

## A NEWLY DISCOVERED MANUSCRIPT OF THE POEMA MORALE.

### INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. In November 1904 the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, received a valuable bequest of manuscripts, books and objects of art from the late Frank McClean M. A., F. R. S., F. R. A. S. etc. of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Tunbridge Wells. In a MS. of this Collection, the so-called Nuneaton Codex, now MS. McClean 123, I found a hitherto unknown copy of the Poema Morale.

§ 2. MS, 123 (= M) is a small folio written on vellum by a French scribe, 167 mm.  $\times$  262 mm., and bound in the original marocco-covered boards.

§ 3. The contents of the MS. is briefly as follows: —

- (1) ff. 1—7<sup>b</sup> [*T*]ractatus in lingua romana secundum dominum Robertum Grosseteste lincholiensem episcopum de principio creacionis mundi,  
beg. qui bien pence ben puet dire  
ends La uerge sun creatur  
811 lines in two columns.
- (2) ff. 7<sup>b</sup>—9<sup>a</sup> *Prose-treatise on the Pater Noster*,  
beg. pres ceo deuez sauer quels sunt . . .  
ends vus serra done tut sanz demander. Amen.  
229 lines in two columns.  
f. 9<sup>b</sup> blank.
- (3) ff. 10<sup>a</sup>—27<sup>b</sup> *The Gospel of Nichodenus*,  
beg. Nz le honor de la trinite  
ends Deu le me otrie le fiz marie. Amen.  
2193 ll. in two columns.  
ff. 28, 29 blank.

- (4) ff. 30<sup>a</sup>—65<sup>b</sup> *Bestiary of William le Trouwers*  
with thirty seven outline drawings.  
beg. QVi ben comence e ben define  
ends e lur iugement attendrunt. Amen.  
4200 ll. in two columns.
- (5) ff. 66<sup>a</sup>—105<sup>a</sup> *The Apocalypse in Latin and French*,  
edited in Romania XXV. 17 ff.  
f. 105<sup>b</sup> blank.
- (6) ff. 106<sup>a</sup>—107<sup>a</sup> *Officium beate uirginis*  
with music on a five-line staff.  
ff. 107<sup>b</sup>—108 blank.
- (7) f. 109<sup>a</sup> *Seint Austin escrist cest oreisun*,  
beg. Deus propicius esto  
ends In nomine patris et filii et spiriti sancti. Amen.  
25 lines.  
f. 109<sup>b</sup> blank.
- (8) ff. 110<sup>a</sup>—113<sup>a</sup> *Treatise on the Pater Noster*,  
beg. Apres ceo deuez sauer  
ends par sa seynte contemplacion  
329 ll. in 2 columns.  
ff. 113<sup>b</sup>, 114<sup>a</sup> blank.
- (9) f. 114<sup>b</sup> *The names of the symbols p p s r*
- (10) ff. 115<sup>a</sup>—120<sup>a</sup> *The Poema Morale*.  
337 lines.  
ff. 121, 122 fly-leaves.

§ 4. The MS. has been noticed by Paul Meyer in his edition of the 'Version Anglo-Normande de l'Apocalypse', Rom. XXV, 180 f. (1896), but curiously enough he altogether omits to mention the Poema Morale which no doubt accounts for its having remained unknown up to the present date.

§ 5. M. Meyer gives the date of the MS. as 'vers l'an 1300'; Dr. Montague James places it similarly 'about 1300, perhaps a little earlier'. This date refers to nos 1, 3, 6, 9, 10, the remaining parts are in a somewhat later hand.

§ 6. The MS. was in the XV century in the possession of the convent of Nuneaton, Warwickshire, cf. f. 9 'Iste liber constat domine Margarete Sylemoun et disciplas suas. Et post mortem suam couentu de NunEtoun' (1/2 XV cent.); f. 1 'Iste liber constat Alicia Scheyntoun and per ea conventu' (xv century). Another owner was 'John Eyton Kt' (xvi century) f. 113<sup>b</sup>, and according to a pencil-note on f. 1 the volume

was a 'Gift of Mrs Lacy to John Gibson, 8 Oct. 1853'. It afterwards came into the possession of Quaritch, the well-known Piccadilly bookseller, who in his order sold it to Mr. McClean.

§ 7. The poem is written in long lines, 32 lines to the page. The initial letter of each line is somewhat larger and slightly separated from the rest of the line, and as a rule faintly touched with red. The coloured initials intended to stand at the head of the poem and of its subdivisions, have, however, not been inserted, but they are as usual indicated by letters of a smaller size in the margin. Spaces for these initials occur at ll. 1, (3), 21, 33, 99, 149, 207 as indicated in the text.

It is noteworthy that the scribe uses the Anglo-Saxon *p* for *uu* (*w*). That the specifically English signs *þ*, *p*, *z*, *·* were unfamiliar to him is shown by his noting them down on the page facing the first page of the poem, clearly for the sake of easy reference.

§ 8. The dialect of M is Kentish with a strong intermixture of more westerly forms as can be seen from the following characteristics. Cf. Morsbach, *Me. Gram.* §§ 9, 132.

(1) OE. *y*, *ý* appears (a) as *e* in *agelteþ* 279, *beip* 140, *euel(e)* 19, 26, 59, 87, 98, 115 (twice), 122, 164 (twice), 215, *felle* 310, *uelleþ* 278, *felþ* 277, *for gelt* 286, *ileste* 212, *kenne* 321, *kennes* 78, *mankenne* 292, 300, *lefte* 77, *misdede* (pt. pl.) 95, *nele* 117, 283, 298, *nelle* 147, *neste* 96, 211, 232, *netep* 223, *senne* 123, 274, 291, *sennes* 226, *senegede* 244, 261, *unwenne* 192, *vnhed* 153.

