelt (58. 17) gode, and in conjunction with forms like gereorđenne
(74. 2), hadgenne (107. 4), but especially gebingode (82. 4, which cannot be anything but gebisiode, cf. also below, § 68 f). I have no hesitation in looking upon this gode as a case in point. See Sievers, § 212, anm. 2, and § 214, sub 7.

§ 30. ea and eo interchange. See neorwan (24. 8), and for feola, feala, supra, § 19, Paul Beiträge 4. 345, 6. 55. The former is found monophthongised in a great many cases in full syllables, as well as in half, and unstressed ones. The monophthong e thus born, is sometimes found interchanged with a.

eastan (4. 6), ege (13. 13 bis), gepehto (19. 7), hlehtregamene (21. 11).

peh (21. 17), sel (58. 8, 102. 8, etc.).
brego (15. 9) and breiungan, (59. 7) foreglewliche (18. 7), glewnesse (58. 9, 59. 14).
gimleslice (63. 9) and gimlaslic (MS. gunlaslic, 62. 2), as against gemeleasan (15. 3) and passim.

§ 31. The spelling seamen (76. 11) and gescad (109. 2), etc., is no monophthonging at all, because the vowels never were diphthongs, see § 66. Salmos (51. 9) is Latin influence.

§ 32. In andwyrde (presentem, 30. 11) and beyrfendra (93. 15), ea, probably through e, is represented by y.

§ 33. eo is e in ceriende (20. 15), and possibly in ateria(89. 10), but see note. Hence in cyrigende (55. 12), eo becomes y.

In forrane (29. 13) and forsig (64. 13) eo has become o.

§ 34. v, in consonantal value, presents the usual contractions: noldon (2. 7), sutol (9. 7), gesutulad (29. 10; cf. geswutulad, 29. 11), for which see Sievers, § 172 note, who does not mention ucan (52. 7), ucnufena (66. 12), and see note to uvucan (52. 4).

It is superfluous in hvivreadenne (107. 11), whilst ōyrnyssum (32. 12), ansedalde (91. 4, etc.), þealfæstnýsse (100. 13), are mistakes due to the misreading of r(p), ḟ(f) and h respectively for v(p).

Is awýrtlian = awýrtwalian (108. 7) a mistake, or the outcome of a phonetic process?

§ 35. I, in consonantal value, need not be treated separately,
as it has become identical in sound, as well as mostly in 
symbol, with the spirant palatal g, for which see below, § 68.
Thus we find geornlice (23. 2), as well as geond (11. 4); 
iornfullestan (1. 12), as well as iond (50. 1).

§ 36. R is omitted, whether phonetically or graphically it is 
difficult to say, in foahradigende (106. 11), tobedde (109. 15, 
inflatli), hicce (32. 9), bœl (54. 7). R is inserted in maess-
preostrum (100. 10, see note, but preosta 101. 6), ættredendrum 
(32. 13), hefigran (65. 7, cf. 66. 9), and of course by mistake 
in fryndal (20. 11, inimicos).

§ 37. We may further note a case of svarabhakti in meri-
genlicum (66. 13), and merrigenlice (37. 14), as also two 
instances of metathesis, hœrdlicor (24. 6), and wryhta (33. 16, 
etc.). In the case of merrigenlice it is also possible that the 
ig, resp. rig, represents only the vocalisation of the g. Cp. the 
spelling meriendlice (44. 7, 45. 16, 46. 4).

§ 38. I has disappeared in æfwyrde (16. 6), and has been 
doubled in welleorniað (100. 4).

§ 39. M. Apart from the ending of the dative plural, where 
an older -um is usually supposed to have dwindled down into 
-an, m is often found represented by n. Graphically speaking, 
the difference is so slight that e. g. in a word like wylne (fer-
vore, 9. 19) we must perhaps assume a scribal error; on the 
other hand, forms such as Ian (40. 4, 59. 2) and medenlicum 
may be phonetic.

A case of assimilation may occur in belippendan=belim-
pendan (73. 11, but see note). For llic=lim(p)lic (21. 11), 
see § 42.

§ 40. N. Not written in fadung (9. 19), windrucen (20. 13), 
drihtelican (50. 1), gedichtere (51. 4 ; cf. gedichtenre 50. 17), ðere 
(semel, 54. 7), hearflîces (82. 3), si geheoda (injungatur, 84. 3), 
wacmodes (84. 5), etc.

Added in geheoundan (57. 14), and assimilated to d in edde-
byrdenesse (78. 17), doubled in inn eode, which was misunder-
stood or mistranscribed and written in neode (103. 18).

§ 41. Misreading a word so as to put an n where it was 
not, or vice versa, is admittedly of very frequent occurrence, 
owing to the fact that n is often denoted by a stroke over
the preceding letter. All our instances may be due to this. But if Sievers is right in assuming the existence in early Teutonic of nasalised vowels (ib. 45. 5), and if Zupitza's account of Kent. Glosses 795 strenɡ = strengɡ, etc., is correct—that is, if we may lay down the principle that certain sound values are thus symbolised in a preceding letter, it is just possible that some of the cases above indicated owe their origin to this principle, and that this aided the spreading of the then only apparent loss of n. Cf. § 70.

§ 42. P. Omitted in cam dom (abbreviated in the MS. as cā dō, 14. 6); ijl (jactantiam, 22. 7), gelimlic (96. 3) This last word occurs also (21. 11) under the form lilic, where the sign of length — must be taken as indicating m.

§ 43. An epenthetical p obtains in luftempré (dulcius, 3. 8). No doubt under the influence of the lemma a p is retained in pœsalmas (38. 7). The word reps = Latin responsorium is perhaps another instance of metathesis, as to which see Sievers, § 204. 3; otherwise the form may be explained as representing re(s)pa(on)s(oriun) and not resp(onsumer).

§ 44. B. The close relationship that exists between m and its corresponding stop b explains at once forms like emfaran (83. 6), and perhaps also gemysgunge (occupationem, 89. 16), and si forhæmed (abstineatur, 71. 12), although in the latter word a mixing up with hæmed is the more probable origin of the extant form.

§ 45. b is misread as h in heode (56. 8), and hetelicum (= betehtum, 31. 1).

§ 46. F, v. In the instances to be mentioned lower down, both f and v express the voiced labial spirant, and hence they are here mentioned together—vers, verse (41. 7, 47. 13, 50. 2, etc.), in each case as gloss to a Latin versus (or oblique cases), the writing of v may be due to Latin influence. Not so in pravoste (54. 1o), pravostum (104. 4), pravostscire (111. 15); see also se sylva (12. 16), and wæcunces (62. 1), and compare Sievers's remark that this representation by v is characteristic of the oldest English (§ 192. 2).

§ 47. An original voiced \( f \) (= Gothic \( b \), or Latin \( f \)) before \( n \) admittedly often becomes \( m \), ‘especially in the later period’ (Siev., § 193. 2, and see note). Bearing this in mind, we must be struck to find stefne and efnum constantly, which forms are indicative of an older period; and on the contrary, the following English adaptations of the Latin word antiphona: antiphonas (81. 1), antiphonam (41. 1); antemn (79. 1), antemne (38. 5); antemp (56. 10, 79. 12), and antempne (42. 12; 43. 4).

§ 48. Are any traces found of an interchange between \( f \) and \( w \); and is this phonetic, or, as is certainly very possible, merely graphical? The constancy of the occurrence of the gloss asfealde to potentate in our text (which I have starred; 91. 4, and passim) would almost make me inclined to think that the change was phonetic. If so, we may look upon liv (61. 13) as an analogue. Here, however, the \( w \) has been changed into \( f \) (contemporarily).

\( f \) is dropped in frore (solacio, 10. 1), and has been added, no doubt erroneously, in yfsele (31. 5).

§ 49. T. The resemblance in shape of this symbol to \( e \) may often account for forms like the following: orsecela (9. 18), uncroman (109. 6). Whether wice (poena, 25. 12), seeunde (ponens, 28. 14) must not be viewed in a different light, is a matter which will be found treated of below, § 63.

§ 50. Traces of the voicing of final \( t \) to \( d \) are numerous:—

gemed (modus 45. 8, 72. 14), gild (33. 10), tramod (118. 2). Of this last word, Schröer's texts have on p. 133 of his edition, tramet, which is also in the Durham MS. in the corresponding passage on fo. 123 b. Schröer asks (glossary, in voce) if the word is masc. or neuter. The following references may give an answer to this question. Gospel of S. Matthew, ed. Skeat, p. 2, l. 10: trametas \( \text{f} \) wegas \( \text{i} \) stige: tramites; and Prudentius glosses, Germania 23, p. 398 b. trametas: paginas.

\( t \), the outcome of the combination -tep, becomes voiced in the following cases: si gebed (emendaverit, 25. 13), anved (confitebitur, 29. 14), agild (deliquerit, 80. 4), hed (91. 3) and as the result of -dep being contracted in: asend (mittit, 36. 13), led (ducit, 117. 3).
Observe the spelling *geledt* (impediatur, 87. 4).

§ 51. *t* is dropped very frequently. Finally in *gepeah* (17. 14), *higeleas* (75. 17). Cp. also *sccornesse* (39. 13), *crefican* (= *craftican*, 94. 10), *swa of swa* (94. 5), etc.

Inwardly in *drihne* (1. 8), *tihende* (suadentem, 4. 7), *tearum* (61. 1, probably a mistake for *teartum*) influenced by the thought of *tearum = lacrimis*; *wtesmas* (82. 3).

Initially it is, with a following *e*, misread for *œ* in *teleundne* (= *teleundne*, detractorem, 20. 15), and *teartlicor* (= *teartlicor*, 115. 5).

§ 52. *t* is found added after *s* in *gewist* (38. 6), in *cost* [certainly in (88. 3), and probably also (20. 7), if *pacem* may be taken to mean *pacis osculum*], and through a mixing up of forms in *asijndrodest* (= *asynodrois, privati*, 56. 9). Owing to influence of the lemma, it is added in *peniant* (serviant, 65. 15). See a very interesting article, Mod. Language Notes I, 3, and ib. I, 97.

§ 53. *t* becomes *ð* in *si gescyrd* (53. 13), *wurð mend* (87. 15), and also in *swa hwæð swa* (1. 11). This latter instance, unlike the former which is isolative (Sweet, H. E. S., § 47), is combinative, influenced by the following *s*. Other combinative changes of *t*, but through a preceding *s*, are found in these words: *afreht* (78. 10, 98. 7), and *prengestan* (1. 9). Instead of becoming *f*, the *t* of *st* is dropped in *æt nynxan* (2. 7).

§ 54. *d*. This sound is very frequently unvoiced. *Myrrent* (stirpator, 62. 3), *manicell* (113. 15). It is retained etymologically in *gemildsa* (39. 7). The frequently occurring forms *abbot* in the nominative as well as in the oblique cases (e.g. 79. 8, 80. 15, etc.) are not likely to be all due to the form of the lemma; they may on the contrary present examples in point here.

*Hluxclipol* (35. 11) and *stuntmælum* (38. 10) may be instanced as exemplifying the unvoicing of a *d* at the end of a syllable, and the following words as a specimen of the same process inwardly, so far as they may be thought to indicate phonetic and not merely graphical changes.

*fotum* (alimentis, 68. 15), *wið meten* (mereedi, 85. 13,
probably a blunder), atreogentic (agenda, 37. 12), to motgenne (superbiendi, 110. 4, cp. § 69), stete (111. 15). For the apparent change of *d* into *g*, see below, note to 5. 9 (p. 119).

§ 55. *d* is represented by *j* in the following cases: æfwyrđe (16. 7), beon gesæid (22. 3), beladon (65. 6, 65. 13). See for widscripel (10. 16, 17), where *d* is influenced by the following *s*, § 53 above. Owing to the want of length-designation in our MS. it is difficult to decide whether *wīd*-here represents *wīd* or *wēd*. In the former case the change would be combinative and internal; in the latter isolative and external (Sweet, H. E. S., § 46.f).

§ 56. The close relationship existing between the *d* and *n*, *n* being formed exactly in the place of the *d* but with free breath-passage, throws more or less light on the following instances, most of which, if not all, may represent truly phonetic changes. See also below, § 92.

ablicendum earum (2. 10), tunðgan (3. 3), angitfullum (13. 3), gewitendlicum (16. 11), meriendlice (44. 7, etc.), ion (per, 49. 2), etc. etc. See Sievers, § 198.

*d* is represented by *n* in gegearon (exibetur, 25. 3), is doubled in gēpreadd (104. 6), and assimilated to *n* in cumenne, etc. (95. 11).

§ 57. Þ, ð. The sound symbolised by these letters is in our text often found represented by *d*. Cp. nytryrdnyssum (19. 6, 65. 14), sodes (89. 7), læigîl (98. 2), sede (115. 15). This *d* by unvoicing becomes *t* in underfeht (16. 1), det (108. 6, where the possibility of Latin influence is not excluded). It is assimilated to *t* in ættan (77. 16).

Þ, ð, as sign of the 3 p. s. are often omitted; cp. sæig (24. 9), etc.

Inwardly, Þ has disappeared in swyrian (59. 14), and possibly in lāreow. So says Sweet, as regards this last word, in the Anglia, III, p. 152. But is this derivation correct? Speaking a priori, a Þ is more likely to be added by analogy than to disappear phonetically between *r* and a *vowel*; lateow from lāþreow is no fit analogue. Or must we presuppose, for a transitional stage, *lāþreow*? Even then our swyðrian is but a meagre analogue, occurring as it does only once or so, as
against the constancy with which *larceow* obtains. On the whole, Reimann (Die Sprache, etc., cp. § 64, p. 36)—who assumes *larpeow* to be a twelfth century neologism,—seems to me most likely to have hit the mark.

Original *dh* is represented by *dd* in *anddettan* (21. 15), *p* is written *f* in *staefynsse* (55. 5), a very probable phonetic interchange.

§ 58. s. *S* is assimilated to *t* in *blettian* (33. 3), and is prothetic—if phonetic in this place, which is at least doubtful—in *stalu* (= *talu*, detractionis, 110. 7).

§ 59. c, k. Both these symbols express either a guttural or a palatal voiceless stop. In our text the following words occur with *k* by the side of forms with initial *c*. *ofskyrves* (abscessionis, 60. 2), *gekjnd* (5. 14), *kjð* (69. 10), *beon gekyidente* (29. 9), *kýre* (18. 4), *kjø* (9. 17), *kin* (10. 16), *kapitol* (47. 9), etc.

*c* is sometimes voiced: *begimð* (76. 4), *drency* (potus, 78. 1), *goðgundre* (81. 10), *geswing* (84. 4), *swingan* (109. 3).

*c* is represented by *t* in *fete* (37. 13) and *geferlætten* (102. 13). For the reverse process, see § 49 above, and for the explanation, § 63 below.

§ 60. As regards the pronunciation of this *c*, I have already stated that it is either palatal or guttural. The guttural pronunciation occurs of course before guttural vowels, and possibly also in a few cases before purely palatal vowels, but only when the *c* is there owing to a secondary development. Thus, when we find *re* glossed by *jince* (33. 9), it is difficult to believe that the *c*, which has grown out of *g*, and is thus a purely guttural stop, can be palatal in the oblique cases. Before guttural vowels a palatal pronunciation is not likely to have obtained.

§ 61. What is the nature of this palatalisation? Sievers expressly and distinctly states, in various sections of his grammar, that the palatal *c*=*tsch* (§ 196. 3), i.e. a 'pronunciation resembling the present English *ch*'1 (§ 206, anm. 3).

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1 Sievers does not restrict his statement to any later period. The following may therefore be of interest. That this assimilation of the *c* cannot be established for the older periods—I here refer to the Corpus Glossary—may be seen from Dieter, § 43, who gives *mertz* (Wr. W., 32. 25) as representing
However strange it may be that the author of the 'Grundziige der Phonetik' must have here made the slip of confounding palatalisation with its consequence, assibilation, the fact is proved by referring to p. 62 of the third edition of the Grundziige, where a correct statement is given. But the words quoted above still stand in the A.-S. grammar, and the wrong notion there expressed, pervades the whole treatment of the c.

§ 62. Let us examine the facts on which Sievers's theory is based. They are:—

(1) The transition of ort-geard into orceard, afterwards orced, ordecard.

(2) The transition of fetian into fecc(e)an.

Now the interchange of guttural c and t, i.e. of the voiceless guttural and dental stops, is no matter of wonder; and as such, the matter might be explained without more ado; but there is more which tends to explain the change. A palatal c, as in A.-S. rice, before having attained the present stage of pronunciation—assibilation to tsch in rich—must have passed through the tj stage—i.e. exactly through the place where the tg (i.e. tj) of ortgeard must have been formed. No wonder then, that t + palatal vowels, or rather t + palatal semi-vowels, should be confused in writing with c + palatal vowels, i.e. semi-vowels. Hence the transition of ortgeard into orceard. Hence possibly also the form feccean by the side of fetian, although the possibility of two distinct verbs being apparently merged into one is not excluded. Thus then I believe with Sievers, that orceard proves a pronunciation ortjard, but no more. I shall now examine the remaining grounds against this supposition. The c originally sufficed because, as is very likely (Siev., § 206), palatalisation is an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon. But when the palatals began to develope, k was sometimes used to denote the guttural sound. This at least is very probably the meaning of the middle Latin mercem. If c had then been tsch, the scribe would not have had recourse to the unusual tz to express this sound, then so akin to that of c.

1 See Mod. Language Notes II. 222, III. 126, 192.

2 Whence does Bosworth-Toller get his preterite, füchte?
of k (Sievers, § 207); but that the distinction was not always kept up, that is, that the distinction was evidently too delicate to be palpable to the untrained ear, is clear from the list of words above, § 59, where the k occurs before vowels originally palatal as well as those originally guttural. But however rough and obtuse an ear may be, the distinction between k and tsj must be sure to be heard and to find expression consistently. How then was it afterwards expressed? By the adding of h to the palatal c; but this did not happen until the beginning of the Middle English period (Koch, § 172 ff.). I do not believe that the cli of the Northumbrian documents represents tsj, but I wish to reserve my judgment until the grammar of these texts, which may be expected from the hands of Professor Cook, has placed before us the necessary material on this subject.

§ 63. We may now safely conclude that the evidence in Anglo-Saxon does not do more than prove that palatal c = tsj at the utmost, not yet tsj. See also on this subject the remarks of Professor March, Englische Studien, I. 315.

Hence it is that I have left the above-mentioned forms feate, geferlætenne, etc., unstarred, since they are just as likely to represent the palatal c, as would be done by this symbol itself, and it is probably owing to this confusion of c and t that we find such forms as vice, secende, ep. supra, § 49.

§ 64. A word must be said about the c-epenthesis, although, of this phenomenon proper, I have not found an instance in our text. Traces of it may, however, be perhaps discovered. For instances of it, see Sievers, § 210; Cosijn, Altwests. gramm. I, § 131, i.e. Sweet, Pastoral Care, p. 482 f.; Zeuner, Die Sprache des Kentischen Psalters, § 39; Dieter, Sprache und Mundart der ältesten Englischen Denkmäler, § 45, p. 63; Reimann, Die Sprache der Mittelkentischen Evangelien, § 28, sub 3; Schröer, Die Winteney-Version der R. S. B., p. xxvii, etc.

§ 65. What is the nature of this epenthesis, i.e. what is here the sound of sc? I think that c must be supposed to indicate the change of s (not only of sc as Zeuner has it, note 2 on p. 80) into the palatal sibilant, and I am happy
to find that the only writer who does speak of the nature of the sound—Reimann, 1.1.—is of the same opinion. It is curious that so far as my instances go, the older periods present this insertion only between ſ and l, m or n, not before p and t, as in modern South German. Here stein and spalte become stein and spalte; there it is only such words as snüden, which would become scüden. Now in German this ſ from s has run into the sound se, (etymologically) sch = sk. In modern English an original sk has often also become 'se' (i.e. the palatal sibilant), as in shadow from scadu. In § 31, I have stated that the spelling seamen, etc., does not present a case of monophthonging. This must be now further explained.

§ 66. If the above view of the c-epenthesis be accepted, we need not be surprised to find this c written so comparatively rarely. Even in Anglo-Saxon times we may safely assume pronunciation to have been in advance of spelling, so that when the former began to change, the latter followed only tentatively, and not always consistently. Suppose therefore, that the sound-change, under certain conditions, of s to se = ſ were pretty general, it is quite possible that in the majority of cases it should yet be written s, especially since the difference between the two is not so very great. Now the sk before palatal vowels would easily become stj (cf. §§ 60-63); and owing to the presence of the s, it would further dwindle down to sj ( = ſ).

If it be objected that I here give a pronunciation to the c, which was denied it in the §§ cited, I must emphatically state that this is owing to the influence of the s. That a stop should be slurred over sooner between two continuants than that at the beginning of a syllable (ri-ce) a tj should develop a sibilant, no one will care to deny, I think. Another possibility must here be disposed of. Could sk have developed into ſ through the intermediate stage of sk? ( = s + the un-

1 I now find casctra (castellum) in the Northumbrian Gospel of S. Matthew, 21. 2.
2 By k in the rest of this section I denote the guttural voiceless stop, and by ſ the palatal sibilant.
3 See Mod. Language Notes, as quoted in § 52.
voiced palatal spirant). It is possible, but not likely. Spellings like schylodo (Mt. prologue 17. 12) and bisehead (corr. from bigschad. Praef. Eusebii, 9. 13), as well as sgiire -monn (dispensator, Luke 12. 42) in the Northumbrian Gospels, would indeed seem to favour this view, but for a reason pointed out above, I do not wish to lay too much stress on these forms. For my own self, I am inclined to look on the above forms as all indicating the pronunciation syldo (= sgyldo), bisead, siiremenon, etc. But there is more. Do spellings like schamian occur? i.e. sch before guttural vowels?

As to sk before the guttural vowels, whatever may have originally been the impetus that set sk changing into what is now spelt sce (Sievers, § 76), it did change in this direction, and as soon as forms like sceamnu, sceadu, had developed themselves, the way was open to change in the same manner as the sk before palatal vowels. Sievers, in reply to Kluge (Anglia, V, anz. 83) has treated of these ea's, etc. in the Beiträge, (Paul and Braune) 9. 205 f. His reasonings have not convinced me, and I continue to hold with Kluge that the ea in sceamnu is no real diphthong. Thus we find that ce in sceop is the symbol for one sound (just as sh in shall is the expression for only one sound), and the o has not become diphthongized by the palatal c, i.e. the stress is on the o. Now when the palatal ũ, as developed out of s in the case of scidunt, had come to be expressed by sc, and when the sound thus symbolised was also expressed by sce, we need not be surprised to find that the j-sound originally expressed by the e now got sufficiently known to be inherent in the symbol sc (= ũ) and that consequently a return to the spelling scame may gradually be observed. This is what I meant above when saying that slight traces of the c-epenthesis might perhaps be found in our text.

§ 67. I have said that we must expect to find sc written for s only rarely, whereas it may have been pronounced so much oftener. We may now go further, and say that

1 This nearly always in conjunction with a and o, so that they can be looked upon as the diphthongs ea and eo, which by this time had also the stress on the a and ũ.
a spelling *mannisnesse* (68. 11) need not be a mistake for *mennisnesse*, as s probably had here the value of ṣ. See also *flæslican*¹, Cura Past. 234. 14. (Cosijn, I, § 131.)

Cosijn (I, p. 123) instances *menniscu*, *-escu from the Pastoral Care* (71. 12), without *sc* making the preceding vowel long through position. Was *sc* already palatal *s*?

¶ 68. c. The following selection of forms, which might easily be multiplied, bears out the various statements of Sievers in his Grammar on the pronunciation of this letter:—beiym (47. 7), aiyldenne (19. 4), *asmaidan* (29. 11, read asmaiand = asmeagent), adli (morbida, 60. 4), scylidine (36. 3), sæde (36. 6), geśwǣd (22. 3), secce (38. 12), *crefticanc* (94. 10), *forhhigende* (12. 14), *underfcen* (16. 12), *jniece* (33. 7), etc. etc. The combination *hg* occurs twice: *gelohgenne* (92. 8), *gelohgenlican* (63. 5). See also above, ¶ 29. As regards the transition of *g* to *w*, it is exemplified in our MS. e.g. in *suvian* (11. 5, cf. Siev., §§ 214. 8, 416. 8), but the form *forgæwād* (107. 14) by the side of *forgecian* (75. 8) is rather curious. (Cf. note to 86. 17.)

¶ 69. To one statement of Sievers’s (¶ 216, 3) I must take exception. He says: ‘*dg* has caused *cg* in *micgern*, fat (for *midgern, O. H. G. mittigarni*), which is extant in comparatively late texts only. This transition presupposes for its time (tenth century) a pronunciation of *cg* as *dz*. I must claim for this *cg* the pronunciation *tj*, and refer my readers to ¶ 63. O.H.G. *mittigarni* presupposes *A.-S. *midgern*. This would readily become *mitgern*², i.e. *mitjern*; see above, ¶ 62, where I have shown how this combination could be written *micgern*.

The pronunciation of *cg* as *dz* is therefore not proven.

¹ This word has lately been treated of by Osthoff (Beiträge, 13. 401 ff.; see especially p. 407). I suppose that the Kentish word *flæc*, which Kluge cites in his new ed. of his Etymol. Wörterbuch, is part of *flæchaman* in the Kentish Psalm 143. Zupitza, Z.f.D.A. 21. 12, thinks that this is a mistake. The suggestion may be hazarded that *c (= ṣ)* should stand for *sc*, but I cannot support this spelling at present, except by the selfsame words *perce bercedum*, which Zupitza instances from the Kentish Glosses, and by the Northumbrian *onoceccen bih* (denegabatur, Luke 12. 9). Cp. perhaps the spelling *fīder fete flæso*, = *fīderfete flæsa* (71. 11), for the *d* presupposes an *a*, rather than *ca*.

² Cf. *molgenne* = *modgenne* (110. 4), and *gemodgenne* (114. 10).
§ 70. ñ, i.e. guttural \( n \). This is usually, and in our MS. also continually, expressed by the letters \( ng, \; nc \). While referring the student to § 41, I may here comment on the possibility that there may be something more than mere accident in the occurrence of the following forms:

\begin{align*}
&\text{for}spennigum (11. 3), \text{geonds}pre\text{c}end \; (= \text{geondspre}ngend, 12. 1), \; ^*\text{gespin}ð \; (i.e. \text{geswinð}, 82. 5; \; \text{cp.} \; 80. 2), \text{ginran} (106. 11), \\
&\text{etc. etc. In the first two instances} \; g \; \text{and} \; c, \; \text{in the last two} \; n, \; \text{may denote what I have written} \; ñ.-\text{See Zeuner, Die Sprache des Kent. Psalters, § 32.}
\end{align*}

§ 71. If midlum (59. 1) is not an adverbial dative, then ñ is here denoted by \( m \).

Note also \( af\text{lingede} \; (84. 5) = af\text{ligede}, \; alinge \; (78. 10), \; alenge \; (79. 4), \) and \( \text{c}ant\text{incas} \; (41. 5) \) by the side of the more usual \( \text{c}ant\text{icas} \).

§ 72. \( h \). We find an \( h \) added in some words, e.g. in \( hæfte-mæst \; (76. 5), \; upahræred \; (94. 14). \)

On the other hand we find: \( ef\text{enlyttan} \; (\text{consortes}, \; 6. 14), \; \text{nexode} \; (\text{molliti}, \; 10. 9), \; of\text{reow} \; (19. 8), \; \text{wilce} \; (26. 11), \; \text{wanon} \; (30. 13), \; \text{wæl}\text{reow} \; (58. 12), \; \text{regelhuse} \; (98. 15), \; \text{reed} \; (108. 8), \; \text{readlice} \; (109. 13), \; \text{l}yst \; (\text{auditus}, \; 113. 12), \) etc. This dropping of the \( h \) most likely denotes a voicing of the \( hw \); this is also expressed by the following spellings, \( \text{æ}\text{nwepera} \; (81. 11) \) and \( \text{whænne} \; (103. 2). \)

\( h \) is misread as \( b \) in \( *\text{bred} \; (\text{promptus}, \; 35. 6) \) and \( *\text{bada} \; (14. 7). \)

§ 73. Doubling of consonants, and conversely haplography\( ^1 \), is exceedingly frequent in our text. I am not sure that in each case a phonetic corresponding process is thereby intimated. I select the following instances:

\begin{align*}
&\text{god\text{dra}} \; (53. 17), \; \text{fett} \; (\text{pedes}, \; 66. 2), \; \text{estmettas} \; (20. 1), \; \text{be}\text{healdenne} \; (29. 6), \; \text{avorpornes} \; (34. 8), \; \text{hederne} \; (80. 2).
\end{align*}

§ 74. Inflections. I begin my notes on the inflections by giving a couple of instances of the absolute cases. They are of course imitations from the Latin, and although not restricted to interlinear translations, they are very frequent there, owing to influence of the lemmata.

\( ^1 \) The writing of one symbol instead of two.
Anglo-Saxon Inflections.

Av(ec)cenduthe gewrite (2. 8), rihtwisnesse dihtendre (14. 2), gedihtenre endeyrdnysse (50. 17), etc. etc.

§ 75. Substantives. Nominative. intingu (occasio, 91. 6, misreading?). Twice I have noticed the use of an accusative instead of a nominative case, neode (57. 19) and forgimeleaste (68. 8). See, however, (69. 16), where neod under the same circumstances is used in the nominative case.

Genitive. craeftis (22. 11), biscopis (107. 8). This ending -is may be owing either to influence of the respective lemmata, or it may be the natural reflex of -ys, which is very common in some texts. See, however, (69. 16), where neod under the same circumstances is used in the nominative case.

Dative and Instrumental. gebeda (orationi, 21. 13), gebeda (oratione, 21. 14), callra sawla (anima, 19. 11), dara (noxa, 56. 17), are instances of a dative form, which (only in the two last words) may be due to Latin influence.

Accusative.—repse (Si quis dum pronuneciat respondorium, 79. 11). Whence this dative form? Is this (as well as the accusatives instead of nominatives recorded above) to be looked upon as a trace of the mixing up of forms, to which Sievers, § 1, anm. 2, has drawn attention?

§ 76. Nom. Ace. Plural.—brodra (fratres, 57. 19), gebrodra (73. 13), gebrodran (3. 9, 105. 3), beboda (13. 4, 13. 6, etc.), andsweeras (3. 1), kynna (9. 15), and other instances probably exemplify this same principle.

§ 77. If we did not find the words geongra cildra (pueri parvi, 106. 11), I should be inclined to look on cildra (pueris, 105. 14) as a misreading for cildrū=cildrum.

§ 78. The dative plural ends in -on, -an, -um, passim. There is no need to give instances. Heafonum (28. 8, 36. 9) may be a dual (Kluge, Beitr. 8).

§ 79. Of dative forms of the Adjectives we notice the following, which are worth mentioning:—orsorgi (securi, 10. 3), which i may be due to the Latin ending1, and forms like ungehyrsumule (12. 8), geewemlice (78. 5) as exemplifying the form-mixing spoken of above.

§ 80. Of plural forms compare the following:—godu (13. 2),

1 Another possibility is, that, with the ge following, the word may be orsorgige.
feawa (35. 10), purhtogenes (74. 11), sinderlices (85. 1), in most of which cases the presence of the lemmata makes us doubt whether the changes are not merely graphical blunders.

§ 81. The dat. plur. ends in -on, -an, -um.

§ 82. As regards the Numerals, a form sex, which, if it is not caused by Latin influence, resembles the Northumbrian, is found (reference missing).

§ 83. Of the Ordinals, I note the following forms which are not found in Sievers, or of which he doubts the correctness:

9. någepan, någepan (37. 4, 11).
30. fritteogā (43. 9).
40. feowertegāða (43. 10).
50. fīsteogāða (42. 13, 43. 10), fiysteaða (45. 19), fislugeðan (43. 6).
60. syxsteogāða (42. 11, etc.).
70. seeofoondeogā (42. 14).
80. hundeakteogā (43. 13), hundeakhtogā (43. 13).
90. hundnigenteogā (43. 14, 51. 3), hundnigenteogāðan (76. 2, 3).
100. hundteontiga 7 cahtateogāðan (48. 16), hundteontigeðan (49. 16, 17).

§ 84. Pronouns. In c, us, y, as possible pronominal gloss to nobis, see below, notes to (27. 2). Inc may be a pronoun (19. 5), but there is no corresponding lemma. A peculiar case of a declined 'genitive' (see Sweet, A.-S. Reader2, p. lix) is found (54. 3), abbodes heores (abbatis sui).

pis (a neutral singular) is gloss (5. 3) to the neuter pis.

See, as a masculine pronoun, occurs (43. 11) and (70. 4), and possibly also (36. 13). It thus bears out the statement of Sievers, § 337, ann. 2. Conversely se would seem to be a feminine pronoun in se romanisca lađung (aecclesia, tromana, 44. 3).

§ 85. Verbs. Only a few verbal forms are interesting enough to be noted. Of these we find the following third persons: beheald (respicit, 30. 16), styut (97. 1), and some others where there is no suffix (see Cosijn, Altwestsächsische Grammatik, I, § 148, p. 200). sweg (118. 5), sæig (30. 6), etc.
§ 86. Of plural forms, the corrupt *sed gat (22. 2) points to secgat, which antiquated form (Sievers, § 360) may itself have been the cause of the corruption; cf. secgat (17. 17).

§ 87. Of infinitival forms, we may notice hatian (jubere, 11. 17), which, however, is probably a mistake for hatan; gecian (vocari, 17. 17), which, according to Sievers, § 408. 3, is mostly found as cigan. The rarer forms in -on occur pretty frequently. See, for instance, ahyrdon (2. 12), and unwrigon (33. 7), as infinitival gloss to the imperative revela (supra, § 9). Of infinitives in -a, I found lysta oððe gehýra (audire, 21. 12).

§ 88. Of the verb sculan, the text has the following notable forms:—scel (debet, 26. 3, 102. 8), scell (69. 2), scyll (112. 7), scealan (debet, 81. 9), and scealan as infinitive (32. 10).

§ 89. The 'participium necessitatis,' which Sievers mentions in § 350 as found in later texts, and as formed after the Latin, occurs pretty frequently in our text. For the form given by him we may instance to campienule (5. 14), to specenule (26. 7), to smeagenda (a is owing to the lemma, requirenda, 26. 11), to andelenede (46. 10).

By the side of this we find even more frequently, however, forms in -enne, e.g. to campienne (1. 9), etc.

§ 90. That this future participle should also be found declined might be expected. Accordingly we have eardigendes (5. 11), and be gecearndum to ræde gæbroðra (de adhibendis ad consilium fratribus, 17. 10). In this case to is, as a matter of course, suppressed (31. 5, I find *arerienede, for ariende or arienede,—as gloss to parendo: here to would also seem to be omitted).

§ 91. The same notion is sometimes expressed by adjectives in -lic, e.g. pa sendlican (dirigendi, 113. 4), on donlicum jingum (in faciendo, 23. 12), which same ending I have once found glossing a present participle, becumendlicum (87. 12). Here supervenientes was possibly mistaken for superveniendi.

§ 92. 'Formed on the pattern of the Latin': these words of Sievers's convey the impression that Latin only is answerable for the development of this d. I think that, viewed in the light of § 56, d will probably prove to be of a purely phonetic
origin. When once the d began to develop phonetically, its growth and spreading may have been aided by a more or less conscious association with the Latin participle; but I hold that analogy and phonetics both share the paternity of the new form.

§ 93. I may here mention beon gelogodre (reponuntur, 98. 15). How the passive voice of a verb can be glossed by what is apparently the dative feminine of a past participle, I am unable to understand. With partial dittography the same ending is probably found in behyl(dad)edre (100. 1, 2). See however note on p. 124. Compare (26. 16) where the infinitive aperire, which may be construed in a passive sense, is glossed by an apparently masculine dative (geopenodum). Equally strange datives occur (66. 15) pa utgangendum, (74. 12) pa gehyrendum, and (87. 12) ofer becumendlicum. But they may perhaps exemplify the mixing up of datives and accusatives, which is characteristic of the later Anglo-Saxon.

§ 94. To any one who has looked into the text, or into the foregoing §§, many Kenticisms must be apparent at a glance. Thus we have the e=e (supra, § 15, etc.; Sievers, § 151, 1); the e=y (§ 27, Siev. § 154); absence of diphthongisation of e into ea (§ 30, Siev. § 157. 2), to mention only the most striking peculiarities. But it will also have been seen that these do not appear throughout, and that West-Saxon influence is traceable. Now has a Kentish text been copied by a West-Saxon scribe or vice versa? I think a case like betehtum (31. 1), which was misread as hetelicum, is singularly instructive. Telendne, (=tælendne) which was misread as alendne (20. 15), tells the same tale. An interchange—graphical—of h and b, te and æ, and of h, and li is quite common. Was it not the strange forms betehtum, telendne, instead of betæhtum, tælendne, which led to the confusion? If so, the Kentish text must have been the original, and the West-Saxon the copy.
THE RULE OF S. BENET.

18.) In nomine domini nostri iesus christi Incipit re(gule) | foraspræc fæderes þæs haligian þæs eadigostan benedictes 
prologus patris eximii beatissimi re(xdicti) 

hlýst eala bearn beboda lareowes 7 alýld care 
Auscula fili precepta magistri et inclita) aurem 

heortan þmere 7 mynegunçe arfaestes fæderes lustlice 
cordes tui et ammoniti(onem) pî patris liberter 
underfoh 7 fremf ðefyll þet þu to him þurh gehýrsum-

næses geswince gehýrýrse forþam þurh ungehýrsumnesse asolcenesse 
entie laborem redœas a quo per inoboedientie desidiam 
þe þu aweiggewite cornostlice nu min spræc is asend 
recesseras; Ad t(e) ergo nune méus sermo dirigitur 

swa wið cweþende *apenum lustum drhine criste 
quísquis abren(un)tians propriis voluptatibus domino chrisio 
pamsoðan cinge to campienne gehýrsumnesse þa þrengestan 
vero regi militaturus oboedientie fortissima 

þa þurh beorhtan wæpna swa underfelst elra ærest þæt 
aiquæ procla(ra) arma assumis. In primis ut 10 
pu swa hwæð swa to donne þu on god fram him beon 
quicquid agendum in(choas) bonum; ab eo per-

gefremmed þam iornfullestane gebede bid se þe us iallina 

fici instantissima oratione dep(oscas). ut qui nos iam 

bearna gemedemode on getele getellan ut þæt he na sceole 
in filliorum dignatus est nume(ro) computare; non debeat

5. fremf, see note. 6. geswince, nce not clear. First s of asolcenesse not at all clear. 8. apenum, read avenum. 9. pam-, a may be æ. ð of sodan may be d. 10. beorhtan, tan is by no means clear. 11. After on part of the MS. is torn away. 12. After bid, part of the MS. torn away. 13. ut, Latin in glossator’s hand. It is in none of the other texts.

