

392

LUTWIN'S EVA UND ADAM

A Study and Edition of the Poem  
from Codex Vindobonensis 2980

by

Mary Elizabeth Halford-MacLeod

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
of the University of Stirling

May 1981

Graduation: February 1982

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	III
Abbreviations	V
INTRODUCTION TO LUTWIN'S <u>EVA UND ADAM</u>	
I. The Study of Lutwin's <u>Eva und Adam</u>	2
II. The Source	17
III. The Narrator and his Text	35
IV. Text and Illustration	75
TEXT AND TRANSLATION	
Introduction to Text and Translation	114
Abbreviations in the Apparatus	119
TEXT	120
TRANSLATION	248
Notes to Text and Translation	304
APPENDIX I. Illustrations from Codex Vindob.2980	313
APPENDIX II. Manuscripts of the <u>Vita Adae et Evae</u>	329
BIBLIOGRAPHY	346

## PREFACE

Exactly a hundred years after the publication of Lutwin's Eua und Adam for the first time, this study hopes to revive interest in a work which can be regarded as part of an important European literary tradition: the translation into the vernacular of the Latin apocryphal account of the postlapsarian lives of Adam and Eve. In view of this a translation into English of the Middle High German text has been included, in order to assist in the comparison of the various versions of the legends in the vernacular. In recent years translations have been made of Old Irish and Old French versions but not of any of the Middle High German versions. Of these Lutwin's poem is the most extensive and arguably the most interesting. A late copy of the work is all that has come down to us, but the mid-fifteenth century Codex Vindob.2980 contains twenty-nine illustrations which occupy a virtually unique place within Adam and Eve iconography and need no justification for their inclusion in this study.

I am indebted to Dr. Brian Murdoch who first drew my attention to the topic and has since supervised my studies most conscientiously. I also wish to thank Rosemary Muir-Wright of the Fine Art Department, University of Stirling and Dr. Rudolf Simek of the German Institute of the University of Vienna for their practical comments and assistance. My thanks are due to the Manuscript Department of the National Library in Vienna both for permitting me to study the manuscript and for providing me with a microfilm copy.

Part of this study was published last year as volume 303 of the Göppingen Arbeiten zur Germanistik under the title of Illustration and Text in Lutwin's 'Eua und Adam'. Codex Vindob. 2980. This appears here with some alterations and revisions as Part IV of the Introduction. I am grateful to Professor Ulrich Müller of Salzburg University for both accepting the work in his series and for his ready assistance in preparing all twenty-nine illustrations for publication for the first time. Photocopies of the illustrations have been included in Appendix I for the

convenience of immediate reference but are inevitably inferior in quality to those in the monograph. The list of manuscripts in Appendix II has been accepted for publication by the editors of Neuphilologische Mitteilungen and will be entitled "The Apocryphal 'Vita Aadae et Evae': Some Comments on the Manuscript Tradition."

I owe much to the patience and support of my friends and family, above all to my parents to whom this work is dedicated. Finally, albeit more recently, special thanks are due to my husband, Peter, whose encouragement and advice made the completion of this study possible.

Edinburgh/Stirling

May, 1981

M.E.H.-M.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AfdA</u>	<u>Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur</u>
CCSL	<u>Corpus Christianorum, series Latina</u> Steenbrugge, 1954-.
<u>DVJS</u>	<u>Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte</u>
GAG	Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik
LCI/F	<u>Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie.</u> Ed. E.Kirschbaum. Freiburg, 1968-72.
LCI/W	<u>Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie.</u> Ed. H.Aurenhammer. Vienna, 1959-67.
<u>MLR</u>	<u>Modern Language Review</u>
PL	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus ... series Latina</u> Ed. J.P.Migne. Paris, 1844-64.
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</u>
RDK	<u>Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte</u> Ed. O.Schmitt. Stuttgart, 1937-.
VA	"Vita Adae et Evae". Ed. W.Meyer. <u>Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften philos.-philol. Klasse 14/III (1878)</u> , 221-50.
VL	<u>Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon.</u> Ed. W.Stammler. 5 vols. Berlin and Leipzig, 1933-55; III-V ed. K.Langosch; 2nd ed. K.Ruh, Berlin, 1977-.
<u>ZfdA</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum</u>
<u>ZfdPh</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie</u>

Lutwin's Eua und Adam is cited by line-reference to the edition that forms part of this study. In these citations emendations to the text are distinguished by being enclosed in brackets.