(b) as *u* in *agulteþ* 194, *agult* 11, 87, *gult* 158, *gulte* 199, *gultes* 256, 284, *gulteþ* 85, *bugge* 61, *dude* 2, 181, 193, 249, 251, 253, 318, *misdude* 93, *hulle* 309, *kunne* 184, *sunne* 183, 186, 191, 282, *fur* 72, 235, 237. M. has further *muchel* throughout, which, however, is probably, to be explained from OE. *\*mučel*, cf. Morsbach, *op. cit.* §§ 130. a. 4, 133. a. 2.

(c) as *i* (*y*) in *pinche* 46, *pincheþ* 221, *pinčp* 314, *offpinčp* 126, *mankinne* 271, *querrede* 98.

The porportion of the forms with  $e : u : i(y)$  is therefore as 40 : 26 : 6.

The  $e$ -forms proponderate in the rhymes, viz.

$e : e$  *lefte* (OE. *lyft*) : *scefte* (OE. *sceaft*) 77—8.

It is noteworthy that **M** is the only MS. where this rhyme is pure, cf. **T** 83—4 *lofte* : *safte*, **J** *lufte* : *schaft*, **L** *lifte* : *scefte*, **D** *seafte* : *lefte*, **E** *lofte* : *scefte*, **e** *lufte* : *scafte*.

*neste* : *ileste* 212—3.

$u : e$  *sunne* : *unwenne* 191—2, *hulle* : *felle* 309—10.

$i : e$  *mankinne* : *senne* 271—2.

$u : u$  *sunne* : *kunne* 183—4.

(2) The WS. breaking  $ea$ ,  $éa$  before  $l + \text{cons.}$  appears as  $ie$ , initially  $\mathfrak{z}e$  in *hielde* (OE. *healdan*) : *chielde* 217—8, *zælde* (OE. *eald*) : *bihielde* 265—6, *zælde* : *selde* 43—4, *zælde* : *yhelde* 278—8 but

*eld* 6, *eldi* 4, *yhelde* (inf.) 278, *welde* (inf.) : *ihelde* (part.) 52—3.

(3) OE.  $éa$  appears before non-palatals as  $ie$ ,  $\mathfrak{z}e$ - in *lien* (OE. *léan*) 58, *zedi* (OE. *éadiŕ*) 213, *zēþ-lete* (OE. *éaþe*) 70, 144, 243.

(4) OE. initial  $hw$  appears as  $hu$ ,  $hw$  in *huat* 88, 232, *huiche* 132, *huile* 226, *hwo* 320, elsewhere as  $wh$ .

(5) OE.  $f$  initially before a vowel and in the combinations  $fl$ ,  $fr$  has as a rule become  $u$  ( $v$ ) e. g. *vele* 11, 192, *uorzet* 25, *ule* 146, *uram* 98, 220 (twice). The proportion of  $f : u$  ( $v$ ) = 22 : 64.

§ 9. The two first lines of the text printed below form no part of the Poema Morale, they are in fact merely the first stanza of the sermonizing poem *Sinners Beware*, printed in *An Old English Miscellany* (EETS. Orig. Ser. no. 49), p. 72. Cf. Brandl in Paul's Grd.<sup>2</sup> II § 13.

The probable explanation is that both poems occurred in the original from which our present text was copied, and that by some oversight on the part of the scribe he began to transcribe the wrong poem and subsequently made no

attempt to correct his mistake. In MS. 29 Jesus College, Oxford, for instance, the Poema Morale is immediately followed by 'Synners Beware', see EETS. no. 49, pp. 58, 72.

It is, of course, also possible to assume that the lines were placed as a suitable 'motto' at the head of the poem.

Relation of M to the remaining MSS. of the  
Poema Morale.

§ 10. Six MSS. of the Moral Ode were previously, known, viz.

- (1) D = MS. Digby. A. 4, Bodleian Library, Oxford, partly printed by Hickes in his *Thesaurus* I 222, edited by Zupitza, *Anglia* I 5 ff. It differs from all others in being written in short-lined stanzas.
- (2) E = MS. Egerton 613, ff. 7—12<sup>b</sup>, edited by Furnivall *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints* (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1858), by Morris *Old English Homilies*, First Series, II, 288—295, and 175—183 (EETS. no. 34).
- (3) e = MS. Egerton 613, ff. 64—70<sup>b</sup>, practically the same text as E but in a different hand. Printed in Zupitza's *Altenglisches Übungsbuch*.
- (4) J = MS. 29 Jesus College, Oxford, ff. 242—247 now deposited in the Bodleian, printed by Morris *An Old English Miscellany* pp. 58—71 (EETS. 49), reprinted by him in *Specimens of Early English*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., p. 194 ff.
- (5) L = MS. Lambeth 487, ff. 59<sup>b</sup>—65<sup>a</sup>, printed by Morris in *Old Engl. Homilies*, First Series, II, 159—175 (EETS. no. 34). This MS. contains the first 270 lines alone.
- (6) T = MS. Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 14. 52, ff. 2—10, printed by Morris *Old Engl. Homilies*, Second Series, 220—232 (EETS. no. 53) 1873, reprinted in his *Specimens*, p. 195 ff.

A critical edition of the poem has been published by Hermann Lewin, *Das Mittelenglische Poema Morale*, Halle 1881. Cf. Engl. Stud. V 409, Anglia IV, Anz. 88, Egge, Mod. Lang. Notes 1887, no. 1, col. 14.

§ 11. Concerning the *dates* of the above MSS. Zupitza (Anglia I 5 f.) places D at the beginning of the XIII century, for the dating of the others he quotes the opinion of Wanley and the respective editors, whose statements I find, however, to be in some need of correction.