1. re not very clear. 3. Aus-culta in two lines by way of illumination by the side of In nomine—foraspræc—prologus—fili. 5, 6. oboedientie, MS. oedientie; inoboedientie, MS. inoedientie. 7. t of t(e) not clear.
Exhortation to live up to the precepts of Holy Scripture.

æhwænne be urum ÿfelum da bee근urotsode swa sódlice
aliquando de malis act(ibus) nostris contristari; Ita enim
him on æelere tide be his on us is to earcienne t
et omnis tempore de bon¹(is) suis in nobis pendam
hýrsumieinne þæt he ne na þæt an swa swa yrre fæder his
est; ut non solum ut irat(us) pater suos non
œðer hwile bearne beerfwerdige ah swa swa egeful hlasford
aliquando filios exheredit, sed nec(ut) metuendum dominus
swa geýrsod fram ÿfelum urum þæt he swa swa þa wyr
irritatus a malis nostris ut nequissimos
þewan to þam ecan na betæce to wite we þe him ÿlian
servos perpetuam tradat ad poenam qui eum sequi
noldan to wuldre uton arisan æt nýxan æt sumon yrre
notuerint ad gloriam; Exsurgyamus ergo tandem aliquando
aw... cendum us gewrute 7 secgendum hit is us
excitante nos scriptura Ac dicente ho(ra) est jam nos
of slæpe uparisan geopenedum eagum uri... god-
dego sompo surgere. Et apertis oculis nostr(is) | (ad d)eft-
cundan leohhte mid abllicendum earum 7 utan gehýran pagod
cum lumen; attenitis auribus audiamus divina (co-
asalice clipiende hwæt us mýngie stefn to dæg
tidie cláumans quid nos ammoneat vox dicens. hodi(e si v)ocem
gegehyrað nelle ge ahýrdon eowre heortan eft
ejus audieritis nolite obdurare corda vestra. (et) iterum;
se ðe hæð earan to gehýrnan gehýre hwæt
Qui habet audres audienti; audiat quid spiritus (dic)at
gelaðungum 7 la hwæt seigð cumað la gebearn gehýrð
acelesis; Et quid dicit; Venite filii audite me
... ðtnes ege 7 ic lere eow yrnað lifes leoh þa hwile ðe
(tiqyrem domini docibo vos; Currite dum lumen vite
ge habbað þýstru deâðes eow þat ne gegeþþan 7 secende
habes (ne) tenebre mortis vos comprehendant; Et queren
meniu folce þam þe þas þinc clýpað his wyhtan
dominus (in) multitudine populi cui haec clamat operarium
Ò seigð la hwyle is man se ðe wyle lîf 7
swum (ite)rum dicit. Quis est homo qui vult vitam et

1. After duidum part of the MS. torn away. 4. One letter erased between ðer and hwile. 5. After wyr þæt of the MS. torn away. 6. to?, very indistinct. 8. In aw... cendum two letters indistinct, probably aecceendum. 9. v of geopenedum reads like an t. Read urum. 11. Read dæghwamlce. 15. Read drihtnes. 18. t, last letter of eft.

7. s of exsurgyamus add. afterwards. 8. dicente, see note.
Live uprightly, and peacefully, and the Lord’s eyes shall rest on thee.

Life.

... on dagan gode þæt gef þa gehyrende andsweras cypit (vi)dere dies bonos; quod si tu audiens respondes.

...gō þe gode gif þu wilt habban þæt soðe lif 7 þæt Ego (di)cit tibi deus; Si vis habere veram et per-

ece lif ...eond tundgan þine fram ýfele 7 þine
petuum vitam (proh)ibe linguam tuam a malo et labia
weleras 7 þæt hi na sprecan ... n gecyr fram ýfele 7 do

tua ne loquantur (dol)um; Deverte a malo et fac

god smea oððe sec sibbe ... ýlig hyre 7 þonne þas
bonum. inquire pacem (et) sequere eum; Et cum hac 5
þineg gedoð eagan mine ofor 7 mine earan to cowrum
fécertis. oculi mei super (vo)st et aures mee ad preces
benum 7 àer þonne geclypian me ic sege eow æfre ic her eom
vestras. Et antequam me in (vo)ctetis dicam vosib. Ecce adsum;
est luftempre ...ere steffe gelaðgendre la ge
Quid dulcius nobis (ad h)ac voce domini invitantis nos
þa leofestan gebroðran efnæ mid his æræstnesse geswutulað
fratres karissimi; Ecce pietate (e)ta demonstrat
us lifes weg begyrdum mid geleafan oððe mid
nobis dominus viam vite; Succinctis (e)rgo fide vel obser-
gehealdsumnesse goddra dæda lendenum ... u gebroht
vantia honorum actuum lumbis (n)ostris perducatum
bodung utan gan his siðfæt þæt we gearnian hine se Þæ
evangeli pergamus itinera ejus ut (peremur cum qui nos
gedipode on his rice geseon ... n Þæs rice healle on inne Ýgf
vocavit. In regno suo videre; (In) cujuus regni tabernaculo si
we wyllæ buton | mid godum dædum yrnde nateshown
volumus habitare. nisi | illuc bonis actibus currendo minime
ne bið becumen* abutan axan mid þam witigan drihten
pervenitur; Sed interrogemus cum prophetia dominum. 15
segende him la hwa wunað on ðinan inne oððe
dicentes ei Domine quis habitavit in tabernaculo tuo aut
la hwa geresð on ðinre haligan dune æfter þyssere ax-
quis requiescit in monte sancto suo? Post hanc interro-

1. Read geson. 2. Read seigð or sayð. 3. cond, see note. 4. Read
facen. 5. Ýlig, read fylyg. 8. est, ë in MS.; Latin in glossator's hand.
In no other text. ... etc, read pissete. 9. n of gebroðran erased. 11... n,
read urum. gebroht, see note. 13... n, read on. 15. abutan, read
ah utan.

1. audieris would seem to have been corrected into audiens. 5. et (after
paeem) pasted over. 11. a of observantia corr. from e. 12. Erasure of one
letter after pergamus. 17. e add. above line (requiescet).

B 2
The blameless, the just, the honest, shall dwell with the Lord.

Unge uton gehýran andswariende 7 gesutuende gationem fraters audiamus dominum respondentem et ostendentem his healle oððe innes 7 secende se ðe ingæp nobis viam ipsius tabernaculi ac dicentem; Qui ingreditur butan smittan swýlce wyréc rihtwisnesse 7 se ðe sprýc sóv-sine macula et operatur justitiam? Qui loguitur veri-fæstnesse heortan on his 7 se ðe na deþ facn on his tungan tatem in corde suo qui non egit dolum in lingua sua se ðe na dýde nextan his yfel se ðe hosp na underfencg

Qui non fécit proximo suo malum. qui obprobrium non accept agen his nextan se ðe ðone awýrðan deðof sum sînc adversus proximum suum. Qui malignum diabolum aliqua tihende him sylfan mid his sylfan tihtinge fram gesiðum suadentem sibi cum ipsa suasione a conspectibus cordis forseonde se gewrohte his lýtlan hwædan géþohtas sui responsu deduxit ad nichilum. et parvulos cogitatus ejus 7 heald betæhte non tennit et allisit ad christum; Qui timentes dominum de bona hi sylfe ðane deþ upahafene þa sylfan on observantia sua non se redlunt elatos sed ipsa in him sylfan goda na fram him sylfan magon beon se bona non a se posse sed a domino fieri ahwenende 7 hi mærsiað existimantes. et operantem in se dominum magnificant. illud cum na us propheta dicentes. non nobis domine non nobis. sed nomini tuo ah forðan paulus se apostol be his bodunge da gloriam. Sed nec paulus apostolus de predications sua him sylfan ah forðam ne tealde sibi aliquid imputavit dicens; Gratia dei sum. id quod se ðe wuldrað wuldrie he sum; Et iterum ipse dicit. Qui gloriatur in domino glorietur; þanon sæigð sæde Unde et dominus in evangelio ait; Qui audit verba mea þas þine ic *onlocie hine wisum were haec et facit ea simulabo eum viro sapienti. qui edificavit

9. betæhte, first t not clear. 18. Above ea the gloss is partly cut away; an h is recognisable, and part of a letter which looks like g, so hig? Read onlocie.

8. parrulos, MS. parvulus. 13. sed, MS. se. 18. a of ea partly cut away.
Those who serve the Lord shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.

domum suam supra petram. Venerunt flamina. flaverunt venti
7 hi ætspurnon on þam huse 7 hit ne feoll forpam þe
et impegerunt in domum illum et non cecidit; quia fun-
hit was gestænelod ofor þam stane þis gefyllende
data erat super petram; Hæc complens dominus;
anbidiað mid dædum
expectat nos cotidie. his suis sanctis monitis factis nos
we sculan forþi for bote
respondere debere. Ideo nobis propter emendationem ma'orum 5
pises lifes dagas to fyrstum sind to alætenne
hujus vite dies ad inducias relaxatur; dicente apostolo;
nyte ge la þæt ge godes gepylð eow
An nescis quia patientia dei vos ad penitentiam te
læt þa sýnfullan
adducit; Nam pius dominus dicit; Nolo mortem peccatoris.
þæt he geçyrre þonne we axið
sed ut conversatur et vivat: Cum ergo interrogassemus
be wunnungum
dominum fratres de habitatore tabernaculi ejus. audivimus 10
eardigendes bebod _ah gyf we gefyllæ tungentes þenunge
habitantid preceptum. Sed si compleamus habitatoris officium.
we boð sin to gereccanne
erimus heredes regni celorum; Ergo preparanda sunt
7 lichaman haligre beboda gehirsumnesse
corda et corpora nostra sancte preceptorum obedientie
to campiende þæt hwonic þæt þe on us gekynd acumenlic
._militanda et quod minus habet in nobis natura possibile.
ac utoñ biddan his gife þæt he iarwie
fultum
rogemus dominum ut gratie sue jubeat nobis adjutoriun 15
þenian 7 gif fleonde helle wite life we wyllað
ministrare; Et si fugientes gehenne poenas ad vitam volumus
becum to þam ecan
tigað 7 þa hwile æt þisum
pervenire perpetuam. dum adhuc vacat. et in hoc corpo-
lichaman þe we sin ealle þas pinc þurh þisne leohites wes
re sumus: et hæc omnia per han lucis viam

7. Second e of nytegela, being written too close upon the l, is not quite clear.
8. þa, read þes. 17. Read becuman. tigað, end of æmtigað.
7. vos, not in other texts; te is crossed out. 10. habitatore, MS. habita-
torum; see note. 15. jubeat, MS. habeat, a wrong transcription for jubeat,
which all other texts have? The gloss þæt he iarwie would lend support to
this view.
S. Benet's intention to gather together a number of men who shall serve the Lord.

gefyllan ys to yrnanne 7 is to donne nu v(acat) implere currendum et agendum est modo.

praet hit on eencesse framme is to settanne from quod in perpetuum nobis expediat; Constituenda est ergo a us drihtenlices scole peowdones on cære we hihtað ænig pinc nobis dominici scola serviti. in qua institutione, nihil heardlices ænig us to gesettanne we hopiað gif asperum nihilque grave nos constituturos speramus; Sed etsi hwæt litles forðstepð stidlicor dihtende rihtwisnesse gescad for 5 quid paululum restrictus dictan're aequitatis ratione propter bote oðde drohtununga soðre lufe forðstepð emendationem vitiorum. vel conversationem caritatis prcesserit perrihilte ac tu na forfleo hæle se ðe non ilico pavore penitirus refugias viam salutis que nis buton mid stige to onginnenne mid forðstepinge non est nisi angusto initiio incipiendra; Processu vero drohtununga heortan omnasegcendlicere lufe conversationis et fidei dilatata corde inenarrabili dilectionis werednesse urnen beboda godes fram his dulcedine curritur via mandatorum dei. ut ab ipsius æfre lareowdome oð nunquam magisterio discendentes. in ejus doctrina usque ad deep on minstre se purhwunigende proungum mortem in monasterio perseverantes. passionibus christi þurh gebyld þæt we beon dælnimende rices his per patientium participemur. ut et regni ejus mereamur efenlytta esse consortes. AMEN. Explicit prologus regule beatì bene-

15 dicti abbatis. Patris monachorum.

I. De generibus monachorum vel vita.
II. Qualis debeat esse abba.
III. De adhibendis ad consilium fratribus.

III. Que sint instrumenta bonorum operum.
V. De obedientia discipulorum quisus sit.

5. forðstepð, probably copied here by mistake by scribe, who must have seen it a line lower down. Cf. infra, note to l. 3 (hihtað). 7. perrihilte, æ or a not clear; first r, but for context, might have been put down as f, the l of ilico being blended with it.

6. conversationem, MS. conservationem. 7. pavore, MS. pavorem. 9 of dilatato corr. from a. 19. Q of Que wrongly rubricated in the MS. as D.
VI. De taciturnitate.

VII. De humilitate.

VIII. De officiis divinis in noctibus.

IX. Quanti psalmi dicendi sunt nocturnis horis.

X. Qualiter aecstatis tempore agatur nocturna laus.

XI. Qualiter dominicis diebus vigiliae agantur.

XII. Qualiter matutinorum sollemnitas agatur.

XIII. Qualiter privatibus diebus matutini agantur.

XIIIi. Qualiter in sanctorum nataliciis vigilie agantur.

XIV. Quibus temporibus alleluia dicatur.

XV. Qualiter divina opera per diem agantur.

XVI. Qualiter divina opera per diem agantur.

XVII. Quanti psalmi per easdem horas dicendi sunt.

XVIII. Quo ordine ipsi psalmi dicendi sunt.

XIX. De disciplina psallendi.

XX. De reverentia orationis.

XXI. De decanis monasterii qualis debeant esse.

XXII. Quomodo dormiant monachi.

XXIII. De excommunicatione culparum.

XXIV. Qualis debeat (esse) modus excommunicationis.

XXV. De gravioribus culpis.

XXVI. De his qui sine jussione abbatis (junguntur) excommunicatis.

XXVII. De his qui sine jussione abbatis (junguntur) excommunicatis.

XXVIII. Qualiter debeat abba sollicitus esse circa excommunicatos.

XXIX. De his qui sepius correpti non emendaverint.

XXX. Si debeant iterum recipi fratres exuventes de monasterio.

XXXI. Pueri minori etate qualiter corripiantur;

XXXII. De cellario monasterii qualis sit;

XXXIII. De ferramentis vel rebus monasterii;

XXXIV. Si quid debeat monachus proprium habere;

XXXV. Si omnes aequaliter debeant necessaria accipere;

XXXVI. De septimanariis coquina;

19. XXV. This is a mistake for XXIV, and the mistake is continued throughout in this list, so that ch. XLIII as given lower down (De his qui etc.), ought to be ch. XLIII. esse not in the MS. 21. XXVII. A word erased after abbatis, probably junguntur, which is therefore added in brackets. 22. XXVIII. communicatios, o of os corr. in MS. from i by writing o over i. 24. Second e of debeant above line.
XXXVII. De infirmis fratribus.
XXXVIII. De senibus vel infantibus.
XXXVIII. De ebdomedario lectore.
XL. De mensura ciborum.
XLI. De mensura potus.
XLII. Quibus horis oporteat fratres restiteri.
XLIII. Ut post completorium nemo loquatur. et post cenan
ad lectionem audiendum ab omnibus occurratur;
XLIII. De his qui ad opus dei vel ad mensam tarde
(occurrunt).
XLIII. De his qui ecommunieantur quomodo satisfaciant.
XLV. De his qui falluntur in monasterio.
XLVI. De his qui in lenibus rebus delinquuntur.
XLVII. De significanda hora operis dei.
XLVIII. De opere manuum cotidiano.
XLVIII. De observatione quadragesimae.
L. De fratribus qui longe ab oratorio laborant aut in
via sunt.
LI. De fratribus qui non longe satis proficiantur.
LII. De oratorio monasterii.
LIII. De hospitibus suscipiendis.
LIII. Ut non debeat suscipiendi.
LV. De vestiariis et calciariis fratum.
LVI. De mensa abbatis.
LVII. De artificibus monasterii.
LVIII. De disciplina susciplendorum fratum.
LIX. De filiis nobilium aut pauperum qui offeruntur.
LXI. De sacerdotibus qui voluerint in monasteriis habitare.
LXII. De sacerdotibus monasterii.

8. occurrunt supplied here as the reading of all the MSS. used by Schrör. Cf. A. Schrör, Die Winteney-Version der Regula S. Benedicti, p. 10. The
text of the Winteney Version (S=Schrör's C) has occurrerent, and our text
(fo. 146b) has veniunt. From XLIII down to the closing of the bracket the
omission in the MS. has been supplied from our text (corrected). 12.
XLVII. The heading for this chapter not being in our MS., it is supplied
from the readings of the other MS.; cf. Schrör, W. V., p. 96.
Four classes of monks: 1. Those who live under a rule; 2. Hermits;

LXIII. De ordine congregationis.
LXIII. De ordinando abbati.
LXV. De preposito monasterii.
LXVI. De ostiaris monasterii.
LXVII. De fratribus in viam directis.
LXVIII. Si fratri impossibilita jubentur.)

(LXVIII.) ut in monasterio non presumat alter alterum defendere.
(LXX.) Ut non presumat passim quisquum alium cedere.
(LXXI.) Ut oboedientes sibi sint invicem fratres.
(LXXII.) De zelo bono quern debent monachi habere.

EXPLICIUNT capitula. INCIPIIT liber Beati BENEDICTI | ABBATIS. PATRIS EXIMI MONACHORUM MILITUM CHRISTI.

DE GENERIBUS. EORUM VEL VITA.

feower kynna [b.] [c.] beon [a.]sutol is Monachorum quattuor genera esse manifestum est. 15

paet forme mynstermanna paet is mynsterlic campiende [h.]

Primum coenobitarum hoc est monasteriale militans under regule. oððe abbude. [b.] syððan paet oðer kyn is sub regula vel abbate;

Deinde secundum genus est dan. * orseolina paet is westpensetlena. [g.] piissera [h.] paðe na anachoritarum id est heremitarum horum qui non drohtnunge * wylne mid niwum [p.] ac mid mỳnstres [o.]fadunge conversationis fervore novitio; ced monasterii probatione

[u.] * landsumere [h.] leornodon ongean þone deoful manigra diuturna didicerunt contra diabolum multorum 20

18. Before dan. erasure (see note). g. piissera added in margin, possibly by the original glossator. 19. Read wylne. ac mid? c may have been there, but it has been made into first stroke of m, which now, by mistake, of course, looks like m with four strokes. 20. Read lancsumere.

7. LXVIII and following numbers are not in the MS.; ut in monasterio etc., the title of ch. LXVIII follows in our MS. directly after the ad mensam tarde of the title of ch. XLIII, without a capital letter or rubric being used for ut, so that it looks like one chapter. A page must have been skipped here. 12. EXPLICIUNT, MS. EXPLICIT. 18. horum added in marg., possibly by glossator. 19. conversationis, MS. conversionis.
[l.] mid frore, eallunga gelærede [i.] winnan [q.] bene getýde
solacio jam docti pugnare; et bene instructi
of broðorlicere færædene to anfealdan gewinne westenes
fraterna ex acie ad singularem pugnam heremi
gëorsorgi. ge buton frore òðres mid anre [t.] hand
sæcëri jam sine consolatione alterius sola manu
[u.] òððe [u.] earme agean leahtras flæsces [i.] òððe gehpohta
vel brachio contra vitia carnis vel cogitationum,
gode gefultumiandum [v.] winnan [q.] 7 hi nihtsumiað
5 deo avunciate pugnare sufficiunt;
þæt þridde [c.] [d.] þæt atelicost [b.] kiu [a.] sylfdæ-
Tertium vero monachorum tetrimum genus est. sarabai-
mera [a.] pa on ænigum regole na afandode uel òððe afundennessa
tarum. qui nulla regula approbati experientia
lareowas [h.] [n.] [m.] ofenes.[n.] ahge . des on gekynde
magistri sicut aurum tertium genus est. saraba-
mera [a.] pa on ænigum regole na afandode uel òððe afundennessa
tarum. qui nulla regula approbati experientia
lareowas [h.] [n.] [m.] ofenes.[n.] ahge . des on gekynde
molliti adhic operibus servantes seculo
[p.] truwan. leogan. [b.] gode þurh scere [a.] synd acnawene
fudem. mentiri deo per tonsuram noscuntur;
þæt twýfealde þreofalde òððe sóðes anlepie gangende ambulantes
Qui bini aut terni. aut certe singuli sine
butan hýrde hig on drihtenlicum heordum. ac heora agenum
pastore, non dominicis sed suis
dueðse fore æ heom is gewiðhunga. lust
inclusi ovilibus pro lege eis est desiderorum voluptas.
þonne hi hwæt wenað tellað òððe geccosan þæt scegap halig
cum quicquid putaverint vel elegentur. hoc dicunt sanctum
7 þæt þæt hi nellæþ þæt 7 hi wenað na beon alyfede. þæt
13 et quod nonuerint. hoc putant non licere. Qur.-
feorðe sóðlice kin is [a.] þæt is genemned wíð
sum vero genus est monachorum quod nominatur gyro-
scrïpel þa on eallon heora life geond mislice sciru prim
vagum. qui tota vita sua per diversas provincias. ternis

1. frore, i.e. frofre, and see note on this word. bene, Latin copied into
gloss. 7. n in ænigum of irregular shape. rel, Latin; see note. 11. gangende in the MS. is gloss to ambulantes, which has been put in by
glossator spontaneously. It is not found in the other texts. 17. Uncertain
whether scira or seiru.

2. Erasure after heremi? 13. eis above the line. 16. est above the line and erasure.
and, 4. The vagrant monks.—The Abbot is Christ's substitute. [11

other feoweru dagum geond mistlicora ōnga hus cumhliðiaċ aut quaternis diebus per diversorum cellas hospitantur æfre worigende 7 næfre stødolfæste agenum lustum semper vagi et numquam stabiles. et propriis volup-

7 gyfernesse 7 forspennigum þowgende geond ealle þinc tatibus et gule illecebris servientes et per omnia wursan þam sylfdemerum para ealra drohtunge be ðære deteriores sarabaitis; De quorum omnium miserrima convers-carmaestan betere hit is suwian þonne sprecan. þisum forlætenum satione melius est silere quam logui; His ergo ommissis; 5
c. to e. mỳnstermannu [d.] þæt strengoste [d.] kyn ad cenobitarum fortissimum genus
c. gedihten [b.] fultumiendum [h.] a. utron cuman. disponendum. adjuvante domino veniamus; Qualis
debeit esse abbas. (Cap. II.)

se abbud secè forabeon [d.] wyrðe is [e.] [f.] on mỳn stre [h.]
Abba qui preesse dignus est monasterio. semper
gemunon [a.] sceal þæt he is geæc 7 naman ðode [m.]
meminisse debet quod dicitur et nomen majoris 10
middedum [m.] 7 gefyllan [k.] [e.] [b.] [h.] don
factis implere; Christi enim agere
c. spelunga [f.] [a.] he is *gelýst ðenne his [i.]
vices in monasterio creditur. quando ipsius
he is geceged to forenaman secgendum [a.] [k.] [e.] ge under-
vocatur pronomine. dicente apostolo; Acce-
fengon gast gewýscednyssse on ðam we cleopiað
pistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum; in quo clamamus
arwurða ðæder [a.] [a.] 7 forð [c.] naht [h.] butan [g.] bebode [g.]
[br.] abba pater; Ideoque abbas nihil extra preceptum 15
[g.] þæt feorsi [h.] na sceall[h.] oððe læran. [d.] [a.] oððe
domini quod abait debet aut docere. aut
gesettan [e.] oððe [f.] hatian [f.] ahsí hæs [b.] his [b.] oððe [c.]
constituere vel jubere. sed jussio ejus. vel
lar [e.] *byssn [o.] godecundre [e.] rihtwisnesse [e.] leornincg
doctrina. fermentum divine justitiae in disci-

1. oðer, read oððe ; feoweru, read feowerum. 12. Read geluyl. 18. byssn, read byrma (= beorma)?

5. Er. of one letter (e?) after ergo. 7. dam crossed out before -te of adjuvante. 13. pro added afterwards.
The Abbot should teach only the precepts of the Lord, [Ch. II.]

cuihtas [g.] [dm.] [p.] geþancum geondsprecend mýndig sig [a.] pulorum mentibus consperrgatur; Memor siæfre [b.] þæt [n.] [e.] his lære [g.] [g.] oððe [h.] leorninc cuihta semper. abbas quia doctrine sue vel discipolorum gehýrsunnesse [h.] æghwéðera [k.] [k.] on čam egesfullan [l.] oboedientiae. utrarumque rerum in tremendo dome [l.] gode to donne he[e.] is he[e.] is[e.] oððe [f.] 7 wite [a.] judicio dei. facienda erit | erit discusio. Sciatque se abbd [b.] gýltes [d.] hýrdes onsigan [c.], [f.] swa hwæt on 5 abba culpe pastoris incumbere quiçquid in sceapum [g.] se híredes ealdor [g.] nýtwýrðnesse hwonlicor swa ovibus paterfamilias utilitatis minus potuerit ñæg gemetan swa micel [d.] eft [d.] * srig [c.] he bið gif unstíre inventre; Tantum iterum liber erit. si inqueto oððe unghiýrsunode [g.] hýrde [e.] ælc. [f.] geornfulnyssa vel inboedienti greji pastoriis fuerit omnis diligentia bið forgifen 7 gif adligum [c.] heora [c.] dædum [c.] eall [b.] attributa. et morbidis earum actibus universal byð[a.] [b.] gýman gegearcd hýrde [e.] heora [e.] on dome [g.] fuerit cura exhibita. pastor eorum in judicio drihtnes tolýsed [f.] ut * þæt * ece mid þam witigán domini absolutus dicat cum propheta domino;
[b.] þine rihtwisnýsse [b.] ic ne by hýdde on minre heortan Justitiam tuam non abscondidi in corde meô. þine [e.] soððestnesse [e.] 7 halwenden [f.] [f.] þinre ic sæde veritatem tuam et salutare tuwm dixi. hig [g.] forhícgende [h.] forswawn [g.] 7 [a.] þonne [b.] ipsis autem contempentes spreverunt me. Est tune æt nýxtan [e.] unghiýrsuman gýmen [f.] bis [f.] sceapum to wite 15 denum inboedientibus curæ suæ ovibus: pena [a.] bið heom swýðrenda sesylva [c.] [c.] deað [b.] þonne sit eis prevalens ipsa mors; Æryo cum ænig [g.] underfeld [f.] naman [i.] [h.] þæs abbodes. on twýfeald unicus suscipit nomen abbatis. dupplici

1. dm stands above g, p under g, both to the right. See note on geondsprecend. 7. srig, read frig. 11. ut in line of gloss by hand of glossator. þæt ece, i.e. þ þece, read secce !

10. MS. eorum, an o above the a, which does not seem to me to be one of the ‘paving’ letters, but a correction by glossator of earum into eorum.
by deeds rather than by words.

he seal [a.] lare [e.] his [d.] learn [c.] [e.] forebeon i. cnihtum
debet doctrina sui preesse discipulis.

æt is calle [b.] godu. [b.] 7 halige middædum [e.] swýðor
id est omnia bona et sancta factis amplius

pæne [f.] [f.] mid wordum he atiwighe angìfullum leornicnihtum
quam verbis ostendat; ut capacibus discipulis

beboda [i.] mid wordum [k.] his foresette [g.] ãm heard
mandatu domini verbis praeponat. duris vero

heortan [d.] bilehwitum mid his [c.] daælum [c.] ãa godeundan
corde et simplicioribus factis suis divina 5

beboda [b.] he geswuteliat ealle pinc. [b.] ãe leornicnihtum.

precepta demonstrat; Omnia vero que discipulis

he læære beon [b.] wiððæde on his daælum he gebiencige na
docuerit esse contraria in suis factis indicet non
to donne þæt òðrum bodiende [m.] he sylf [k.] wiððecora
agenda ne alis predicans ipse reprobus

ne si gemett þæt ahwenne him na sege [c.] syngendum
inveniatur nequando illi dicat deus peccanti.
to hwi na ðu cyñest rihtwisnyssa mine 7 þu underfehest
Quare tu enarras justilias meas. et assumis 10
gewitnýsse mine þurh þinne míc þu hatodest steore
testamentum meum per os tuum Tu vero odisti disciplinam

7 ðu awurpe spræca mine *bestande 7 þa ge on breðer þines
et projecisti sermones meos post te et qui in fratris tui
ege mot gesawe on ðinon ege beam ne gesawe þu la
oculo festucam videbas. in tuo trabem non vidisti;

[a.] Na si [c.] fram him [b.] had on mýnstre [d.] [a.] asýndrod
Non ab eo persona in monasterio discernatur.

na si an swýðor gelufod mid godum daælum ðede gehýrsum-
non unus plus ametur bonis actibus aut obodi- 15

nesse *áenne ðær butan þaneþe he met betteran ne si
entia quam alius nisi quem inveniret meliorem; Non

forasett se ædelborene þeowdome ge [c.] cyrrrendum [e.] buton
praeponatur ingenuus ex servitio convertenti. nisi

1. learn, which belongs to cnihtum, has been put before forebeon. For
to leornicniht? 12. ðu not quite clear, a stroke running through 5
and along the top of the u, making it look like a. bestande, read beftan
ðe. 16. ãnne, read pæne.

12. meos, MS. meo. post te, MS. poste. 15. bonis, MS. actionis; clearly
the scribe's eye was caught by the next word.
In Christ all are equal: the Abbot to have no partialities.
The Abbot must treat every one’s faults according to their nature.

7 pa ungedefan he scalall stidlicor prean [h.] pa gehyrsuman et inquietos debet durius arguer

obeidentes sodlice 7 pa [d.] likan [e.] 7 paYldigan [e.] [r.] paet hi [g.] betteron autem et mites et patientes. ut in melius
gedon debere ahalsian [b.] pa gemenleasan [d.] 7 ca for-

profian obescrare. Negleyentes autem et con-

higenden [d.] paet he dræge 7 paet he gestande [c.] [c.]
tempnetes. ut increpet et corripiat

*pe myngiaq ne he *bennhe hiwige synna agyldehra ahhe ammonemus;

Neque dissimulet peccata delinquientium. sed 5

sona *fonne hi orginmaq upasprungan grundlungs hig becaum pe he

mox ut ceperint oriri radiatus ea ut pre-

maeg ofadocorfe .sit. frecedesya sacerdes of silan 7 pa

val et ampatet. memor periculi heli sacerdotis de silo; Et

arwurdan witodlice 7 pa andgytfulran mod mid hare forman

honestiores quidem atque intelletibles animos;

primma

oðde opraSýlan mængunge mid wordum [a.] 7 hegeprege

vel secunda ammonitione verbis corripiat

pa swyran 7 pa heardan 7 pa modigan oðde pa *ungehy-

rsumantes mid swinglan oðde lichaman oðde oðde preagunge

entes verbum vel corporis castigatione;

on dam sylfan angýnne synne he preage witende awriten

in ipso initio peccati coherceat scientia scriptum;

se dysiga mid wordum na bið geðread 7 eft sleg. sleh.

Stultus verbis non corrigitur; Et iterum; Percute

pa bearn pine midgyrde 7 *pa alyst sawle his of dea

filium tuum virga et liberabis animam eius a morte;

gemunan [a.] secal æfre [a.] seabbod paet pe he is owed 7

Meminissem debet semper abba quod dictur; et 15

witan paet bið pam se mara bið beaest mare fram him

scire quis cui plus committitur; plus ab eo exigitur;

2. paet, p torn in two. 3. MS. deh, which Latin addendum is in

hand of glossator. 5. pe, read wc. bennhe, read bemihe, and see note. d of

-dra above the line. 6. fonne, sic in MS. Read ponne. 7. sit, Latin in

hand of glossator. silan or silon. 10. ungheyrsumantes, probably after

having written ungehýrsuman, which read, the scribe’s eye was caught by

-the which must have been in the Latin original. 13. geðread, wrongly

glossed by original glossator, who must have read corripitur in his text.

14. pa, read pu.

10. improb, MS. improbus. inobedientes, MS. inobedientos. 16. cul, in

accordance with other texts and with the gloss, MS. cujus.
16] Arduousness and responsibility of the Abbot's task.

...
ageldenne [a.] 7 swa micel underymennē gebroðra hine reddendam; Et quantum sub cura sua fratrum se habban [a.] swa he wite [a.] getel he oncnawe to sóðan þæt he habere scierit numerum; agnoscat pro certo. quia sylfra ealra þara sawla sceall agyldan in die iudicii ipsarum omnium animarum est redditurus buton twýn to gehiht his agenne sawle domino rationem. sine dubio addita et sue animae;

[ [a.] [d.] [e.] [f.] [g.] ] ða towarzædan smeagunge [h.] hýrde Et ða ita semper timens futuram discussionem pastoris 5 [i.] of befaestum secapum mid ælfremedium sceawnisyssum de creditis ovíbus; cum de alienis ratiociniis wernað he si gewordan [c.] [b.] hohful [a.] þonne cavet reddatur de suis sollicitus; Et cum he mynegungum be his bote ððrum [a.] þenað he si ammonitionibus suis emendationem aliis subministrat, ipse geworden fram leathrum rihtlæcð efficiatur a vitiiis emendatus.

be gegearnendum to ræde gebroðra. De Adhibendis ad consilium fratribus. (Cap. III.) 10

swa oft swa sind [b.] ænge healice þinc [a.] to donne Quotiens aliqua precipua agenda

[a.] on mŷnstre mŷnstre [d.] gelangige [e.] se abbod sunt in mo nasterio; convocet abbas

[f.] ealle [f.] geæderunge 7 he sylf secge [h.] hwanon omnem congregacionem. et dicit ipse unde

[h.] he beo astired [i.] [l.] gehýrende [m.] geþeah gebroðra agitur; et audiens consilium fratrum. 7 he smæge [k.] mid him sylfan [n.] þæt [o.] is nytwyrð tractet apud se; et quod (est) uti-

licor. [n.] 7 he deme forpig ealle to geþeahhte lius judicaverit [faciat] Ideo autem omnes ad consilium gecean we scegt forþam oft þam gingran drihten þe unwyrð vocari diximus; quia sepe juniori dominus revelat

10. gebroðra, both context and lemma make one expect gebroðrum. 14. astired, i of peculiar form below the line.

6. ratiociniis, MS. rationem. 7. sollicitus, MS. sollicitur. 15. est a little erased. See note.
which they must give humbly. The brethren to follow this Rule,

patient is swa syllan gepeaht mid ealre quod melius est; Sic autem dent fratres consultium cum omni eadmodnesse. underpoednesse patient na gedéirstlæcan gemahlice. humilitatis subjectione ut non presumant procaeter bewerian. patient hieom heom gesawen bið ah surpor tendere quod eis visum fuerit. sed magis on þæs abbodes hit stande kyre be þam *hwounlicor ôððe in abbatis pendeat arbitrio eo quod salubrins gesælicer þe he dem世人 ealle gehyrsumian [a.] ah [e.] swa swa

judicaverit cuncti obediant. Sed sicut leorniccnihtum gedafenað [f.] patient gehyrsumian [g.] lireowe discipulis convenit obedientre magistro.

[b.] 7 him foraglæwlice 7 rihtlice gedafenað [d.] ealle pine ita et ipsum provide et juste condeect cuncta [c.] gedihtan [d.] on eallum þingum [b.] iornostlice ealle [c.] disponere; In omnibus igitur omnes [c.] læreowlicum [a.] hi fylian [e.] regole [f.] [h.] fram him magistram sequantur regulam; ne ab ea [i.] pristelice [f.] na na si gebogen fram ænigum [a.] na [b.] ænig temere declinetur a quouam; Nullus on minstre [a.] na fylige [e.] agenra heortan willan in monasterio sequatur proprii cordis voluntatem. [f.] ne ne gedýrstlæce [f.] [g.] ænig [n.] midhis abbude [n.] neque presumat quisquam pro abate suo [l.] wurðlice [h.] wið innan [h.] ôððe wiðþatan [m.] on mynstre proterre intus aut foris monasterium [k.] flitan [a.] patient gif gedýrstlæð [b.] ænig [e.] regalicore contendere; Quod si presupserit quisquam disciplinae

3. extra along with its lemma omnium is found in the text, after heom, see Latin note to l. 4. 4. hwounlicor, see note. Sign for ôððe above line. 6. leorniccnihtum, read leornic, i.e. leorninc. 7. him, last stroke of m erased, by mistake, when the g of sigut was erased. gedafenað, d corrected from some other letter.

1. Before melius the word faciat is erased; it is found after judicaverit in the other Latin texts. dent, e corrected from i. 3. omnium erased before visum. visum in margin in glossator's hand, by way of correction for the misreading omnium. 4. pendeat, written by glossator over gaudeat, which is erased. 5. sigut, corrected into sicut. 6. MS. discipulis. Some one, seeing that this word ought to be discipulis, began wrongly to erase s, then stopped this, and indicated correction from u into i by putting a dot over second stroke of u. 10. quam (other texts que) erased after ne. 12. pro, other texts have cum. That this has been in original of our text is probable, as the gloss has mid.
and not to oppose the Abbot. Of good works.

[19]

[e.] styre [c.] he underhnige [b.] sylf swa Æceah. [b.] se abbod regulari subjaceat; Ipse tamem abbas
[e.] mid godes ege [f.] 7 gehealdsumnesse regules [t.] ealle pine cum timore dei et observatione regule omnia
[a.] do. witende hine buton twyn be eallum þa riht-faciati. sciens se procul dubio de omnibus judiciis suis wisestan deman gode gescead to aiylde hine gyf [e.] hwylce equissimo judici deo rationem redditorum; Si qua [b.] [f.] læsson þe inc syndon to done [g.] on vero minora agenda sunt in 5
[h.] mynstres [g.] on nytwyrdnyssum ealdra [i.] plek an monasterii utilita | tibus seniorum tantum
[a.] he bruce [o.] gepelte swa swa hit awritten is ealle [l.] utatur consilio sicut scriptum est; Omnia
[k.] do mid ræde [m.] 7 [n.] [o.]*æter dædum 7 hit þe ne ofrew fac cum consilio. et post factum non penitebis;

hwylce beon tol godera weorca.

QUE SINT INSTRUMENTA BONORUM OPERUM. (CAP. III.)

ealra ærest drihten god lufian ealre heortan mid
In primis dominum deum diligere ex toto corde tota

eallra sawla mid ealre mihtæ sýðcan nextan ealswa þe sylfne anima tota virtute; Deinde proxi mum. tamquam se ipsum;

debemus osleon unihítheman na don þeofæ
Deinde non occidere Non adulterare. non facere furtum.

ne gewilhan na leas gewitnesse seegan arwurðian non concupiscere. non falsum testimonium dicere; Honorare

debemus ealle men him sylfæ æni beon þæt þæt nele ommes homines et quod sibi quis fieri non vult.

oðrum 7 þæt ne do wiðsacan. sic hine sylfne himsylfum þæt
Alii ne faciat; Abnegare semet ipsum sibi; ut 15

3. pa, read pam. 7. [o.] perhaps ō=om. 8. æter, read after. 12. debem’, in glossator’s hand, not in other Latin texts; cf. l. 15; p. 20, l. 15, and passim. þeofæ, þ added from some other letter. 14. debem’, cf. l. 13. 15. First þæt added later on by glossator. sylfne, f added later on by glossator. sic, stands by the side of wiðsacan, not over æ.