INTRODUCTION  
TO LUTWIN'S EVA UND ADAM

## I. THE STUDY OF LUTWIN'S EVA UND ADAM

Lutwin's Eva und Adam was edited and published by Konrad Hofmann and Wilhelm Meyer in 1881.<sup>1</sup> Before then little attention had been paid to the work. F. von der Hagen and J.G. Busching first mention it in their Literarischer Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Poesie of 1812, where a few of the opening verses and the closing nineteen are given, the latter being briefly explained as referring to the Holy Rood legend.<sup>2</sup> K. Goedeke, in his Deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter sixty years later, seems to regard the poem as a full account of Genesis chapters I-IV (from the Creation to the Flood) rather than as a narrative about the proto-plasts. Goedeke does not comment on the non-biblical nature of the work until a later edition.<sup>3</sup> The first opinion regarding its literary value was voiced by M. Haupt in 1872 who, while pointing out an interesting motif, nevertheless condemns it as an<sup>4</sup>:

... armselige[s] gedicht das sonst fast nichts merkwürdiges enthält und keinen abdruck verdient.

Six years later, in the introduction to his edition of the Latin Vita Adae et Evae, Meyer expresses the opposite view and gives two reasons for publishing the work<sup>5</sup>:

... denn der Dichter gehört zu den besseren jener Zeit. Er ist nicht ein getreuer Uebersetzer des lateinischen Textes, sondern er steht über demselben und verändert ihn öfters und meistens nicht ungeschickt; darzu ist die Darstellung ziemlich lebhaft.

Meyer made a significant contribution to scholarship in recognizing the importance of the Adam-apocrypha for the Middle Ages and in bringing to light some of the many vernacular versions which testify to their popularity. These legends which tell of the life of the proto-plasts after their expulsion from paradise provide details to supplement the brevity of the biblical account and were, along with many other apocryphal writings, held in high esteem.<sup>6</sup> The Latin version of the Christian Adambooks, which are probably of Jewish origin, is the so-called Vita Adae et Evae<sup>7</sup> which is thought to have emerged in the fourth century and is the direct source of most European versions in the vernacular. At least thirty manuscripts containing the Vita Adae et Evae were known to Meyer when he edited it in 1878. Since then other scholars have referred to over twenty more, and in the course of the present

study seventeen further manuscripts have come to light. There must be more. Meyer's edition is a collation of German manuscripts dating from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. Many of the other manuscripts which have been found were written in other countries, and Meyer's classification of his manuscripts has proved to be both limited and a little misleading. It appears necessary, however, in view of later discussion of Lutwin's work to explain Meyer's classification and in so doing to outline the narrative of the Vita Adae et Evae, even though this has been done before.<sup>8</sup>

Meyer's first class contains the basic elements of the legend which are as follows: after their expulsion from paradise Adam and Eve are hungry and search in vain for food. Eve is in despair, and Adam suggests that they both do penance in the hope that God will forgive them. She is to stand in the Tigris for thirty-seven days, while he stands in the Jordan for forty days. At Adam's request the Jordan stops flowing, and the fish help him to pray. After eighteen days Satan goes to Eve in the guise of an angel and persuades her to break off her penance by assuring her that God has forgiven them both. Adam, however, instantly recognizes the devil and demands to know why he persists in persecuting them. Satan explains that when he was the Archangel Lucifer he was ordered to worship the image of God in Man, but, on contemptuously refusing, Satan and his sympathisers were cast out of heaven for seeking to set him up as high as God. Therefore his temptation of Eve was his revenge on Adam. After Adam has completed his penance, Eve is so overcome by shame that she leaves him. As her time comes to give birth to their first child, Eve calls in vain upon God and then upon the sun and the stars to restore Adam to her. The rising sun tells Adam of her plight, and Adam, reunited with her, intercedes on her behalf with God who sends Michael and twelve angels to assist at the birth. Cain is born and immediately brings his mother food. An angel teaches Adam how to till the ground. Abel is born, but Eve's ominous dream and Adam's decision to give the brothers separate duties fail to avert Abel's death at the hands of Cain. Seth is born and is followed by thirty sons and thirty daughters. Adam tells Seth how he was once miraculously transported to paradise and told that he must die, although God also comforted him by promising that Adam's descendants would be allowed