No date at all is assigned to E by either Furnivall or Morris, and concerning e Furnivall merely refers to it as a later copy. Lewin says concerning E and e. 'Beide dürften im anfang des 13. jhdts. entstanden sein.'

The experts of the British Museum Dr. Warner and Mr. J. A. Herbert, who have kindly given me their opinion on this point, assign both E and e to the XIII century and hold e to be *the earlier* of the two, and neither of them to be written especially early in the XIII century.

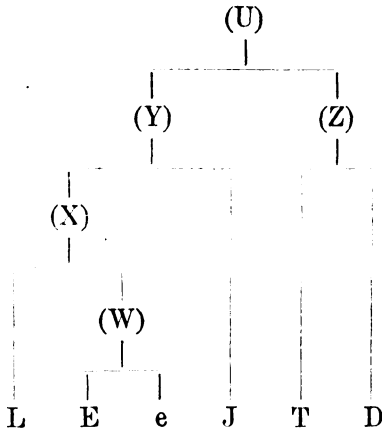
MS. J Morris (EETS. no. 53 p. viii) states to have been written 'about 1246—1250'. It is, however, possible to give a more accurate date, for which I am indebted to Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, the Bodley Librarian. He writes concerning MS. J, 'From f. 217 to the end of the volume is apparently all in one hand, and was certainly written about the same time. It contains a history of Tobias which mentions the then Prior of St. Mary Kenilworth (Gwilleyme): this fixes the date of *composition* at 1276—9, and I believe that to be approximately the date of the writing'.

The same late date would consequently also be assigned to the remaining poems printed by Morris in *An Old English Miscellany* pp. 37—57, 72—191 from our MS. J. fol. 217 ff., viz. from f. 217—242 *The Passion of our Lord*, f. 248 *Sinners Beware*, f. 251<sup>b</sup> ff. *The Woman of Samaria*, *A Luue Ron*, and various other minor poems, f. 262 *The Proverbs of Alfred*, f. 271 ff. *The XI Pains of Hell* and other short religious poems.

T Wanley places 'circa tempora Henrici II aut Ricardi I' (*Catal.* p. 169), that is, between 1154 and 1199; Morris holds that it is later than L but older than J (EETS. 53 p. viii note); Zupitza (*op. cit.* p. 6) that it was probably written not long after 1200. Dr. Montague James in his Catalogue of the Western MSS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, places T in the XIII century, and he has further specified this statement by assigning it to the early years of the century in question, thus confirming Zupitza's view.

L is placed by Wanley p. 266 in the reign of Richard I (1187—99); Morris (EETS., 53, p. viii) holds it to be older than T. Dr. Montague James, who has kindly given me his opinion on the subject, considers it to be late XII or early XIII century, thus confirming Wanley's and Morris's opinions.

§ 12. The relationship of these MSS. has been established by Zupitza in his above-mentioned edition of D (*Anglia* I 32 ff.) in the following way: —



A comparison between M and these previously known MSS. shows that it does not agree with (U) as represented by (Y) or (Z) but must have descended from a different original: —

(a) In the characteristic readings which differentiate (Y) and (Z), M agrees twice with (Z) (ll. 18, 295), five times with

(Y) (ll. 34, 58, 241, 257), in one case with neither (l. 71); in the remaining seven cases noted by Zupitza the corresponding lines are missing. (Cf. *Anglia* I 32.)

	Z	Y	M
(D)	9, 3 mai	nichte	l. 18 mai
"	17, 3 for	<i>om.</i>	" 34 <i>om.</i>
"	30, 3 workes	swinches	" 58 suinches
"	36, 2 ful	swa	" 71 wel
"	37, 1 no ping uorhole	noht forholen nihud	stanza <i>om.</i>
"	66, 2 on oðer	enne dei oðer	line <i>om.</i>
"	77, 4 hidden	wruzen	" "
"	125, 1 lease men	lease	l. 241 lese
"	128, 3 men	sonde	stanza <i>om.</i>
"	135, 1 attliche	laðliche	l. 257 lodlich
"	135, 4 engles	on heuene	" 258 in heuene
"	143, 1 and	<i>om.</i>	stanza <i>om.</i>
"	144, 3 vor naht hi solden bidde per	for nis uoper inne helle	" "
"	156, 2 wið purste	wid chele wid purst	" "
"	160, 1 were	we were	l. 295 were

(b) M has four lines which do not occur in (U) viz. 97—8:

‘Iesu Crist, seinte Marie sone, us alle helpe & rede,  
‘& eueremore yscilde us, uram euele yuerrede.

and 217—18:

‘pe hadde pis worldes egte, & faste gunne hielde,  
‘& hi nolde helpe þar, of þe hungri ne þe chielde.

Of these 97—8, occurring at the end of a section, strongly suggest the ordinary colophon of the pious scribe, and are probably spurious, but as for 217—8 there seems no reason to doubt their originality.

(c) The order of lines in M differs widely from that observed in the MSS. of (U), as can be seen by a glance at the text, where the figures in italics to the right of the text represent the order of lines in T, which is followed with few exceptions by all the other MSS.

The reason for these curious deviations from the usual order can of course only be conjectured. They can scarcely



be put down to the copyist; he would no doubt have found it easier to go straight on than systematically to reverse the order of his original. Considering the great popularity of the Poema Morale it is far more likely that the immediate original of our text, or at all events a copy not far removed from it, was taken down from memory. This would also account for the fact that not less than seventy lines are missing of the ordinary number found for instance in T, viz. ll. 13, 14, 27, 28, 57, 58, 76, 77, 80, 117, 118, 151, 152, 155, 156, 169, 170, 183, 184, 197, 198, 203, 204, 207, 208, 255, 256, 265, 266, 277, 278, 289, 290, 293—302, 325, 326, 327, 330, 331, 332, 369—379, 382, 387—392, 394—6 of MS. T. It might also account for the addition of the first stanza of 'Sinners Beware' (cf. § 9), and for a very considerable number of verbal changes introduced, e. g.