2. timore, MS. timorem. 5. The words aut major (read majorae?) are found after agenda; they are probably originally a marginal note copied into our text, and not in the other texts. 6. seniorum to sicut inclusive, together with gloss, left out by copyist, and put in top margin. 10. corde, MS. corda.
he fylige crist lichaman prean estmettas befon sequatur christum. Corpus castigare; Delicias non amplecti faesten debemus luflan þearfan fedan nacodne et scredan Jejunium amare; Pauperes recreare; Nudum vestire.

untrume 7 geneosian deadne bebyrgian on gedrefednesse Infirnum visitare. Mortuum sepelire. In tribulatione gehelpan sargenne gefrefrian fram weorulde [a.] dædum subvenire. Dolentem consolari. A seculi actibus don ælfraemedne ænïping cristes luflan na foresettan yrre 5 se facere alienum; Nihil amori christi preponere. Iram non debemus gefremman yrsunge timan na healdan facn non perficere. Iracundie tempus non resercare; Dolorum on heortan na healdan lease sibbe cost na syllan þa soðe in corde non tenere. Pacem falsum non dare. Karilufan na na forlætan na swerian þe he hine forswering tatem non derelinguere. Non jurare ne forte perjuret.* soðfæsten debet of heortan 7 of mûche forðbringan. Ýfel for Veritatem ex corde et ore proferre. Malum pro ýfele debemus agildan tregan debemus gedonne dæde 10 malo non reddere. Injuriam non facere. sed et factam gepyldelice ah forþylldian *frynd luflan þa awýrigendan patienter sufferre; Inimicos diligere; Maledicentes [c.] non debemus agen wyrian ah swíðor bletsian [d.]ehnesse se non remaledicere sed magis benedicere. Persecutionem for rihtwisnesse þolian. beeon Þe modig na windrucean pro justitia sustinere. Non esse superbum. non vinolentum; na mycelæte | na*sia na *sceac nur- 15 non multum | adacem; non somnolentum; non pilgrum; non nigende naceriende na *ælendne hiht his gode murmuriosisum; non detractorem; debet spem suam deo betæcan god æni pinc on him sylfan þonne he gesyhf committere; Bonum aliquid in se cum viderit:

2. debemus, in glossator’s hand, not in other Latin texts. et scredan, MS. & scredan, did the scribe find ed-, at scredan or 7 scredan in his original? 6. non debemus over gefremman. 9. soðfæstne, read soðfastnesse. 11. frýnd, read fynd. 12. non debemus in margin. 13. ðe, see note. 14. nasia, read slapol sceac, read sleac. ælendne, read telendne.

1. Delicias, MS. dulcias; it would seem that an attempt was made to correct it. 3. visitare, underlined in MS. repeated by mistake after Mortuum. 10. factam, see note. 13. superbum, MS. desuperbum, see note. 15. detractorem, o corr. from a.
gode ne betæce na him sylfan yfel him. sylfan æfre fram 
deo appicet non sibi; Malum vero semper a se 
gedon he wite him sylfan 7 getelle domes deig 
factum sciat; et sibi reputet; Diem debemus judicii 
ondrædan helle aforhtian þæt ece lif mid ealre gast-
timere; gehennam expavescere; vitam aternam omni concu-
licere gewilnunge gewilnian [b.] dcað [c.] dæghwanmlce 
piscencia spirituali desiderare; Mortem cotidie 
[e.] æftoran eagan [d.] gewenedne [a.] habban dæda lifes 
ante œculos suspectam habere; actus vitæ sue 5 
on ælcere tide gehealdan on ælcere stowa gode hine besceawian 
æmni hora custodire; In omni loco deum se respiciere 
[a.] tosoðcan [b.] witan geþohtas þa yfelan heortan his to becu-
þro certo scire: Cogitationes malas cordi adveni-
menne sona to christe *aslidan þam gastlican ealdre 
entes; mox ad christum allidere; et seniori spirituali 
7 gesutulian he his mið fram yfelam fram yfelæ oðde þwyrlce 
patefacere. Debet os suum a maèl vel pravo elo-
spææcæ gehealdan mycélu swýce [b.] spræcan na. [a.] lufian 
qui custodire; Multum loqui non amare. 10 
idele word hlehtregumene. oðde lilic micelne leahtor oðde 
Verba vana aut risut apta non loqui; Rìsum multum aut 
to sceacene lufian halige rædinge lustlice lýsta. oðde 
excussum non amare; Lectiones sanctas libenter audire; 
gehýra gebeda [o.] *frædlace 7 onsigan his forðgewitenæ yfela 
orationi freqventer incumbere; Mala sua preterita 
mid tearum oðde geomorunge dæghwanmlce on gebeda gode 
cum lacrimis vel gemitu cotidie in oratione deo 
anddettan of þam sylfan yfelum þæto eacan betan. 
confiteri; de ipsis malis de cetero emendare; 
gewilnunge lichaman [d.] gefremman willan agenne 
Desideria carnis non perficere. voluntatem propriam 
[d.] hatian bebdou on eallum þeh þe sylf do 
odire; preceptis abbatis in omnibus obedire; Etiam si 15 

1. ne, wrong gloss. 8. aslidan! Perhaps the scribe found aslean in his 
text, and his eye was caught by the allidere of the Latin. 
13. frædlace, see note; yfela, top part of l erased by erasure in audire (Latin notes on l. 12). 
15. anddettan, first d above line, and at the end of line, but probably belongs 
to the word. 

1. applied, MS. amplicet. 2. for debemus, see note to p. 20, l. 15. 
See infra, l. 9. 9. Debet, see note to l. 2. 12. audire, erasure of about 
two letters between i and r. 16. propriam, i above line.
he elles pæt feor sig sylf do gemýndige þaes drihtenlican ipse aliter quod absit agat; memor illius dominici bebodas þa *sed gat doð þa þinc þe hi dop don precepti. Que dicunt facite; que autem faciunt facere nelle na nellan beon gesæd halig æðampe hesig nolite; Non velle dici sanctum antequam sit; sed ær ah beon þæt sóðlicor þæt þæt he is gesæd godes beboda prius esse. quod verius | dicatur; Precepta mid dædam dæihwamlice gefyllan clænnesse lufian 5 dei factis cotidie adimplere; Castitatem amare; nehne non æfest 7 andan habban geßlit. oððe ceaste nullum odire; zelum et invidiam non habere; Contentionem non upahofennesse ðelne *iyl forleon 7 þa yldran amare; elationem vel jactantiam fugere; Et seniores arwurððan þa iynran on christes *lufian for feondum venerari; juniores diligere. in chriðti amore pro inimicis gebiddan mid þam ungeþwarum ær nyðersige. oððe gange orare; Cum discordantibus ante solis occasum on sibbe gehwyrfan non be godes mildheortnesse debemus næfre 10 in pace redire; et de dei misericordia numquam geoðtruwin eftime þas sind tol cæßtis gasßlices þæt ponne desperare; Ecce hec sunt instrumenta artis spiritualis que cum beod gefylde fram us unablimendlice dæges 7 nihtes fuerint a nobis die noctuque incessa- unateorìendlice to gefyllanne on domes dæge 7 betæhte biliter adimpleta; et in die judicis reconsignata. seo med us fram drihtne bið agolden þe sylf behet illa merces nobis a domino recompensabitur quam ipse promisit; eage þæt þè ne gesæah care ne ne gehýrde ne ne on 15 Quod oculus non vidit. nec auris audivit; nec in heortan mannes astah þa þinc þe garcode þisum. þa sà cor hominis ascendit; que preparavit deis his qui

2. sed gat, d of unclear shape in MS., but no c: read secgat. 6. non Latin, over odire? cf. infra, l. 10, perhaps to be taken to neh ne, and to be read mon. 7. iyl, read iyîp. 8. lufian, read lyfian. 12. unablin- nenlîce, the fourth n corr. from some other letter, probably a. Read d, 7 n. unabl. unateor. adimpleta, glossed as if ad implenda.

1. memor, MS. memoris. 3. dicî, MS. dice. 10. dei, MS. dim, n misread from sign of contr. above i, for e of dei. 11. a in cum corr. from some other letter.
Of Obedience as though to divine command.

luhaeday hine [c.] smēðe [b.] *ipærwe [i.] ealle þas cīnc
diligunt deum: Officina vero ubi haec omnia
[k.] geornlice [i.] wyrcean [d.] clēysunga [a.]
[diligenter operemur. claustra sunt monasterii; et
staðolfæstyns [g.]
stabilitas in congregatione;

DE OBEDIENTIA DISCIPULORUM QUALIS sit. (CAP. V.)

[e.] se for wītodlice [f.] eadmodnes [e.] se forma stæpe ans [c.]
gehr-

Prīmus itaque humilitatis gradus est: obe-

sumnes [d.] butonyl兮inge [b.] þasðīnc [a.] gerist [c.] þisom [d.]
dentia sine mora: Haec conventit his qui
nahnt [g.] himysylhum [h.] criste [f.] leofre [e.] ænigpincg [d.] padene-

nīhil sībi chrisīo carūris aliqūīd exis-

wēnað [i.] forðam þeowdome haligan [k.] þe hi [k.] behetun

timant: propter servītium sanctum quod professī

[k.]/l. öðde [l.] for [l.] hogan helle [m.]/o. öðde [o.] forwuldrē

sunt: seu propter metum gehēne: vel gloriam

[p.]/lifes [p.] þes ecane is sona [s.] ænig þīnc [r.]/ponne bīðe-

vīte aeterna; Mox ut aliqūīd impera-


boden [d.] fram ealdre [r.]/a. acswīlce [x.] goescundlice [a.]/hītsibē

tum a maiore fuerit: ac si divinitus im-

boden [c.]/yldinge et prowian hī y niton donlicum þīngum

peretur. moram pati nesciunt in faciendo;

[a.]/be þam [b.]/a. seigð for [c.]/hlīste [d.]/earan

De quibus domīnum dicit: ob audītu aurīs.

[a.]/he gehyrsumede [b.]/7 [a.]/eft he seigð [a.]/b. lārcowum

oboevitī mihi; Et iterum dicit doctoribus;

[e.]/se ðe [f.]/eow [e.]/gehyrð me [c.]/gehyrð pas ðīde þīlle

Qui vos audīte: me audit; Ergo hi tales 15

[f.]/forlætende [g.]/parrihte [h.]/þe heora [h.]/7 [k.]/willan

relinquentes statim que sua sunt; et voluntatem

[k.]/agenne [i.]/forlætende [m.]/sona [n.]/gebīgside [n.]/handum

propriam deserentes; Mox ex occupatis manibus

1. ipærwe, sic in MS.: probably i as 'paving' letter. pe as gloss to ubi, and

we belonging to wyrcean. 5. for, read forma. The MS. has csefor-ans

over est, I cannot explain. 7. padene warmad, i.e. þa þe ne wenad. 10. is.

Latin? the gloss above ut is illegible.

8. sanctum (scīm), MS. secundam (scīm). 12. Above the o of moram

there is written a 2.
Prompt obedience, acceptable to God.

obedience, acceptable to God.

Et velut Ipcet hi didon [p.] unfulfremed [i.] forlsetende [e.] mid [h.]
et quod agebant imperfectum reliquentes: vici-
gehyrsumnesse [e.] fet bebeodendes [c.] stefne
no oboedientiae pede jubentis vocem
[d.] middædum [a.] hi fyllian [a.] 7 swylc [d.] onanre [d.] hand-
factis sequuntur; Et velut uno mo-
hwile [b.] seforesæda lareowas [b.] hæs [c.] 7 fulfremed
mento predicta magistri jussio et perfecta
[f.] leornincenihtas weorc [g.] onhærednesse [h.] godes eges [h.]
discipuli opera in velocitate timoris dei
[k.] bute pa [k.] ënc [l.] gemænlice [m.] hærdlicor 7 be ongely-
robe res communiter citius explican-
ledæ þam [n.] to þam [a.] ecan life [q.] [p.] to gangen-
tur. Quibus ad vitam æternam gradiendi
[o.] lufu [n.] onsigS for þone norwan weig hi gelettad panon
amor incumbit. Ideo angustam viam arripium: unde
seig se nearwa weig is se læd to life þæt heora
dominus dicit augusta via est que ducit ad vitam: ut non
agenre kyre na libbende heora gewilnungum 7 lustum
suo arbitrio viventes: vel desideriis suis et voluptatibus
gehyrsumiende ac gangende on ælfremedum dome 7 on
obedientes sed ambulantes alieno judicio et im-
anwealde on mynstrum drohgende abbond heom sylfum fora
perio et in coenobiis degentes: abbatem sibi pro
beon hine gewilnian buton twyn þas. swilce þone
[15] mean; sed ejus qui misit me: Sed hec ipsa
[b.] gehyrsumnesse [c.] þonne [d.] anfenge [b.] bið gode 7 wynsum
oboedientia tunc | acceptabilis erit deo et dulcis
mannum gif hwæt bið beboden forhtlice ne lætlice ne
hominibus; si quod jubetur; non trepide; non tarde; non
Obedience is to be cheerful. Of silence.

[25]

erhlice onde mid ceorunge onde onde mid andswere [e.]
tepide; aut cum murmurio. vel cum responso
nellendes bißgeworden. [a.] forðan pe [b.] biß gehyrsumnes
solentis efficiatur: Quia obedientia
ealdran [d.] se de biß iarcod [c.] gode [a.] gegearendon hesylf
que majoribus prebetur: deo exibetur. Ipse
sæde se de cow þegelryðþ [b.]* m. [a] gehyrð [a.]* [d.] mid
enim dixit; Qui vos audit me audit: Et cum
godum mode [c.] fram* leornincchintum [b.] beon gegearcod
bono animo a discipulis
preberi 5
[a.] hit gedafenað [e.] forðan þonglædan sýllan [e.] þelufað
oporet. quia hilarem datorem
gode [a.] söces na bið [g.] mid ýfelum [g.] mode gif gehyrsumanð
deus. Nam cum
godum mode [c.] fram* leornincchintum [b.] beon gegearcod
bono animo a discipulis
preberi 5
[a.] hit gedafenað [e.] forðan þonglædan sýllan [e.] þelufað
oporet. quia hilarem datorem
gode [a.] söces na bið [g.] mid ýfelum [g.] mode gif gehyrsumanð
deus. Nam cum
godum mode [c.] fram* leornincchintum [b.] beon gegearcod
bono animo a discipulis
preberi 5
[a.] hit gedafenað [e.] forðan þonglædan sýllan [e.] þelufað
oporet. quia hilarem datorem

De Taciturnitate. (Cap. VI.)

utondon þæt ðe sæde se witeða ic sæde ic gehealdæ wegas mine
Faciamus quod ait Prophetæ. Dixi custodiam. vias meas: 15
þæt ic na gýlte on minre tungan icsette muðe minon heord-
ut non delinquam in lingua mea; Posui ori meo cus-
rædne ic adumbede 7 ic eom geadmed 7 ic suwode
todiam: obmutui et humiliatus s m et silui

3. A letter (?) erased before gode. 4. m, probably no ‘paving’ letter, but for me (m). 5. leornincchintum, read leornincenchtum. 10. his, i above line.

4. Qui vos, MS. Quos. 10. murmurantis, MS. murmoranis. nullam, MS. millam.
The teacher to speak, the disciple to be silent.

fram godum [a.] her geswutulað [a.] [b.] gif [e.] fram godum a bonis: *Hic ostendit propheta; si* a bonis [e.] spræcum odœrhwile interdum for [g.] *salnesse beon gesuwod eloquuis propter taciturnitatem [c.] scel beon gesuwod lahu mīcele swīðor fram yfelum debet interdum tacere: quantomagis a malis wordum for wite sỳnne þeah sig be godum 7 verbis propter penam peccati; Ergo quamvis de bonis et halignum et timbrunga [d.] spræcum 7 fulfilwedæ [b.] 5 sanctis et aedificationum eloquuis et perfectis leorningcnihtum. fore. [f.] stilnesse stæðinesse *sylfsyne discipulis propter taciturnitatis gravitatem rara to speende [a.] geunnen [e.] leaf forðam þe hit is awrten on loquendi concedatur licentia; quia scriptum est; In manifealdre pu ne forflihst sỳnne on ðœstowe deað 7 multiloquio non effugies peccatum. Et alibi: Mors et lif on handum tungan sôðes sprecan 7 làeran lareowum vita in manibus lingue; Nam loqui et docere magistrum gedañæ swúian 7 heorcian leornîcnihtum gedañæ 10 condece; Tacere et audire discipulo convent; Et gif wilce þinecg sind to smegenda fram dre mid ealre ðeo si qua requirenda sunt a priore cum omni eadmodnesse 7 under þednesse 7 beon gesmeade befrinonne pêt humilitate et subjectione reverentie requirantur; ne si gesewen furður spræcan þonne hit gefremige higlista non videatur plus loqui quam expedit Scurilitates oðpe idelword stiriendra ecer clýsunga vero vel verba otiosa et risum noventia; aeterna clausura on ealle stowum we ne fordemað to hwýlcre sprece 15 in omnibus locis dampanmus; Et ad taliæ eloquia leornîcniht geopenodum muð 7 we ne ðafað discipulum aperire os non permittimus.

2. *interdum in glossator's hand. ðœrhwile, as gloss to interdum, stands above it.* salnesse, read stilnesse. et, MS. &. 6. sylfsyne, see note.

2. eloquuis, MS. eloquris. 3. quantomagis, n above line. malis, l partially erased? 5. Second et above line. perfectis, MS. perfectus, but i written above u. 7. MS. liquendi, but changed into loquendi. 12. reverentie in margin. 13. Scurilitates, li above line in later hand.
The proud shall be humbled; the humble shall be exalted. [27]

DE HUMILITATE. (CAP. VII.)

[2. c. vs. y, sic in MS.; see note. 3. secconde, second c changed into e.

3. qui, dot under u, as if it were meant to be expunged. 5. ergo, MS. ʒ.

11. ablactatus, MS. ablactatum. retribues; of the other Latin texts (cf. Schröer, W. V., p. 30, and see Schmidt, p. 17), S has retributio, T and U have retribues, and G has bues erased. Our MS. had first retributio, then o was erased, t lengthened into s, and e changed into e. With this newly-fabricated retribues the gloss corresponds. 15. ascenditur, some other ending changed into itur.
Have the fear of God continually before thine eyes,

[28]

urum upastigendum h dre [b.] seo hlæðð. is up to æraranne nostris ascendentibus scala illa erigenda est [c.] seo [e.] on swefne [d.] peatiwde [c.] [f.] þurhþage [g.] him que in sompio iacob apparuit; per quam ei 7 niðer astigende [h.] 7 upastigende [f.] s tulodan descendentes et ascendentes angeli monstrabantur; na bið ælles buton twýn se nýþerstige se 7 upstige fram us Non aliud sine dubio descensus ille et ascensus a nobis understandan buton mid upahafennesse nýþerastigan mid intellegitur nisi cum exaltatione descendere; et eadmodnesse upastigan [c.] seo sylfe [b.] uparærede humilitate ascendere; Scala vero ipsa hlædda ure [d.] is [a.] lif [d.] on [e.] worulde [f.] seo bið erecta nostra est vita in seculo; Que geeadmedre heortan [k.] [g.] uparærede to heofonum [c.] sidan humiliato corde a domino; erigitur ad celum; Latera [b.] sint þære [e.] dran [a.] we scegða õrne [g.] [f.] beon enim ejus scale; dicimus nostrum esse [g.] lichaman 7 sawle. [g.] on þære sidan [a.] gesætt [d.] mistlice corpus et animam; in que latera diversos [d.] stapas eadmodnesse õððe [f.] lare geçigedñyss [b.] gradus humilitatis vel discipline: evocatio [b.] seo godcund [c.] þa upastigendan a an divina ascendendos inseruit;

[b.] se forma [c.] [d.] eadmodnesse [b.] stape is [a.] [e.] godes Primus itaque humilitatis gradus est: sitt(e)ge him sylfum [k.] ætforan [k.] eagan [i.] æfre [h.] secende morem dei sibi ante oculos semper ponens [g.] foregytelnýsse [f.] eallunga [e.] gif he flihtð he sig oblivionem omnino fugiat; et semper sit gemýndig ealrapinga þet beead god [a.] [d.] þa forhimes memor omnium que precepit deus; Qualiter contempt(2) nedan [d.] gode [h.] on helle forsýnnnum [a.] hi on nentes deum; in gehennam pro peccatis inci-

1. h dre; hlæðð, probably both words are meant for hlæðdre. 12. a an over inseruit, see note. 14. secende, sic in MS.

2. sompio, p corr. from n. 5. cum added in the margin; exaltatione, MS. exaltationem. 11. MS. gradus, marked in MS. to be changed into gradus. 16. contemptentes, p below line.
for the Lord sees thee, and with all thy doings shall the [29]

Angels make Him acquainted.

befeollan [f.] 7 þæt ece lif þæt [k.] adredendum god [k.] is dunt; et vitam aeternam que timentibus deum pre-

gegearcod is [h]on his mode æfre [g.][f.] 7 he wealce 7 

parata est animo suo semper revolat. Et 

gehealdende hine fram synnum 7 leahtrum þæt is 
custodiens se omni hora a peccatis et vitiis id est 
gepohta tungan eagan handa fota oððe agenes 
cogitationum lingue; occulorum manuum pedum, vel volun-

willan ah gewilnunga lichaman ofodon he ofeste wene 
tatis proprie; sed et desideria carnis amputare festinet; Estimet 5 

man of heofonum fram gode æfre beon behealdenne 
se homo de celis a deo semper respecti 
on ælcere tida 7 his dæda on ælcere stowe fram gesyhðe 
omni hora; et facta sua omni loco ab aspetu 
godcundnyssé 7 beon gesawen fram englum on ælcere 
divinitatis videri; et ab angelis deo omni 
tide 7 beon gekyðde gesutulad us þæt witega on urum 
hora renuntiari; Demonstrat nobis hoc propheta cum in 

gepanum esse esse andweardne þonne he geswu-
cogitationibus nostri deum semper presentem ostendit 
tulad - asmaidan heortan 7 lendenu god 
dicens; Scrutans corda et renes deus; et item 
can gepohtas manna idel 7 

Dominus novit cogitationes hominum quoniam vane sunt; Et 
eft he saeig þu understode mine gepohtas forrane 7 þæt 
item dicit Intellexisti cogitationes meas a longe; Et quia 
gepan manus anded þe soðes þæt hohful sig 
cogitatio hominis confitebitur tibi; Nam ut sollicitus sit circa 
soðes oððe sege se nýdwyrða 
cogitationes suas perversas; dicat semper utilis 15 

broðor on his heortan þonne ic beo *ungewenned toforan heom 
frater in corde suo; Tunc ero inmaculatus coram eo; 
gif ic gehealde me fram minre unrihtwisnesse willan 
si observavero me ab iniquitate mea; Voluntatem vero

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11. asmaidan, see note. 15. soðes oððe sege, see note. 16. unge-
wenned, read ungewenned. foran, o crossed, as if corrected from e.
Do not follow thine own wishes, but the will of God.

...
"I have not come to do my will, but that of Him who sent me."

7 gif fram englum *hetelicum* daghwamlice dæges 7 nihtes et si ab angelis nobis deputatis cotidie die noctuque
drihtne urum scyppende ure weorc gif beoð gecyðge is to
domino factori nostro opera nostra enuntiatur: caven-
warnienne on ælere tide swa swa seigð on *ða* *sealmo
dum est ergo omni hora fratres. sicut dici in psalmo
þet us bugande to *yfele* 7 unnýtwyrðe 7 ge-
propheta ne nos declinantes in malum. et inutiles factos
wordene on ænigera tida þet *ne* *besceal 7 *arreriendo us on
aliqua hora aspiciat deus et parceo | nobis in 5
ðissere tide forðam þe is 7 he anbidað us gecýrran to
hoc tempore quia pius est; et expectat nos converti in
beteran us on towearðum þas þuc ðu ðýdest
melius cotidie ne dicat nobis in futuro. Haec fecisti
7 ic suwude.
et tacui. II.

se oðer eadmodnesse stepe is gif ænig na
Secundus humilitatis gradus est: si propriam quis non
luifiende willan his gewiñunga ne gif gelustfulað gefyllan
amans voluntatem. desideria sua non delectetur implere
þas stefne drijhtnes mid dæcum ac he geesfenlæce. seegendes.
sed vocem illum domini factis imitetur dicentis;
ic na com
Non veni facere voluntatem meam sed ejus qui me misit. Itæm
lufe hæstð wite 7 neodþearfnes 7 akendó
dicit scriptura. Voluptas habet penam et necessitas paruit
cinæhelm se ðridde stepe is þet under æni for
corunam. Tertius humilitatis gradus est: ut quis pro dei
godes lufan mid ealre gehýrsumnessa hine sýlfne þowde ealdre
 amore omni obedientia se subdat majori; 15
geesfen læcende drihtnes be ðam þe he sëið se apostolo wæs
inmitans dominum de quo dicit apostolus;
he wæs geworden gehýrsum oð dæað
Factus obedienti usque ad mortem; III.


Persevere in thy obedience, and thou shalt be saved.

se feorða eadmodnessa stæpe is on ðære syltra gehyrsumnessa
Quartus humilitatis gradus est; si in ipsa obedientia
stidum pingum. 7 widerweardum oððe eac swilce sumum
duris et contrariis rebus; vel etiam quibuslibet
on gebrohtum teonum mid stillum ingehyde gif he
inrogatis injuris; tacita conscientia patientiam am-
beefh 7 for pyldigende oððe awei gewite
plectatur et sustinens non lascescat vel дискедат:
secgendum gewrita seðe þurhwunās oððe ønde þæs
Dicente scriptura: qui perseveraverit usque in finem; hic
helle bið oft he seð dicit si ge strangod þin heorte 7 forþyldiga
salvus erit; Item confoetetur cor iu num; et sustinet
drihten gesutulinde swa swa
dominum; Et estendens fidelem *pro *nos deus igne nos
pu afandodes swa swa bið afandod seolfor þu ongøeldeyst
examinasti. sicut examinatur argentum. Induxisti
us on grin þu gezettest gedredhnessa on urum *hicce 7
nos in laqueum. posuisti tribulationes in dorso nostro; Et
þet getiwe under ealdre us scalan beon he fyllige
ut ostendat sub priore | debere nos esse. subsequitur dicens;
þu ongesettest men ofer urum heafud ah ge bebod
Inposuisti homines super capita nostra. Sed et preceptum
drihtnes on *þyrnýssum 7 on teonum þurh geþyld geþyl-
domini in adversis et injuriis per patientiam adim-
lende þa þe þynd geslegenæ heor *hiercian 7 oðer setbrendrum
plentes. qui percussi in maxillam. prebent et aliam: Auferenti
7 forgifan 7 wæfæls genýdde twamilan hi gan
tonicam. dimittunt et pallium. Angarizati miliario. vadunt

6. dicit, in glossator's hand. 9. hicce, read hrice. 12. þyrnýssum, read ðyrnýssum. 13. hiercian, read hi iercian.

3. patientiam, MS. patientia. 4. lascescat, MS. lascescat. 6. con-
fortetur, MS. confiteetur. 7. pro nos, a whole passage has been here
left out between pro and nos by the scribe, the Latin of which in S runs
as follows:—pro (Domino universa etiam contraria sustinere debere dicit ex
persona sufferentium: Propter te morte afficimur tota die, estimati sumus
ut oves occasionis, et securi de spe retributionis divine subsequuntur gaudentes
et dicentes. Sed in his omnibus superamus propter eum qui dilexit nos;
et item allo loco scriptura (Probasti) nos). 10. nos, MS. nos. 14. anga-
rizati. All other texts have angarizati. But as our form occurs not only
here, but also twice in 'Wright-Wulker's Anglo-Saxon and Old English
Vocabularies' (353. 30; and 479. 17), I dare not change it, to which Wulker
apparently sees no objection; cp. ib. I, p. 479, note 19.
Reveal thy ways unto the Lord, and trust in Him, for He is good.

Keveal thy ways unto the Lord, and trust in Him, for He is good.

pergere unum et duo Cum Paulo apostolo falsos fratres hi fordidian sustinent, et persecutionem propter justitiam patiuntur et 7 ha awyrgedan hig 7 hig blettian. malelicitentes. se benedictum. V.

[b.] [c.] [b.] [a.] [d.] ealle yfel geþohtas [g.]

Quintus humilitatis gradus est si omnes cogitationes malas [i.] [i.] [h.] cumende [k.] [k.] [m.] [l.] digellice cordi suo adverentes vel mala a se absconse commissa 5

purh eadmode andnetesse abbote gif ne bedih gað his tiht per humilum confessionem abbatii non celaverit suo hor-

[a.] [b.] be closetum pince gewrit [d.] [e.] unwrigon drihtne tatur nos de hac re scriptura dicens: revela domino weig pîne 7 hiht on higne 7 eft he seið [a.] andetað vian tuam et spera in eum et item dicit confitemini drihtne [b.] forðam [c.] pe is [d.] god forðam pe is [g.] his domino quoniam bonus, quoniam in seculum mise-

mildheortnesse [f.] [f.] ricordia ejus Et item prophetæ delictum meum 10

cyð [c.] ne sce [d.] ic [a.] dyde 7 rihtwisnýssa mine cognitum tibi feci. et injustitias meas non operui:

Dixi: pronuntiabo adversum me injustitias meas domino. et tu arleanessa minre heortan

1. The words *pergere unum* are not in the other texts. *twamulas* would seem to be the gloss to *et duo*. 6, 7. hortatur; after this some letter only faintly discernible.
Say with the prophet: 'I am but a worm, and not a man.'

7 hedeme unwurðone to malum se judicet et indignum dicens sibi cum propheta Ad nahte ic eom agen gehwyrþæd 7 ic ne cuðe swa swa rýten nichilum redactus sum et nescivi. ut jumentum ic eom fæctus sum apud te. et ego semper tecum. VII.

he eallum 7 læssan Septimus humilitatis gradus est. si omnibus se inferiorem et wacran na þæt an mid his tungan gif hit ahhe eac swýlce 5 viliorem non solum sua lingua pronuntiet sed etiam mid incundre gelýfe lufe gecastende hine sýlfe intimo cordis credat affectum humilians se et dicens mid þam witegan ic eom *wursan 7 na man cum propheta. ego autem sum vermis et non homo. manna 7 aworpones folces sum upahafen 7 ic eom obprœbrüm hominum et objectio plebis Exaltatus autem et humi-gæacned gescynd god me þæt þu gæad-liatum sum et confusus. et itæ. bonum mihi quod humi-mettest þæt ic leornige þine beadba liasti me. ut discam mandata tua. VIII.

gif nadeð naht se munuc buton Octavus humilitatis gradus est. si nihil agat monachus nisi þæt þæ se gemenlica rego mýnstræs oððe ealdra tihtær quod communis monasterii regula vel majorum cohœ-oððe læræþ býsna tantur exempla. VIII.

2. gehwyrþæd, r corr. from another letter, probably f. 7. wursan, see note.

5. lingua, MS. linguæ. 13. After the word exempla there follows in our MS. the following passage in Latin, which has been put in the note, as it is unglossed, and as it is not contained in any of the other Latin texts used by Schröer or Schmidt:—Sicut scriptum est. humiliatus sum usqueque domine vivifica me secundum verbum tuum. Et dominus dixit: Discite ame quia mitis sum et] humilis corde et invenietis requiem animabus vestris; Et (13 apostolæ dixit petrus; Humiliamini sub potenti manu dei. ut vos exaltat in tempore visitationis. omnen vestram sollicitudinem proientes in eum: quoniam ipsi cura est de vobis Sobrii estote et vigilate: quis adversarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit queren quem devoret; Cui resistite fortes infide, scientes eandem passionem ei. que in mundo est vestre fraternitati fieri;
Do not laugh, do not be clamorous; a wise man uses few words.

Nonus humilitatis gradus est si lingua ad loquendum prohibidle se munuc stilinesse habbende * oððe ax-hibeat monachus et taciturnitatem habens usque ad interro-unge 7 he ne specce svýtelunge write þæt na on gationem et non loquatur monstrante nobis scriptura quia in manifestatum sprece byð forflogen sinn 7 þæt na bið se multiloquio non effugetur peccatum et quia vir sealaspreocala wer gerihtlæð linguosus non dirigetur super terram X.

Decimus humilitatis gradus est si non sit facilis ac prompt-caf. on hlehtre forðam þe hit is awritten se dysega tus in risu. quia scriptum est: stultus in risu upahéð his stefne exaltat vocem suam. XI.

Undecimus humilitatis gradus est si cum loquitur monachus. líðelice 7 butan hlehtre eadmoldlice mid gedreage oððe feawa leniter et sine risu. humiliiter cum gravitate vel pauca word gesceadwislice gif na sprýcð 7 he na beo hlutcliplon on verba et rationabilia loquatur Et non sit clamosus in stefne swa swa hit awritten is se wisa wordum gesatulæð voce sicut scriptum est | sapiens verbis innotescit mid feawum paucis XII.

Duodecimus gradus humilitatis est si non solum corpore sed et on heortan se munuc * eadmodyssum geseondum æfre gif ne corde monachus humilitatem videntibus se semper in- gebiçiað þæt is on weorce on gebedhuse on minstre on dicet. id est: in opere. in oratorio. in monasterio. in

2. oððe, read oð. 5. feala-, first a above line. 6. bræd, b above line, read bræd. 11. hlutclipl. The MS. has hut-; the l is written over the u. 15. eadmodyssum under the combined influences of (humilitate)m and geseondum.

3. monstrante, MS. monastrante. 8. exaltat, MS. expectat. 15. semper in glossator's hand. 16. opere, MS. opore.
Say: I am not worthy, O Lord, to raise mine eyes to heaven.
On the divine offices, and the number of psalms during the night. [37]

De officiis divinis in noctibus. (Cap. VIII.)

Wintres [k.] on tide [i.] [i.] fram clýpunge [m.] þæs nýgeðan mon-
Hýemis tempore id est a kalendis novem-
þes [m.] [n.] òðæastran [n.] æfter forasceawunga [o.] [p.] [b.] æt
bris usque inpasca. juxta considerationem rationis. oc-
5 ðære ehtera tida [b.] [c.] is to arisan [a.] [a.] [d.] æt hwelyte mare [e.]
taca hora noctis surgendum est. ut modice amplius
[a.] þære [f.] [f.] [d.] pæt hi gerestan [n.] [b.] [i.] hi
de media nocte pausentur etiam digesti sur-
arisan [g.] [a.] pæt to lafe [b.] is [a.] æfter uhftsange [c.] [f.]
gant Quod vero restat post vigilias a fratribus
þa þa sealmsanges [i.] òðæa rædinge [k.] sum ðinc beheofer [g.]
qui psalterii vel lectionum aliquid indigent.
smeagunge [e.] si gepeowod [d.] fram [e.] eastran [f.] òðæa
meditationi inserviatur. A pasca autem usque ad
forasædon. clýpung [f.] þæs nýgeðan monþæs [f.] swa [b.]
supra dictas kalendas novembris sic
si gemedemod [a.] [c.] tid uhftsange [d.] seo atreogenlice [g.]
temperetur hora vigiliarum agenda. ui
betwux þam læstan [n.] fæte [n.] [o.] [f.] to neodbeheofer
parvissimo intervallo quo fratres ad necessaria
gecyndes onðam utgan [m.] gehealdenum sona merrigenlice
nature exeat custodio. moc matutini qui
lofsang. þa sint [i.] onginnendum [l.] leohthe [k.] todreogenne
incipiente luce agendi sunt 15
pæt æfter fýlian
subsequentur.

Quant psalmi dicendi sunt nocturnis horis. (Cap. IX.)

[c.] tide foresædon ealra ærest mid ferse fultum [g.]

Hýemis tempore premisso in primis versus deus in adjutorum

13. fæte, i. e. fæce. 14. onðam? indistinct.

4. Hyemis, MS. hyems. 5. in, MS. an. 6. surgendum, d corr. from t,
which is in the text, by writing a dot under it, and a d over it. 7. de media,
MS. dimidia. pausentur, MS. pascentur. 13. quo, MS. que. 17. Hiemis,
MS. hiems.
The brethren to read three lessons in turn.

mine [g.] begým oþer sidon priwa is to [a.] singanne [a.] meum intende. in secundo ter dicendum est.

[k.] mine [m.] weleras [m.] þu [l.] geopena [n.] 7 [o.] domine labia mea aperies et os

min [o.] muþ kýþ [n.] þin lof [p.] þam isto under-

meum adnuntiabit laudem tuam cui subjum-

peoddenne se ðridde sealm æfter[c.] pison [c.] [e.]
gendus est tertius psalmus et gloria. Post hanc psalmus

se feower 7 hundnigon teóða sealm mid antenne

nonagesimus | quartus cum antiphona aut (13

[b.] gewist [a.] is to singanne [a.] est þam æfter fylige godes
certe decantandus. Inde sequatur am-

– leof sex *psealmas mid antiphonum þam

brosianus. Deinde sex psalmi cum ant'iphonis. Quibus
gesungenum [c.] gecwedenum [d.] [d.] [e.] [a.] gebletsige, [b.]
dictis ;

dicto versu benedicat abbas.

[a.] [h.] [h.] [i.] 7 beon [a.] geraedde

Et sedentibus omnibus in scannis legantur

stuntmælum [d.] [e.] ofor rædinc scamol [f.] [g.]

vicissim a fratribus in codice super analogium tres

betwux [b.] þam [l.] [l.] [l.] æfter[n.]

lectiones inter quas. tria responsoria canantur. Post

þære [n.] þriddan [c.] rædinge [n.] se ðe singe he secce
tertiam vero lectionem qui cantat dicat gloriam.

[d.] [a.] þonne ongýnð se sangere singan sony [f.] ealle of
Quam dum incipit cantor dicere. mox omnes de

heora setlum hi arisan for wurðmýnte 7 arwurðnesse þære

sed'libus suis surgant. ob honorem et reverentiam sancte

halgan þrinnýsse [c.] [b.] [a.] beon geredde æt uhatsangum

trinitatis. Codices autem legantur in vigiliis
godcundlices calderdones geþære ealdan gecýðnýsse [f.] gepære
divine auctoritatis tam veteris testimenti quam

niwan [g.] ac eac swilce, forgesetnýssa heora þa fram þam

novi. sed expositiones earum que

6. est. Latin in glossator's hand. 7. psealmas, read sealmas.
16. cyðnýsse, second s above the line.