to serve God. Adam lives to be nine hundred and thirty years old and then falls ill and explains to his children how God, at the time of Adam's fall from grace, had said he would inflict seventy maladies upon him. Eve is full of grief and wishes to share his pain. He finally asks her and Seth to go to paradise and beg for the Oil of Mercy. On their way Seth is attacked by the Serpent which only departs when Seth curses it. Mother and son do penance before the gates of paradise, where Michael tells them that their request cannot be granted, but that in five thousand and five hundred years time the Son of God will be baptized in the Jordan and will anoint with the Oil of Mercy all those who believe in him. He will also descend into hell and redeem Adam who is to die six days after Seth's return. They return to Adam with four herbs from paradise, but Adam reproaches Eve for her part in their fall and dies. The sun and moon darken, and Eve and the children mourn. God appears and promises to redeem Adam, who with Abel is buried by the angels with great ceremony. Before Eve dies, she directs her children to record their history on tablets for posterity. She is buried beside Adam and mourned until Michael appears and tells the children not to mourn longer than six days. Seth then makes the tablets.

Meyer's second class has two interpolations: Adam also tells Seth the secrets which were revealed to him when he ate from the tree of knowledge, and at the end it is related how Solomon found Seth's tablets. The third class has the first of these interpolations and ends with the legend of the Holy Rood. Instead of the herbs, Seth, as he leaves paradise, is given a twig with three leaves from the tree of knowledge. This he drops by mistake in the Jordan, but when Adam hears of it, he rejoices. Seth retrieves the twig and plants it at the head of his father's grave. It grows into a tree which is later found by a number of Old Testament figures and is finally used for the wood of the Cross.

After some deliberation Meyer concludes that Lutwin must have known Class I and III, possibly in a mixed version containing both.<sup>9</sup> Since Meyer is restricted to these manuscripts alone, he sees any divergence on the part of Lutwin as proof of his independence from his sources, a point to which he attaches much importance. Apart from the poet's own discursive passages, Meyer considers the

following passages to be innovations on Lutwin's part: the material from the Vita Adae et Evae is preceded by the Genesis account of the Fall; Eve leaves Adam in anger, because he prefers paradise to their love; the Genesis account of Cain and Abel follows Eve's dream; Eve's grief is emphasized in her laments over Adam; Michael's admonition on mourning is given earlier; and Seth journeys twice to paradise.

The main elements of Lutwin's narrative are as follows. The first quarter of the work deals with the Creation, Fall, and Expulsion with a description of the four rivers of paradise and an explanation of the names given to the protoplasts. Genesis chapters II to III are followed quite closely, but nearly half of this section contains discursive passages by the narrator. The retelling of the Vita Adae et Evae begins at line 811 and is adhered to closely: Adam and Eve decide to do penance; Eve is persuaded by the Devil to stop; the Devil explains his fall from grace; Cain is born; Cain kills Abel; Adam talks to Seth; Adam falls ill; Seth and Eve journey to paradise and return with an olive-branch; Adam dies and is buried; and Eve's prophecy and death mark the end of this legend. The poem, however, continues with Seth's second journey to paradise and his return with an apple-branch, and ends with the Flood, where the dove brings Noah a branch from the olive-tree growing out of Adam's grave. The Vita is episodic in nature, and Lutwin follows his source and adapts or expands those parts that interest him most: Eve's second fall is interrupted by an excursus directed at men and women on the problems of selecting a suitable spouse; the circumstances of Cain's conception (ignored in the Vita) and birth are described in detail; the promise of redemption is stressed in the telling of the legend of the Holy Rood; and the significance of the Fall for mankind is considered in the passages relating Eve's grief for the dead Adam.