M 88 Huat sculle we come to dome  
T 94 Hwat sulle we seggen oðer don

M 124 To longe he abit, þat suo abit, to bidde Cristes ore.  
T 130 For-þi he is sot þe swo abit to habben godes ore

M 135 þat siggeþ þe, þat were þar, & wite hit mid iwisse.  
T 141 þat habbeþ isaid þe come þanne pit wiste mid iwisse.

M 136 uor ore nihte blisse.  
T 142 for sene nihte blisse.

M 139 & so hi beþ of þe dere  
T 145 swo is of wilde diere

M 152 his workes & his dede.  
T 160 his word and ec his dade.

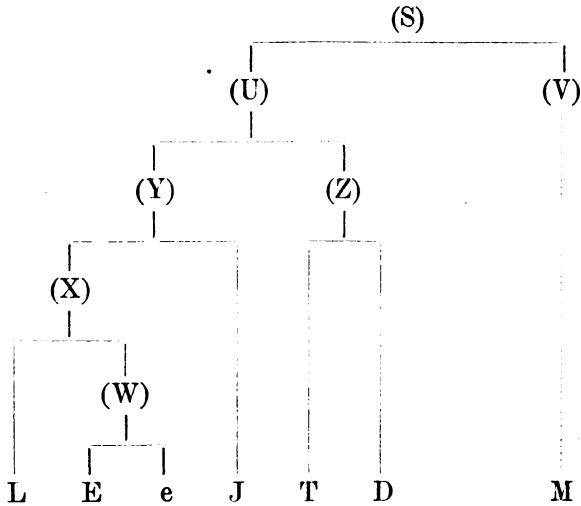
M 172 Ne brecc neuere eft Iesus helle for ham, to bringe ham ut of bende.  
T 182 Brecc nafre eft Crist helle dure for [to] lesen hem of bende.

M 174 Himself he polede dep for us, wel dere he us bozte  
T 186 Him self he polede deað for hem wel diere he hes bohte.

M 175—6 Half-lines transposed

M 210 & 3e hit habbeþ ihurd rede.  
T 228 þar me hit mai rede.

§ 13. From the above it is apparent that the ultimate original of M can hardly have been (U); we therefore assume it to have been (V), in which case (U) and (V) must have had a common source (S). Zupitza's pedigree of the MSS. (see § 12) would therefore be carried one step further back and assume the following shape: —



Of the intervening links between M and (V) nothing can be said with certainty beyond the fact that they must have been numerous, possibly orally transmitted, in order to produce the many variations from the prototype which is more closely preserved in the MSS. of group (U).



- Ne beo þe leuere þane þi self, þi mei ne þi moze; 29(T)  
 Sot is þat is opre mannes frend betere þane his oge.  
 Ne truste wif to hure were, ne were to his wiue;  
 30 Biuore him do wel euerich man, þe while he is aliuē.  
 Vor he is<sup>1)</sup> wis, þat hine biþanch, þe while þat he mot  
 libbe,  
 So sone wlleþ hine uorzete þe uremde & þe sibbe.  
 f. 115b þe wel ne dep þe whil he mai, ne scal he whane he<sup>1)</sup> 35  
 wolde;  
 Manies mannes sor yswinch habbeþ ofte unholde.  
 35 Ne scolde noman don aurst, ne sclakie wel to done;  
 Vor mani man bihoteþ wel, & hit forzet wel sone.  
 Ac pilke man þat wle beo siker to habbe godes blisse,  
 Do wel himself þe while he mai, þanne haueþ he mid 40  
 ywisse.  
 Dis riche men weneþ beo siker þurȝ walles & þurȝ diche;  
 40 Ac þe dep his egte in sikere stede, he hit sent to  
 heueneriche.  
 Vor þar ne darf he ben afered of fure ne of þeue,  
 þar ne mai hit him binime þe loþe ne þe leue.  
 þar ne darf he habbe care of zunge ne of zelde.  
 Þider we sendeþ & us self bereþ to litel & to selde. 46  
 45 þider ze scolde alle don, wolde ze me yleue; 49  
 þar ne miȝte hit us binime king ne no scerreue. 50  
 þider we scolde bere & draze, ofte & wel ylome; 47  
 þar ne miȝte me hit us binime mid none wronge dome. 48  
 Al þat faireste þat man haueþ, to gode he hit scolde 51  
 sende;  
 50 þar he hit miȝte finde eft, & habbe euere bute ende. 52  
 þe man þe his egte wel wile wite, þe while he mai welde, 55  
 Zeue he uor godes loue, þanne beþ hi wel ihelde. 56  
 þe man þat ani god doþ her uor habbe godes ore, 53  
 þar he hit scal finde eft an hundredfelde more. 54  
 55 þe man þat dep her mest to gode & alþre lest to loþe, 61  
 Aiper to litel & to muchel hit scal him þinche boþe,  
 Whane me scal ure wurkes weȝe to uore þe heuenkinge,  
 & zeue us ure suinches lien after ure erni[n]gge.<sup>2)</sup> 64

<sup>1)</sup> above the line in the original scribe's hand.

<sup>2)</sup> Ms. ernigge.