4. psalmus, MS. psalmis. 12. lectionem, MS. lectionum. 14. sedilibus, corr. in the MS. from sedelibus by writing a dot under the e, and the i over it.
15. legantur, MS. leganter. 17. expositiones, MS. expositionis, changed into expositiones.
But in the short summer nights these lessons not to be read.

namciiSestan lareowum 7 rihtgolýsfendum fæderum
nominatissimis et orthodoxis catholicisque patribus
weron [k] gewordene [k.] æfter [a.] þisum [k.] Þrim [b.]
facte sunt; Post has vero
rædingum [c.] [c.] [d.] mid heora repsum [d.] fylian [a.]
tres lectiones cum responsoriis suis sequuntur
ôdre sex salmas [e.] mid alleluian [g.] to singanne [f.] æfter [b.]
reliqui sex psalmi cum alleluia canendi; Post
þisum [b.] rædine [c.] þæs *apostolos [d.] æfter fylige [a.]
þos lectio apostoli sequatur
butan [f.] bec to recceanne. to singanne [g.] [h.]
7 halsung ex corde recitanda et versus et supplicatio
gebedu þæt [k.] is drihten gemildsa us [m.] 7 swa beonge endode
letanie. id est kyrieleison. et sic finiantur
nihtlice [n.] uhtsangas [n.]
vigilie nocturne; (Cap. X.)

Qualiter estatis tempore agatur nocturna laus.

A pascha autem usque ad calendas novembris
ælec [e.] swa swa [a.] hit hér bufan gesett salmsangas [f.]
omnis ut supra dictum est psalmodie
mýcelnyss [e.] [a.] sigehealden utasýndredum [h.] þæt [k.] rædinga
quantitas teneatur excepto quod lectiones
[1.] on bee for sceornesse [m.] nihta [n.] þæt nateshwonne [i.]
in codice propter brevitatem noctium minime
beonge [i.] [a.] ah si forðan sýlfan Þrim rædingum anre [b.]
legantur. sed pro ipsis tribus lectionibus una
lectio [b.] of þære ealdan gécyðnysse gemýndelic gerde.
ôðce de veteri testamento memoriter dica-
sungen scort [g.] [g.] *fers pam [f.] æfterfylige [a.]
tur Quam breve responsorium subsequatur: Et

11. gesett, read gesegd. 15. lectio added in glossator's hand. 16. fers, read reps.

5. apostoli, corr. in the MS. from apostolos by putting i over os.
7. finiantur, MS. friniantur. 9. estatis, MS. etatis. 12. quod, qu
corr. from two other letters. 14. una, MS. uno. 15. memoriter, MS.
memoritur. 16. responsorium, MS. responsorum.
Vigils, how to be kept on Sundays.

on eam drihenlicum dege [c.][b.] gemetlicor [a.] si arisan [a.] Dominico die Temperius surgatur. 

to nihtsangum [d.] on eam uhtsangum si gehealden [a.] ad vigilias; In quibus vigiliis teneatur gemet [b.] pat [d.] is ge trýmedum [f.] swa swa we bufan mensura. id est modulatis. ut supra gedihton [f.] [g.] sýx sealmas [h.] 7 fers [k.] sittendum disposuimus. sex psalmis. et versu. residentibus [k.] eallum gedihte 7 [i.] be endebyrðnyse on sceamolum [e.] cunctis disposte et per ordinem in subselliis [i.] beon gærde [m.] on bec swa swa we bufan [p.] legantur in codice. ut supra sædon [p.] feower [q.] rædinga [q.] mid repsum [r.] paer [s.] diximus. quattuor lectiones cum responsoriis suis. ubi patience [t.] an [a.] on eam feordam repse [u.] gesungen fram eam tantum in quarto responsorio dicatur a cantante singendum þane [f.] þonne [e.] ónginð [e.] [b.] saga ealle [c.]

Gloria; Quam dum incipit. mox omnes mid arwurðnessa [a.] arison [b.] æfter þisum rædingum [b.] cum reverentia surgant: Post quas lectiones fylian [c.] be endebyrðnesse [d.] oðre sýx [e.] sealmas mid sequantur exordine alii sex psalmi cum

3. First to, dittoigraphy in the wrong place. 10. fers, f corrected from r.

3. quantitatem, MS. quantitatem. 11. disposte, dis- corrected in the MS. from des- by writing i over the e. subselliis, MS. subselliis.
antiphonam [f.] swa swa [g.] pa æreran [g.] 7 mid ferse [h.]
antiphonis sicut antieriores et versu.
after [c.] pam [c.] [b.] eft [a.] beon geredde oière [d.] feower [d.]
Post quos iterum legantur alie quattuor
rædinga [d.] [e.] mid repsum be endebyrnessa swa swa we her
lectiones. cum responsoriis : ordine quo
bufon sædon. aeter [b.] pysum beon [a.] gepry [c.] canticas be
supra ; Post quas | dicantur tria cantica. de
cam [d.] witegendum þe [e.] þe ge [e.] gesette [f.] þa * canticas
prophetis. que instituerit abbas. que cantica
mid [h.] [h.] beon [g.] gesungenne gecwedenum [f.]
cum alleluja psallantur. Dicto etiam
[f.] verse [a.] 7 bletsiendum [g.] abbude [b.] pam beon [a.] ge-
versu et benediciente abbate legan-
rædde [b.] [b.] [b.] of þære [c.] niwan gecyðnyssé [c.]
tur. alie quattuor lectiones de novo testamento.
be endebyrnessa. swa swa we bufon sædon [e.] [e.]
ordine quo supra ; Post quantum autem
[e.] onginne [a.] [b.] lossang [d.] [d.]
responsorium incipiat abbas ýmnun. te deum laudamus; 10
[a.] pam gesungennum [a.] ræde [b.] [c.] [d.] of þam god-
quo dicto ; legat abbas lectionem de evan-
spelle [f.] mid wurþmynte [f.] [g.] 7 mid ege
[h.]
geo ; cum honore et timore stantibus omnibus ;
pam geraédum andswarian ealle [c.] [d.] [a.] 7 þam aeter
Qua perlecta respondent omnipes Amen. Et subse-
filige [a.] [b.] se abbod [d.] [e.] [e.] [e.] [f.] 7 for [f.] gifenre
quattuor mox abbas ýmnun. Te decet laus. et data benedic-
bletsunge [g.] hi anginnan mergencilcelof þæt [a.] [b.] onænde [a.]
tione. incipient matutinos ; Qui ordo 15
uhtsanga [c.] [d.] elceretide [d.] [e.] swa sumeres [e.] swa
vigiliarum omni tempore tam aestatis quam

3. The top of the two b's partly erased. 4. After beon a piece of the MS. is
away. 5. cantincas, read canticas. 6. The gloss to Alleluja is
erased; the h is probably a 'paving' letter. 7. bletsiendum, u corr.
from ci. 15. þæt onænde, as gloss to qui ordo, 1 do not know how to explain
the þet, unless here the contraction þ stands for þe; onænde, however, stands
for on endebyrnessa.

2. Erasure after alet. 3. quo, o corr. from i? 5. instituerit, MS.
instetuerit. 11. de, e above line; ad, which was in the MS., has been cor-
rected into de by underdotting the a, and adding the e.
Matins on Sundays; enumeration of psalms and canticles.

wýntres gelice [g.] [h.] on ñam drihtenlicum ñæge sigehealden [a.] hiemis aequaliter in die dominico teneatur.

[i.] buton si [k.] ñæt nǽfre na gewýrðe lætlicor [l.] arisan nisi forte.

Quod absit tardius surgatur.

sum dinc of rædingum [p.] is to scýrtanne [n.] ðæðe of repsum aliquid de lectioñibus breviandum est. aut responsoriis.

Øæt [r.] sig þe ah hwæðere [s.] eallunga [t.] gewarnod [r.] ñæt Quod tamen omnino carēatur ne hit ne [k.] belimpe [n.] ñæt [a.] gif hit [a.] belimpþ [a.]

5 proveniat; Quodsi contigerit ne hit ne [k.] ñælþe [n.] a[.]

wyrSfullice þanon [b.] he gebete [b.] gode [d.] on cyrcean [e.]

digne inde satisfaciát deo in oratorio

[f.] þurh þæs gýmœleastum þe hit becýmþ.

per cuñus evenœrit neylectum.

(CAP. XII.)

on mergenlicum

Qualiter matutinorum sollemnitias agatur. In matutinis

[d.] losangum [c.] on sunnan [c.] ñæge ealre ærest si gesungen se syx dominico die

INPRIMIS DICATUR SEX-

7 syxteogáþa sealm se syx 7 syxtigoþa sealm [e.] buton agesium sectus psalmus sine

[f.] antempne forð rihte [b.] þar æfter þam sigesungen antiphona in directum. Post quem dicatur

se syxteogáþa sealm [e.] [e.] [b.] [b.] [a.] se hun-quinquagesimus cum alleluja; Post quem dicatur cen-
teontigoþa sealm. 7 se seófoñteogáþa sealm 7 [d.] se twa 7 syx-
tesimus septimus |decimus et sexagesimus (134 a

togáþa [d.] sealm [d.] þanon bleþunga [b.] 7 [c.] loftu [c.]

15 secundus. inde benedictiones et laudes.

of unwrigednesse [f.] 7 an [d.] buton bec [e.] 7 reps [g.]

lectio de apocalipsi una ex corde et responsorium.

[h.] 7 godes lof [h.] 7 fers [i.] [k.] losanc [i.] of þam godspelle et ambrosianus. versus. canticum de evangelió.

gebedu 7 hit bið [n.] geendod [n.]

letania. et completum est.

14. The second word sealm, last stroke of m erased. bleþunga, e very indistinct.

3. de lectioñibus, MS. dilectioñibus. 12. antiphona, MS. antiphonam.

15. benedictiones, the last e corr. from i in MS.
Matins on week-days; other psalms and canticles.

QUALITER PRIVATIS DIEBUS MATUTINI AGANTUR.

(CAP. XIII.)

[c.] [b.] [c.] on syndorlicum dagum æftersanga symbolnys
Diebus autem privatim matutinorum sol-
[d.] si gedon [a.] pæt [f.] is [g.] pæt sig [h.] [h.]
lempnitas ita agatur. id est ut sexagesimus sextus
[h.] [g.] sungen [i.] buton antempne [k.] teonde
psalmus dicatur sine antiphona. subtrahendo
æt hwega [l.] swa swa [m.] on ðam [m.] sumnan die ðæge pæt [n.]
modice sicut dominica. ut

5 ealle becuman [n.] [p.] toðan fiftugeðan sealme se sige
omnes occurrant ad psalmum quinquagesimum. qui cum
[r.] [q.] sungen æfter [b.] þæm [b.] [c.] [c.] [c.]
antiphona dicatur; Post quem aliú duo psalmi
beon gesungenne [a.] æfter [d.] [d.] [e.] on monan [f.] ðæge
dicantur secundum consuetudinem id est secunda feria.
[fr.] 7. se. y 7 þritteoga sealm 7 se ðæs * tides dages [a.]
quintus. et trigessimus quintus. tertia
se twa 7 feowerteogaða sealm [b.] 7 se syx 7 fífteogaða [c.]
quadragesimus secundus. et quinquagesimus sextus. 10
ðæs [a.] wodnes ðæges [a.] seō þræo 7 sýxteogaða sealm [b.]
Quarta feria. sexagesimus tertius
7 se ðoeor 7 sýxteogaða sealm se ðifta ðeig se seoſon 7
et sexagesimus quartus. Quinta feria octogesimus
hundealhtæða 7 se nigoða 7 hund eahtðæða sealm þæs frían ðæges
septimus. et octogesimus nonus. Sexta feria
se ðif 7 sýxteogaða 7 sewan 7 hund nigenteogaða
septuagesimus quintus. et nonagesimus primus.
sæternesdaeg 7 hund teontigoða. 7 se twa 7 ðeow-
Sabbato autem
tigoða san. 7 canticum se * deo toðæled
simus secundus. et canticum deuteronomii quod dividatur

5. die, Latin in glossator's hand. 9. y over first quintus; probably
originally = fífta, which must also be understood over the second quintus.
tides, read tiwes. 16. san, pro salm or sung? deo, read béo.

4. sine above the line. 7. antiphona, MS. atiphona. 12, 13. octogesi-
mum and octogesimus, MS. octuagesimus, m. 14. primus is a correction
of the MS. from quintus, which was there first, and which is marked for
expunction by a line of dots over and under it; primus is then written
over it.
on twam glorian soðes [a.] [b.] [b.] an *cantinc in duas Glorias; Nam ceteris diebus canticum anum anum [d.] gehwylcum daege [d.] he [e.] *sw unumquodque die suo ex ] prophétis. sicut (131 [f.] singað se romanisca laðung si gesungen [a.] æfter þisum psallit aeclesia romana dicatur; Post hec filian [a.] lofu [c.] capitol gemimorlice sequantur laudes: Deinde lectio una apostoli memoriter to secanne ῶ recitanda. responsorium. ambrosianus. versus. canticum de Evangewistlice [b.] is to donne [a.] gelio. letania et completum est; Plane agenda meriendlice losfang [c.] oððe [d.] on æfen [d.] sanc ne wite [e.] matutina. vel vespertina non transeat æhwænne [f.] buton on ðære ýtemesta endebýrdnyssé [k.] atiquando. nisi in ultimo ordine [h.] bed þat drihtenlicge [h.] eallum gehyrendum si gesun- oratio dominica omnibus audientibus dica- gen [g.] fram ealdre [h.] for [i.] aswicunga [k.] þornum [i.] tur a priore propter scandalorum spinas þam [l.] upasprungen [l.] gewunian[s] [n.] gecýrde [r.] þurh þa sylfan que oriri solent ut conversi per ipsius gebedas behat [q.] on þam [t.] segnd[e.] orationis sponsionem qua dicunt. dimitte nobis sicut et nos þat [n.] hi gefermian [a.] fram þas [p.] gerae- dimittimus purgent se ab hujus- dum [p.] leahtre [p.] [d.] oðrum [d.] þínam [b.] [d.] donlicum modi vítio. Coeteris vero agendis: [c.] se ýtemesta [c.] þæs gebedes [c.] sigesungen [a.] [f.] fram ultima pars ejus orationis dicatur ut ab eallum [g.] þat si [f.] geandswarod ah alýs us fram omnibus respondeatur. sed libera nos a ýfele malo.

1. cantine, read cantic. 2. Erasure after sw, read swa; even swa is barely visible. 8. ýtemesta; it is possible that the n we expect here should be cut away; first e is partly cut away. 14. þínam in the MS.; m, however, is underdotted, and a d written over it, and a seems to be changed into n, yielding for the whole, tidum.

4. memoriter, MS. memoritur. 5. The MS. reads evangelico, but the c is expunged.
Vigils on Saints' days. The times for singing the Hallelujah. [45]

QUALITER IN SANCTORUM NATALITIIS VIGILIE AGANTUR. (CAP. XIV.)

[c.] [d.] [b.] [c.] on freolsungum [m.] odisse on callum [e.]

IN SANCTORUM VERO FESTIVITATIBUS VEL OMNIBUS

SYMELYSSUM [e.] SWA SWA [f.] WE SAEODON [f.] ON CAM DRIHTEN-

SOLEMPNITATIBUS. SICUT DIXIMUS DOMINICO

LICUM [g.] IS TO DONNE [a.] [e.] SIGEDON [k.] UTASYNDRODUM

DIE AGENDUM. ITA AGATUR EXCEPTO

PÆT BEON [i.] SEALMAS [m.] ODISSE ANTEMNPS [o.] REDINGE [o.]

QUOD PSALMI AUT ANTIPHONE VEL LECTIONES

to ðam [q.] SÝLFUM [q.] DÆGE [p.] GEBÝRIENDE [l.] SUNGENNE

AD ÆPEUM DIEM PERTINENTES DICANTUR.

gemed [c.] [b.] PÆT FORESÆDE SIGE HEALDEN

Modus autem suprascriptus teneatur

QUIBUS TEMPORIBUS ALLELUIA DICATUR. (CAP. XV.)

Fram ðam halgan [f.] eastran [f.] to [g.] pentecosten [g.]

A SANCTO PASCHA USQUE PENTECOSTEN:

BUTAN [e.] TO FORLÆTENNESSE SI GESUNGEN [a.] [b.] GEON [c.]

SINE INTERMISSIONE DICATUR ALLELUIA. TAM

SÆLMSANGE [c.] GE [d.] ON REPSUM [d.] [c.] [b.]

IN PSALMIS QUAM IN RESPONSORIIS: A PENTECOSTEN AUTEM

OD [d.] ANGIN [d.] LÆNCTENFÆSTEN [d.] EALLUM [e.] NIHTUM [e.]

USQUE IN CAPUT QUADRAGESIMÉ OMNIBUS NOCTIBUS

MID SEX [f.] ÆFRTRUM SEALM [g.] PÆT AN TO UHTSANGUM SIGESUNGEN

CUM SEX POSTERIORIBUS TANTUM AD NOCTURNALES DICATUR:

ÆLCON [b.] SUNNANDÆGE [e.] [s.] BUTAN LÆNCTENE [d.] CANTICAS

OMNI VERO DOMINICO DIE EXTRA QUADRAGESIMAM. CANTICA.

15

MERIENDLICE LOSANGAS. PRIM UNDERSANC [g.] MIDDÆGSANC [i.]

MATUTINI. PRIMA. TERTIA. SEXTA.

NONSANC MID [l.] BEON SUNGENNE [a.] ÆFTERSANC [c.] [b.]

NONAQUE CUM ALLELUIA DICANTUR; VESPERA VERO;

NÆFRE NE SIGESUNGEN SANG MID ALLELUIA BUTAN FRAM EASTRAN

NUNQUAM DICANTUR CUM ALLELUIA. NISI A PASCA.

ODDONE ÆFTEOÐA DÆIG

USQUE AD PENTECOSTEN.

3. [d.] Top part erased. 11. æt in forlætennesse not clear; t may be d,
and æ probably corrected from a. 17. after sanc, probably a mistake for
œfen sanc.

10. Pascha, h above line. 15. die, later addition, which is in no other text.
Qualiter divina opera per diem agantur. (Cap. XVI.)

swa swa se witega sæde seofonsidôn on dæge lof [a.]
UT AIT PROPHETA. SEPTIES IN DIE LAUDEM
ic sanc [b.] òe pæt [a.] seofonsealde [a.] pæt halige [a.]
dixi tibi;
Qui septenarius sacratus
getel [a.] fram us [b.] [a.] syge fylled gif meriendlice
numerus a nobis sic impleatur. si matu-
lofsanges [i.] primsanges [k.] as [l.] as [m.] as efensang
5 tini. primae tertie sexe none vespere
7 [o] nihtsanges [a.] on tide ures þeowdomes [g.] þenunga
completorique tempore nostre servitutis officia
we gelæston forðam [p.] be þisum [p.] tidum þe he sæde [p.]
persolvumus. quia de his oris dixit:
[t.] [a.] on dæge [s.] lof dixi sang þe [x.] [a.] sōdæ
septies in die laudem tibi;
Nam de
benihtlicum [c.] [c.] uhhtsangum se ilca [b.] se sylfe [b.] witega [b.]
nocturnis vigilis idem ipse propheta
[a.] sæde [b.] to midderenihte [b.] [a.] ic aras to andedende [c.]
10 ait; media nocte surgbam ad confitendum
þe [d.] [b.] on þisum [e.] tidum [e.] [a.] we gereeças lofu [c.]
tibi; Ergo his temporibus referamus laudes
urum [d.] sceppende [d.] [f.] ofor domes [f.] [g.] his rih-
creatori nostro super judicia justi-
wisnesse [g.] [h.] pæt is æfter sangum primsang undersanc
tiae sue. id est matutino. prima. tertia.
middægsang nonsanc æfensanc nihtsang 7 on nihte 7 utan arisan
sexta. nona. vespera. completorio et nocte surgamus
to andedtenne him
15 ad confitendum ei.

2. Erasure after dæge?

4. bi = the glossator's correction of impleatur into implebitur, which is in the other texts, is found over the a of impleatur.
5. as, three times, merely the termination of words, which are understood to be known, showing that the Latin words are plural. efensang, or æfensang.
8. dixi, omitted in Latin text, and supplied by glossator.
10. andedende, i.e. andettende; the last d is corrected from n.
15. anded-
tenne, read andetenne.

4. impleatur, see supra, note to 1. 4. 6. completoriique, MS. completorique.
9. ipse above line. 13. sue, MS. tue.
The number of psalms to be sung in these hours. [47]

QUANTI PSALMI PER EASDEM HORAS DICENDI SUUNT. (CAP. XVII.)

nu sōdes be nihthlicum vigiliis uhtsangum unde meiendlice
VEL MATUTINIS
lofsangas after sanges endebýrdnese [b.] [c.] sealmanges [g.] [c.]
DIGESSIMUS
ordinem psalmie, 

nu [g.] be afetfýliendum tidum [h.] uton [f.] wearnian
nunc de sequentibus horis videamus;
on pære [c.] formantide *becna preo sealmas [b.] sindorlipes [d.]
Prima hora dicantur psalmi tres singillatim.

7 na under anum glorian losfang pære ýlcan tide [g.] aefter [h.]
et non sub una gloria. ÿmnus ejusdem hore post
verse [h.] o [i.] mine [l.] fylst [l.] beiym [k.] ærðam [m.]
versum. deus in adjutorium meum intende: Antequam
[n.] sealmas [m.]
aefter gefýllednesse þreora sealmala [d.]
psalmi incipientur: Post exptionem trium psalmorum
[a.] si gereht [a.] kapitol [b.] [b.] an et 7 fers 7 drihten si mid us 7
rectitetur lectio una versus. et Kyrieleison et
hit bið geendod [g.] undernsanges. soðlice. middægisanges 7 non-
missa est: Tértie vero. sexte. et

sanges on þære endebýrdnese si gebremod [a.] gebed [b.] ðæt is
none eo ordine celebretur oratio. id est
[h.] fers losfanges þæra ilcan [k.] tidana [k.] preo sealmas capitol [m.]
versus. ÿmnis earundem horarum terni psalmi. lectio.

7 vers [n.]

7 hit bið geendod gif [a.] mare [c.] gega-
et versus. KÝPIEÆICON. et missa est; Si major
conderunci [b.] bið [a.] mid antempnes soðlice læsse forðrihte beon
gregatio fuerit. cum antiphonis. si vero minor. in directum psal-
gesungene [c.] æfén [b.][c.] tidsanc mid fower [d.] sealmas [d.]
lantur; Vespertina autem axisin. quattuor psalmis 15

2. vigiliis supplied by glossator. It is only in S. (Schröer's Wintene Version).
3. The es over psalmie stands much lower than sealmanges, making it look as if es were written first by one who only wished to indicate the ending. Then some one else put in sealmanges. All this appears to have been carefully copied by our scribe. 5. becau, probably read beon a (sungenne) or read beocwedan? 7. o over deus, no 'paying' letter, but sign of vocative. 9. et after an by glossator. 10. middægisanges, inserted by glossator himself, but probably in the wrong place, middægisanges the word which it was intended to produce. 14. antempnes, s corr. from r or n.

2. Jam, wrongly rubricated in the MS. Nam. 3. psalmie, MS. psalmodyt. 12. termi, MS. termi; the first stroke of m perhaps erased. 14. in directum, MS. in directu. 15. autem here and passim indicated in MS. by h°.
mid [e.] antempne [a.] si geendod after [b.] psium [b.]
cum antiphonis terminetur: Post quos
sealum [b.] capitul [c.] is to reccanne [a.] is [a.] ḫan on [d.]
psalmos lectio recitanda est. inde
reps [e.] godes lof [f.] [g.] [h.] lofsang of ḫam godspelle
responsorium, ambrosianus. versus canticum de evangelio.
gebedu [k.] [l.] 7 päet drihtenlic gebed [l.] [m.] heo beon geen-
et oratio dominica. et fiant.
dode [m.] [c.] nihtsanc sölice þreora [e.] sealma [e.]* forð-
misse; Completorium autem trium psalmorum di-
rihtes [b.] si geendod [a.] þa sealmas [a.][a.] forðrihtes [b.]
tione terminetur; Qui psalmsi directanei
butan antemne [c.] sint [a.] to singanne [a.] æfter [d.] psium [d.]
sine antiphona dicendi sunt. Post quos
lofsang [e.] þære ýlean tide [f.] capitol [g.] an [g.] 7 vers [h.]
ymnus ejusdem hore. lectio una. versus.
[i.] 7 bletsung [k.] 7 hi gebeon geendode
kirieleison. benedictio et misse fiant;
10 QUO ORDINE IPSI PSALMI DICENDI SUNT. (CAP. XVIII.) | (136)
esla ærest [t.] æfre [b.] on daeghwamlicum [d.] tidum
INPRIMIS SEMPER DIURNIS HORS
[a.] sigesungen mine fultum beijym [d.] eala þu
dicatur versus deus in adjutorium meum intende. domine
drihten to gehelpanne me æfet 7 gloria þanon lofsang
ad advowandum me festina. et gloria: inde ymnus
anrehwylere æghwilere tide syðdan on þære forman tida
unius cuiusque hore. deinde prima hora do-
on sumnan dæge die tosecgenne ðeower cwýdas psalmi þæs
15 minica dicenda quattuor capitula centissimi
hundteontiga 7 cahtateðan sealmas on oðrum sölice tidum
octavi decimi; Reliquis vero horis
þæt is undersang þiþ capitulas þæs foran
id est tertia. sexta nona. terna capitula supra
awritene sealmas beon gesungenne
scripti psalmi centissimi octavi decimi. dicantur;
6. forðrihtes, evidently a mistake for a word that can be a gloss to dictione; for díhte? 15. die inserted by glossator. psalmi added by glossator, to which the sealmas in l. 16 is the gloss.

11. diurnis, MS. diurnus.
2. On week-days.

æt primsange þæs monan dæges beon gesungenne
Ad primam autem secundae ferie dicantur
præo sealmas pæt is se forma se oðer 7 se syxta 7 swa ion
tres psalmi. id est primus. secundus. et sextus. et ita per
ænleipige dæges æt primsange oððane drihtenlican dæg diem
singulos dies ad primam usque ad dominicam
beon geseonnde be endebyrdnesse þry sealmas oððone nigon
dicantur per ordinem terni psalmi. usque ad
teoðan sealm swa gewislice þæt se nigða sealm
nonum decimum psalmum. ita sane; ut nonus psalmus
7 se seofonteoða sealm beon todælede on twam glorian 7 swa
et septimus decimus dividantur in binas glorias. et sic
hit beo þæt si æt uhtsangum on swnnan dægæ die æfre
flæt. ut ad vigilias dominico semper
fram þam twentigoðan sealme ongunnon to undersnange
a vigessimo. incipiatur. Ad tertiam vero;
þæs monan dæges *niwe gencwidas þa þe
sextam et nonam secunde ferie. novem capitula que
to lafe synt of þam hunteontigoðan 7 eahtateoðan sealme
residua sunt de
centessimo octavo decimo
pa sylfa prý sealmas geond þa ylcan tida beon gesun-
psalmo ipsa terna per easdem horas dican-
genne utasýndrom [b.]
tur; Expenso ergo psalmo centessimo octavo decimo
on twam dagum þæt is asunandæge 7 on monan dæg
duobus diebus. Id est dominico et secunda feria.
7 on tiwes dæg eallunga æt undersnange æt middægange
tertia feria. jam ad tertiam sextam
oððe æt nonsange beon gesungenne præo sealmas fram þam
vel nonam | psallantur terni psalmi a cen-
hundteondigoðan 7 nigonteoðan sealme *oððe ðone hundeont-
tessimo nono decimo
usque ad centeri-
teoðan 7 seofon 7 twentigoðan sealme
*niwe 7 þa
mum vigessimum septimum.
psalmi novem. Quique

2. ion for iond. 3. diem added by glossator. 4. geseonde, corrected
in margine into gesungenne. 7. die added by glossator after dominico.
9. niwe, novem glossed, as if novum, cf. l. 17. 16. oððe, read oððe. 17. niwe,
cp. supra, note to l. 9.

1. secundae, MS. secundum. 2. tres, MS. te es. 5. decimum, X\textsuperscript{num} in MS.,
nun in glossator's handwriting!
Psalms on week-days (continued). [Ch. XVIII.

sealmas oculosone drihtelican deig iond pā yλean tida psalmi semper usque ad dominicam per easdun horas eftsonas geđelehte lọfsanga eac eacswilce rėdinga odde vers itidem repetantur. ĳmorum nihilominus. lectionum vel versuum gesetnyssa anrėdlice eallum dagum gehealden 7 swa gewislice dispositione uniformiter cunctis diebus servata. et ita seilocet aefre on Ȝam drihtelican deège fram Ȝam hundteontigoðan 7 semper dominica a centesimo octavo eahtateoðan sealme hit si agunnen æzensanc dæghwamllice 5 decimo incipiatur. Vespera autem cotidie mid feower * sealmorum mid dreame si gesungen Ȝa sealmas quattuor psalmorum modulatione canatur. Qui psalmi beon agunnenne fram Ȝam hundteontigoðan 7 nigoðan sealme incipientur a centessimo nono. usque ad centessimum quadragesimum septimum. exceptis his qui in diversis horis ex eis sequestrantur. id est a centessimo septimo decimo. 10 usque centessimum vigesimum septimum et a centessimo trigesimae calle pā oðre simo tertio, et centessimo quadragesimo secundo; Reliqui omnes on æsen sind to singanne 7 forðam læs pē cumað preo in vespera dicendi sunt. Et quia minus veniunt tres sealmas forði hig synd todælenne pā pā getele on Ȝam psalmi. ideo dividendi sunt qui in numero supraforesædan strenggran beodo gemette scripto fortiores inventiuntur. id est centesimus trige-

15 simus tertius et centesimus quadragesimus quartus. Centesimus forðam lytel pē he is vero sextus decimus. quia parvus est cum centesimo si gepæod gedihtenre endebyrdnysses quinto decimo jungatur. | Digesto ergo ordine sealmangsæ æzensanga oðre pēt is rædinga repisas psalmorum vespertinorum reliqua. id est lectiones. responsoria.

6. sealmorum, read sealma.

The whole Psalter to be sung through weekly.

The whole Psalter to be sung through weekly.

imnis versus [i.] o§de canticas swa swa we bufan scripsimus ymnai; vel cantic. sicut supra taxavi-
awritten beon gefyllede to nihtsange pa ylcan salmas mas impleanvtur; Ad completorium vero. idem psalmi
beon gedleehete pat is se fecower 7 hundningenteSa salm repetanvtur. cotidie id est quartus. nonagesimus.

gedihtere [e.] [b.]
et centesimus et trigesimus tertius; Disposito ergo
endebyrdnesse [c.] salmsangas [e.] godcundlice [d.] ealle [f.]
ordine psalmodie divine. reliqui

[Latin text]

1. imnis. Is the s of this Latin word perhaps a remnant of the plural ending -as which may have originally stood over ymnai? See 54. 2. versus supplied by glossator. scripsimus in glossator’s hand, the gloss to which, as well as to taxavimus, is awritten in 1. 2. 7. godalede, read godalede or todalete. 9. salmos, scribe’s eye caught by Latin ending. See note to Latin, 1. 9. 11. Erasure before pis. 13. bid or bid? 15. getele, te above line. 17. et added by glossator.

9. psalmi, MS. psalmos.
The presence of God to be remembered.

for̃sam [a.] swiðe [c.] crafteasne * estfulnesses heora [d.] þeowdom quia nimis iners devotionis sue servitium pe atiwað [a.] munecas [b.] þa þa [e.] læs [f.] sealmsanges [g.] ostendunt monachi qui minus psalterio [h.] mid losange [h.] mid gewunelicum [h.] iond [i.] cum canticis consuetudinaris per þere [k.] wućan emrene [i.] singað [l.] buton þonne [l.] septimane circulum psallunt. dum quando weræðað [l.] ure halige [m.] fæderas [n.] [m.] on anum [q.]

dæge þæt [o.] hraedlice gefyllan [n.] þæt [r.] eala [r.] sleawe die hoc strenue implevisse. quod nos tepidi. gif ge ucan [t.] on ansundre [t.] læstan [r.] utinam septimana integra persolvamus. (13)

De disciplina psallendi. (CAP. XIX.)

æighwære [c.] we gelyfað [a.] godcundlice [d.] beon andweard-
urbationque credimus divinam esse pre-
nysse [d.] [e.] eagan [f.] drihtnes [f.] on ælcere [g.] stowe [g.]
10 sentiam. et oculos domini in omni loco
besceawian [e.] þagodan 7 þa yfelan [d.] swyðest [b.] þeah-
spectu bonos et malos. Maxime tamen
hwæðere þæt [c.] butan ælceræ [e.] twynung [e.] þa gelyfað [a.]
hoc sine aliqua dubitatione cedamus.
þonne [f.] æt þam godcundlicum [g.] weoræ eã [g.] we ætstandað
cum ad opus divinum assistimus.
forði [c.] æfre [b.] [d.] gemýndige we beon [a.] þæt sæde
Ideo semper memores simus; quod ait propheta;
þeowiað on æge 7 eft singað wislice [a.] 7 on
15 Servite domino in timore; Æt iterum Psallite sapienter; Æt in
gesyhtæ engla 7 ic singa [a.] þe [b.] [b.] utan foresceawian
conspectu angýlorum psallam tibi. Ergo consideremus
hu hit [c.] gedæfenige [c.] [e.] on his gesihðæ [e.] godcundnesse [f.]
qualiter oporteat in conspectu. divinitatis

1. estfulnesses, see note to Latin, 1. 1. 4. æ before wućan underdotted, probably to be regarded as the wrong beginning of ućan instead of wućan. 11. [e.] not quite clear.

1. devotionis, MS. devotioni. An s, which is wanting here, is superfluous in the gloss estfulnesses. May we suppose that an s written above the line was wrongly transcribed as belonging to the gloss instead of to the lemma? 7. septimana in MS. 8. De above line. PSALLENDI, I is cut away.
Prayer to be reverent, pure, and brief.

De reverentia orationis. (Cap. XX.)

*gif* mid rican mannan we wyllað sum þine
Si cum hominibus potentibus volumus aliqua

tihtan we na [a.] gedyrstlaecan [a.] buton mid eadmodnesse
suggerere. non presumimus nisi cum humilitate
7 arwurðnæsæ 7 hu miclele swiðor gode ealra pingan
et reverentia. quantomagis domino deo universorum.
mid ealre ead 7 clænnesse mid estfulnesse is to halsi-
cum omni humilitate et puritatis devotione supplicantum
genæ 7 na on manifealdre spræce ac on clænnesse
est. Et non in multiloquio sed in puritate cordis
7 on bryrdnesse teara we ne beon gehyrde witon 7 forði
et conjunctione lacrimarum. nos exaudiri sciamus. Et ideo

csort sceal 7 clæna gebed buton wenunge of lufe
brevis debet esse et pura oratio. nisi forte eæ affectu
eþunge godecundlicere gise hit beo gelend on gegaderunge
inspirationis divine gratie | protendatur; In conventu
callunga *sescyrð* gebed 7 gewordenre tacne fram
tamen omnino brevietur oratio; Et facto signo a
pam ealdran ealle ætgædere hi arisan.
priore. omnes pariter surgant.

De decanis monasterii. (Cap. XXI.)

*gif* mare bið gegæderung beon gecorene of ðam sylfan
Si major fuerit congregatio eligantur de ipsis
gebroðran goddra gecyðnesse 7 haligre 7 *liredrohtununge 7 beon
fratribus boni testimonii et sancte conversationis et con-

7. swiðor, w nearly effaced. 12. gelend for gelengd. 13. sescyrð, read si gescyrd? 17. 7 haligre 7 liredrohtununge. I think lhre must be a remnant of (ha)ligre, as gloss to sancte, and afterwards haligre has been again put in.

6. suggerere, MS. suggere. 8. humilitate, an e over first i.
The deans of the monastery. Monks should sleep singly.

54] The deans of the monastery. Monks should sleep singly.

gesette hohfolnesse ą pā don ofor heora wican stituantur decani; qui sollicitudinem gerant super deca-
heora decanhades on eallum ąngum etter godes be bodum godes nias suas in omnibus secundum mandata dei
7 be bodu abbodes heores *pu *decanis ąyllice beon gecorene et precepta. Qui decani tales eligantur
on ǝsam he todelǝ ǝorsorh se abbod ąsvỳrige hỳs bỳrǝnǝ 7 hi na beon in quibus securus abba partiat honera sua. Et non eli-
gecorene endebyrdnesse ac ǝfter earnungum lifes 7
gantur. per ordinem. sed secundum vite meritum et
wisdomes 7 lare ἰατ ǝǝnig of ǝsam on sumere færunga sapientiae doctrinam. Quod si quisque ex eis aligua forte
to *beed modignesse gif ge bið met teallic gepreat āre
inflatus superbia repetitus fuerit reprehensibilis. correptus semel.
7 eft 7 priddan siǝde gif he nele geheten he si ut-
et iterated. Atque tertio. si non emendare voluerit dei-
adraefed on his styde se ǝǝ is wyrǝ ciatur. et alter in loco eius qui dignus est
7 eftserflighe beǝsam ut pravoste ἰατ ǝlycer 7 we gesettað
10 succedat; Et de preposito eadem constituimus.

QUOMODO DORMIUNT MONACHI. (CAP. XXII.)

ǝnlepige geond ǝnlepige bedd hi slapan beddcreaf
Singuli per singula lecta dormiant; lectisternia
for gemede drohtnunge ǝfter gesetnesse. oðǝ dihtinge abbodes
pro modo conversationis secundum dispositionem abbatis
heora under hig gif hit mæg ealle on aпре stowe hi slapan
sui accipient. si potest fieri. omnes in uno loco dormiant;
gif meniu ne gepǝseð tynfealdum oðǝ twentifealdum
15 Si autem multitudo non sinit deni aut viceni
mid caldrum ǝpa ofer hig hohfulle beon hi gerestan candel
cum ǝn senioribus qui super eos solliciti sint pausent; Candela (138)
ǝfre on ǝsam ǝylcan huse bỳrne oðǝ merien gescridde
jugiter in eadem cella ardeat usque mane; Vestiti
hi slapan 7 begyrde ǝgyrdelsam oðǝ strengum 7 seax
dormiant. et cincti cingulis aut funibus et cultellos

3. *pu, read pa. decanis, see note to 51. 1. 4. ǝsvỳrige, see note.
7. tobed, read tobed. gif ge bið met, read gif bið ge met. 12. ǝnlepige
(twice) and in line 13. forgemede; in these three cases e seems to be corrected
from i.
Admonitions and penalties for faults.

heora æt sidan 7 hi naban þonne hi slapað þurh suos ad latus non habeant. dum dormiunt ne forte per sweðn þelas þe hi wyrdan oððe gewundode somnium vulnerentur dormientes; Et ah þat hi beon gewordenem taene ut parati sint monachi semper. et facto signo buton ýldinge 7 a hi arisænde 7 hi æstæn heom betwýna fora-absque mora surgentes. festinent se invicem pre-hrdian godes weorce mid ealre swa þæah *stæfnýsse 7 mid venire ad opus dei. Cum omni tamen gravitate et mo-5 metfæstnýsse þagirnan gebroðra wýð hi sylfe hi naban destia. Adolescentiores fratres juxta se non habeant bed ah gemengede mid ealdum arisende sôlice to godes lecta. sed permixti cum senioribus; Surgentes vero ad opus weorce. gemedlice tihtan oððe laran slae-dei. invicem se moderate cohortent propter somnolen-furan for beladunge torum excusationes;

DE EXCOMMUNICATIONE CULPARUM. (CAP. XXIII.)

to þunden
Si quis frater contumax aut inobediens. aut superbus. aut cýrigende oððe on ænigan þingan wìderweard [y] wunigende murmuras. vel in aliquo contrarius existens þam haligon regole 7 bebodu heora ealdra forhicgend 7 sancte regulæ. et preceptis seniorum suorum contemptor et gif bið gemed þes æfter bebode. repertus fuerit. hic secundum domini nostri preceptum sý gemýnegod æne 7 oðersidan dihlice fram his ealdrum ammoneatur semel et secundo secrete a senioribus suis; 15 gif he hit na gebet he si geþpread openlice toforan eallum Si non emendaþerit. objurgetur. publice coram omnibus; gif he hit swa he bið geþread gyf he understent Si vero neque sic se correxerit. si intelligit

2. oððe, see note. 4. a, gloss to semper in l. 3? 5. stæfnýsse, read stæpynýsse. 12. [y.] not clear.