The only known copy of Eva und Adam is in the National Library in Vienna (Cod ex Vind.2980), and the manuscript dates from the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>10</sup> In his "Textkritik" to the edition Meyer attributes the difficulties with which he was faced to the carelessness of the copyist<sup>11</sup>:

Die Handschrift ist nemlich entstellt durch Verderbnisse aller Art, von den natürlichsten Versehen bis zu schlimm-

en Interpolationen. Besonders die Nachlässigkeit und Gedankenlosigkeit des Schreibers hat viel Schaden angerichtet.

The editor's decision to retain the orthography and linguistic inconsistencies of the sole manuscript and to make emendations where he considered the sense of the original to be affected has been generally applauded. E. Steinmeyer and R. Sprenger contribute further emendations of their own. Sprenger also draws attention to the pure rhymes of the couplets which, he claims, show that "das Gedicht noch der besseren Zeit, jedenfalls noch dem 13. Jh. angehört."<sup>12</sup> Yet opinions diverge concerning Lutwin's knowledge of other poets. Sprenger views his knowledge of Hartmann, Wolfram, and Konrad Fleck in a positive light, while K. Bartsch assumes that Lutwin was a beginner trying to copy Wolfram.<sup>13</sup> Steinmeyer was able to show that Lutwin borrowed ideas and phrases from Wirnt von Gravenberg's Wigalois (from which work Lutwin appears to have adopted the technique of ending speeches and sections with rhyming triplets) and that he adapted two passages from Konrad von Heimesfurt's Mariā Himmelfahrt. Steinmeyer concludes<sup>14</sup>:

Zieht man von Liutwins Leistung ab was er diesen seinen Vorbildern verdankte und was er seinen lateinischen Quellen entnahm, so bleibt in der Tat nur ein armseliges Rest übrig.

This remark was clearly meant to counter Meyer's insistence on the independent nature of Lutwin's work. However, J. Seemüller in 1907 makes a point about originality which later scholars writing on Lutwin also take into consideration<sup>15</sup>:

Die meistens eng begrenzte Individualität mittelhochdeutscher Schriftsteller kann oft besser an dem Stoffe, den sie sich wählten, an der Art der Quelle, die sie zu seiner Bearbeitung benutzten, gemessen werden, als in der grösseren oder geringeren Freiheit, mit der sie ihrer Quelle gegenüberstehen.

Seemüller observes that Lutwin's courtly model, Wigalois, "ist nicht übel gewählt" and goes on to make favourable comparison between Lutwin and Johannes von Frankenstein, author of the Kreuziger<sup>16</sup>:

... jener wählt den Passionsstoff, zu seiner Bearbeitung aber eine Quelle, die seine epischen Elemente zerstört und exegetische Kleinlichkeiten vollständig überwuchern lässt; dieser wählt ebenfalls einen geistlichen, aber

mit sagenhaften Elementen geschmückten Vorwurf, und eine Quelle, die dem Bearbeiter epische Haltung ermöglichte: Liutwin hat viel engere Beziehungen zu dem Publikum, für das er schreibt; er nimmt in Erzählung wie in Reflexion Rücksicht auf dieses.

For over twenty years Eva und Adam was largely ignored, until A.C.Dunstan's studies on the English versions of the Vita Adae et Evae led him to compare the work with a number of English manuscripts of the Latin text collated and edited by J.H.Mozley.<sup>17</sup> Dunstan was able to show instances where Lutwin departs from Meyer's texts in details which are, however, present in Mozley's, and that the naming of Adam, the description of the four rivers of paradise, the Biblical account of the Fall and of the Cain and Abel story are also included in other vernacular versions. Dunstan's thesis is that in the Middle Ages originality was not to be expected of the poet who was reworking religious themes from Latin sources and that " deliberate alteration should be our last hypothesis, not our first."<sup>18</sup> He concludes that Lutwin's source was not one of Meyer's texts and that Lutwin probably followed his source closely.