- Ne scal non euel beo unbogt ne no god unzulde; 59(T)  
 60 Euel we doþ al to muchel, god lasse þane we scolde. 60  
 Ac euerich man mid þan þe he haueþ, mai bugge godes 65  
 riche;  
 Þe þe more haueþ & þe þat lasse, boþe iliche.  
 Ase wel þ'on mid his penie, also þe oþer mid his punde  
 (Dis is þat alþre beste ware, þat euere was ifunde);  
 116a 65 & þe þat ne mai namore do, mid is gode þonke  
 Also wel so he þat haueþ of goldes fele monke. 70  
 Vor ofte god kan more þonc him þat him zefþ lasse,  
 Zef his workes & his wezes is milse & rigtwisnesse.  
 Litel loc is gode lef, þat cump of gode wille,  
 70 & zef-lete muchel zeue of him þat his herte is ille.  
 Heuene & erþe he ouersieþ: his ezene beþ wel brizte, 75  
 Sonne & mone, sterre & fur is þestre to-zenes his lizte. (om T)  
 He wot & walt what doþ & queþeþ, alle quike wizte. 78  
 Nis no louerd, suich is Crist, no king suich is ure drizte. 79  
 75 Heuene & erþe god almizti halt al in his honde. 81  
 He deþ al þat his wille is, a watere & a londe.  
 He scuppeþ þe fish in þe seo, þe fozel bi þe lefte.  
 He wot alle kennes þing, he scop alle scefte.  
 & he is ord bute ord, & ende bute ende. 85  
 80 He is one in eueriche stede, wende whider þu wende  
 He is boue & he is bineþe, biuore & bihinde;  
 Þe man þat godeswille deþ, oueral he hine mai finde.  
 Eche rune god ihurþ, god wot ache dede;  
 He þurzsieþ aches mannes þonc. What scal us to rede? 90  
 85 We þat brekeþ godes i[h]jest<sup>1)</sup> & gultþeþ suo ylome,  
 What sculle we sigge oþer do atte heze dome?  
 We þat her habbeþ agult, & euel lif her ladde,  
 Huat sculle we come to dome, þar angles beþ adradde?  
 What sculle we bere us biuore, mid wham sculle we 95  
 yqueme,  
 90 We þat non god ne habbeþ ydo þe heuenliche deme?  
 þar sculle beo deueles suo fele, & wulleþ us forwreie;  
 Ne habbeþ hi noþing forzete, her þat hy yseze.  
 Al þat we misdude her, hi hit us wlleþ cuþe þare  
 Bute we hit habbe her ibet, þe while þat we her were. 100

<sup>1)</sup> Ms. isest.

- 95 Al hi habbeþ in hure write, þat we misdede here; 101(T)  
 Þez we hi neste ne<sup>1)</sup> isege, hi were ure yfere. 102
- f. 116b Iesu Crist seinte Marie sone us alle helpe & rede, (om T)  
 & eueremore yscilde us, uram euele yuerrede. (om T)
- What sculle horlinges do, þe suike & þe forsuorene? 103
- 100 Awi, so fele beoþ icliped, so uewe beoþ ycorene.  
 A wi, what scolde hi bigete, what scolde hi yborene,  
 þat sculle beo to deþe ydo, & eueremore uorlorene?  
 Ac euerich man him selue scal bic[l]ipie<sup>2)</sup> & eke deme,  
 Al his workes & his þoȝt þar to he scal teme. 108
- 105 Euerich man him selue scal deme to d[e]aþe<sup>3)</sup> oþer 115  
 to liue.  
 Ðe witesse of his workes, to oþer þan him scal driue. 116  
 Nis no witesse al so muchel, so is þe mannes herte; 113  
 Ðe man þat saiþ þat he is lame, himself he wot þe smerte. 114  
 Ne mai no man deme þane man also riȝte; 109
- 110 Not non his workes so wel, so wot ure driȝte.  
 Euerich man himself wot best his workes & his wille:  
 Ac þe þat wot lest saiþ ofte mest, & þe þat al wot is stille. 112  
 Ac Crist ne demet nanne man after his ginni[n]gge,<sup>4)</sup> 119  
 Ac al scal beo his lif iteld, such is his endingge.
- 115 Ȝef his ende is euel al, hit is euel, & god, ȝef god beoþ  
 his ende.  
 Iesu Crist leue þat ure ende beo god, & witie þat he  
 us lende.  
 Ac þe þat nele neuere no god do, ne god lif her lede,  
 Ere deþ & dome come to his dore, sore he mai adrede,  
 Ðat he ne muȝe þanne bidde ore, uor þat itit ilome. 125
- 120 Vor-þi he is wis þat ore bit, & bet biuore dome.  
 Vor whane deþ & dome comeþ to his dore, to late he  
 biddeþ ore,  
 To late he letet euele workes, þat ne may hi do namore.  
 Whane senne let þe, & þu naȝt hi, & þu ne miȝt do  
 namore;  
 To longe he abit, þat suo abit, to bidde Cristes ore. 130
- 125 Ac napeles we hit ileueþ, uor driȝten self hit sede:  
 Of whiche time þat man ofþinç his misdede,  
 Oþer raþer oþer later, milse he scal ymete;

<sup>1)</sup> Ms. ne ne.  
 L *biclepie*, E *bi-clepiean*.

<sup>2)</sup> Ms. *bichipie*; DTe *biclepien*, J *bi-cleopien*,  
<sup>3)</sup> Ms. *drape*. <sup>4)</sup> Ms. *ginnigge*.

Ac who-so noþing her nauēþ ibet, muchel he hauēþ to  
bete.

f. 117a Ac mani man saiþ, 'Who recþ of pine, þat scal habbe<sup>135(T)</sup>  
ende?