3. sint corrected in the MS. from sunt by underdotting the u, and writing an i over it. 13. et not in other texts; redundant.
Manner of monastic excommunication. Grauer faults.

hwylne wito sig amansumunge he underhunige alles
qualis pena sit. excommunicationi subjaceat; | Sin. autem (132)
"widercreon he in lichamlicere wrace \ he sig underpeod
improbus est. vindicta corporali et subdatur;

QUALIS DEBEAT FRES MODUS EXCOMMUNICATIONIS.
(CAP. XXIII.)

after gemet \ gyltas amansumunge \ no\No lare, stytre
& Secundum modum. culpe. excommunicationis vel discipline
seal been afrencod gemet \ cel gylta
debet extendi mensura: Qui culparum modus in abbatis
hanguge \No No stande ou dome | seahhweorcere ou
pundance judicio: si quis tamen frater in
lechturn gylturn git biN * gemedemod fram * heode dahlumunge
levorubus culpus inventur, a mensa participatione
si gesprend * gesprendest fram meosan o\No fram geferne
priesture: | Fecavit autem a mensa consorte, ista
deme \No beo gesceed ou cýrtian seculu o\No autemp
\To cel ceto ut in oratorio psalmmum aut antiphonam
\Re ge in ongimo na he un mundeling rece o\No fulre dasd
nem imponunt usque hecnumum recitatum, usque ad satisfac-
bo do gessorhunge after gessorhunge ama
trione: | Relectionem autem ubi post fratrum reficiemum solus
he under \Rez z lile his wyngeNo
heogessordige to midadeges
asupent ut. si verbi gratia fraterex esctent secd herna
so brooder to nows
he on afen o\Noet he be mid
\le frater wma, si frateres wna. ile resperen. usque dun
delhate fulre | presicere forgitamesse gite
\5 sanctiactene corponc veniam consequatur:

DE GRAVIORIS CULPI. (CAP.) XXV.

so
brooder heofolices gyltes mid dara \ si
in alter frater qui gravioris culpe noxa tenenatur. sus-

2 witercreo, second o above the line; probably to be read witercreo.
3 gemenedoom, read gemet; see note. heode, read Brooke. 9. gesprendest, read exsprendes.
11. aut, wrongly transcribed for au, dishhode, the third a has been corrected either from o into e, probably the latter. 13. be under, fill up fæ, hic for he; the s has afterwards been underdotted.
faramdon fram beode sanod 7 fram cyercean enig him gebrobra pendatur a mensa. simul et ab oratorio; Nulhus ei frutrum on enigre na si gepeod geferendene ne on spraece ana in ullo jungatur consortio neque in colloquio; Solus to wecore to betashum purhwinigende behreowsunga sit ad opus sibi injunctum. persistens in poenitentie on heofunge witende tone egeslician ewide seegendes luctu. scient illam terribilem apostoli sententiam dicentis. betashne pyllicene manna pam sceccan on feorwyrde lichaman pet he halsie on drihtnes dege metes carnis. ut spiritus salvus sit in die domini; Cibi gereordung ana he underfo gemet adde on tida on autom refactionem solus percepiat. mensura vol hora. qua oere pe forscæawæ his feccan ne he ne sige fram previdemit abba ei competere: Nee a enigum sarendum bletsad men na mete se pe bið him quoquam benedivatur transuente. nee eibus qui ei gescald datur:

De is qui sine iussione abratis junguntur excommunicatis.

(CAP. XXVI.)

gif hwylæ broðer gedyrstlacō butan hase abbetes pam si quis frater presumpterit sine iussione abbatis. fratri amansumedan broðer mid enigum genete gepeodon galice excommunicato quotlibet modo se jungere. similem he gehleote amansumunge wræce sortiatur excommunicationis vindictam.

Qualiter debeat abba esse sollicitus et circa excommunicationes. (CAP. XXVII.)

celre hohfolnesse gýmene do abutan þæ agiltenendan Omni sollicitudine curam gerat abbas circa delinquentes broðra forþam þæ nis neode þam halum liece ah þam fratres. quia non est opus sanius medicine. sed

2. spræce, a or a l 5. feorwyrde, y of peculiar form 8, 9. na he sige from enigum sarendum bletjad men, understand na he si. f. a. f. men gebletsad. 9. sarendum, a indistinct. 14. gepeodon, i. e. gepeodon.
Pastoral care. The Good Shepherd's example.

untruman oððe ýfel habbendum 7 forþi he brucan he seal male habentibus; Et ideo uti debet
mid eallum gemet swa swa wis læce onasendan swilce
omni modo ut sapiens medicus. immittere quasi
dihle frofra þa ealdan swylce
occultos; Senpectas. id est seniores sapientes fratres. qui quasi
digelic þa gefrenan gesewene broðor 7 hi tihta
secrete consolentur fratrem fluctuantem. et provocent eum
to fuleadmodnesse ðædbote 7 hi gefrenian hine mid
5 ad humilitatis satisfactionem. et consolentur eum ne
maran unrotnessa þæt he ne si fornumen ac swa swa
habundantiori tristitia absorbatur. sed. sicut
sæde si getrimed on him soð lufe 7 si gebeden
uit idem apostolus; confermetur in eo karitas; et oretur
*fram heom fram eallum gebroðrum þærle swiðe scel
pro eo ab omnibus. Magno | pere enim debet
mid hohfulnesse don se abbod 7 mid ealre glæwnesse mid
sollicitudinem gerere abbas. et omni sagacitate et
forwitolnesse 7 gelacian ænig of befaæstum sceapum him
industria curare. ne aliquam de ovibus sibi creditis
sylsum þæt he na forlure he cunne *untruwa
perdat; Noverit enim se infirmarum curam
underfson sawla na ofor þa halan wælceow oððe reðe
suscepisse animarum. non super sanas tirannidem;
7 heondräðe egesunge þurh þone he sægð
Et metuat prophete comminationem per quem dicit
þæt þæt ge sæt savon ge underfengon 7
deus; Quod crassum videbatis assumebatis; et
þæt wanhal wæs 7 gewiðsocan 7 he geafsen godes hyrdas
15 quod debile erat proicebatis; Et pastoris boni
ærfeste læce bysene forlætenum ſygon 7 hundnigonti
þrium imitetur exemplum qui relictis nonaginta
sceapum on duname se ðe gode þæt þe dwelde
novem in montibus abit unam ovem que erraverat

1. uti in glossator's hand. 4. gesewene, see note. 5. fuleadmodnesse ðædbote, for eadmodnesse fulreððædbote. 8. fram, read fore. 11. untruwa, read untrurna. 15. geafsen belongs to læce in line 16. 16. Erasure after hundnigoni. 17. gode for geode.

3. Senpectas, MS. senpecta. 7. oretur, MS. orietur. 9. gerere, MS. gegeere. MS. sagacizate. 17. Most of the other texts have novem ovibus, which may have been in ours, as the gloss sceapum is there.
Only the incorrigible to be cut off.

secan untrumnesse swa midlum he besargode oðde mænde querere; Cuju:s infirmitate in tantum compassus est.
hit on his halgum eaxlum þæt he gemedemode ut eam in sacris humeris suis dignaretur onasettan 7 ægen bringan to heorde imponere. et sic reportare ad gregem.

De is qui sepius correpti non emenda"erint.
(Cap. XXVIII.)

forgehwilcum gilte Si quis frater frequenter correptus pro qualibet culpa. 5 peah þe he amansumad hit ne gebet teartere etiam si excommunicatus non emenda"erit aerior ei genealææ præiungan þæt is swincla wrace on him þæt accedat correptio 7d est ut verberum vindicta in eum forð stepð þæt gif he he swang bie gépread oðde procedat; Quod si nec ita corrèxit aut wenunge þæt næfre ne gewyrðe on modinýssa oðde upahafan forte quod absit in superbiam elatus bewerian oðde gif he wile his weorc ponne swa swa defendere voluerit opera sua. tunc abba faciet quod 10 wis laece gif he gegeareaº swoºunga smyrunga oðde sapiens medicus; Si exhibuit fomenta. si unguenta ad lara læcedomas gewrita godeundra æt nextan hortationis. si medicamina scripturarum divinarum si ad ultimum berned amansumunge oðde wita girda ustonem excommunicationis. vel plagas virgarum: etiam si his * foran nahtswyrian glæwnesse he gearcie sóliche viderit nihil suam prevalere industrium. adhibeat etiam þæt mare is his gebed 7 ealra gebroðra for him quod majus est suam et omnium fratum pro eo 15 se ðe ealle pine maig þæt wyre orationem: ut dominus qui omnia potest. operetur salutem embe pone untruman breðer þæt gif he na forðam mid pisum circa infirmum fratrem; Quod si nec isto modo

3. to; t corr. from g. 14. foran nahtswyrian, naht, gloss to nihil; see note.

2. dignaretur, MS. di"aretur. 4. emenda"erint, MS. emenda"erit. 10. defendere, MS. defende. voluerit, MS. voluere.
Si deebant iterum recepi fratres exuenites de monasterio.

(Cap. XXVIII.)

for agenum leathrum qui sece utgæð oððe bið uta-
Frater qui proprio vitio egreditur aut proici-
dræfæd gecyræran gif he wile behate ær
ur de monasterio. si reverti voluerit. spondeat. prius
ealle bote fordam þe he utterde on ðære
ommnem emendationem vitii pro quo egressus est. et sic
ytemestan staþe hi si underfangen þæt of þam his
in ultimo gradu recipiatur. ut ex hoc ejus
eadmodnysse si gefandod þæt gif he oðær siðan utfæd oððe
humilitas comprobetur; Quod si denuo exierit. us-
priddan siðe he si underfangen sodlice syððan he wite ælçne
que tertio ita recipiatur. Jam vero postea; sciæ omnem
him sylfum gecyrændynysse færelæd beon forwyrned
sibi reversionis aditum denegari.

De puæris miniori ætate quomodo corripiantur. (Cap. XXX.)

ælc *þð andgit agenge met sceal habban

Omnis ætas vel intellectus proprias debet habere mensuras:
forig swa oft cildra oððe ginran ýlde oððe þæ þe
Iðdeoque quoties puæri. vel adolescentiores ætate aut qui
læs understandan swa magun humicel þæt wita is amanu-
minus intelligere possunt quanta pena sit excommuni-
munge þas þylice þonne hi agítað oððe mid swiðlicum
cæþionis. hi tales dum delinquunt. aut þéjumiis (141 a).

2. kyrfæs, r corrected from f. 7. qui repeated by glossator. 8. ær indistinct, might be ier. 15. þð, read þld. agenge nearly erased. It
was probably the intention to erase gemet so as to put it over mensuram.

8. spondeat, MS. sponde. 11. humilitas, two letters erased between æ
and s. denuo, o above line. 14. puæris, MS. puæros. quomodo, ñ in the
MS. 15. MS. mensuram.
Qualifications of the cellarer.

fæstenum hi beon geswenete ðode mid * tearum swinglum hi
nimiis afferargantur aut acribus verberibus co-
been gepreade þæt hi beon gehealdenne
erceantur; ut sanentur.

DE CELLABARIO MONASTERII QUALIS DEBEAT ESSE. (CAP. XXXI.)

hordere si geccoren of gegæderunge wis
Cellabiu monasterii eligatur de congregatione. sapiens.
on geripedum * wea sifre na mýcel æte na upahafen
maturis moribus. sobrius. non multum aedax: non elatus.
drefende teonful. sæne na cýstig ac
non turbulentus non injuriosus. non tardus. non prodigus sed
atodrædennæ se ealra gegæderunga si swa swa
timens deum: Qui omni congregationi sit sicut pater;
gimene hedo be eallon þingan butan bæse naht
curon gerat de omnibus: Sine jussione abbatis nihil
he nado þa þinc þe beoð tebobende he gehealde  he na
faciat; Que jæbentur custodian; fratres non
dreða gi gif hwilc broðor fram him færunga æni þing
contristet; Si quis frater ab eo forte aliqua
ongesceadwislice bitt
forseonde hine he ne gedræfe
inrationabiler postulat. non spernendo eum contristet.
geeceadwislice mid eadmodesse ýfel biddendum ac he
sed rationabiler cum humilitate male petenti dene-
forwyrne his lif he gehealde gemýndig æfre þæs apostolican
get; Animam suam custodian: memor semper illius apostolici
bebodes forðam sæðe wel þenað stepe godne him sylfum
precepti quia qui bene ministraverit. gradum bonum sibi
he begit untruma cildra cumena 7 þearfæna mid
adquirit; Infirorum. infantium. ospitum. pauperumque cum
ealre hohfulnessæ he do buton twyn þæt he
omni sollicitudine curam gerat. sciens sine dubio. quia pro
foreallum pismu
secall agyldan ealle
his omnibus in die judicii rationem redditurus est; Omnia

1. tearum, read teartum. 2. gehealdenne, see note. 5. wea, read pea, for peawum. 7. atodrædennæ in the MS., but o looks like d.
This points to a gloss: god drædennæ, which the lemma would make us
suspect. 13. lif, f corrected from v, and indistinct.

1. acribus, MS. acris. 3. monasterii, MS. monasterio. 6. MS. juriosus. 13. apostolici, MS. apostoli. 15. ospitum, MS. inospitum.
andluman 7 ealle  ... ealle sweylec weouedes
vasa monasterii. cunctamque substantiam. ac si altaris
halige fatu he besceawige  ... *gunkæslícès ne
vasa sacra...  ... *gunkæslícès ne
vasa sacra... Nihil ducat neglegendum. nec
gitsung he ne hohige na he na si cystig oððe myrrent
avaritie studiec. neque... aut stirpator
æhte... ac ealle þinc gemetlice 7
substan | tie monasterii: sed omnia mensurate faciat: et (141)
efter hæse  ... þætoran callum
5 secundum jussionem abbatis; Humilitatem ante omnia
*þinga he hæbbe þær þær þam nenys  ... ðæc foregifenc
habeat et cui substantia non est que tribuatur.
spærc andsweras 7 si gereht god  ... *bitleofan
prœberit. non presumat; Fratribus constituat annonom
buton ænigre  ... or hiunge oððe yldinga he sylle þæt hine beon
sine aliquid typo vel mora offerat; ut non scan-
geaswicode sit godcundre spærec hwæt gegearnige se þæ
delizentr memor divini eloqui. quid mereatur qui
geaswicæ ænne of sisum lýtlingum gif gaderung mare
scandalizaverit unum de pusillis. Si congregatio major
bið frofras him beon gesenalde fram þam he sylf gefultumia
fuerit; solacia et dentur. a quibus adjutus et
mid efnum mode gesyfle penunge him sylfen beæhte
ipse aequo animo imp... officium sibi commissum; Horis
ongedafenallicum tidum beon gesenalde þa þinc þæ sint to sillanne
competentibus dentur que danda sunt
7 beon gebedene þa þinc þæ sin tobiddanne þet non ne sig
et petantur que petenda sunt. ut nemo
todredf ne ne sig genurotsaded on drihtnes huse
perturbetur. neque contristetur in domo domini.

2. gunkæslícès, read gímlæslícès. 6. þinga, read þingum. 10. hitlöfan, read hitlöfan. 11. or, read or. 12. sit, Latin added by glossator.

4. mensurate, n corr. from m by erasure. 13. scandalizaverit, MS. scandalizave.
The abbot to register the goods and chattels of the monastery. [63]

DE FERRAMENTIS VEL REBUS MONASTERII. (CAP. XXXII.)

The abbot to register the goods and chattels of the monastery.

SAHTA oðde reafum oðde mid-
SUBSTANTIA MONASTERII IN FERRAMENTIS VEL vestibus seu quibus-
sumum pingum foresceawige be līfe para 7
licet rebus provideat abba fratres de quorum vita et
peawum orsorh se sig 7 heom ænepighe be ðam nitwyrðlice ðe
moribus securus sit et eis singula ut utile ju-
he dem∂ betace þa gehealdennelicun 7 þa gelogenlican of
dicaverit consignet custodienda atque recolligenda; Ex 5
pam [b.] gewrit [a.] tohealde þet [e.] æfter þonne him
quibus | abbas brevem teneat ut dum sibi
þylfan betahtum pingum | [e.] stundmælum fylían
in ipsa assignata fratres vicissim succedunt.
[e.] he wite hwæt he sylle 7 hwæt he underf[b.] gyf hwýlce
sciát quid dat. et quid recipit. Si quis
fullice [c.] oðde gimleslice þinc mynstres hrepan∂ si ge-
autem sordide aut negeyenter res monasterii tractaverit cor-
þread gif hit [f.] na gebett steore reglicere he under-
ripiatur. si non emendaverit discipline regulari sub-
þeode
jaceat;

SI QUID DEBEAD MONACHUS PROPRIUM HABERE.

(CAP. XXXIII.)

healicost þæs leaher grundlungæ is of todonne is
Precipue hoc vitium radicitus amputandum est. de monas-
þæt ne gedyrståece æni þinc syllan oðde underfom buton
terio. ne quis presumat aliquid dare aut accipere sine 15
hæse þæs abbotes ne
naban sinderlice ne
jussione abbatis; Neque aliquid habere proprium; neque
nan þinc ealles na boc na weaxbrodu ne graef
nullam omnino rem; neque codicem. neque tabulas. neque gravium
ah na þinc
witodlice forþam ne habban his agenne
sed nihil omnino; Quippe quibus nec corpora sua

5. gehealdennelicun, read gehealdenlican. 14. Not clear whether heoli-
cost or healicost; grundlungæ, or grundlunga.

5. recolligenda, līg above line, in glossator's hand?
The monks to have no property. Consideration for infirmities.

lichaman willan alýfed habban agenum anwealde ealle
nec voluntates. licet habere in propria voluntate; Omnia vero
neodbehæfnýssa  hihtan ne ne si æni þinc
necessaria; a patre sperare monasterii;  Nec quíquam
gelyþed habban þæt þæt ne sealde oððe ne gepafað
licet habere quod abbas non dederit aut non permis-
he ealle þinc eallum beon gemæne swa swa hit is awriten
erit; Omniaque omnibus sint communia; ut scriptum est;
ne ne sege ænig his æni þinc oððe gedyrstlæce þæt
nec quíquam suum aliquid dicat vel presumat; Quod
gif bið pisum wýrstan leahtrar arasod  beon gelust-
si quíquam huic nequíseimo vitio deprehensus fuerit delec-
fullod sý he gemýnegod æne 7 eft gif hit na gebett
tari. ammonitus semel. et iterum; Si non emendaverit;
præiunge he underrhige
correctioni subjaceat;

Si omnes æqualiter debent necessaria accipere. | (142)

(CAP. XXXIII.)

Sicut scriptum est dividebatur singulis pro ut
gehwýlcum neod þæs þær we na secað  hada þæt
quiryque opus erat; Ubi non dicimus ut personarum quod
forsig onfangennisse  untrumnyssa ah forasceawung þær
abisit acceptio sit. sed infirmitatum consideratio; Ubi
heda se ðe læs hofað he do 7 he na si geadmod
qui minus indiget agud deo gratias et non contristetur;
mare  he si geadmet for untrumnesse 7
qui vero plus et non indiget. humilietur pro infirmitate; et
he na si upahafen for mildheortnessa  ealle liman 7 beon
non extollatur pro misericordia; et ita omnia membra erunt
on sibbe ætforan callum þingum murenunge  ýfel for
in pace. Ante omnia ammonemus ne murmurationis malum. pro

1. anwealde, see note. 8. underrhige, first r corrected from n,
second r corrected by erasure into n, the whole evidently meant for
underhige. 14. na si, na above the line; n before and a after the s.

7. MS. emendaverint. 8. correctioni, MS. correctionem. 14. agad,
MS. aga. 15. indiget, corr. from indigetus by underdottting the us.
Weekly kitchen service, obligatory upon all.

gehwylcum intingan on ænigum gehwilcum worde intingan qualicumque causa in aliquo qualicumque
on ænigum gehwilcum worde oððe to getænunge þæt he causa in aliquo qualicumque verbo vel significatione ap-
na ætiwe þæt gif bið arased ænig hefelicor steore
pareat: Quod si deprehensus qui fuerit: districtori
stýðlicor stire he si underþeod discipline subjatur.

DE SEPTIMANARIUS COQUINE. (CAP. XXXV.)

heom betwýnan þenian þæt nan ne si belaðod fram
FRATRES SIBI INVICEM SERVIAN ET NULLUS EXCUSETUR a
sicene þenunge [b.] oððe mettrumnesse oððe on intingan hefigran
coqueine officio nisi aut egritudine aut in causa gravis
ænig buton he si gebi-god [b.] for þanon
utilitatis quis occupatus fuerit. quia exinde major
mede 7 sóðlufu þam þe bið beýten þam wacmodum
merces. et caritas adquiritur. Inbecillibus autem
*þe onforsceawunge helpas mid unrotnessa þæt
procurentur solacia; ut non cum tristitia hoc 10
he nado ahhi habban ealle frofras æfter gemete gegæder-
faciant: sed habeant omnes solacia. secundum modum congre-
unge oððe gesetnyssa stowe gif mare gegaderung bið
gationis aut positionem loci; Si major congregatio fuerit.
hordere si belaðod fram oððe gif hwylce swa swa
cellararius excusetur a coquina vel si qui ut
we sædon mid marum nýtwynyßsum býð gebýsgode oððre him
dicimus majoribus utilitabilis occupatur: ceteri
sylfan undre sóðre lufe heom betwýnan *þeniant se ðe is ut to-
sibi | sub karitate invicem serviant; Egres-
foranne on ðære ucan on sæternes dæg clænsunga do
suras de septimana; sabbato munditias faciat;

1. worde, intingan, both in very black ink. 10. onforsceawunge, unge has been corrected into ode, by underdotting unge, and writing ode over it, in the same hand, read beon forseawode. 15. þeniant, i owing to the scribe's eye being caught by the ending of serviant.

1. causa in aliquo qualicumque, with its gloss, is repeated in the MS.
5. MS. SEPTIMANARIS.
Rules for those serving in the kitchen.

[.] waeterclaS mid [c.] ṭam ἰε heom sylfan [u.] handa
Linthea cum quibus sibi fratres manus.

οὐδὲ fōt *clipiād [a.] ἰε ὁwea [c.] fett sōdlice ge se se ἰε aut pedes tergunt. lavet; Pedes vero tam ipse qui utgæ̂s ge se se ἰε in tofareinne [e.] eallum egreditur quam ille qui intraturus est; omnibus hi ὁwean fata þenunge his clæna 7. hale [eb.] hordere he lavent; Vasa ministerii sui munda et sana cellulario re-
betæce [a.] betæce se hordere est into farenne dūm he
5 consignet; Qui cellularius iterum intranti con-
betæce ἰε ὁte ἱwæt he sylδ oὐδὲ ἱwæt he underfo [e.] ἰα
signet. ut sciat quid dat aut quid recipit; sep-
wucan þegnas [b.] ær ænre [d.] tide gereordunge *mman-
timanarii autem ante unam horam refectionis. accipi-
dant [d.] forgeserne bileofan [d.] ænlepige [e.] drencas [e.] [f.]
super statutam annonom singulos liberes et panem;
on tide gereordunge buton ge 7 hefigum geswine
*ut hora refectionis sine murmuratione et gravi labore
[g.] ἰε ἰi þenian heora gebrōdrum on simbel swa peah
serviant fratruis suis; In diebus tamen
dagum *οὐδὲ mæssan hi þolian. abidan [b.] ἰα in-
solemnibus; usque ad missas sustineant; In-
farendan [c.] 7 ἰα utfarendan [b.] ucpēna on gebedhuse
trantes autem et executed abomodarii in oratorio
þarihtes merigenlicum georden dum on sunndāege betyridum
mox matutinis finitis dominica provolutis
coneowum ætforan þam weosode [f.] [a.] biddan for hi beon
genibus coram altare ab omnibus postulent pro se
gebedene þa utgangendum on þære ucan scegan þis
15 orari; Egregientes autem de septimana; dicant hunc
fers geblætsod þu eart cala þu drihten god þu fultumodest
versum; Benedictus es domine deus qui adjwesti

7 þu gefrefredest me þam [c.] gecewedenum priddan sícAN.
me; et consolatus es me; Quod dicto tertio.

2. clipiād, read wipiað!  4. ὁwean, there is possibly an ö between ö
and e, although this is probably part of the g of egreditur just above it.
5. ce of second betæce indistinct. dum, Latin in glossator's hand. 7. mman,
read niman. 11. oὐδὲ, read oδ.
The infirm to be treated with especial care.

De infirmis fratribus. (Cap. XXXVI.)
De senibus vel infantibus. (Cap. XXXVII.)

Peah besig pa sylyfe mannisnesse geclin [c.] [e.]
Licet ipsa humana natura trahatur
[.] to mildheortnesse on hitum yldum ealdra
ad misericordiam; in is etatibus senum videlicet et
cildra peahlhweorere [c.] regules ealdordomlicnyss heom
infatam; tanem et regule auctoritas eis
besceawige si foresceawod æfre waemodnyss nateshwan
prospicil; Consideretur semper inbecillitas. et nullatenus
heom stinnis regoles 7 na si gehealdan on fotum ac sig
eis districcio regule teneatur in alimentis; sed sit
on heom arfaest foresceawung 7 hi forahraedan minsterlice
in eis pia consideratio: et preveniant horas
tide.
canonicas.

4. but, probably b is a ‘paving’ letter. 5. MS. ponne = hit onne; read ponne. gebeorode, read gebetrode. 11. mannisnesse, cf. Introd., Ch. V, § 67. 15. fotum, cf. ib., § 54.

3. juvenibus, MS. inrenibus. 4. infirmis, corr. from —us. 12. actatibus, MS. eatatibus. 15. teneatur, MS. tenet. 17. MS. canonicis.
Each in his turn to be the Reader for a week.

DE EBDOMEDARIO LECTORE. (CAP. XXXVIII.)

meosan etenda *gebrodrum rædinc wana beon na scell ne MENSIS FRATRUM EDENTIUM LECT:O DEesse NON debet; ne he on færlicum gelimpe se ße geleæð boc rædan fortuitu caso qui arripuerit codicem legere negedyrstlaece þæra sæcæ rædan scall ealra þæra wucean on þam audeat ibi. sed lecturus tota ebdomada dominico drihtenlicandæge ah inga se bidde ingangende æfter messan die ingrediatur; Qui ingrediens; post missas 5
gemæsumungæ ðæðe huseglænce fram ea'lm for li et communionem petat ab omnibus pro se beon gebeden þæt awende fra him g æt modignise 7 orari; ut avertat ab ipso deus spiritum elationis; Et sigseæd þis ðærs on cýrican priddan sìcæ fram eallum dicatur hic versus in oratorio terto ab omnibus. him sylf swa þeah frum anginne mine lippan ipso tamen incipientie. Domine lubia mea þu geopena 7 min muð 7 kyð lof þin [a.] [b.] apery: et os meum adruniætia laudem tuam Et sic 10
afangenre bleetsunge 7 he inga to rædenne healic *smegen accepta benedictione. ingrediatur ad legendum; Summumque
7 beo [b.] [c.] æt meosan þæt na ænges *drenc flat silentium ad mensam ut nullius musitatio ðæðe stefn [h.] buton þæs aeres ræderes þær si gehired. 
[b.] vel vox: nisi solius legentis ibi audiatur | [f.] þa pinæ [b.] neodbeheosæ sind etendum 7 drincendum 
Que vero necessaria sunt comedentibus et bibentibus; ðæm sylf stundmælum þenian [c.] ængig þæt ne behægige sic sibi vicissim ministrent fratres ut nullus indigeat biddan æñig þinæ gifi hwile neod beoð mid þyngunge petere aliiquid. Si quid tamen opus fuerit sonitu sumes tacnes swiðor sigebeden þonne mid stefne na he ne eujuscumque signi otius petatur quam voce: Nec pro- 15

2. gebrodrum, through influence of Latin ending for gebrodra. 7. g = god? 9. frum anginne, see note. first n of anginne above the line. 11. smegen, read swnigen. 12. drenc, see note. 13. stefn, e corr. from some other letter. 16. byngunge, g corr. from some other letter, c?

3. casu, MS. causu. 4. lecturus, MS. lecturis. 8. versus, MS. vers. oratorio, MS. oratorii. 12. musitatio, corr. in MS. from musitatione by the underdotting of ne. 13. legentis, MS. legentes, the e of es being changed in the MS, from i.
On the quantity of food, to be taken daily.

gedýrstlœcœ þāra ænig be þære sylfæan oððe elles hwanone sumat ibi aliquid de ipsa lectione aut aliunde ænig þing smæigan ðæt ne si gesæld intingan buton wenunge quicquam requirere: ne detur occasio; nisi forte se caldor fore lære oððe fram trimmingæ wylle ænig þing prior pro aedificatione voluerit aliquid scortlice seçgan broðor seó wucæ þen nime smæinge breviter dicere; Frater autem ebdomedarius accipiæt mixtum ær þan þe he aginne reædan forþam halgum gesumunge [f.] 5 priusquam incipiat legere. propter communioæm sanctam: 7 þet na sig healic him fæsten forþyldian syððan et ne forte grave sit ei jejunium sustinere; Postea cicenen. mid þam wucæpænum 7 þenum autem cum coquine ebdomedæriæ; et servitoribus. hi gereordiað [c.] na be endebyrdenesse reædan oððe reficiæt; Fratres autem non per ordinem leæant aut singan ac þa getrimman þa gehyrædan cantent sed qui edificent audientes;

10 DE MENSURA CIBORUM. (CAP. XXXVIII.)

genihtsumian we gelýfaæ to dægþerlicere reordunge [c.] gemid SUFFICERE CREDIMUS AD REFLECTIONEM COTIDIANNAM: tam dæges ge nones eallum monðum twa gesodene syþlian seðæ quam nonæ omnibus mensibus cocta duo sandæ [g.] for mistlicora untronnesse wenunge pulmentaria. propter diversorum inforcementes. ut forte qui of anum seðæ mag etan of ðærum þæt he si gereord þonne ex uno non potuerit edere ex alio reficiæt; Ergo twa sandæ [i.] [h.] [n.] genihtsumiað 7 gif 15 duo pulmentaria cocta omnibus fratibus sufficiæt. Et si beoð ac hwanone æpla oððe acennedlicu ofetu [g.] asigeglið fuerint unde poma aut nascentia leguminæ addatur swilce þæt þridde. an pund awegen genihtsumige on et tertium; Panis libera una propensa sufficiæt | in (145.) dege swa hwæðer [g.] swa [f.] [f.] ðu sig on gereordunge oððe die. sive una sit refectio. sive

4. see wucæ þen, see note. 16. asigeglið, I do not understand this gloss.

The monks to be careful to avoid indigestion.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. 
11. 
12. 
13. 
14. 
15.
On the quantity of drink. 'Wine furthers apostacy.'

summe sic alius vero sic. Et ideo cum aliqua scrupulositate.

fram us 7 gemett bigleosa cōra 7 is gemett swa peah

a nobis mensura victus aliorum constituitur: Tamen

untrumera [g.] wacmodnesse wegelýfað [d.] gemet

infirorum contuentes imbecillitatem: credimus emanam

wines geonden ænlepige genihtsumian geon cæg pam pe sylð

vinī per singulos sufficere per diem; Quibus

[f.] gepylð [h.] forhæfednesse agene he

5 autem donat | deus tolerantium abstinentie propriae se(145

silfe mede hi witan pæt gif stowe neodpearfnesse

habituros mercedem sciant; Quod si aut loci necessitas

ōcē geswinc [h.] sumeres ōcē swēliċc læte pæt gif

aut labor aut ador aestatis amplius popos-
bitt [d.] [h.] on dome caldres ōcē hi wunige [i.] on

cerit in arbitrio prioris consistans. considerans in

eallum pingum na pæt undersmege oferfyłe ōcē drunencennesse

omnibus ne subrepat satietas aut ebrietus licet

pæ we radan eallunga * windred munecia been getiht

10 legamus omnino vinum monachorum persuaderi non

[a.] huru pinga huru pinga [g.] pæt [f.] pæt ōcē

pena potest: saltem vel hoc consentiamus. ut non usque

ōc oferfyłe drincan [k.] ac hwonlicer förpæm * windrend

ad satietatem libamus sed parcius. quia vinum

widerscan pædepā witen par par neodpearfnessa

apostatare facit etiam sapientes. Ubi autem necessitas

stowe bitt [d.] pæt forasedegemed ōcē forawritene been

loci exposici ut ne suprascripta mensura in-
gemett pæt fur ðonne mage ah micel

15 veniri possit. sed multo minus: aut ex totu

naht bletsian god para eardiað 7 hi na cyrian

nihil benedicant deum qui ibi habitant et non murmurarent;

7. kāte is gloss to ardor. 10. windred, read windrenc, i. e. windrēc.
11. pēna, read we na, or more probably read pæ as belonging to the pre-
ceeding pæt. 12. windrend, read windrenc.

2. victus, MS. víctis. 6. MS. mercedam. MS. necessitate, corrected

into necessitas. 7. MS. aestas. 9. aerietas in the MS. for ebrietus.
10. Before persuaderi, the words non esse, sed quia nostris temporibus il

monachis, found in the other texts, are omitted. 13. MS. sapicantis.
16. deum, MS. evidently by mistake has dominum (dām, for dīm).
The times of meals to vary with the seasons.

ψετ minigende buton ceorunge ψετ hi na
Hoc ante omnia ammonentes. ut absque murmuratione
beon
sint;

QUIBUS HORIS REFIICIUNT FRATRES. (CAP. XLI.)

fære haligene castran [d.] [d.] to middæges
A SæNCTO PASCHA USQUE AD PENTECOSTEN AD SEXTAM
hi gereordian to æfenne 7 hi gereordian fram pente-
reściante fratres. et ad seram cenent; A - pente-
costen on eallum sumera geswinc felda gif hi nabbæd
costen autem tota estate: si labores agrorum non habent
muncas swiðlicenesse sumeras oððe ne gedeðf on wodness [c.]
monachi. aut nimietas estatis non perturbat. quarta et
[b.] dæg [a.] hi fæsten oð non on odrum dagum
sexta feria jejunent usque ad nonam: reliquis |
dagum to middæge hi gereordian þa gereordunga to mid
diebus ad sextam prandeant; Que prandii sexta:
weorcum on æcerum gif hi habbað sumeres swiðlic hæte
si opera in agris habuerint. aut aëstatis fervor
bið to *belippendan bið þas abbotes hit si on fora-
nimius fuerit : continuanda erit. et in abbatis sit provi-
scawunga 7 he gemetige ealle pinc and he gedihhte
dentia. Et sic temperet omnia atque disponat
saula ψετ ψετ [c.] hi doð [c.] gebrodhra
qualiter et animae salventur; Et quod faciunt fratres.
butan [d.] [d.] æclere ceorunge 7 don fram anginnum [d.]
absque utla murmuratione faciant; Ab idibus
[e.] oðð andgin fæstenes [f.] to nonas
autem septembris usque ad capud quadragesimæ ad nonam 15
[b.] hi gereordian on lænce tene fæsten [b.] oðδ castran
semper reficiant. In quadragesima vero usque (in) pasca:

4. middæ nearly quite erased. 7. gedeðf, δ very pale ink, read gedeff δ.
11. belippendan, see note.

1. MS. murmurationis. 5. fratres, fr erased, then added at the top,
where it is again partially erased. 7. nimietas, e add. later, in very pale
ink. 9. prandii, tis above line, by way of correction to -eant. The MS. had
originally prandeant. 12. MS. temperit; utque; disponit. 16. reficiant
in MS. There is an erasure before pasca in the MS.; of in?
on æfæn hi gereordian se sylfa æfæn si gedon ad vesperam reficiant; Ipsa autem vespera sic agatur: leocht leohftætes þæt hine behofian gereordgende mid leohte ut lumen lucerne non indigeanent reficiences. sed luce þagit dæges ealle pinc ah beon gefyllede ac on ælere tide adhuc diei omnia consumentur; sed et omni tempore swa æfæn þenunge oððe on tide swa þus gemedemod [g.] sive sit cene sive reflectionis hora. sic temperatur. ut mid dæg þæt gewyrdan ealle þing. cum luce fiant omnia.

UT POST COMPLETORIUM NEMO LOQUATUR. (CAP. XLII.)

on ælere tide swigen sceolan healdan munecas swýðost Omni tempore silentium debent studere monachi. maxime þehlwædere on nihtlicum tidum 7 forði on ælere tide sit tamen nocturnis horis. Et ideo omni tempore sive fæstenes sit gereordung g tima gif hit bið gereordunge sona jejunii. sive prandii: si tempus fuerit prandii. mox þet hi arisað fram æfæn þenunge 7 hi sittan ealle togedere ut surrexerint a cena. sedent omnes in unum. 7 ræde an *purhtogenes race oððe on ealdæfæra līfæ oððe et legat unus collationes. vel vitas patrum. aut sŏdes sum ðince þet getrýmme þa gehýrendum certe aliquid quod edificet audientes; Non autem epta-10 forðam untrumum andgitum pena bið ticum aut regum. | quia infirmis intellectibus non erit nytwyrðlic on ðære tida þis gewrit gehýran on ðurum utile illa hora hanc scripturam audire. alis vero tidum [c.] beon geraedde gif beoð fæstenes dagas [a.] horis legantur; Si autem jejunii dies fuerint. gesungenum æfensanga betwux lýtulum fæce sona hi gan to dicta vespera. parvo intervallo mox accedant ad rædinge race oððe recednesse swa swa we bûfon sædon 7 lectionem. collationum ut diximus. et

8, 9. sit, sit, read sig ! sig! g tima, very slight traces of erasure between g and tima; read gif! 11. purhtogenes, s owing to the influence of Latin ending? read purhtogene.
The brethren to come at once to divine service, [75]

gereddum feower òððe ñif leaðum [p.] [p.]
lectis quattuor. aut quinque foliis vel quantum hora
[q.] eallum bacumen togdædere [q.] þurh þas
permittit; omnibus in unum
yldinga þætænic ðif ænig wænunge on .APPLICATION.
þæm sylfum
morum lectionis; Si quis forte in assignato
betaæhut him sylfum þingum beon ænig bið gebiægod he
sibi commissio fæueri occupatus oc-
becume ealle togdædere gesette hi gefyllyan 7 utgan-
currat; Omnes ergo in unum positi compleant; Êt ex-
gende fram nihtsangum ænig 7 nasi leaf sýððan ænigum
euntes a completoriis nulla sit licentia denuo cuiuquam
spræcon ænig þing þæt ðif byð gemett funden [a.]
ænig
lòqui aliqud; Quod si
inventus fuerit quisquam
þisne forgeian stilnesse mid þearfnesse cumena
hanc prevaricari taciturnitatis regulam. si necessitas hospidum
gif ofor becimð wenunga ænigum ænig þinc òððe hate
supervenerit: aut forte abba alicui aliqud ðisseret
þæt [a.]
beon 7 swýlce mid heleticum gedreoge 7 gemetegunge
Quod tamen et ipsum cum summa gravitate et moderatione 10
arwurðlicor þæt beo
honestissime ðat.