The aim of G.Eis' study of Lutwin is rather different in approach, although he also concentrates on the source<sup>19</sup>:

Ich möchte nur über Lutwins Heimat und Lebenszeit die Ergebnisse meines Nachforschens vorlegen sowie Meyers Erkenntnisse über die Quellen für die deutsche Adamslegende verjagen und ergänzen und dem Werke seinen Platz im deutschen Dichterwald des Mittelalters zuweisen.

Eis' main concern in 1935 is to prove that during the later Middle Ages Bohemia was an important contributor to the field of German religious poetry. Accordingly, he deduces from the rhymes (and provides a rhyme index) that the poet was an Austrian who had settled in Bohemia, and he identifies him with a clerk named Leutwin who is mentioned in a document of 1300 concerning the Cistercian monastery at Sedletz near Kuttenberg. The first half of the study seeks to show that this Leutwin lived in a milieu which fostered literary creativity and that the poet himself indicates that he had turned his back upon the world and was seeking refuge in God. The poet gives no autobiographical details at all, but Eis attributes a gloomy view of life to personal misfortunes and disappointments and suggests that an unhappy

marriage was responsible for his misogynist views.<sup>20</sup> Eis also surmises that the pre-Christian Adambook " mit seiner düsteren Vorstellung eines unerbittlichen Gottes seinem unfrohen Sinn besonders zusagte."<sup>21</sup>

In specific support of his views on the geographical provenance of the work, Eis claims that the direct source of Lutwin's work was the version of Vita Adae et Evae to be found in the Austrian legendary, the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum, the text of which he also publishes. But while dismissing much of Dunstan's evidence as insubstantial, he is forced to conclude that the poet must also have known a version of Meyer's Class III which had details in common with the English manuscripts. Eis appears to support Meyer's assertions of Lutwin's originality but considers that he was writing his first work, since most of his literary borrowings occur in the first quarter of the poem where he is without a main source. He also detects the influence of a possible compatriot, Heinrich von Freiberg, in a comparison of his Gedicht vom Heiligen Kreuz with Seth's second journey to paradise. Eis' study of Lutwin is the most extensive so far but it offers little in the way of genuine literary evaluation.

A few years later Dunstan set out to prove that Eis' evidence of the poem being based on the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum rather than any other version of the Vita was inconclusive. He maintains that<sup>22</sup>:

Lutwin's poem contains much that is common to the texts of Meyer, Mozley, and MLA [=Magnum Legendarium Austriacum], and contains a little found only in each one of these groups. The evidence of other translations, e.g. the Middle English versions, suggests that Lutwin found in his source matter contained in none of the printed texts.

Since then, little attention has been paid to the source, although the opposing views of Dunstan and Eis are usually pointed out, and G.Miksch<sup>23</sup> and F.Ohly<sup>24</sup> accept those of the latter. B.Murdoch, however, finds Eis' illustrations " neither quantitatively nor qualitatively convincing."<sup>25</sup>

Reference works on the Middle Ages offer little in the way of literary evaluation of Lutwin's Eva und Adam. Of the literary historians P.Piper<sup>26</sup> refers to the work only in connection with the Vita Adae et Evae, and J.Kelle<sup>27</sup> mentions it but briefly in his