130 Ne recche ich, beo ich a domesdai ilesed ut of bende'.  
O, lite wot he what is pine, & lite pine he knoweþ,  
Huiche pine þe soule þoleþ, hu biter wind þar bloweþ.  
Vor hadde he þar ibeo, tuo bare tide,  
Vor al þat gold of midelerd, þe þridde he nolde abide. 140

135 þat siggeþ þe, þat were þar, & wite hit mid iwisse:  
Wo wrþe þe sorze of seuezer, uor ore nihte blisse.  
Vor ore blisse þat ende hauēþ, endeles pine:  
Betere is wori wateres drinch, þane atter ime[n]gd<sup>1)</sup>  
mid wine.

Suines brede beþ wel suete, & so hi beþ of þe dere; 145

140 Al to dere he hi beip, þat zeþþ þar-uor his suere.  
Vul wombe mai liztliche speke of hunger & of uaste;  
Suo mai of pine þat not, what hie is, þat euere scal ilaste.  
Hadde he yfounded one stunde, he wolde sigge a-noþer;  
Zeþ-lete him were wif & child, suster vader & broþer 150

145 Eueremore her in wo, & in pine wonie, 153  
Wiþ þan þe he mihte helle pine ule & ysconie. 154  
Vor of þat pine þat þar beoþ, nelle ich zo noþing leze. 291  
Nis hit bute game & gleo her þat þat flesh mai dreze 292  
Of þe dome we<sup>2)</sup> wleþ speke, of whan ich zo er 157  
seide,

150 At þan daie & þan dome, Crist us helpe & rede.  
þar we muze beo afered, & harde us adrede;  
þar euerich man ysieþ biuore his workes & his dede. 160  
Al scal beo þar vnhed, her þat we hele,<sup>3)</sup>  
Al scal beo þar unwrize, her þat man luze & stele.

155 þar we sculle aches mannes lif iknowe ase ure oze.  
þar sculle eueni[n]gges<sup>4)</sup> beo þe heze & þe loze.  
Ne scal him nazt scamie þar, ne darf he him adrede, 165  
He þe ofpuzte her his gult, & bette his misdede.

<sup>1)</sup> Ms. imegd.

<sup>2)</sup> *ich*, crossed out, precedes.

<sup>3)</sup> Ms. unhele, with *un* crossed through and expunged.

<sup>4)</sup> Ms. euenigges.

- Him ne scameþ ne him ne grameþ, þat scal beo i-borege;
- f. 117b 160 Ac þe oþre habbeþ scame & grame & oþre fele sorege. 168(T)  
 Al þat euere ysprungen is of Adam & of Eue, 175  
 To þe dome hi sculle come, forsoþ, ze hit yleue. 176  
 Hi sculle habbe hardne dom, þat her were harde, 171  
 De euele helde poure men & euele laze arerde.
- 165 Euerich after þan þe he haueþ ido, he scal þar beo  
 ydemed.  
 Welle blipe mai he beo, þat gode her haueþ iquemed. 174  
 Do þat gode iserued habbeþ, after hare migte, 177  
 Hi sculle to heueneriche fare, uorþ mid ure drizte.  
 Þe oþre þat þe deueles worc habbeþ ido, & þar inne  
 beoþ ifunde,
- 170 Hi sculle falle adun mid him into hel[1]e<sup>2)</sup> grunde. 180  
 & þare hi sculle wonie eueremore bute ende;  
 Ne brecþ neuere eft Iesus helle for ham, to bringe ham 182  
 ut of bende.  
 Enes ure louerd helle brac, his frend he ut brogte; 185  
 Himself he polede deþ for us, wel dere he us bogte. 186
- 175 Nolde hit fader do for þe sune, ne suster uor þe broþer, 188  
 Ne hit moze uor þe mei, ne noman uor oþer. 187  
 Vneþe we zeueþ for his loue a stecche of ure brede; 191  
 Lite we þencheþ þat he scal deme, þe quickewe & þe dede. 192  
 Vre louerd uor his preles, ipined was on þe rode. 189
- 180 Vre bendes he unbond, & bogte us mid his blode. 190  
 Muchel he dude for ure loue, zef we hit wolde understonde. 193  
 Ac þat þe ure eldringes misdede, we hit habbeþ wel 194  
 harde on honde.<sup>1)</sup>  
 & lite þencheþ ani man, hu lite was þe sunne, 205  
 þurȝ whan we þolieþ alle deþ, þe come of Adammes 206  
 kunne.
- 185 Deþ com in þis midelerd þurȝ þes deueles onde; 195  
 Sunne & sorege & i-suinch<sup>3)</sup>, a watere & a londe. 196  
 þurst & hunger, chele & hete, eche & unhelpe, 200  
 þurȝ deþ com in þis midelerd, & manie oþre unselpe.  
 Elles nere no man died, ne sike ne unsele, 202
- 190 Ac migte libbe eueremore in blisse & in hele.  
 Adam & his offsprenȝ uor ore bare sunne 211

<sup>1)</sup> above the line.<sup>2)</sup> Ms. hele.<sup>3)</sup> Ms. in suinch.