DE HIS QUI AD OPUS DEI ET ADMENSAM TARDE
VENIUNT. (CAP. XLIII.)

to tide godecundre þenunge sona þonne bið gehypred swa
AD HORAM DIVINI OFFICII MOX UT AUDITUM FÆERIT
beoð tacen eallum forlætenum [h.] swa hwylce þinc
signum: relictis omnibus que liber færunt 15
on handum mid heleticum ofoste [b.] si becumen mid
in manibus summa cum festinatione curratur: cum
gedreoge þeahhwæðere þæt ðæ ne ge higeleas mete tender
gravitate tamen. ut non sourilitas inveniat familem;

2. bacumen, gloss to occurrentibus; read becumendun. 17. higeleas,
probably the subst. higeleast was originally there.

3. lectionis, second i erased. in assignato, MS. in has signato. 8. regu-
oram, not in the MS.; sine cessitas in MS. Before these words a line (regulam
graviori vindice subjaceat excepto) has been left out. 9. aut forte, MS. aut-
ferte in one word, and t added above line in the MS. 12. qui not in the MS.
as soon as the bell is heard. Punishments for those,

naht gode weorce na si forasett pæt gif bë to
Ergo nihil operi dei preponatur; | Quod si quis ad
nihilicum uhtsangum [o.] [q.] [p.] pas feower and hund-
nocturnas vigilias post gloriam psalmi nonagesimi

pigenteodon realmas þane forþi eallunga teonde
quarti quem propter hoc omnino prostrahendo et
latlicæ we wyllað beon gesæd beginð na stande on endebýril-
morose volumus duci occurrerit. non stet in ordine
nese [b.] on choron ac hæftemest ealra stande ðæðe on
suo in choron. sed ultimus omnium stet; aut in
stowe þe þe swýlceum gimelesum [k.] asundran geset
loco quem talibus neglegentibus scorsum con-
se abbod þæt he sigewarnod fram him ðæðe fram
stiterit abba. ut videatur ab ipso; vel ab
eallum ðæðe [o.] gesýlledum weorce mid fulre
omnibus usque dum completum operæ dei publica eatis-
dædbote he behreowsige for þi [b.] hi en þam ýtemestan stýde
factione peniteat; Ideo autem cos in ultimo aut

on sundran we demdon scýlan standan þæt gesawene fram
scorsum judicavimus. debere stare ut visi ab
eallum ðæðe for ðære sýlfan scane he beon gebette [a.]
omnibus. vel pro ipsa verecundia sua emendatur; Nam
wið uton on cýrican gif hi beoð lifað lýð færunga þylc
si foris oratorio remaneant; erit forte talis qui
7 he slape ðæðe gewislice he sette him sýlfan
se aut collocet et dormiat; aut certe sedeat sibi foris;
þærute spellungum *geænigtað 7 beon gesæld intinga þam
vel fabulis vacet; et actur occasio
awyridan decele ah inga wið innan þæt he forþam
maligno; Sed ingrediatur intro. ut nec tolem
ne ferilose 7 be þam oðrum hi si gebet on dægðerlicum
perdat et de reliquo emendetur; Diurnais

2. [o.] [q.] [p.] are partly pasted over. 3. teonde, eo quite indistinct.
4. latlicæ, sic in MS., but the stroke may be the remnant of a letter
erased after quarti. beginð, i.e. becænd. 6. gimelesum, le not quite
clear, probably gimesæus was in the MS. first, then t was added through
the æ, making it into gimelesum. 14. geænigtað or geængtað; read
geængtað.

2. vigilis in MS. 3. i erased after quarti. 4. morose, v corr. from
another letter. 6. talibus, MS. alibus. 8. MS. omnibus. satis,
MS. sitis. 11. sua, put in later. 15. intro, t added above line.
16. reliquo, ê ( = esse) mendetur in the MS.
tidum [o.] [d.] [c.] autem horis qui ad opus dei post versum et gloriam

J. XLIII.] who come late to chapel or to meals. [77

pes forman salmas pe bid gesungen se de na
primi psalmi qui post versum dicitur non occur-
becym [d.] on se on(e)re pe we busan sedon on

verit. lege qua supra diximus in

sere ytemestan stowe he stande ne he negedyrstlæce beon
ultimo stet: nec presumat

gesærlæht sin oð fulre dádbote buton
sociari choro psallentium usque ad satisfactionem. nisi

5 leafe sylle be his pafunge [x.] [y.] [z.]

forte Abbas licentiam dederit missionem suam: ita tamen:

peat he gebete scylldig panonfor[†] ut satisfaciatus revs ex loc; Ad mensam autem qui ante

se de ne becmnym pe et sette singan 7

versum non occurrerit: ut simul omnès dicant versum et

hi gebiddan 7 hi under anum ealle genealæcan to meosan þurh
orent. et sub uno omnès accedant ad mensam: qui

his gymeleaste oðde leahor se de ne becmnym oð
per neglequantum suam aut vitium non occurrerit: usque 10
opre síc [c.] for þisum leahre he si gepread [a.] eft
ad secundam vicem - pro hoc corripiatur: Si denuo

gif he hit na gebet [c.] gemenelicere meosan
non emendaverit non permittatur ad mense communis
to dælnimingæ ac he geasindrod [h.] fram gesærödene [k.]

participationem: sed sequestratus a consortio omnium

reordigne ana ætbrodenum his dæle [n.] of wine [p.]

reficiat solus: subtala ei portione sua de vino: usque ad

oð fulre dádbote swa gelice [b.] he polie se de na
satisfactionem et emendationem; Similiter autem patiatur. Si 15

ættan serse [d.] bid andwerd pe et bid æfter mete
ad illum versum non fuerit presens: qui post cibum
gesungen ne ne gedyrst quam læce þare forættan tide
dicitur; Nec quis presumat ante statutum horam:

1. [d.] not quite clear. 16. ættan for æt pam. 17. ne ne gedyrst quam

læce; read ne ne gedyrstlæce; quam, though belonging to quis, is in the

hand of our glossator.

Atonement of faults by the excommunicated.

ode æfter sydden ænig ping metes ge sægde drencg underfon
aut postea quicquam cibi ait potus presumere;

ahhe gif enigum bið bebedum ænig ping fram þam ealdre
Sed si cui offeritur aliquid a priore
7 underfon 7 he wið sæcð on tide þet on þare þe he gewilnað
et accipere renuntierit. hora qua desideraverit.

[de] þet he þæt æfte þæt þet he wið soc oðde eallunga
hoc quod príus recusavit. aut aliud omnino
naht na underfon æt fulre dædbote gecwemlice
5 nihil accipiat: usque ad emendationem congruam;

DE HIS QUI EXCOMMUNICANT QUOMODO SATIS FACIANT.
(CAP. XLIII.)

for healicium gýlte fram gebedhuse 7 fram beode se þe byð
Qui progravi culpa ab oratorio et mensa excom-

amansumad on tide on þet godes weorc on cýrcean þær bið wurcðod
municat: hora qua opus dei in oratorio percelebratur:
æfteran dyran apræht alinge naht secgende buton þet an
ante foras oratorii prostratus jaceat nihil dicens: nisi tantum
ahylðum on eorðan headle þrò fered ealmod ealra of
posito in terram capite: Stratus pròmus omnium de

cýrcean utgangendre mid ðotum 7 þæt swa lange do
oratorio exuentium pedibus Et hoc tam diu faciat:

cðcæt [s.] deme fullice gebed se þonne
usque dum abbás | judicaverit satisfactum esse; Qui dum (145

dhe gehaten fram cýmð abetýrne þam sylfán
jussus ab abbate. vencet: volvut se ipsius abbatis

fotum sydðan eallra fotswæpum broðra þæt hi gebiddan
pedibus. deinde omnium vestigiis fratum: ut orent

for him 7 þonne gif hæt he si underfangen on chore
pro ipso: Et tunc si jussérat abba; recipiatur in choro
oððe on eddebyrdnýsse þar þar gement swa vel plane
vel in ordine: quo abba decreverit: ita sane

1. underfon, f corr. from r. 2. bebedum, bo above the line; read
bebodn. 8. fram (second). The MS. has fra. 10. æfteran, ran seems
to be blotted. apræht, for astreht. alinge, originally alicinge, for alicge.
11. pro in glossator's hand. 14. abetýrne, a 'paving' letter!

1. cibi, MS. ubi. ait must be a very old mistake for aut, since a glossator,
meaningless, has provided it with the gloss sægde. 11. pròmus added
by glossator. de corrected from two other letters. 13. satisfactum, t
corr. from another letter by erasure. 14. ab omitted in the MS. 16. si, i
corrected from e.
Penalty for mistakes in divine service.

sealm oðde antemn oðde rædinge oðde hwæt æni þing
ut psalmum. ut antiphonam seu lectionem vel aliud quid
ne gedyrståeæe on gebedhuse aginnan buton eft se abbod
non presumat in oratorio imponere: nisi iterum abba:
hate 7 on eallon tidum þænne þe bið gésfylled godes weorc
jubeat Et omnibus oris dum completur opus dei
niðer alenge hine sylfne on eorpan on stowé on þam se
prociat se in terram in loco quo
stýnd 7 swaful gebete 7 *hihtt oððæt him hate eft
stat. et sic satisfaciat usque dum ei jubeat iterum 5
þæt he geswice callunga fulrededbote fram pissere
abba; ut quiescat jam ab hac satisfactione; Qui
fram leohtum gýltum þa se beð bið amansumode þæt an fram
vero pro levibus culpis excommunicantur tantum a
meosan on cýrican hit gebeta oððige hææ þæt abbotes
mensa: in oratorio satisficant: usque ad jussionem habbatis
þæt freman oððe blestige 7 he scege genohhit is.
Hoc perficient usquedum beneficiat et dicat sufficit;

De his qui falluntur in monasterio. (Cap. XLV.)

gif ænig þonne he aginð sealm repse oððe an-
Sí quis dum pronuntiat psalmum responsorium. aut anti-
temp leogð rædinge butan þurh fulre dædbote
phonam. vel fallitur lectionem nisi per satisfactionem
para toforan eallum geadmet he beo mare wrace
ibi coram omnibus humilítiug fuerit: majori vindicta
he underhinge witodlice se se nóld mid eadmöndnesse þreagian
subjaceat: quippe qui nobuit humilitate corrigere:
þæt þæt he agelte mid gimeleaste cildra
quod nelegentia deliquid; Infantes antem 15
for swilcum gýlta * beinbeswugen.
pro tali culpa vapulent;

4. alenge, cf. 78. 10; originally alenge, for ale ge. 5. 7 hihtt, quid?
13. ge admet, erasure of one letter (??) after ge-.
15. he above line.

9. Hoc, corrected from non in the MS. 10. monasterio. All the
other texts have oratorio (cf. Schröer, W. V., p. 94; Schmidt, p. 49).
12. fallitur. Above 11 there is the sign of contraction for ur. It has
been torn asunder by the stretching of the MS. consequent upon and
necessitated by the MS. being pasted up after the fire.
De his qui in levibus rebus delinquuntur. (Cap. XLVI.)

Si quis dum in labore quovis in coquina in cellario. (143)

Penalties for light faults. The Abbot to announce.

De significandâ hora operis dei. (Cap. XLVII.)

Nuntianda hora operis dei die noctuque sit cura.

2. spin'd, read swind, for swim'd, and take it as gloss to laborat in 1. 4.
3. in orto in glossator's hand. 6. ubi written by glossator. 11. Erasure after geswutelige.

2. couina in MS. 3. aliqua, MS. aliquo. 6. veniens, MS. invens.
7. prodiderit, MS. perdiderit. 10. MS. fuerint. tantum, tantum in MS., but the correction is indicated by writing u over e. 12. After aliena, vulnera is written above the line, possibly by glossator. degere in MS. et instead of aut. 13. The title of Chapter XLVII not being found in our MS., it has been supplied from the other MSS. 16. injungat, MS. injugat.
the hours of prayer.

beon gefylde sealmas soclice ocðæ antiphonas æfter þam abbode compleantur; Psalmos autem vel antiphonas post abbatem be heora ændebyrðnesse þam þe lˆ gehaten hi aginnan singan ordine suo quibus jussum fuerit inponant; Cantare
7 readan ne ne gedýrstlæce buton se þe meg þa sylfan autem et legere non presumat: nisi qui potest ipsum þenunge welgesfullan þæt beon getimbrode þa gebýrendum þæt officium bene implere. ut aedificentur audientes; Quod
7 mid ege beo 7 þam þe hæt. cum humilitate: et gravitate: et tremore fiat: cui jussurit 5
abbas;

DE OPERE MANUUM COTIDIANO. (CAP. XLVIII.)

idelnes feond is sawle 7 forpi ongewissum tidum Otiositas inimica est anime; et ideo certis temporibus beon gebisgode sealan on geswine handa onge-
occupari debent fratres in labore manuum: | certis wissum eft tidum on godgundre rædinge 7 forpi þissere iterum horis in lectione divina. Ideoque hac 10
we gelyað æiwhepera tida beon geendębýrde dispositione credimus utraque tempora ordinari. id est oþclypunge þæs nigeþan monþas on ærne utgangende a pascha usque ad kalendas octobris mane exeuntes fram primsange ocðæ fullan feorðan tida hi swican a prima: usque ad horam pene quartam: laborent þæt þæt beoð nyðbehefe fram tide þære feorðan quod necessarium fuerit; ab hora autem quarta oþða sýxtan tide hi æmtian æfter þære sýxtan usque ad horam sextam lectioni vacent; Post sextam 15 tida arisende hi geresten on heora beddum mid autem surgentes a mensa pausent in lectis suis cum eallum swige ocðæ wenunga se þe wyle him sylfan readan omni silentio: aut forte qui voluerit sibi legere. swa ræde þæt oðer he ne gedrefe sigedon gemetlicor sic legut ut alium non inquietet; Agatur nona temperius

10. godgundre, second g corr. from t. 13. fullan, gloss as if the lemma were plene.

1. Psalms in MS. 2. jussum, jussus in the MS., and the first u added later.
Manual labour to be done, at certain hours of the day.

midwengendum þære ehta tide þæt þæt eis towyrceanne mediantæ octava hora: et iterum quod faciendum hi wyrcean oððe æfan [a.] [b.] neodbehefnes est operentur usque ad vesperum; Si autem necessitas stowe oððe *pearflíces gisforcræfdæ wæsmas togegaderigenne loci aut paupertas exegerit ut ad fruges colligendas þurh hi þæt hi beon gebisgode hi na beon gedrefede forþam per se occupentur non contristen[tur]: quia þonne soðan munecas þurh *gespinð heora handa 5 tune veri monachi sunt; si labore manum suarum gif hi libbað swa swa ure fæderes vivunt. sicut et patres nostri et apostoli; Omnia tamen gemetelice beon forþam wac modum fram clýpunge mensurate fiant: propter pusillanimes; A calendaris autem ðæþ anginn lænctenfæsten on þa ðæþ oþfan fulran tide octobribus usque ad caput quadragesime: usque in horam rædinge hi æmtian se oðer tida on þære ucan s'gedon secundum plenam lectioni vacent; Hora secunda agatur undern on heora weorc 7 hi geswican 10 tertia; et usque ad nonam omnes in opus suum laborent þæt þæt betæht gewordenum forecnyll þære quod eis injungitur; Facto autem primo signo hore nontide hi geþeodon fram heora weorce ænlepie 7 hi beon none: disjungant se ab opere suo singuli. et sint gearwe þonne þone oðerne cnyll cnyll æfter gereordunge parati: dum secundum signum | pulsaverit; Post reflectionem (149)

hi æmtian heora rædungum oððe on sealcum autem vacent lectionibus suis aut psalmis; In læncetenes fastenes on dagum fram ærne merien oððe lænctenes rædunges vero diebus a mane usque ad priddan tide æmtian *heoraædungum oðða tertia plenam vacent lectionibus suis. et usque ad

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1. midwengendum? n may be r; perhaps read midligendum. eis, Latin, or e ‘paving letter’? 3. pearflíces, i.e. pearflíces. gisforcræfdæ, see note. 5. gespinð, read geswinð. 7. clýpunge, l above line. 8. on, n corr. from other letter: ð? 11. forecnyll, read probably forme cnyll. 12. heora, h indistinct. 15. læncetenes, linec not quite clear. 16. heoraædungum, read heora rædungum.

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1. MS. faciendum. 3. exerit in the MS. 4. MS. occupaentur. 5. labore, MS. labores. 6. MS. viunt. 9. secundum, MS. secundum. 16. lectionibus, MS. lectiones.
Other hours to be given to study.

fullan teoðan tida  
hi wyrån þet heom beorð  
betæht

decinam horam plenam operentur quod eis injungitur.
on þam dagum læntenfesten *hiderfan ealle ænlepige
In quibus diebus quadragesime. accipiant omnes singulos
bec of boe cýstan þa hi be endebýrdnesse eall abutan
codices de bibliotheca quos per ordinem ex integro
rädan þa þec synd to syllanne on anginne fæsten
legant;  
Qui codices: in caput quadragesime dandi
toforan callum þingan 
wislice si betæht an oððe
sunt;  
Ante omnia autem sane deputetur unus aut
twegen ealdres þa emfanar mýnster on tidum þam hi
duo seniores: qui cýrcumeant monasterium horis quibus
gæmtian  
rägång 7 hi gewarnian þe læs þe si gemet
vacant  
fratres lectioni. et videant. ne forte inventiatur
asolcen se ge emtige idelnesse oððe spellingum 7
frater accidiosus: qui vacet otioso aut fabulis et
he nis geornfull 7 he nis þat an him unnyt wurðe
non est intentus lectioni: et non solum sibi inutilis et
ac he þære upahefð þes þýllice þet feorsi gif he bide
sed etiam alios extollit: hic talis si quod absit reper-

10
gemet  
-si gëpred æne 7 oððe side þat an gif he hit
tus fuerit. corripiatur semel et secundo; si non emen-
na gebett regollicere preaiunge  
be þam elles swa
daferit correctioni regulari subjaceat: et taliter
þet oððe þet ondraðad þe ne ne to breðer
ut ceteri timeant;  
Neque frater ad fratrem jungatur:
on ungedafenlicum tidum on þam drihtelicum dæge rædinge
horis incompetentibus:  
Dominico die lectioni
hi entian ealle asindrodum þisum mislicum þenungum
vacent omnes exceptis his qui variis officis
þa þe synd betæhte gif ænig soðlice 
gimeleas oððe asolcen
deputati sunt: Si quis vero ita neglegens et desidiosus
bide þat nele oððe ne mage smaegan oððe an
fuerit: ut non velit; aut non possit mediari aut legere.

2. hiderfan, read hi undersfan. 9. þet, þ corrected from or into ð. 14. on, indistinct. 17. au, merely ending of (read)an to denote infinitive.

1. injungitur, MS. ingungitur. 3. quos, MS. quas. 4. Qui, MS. quia. 7. inventatur, MS. inveniat. 13. timeant, MS. timeat. 15. vacant, MS. veacent. 17. velit, MS. fuelit.
On the observance of Lent.

si betæht him weorc ðæt he do ðæt he ne ge æmtige
injungatur ei opus quod faciat: ut non vacet. | (15)
þæ [c.] untruman [b.] gebroðran [c.] ðode [d.] estfullum
Fratibis autem. infirmis. aut delicatis:
swylcum [c.] weorc ðode . . . ðæt ðode si gepeoda ðæt [f.] hi
talis opera aut ars injungatur: ut nec
forðanne idele na hina mid stînnessa geswing beon [i.] of-
ötiosi sint. nec violentia laboris oppri-
sette ðæt [f.] hi beon aþlingede þara *wacmodes fram
5 mantur: ut effugentur; Quorum inbecillitas ab
þam abbote is to forseawiende
abbate consideranda est;

DE QUADRAGESIME OBSERVATIONE. (CAP. XLVIII.)

[1.] pæh þe on sælcere [q.] lif [m.] munecas læncfenfæstenes
Licet omni tempore vita monachi quadragesime
sceale 7 gehealdsumnesse [p.] [o.] forþam þe is forþam seawera
debeat observationem habere. tamen quia pauorum
þe is þeos miht [a.] we atilhaþ on [b.] þisum dagum læncfen-
est ista virtus. ideo suademus istis diebus quadra-
fæstnes [c.] [f.] on sælcere clænnesse heora lif [e.]
gesime. omni puritate vitam suam
[d.] [h.] 7 ealra heora gimeleasnesse [c.] [h.]
custodire: et omnes pariter neglectianas suas
ôðra tida on þisum halgum dagum adlian þæt [a.]
aliorum temporum his diebus sanctis diluere; Quod
[b.] wyrdlice bið [a.] gif fram eallum leahtum [c.] [d.]
tune digne sit: si ab omnibus vitis temperemus;
7 gebede [d.] mid wopum [f.] 7 onbyrðnesse [g.] [h.]
15 Orationi cum fletibus lectioni et compunctioni cordis
7 [a.] forhæfændesse [g.] gimene uton [a.] syllan on þisum
atque abstinentie operum dimus; Ergo his diebus
uton don sum þine [d.] gewunelicne [c.] gasol
augeamus nobis - aliiquid ad solitum pensum

3. . . . ðæt, nearly illegible, read craft. 5. aþlingede, n under the line;
 cf. Introd., V. § 70. wacmodes, read wacmodes. 9. forþam þe, ditography.
11. [c.] or [i.]? 17. [c.] not quite clear; may be part of d (of adolitum).

5. effugentur, MS. effugatur. 7. The title in the MS. is DE XL. 
observatione. 9. pauorum, MS. parcorum. 13. sanctis, possibly in
glossator's hand. diluere, MS. defluere. 16. operam, MS. operum. his
added by glossator. 17. augeamus in glossator's hand; its gloss, uton don,
would make us think that the glossator has read agamus.
On such brethren as are far away from the monastery.

De fratribus qui longe ab oratorio laborant aut

In via sunt. (Cap. I.)

[b.] [i.] pa callunga [k.] feor synd on geswince [m.] 7 hi na Fratres qui omnino longe sunt in labore et non magon ongenbecuman [p.] ongedafenlicere [q.] tide to [p.] mynstre possunt occurrere hora competentia ad

6. he and, and belongs to the bidige of 1. 8. 8. bidige; see note to 1. 6. di above the line. 13. meten, a mistake for mede?

2. potus, MS. potius, but i underdotted. 5. de cibo, MS. decimo.
7. desiderii, MS. desiderio. 15. MS. gonge, AD.
On those brethren who are away for one day only.

De fratribus qui non longe satís proficiscuntur. (Cap. LI.)
The Oratory to be used for prayer only. On hospitality. [87]

gefylledum weorce [c.] mid healicum [d.] swige [b.]
Expleto opere dei: cum summo silentio
hi utgan 7 si gesungen mid arwyrcynysse [f.] pet [g.] [b.]
exeunt: et agatur reverentia deo ut frater
[1.] færunga heom sylfan [n.] sýnderlice [m.] se þe wile [m.]
(1a.) qui forte sibi peculiarditer vult orare:
[g.] na si geledt ðôres mid onhirpe [a.] 7 gif wile [a.]
non impediatuer alterius inprobitate; Sed et si aliter
him [g.] sylfum wenunga [k.] digelicro gebiddan [i.] andsealdlice
vult sibi forte secretius orare: simpliciter
ah he inga 7 he gebide [b.] na mid hludre [d.] stefne [d.]
intret et orare: non in clamosa voce:
ac on tearum 7 onbryrdnesse [f.] heortan [g.] [b.] se þe
sed in lacrimis et intentione cordis; Ergo qui
gelice weorc na deþ he na si géfasod gefylledum [f.] weorce [f.]
simile opus non facit: non permitatur explicito opere
bæftan belifan [e.] eallswa hit is geneð oðer
dei remorari in oratorio sicut dictum est. ne alius
lettincge þat he na polige.
impedimentum patiatur;

DE HOSPITIBUS SUSCIPIENDIS. (CAP. L.III.)
[b.] ealle ofer becumendlicum [b.] cuman [b.] swa swa crist [c.]
OMNES SUPERVENIENTES HOSPITES: TAMQUAM
[c.] forþam [d.] þe his to cewðenne [d.] [c.]
christus suscipiantur. quia ipse dicturus est:
mana [b.] ic wæs 7 geunderfangenne [c.] [d.] [a.] 7 eallum
hospes fuit: et suscepistis me; Et omnibus
þæslie [b.] wurð meþ [b.] 7 si gegearcod [a.] swýpest [c.]
congruus honor exibeatur: maxime
hiweðum [d.] geleæfan 7 ælepodigum [f.] [g.] þonne bið
domesticis fidei et peregrinis; Ût ergo nun-
gecyged [g.] cuma [b.] [a.] si becum [b.] frum þam ealdre
secus fuerit hospes: occurratur et a priore

4. geledt, d corr. from other letter, o? onhrope, e indistinct. 17. gecyged.
In the MS. ged is crossed out, and dd written over it.

7. lacrimis, MS. lacrimo; but o underdotted, and is written over it.
13. suscipiantur, MS. suscipiantur. 14. hospes, MS. hos spes. suscepistis,
MS. suscepistist, but the latter t underdotted. 16. peregrinis, MS. pere-
grinis.
Guests to be received as Christ Himself.

Susceptis hospites ducantur ad to gebede 7 siðdan [h.] 7 sitte [e.] ealdor [h.] orationem. et postea sedeat cum eis prior aut cui [h.] [h.] si geraed [a.] ætforan þam cuman seo [e.] jussuerit ipse; | legatur coram ospite lex
godcunde lage [e.] þet [d.] beon getrymede [e.] 7 æfter pisan
divina ut edificetur et post

æle [f.] him gearcod mað [f.] [h.] fæsten fram ealdre
ehc omnis ei exibeatur humanitas; þejjunium a priore
si tobroden for [d.] cuman [d.] buton wenungs [f.] healic [g.]
frangatur propter hospitem: nisi forte preci-
dæg [e.] sig [g.] fæstenes se na mage beon * gewænmed [e.]
pus sit dies jejunii qui non possit violari; Frares
[b.] [d.] gewunan fæstena [e.] fylian væter [c.]
autem: consuetudinibus þejjuniorum prosequantur; Aquam in

6. ei, Latin in glossator’s hand, under him. mað, see note. aweg belongs to gewitendum in l. 7. 7. sit, Latin, or a misreading for sig, belonging to si gebeden (l. 9). 10. [c.] or [e.]. 12. [c.] not clear. 14. [h.]. or [k.]. h = autem? 16. gewænmed, read gewænmed.

9. adoretur, MS. adorietur. suspectur, MS. suspicitur. 10. Susceptis in the MS. (read suscepti); a very old mistake, which has been glossed accordingly. 14. jejjunium, MS. junium. 15, 16. precipius, MS. precipius.
Especially the poor and pilgrims.

on handum [d.] [b.] [a.] cumum sylle [a.] fete [g.] [f.]
manibus abba hospitibus det; Pedes vero
[h.] eallum cuman ge se abbad ge eall seo gæderunga [k.]
hospitibus omnibus tam abba quam cuncta
[k.] þwea [c.] þam geþwagenum [c.] þis fers [b.]
congregatio lavet; Quibus lotis: hunc versum
hi secan we underfangen on mideweardan
dicant. suscepimus deus misericordiam tuam in medio
[f.] þearfena 7 * eall peodsceipa swýdést undersfangenra
templi tui; Pauperum et peregrinorum maxime susceptionum
5
ginan [h.] hohfullice [a.] si gegearcod forðam on heom
cura sollicitate exhibitur. quia in ipsis
swiðor [k.] [g.] sodes [a.] bið [h.]
magis christus suscipitur; Nam divitum terror:
[b.] him sylfan [a.] [a.] wurðment cica [b.] þæs abbodes
ipse sibi exigit honorem; coquina abbatis et
cuman [d.] ofer [e.] hig [e.] sig [a.] 7 ongewissum tidum ofer
ospitum super se sit: ut incertis horis
[h.] becumenlice [h.] [h.] þam þe nætre ne ateriað [k.]
supervenientes hostages qui numquam desunt
10
[l.] minstre þat hina gedraefan gebroðra on þa cicenan [c.]
monasterio: non inquietent fratres; In quam
[c.] to eare [d.] ingan [a.] twegen [b.] gebroðra
cooniam ad annum ingrediantur duo fratres:
þa [e.] sylfum þenunge [g.] [g.] [f.] bene [e.]
qui ipsum officium bene impleant.
þam [k.] behoflað þat hi helpan [k.] beon [h.] gepenode [l.]
quilibus ut indigent solacia ministrentur. ut
buton ælcere [m.] ceorunge [m.] þat hi [l.] þeowian. [n.] [o.]
absque murmuratione serviant; et iterum
15
ponne hi habbað læssan * gemýsgunge [t.] [t.] [s.]
quando occupationem minorem habent:
7 hi utgan [n.] þar [p.] þar [q.] bið [p.] beboden on
exeant ubi eis imperatur in

5. eall peodsceipa = allpeodsceipa, glossed as if the lemma were peregrinationum. 7. Over suscipitur there is a ‘paving’ letter, which is either two f’s above each other, or f over x. 10. ateriað, a dot or a small c over er; possibly an o, making it into ateriað. 13. bene, copied from the Latin. 16. gemýsgunge, read gebýsgunge.

7. suscipitur, MS. suspectur. 9. horis, MS. horet, but et underdotted, and is written over it.
The monks to receive no letters or presents, without leave.

weorce 7 na þet an [c.] on heom [e.] ah on eallum [e.] opera; Et non solum in ipsis: sed in omni-
penungum [e.] mynstræs [b.] sig [a.] þeos foreseeawunga [b.]
bus officis mona | steriit istsi sit considerat'o. (152)

þet þonne hi behofiað [i.] helpas beon befaeste
ut quando indigent: solacia accommodentur eis:
[k.] [l.] þonne hi [n.] æmtiað [n.] 7 hi hirsumiað bebo-
et iterum quando vacant obediant imper-
denum [c.] [d.] [e.] cumena [f.] habbe beteht hus [b.]
5 anti; Item et cellam hospitum abeat assignatam frater. 
þæs sawle gode [h.] ege [h.] he geahninge þar beon 
cuius anima timor dei possidet; ubi sint 
bedreaf genihtsumlíc [m.] [n.] [n.] fram wissum mannum 
lecti strati sufficienter, et domus dei a sapientibus 
wislice 7 si geþenode [m.] cuman [b.] þam þe na bið 
sapienter amministretur; Hospitibus autem cui non pre-
beboden nateshwon na sigesfærlæht ne ne sig gesprecan 
cipitur: nullatenus societur neque conloquetur.
7 gif he ægen eýmð oððe he gesihð gegrettum [l.] swa 
10 sed et si obviaverit aut viderit: salutatis humi-
swa hit [m.] is her bufan gesæd [m.] gebedenra [k.]
liter quod dictum est: et petita 
bletunga [k.] ah he ga [i.] [n.] [p.] na beon alised 
benedictione pertranseat dicens sibi non licere 
samod spræcon mid cuman 
conloqui cum hospite.

Vt non debeat monachus litteras vel elogias 
suscipere. (Cap. LIV.)

naht na si alised þam nafram his magum 
Nullatenus liceat monacho neque a parentibus suis: 
nafrom ænigum mannan heom betweena 
neque quoquam hominum: nec sibi invicem litteras. eulogias: 
oððe ænige lac underfon oððe syllan buton bebode 
vel quelibet munuscula accipere aut dare sine precepto
Dress to be in accordance with the climate.

\[91\]

\(\text{Paed} \text{ abbodes \textit{pat} gif bið eac swýlce fram his magum \textit{abbatis}. Quod si \\textit{etiam a parentibus suis} him ænig ðinc gesend he na gedýrsteæce underfon \textit{pat} \textit{ei quiequam directum fuerit: non presumat suscipere illud nisi ærest buton \\hit beo gesæd ðam abbode \textit{pat} gif he hæd \\\textit{prinus indicatum fuerit abbatí; Quod si juserít} been underfangen sig on *anfealde ðam þe he \textit{pat} \\\textit{suscipi}. in abbatis sit potestate. cui illud \\hat{h}at \\swýlcan \textit{7} he na si gedraefd ðam þe hit bið \\\textit{jubead dare}: et non contristetur frater cui \textit{forte \ 5 \\gesent \textit{pat} na si gesæld intingu ðam deofle se ðe \\\textit{ge-directum fuerat ut non detur occasio diabolo;} Quia \\\textit{dyrstlæcð} elles regolicere stire he \\\textit{(2 b.) \ 10 \\autem aliter \ \textit{presumserit discipline regulari sub- \\underfon jaceat;}} \textit{be hraegel þenum 7 seech þenum gebroðra \ 15 \\DE VESTIARIIS ET CALCIAEIIS FRATRUM. (CAP. LV.) \ 20 \[b.\] \textit{reaaf \ [c.]} \ [d.] \textit{æfter stowa \ [e.]} \textit{gehyðlæs} ðesse \textit{dær} \\\textit{vestimenta fratribus secundum locorum qualitatem} \\\textit{þær hi eardiað} \ \textit{beon geseald} forðam on cealdum \\ubi abitant. vel aerum temperïæm dentur. quîa \textit{in frigidis} \\\textit{eardum \ [1.] ðswýðor ðe behoðað} on værmmum \textit{n.} \ \textit{læs} \textit{[a.]} \\\textit{regionibus amplius indigetur. in calidis vero minus}; \textit{Haec} \\\textit{þeos foresceawung} \textit{[a.]} \ \textit{mid þam abbude is \textit{[a.} \ [b.]} \\\textit{ergo consideratio: \ \textit{penes abbatem est; \ Nos tamen} \\on medenlicum stowum \textit{[e.]} \textit{genihstumian} \textit{[c.]} \textit{[c.]} \textit{munecum} \\\textit{mediocribus locis sufficere credimus monachis} \\geond ænleþige \textit{[f.]} \ * \textit{culam 7 tonican} * \textit{culam on wintre} \\per singulos cucullam et tonicam; \textit{Cucullam in hieme 15 \\Þicce \textit{[h.]} \on sumere þinne \textit{[k.]} ðððe ealdnesse 7 \ \textit{villosam. in estate puram. aut vetustatem: et} \\\textit{scapularian for weorcum \textit{[o.]} \ * \textit{fiandreaf \textit{[b.]} fota} \\\textit{scapulare propter opera; Indumenta pedum.} \textit{3. hæd, d or t.} \ \textit{4. anfealde, read anwealde.} \ \textit{13. foresceawung, f} \\might be r. \ \textit{15. culam, read culan (twice).} \ \textit{17. fiandreaf, see note.} \ \textit{5. jubead dare, MS. jube ad dare.} \ \textit{9. CALCIAEIIS, MS. CALCIAERIS.} \ \textit{11. temperiæm, MS. temperium.} \ \textit{16. vetustatem, MS. vetustanlem.} \ The other texts have vetustanem for which vetustan(n)tem is an old mistake, having been glossed as though a substantive.}
Old habits to be kept for the poor.  — [Ch. LV.

soccas 7 hosan [e.] para pinga eallra be bleo pedules et caligas; De quorum rerum omnino de colore ne oððe gretuyssse [d.] na eidan [b.] aha swa swilce aut grossitudine non causentur monachi. sed quales swa magan beon gefundene [f.] on scira [h.] on þam þe hi inveniri possunt in provincia qua habi-wuniað oððe swa hwæt swa wacicor [m.] beon wiðmetene mög tant. aut quod vilius comparari potest; [c.] [b.] be gemete foresceawige þæt na beon [e.]

5 Abbas autem de mensura pre videat ut non sint gescyrte þa sylfan reaf brucendas hi ah gemetlice curta tipsa vestimenta utentibus. ea sed mensurata; nimende niwe þa ealdan [b.] hi agisan on andwerdum to Accipientes nova vetera semper reddant in presenti loco re-geloehgenne on rægel huse for þearfan genoh bið ponenda in vestiario. propter paueres; Sufficient [b.] munece twa tunican 7 twa cuflan habban enim monacho duas tonicas. et duas cullas habere for nihtum 7 for þeweale þæt þæt propter nocotes. et propter lavationem. Jam quod to lase bið beon osafon [a.] 7 meon supra fuerit superfluum est. amputare decet; Et pedules:

7 swa hwæt swa his eald [b.] 7 hi agildan þonne et quodcumque est vetustum: semper reddant hi underfød þonne hi underfød niwe . rec þas þa þa dum | accipiunt novum; Femuralia hi qui in (153 a.)

[f.] beoð asende on hrægelhuse niman þa hi gecyrrende via diriguntur de vestiario accipient qui revertentes gepwagenum para agenbringan [b.] cuflan [a.] 7 tonican [c.] lotu ibi restuuant; Cuculle et tonice beon ofaerhilen synd gewunede sunt habban æthwigan beteran sint aliquanto solito quas habent modice meliores;

8. geleohgenne, h above line. 13. underfød (a dittographical gloss to accipiunt), o or a? . rec, one letter not clear, probably b; this would make it brec. 15. gepwagenum, w corr. from r. cuflan, see note. 16. sunt in hand of glossator.