notes while discussing the Anegenge. G.Ehrismann recognizes the thematic importance of the poem but apart from referring to Lutwin's dependency on earlier courtly models refrains from further comment.<sup>28</sup> In the Annalen der deutschen Literatur F.Ranke mentions Lutwin while discussing how the religious poetry of the later Middle Ages continued to cultivate the verse form.<sup>29</sup> Two surveys, B.Sowinski's Lehrhafte Dichtung des Mittelalters<sup>30</sup> and A.Masser's Bibel- und Legendenepek des deutschen Mittelalters,<sup>31</sup> both include Lutwin but without specific comment. E.Frenzel, in her Stoffe der Weltliteratur refers to the work as a "moralisierende Gedicht".<sup>32</sup> H.-Fr.Rosenfeld's entry on Lutwin in the Verfasserlexikon agrees that in the light of Dunstan's and Eis' papers the extent of Lutwin's originality has been overestimated in the past. He does not agree with Eis that Heinrich von Freiberg's poem influenced Lutwin's treatment of the legend of the Holy Rood and concedes that the poem has charm owing to a "gewisser volkstümlicher Zug" and the "naive innere Beteiligung" of the poet.<sup>33</sup> H.de Boor, finally, ventures some interesting opinions in his Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter. He recognizes Lutwin's work as being the fullest and most important poetic account of the Vita and unlike Eis sees Lutwin as the teller of a comforting tale<sup>34</sup>:

Überall ist das Leben Adams von göttlicher Fürsorge umgeben, stehen Adam und Eva mit Engeln in traulichem Verkehr, klingt die Verheissung künftiger Erlösung ein.

However, de Boor claims that Lutwin contributes little in his telling of the legend, that he is verbose, and that he reveals himself as a "biederer Moralisten mit kleinbürgerlichem Gesichtskreis."<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, he credits him with some successful touches and draws attention to Eve's parting from Adam and her prayer to the sun. In his anthology Texte und Zeugnisse, de Boor includes lines 3014-3307 (of the Hofmann and Meyer edition) in which nature grieves over Adam's death, and God directs the burial while promising the Redemption.<sup>36</sup>

Since the Vita Adae et Evae and not the Bible is its chief source, Eva und Adam has received little attention in studies on Genesis poetry. B.Murdoch's The Fall of Man in the Early Middle High German Biblical Epic deals only with works earlier than Lutwin.<sup>37</sup> J.M.Evans' Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition

not only ignores this work but makes little of the German contribution to the tradition in the Middle Ages.<sup>38</sup> One unpublished dissertation of 1954 devotes some attention to this area: "Der Adam-und Evastoff in der deutschen Literatur" by G.Miksch gives in little more than a hundred pages a survey that includes the Adambooks, the major biblical epics, and various other treatments (including Haydn's oratorio, The Creation) of the Adam and Eve story. It is surprising, therefore, to find in the chapter on the Middle Ages that, having dealt with a number of Early Middle High German works in thirteen pages, Miksch then devotes ten pages to Lutwin. However, she does little more than summarize what had already been written, especially Eis' work on Lutwin's origins, view of the world, and sources; Eis is quoted extensively without mention of Dunstan's second paper. Miksch also recounts the story with the curious error that the Serpent bites Seth in the foot and not the cheek, a detail which both Dunstan and Eis had discussed. Miksch concludes that although opinions may differ on the value of Lutwin's poem, it is the first independent account of the lives of Adam and Eve<sup>39</sup>:

... nicht mehr das Anfangsglied einer Kette biblischer heilsgeschichtlicher Ereignisse, sondern losgelöst von der Tradition, den Schwerpunkt auf das dichterische Moment legend.

Adam and Eve are the first in a long line of penitent sinners whose histories were of interest to the Middle Ages. Adam's completion of his penance in the Jordan prefigures not only the second Adam's baptism there but also the endurance of countless other saints who in undergoing impossible hardships prove that there is hope for fallen mankind.<sup>40</sup> The Vita Adae et Evae can be said to illustrate the Christian reading of Genesis, although it takes a less severely misogynistic view of Eve than the Church Fathers often did.<sup>41</sup> Even though, unlike Adam, she falls a second time, she is consistently portrayed as being fully aware of her wrong-doing and truly penitent. She also proves to be an exemplary wife and mother. The legends appear to have enjoyed great popularity in the German speaking countries. B.Murdoch's article "Das deutsche Adambuch und die Adamslegenden des Mittelalters" describes five other German versions of the Vita as well