- f. 118 a
- Were uele hundred wintre in helle pine & in unwenne.<sup>212(T)</sup>  
 & suppe god dude so muchel wreche<sup>1)</sup> uor ore misdede, 209  
 We, þat so ylome & ofte agulteþ her, wel sore we maie 210  
 a-drede.
- 195 & þe þat ledeþ hare lif mid werre & mid y-wronge, 213  
 Bute hit godes milse do, hi sculle beo þar wel longe.  
 Godes wisdom is wel muchel & so beþ his mizte; 215  
 Nis his mizte no lasse þane was þo bi þan ilke wizte.  
 More he one mai uorzeue, þane al uolk gulte kunne;  
 200 þe selue deuel mizte hadde milse, zef he hit hadde bigunne.  
 þe man þe godes milse isecþ, iwis he hit scal finde;  
 Ac helle king is oreles wiþ þan þat he mai binde. 220  
 þe þat deþ his wille best, wrst he haueþ mede:  
 His baþ scal beo wallinde pich, his bed berninde glede.  
 205 Wrst he deþ<sup>2)</sup> his godewines, þane his fulle uende.  
 Iesu Crist us iscilde alle fram suiche euele frende.  
 Neuere in helle ich ne com, ne neuere come ne recche, 225  
 Þaz ich al þes worldes wele, þar inne<sup>3)</sup> wende uecche.  
 Ac þez ich wlle zo telle, ase wise men me seide,  
 210 & on boc hit is iwrite, & ze hit habbeþ ihurd rede.  
 & ich hit wlle telle us, þat hit er neste,  
 & warni us wiþ unureme, zef ze me wlleþ ileste. 230  
 Vnderstondeþ nu to me, zedi men & arege<sup>4)</sup>,  
 & ich ou wille telle of helle pine, & warni us wiþ harme.  
 215 In helle is hunger & þurst, wel euele tuo iuere;  
 þos pine sculle þolie þar, þat were niþinges here, 234  
 þe hadde þis worldes ezte, & faste gunne hielde, (om T)  
 & hi nolde helpe þar, of þe hungri ne þe chielde. (om T)  
 þar is woninge & wop in eueriche strete, 235  
 220 Hi uareþ uram hete to þe chele, uram chele to þe hete.  
 Whane hi beoþ in hete, þe chele ham þincheþ blisse;  
 Whane hi beoþ in þe chele, of þar hete hi habbeþ misse. 238  
 Netep hi neuere whaþer ham doþ wrs, to neuere none 240  
 ywisse;  
 Aiþer ham doþ wo inoz, ne habbeþ hi none lisse. 239  
 f. 118 b 225 Hi walkeþ euere & secheþ reste, ac hi ne muze ymete, 241  
 Vor þan þe hi nolde þe huile hi mizte hure sennes bete.

<sup>1)</sup> above the line.  
 erasure of one letter *m* (?).

<sup>2)</sup> he deþ twice.

<sup>3)</sup> *inne* preceded by

<sup>4)</sup> *arme* in the other Mss.

- Hi secheþ reste þar non nis, & hi ne muze non þar finde;  
 Ac walkeþ weri vp & dun, suo water dop mid þe winde.  
 þos beoþ þe þat were her of þonke unstedeuaste, 245(T)
- 230 þe þe bihete Iesu Crist, & nolde him ylaste,  
 þe þat god wrc bigunne, & fulendi hit nolde,  
 & were her & while þar, & neste huat hi wolde.  
 þar is þat pich þat euere walþ, þat sculle þe beo inne,  
 þe þat ladde hure lif, mid werre & mid ywinne. 250
- 235 þar is þat fur þat is hundredfelde hatter þane vre:  
 Not hit noþer aquenche, Auene strem ne Sture.  
 þat is þat fur þat euere barnþ, þat noþing ne mot  
 aquenche.
- þe sculle beo inne þe were lef poure men to suenche, 254  
 & þe þe louede reuing & stale & unmetliche drunke, 257
- 240 & ec in þes deueles work suo blepeliche swonke;  
 þe þe were so lese, þat me ne migte ham yleue,  
 Med-gerne domesman & wrongewise reue; 260  
 þe þe was oþre mannes wiues lef, his ozen geþ-lete,  
 & senezede blupeliche on drunke & on ete;
- 245 þe þat poure men binome & leide in hare horde,  
 & litel lete of godes hest & of godes worde; 264  
 þe þe were ge[t]seres<sup>1)</sup> of þisse world e[ʒ]te<sup>2)</sup>, 271  
 & dude al þat þe loþe gost hem tizte do & tezte; 272  
 þe þe was oþre mannes god leuere þane him scolde, 267
- 250 & were al to gredi of selure & of golde;  
 & vnriʒ[t]wisnesse<sup>3)</sup> dude þar hi scolde beo holde,  
 Lete what hi scolde do, & dude þat hi ne scolde; 270  
 þe þat in alle wise þe deuele her iquemde, 273  
 þo beoþ in helle mid him uor-done & uordemde,
- 255 Bute þe þat o[f]þuzte<sup>4)</sup> sore hure misdede,  
 & hure gultes gunne bete & betere lif lede. 276
- f. 119 a þar beoþ lodlich fend in stronge raketeze, 283  
 þos beoþ þe þat were mid gode in heuene swiþe heze.  
 þar beoþ grisliche fend & aterliche wizte,
- 260 þe sculle þe wrecche saule iseo, þat senezede mid isizte. 286  
 Neuere sunne þar ne scinþ ne mone ne sturre, 279  
 Euere þar is muchel godes hate & muchel godes erre. 280  
 Euere þar is muchel smich & þusternesse & eie,

<sup>1)</sup> Ms. zeseres.<sup>2)</sup> Ms. unriʒwisnesse.<sup>3)</sup> Ms. este; *aihte* T J, *echte* L E e, *eʒte* D.<sup>4)</sup> Ms. ofþuzte.

Ne com þar neuere oper ligȝ, þane of þe suarte leye. 282(T)  
 265 þar is þe loþe Sathanas & Belzebuc þe zelde, 287  
 Welle sore hi muȝe ben afered, þat suiche sculle bihieldē. 288  
 Scilde him euerich man wiþ þe helle pine, 303  
 Warni euerich man his frend, & suo ich wille do mine.  
 & þe þat scilde ham ne cunne, þis ham wile teche, 305  
 270 Þis word may aiþer, ȝef hi sculle, beo lichames & saule  
 leche.