1. colore, MS. calore. de? cf. note to 10. 7. 2. aut, MS. uil. causentur, MS. causenter, with a u over the er. 7. Accipientes, MS. Accipiens. loco in none of the other texts; the MS. has loco. 11. decet, MS. dedet. 13. dum, the MS. has divine dum. novum, MS. noven, but e corr. into u. 16. solito, MS. solitis.
*pamman utgangende ponne hi underston of hrægelhuse quas exequentes in viam accipient de vestiario. 7 gecyrrende 7 hi agenbrinigan beddraf [b.] bedda geniht-ct revertentes restituunt; Stramenta autem lectorum: suff-sumian[.c.] 7 hwitel 7 wesline 7 heafudrægel pa bed ficiant maita et sagum. lenta et capitulae. Que tamen lecta ofer rædllice [a.] sind to smægenne for weorc frequentuer ab abbate scrutanda sunt: propier opus sindor pat hine si gemett 7 gif ænigum gett byð peculiare ne inventatur; Et si cui inventum fuerit 5 fram þam abbude he ne underfeðhære healicosta stire [b.] quod ab abbate non acceperit: gravissime discipline he underpeodde 7 pat sig þisne leahtor sinisterlices *grimpionge subjaceat; et ut hoc vitium peculiare radicitus ofadon beon geseałle[c.] [b.] pa þe ðynd nýðbehefe amputetur; Dentur ab abbate omnia que sunt necessaria. pat is cuflæ [g.] tanecan [h.] meon hosan earmslife sex id est cuculla. tonica. pedules. calige. bracile. cultellus. graef[m.] nael[u.] myþshægel [p.] wexbreda [q.] pat ælc [q.] gravium. acus. mappula. tabule. ut omnis 10 si gefyrسود nepearfnesse beladung[q.] from þam [c.] . [c.] auferatur necessitatis. excusatio; A quo tamen abbate [b.] [a.] si foresceawod se cwylde dæda þera apostola semper consideretur illa sententia actuum apostolorum: for þam þe wes *geald ænlepium beðam þe gehwylcum[i.] quia dabatur singulis prout cuique neod weorc 7[a.] se [a.] foresceawige untrum opus erat; Ita et abba consideret infirmitates beþyrfendra na ýfeline wýllan niðifulra. andigendra indigentium. non malam voluntatem invidentium; 15

1. pamman, probably pa niman, as gloss to accipiant. 7. grimpionge, read grundlonge. 9. tanecan, a corr. from o? probably it was intended to be corrected into u. 11. nepearfnesse, for nedpearfnesse. 13. geald, read gesead. 14. se over et; I think it is meant for se (abbod) over abba. untrum for untrumnessa.

2. reverentes, MS. reverentes. 5. inventum, the MS. has inventa, û written over a, and after that line crossed out. 6. Second b of abbate above line. 7. The MS. has peculiare. The other texts have partly peculiaris, partly peculiare, which latter would seem to be right from a Latin standpoint; but the gloss points to a genitive. 11. necessitatis, MS. necestatis. 15. malum, MS. matum.
The guests or some brethren to join the Abbot's table.

on callum [b.] his domum [c.] godes edlean
In omnibus tamen judicis suis; dei retributionem
he pence
cogitet;

DE MENSA ABBATIS. (CAP. LVI.) | (153)

. . nisan [c.] mid ælpeodigum 7 [e.] cuman *syð*
Mensa ABBATIS cum peregrinis et hospitibus sit
simble swa of swa ðealhwaætere læs [i.] sint [g.] [h.] gyþstes
5 semper; Quoties tamen minus sint hospites:
ða þa he wile of gebroðrum [b.] geclýpan his sig
quos vult de fratribus vocare in ipsius sit
on *anfealdre ealdres [b.]. ænne ðæðe twegen æfre mid
potestate; Seniorès tamen unum aut duos semper cum
gebroðrum to forketen for lare ðæðe stire
fratribus dimittendum propter disciplinam;

DE ARTIFICIBUS MONASTERII. (CAP. LVII.)

* créfican [b.] gif þind on mŷnstre mid ealre cadmod-
10 Artifícies si sunt in monasterio; cum omni humili-
nessë hi don þa sylfæn créftæs gif ðegeðað se abbud
tate faciant ipseas artes. si permiserit abba;
þæt [a.] gif bið ænig [a.] [b.] upahafan[a.] for ingëhide
Quod si aliquis ex eis extollitur pro scientia
his créftæs þeah þe he beogæawen sum þinc þurhten
artis sue eo quod videatur aliquid conferre
on minstre þes swýlce si upahræred fram þam sylfan créftæ
monasterio. hic talis erigatur ab ipsa arte
7 cðer siðan þurh hine he na fare buton wenunge geæad-
15 et denuo per eam non transseat. nisi forte humi-
mettum [p.] hatte gif hwæt [a.] [b.] of wæorcum
liato ei iterum abba þubeat; Si quid vero ex operibus

4. Erasure before . . . nisan, read mis. in. syð, read syg or byð. 5. of,
for oft. 7. anfealdre, read anwalde. 10. Read créfican. 13. beo-
geæawen, sa under the rest, a contemporary addition.

3. LVI. in the MS. before mensa, in line 4. 6. ipsis, MS. ipsis.
8. dimittendum, MS. dimittendo. The word procurer of the other texts
completing ours is omitted in the MS. 9. ARTIFICIBUS, MS. ARTICIBUS.
LVII before Artifices in I. 10. 12. ex eis in glossator's handwriting.
The various artisans humbly to do their own work.

wyrhtena is to sillanne warnian hi sylfe purh artificum venundandum est; videant ipsi per ğara handa þe sỳnd to síllanne þæt hina gedýrstlæcan quorum manus transigenda sunt ne aliquam ænig facen [k.] on gebringan hi gemonon æfre fraudem presumant inferre. Memorentur semper þæt hine [e.] [f.] þæt hi on lichaman annanie. et saphire ne forte mortem quam illi in corpore polodan [f.] þæs [h.] cēðe ealle ænig facen [l.] of pestulerunt: hanc isti vel omnes qui aliquam fraudem de þingum mýnstræ þæcedop [d.] polian [c.] on rebus; monasterii fecerint in anima patiantur; In þam sílfum [b.] sceattum ne undersmuige gitsunige ýfel ipsis autem pretiis non subripiat avaritie malum. ah sige æþwgeta waclicer seald þonne fram oþrum sed semper aliquantum vilians detur quam ab alis woruldlicum þingum þæt sig eallum gewuldrod gode secularibus | ut in omnibus glorificetur deus;

DE DISCIPLINA SUSCIPIENDORUM FRATRUM. (CAP. LVIII.) niwan [f.] cumenne ænig to geciyrrednesse ne si him eðelic [b.] NOVITER VENIENS QUIS AD CONVERSIONEM. non ei facilis forgifen in særelde [c.] ac [i.] swa swa sæde [i.] [k.]sandiað tribunatur ingressus. sed sicut ait: apostolus. probate gastes gif hi of gode sind [m.] [a.] cumende gif he þurh-spiritus si ex deo sunt. Ergo si veniens persevera-wunað cnuciende 7 gif he on gebrohtum teonum 7 unfrodnýssa verit pulsans et inlatas sibi injurias. et difficultatem inagan [l.] after feowerdagum [m.] [m.] 7 bið ingressus post Prattuor aut quinque dies gesawen [n.] [d.] geþyldelice beran 7 þurhwunian his bene [t.] visus fuerit patienter portare. et persistere petitioni [q.] [m.] si forgifen in agan in særelde [r.] on huse mid-sue: annuatur ei ingressus: et sit in cella hos-

9. gode, g partly erased, instead of e, which was most likely intended to be erased.

1. ipst, added by glossator. 10. SUSCIPIENDORUM FRATRUM, MS. AD S. F., which may also indicate that AD SUSCIPIENDOS FRATRES was in the original. LVIII in the MS. before Noviter. 12. ait, MS. ut. 13. veniens, MS. inveniens.
cumendre on feawum dagum sydane [e.] [b.] sig on huse
pitu[m] paucis diebus; Postea autem sit in cella
nicumendra per he smæge [g.] 7 he ete 7 he slæpe [i] [a.]
novitiorum: ubi meditetur et manducet et dormiat;
[a.] ealdor him [b.] swilc 7 si betæhte se sig [d.] gelimlic [e.]
Et senior et talis deputetur: quia aptus
[f.] to gestrynennen [f.] sauwla [g.] [h.] [i.] ofer [i.] him ne [l.]
sit ad lucrandas animas: qui super eum
eallunga [k.] geornlice si begeme 7 hohful [m.]
5 omnino curioso intentad; et sollicitus sit. revera dcum
[q.] [r.] to godes weorce to gehyrsumnesse [t.]
quirit si sollicitus est ad opus dei: ad oboedientiam
de hospa beon gebodenne ealra heardnessa [c.]
[7 ad obfrobría; Predicentur ei omnia dura. et
stixnissa [d.] purh pæt he si gefaren to gode [a.] 7 gif he behæt
aegera per que itur ad dcum; Et si promiserit
be his stapolfæstnessa [c.] [c.] aunændessa æfter twegra
de stabilitate sua perseverentiam: post du-
monðum [d.] onbrine [a.] si geraed [b.] him [c.] pes
10 orum mensium circulum legatur cui hec
regol be endebyrdnessa [d.] 7 si gesæd him efe her is
regula per ordinem: et dicatur ei ecce lex:
under ðære þeowian þu wilt gif [c.] þu miht [i.] gehældan [k.]
sub qua militare vis; Si potes observare
infaran gif þu na miht [n.] [m.] [q.] frige [p.] aweggewit
ingredere. si vero non potes, liber discede;
gif [e.] þa git [f.] he stint poune he si gelæd on þam fore-
Si adhuc steterit. tunc | ducatur in supra-
sådan [c.] huse [c.] nicumenra 7 he si fandod [q.]
dictam cellam novitiorum: et iterum probetur
on eallum geþylde 7 æfter sixy monða [e.] embrine 7 si ofor-
in omni patientia; Et post sex mensium circulum rele-
red him regol [c.] pæt he wite to þan ingange [g.]
7 gif
gatur ei regula, ut sciat ad quod ingreditur; Et si

5. si (Latin), i corr. from e. 10. on brine, read embrine. 14. Second he not clear. 15. fandod stands so close upon margin that something before it may have been cut away.
The rule to be read three times to them at long intervals. [97]

he þa git stynt
eft si geræd him
adluc stat: post quattuor menses iterum legatur ei
se þylca regol 7 gif *habban *ðrétiòðinge he be
eadem regula; Et si habita secum deliberatione pro-
het hene ealle þinc gehældan 7 calle bebeodenlice
miserit se omnia custodire: et cuncta sibi
þinc 7 gehældan 7 he si underfangen on gegæderunge
imperata servare; tunc susciptiur in congregatione
witende under lage regolas *gescendne 7 þæt ne sig
sciens se sub lege regule constitutum: et quod 5
gelyfed utgan of minstre nato swyran
ei ex illa die non liceat egredi de monasterio nec collum
secan under geoce regoles þæt si under swa langsumum
excutere de sub jugo regule: quam sub tam morosa
frigedome gelifed wið saecan ðeðe underson se underfonlica
deliberatione. licuit ei excusare: aut suscipere. Susciendus
[b.] on cyrican [a.] toforan eallura gebrotSrum behate be his
autem in oratorio: coram omnibus: promittat de
staðulfasteonna [f.] 7 drohtnunge heora þeowa 7 gehýrsum-
stabilitate sua et conversatione morum suorum: et oboedien-
nesse toforan gode 7 his halgum þæt gif he dep et
tia coram deo et sanctis eius: ut si ali-
sumum cyrre elles [q.] [o.] hine sylfne fordedem
quando aliter fecerit: a deo se damnamund
[b.] he wite hwæne he gebýsmrige be þam his behate[c.] [c.]
sciat quem irridet; De qua promissione sua
he do [a.] [b.] gewrit [d.] 7 naman halgena pare lafe þe sind
faciat petitionem ad nomen sanctorum quorum re-
halidomas þara sind 7 þæs andweardes abbodes þæt gewrite
lique ibi sunt: et abbatis presentis; Quam petitionem 15
mid his agenre hand he awrite oððe soðes gif he na can
mamu sua scribat; aut certe si non scit
stafas oðer fram him [h.] gebeden [g.] write 7 se nicumena [b.]
litteras. alter ab eo rogatus scribat; Et ille novitius

2. habban ðrétiòðinge, see note.  5. gescendne, read gesætne?  6. nato,
to is part of gloss to excutere in l. 7.  7. regoles, o corr. from u contemporarily.
8. frigedome, as if the lemma were liberatione?

4. imperata, MS. imperate.  5. sciens, MS. siens. sub not found in the
MS., but necessitated by the gloss.  6. illa, MS. illi.  8. excusare, MS.
excuser.  10. MS. conversione.  12. se, MS. sed.  16. scit, omitted
by Latin scribe.
All their property to be given up to the monastery.

mearce do 7 mid his handa hit ofor pam weofode
signum faciat: et manu sua eam super altare
he lege pat gewrit ponne he leigd agenne se nicumena sona
ponat; Quam dam posuerit. incipiat ipse novitius mox
pis fers: [b.] [c.] [c.] aetfer pinre [d.] spræce
hunc versum; Suscipe me, domine secundum eloquium
[d.] 7 ic libbe na gescynd pu me fram minre anbidunge
tuum et vivam: et ne confundas me ab expectatione
[h.] pat fers eall seo gederung priddan sidan
5 mea; Quem versum omnis congregatio tertia respondeat
to gepeodenne mid [f.] [b.] se nicumena broðor [e.] si
adjuvantes. gloria patri; Tunc ipse frater novitius proster-
apreht anlepigra [d.] futum pat hi biddan for him [a.]
natur singulorum pedibus ut orent pro eo; Etiam
of þære tide on gegæderunge he si geteld gif he hwylce
ex illa hora in congregazione reputetur. Res si quas
pinc hæfð þæt heiaspende [c.] ær þearfum [d.] oððe geworden
habet: aut eroget prius pauperibus. aut facta
simbollice sylene he forgife minstre [k.] him sylfum
10 solempniter donacione conferat monasterio. nihil sibi
na healdende of eallum witodlice se ðe of þam dæge [q.] neto
reservans ex omnibus. quippe qui ex illa die nec
*ontigenum lichaman *andfealde wite sana [b.] on cyrican
proprit corporis potestatem sciat; Mox ergo in oratorio
he si unseryd agenum þingan Mid þam þe wælgescryd [e.] 7
evxatur rebus propris quibus
vestitus est: et
he si gescrid mid þingum minstres þa [b.] reaf [b.]
induxur rebus monasterii; Illa autem vestimenta
mid þam þe he wæs unscrid beon gelogodre on rægelhuse
15 quibus excutus est repontur in vestiario
to gehealdenna æt suman cyrrre tihendum deofle gif he þafe
conservanda: ut si aliquando suadente diabolo consen-
þafas þæt he utga of minstre unscryd
serit, ut egrediatur de monasterio quod absit: tunc excutus

8. of, o crossed, perhaps corrected from e. 11. neto, see note. 12. onti-
genem, see note. andfealde, read anwealde. 15. gelogodre, see note.
16, 17. gif he ðafe þafas, read gif he þafas.

8. quas, MS. quod. 13. exuatur rebus, MS. exauaturebus. 14. Illa,
MS. Illi.
The children of the rich to bring no property with them. [99]

DE FILIIS NOBILIIUM AUT PAUPERUM QUI OFFERUNTUR.
(CAP. LVIII.)

5 gif hwa [d.] [b.] of æophilorenem offrað f dat his *eart
St quis forte de nobilibus offret filium suum

[gode om monisterio: si ipse puer | minori
is his magas don gewritt swa swa we busan
aetate est. parentes eius faciant petitionem quam supra
mid ofrange þæt gewrit hand
dicimus. et cum oblatione ipsum petitionem. et manum
cildes 7 he be fealde on weofodsceatan
pueri involvent in palla altaris. et sic eum 10
7 hi geofrian of heora æhtum oðde on andweardum
offrant; De rebus autem suis: aut in presenti
gewrire hi belhatað under æoware þæt hi næfre ne þurh
petitionem promittant sub jurejurando; quia numquam
hi sylfe ne þurh gewenede had ne mid nanum
per se: numquam per suffectam personam: nec quo-
gemett him æt ænigon eirre æni þinc syllan oðde hi
libet modo ei alisofto aliquid aliquid dent. nec tri-
forgan intingan to habbenne oðde sopes þæt don
bruant occasionem habendi; Vel certe si hoc facere 15
gif hi nellað 7 ænigpincg offrian 7 hi wylldað to ælmaessan
noluerint: et quid offerre voluerint in elemosina
on minstre for heora mede hi don of þingum pa þe hi
monasterio pro mercede sua: faciant ex rebus quas
willadað syllan münstre sylene gehealdenum
dare volunt monasterio donationem. reservato

2, 3. nam, gloss to tulit (l. 3); underfond, originally marginal note to he
underfo! 6. f dat in hand of glossator. earn, a letter blotted before it;
read earn. 13. gewenede, see note. 14. gemett or gemete?

4. MS. offerunt de F. N. A. P. qui. 6. Si, erasure between S and I.
nobilibus, second i corrected from u by erasure. 7. in omitted by Latin
scribe. 12. MS. promittat. 13. suffectam, see note. 18. donationem,
m corrected from two other letters.
If a Mass-priest wishes to live in the monastery,

him sylfan swa gif hi willa$ landare 7 beon * behydda, sibi. si ita voluerint, usufructuario; Atque ita ealle pinc * dedre pet ænig to hopa na belife pan cilde
omnia obstruantur ut nulla suspicio remaneat puero ðurh þa bepal$ losian he mage pet feor sig pet mid afun-
per quam deceptus perire possit quod absit; quod experi-
dennesse welleorniap swa gelice so$lice swylene þa pearflican
mento didicimus; Similiter autem: et pauperiores
don gif mid ealle hi naht nabba$ anfealdlice
5 faciant; Si qui vero ex toto nihil habent: simpliciter
gewrit hidon mid ofrunde 7 hi ofria$ heora cildra ætforan
petitionem faciant. et oblacionem offerant filium suum coram
gewitnessum testibus;

DE SACERDOTIBUS QUI VOLUERINT IN MONASTERIIS HABITARE. (CAP. LX.)

gif hwilc be endebyrdnesse * mæssepreostrum on minstre
10 Si quis de ordine sacerdotum in monasterium se
beon underfangen [e.] [a.] ne sig [b.] hrædllice
susci$i rogaverit: non quidem | ei citius (156
gepafod [b.] gif eallunga he þurhwuna$ [c.] on þissere
assentiant; Tamen si omnino perstiterit, in hac suppli-
halsunge he wite ealle lære regules þeahfæstynysse to healdenne
catione. sciat se omnem regule disciplinam servaturum;
nene ænig pinc si forgifen þæt hesig swa swa hit awritten
Nec aliquid ei relaxabitur ut sit sicut scriptum
is eala þu freond to hwam comepu sy geunnen him
15 est; Amice. ad quod venisti; Concedatur ei tamen
æfter þam abbote standan 7 bletsian o$ne mæssen healden
post abbatem stare. et benedicere aut missas tenere.
gif [b.] hæt [g.] hi him * hellas [a.] nateshwon he nege-
si tamen jussirit ei abba; Sin alius nullatenus pre-

1. behydda ealle pinc dedre, behýdda and dedre probably belong together, and read, behýddedre, thus eliminating the consequences of a partial ditto-
graphy; see p. 98. 15. 4. welleorniap, i.e. we leorniap. 10. mæsse-
preostrum, read mæssepreostra; see note. 13. þeahfæstynysse, read þea-
fæstynysse, h corrected from other letter, possibly w. 17. hellas, read he
eille.

1. voluerint, n corr. from ti. 6. offerant, MS. offreat. 8. MS.
volerint. 11. ei citius, MS. excitius.
let him set the example of humility.

dýrstlæce æníg þíng [d.] hine regolicere stíre underþodan.

sumat alicuia scientia disciplina regularia subditum:

swiðor eadmodnesse býnsa callum he sýlle 7 gif wenunge
et magis humilitatis exempla omnibus del; Et si forte
hades hadunge óðde æníges þinges intingan bið on
ordinationis aut alicujus rei causa fuerit in
minstre þa stowe þæne stýde 7 he begime on þære þe he
monasterio. illum locum attendat : quando
inferde [c.] [c.] on minstre [d.] ne þæne se þe for
ingressus est in monasterium non illum qui ei pro 5
arwyrðnesse preosthades þæs geunnen is preosta gif
reverentia sacerdotii concessus est; Clericorum autem si
hwýloþ þære ýlcan gewulhunge on minstre beon geferlæchte
qui eodem desiderio monasterio sociari
willâð on medullicere stowe [a.] [c.] 7 hi [d.]
volverint : loco mediocri collocentur. et ipse
[f.] gif hi behatað behealdsumnesse regoles œðde agenre
tamen si promittunt de observatione regule vel propria
stâpolsfænestnssa:
stabilitate;

DE MONACHIS PEREGRINIS. (CAP. LXL.)

gif æníg of ælþegum mannum of fyrhænum scirum

SI QUIS MONACHUS PEREGRINUS DE LONGINQUIS

becimð gif forçuman he wile wunian on
provinciis supervenerit : si pro hospite voluerit habitate in
minstre 7 gépæ þe hiþ on gewunun [u.]
monasterio et contentus fuerit consuetudine loci quam
[u.] [q.] [o.] mid his oferflowodlicnýsse [q.] [q.]
invenierit et non forte superfluitate sua
7 he ne gedrefð minster ahh lice geþæf is
(p6 b.) perturbat monasterium. sed | simpliciter contentus est
þæt þæt þæt he gemet he si underfangen on swa langre
quod invenierit. suscipiatur quanto

9. behatas or behatað. 14. Over the words ... tudine loci quam
inveniriet et non forte, the gloss has probably been erased. 16. ahh. . . . a
letter erased? 17. Three times þæt, thus the MS.

5. ei above line. 6. Clericorum, MS. clericum. 8. MS. collocetur. 9. de,
MS. ded. 11. PEREGRINIS, MS. PEREGRINIO. 16. perturbet, MS. perturbet,
with a written over e of ending.
Pilgrim monks to leave the monastery,

tide swa he gewilnað gif he gewistlice gesceadwislice 7
tempore cupit; Si qua sane rationabiliter et
mid eadmodnesse sóere lufe hwylce þinc repað oððe geswutalas
cum humilitate karitatis reprehendit aut ostendit.
smege [b.] snotorlice þe læs forpan sylfæ þingan hine
tractet abbas prudenter ne forte pro hoc ipso eum
[e.] sænde gif he wile sýððan [o.] his statdolfæstnesse
dominus direxerit. Si vero postea voluerit stabilitatem
[d.] getrymman na si forwyrned swyłe willa 7 swiðest
5
suam firmare. non renuatur talis voluntas. et maxime
forpan cumliðnesse þe mihte his lif [h.] beon acnawan
quia tempore hospitalitatis potuit eius vita dignoscì.
þæt gif bið gemet ofserflowende oððe leahterfull [g.] [g.]
Quod si superflue
aut vitiosus inventus fuerit
on tide [g.] [b.] þæt an [b.] hena scel beon gefærlæht gefere-
tempore hospitalitatis: non solum non debet sociari cor-
reddene mỳnstres ac eac swyłe si gesæd arwyrðlice þæt he
pori monasterii. verum etiam dicatur ei honeste ut
aweggewite [p.] mid [r.] his ýrmða [r.] cðre [q.] [p.]
10
discedat: ne eius miserìa etiam alii vitiantur.
þæt gif he na bið
swyłe geearnige beon ut adrasfað
Quod si non fuerit talis qui mereatur proici
þæt an gif he bitt he si underfangen gegæderunge
non solum si petierit susciaptatur congregationi
to gefærlætenne ac eac swyłe he si gelæred þæt he stande [p.]
sociandus verum etiam suadeatur ut stet ut
mid his bisne oððre beon gelærede 7 sig on ælcere stowe
eius exemplo alii erudiantur; Et quia in omni loco
anum drihtne þæt geþeowod anum cinge 7 si gecampod
15
uni domino servitur; uni regi militatur; Quem
gif [k.] þyline beon besceawiað [h.] sigelifed him on
si etiam talem esse perspeçerit abba. licet eum in
uferan æþwega [d.] gesettan stide [n.] [o.] [o.]
superiorem aliquantulum constituæret. locum. non solum autem

10. ýrmða, a of much larger size than the other characters.

4. direxerit, MS. dixerint. 6. MS. hospitalis. 9. monasterii, MS. monasterio, but last o underdotted, and * written over it. 11. proici, MS. projiciunt. 15. servitur, MS. serviatur. 17. autem, MS. aut.
unless they prove worthy of the hospitality.

[p.] ah [q.] of pam foresædum gradum [s.]
monachum. sed etiam de superscriptis gradibus sacerdotum. oððe preosta gestapólfæstan mæg [x.] on maran whenne
vel clericorum stabilire potest abbas in maiori quam
ineode stede gif he hig besceawad þet lif [w.] værnege
ingreditur loco si ejus talem perspexerit vitam. esse. Caveat
[b.] [c.] þet sehwænne of oðrum cuðum mynstre
autem abba ne alicuando de alio noto monasterio
[e.] to wunigenne he ne underfo buton geþafunge
monachum ad habitandum susciptiat: sine consensu 5
abbotes his [i.] stafum oððe gegretlicum forþam þe hit is
abbatis ejus aut litteris commendaciis; Quia scrip-
awritten þet þet þe sylfan þu nilt beon ne du oðrum
tum est; Quod tibi non vis fieri. alii ne feceris;

DE SACERDOTIBUS MONASTERII. (CAP. LXII.)
gif ænim [b.] him sylfan mæssepreost oððe [l.] diacon
Si quis Abbas sibi presbiterum vel diaconem 10
beon gehadod geornδ of his gecose se wyrδe sýg preosthade
Ordinari petierit; de suis eligat qui dignus sit sacerdotio
brucaen se gehadod [b.] warnige upahafennesse 7 modig-
fungi; Ordinatus autem caveat elationem. atque super-
nesse ne he ne ge ænim þing dyrstlæce butan þet þe him
biam; Nec quicquam presumat: nisi quod ei
fran þam abbode bið beboden witende miclele swyðor styræ
ab abbrevate precipitur: Sciens se multo magis discipline
regollicere underþedne [a.] intingan preost ne he na for-
regulari subditum; Nec occasione sacerdotii oblivisco- 15
gimeleasne regoles gehyrsumnesse 7 þewfaestnesse ac swiðor
tur regule oboedientiam et disciplinam: sed magis
7 swiðor on gode he geþeo stede þæne [b.] [c.]
hac magis in deum proficiat; Locum vero illum semper
he begýme on þam þe he in * neode [d.] on mynstre toforan
attendat quo ingressus est in monasterium; preter

3. besceawad, a indistinct. 15, 16. forgimeleasne, read forgimeleasie.
18. in neode, read inn eode.

2. clericorum, MS. declericiorum. 10. presbiterum, MS. presbiteri.
14. ab abbatæ precepitur, MS. abba tpreceptitur, and i written over second e of precepitur. 17. vero, MS. vera. 18. monasterium, u corrected from a.
The Priest to abstain from pride.

penunge weofodes ovide gif wile gecorenes geđerunge officium altaris; Aut si forte electio congregationis et willa pæs abbodes lifes forgearnunge him wendan ovide voluntas abbatis pro vite merito eum promovere stiran [a.] se [l.] regol fram decanum ovide fram voluerit qui tamen regulam a decanis vel pre-pravostum him sylfán gesetne gehealden [i.] wite pæt gif positis sibi constitutam servare sciat; Quod si he elles gedýrstlæcð na sacerdos ac hwiðercora ac beo gene-5 aliter presupserit: non sacerdos sed rebellio judicium demod [a.] gelome gemingegod gif he ne bið gebreadd [b.] tur; Et sepe ammonitus si non correxerit. etiam [b.] si gegearcod [d.] on gewitnesse pæt [a.] gif he hit episcopus adhibeat in testimonium; Quod si nec swa [a.] ne ge bett [a.] [d.] he si utadrefed sic emendaverit: clarescentibus culpis proiciatur [c.] gif hwile [h.] bið his topundemessa [g] pæt de monasterio: si tamen talis fuerit ejus contumacia ut he beon underþeod ovide gehýrsúmian þam regole nele.

subi aut obedient regule nolit;

DE ORDINE QUO CONGREGATUR. (CAP. LXIII.)

heora endebyrdnesse [d.] swa hi gehealden swa swa Ordines suos in monasterio ita conservent ut con-gecýrrednesse tina [g.] earnungc swa swa asyndrað versiones tempus et vite meritum discerni.

7 swa swa se abbod hit gesette sene [a.] abbod [a.] ge-utque abbas constituerit: Qui abbas non drefe [a.] befaeste him sylfum heorde ne swilcum fæelicum 15 conturbet gregem sibi commissam: nec quasi 'libera brucenne * anfealdæ unrihtlice he ne gedíhte [e.] ac he þence utens potestate injuste disponat aliquit sed cogitet

1. wile, w above line. gecorenes, i.e. gecoreness. 5. sacerdos. The scribe wrote sacerdos by mistake; corrected o into h, put o over s, and de under it; the whole is meant for sacerdades. 5. beo, b corr. from g. 5, 6. gemedemod, probably gedemed is the original reading. 16. anfealdæ, read anwealdæ.

2. vite, MS. ivvite. 3. MS. propositis. 7. si nec, MS. sinet. 11. quo not in the MS., nor in any other Latin texts. These read: De ordine congregationis. 13. et vite meritum, MS. ut vi temeritum. 15. commissam, MS. commissim. 16. utens, MS. ut nos.
simile ãet he be callum his * domumum 7 weorum be his
sempè quia de omnibus judicii et operibus suis
is to gildanne [b.] [d.] [m.] aèter endebyrdesse
redditurus est deo rationem. Ergo secundum ordinès
[i.] ãa ãa he gesette oòde ãa ãa habbaò ãa sylfan gebrodran
quos constituerit. vel quos habuerint ipsi fratres
hi ne gênealacan [b.] to huselgange to on sealmum
si accedant ad pacem. ad communionem. ad psalmum
ginnende on choro standende 7 [e.] [o.] eallunga
imponendum: in choro standum; et in omnibus omnino
[e.] ãyl na si gesindrod on endebyrdesse ne he ne foredeme
locis etas non discernatur in ordine nec prejudicet.
forpam [g.] [h.] [h.] cnihtas preostas ãe demdon [b.]
quia samuel et daniæl pueri presbiteros judicaverunt; Ergo
pism asindrodum ãa ãa ge swa swa we bufon sædon mid
exceptis his quos ut dizimus altiori
maran rede [h.] recö oòde [l.] of gewissum
constilio abbas pretulerit. vel degradaverit certis
intingan ealle ãa oòre swa swa hi boþ geçyrde swa
ex causis. reliqui omnes ut convertuntur certis
beon swilce ic swa cwæde seþe æt þære õðran tide cymð to
sint. ut verbi gratia. qui secunda hora diei venerit in
minstre ginran hine hecunne his beon seþe [x.] [y.]
monasterium juniorem se noverit illius esse qui prima
on þære forman tide swa hwýlecere ýlde oòde wurðscape
hora venerit diei cujuþ ÿ libet actatis. aut dignitatis
hesi cildra [b.] geond ealle þing fram eallum gebroðrum styð
sit. Pueris vero per omnia ab omnibus disciplina
si gehealden ãa ginran iornostlice heora ýldræn arwurðpian
teneatur; Juniores igitur: priores suos honorent; priores
lufian on þære sylfen clýpunge namena
minores suos diligant. In ipsa autem apellatione nominun:
ænigum na si gelefed mid agenum naman genan æc þa ýldræn
nulli non liceat alium puro nomine appellare sed priores

1. domumum, read domum.
4, 5. on in 1. 4 belongs to ginnende in 1. 5.
5. choro, Latin influence.
17. na in the margin. genan, beginning of
genanian.

6. A letter erased before ordine. In ordine, i has been corr. from
a or u.
10. reliqui, MS. relinqui, but u nearly erased.
12. juniorem, MS. juniorum.
13. venerit, MS. venirit. actatis, MS. cecitatis. dignitatus
in MS.
16. minores not in MS.
The younger brethren to show respect for the elder.

heora ginran nemnan þa ginran þa yldran
juniores suos fratres nominent juniores autem priores suos
arwurde hi gecian þet bið to understandenne mid faederlicere
nonnos vocent; quod interlegitur paterna
arwurðnesse [d.] for þam ðe þa spellunga is gelýfed
reverentia; Abbæ autem quia vices Christi creditur
don si genemned na mid his underfangennes
agere dominus et abbæ vocetur; non sua assumtione.
ac on wurðmente 7 mid christes lufan he sýlf þence
5 set honore et amore Christi. ipsæ autem cogitent et
hine 7 he gærcie weorðe þet he si swilcum wurðmente
sic se exhibeat. ut dignus ut dignus sit. tali honore.
swa swa ongeancumæ se ginra fram þam ealdre
Ubicumque autem sibi obviant fratres junior a priore bene-
bletsunge bidde se læssa aris 7 he sylfa
dictionem petat. Transcundte majore. minor surgat: et det ei
rýmet to sittenne ne ne gedýrståece se ginra sittan buton
locum sedendi; Nec presumat junior consedere nisi ei
hate his caldor þæt beo on wurðmente
10 precipiat senior suus ut fiat quod scriptum est honore
* foahrädigende geongra cildra oððe ginran
invicem prevenientes. Pueri parvi vel adolescentes
oððe æt meosan mid þæwfestnësa heora endebyrð-
in oratorio. vel ad mensas. cum disciplina ordines
nesse ðylian wiðutan hi beon op þat hi heordræden
suas consequantur foris autem vel ubicumque custodiam
hi habban 7 to lære oððæt hi to andgítfullere ylde
habant: et disciplinam usque ad intellegibilem etatem
becumen
15 perveniant:

DE ORDINANDO ABBATI. (CAP. LXIII.)

þæs abbodes on hadunge þæt [b.] si forasceawod gescead
In abbatis ordinatione illa semper consideretur | ratio. (158 b.
her þæt si gesed þone þe him sýlfum eal seo gesibsum
ut hic constitutur. quem sibi omnis

11. foahrädigende, read forahrädigende.

5. christi, MS. episcopi (the scribe read Epi for Xpi). amore, MS. amor.
6. ut dignus, repeated thus in MS. 9. presumat, MS. presumant.
The Abbot to think always of the duty imposed on him. [107]

gegæderung [ær] after gode ege sit oðde
concors congregatio secundum timorem dei: sive
eac swylyce þæah þe he gehwæde dæl gegæderunga mid ge-
etiam pars quamvis parva congregationis saniori
wissum gepeahte gecyses be iarnunge 7 wisdomes
consilio elegerit; Vite autem merito: et sapientiae
lære he si gecoren se þe is tohadgenne þeah efter
doctrina elegatur qui ordinandum est: etiam si ultimus
þe he beo on endebyrdnesse gegæderunge þæt
fuerit in ordine congregationis; Quod si etiam 5
for his leahtrum þæt feor *sit
omnis congregatio vitii suis quod qu em absit
gepæfienne had mid gelicium gepeahte gis gecyses 7
consentientem personam pari consilio elegerit: et
þa sylfan leahtras æthwega on cyðe biscopis becumon to
vitia ipsa aliquatenus in notitiam episcopi pervenerint ad
þæs sciþ þegena gebýrað se stow oðde to
cujus diœcæsim pertinent locus ipsæ vel ad
abboddu m oðde þa kristenan nýhapeburum geswutelioð hi for-
abbates aut christianos vicinos claruering. pro-
beodan þwyrlicra swýþrian gepeæhunge ah *hwiwæddene
hibeant pravorum prevalere consensus sed domui dei
wurðe gesetton dihtneran witende for þi hi to under-
dignum constituant dispensatorum. scientes pro hoc se recep-
fonne méde [b.] gode gyf þæt clenlice 7 mid ande don hi
turos mercedem bonam. si illud caste et zelo dei faciant:
eall swa þær togenes synna gyf hi forgæwað gehadod
sicut e contrario peccatum si neglegant; Ordinatus
sodlice he þence æfre hwilce byrdena he underfeng 7
autem abba cogitetur semper quale honus susceptit: et 15
hwam he is to agendenne gescad his gerefsciran 7 wite he
cui redditorius est rationem villicationis suæ Sciatque
him sylfan o gedæfenian fremian swiðor þonne derian him gebýrað
sibi oportere prodesse: magis quam presse; Oportet

1. oðde, o corr. from e.  6. sit, read sig.  9. þegena, i.e. þegunað?
10. geswutelioð, ð corrected from l?  11. hwiwæddenne, read hwiwædene.
12. underfænne, o corr. from u or n.  14. togenes, first e corr. into æ.
13. forgæwað, see note.  15. byrdena, ð corr. from some other letter?
17. gedæfenian, a corr. from e. I cannot account for the o.

2. pars, r above line. saniori, MS. samori, but m is dotted under the
second stroke, so as to indicate the reading saniori.  8. notiæam, MS. notetiam.
pervenerint, MS. perveniam.  19. vicinos, MS. vicinis.  11. dei above line.
The Abbot to see that he be loved, not feared.

soñlice hine beon gelæred on godeundlicra æ þæt he wite 7 he 

ergo eum esse doctum lege divina: ut sciat et sit 
si hwanon he forð teo niwe 7 ealde clæne [n.] sefre 
unde proferat nova et vetera; Castum. sobrium. 
mildheortnesse 7 æfre he upahæbbe on 
misericordem | et semper superexalet misericordiam 

dome þæt he þæt ylce begyte hatige he lehtras 
judicium ut idem ipse consequatur. Oderit vitia 
lufige he gebroðra on þare sylfre soñlice preatinge snotorlice 
diligat fratres; In ipsa autem correctione prudenter 
he det 7 nan þing ofer swiðe þæt he na to swiðe ne gewilnige 
agat. et ne quid nimis. ne dum nimis cupit 
upawýrtlian rust oððe om si tobrocen fæt 7 his tydder-
eradere eruginem. frangatur vas: suamque fragi-
nysse æfre ge. em. hydi sý 7 gehence reod forprest 
litatem semper suspectus sit. memineritque calamum quassatum 
ne sý to bryð on þam we ne secgæð þæt w beon for-
non conterendum. In quibus non dicimus, ut permittat 
lætanne beon gefed leahtras ac snotorlice 7 mid þare soðra 
nutriiri vitia sed prudenter et cum karitate 
lufa þa he of acerfa swa swa hem þynce ænge gelettan 
ea amputet. prout viderit cuique expedire. 

ealswa we ær sædon 7 hogie he swýðor beon gelufon þænne 
sicut jam dicimus; Et studeat plus amari. quam 
beon ondædod ne sý he adrefað 7 *anc sam ne sý he 
timeri; Non sit turbulentus et anxius; non sit 
swidlic 7 andan wille ne sý he nyð full 7 swiðe 
wenende 
nimius et obstinatus non sit zelotipus et nimis suspiciosus: 
for þý næfre he ne gerèsteð on þam sylfan bebodum 
quia nunquam requiescit; In ipsis imperiis suis 
forgleaw 7 forsome oððe æfter gode oððe æfter 
providus et consideratus: sive secundum deum. sive secundum

6. det, for dep; influence of Latin? 7. upawýrtlian, see note. fæt or fæd 
in MS.? 9. w beon forlatanne beon gefed. I think w is either a 'paving' 
letter or the beginning of we, a ditography of the we going before, in which 
case beon is attributable to the same cause, viz. to a ditography of beon 
in l. 10. forlatene is a mistake for forlate=permittat. 11. hem, e or o? 
It is crossed out in the MS. 13. anc sam, corr. from or into anx sum, 
probably — from a paleographical point of view — the former; from an 
etymological point of view, the latter. anxius is glossed as if it were 
angustus. 14. andan, i.e. anan.