as that of Lutwin.<sup>42</sup> Two related versions describe the river penance and the birth of Cain: one belonging to the thirteenth century is included by F. von der Hagen in his Gesamtabenteuer;<sup>43</sup> the other which is slightly shorter and probably of a later date is found in some of the manuscripts of Rudolf von Ems' Weltchronik.<sup>44</sup> There is a prose version containing the penance and other episodes including the deaths of the protoplasts in a fifteenth century manuscript which H. Vollmer published with the corresponding parts of a thirteenth century metrical version upon which it is based.<sup>45</sup> Also important is Hans Folz' prose translation of the Vita, a working copy for his poetic version which ends with the legend of the Holy Rood.<sup>46</sup> To these may be added the condensed version of the penance and the second temptation found in the sixteenth century Obergrunder Weihnachtsspiel, a further witness to the legend's enduring popularity.<sup>47</sup>

B. Murdoch introduces Lutwin's poem with the words<sup>48</sup>:

Es geht wieder um ein originales Werk, das sich in Betonung, Motivierung und Darstellungsweise zeigt, nicht in Einzelheiten des Stoffes.

and this would appear to be the most appropriate way of describing the treatment of a theme as popular and familiar as that of the Vita Adae et Evae. While comparing the German versions Murdoch draws particular attention to Lutwin's bold characterization of Eve to which he returns in a more recent article entitled "Eve's Anger: Literary Secularisation in Lutwin's Adam und Eva". Here Murdoch concedes that under closer scrutiny Lutwin's misogynistic views are less apparent than has been thought, and Eve emerges as a rather more positive figure than is customary.<sup>49</sup> Murdoch also draws attention to Lutwin's literary awareness, for example, his conscious use of literary topoi which, he concludes, along with his "playful treatment of the parting as a lovers' quarrel ... represents a clear secularisation" of the legend.<sup>50</sup> This is the first major study of Lutwin that suggests that there is anything of literary interest in the work.<sup>51</sup>

Little notice has been taken of those parts of the poem which do not have the Vita as their source. A. Brieger discusses Lutwin's account of the Cain and Abel story, especially Abel's prefiguration of Christ, but disapproves of Lutwin's equating Abel's sacrifice



with the custom of tithe-giving<sup>52</sup>:

... dadurch [wird] das Erhaben-Religiöse zu einer praktischen Tagesfrage verwertet.

Brieger would doubtless have been offended by other passages in Lutwin's poem as well. H.Messelken comments favourably on Lutwin's descriptions of the raven and the dove which Noah uses as his messengers.<sup>53</sup> Little attention has been paid, however, to the account of the legend of the Holy Rood. Both Meyer and Eis dismiss it as an unsuccessful attempt to fuse the version found in Meyer's Class III with the more detailed version of an unknown Latin writer, probably of the thirteenth century, which proved to be highly popular and is the source of Heinrich von Freiberg's poem.<sup>54</sup> E.C.Quinn does not mention Lutwin or any other German versions in her study of the Holy Rood legend, The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life of 1962 but in her more recent study of the Andrius manuscript, which includes an Old French version of the Vita, she refers to the illustrations of the Lutwin manuscript.<sup>55</sup> The twenty-nine illustrations have received very little attention indeed.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the fact that Hofmann and Meyer published the poem under the title of Lutwin's Adam und Eva. The final line of the work, however, reads " Hie hat Eua und Adam ein ende " (3939), and the new edition by the present author will follow this in its title. Apart from helping to distinguish the two editions, the author believes that Lutwin's characterization of Eve alone justifies the emphasis of her role in the poem.<sup>56</sup>