Lete we þat god forbet alle mankinne;  
 Do we þat god us het & werie us wiþ senne.  
 Louie god mid herte & mid al ure miȝte.  
 & vre nexte al suo us self, suo us het ure driȝte. 310  
 275 Al þat me redeþ & sincþ biuore godes borde,  
 Al hit hongep & halt bi þe ilke tuam worde.  
 & alle godes laȝe he felþ, þe niwe laȝe & þe zelde,  
 þe þis laȝe uelleþ & can hi wel yhelde.  
 Ac strong hie is to yhelde, so ofte we ageleþ alle; 315  
 280 Strong hit is to stonde longe & ligȝ hit is to falle.  
 Ac Crist us ȝeue his miȝte, stonde þat we mote,  
 & of alle ure sunne, leue us come to bote.  
 We wilniþ after worldes wel, þat lange nele ileste.  
 & leggeþ muchel ure suinch, in þing unstedeuaste. 320  
 285 Suonke we uor godes loue, also we doþ uor eȝte,  
 Nere we noþing suo ofte forgelt ne bi[k]eȝte.<sup>1)</sup>  
 & ȝef we seruēde gode, alsuo we doþ ermi[n]gges,<sup>2)</sup>  
 We miȝte in heuene hadde al so muche ase erles oper 324  
 kinges.

f. 119b Vor almiȝti godes loue, wute we us werie, 337  
 290 Wiþ þe wrecche worldes wele, þat hie us ne derie.  
 Mid almesse, mid ibede, werie us wiþ senne,  
 Mid þe wepne þat god almiȝti biteȝte alle mankenne. 340  
 We scolde us bipenche, ofte & wel ylome, 328  
 What we bep, to whan we sculle, & whar of we come; 329  
 295 ȝef [we]<sup>3)</sup> were wisemen, þus we scolde þenche, 333  
 & bute we wrþe us iwar, þe uorlȝ us wle adrenche.

<sup>1)</sup> Ms. *bipeȝte* (?) the third letter being more like a *p* than anything else. *bi-keihte* T, *bikaȝte* D, *bicauhte* Ee, *by-pouhte* J.

<sup>2)</sup> Ms. *ermigges*.

<sup>3)</sup> Ee J.

- Mest manne hie zeueþ drinch of one duole scenche;  
 He scal him cunne scilde wel, ȝef hie him nele screnche. 336(T)  
 Lete we þe brode strete & þane wei bene, 341  
 300 *Dat* let *þat* nizende del to helle of mankenne & mor ase <sup>1)</sup>  
 ich wene.  
 Nime we þane narewe paþ & þane wey grene,  
 þar forþ farþ wel litel folc, & þat is þe worlde on-sene.  
 þe brode stret is ure wil, he is us loþ to lete; 345  
 þe þat folȝeþ al hare wil, hi fareþ mid þe ilke strete.  
 305 Hi muȝe liztliche go mid þar niþer-helde  
 þurȝut þe godlese wode in to þe bare felde.  
 þe narewe paþ is godes heste, ac þare uorþ uareþ wel  
 uewe;  
 & þis beoþ þe þat scildeþ ham her wiþ euerich unþewe. 350  
 þos goþ aȝenes þe heȝe clif, aȝenes þe heȝe hulle,  
 310 Hi leteþ al hure oȝe wil godes hesne to felle.  
 Go we alle in þilke paþ, & he us wule bringe  
 Mid þe uewe uaire men biuore þe heuenkinge.  
 þar is blissene mest mid anglene songe, 355  
 þe *þat* is uele hundred wintre þar, ne þincþ hit hi naȝt 356  
 longe.  
 315 *Mai* non hunger ne no wane beo in godesriche, 359  
 þar beoþ wonie[n]gges <sup>2)</sup> fele & ech oþer unliche. 360  
 Sum þar haueþ lasse murcþe & sum þar haueþ more;  
 Euere after *þat þat* he dude <sup>3)</sup> her, of *þat* þe he bisuanc 362  
 sore.  
 & þe *þat* haueþ lest, he <sup>4)</sup> haueþ suo muche, *þat* he ne 357  
 bit nammore;  
 320 Hwo se let þe blisse uor þes, hit scal him rewe sore. 358  
 f. 120a Ne scal þar beo noþer bred ne win, ne oþre kenne este; 363  
 God scal beo eueriches lif, blisse, & eke reste.  
 Ne scal þar beo noþer fog ne grei, cunig ne ermine, 365  
 O-kerne ne martrin, beuer ne sabeline.  
 325 Ne scal þar beo noþer schat ne scrud, ne worldes wele  
 none,  
 Al þe blisse *þat* me us bihot, al hit scal beo god one. 368  
 God is suo mer & suo muchel in his godnesse, 393

<sup>1)</sup> Ms. past; *mo ich wene* JDEe, *me mai wene* T. <sup>2)</sup> Ms. woniegges.  
<sup>3)</sup> Ms. þ dude. <sup>4)</sup> Ms. he he.

	þat he mai & wule beo anglene blisse.	380(T)
	Ac þeȝ ne beoþ ure eȝene alle iliche briȝte.	381
330	He in þis worlde nere naȝt alle of one miȝte,	383
	þar ne sculle naȝt habbe god al mid one wiȝte.	
	Hi sculle more of him wite þe louede hine more,	
	& biknowe & byseo his milse & his ore.	386
	To þare blisse us bringe god þat ricscleþ ay bute ende,	397
335	Whane he ure saule unbint of lichamliche bende.	
	Crist us leue lede suich lif & habbe suicchne ende,	
	þat we mote to him come, whane we henne wende.	400
	Amen.	

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