14. obstinatus, MS. obstinandus. nimis, MS. in misu.
De preposito monasterii. (Cap. LXV.)

offrædlice witodlice hit belimpð þæt þurh hadunge præfostes
Sepiús quidem contingit ut per ordinationem prepositi
heðlice ætswicinga on mýnster þonne bið sume
scandalum gravià in monasteriis orientur. dum sint aliquis
mid þam awýrdan gaste modignesse *tobedde 7 wenende
maligno spiritu superbi inflati. et estimantes 15
hine ðere beon nimende him gewin
se secundos esse. abbatis assumentes sibi tyrannidem.
æswicinga hi fedað 7 twýredynsse on gegaderunga hi doð
scandalum nutriunt. et dissensiones in congregatione factunt;
7 swíðost on þam stówum þær fram þam yžcan
ôððe
Et maxime in illis locis. ubi ab eodem sacerdoti. vel

5. The m is indistinct in gemetie.  6. uncruman, read untruman.
14. heðlice, l corr. from s. tobedde, read tobrædde.

2. dicentis, MS. dicentes.  3. fecero, MS. fecere. laborare, MS. laborare.
4. cuncti, MS. cuncta. Hec, MS. Her.
6. MS. forte. fortis, for which
other MSS. have fortis, is postulated by gloss.
8. MS. conservent.
12. MONASTERII, MS. MONASTERIO.
14. sînt, MS. sît.
The Provost to be no higher than the Abbot. [Ch. LXV.]

fram ðam abbotum ða ða abbod hadiað 7
ab eis abbatibus quî abbatem ordinant. ab ipsis etiam et
se prafoot ðe âer ðic gehadod þat ðic hi fullice hit is
prepositus ordinatur;
Quod quam sit absurdum
epelice undergitten forðam þe byð fram ðam sylfan anginne
facile adfertitur. quia ab ipso initio ordin-
hadunge ontimber gesedal to motgenne þonne hit bið getih-
tionis: materia eì datur superbiendi. dum ei sugeritur
fram his gepohhtum [m.] [m.]
5 a cogitationibus suis exutum eum esse a potestate
his abbotes forðam þe he wæs * gehæle from þam
abatis sui: quia ab ipsis est ordinatus. a quibus
se abbod heonen beðð astyrede andan geflit *stalu
et abbas; Hinc | suspicitur invidie. rixe. detractionis(160)
efestes twyrædnesse unhadunge 7 hwæne þwyrnessa
emulationes dissensiones. exordinationes. et dum contraria
heom betwyñan 7 se prafoot gepafiað 7 heora neod is
sibi invicem abbas prepositusque sentiunt. et ipsorum necesse
sawla under heom 10est sub hac disentione animas pericitari. et hi qui sub
þonne hi lýfetað dælmaelum færað uton forspilled-
ipsis sunt. dum adulantur partibus eunt in perdi-
nesse þæs frecednessa þæl heom *lucað on anginne
tionem; Cujuð periculi malum. illis respicit in capite
[a.] ãa swilcum on hadunge doð ealdra forþi
qui talibus in ordinatione se fecerunt auctores; Ideo nos
foresceawiað fremman for sibbe 7 þære soðre lufe hyrdra-
previdimus expedire propter pacis karitasque custo-
dene þæs abbodes standan on cýre hadunge minstres his
15dium in abbatis pendere arbitrio ordinationem monasterii sui;
7 gif mæg beon heora decanus si geendebýr swa swa *weg
Et si potest fieri; per decanos ordinetur sicut ante
bufon aël nýtþyrðnesse mýnstrs be þam þe
disposuimus omnis utilitas monasterii. prout abba

6. gehæle, aël crossed out, and hadod (sic) has been substituted for it in the margin. 12. lucað, read lociað. 16. decanus, copied from Latin? weg, read we ge; the verb is left out.

2. absurdum, MS. obsurdum. 7. A hole in parchment before rixe; it does not affect the text at all, having evidently been there before the MS. was written on. 11. MS. perditione. 12. illiæ, MS. illi. 13. fecerunt, MS. fecunt, and c corrected from r. 17. disposuimus, MS. disposimus.
Provisions as to deposition of the Provost.

diht læt læinne magon hit byð befaet an ne disposuerit. ut dum pluribus committitur. unus non
modie læt gif oðde stow gyrm byð oðde gegaderung superbiat; Quod si aut locus expedit. aut congregatio.

bit gescadwislice mid eadmodnesse [g.] se dem Gü petierit rationabiliter cum humilitate. et abba judicaverit
gefremman swa hwenne swa geceost mid gepeahte
expedire quemcumque elegerit abba cum consilio
ondredendra gode hadige hêsylf prafoat se
fratrum timentium deum ordinet ipse sibi prepositum; Qui 5
se prafoat mid arwурсnessa па pé fram his
tamen prepositus illa agat cum reverentia que ab
abbode læhte beóð naht ongen wyllan 7 had-
(30b.) abbate suo ei injuncta fuerint nihil contra volun | tatem et ordina-
ung þaes donde forsam þe oðrum
tionem abbati faciens quia quanto prelatus est ceteris. tanto cum
gedafenað carfullicor healden beboda regoles se pra
portet sollicitus observare precepta regule; Qui prepositus
gif he bið gemet leahtres oðde upahafennes beswicen
si repertus fuerit vitiosus aut elatione deceptus 10
modignes forhiege þaes haligan byð fandod
superbie aut contemptor sancte regule fuerit approbatus
si geminegod mid wordum oð feowersian gif he hit na
ammoneatur verbis usque quater; Si non emenda-
gebet si gegeareod præiuung regolicere styre
verit adhiebatur ei correptio discipline regularis;
he si adræfed of endebýrd-

Quod si neque sic correxerit; tunc deiciatur de or-
nesse pravostscire secde is stete his
dine prepositure. et alius qui dignus est in loco eius subro-

7 gehýrsum
getur; Quod si postea in congregacione quietus et oboediens

9. pra, for prafoat or pravost. 10. leahtres, should have been leahterful,
but either the scribe’s eye was caught by the s of Latin ending, or by the
ending of upahafennes. 15. stete, i. e. stede.

3. petierit, MS. petitierit. 4. quemcumque, MS. quecumque. 6. ab
omitted by Latin scribe. 7. ordinationem. Between r and d the same hole in
parchment obtains, as spoken of before (see note to p. 110. 7). 8. prelatus,
MS. relatus. 13. ei, MS. que. 15. alius, MS. aliter.
An old man to be the Doorkeeper.

he na byð of mĭnstry he si utadraesed pence non fuerit: etiam de monasterio expellatur; Čogitet tamen to ijeldenne

abbas se de omnibus judicis suis deo redditurum rationem: ne andan æfestes lig forbærnde sawla forte zeli aut invidiæ flamma urat animam;

De ostiariis monasterii. (Cap. LXVI.)

Æt geate mĭnstres si geset eald wita se wite cunne 5 Ad portam monasterii ponatur senex sapiens qui sciat acci-

underfon andswore 7 agifan þæs gehungennes hine ne pere responsuum et reddere. cuius maturitas eum non gæpafge worian se geatweard hus scyllum habban wið þæt

sinat vagari; Qui portarius cellam debet habere juxta por-

great þæt cumende andweardne gemeton from hwam
tam ut venientes semper presentem inventiant. a quo

andswore underfon 7 sona þæne cnucast oðde pearfa

responsuum acipient; Et mox ut aliquis pulsaverit aut pauper

clypæ goda þanc he andsware oðde blestige 7 mid
calamaverit. deo gratias respondeat aut bendicat. et cum
ealre manþwænesse godes eges heagilde andsware ofstlice
omni mansuetudine timoris dei reddat responsuum festinanter:

mid wylme þeresodre lufe se geatweard helpe
cum fervore karitatis; Qui portarius si indiget solacio:

ginran broðran underfon mĭnster soðlice gif hit maeg

juniorem fratrem accipiat. Monasterium autem si possit

beon sceall beon gesett þæt ealle neod behefness þæt is

fieri ita debet constitui. ut omnia necessaria. Íd est

wæter myll orceard becern oðde mistlice cræftes

aqua molendinum ortus pistrinum. vel artes diverse

widinnen minstre beon gegenne þæt nesig neod

intra in monasterium exercantur. ut non sit necessitas

muncum werigende wiþutan for þam

monachis vagandi foris quia omnino non expedit

heora sawllum þysne oft we wylsch

animabus corum; Hanc autem regulam sepium volumus

11. manþwænesse, w corrected from another letter?

2. se de, MS. sed. 4. monasterii, MS. monasterii. 7. juxta, MS. juxtum. 11. timoris, MS. moris. 13. MS. accipiant. 14. fieri, MS. fieri. id est, MS. idem. 15. (h)ortus, MS. ortu. 17. foris, a non-

contemporary a has been put over the i in the MS.
On brethren, going on, and coming back from, a journey. [113]

beon gered ænig gebroðra be nýtennýssa
in congregatione legi: ne quis fratrum se de ignorantia
pæt na belædie excusest;

Dé FRATRIBUS IN VIAM DIRECTIS. (CAP. LXVII.)

[pæ] sendlican gebroðra on wege ealra gebroðra
[Dirigendi] Fratres in viam. omnium fratrum vel
[b.] [e.] gebed befestan 7 æfre æt þam æsteme-
[abbatis se orationi commendent; Et semper ad orá-
[5] stan gebede godes weocres gemýnd ealra and
[tonem ultimam operis dei. commemoratio omnium ab-
[weardra 7 beo pagencyrrendan gebroðra of wege
[5] sentium flat; Reverentes autem de via fratres;
on þam dege on þam þe gehweorðað geund ealle mæsterlice
[ipso die quo redeunt. per omnes canonicas
(tida þonne bið gefylled godes weorc astreþ Moldan
horas dum expletur opus dei prostrati solo
oððe eorðan fram callum gebroðrum biddan gebed forgime-
oratorii; ab omnibus petant orationem proptet
leaste þæt ænig þinc ne undersmuge on wege gesýðhe oððe
61 b.) excessum: ne quid forte | subripuerit in via visus. aut
lyst þinces oððe idelre spræce ne ne gedýrstlice
auditus male rei aut otiosi sermonis; Nesc presumat
ænig oððrum gereccan swa hwýlce þinc swa he gesýðuð wið-
quisquam alius referre quecumque
utan on mýnstræ oððe he gehýrað forþam þe hit is
foris monasterio videre. aut audierit quia
manifealt towhurþon [a.] rego-
[plurima destructio est; Quod si quis presumpserit vin-
[15] licre wacliðe oððe stire he underþeodde swa gelice 7 se ðe
dicte regulari subjaceat: Similiter et qui

7. pagencyrrendan, read þa agencyrrendan. 8. gehweorðað, g corr. from some other letter. 15. towhurþon, for towurponnes? regoliere, r corr. from a. 16. wacliðe? see note.

3. DIRECTIS, MS. DIRECTUS. 4. omnium fratrum, MS. omniam fratres, but ða above res, as if to indicate the correction. 9. prostrati, MS. prostratu.
Obedience, in impossible things.

Si fratri impossibilia jubetur. (Cap. LXVIII.)

Sed gyrdlæc clýsunga minstres utgan òðde awýder faren òðde presumpserit claustra monasterii egredi: vel quoque ire vel òñig þing þæh þæ he litel buton hæse þæs abbotes quippiam quamvis parvum sine jussione abbatis don facere:

Si cui fratri aliqua forte gravia aut impossibilia beoð gepeodde he underfo wittodlice bebeodendes bebod injunquntur suscipiat quidem jubentis imperium mid eclee manþwærnesse 7 gehirsumnesse þæt eallunga cum omni mansuetudine et obedientia; Quod si omnino heora mægena gemet gif he gesyð began virium suarum mensuram viderit pondus oneris excedere his unacumenlicnesse se þæ gewis impossibilitatis sue causas ei qui sibi preest 7 gedafenlice na modigenne òðde wif-patienter et oportune suggerat; non superbiendo: aut resis-standende æfter his tiltinge tendo: vel contradicendo: Quod si post suggestionem suam on his cwýde bebod þæt gif þurhwunað in sua sententia prioris imperium perduraverit: wite se gingra swa him selfan gefremen 7 of söere lufc sociat junior ðita sibi expedire: et ex kiritate getruwigende be godes fylste gehyrsume | confidens de adjutorio dei obediat:

Ut in monasterio non presumat alter alterum defendere. (Cap. LXVIII.)

mid òñigum intingan ne gedýrstlæc òñer Precavendum est ne quavis occasione presumat alius òñerne bewerian òðde swýlce gescyldan alium defendere monachum in monasterio. aut quasi tueri

5. unacumenlicase, read unacumenlicase? 7. manþwærnesse, æ or a? 9. þe, þ corrected from g.

2. parvum, MS. parvium, but i underdotted. 6. imperium (=imprim), MS. impium. 15, 16. Heading not in the MS.; supplied from the list of chapters.
No one to defend another. No brother to strike another. [115]

* arlicor, *si se *gepread

_fuerit: acerius oœcreatur.*

**Ut non presumat aliquid alium cedere.** (Cap. LXX.)

*forboden aele dyśtignýsse intinga we ge-

_Vetetur in monasterio omnis presumptionis occasio; Or-

-endebyrdas 7 we gesetatas alyfed ænigne heora
dinamus atque constituimus ut nulli liceat quemquam fratrum
gebroðra amansumian oððe slean buton þam þe mihte
suorum excommunicare. aut cedere. nisi cui potestas ab
bið geseald ða syngendan ætforan callum gebro-
abbate data fuerit; Peccatores autem coram omni-
ðrum beon ghépreade . ðþre oðgan þæt habban cildum
bus arguantur: ut ceteri metum habeant; Infantibus
oð þone fiftedan gear ýlde lare oððe
vero usque ad quintum decimum annum ætatis disci-
styre geornfulnessa si gegeareood hydraidene
pline diligentia ab omnibus adhibeatur. et custodia sit:
ac eac swylice mid callum gemete 7 gesceade søðes strangran
sed et hoc cum omni mensura et ratione; Nam in fortiori
ýlde se de gedýrældæ æðwega butan bebode þes abbodes oððe
actate qui presumserit aliquatenus sine precepto abbatis: vel
on þam sylfan cildan butan smegunge onstingð regolicre
in ipsis infantibus sine discretione exarserit: disci-
styre he underhinge þe
pline regulari subjaceat: quia scriptum est; Quod tibi
sylfan þu nelt beon ne ððrum ne do þu
non vis fieri: alii ne feceris;

3. mag, gloss to potest, in 1. 4. for ænig gêmeleasað, read ænig for-
gêmeleasað. 5. arlicor, read tearlicor.

2. id, supplied by glossator. a, MS. ad. 3. quia, MS. qui. 4. hec, MS. hic. 6. Heading not in the MS.; supplied from the list of chapters.
18. custodia sit, MS. custodiat se.
The brethren to be obedient to one another.

Ut obedientes sibi sint invicem fratres. (Cap. LXXI.)

gehyrsumnesse god na pet an pam abbade is togearcienne.
Obedientiae bonum non solum. Abbati exihibendum est
heom *betwynanan hi gehyrsumian
ab omnibus. sed etiam sibi invicem ita obedienti
witende for pisne gehyrsumnesse weg him sylfne to
fratres: scientes per hanc obedientiae viam: se
farenne to gode on jam fore sedon prafosta
5 ituros ad deum; Premisso ergo abbatis atque prepositorum
pa pa fraim him beon gesette bebode pam we ne gepasie qui
ab eo constituuntur imperio. cui non permittimus
asindrodum beboda beon forest paer to eacan ealle pa gingran
privata imperia preponi: de cetero omnes juniores
heora yldrum on calre sode lufe hohfulnesse
prioribus suis omni caritate. et sollicitudine
hi gehirsumian pet gif aenig saceful fuerit byg gemet
obediant: Quod si quis contentiosus, repperitur:
he si gepread gif hwyle broodor for aenigum gehwaelum intinga
10 corripiatur: Si quis autem frater pro quavis minima causa
ode for gehwyleum ealdre his beod gepread
ab abbate vel a quocumque priore suo corripitur
mid aenigum mete ode gif he leochtlice undergit mod ealdres
quotlibet modo: vel si leviter senerit animum prioris
ongen him wraode ode astredne peah pe
cujuscumque contra se iratum vel commotum quamvis
æthewega sona buton yldinge swa lange astreht on eordan
dode: max sine mora tamdui prostratus in terra
tosforan his fotum ac he licge gebetende ode pet bi
15 ante pedes ejus jaceat satisfaciens: usque dum
bletsunge gehæeld seo styrgung gif he forhogad don
benedictione sanctur illa commotio; Quod si contemperit facere:
ode he lichamlicere wrace pet gif forsiðode ode gif anmod
aut corporali vindicte subjaceat: aut si contumax
he bið of minstre he si utadræfæd
fuerit de monasterio expellatur. |
DE ZELO BONO QUEM DEBENT MONACHI HABERE. (CAP. LXXII.)

swa is [h.] se ýfela biternesse anda 7 Sicut est zelus amaritudinis malus qui separat a deo et læd to helle is se goda anda se ðe syndrað fram ducit ad infernum ita est zelus bonus qui separat a leahtre 7 læt to gode pýsne andan vítio et ducit ad déum et ad vitam aeternam; Íhunc ergo zelum mid þære wealdestan began mid ferventissimo amore exercéant monachi id est ut wýrménte forhradian heora untrumnessa oðde honore se invicem preveniant; Ínfirmitates suas sive lichama oððe þeawa gepýldelicost forþylðian gehirsumnesse corporum sive morum patientissime tollerent obedientiam him sylf gefliðmaelum hi beodan na ænig þat þe he sibi certatim impendant; Nullus quod sibi nytþýrdlice déme folgie swiðor ðørum þa soðe utile judicat sequatur; sed quod magis alio; Carita-lufe broðor rædene mid clænre hi beodan lufe hi on tem fraternitatis casto impendant amore; Deum drædan heora abbud mid sifre 7 eadmodre soðre *lare timeant. abbatem suum sincera et humili caritate hi lufian cristes eallunga naht hi forasettan sege ætgedere diligent; Christo omnino nihil preponant. qui nos pariter 15 [g.] [g.] bringe ad vitam aeternam perducat;

DE HOC QUOD NON OMNIS JUSTITIE OBSERVATIO IN HAC SIT REGULA CONSTITUTA. (CAP. LXXXIII.)

pýsne regol we awriton healdende on Regulam autem hanc discrípsimus, ut hanc observantes in minstre æðwega oððe arwurðnesse þeawa oððe anginn monasteriis. aliqualiterus vel honestatem morum aut initiun drohtnuming us *Þe geswutelian habban ðøra haligra to ful-conversatiunis nos demonstræmus habere; Ceterum ad per-fremednessa drohtnuming seynd lare feccionem conversatiunis qui festinan. sunt doctrine sanctorum

11. lære, a misreading for læfe. 18. þe, read we.

The Rule leaves scope for further precepts. [Ch. LXXIII.

faedera para gehealdsum gehealdsum ne gelaed mannan to
patrum. quarum | observatio perducit hominem ad (163)
healdsumuessa fulfremednessa la hwylc tramod oðde hwylc.
celsitudinem perfectionis; Que enim pagina aut quis
spræc godeundlice ealdordomes ealdre 7 niwe gecyndnesse nis
se rihtost beysen lifes mennices oðde la hwile boc haligra
est rectissima norma vite humane: Aut quis liber sanctorum
rihte faedera pat na sweg mid rihtum rihe:
catholicorum patrum hoc non resonat ut recto cursu
we becumende to urum scyppende eac swilce 7
perveniamus ad creatorem nostrum; Nece non et
purhtogenessa 7 gesetnessa heora lifes ac eac
colations patrum et instituta vite eorum. sed et
swylce regol basilius hwæt elles sind
regula sancti patris nostri basiliii: quid aliud sunt.
butan wel libbendra 7 gehirsumera muneca 7 gesetnessa
nisi bene viventium et obedientium monachorum instituta
mihta us alsolcenum 7 yfel lybbendum 7 gime-
virtutum. nobis autem desidiosis et male viventibus atque neg-
leasum same gescyndnyss swea hwilc
legentibus rubor confusionis est; Quisquis ergo ad patriam
pu efast pysne pane laestan *acunnednesse regol awri-
celester festinas. hanc minimam inchoationis regulam dis-
tenne fylistendum criste pu gefremme 7 pu ætnyxtan to
criptam adjuncte christo perficias: et tunc demum ad
maran pe wiðusan we gemundon lare lare 7 nihta
majora que supra commemoravimus doctrine virtutumque
geþincete goes seildendum beccimô wyrcondum þas þine
15 culmina deo protegente pervenes; Facientibus hec regna
geopenanô pa ecan.
patebunt aeterna;

Finit regula sancti benedicti.

1, 2. gehealdsumwessa in 1. 2 is the proper gloss to observatio in 1. 1, and
the healdsum, gehealdsum in this line, I am unable to explain except as a
double dittography. 2. -sumwessa, first stroke of w erased. 12. acunned-
nesse, read acunnednesse. 14. lare was first put over the ending of com-
memoravimus, then erased and written again over doctrine.

1. quarum, MS. quorum. 2. Que enim, MS. originally Qu. fenim, from
which Que enim has been corrected. 7. patrum, third stroke of w erased. 10. desidiosis, MS. desidiusus. 11. rubor, MS. robur. 12. festinas,
MS. festinans. regulam, MS. regula.
NOTES.

1. 5. fremfi. After this word there is a gap in the MS., so that some letter or letters may have been there, which are now gone. Read fremfullice.

1. 8. voluptatibus. This reading, for which nearly all other codices have voluntatibus, is supported not only by two of the Latin MSS. (G. U.), but also by the gloss.

2. Above dicente, a little to the right, ū is found in the MS. I presume it is the ending of secgend, which gloss was filled out by a copyist in its proper place, and thus written twice.

3. 3. -cond, as gloss to (prob)ibe. The other texts have forhafu (Schröer, Die Prosabearbeitungen, 2. 21), except S. (W. V. 5. 15), which gives heald. Neither of these suggests a reading for our text. Possibly the e is a misreading for a t (which suggestion is favoured by the palaeographical evidence), and the gloss was forstond. I am happy to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Cosyn, of Leiden, for this and other suggestions.

3. 11. gebroht, as gloss to perducatum, is in itself undoubtedly right. Only per ducatum was wrongly taken as one word; see context. Similar cases where a misreading of the MS. produced a wrong gloss—wrong so far as the context is concerned—are numerous. See e.g. seyde, as gloss to ait, which is wrong for aut (78. 1).


5. 10. de habitatore (MS. habitatorum), glossed by be wunungum. The other texts have ‘be ðam buyendum his eardungstowe’ (Schröer, Die Prosabearbeitungen, 4. 22). But the Winteney Version, which is independent of our text, has ‘be ðam wununge his eardingstowe’ (7. 27). That the original also had wunungum is made (at least) likely by the MS. reading habitatorum for habitatore, which may be owing to the -um of the gloss. But whence the form wunungum? To read wunigendum (see ib., 1. 11) is an easy way out of the difficulty, but scarcely the right one. We must have very good reasons indeed for assuming that a commoner form made room for a rarer one. Considering that the earliest examples given by Köch (I², p. 342, § 61), of participial forms in -ing are from the A-text of Layamon’s Brut., i.e. about the year 1200 (see ib., p. 10), I should not dare to think that we had here an early instance of it, if this form stood alone in our text. But we also find latens glossed by letting (80. 10). There would not seem to be the shadow of a doubt concerning the ending -inceg being
that of a participle; but I would again not lay too much stress on
this instance by itself, since I am not sure as to the meaning of the
gloss itself. But if we find monstrante glossed byswiftelunge (35. 3),
we may perhaps look upon the others too, as evidencing a participle
in -ing.

I cannot leave the matter alone without going at some length
into detail as to the origin of the form in -ing. I may at once state
that I look upon it as a direct and phonetic representative of the A.-S.
form in -ende. Whatever be the origin, whether the above view will
prove to be the correct one, or whether we must continue to view it
with Prof. Max Müller (Lectures on the Science of Language, II) as a
'corruption' of a verbal substantive in the dative, we are alike struck
with the fact that for a long time, down to Gower and Chaucer, nay,
to early in the fifteenth century, the forms -and, -end, -ing continue
to be found parallel in the same authors. Now, though a hundred
and eighty years more of parallelism may increase our wonder, they
need not materially alter our view of the case.

Let us now turn to our text, and see what the frequent occurrence of
-enne by the side of -ende for the pres. part., as well as for the gerund
or participium necessitatis (Introd., V, § 89), gives us a right to conclude.
If we may lay down anything, it will be this, that the ending
-ende has dwindled down into a combination of a certain vowel (of
no definite phonetic value) + the nasal which occurs before dentals, and,
be it remembered, a voiced nasal before the voiced d. I denote this
voiced nasal by n. This n was sometimes continued, i.e. lengthened;
but sometimes the stop was undone with a jerk, occasioning the
explosion which is symbolised by d. Now the only difference between
this form e-ne and -inge is that the dental nasal is replaced by the
guttural nasal, which I denote by ŋ, surely in itself no very great
change, especially as analogues are by no means wanting. We must
look to vulgar speech for some of these analogues. An orphan becomes
an orfling (sometimes a horfling), etc. See H. Baumann, Londinis-
men, Slang und Cant. (Berlin, 1887), Introduction, § 5, sub 3 (p. xci),
from which passage it must not, however, be supposed that this
pronunciation is peculiar to London. I may also instance the
'peculiar' pronunciation of the French nasals in the mouths of badly
taught Germans, and—what is more interesting at this conjunction—
English children. I distinctly remember the contortions that some
untrained pupils of mine in an English school had to make their
mouths undergo, when they had to pronounce 'je demande, tu

1 Cf. Bosw. in v, vellicung; also Cant. Ps. 149. 4. (See the forthcoming
edition, by Mr. Fred. Harsley.) Reluctantly, I must draw attention to the
ending, -e, which is not that of an A.-S. participle in the dative. Can the
glossator have taken monstrante as a gerund, = monstrando?

2 I was strengthened in my conviction by a correspondence on this subject
with Mr. C. Stoffel, of Nymegen, the results of whose extensive reading are
always so kindly placed at the disposal of his correspondents.
demangdes,' etc. The words invariably became je demangde, tu demangdes, nous demángdons, etc., no doubt in all respects a fit analogue.

6. 3. *ve híhtæ*. Evidently a marginal gloss got in the wrong place, instead of over *speramus*. See note to l. 5 on page 6.

9. 18. *dan. orseclena*, as gloss to *anachoritarum*. Read *onsetlena*. But what does *dan. mean?* I suspect that *d* is a paving or sequence letter, and that *an* indicates that instead of *onsetlena* we may also read *ansetlena*. Thus interpreted, -*an* would be another case of merography, a part put for a whole (Introd., V, § 4).

9. 19. *conversationis*, MS. *conversionis*. The same corruption obtains in six other MSS., but both context and gloss show *conversationis* to have been the original reading.

10. 1. *frore* for *frofre*. The dropping of the *f* (after it had become voiced), i.e. the merging of it into the *o*, may very well be a phonetic process. See also *Ellis*, E. E. P., II, pp. 513, 514.

10. 7. *vel oddê*. I think that originally the gloss to *experientia* was *t afundennessa*. (For this use of *t* = *id est*, see Skeat's ed. of Matthew passim, and l. 1 on p. 25 where *oddê - t* occurs after the word; see note to 29, 15; 55. 2.) A second glossator, who did not see that *t* meant the same as *i* (=*id est*), or as 7 (cf. 20, 2; 20, 3; 84. 9, etc.), added the lemma *vel*. For other cases where part of the gloss was wrongly translated into Latin, I refer to (92. 1). *Colore* was here glossed by *be bleo*; a second glossator adds *de*, as supposed lemma to *be*. Cf. also (93. 3) *et sagum*. where *et* may have a similar origin.

12. 1. *geondspreccand*. If it means anything, *geondsprecan* = to address or to make anyone hear, which in this place has no meaning. Read *geondspreccand* = *geondspreccand*. See Introd., V, § 70.

15. 5. *benne* stands over *ne he*, and *ne he* over Negue. *benne*, as gloss to *negue* is unintelligible; read *bennêe*, and take it as gloss to *dissimulet*. Cf. Corpus gl. 681, and Wright-Wülker, 388. 31, 32 (Dis-simulare, bemiπan ὀτένε yldan).

16. 9. for *forti taliendre*, as gloss to *parri pendens*, is corrupt; it is very likely that *forti* was misread for *nauht*, which is a not infrequently occurring form of *nawht*.

17. 15. *est*, a little erased. The fact is that *faciat* is found in other MSS. in this place, but in our MS. lower down (l. 16) erased. Someone who did not understand the words *et quod utilius judicaverit* in the context tried to restore sense by adding *est*.

18. 4. *heonlicor*, as gloss to *salubrius*? Read *halwendlicor*.

20. 10. *factam*, MS. *factum*. Of the other texts (Schmidt, p. 13), none has *factum* (but the collation of our text is very imperfect, our reading *i.a. not being given; see Schröer, Die Pros Bearbeitungen, p. xxvii): they read *factam*, *factas*, or *facta*. Originally, I suppose, our text had *factam*, agreeing with *injuriam*. Hence the gloss *gedonne*, agreeing with *tregan*. In this state our text must have been copied out, and the copyist, by an absolute blunder, or mislead by the mase.
termination of the gloss, wrote factum. After that, some one added the gloss dade to the new lemma factum.

20. 13. Ce modig, as gloss to desuperbum, ë=debere, must have been copied into the Latin as though it were part of superbum.

21. 13. frædlice. Rædlice (=hrædlice) (cf. Wright-Walke, 243. i: frequenter, celer) must have been there first, and f added by the influence of the Latin. Or we must take o to be no paving letter, and read orfrædlice=offrædlice.

26. 6. sylfsyne, as gloss to rara. seldsyne was probably there originally. The corruption is easy to understand if we suppose selfsyne (cf. Introd., V, § 55) to have been there.

27. 2. c. us. y., as gloss to nobis. Do c, y perhaps form part of the gloss to nobis; and must we consequently look upon it as a misreading for us. y. c., i.e. asic? It would be quite in accordance with the usual practice if more or less uncommon forms were misunderstood, and consequently mutilated. It is true that forms in -ic are found only in the accusative, whilst a dative form is postulated by the lemma; but first, this rule holds good only for the classical periods of Anglo-Saxon (cf. Sievers², § 81, Anm. 2), and secondly, the acc. may be explained as dependent upon elypos.

28. 12. a, an, over inservuit. a may of course be a gloss-letter, but an? I have thought of the following explanation: that a, an, as indicating the weak nom., and gen. ending (or acc. plural) were put over ascendendos. Afterwards the full gloss was added. A case in point may be adduced here from a Leiden MS., where we find lucubro glossed by brasbrat. The explanation—see Goetz-Loewe, Glossae Nominum, Leipzig, 1884, p. 161—isc given by Vossius as lucubro, (lucu)bras, (lucu)brat. The gloss to inservuit is gesætt in l. 10.

29. 11. asmaidan. Is this a corruption of asmaiand=asmeagend?

29. 15. sodés òððe sege, as gloss to dicat. sodés may be a mere repetition of the sodés in l. 14, and then òððe (sege) simply means the same as the i. or the 7 found over Latin words to introduce the gloss. But there is also the possibility that in sodés we have a remnant of the verb sedan, to affirm.

30. 9. insint? Must we read 7 sint gevordene as gloss to facti sunt, and in as gloss to (or repetition of?) Latin in?

30. 17. þæt he seo. Read, as pointed out in the foot-note, þæt he seo. If the o is not a solitary paving letter—which, see above, p. xxxiii., is not altogether a contradiction in terms—the only explanation to fall back upon is, that an original had heo seo; heo under the influence of the following seo.

31. 14. under should stand over þæt; it is part of the gloss to subdat in l. 15.

34. 7. wurson, gloss to vermis. How verm can be corrupted into wurson I fail to understand. The unfortunate s makes it alike impossible to assume either a mistake of the eye or of the ear.

54. 4. swýrige? The only way out of the difficulty I know is
to assume that scyripsi is somehow or other misread for scyryge, and
that this should be gloss to partiat as well as todælð.
55. 2. pelæs pe hi weyrðan odde gewundode. The first glossator put ð
gevundode over vulnerentur (cf. note to 10. 7). Another added the
auxiliary, and wrote odde for ð.
56. 8. gemedemod, read gemet. Probably med (for met) was found
there first by a copyist, who, not understanding this, or not deeming
it sufficient, put gemed before it. This gemed med was copied out as
gemedemod = temperatur.
58. 4. gesevène. I think we have a remnant here of the rare verb
geseon, for which see Grein, in voce. Also in v. sëon, and Bosworth,
ed. 1838, in v. sëon.
59. 14. for belongs to swyrrian (=swyrrian, cf. Introd., V, § 57), and
an is possibly a wrongly transcribed dittography for na of naht.
61. 2. gehealddenne, gloss to sanentur. Either a copyist found
gehealdenne = gehealde (Introd., V, § 17) or sanentur was glossed by sal-
ventur, and this by gehealddenne. Subsequently this middle gloss was
omitted. This kind of double glossing occurs very frequently, e.g.
in Bouterwek’s Aldhelmglosses (H. Z. 9).
64. 1. anwealdæ is gloss to potestate, and not to voluntate; and in no
way can I suppose anwealdæ to be corrupted from any word meaning
potestas. And the Latin texts T. U. G., i.e. exactly those that agree
most in particulars with our own Latin text, also have voluntate,
whence it is likely that our text must have originally presented this
reading. Otherwise we might suppose our text to have been corrected by
another (which had voluntate), after the original potestate had been
glossed by anwealdæ. Cf. note to 88. 6.
69. 9. frum anginne, as gloss to incipiente. I cannot quite make
this out; we must expect a dative or a nominative (Introd.,
V, § 3) of the present participle. Professor Cosyn suggests fruman
anginne, which is certainly the best I can think of, although it is not
entirely satisfactory.
69. 12. drenc as gloss to musitatio? Several explanations suggest
themselves. d may be a paving letter, in which case rene may stand
for ryne = mysterium, or better still rene = ryne. Cf. Grein in v. riñ.
Cf. Introd., V, § 27. If we take d to be part of the word we may
70. 4. seo wuca þen. If we had not Sievers, § 337, Anm. 2, and supra,
§ 84, to refer to, where other instances from the above text are given,
we might possibly be induced to look upon seo here as a solitary proof
of a feminine origin of our text, which would then be in the same
plight as Schröer’s texts (cf. Die Prosabearbeitungen, p. xxix). But
by these references this phantom vanishes into thin air.
73. 11. belippendan = continuanda. If we may suppose continuanda
to have been misread for concernanda. belippendan would stand for
belippendan (cf. Introd., V, § 39). But this explanation does not
seem entirely satisfactory.
82. 3. This word cannot be otherwise explained as gif forerufad (cf. Introd., V, § 70); gif, as gloss to si, in l. 2.

86. 3. I had thought bigænge to be a dittographical gloss to in itinere, which had got into the wrong place. However, Professor Cosyn suggests that m.g. bigænge=under religious worship, should here be understood. I suspect that we shall have to combine the two explanations, because there is no lemma, which, taken by itself, could occasion the gloss under religious worship (unless it be cum tremore divino?). A copyist put bi gænge in the margin, and another, misled by the frequency of the occurrence of the expression, mid godecumund bigænge, put this over divino. It must, however, be admitted that the train of thought, the association of ideas, may very well have given rise to the error of mistaking these two words (b. g.) for one.

86. 17. egelod, as gloss to condatur. This is the reading of the MS., but we may detach e as a ‘paving letter’ from the body of the word, and thus gelod remains to be explained. The lemma suggests a connection with gelogian (cf. e.g. 98. 15), of which the past part. would be gelogod. This might easily become gelocod (cf. Introd., V, § 68), and this could be contracted into gelod. But since I have no other instances of such ‘contractions’ I prefer to look upon it as a mere scribal error.

88. 6. maed=humilitas, which is in the other texts. Compare for the probable origin the notes to 64, 1; 99, 13.

91. 17. fiand reaf? Perhaps corrupted from fiereld reaf? or from fierdreaf? But, writes Professor Cosyn, what would monks do with those? To add another possibility, I suggest that it is from fot reaf. Cf. the reading of the other texts fotgecadum.

97. 2. habban dretiodinge, as gloss to habita . . . deliberatione. We may perhaps assume habban to be an infinitival gloss (cf. Introd., V, § 3) to a verbal inflection, which would seem to be of rare occurrence, and therefore liable to corruption, and then dretiodinge would be a corruption of ymbriodunge. This can be more easily accounted for if we think of the phenomenon which I discussed in the Introduction (V, § 4).

98. 15, and 100. 1, 2. I have stated, Introd., V, § 93, that I fail to understand these forms. The first o in gelogodre is indistinct; for the verb, cf. note to 86. 17. The only explanation I can think of is, that in each case the r was misread from an original n. This would yield perfectly intelligible forms; and palaeographically speaking, the corruptions are very likely to occur. The puzzling massepurostra for massepurostrum (see note to 100. 10) may be in the same plight.

99. 4. MS. ‘Offerunt de filiis nobilium aut pauperum qui.’ The original must have read,

Offerunt

De filiis nobilium aut pauperum qui.

The copyist read offerunt’ first, although it was meant for the last
word, and not seeing the MS. sign for ur, he copied the word as offerunt.

99. 13. suffectam would seem to be the right reading, although as many as nine other texts have suspectam (C. D. G. H. K. L. S. T. U). At one time or another this must also have been in our text (cf. note to 64. 1), or suffectam must have been misread as suspectam. With this word the gloss corresponds. How little suffectam was understood is proved by the fact that our text would seem to be the only one that had preserved it, since A. O. P. Q. R. have subjectam.

100. 10. mæssepressostrum. In § 36 of the Introd. (V) I have stated that the r was inserted. Professor Gallée, of Utrecht, suggests that the word *preostr may have existed, in which case 1 should have to cancel the above statement. I can only add that, although I have not found any traces of it, it is extremely likely, considering the Greek origin, and the analogue of the Dutch and German form priester. But see note to (98. 15).

108. 7. awýrtlian, a legitimate form for awýrtwalian? The gloss reads as if the lemma were eradicare.

113. 16. uadicre oðde styre. Cp. 115, 12, 17; and 116, 17, and read regoliere wrace, lare oðde styre.

116. 7. asindroðum beboda. As it is not likely that we can look upon beboda as a crude form in the plural (cf. Introd., V, § 3), I suspect that beboda was misread for bebodū = bebodum.