NOTES

1. The text was published as vol. 153 of the publications of the Stuttgart Litterarischer Verein (Tübingen, 1881).
2. Literarischer Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Poesie der ältesten Zeit bis in das 16. Jahrhundert (Berlin, 1812), p.453f.
3. The first three volumes of the Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung appeared in 1859/81. The entry on Lutwin can be found in Vol. II, no.99.2, p.255. Goedeke's 2nd edition subtitled Dichtung aus den Quellen (1884), I, p.130 makes mention of the Latin source.
4. "Ährenlese 47", ZfdA 15 (1872), 265. The comment is cited and rejected in several later studies.
5. "Vita Adae et Evae", Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philo-philol.Klasse 14/III (1879), 216.
6. See the introductory chapter of A.Masser, Bibel, Apokryphen und Legenden (Berlin, 1969).
7. For an introduction and translation see L.S.A.Wells, "The Books of Adam and Eve" in: Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, ed. R.H.Charles (Oxford, 1913), II, pp.123-154. There are also clear surveys by A.M.Denis, Introduction aux pseudepigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament (Leiden, 1970), pp.1-15 and by B.Murdoch, The Irish Adam and Eve Story from 'Saltair na Rann' II: Commentary (Dublin, 1976), pp.11-25.
8. See B.Murdoch above and the works by the same author referred to in notes 42 and 46 below.
9. In his afterword to the edition on p.129f.
10. See H.Menhardt, Verzeichnis der altdeutschen literarischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Berlin, 1961) II, p.721.
11. "Die Textkritik von Lutwins 'Adam und Eva' ", Münchener Sitzungsberichte, philo-philol.Klasse (1880), 601.
12. R.Sprenger, Literatur Blatt 3 (1884), 259.
13. K.Bartsch, Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie 19 (1884), 21.
14. AfdA 8 (1882), 227.
15. " Deutsche Poesie vom Ende des XIII. bis in den Beginn des XVI.

Jahrhunderts" in: Geschichte der Stadt Wien (Vienna, 1907), III, part 1, p.9.

16. Ibid.
17. "The 'Vita Aadae'", Journal of Theological Studies 30 (1929), 121-149.
18. "The Middle High German 'Adam und Eva' by Lutwin and the Latin 'Vita Aadae et Evae' ", MLR 24 (1929), 192.
19. "Heimat, Quellen und Entstehungszeit von Lutwins 'Adam und Eva'", Beiträge zur mittelhochdeutschen Legende und Mystik (Berlin, 1935), p.28f.
20. Ibid., pp.59-63.
21. Ibid., p.64.
22. "Lutwin's Latin Source", German Studies presented to H.G. Fiedler (Oxford, 1938), p.173.
23. "Der Adam und Evastoff in der deutschen Literatur", (Vienna, 1954), pp.28-38.
24. Der Verfluchte und der Erwählte (Op\_laden, 1976), p.44.
25. "Eve's Anger: Literary Secularisation in Lutwin's 'Adam und Eva'", Archiv 215 (1978), 259.
26. Die geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters (Berlin, 1888), II, p.44.
27. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von der ältesten Zeit bis zum dreizehnten Jahrhundert (1896), II, p.151 and p.354.
28. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters (Munich, 1935), II, 2.2, p.357.
29. "Von der Ritterlichen zur Bürgerlichen Dichtung 1300-1325: Zwiespalt in Staat und Kirche: Einssein mit Gott", Annalen der deutschen Literatur ed. O.Burger (Stuttgart, 1951), p.208. See also A.Chuquet, Litterature Allemande (Paris, 1913), p.47.
30. Stuttgart, 1971, p.45.
31. Berlin, 1976, p.83.
32. Stoffe der Weltliteratur: Ein Lexikon dichtungsgeschichtlicher Längsschnitte (Stuttgart, 1976), p.8.
33. Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon ed. W.Stammler and K.Langosch (Berlin, 1933-55), III, 203. In the forthcoming revised edition (s.v. "Lutwin"), however, B.Murdoch comments more positively upon the poem. I am

indebted to him for making this material available to me before publication.

34. Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter I. 1250-1350 (Munich, 1967), p.544.
35. Ibid., p.544.
36. Die deutsche Literatur: Texte und Zeugnisse, Mittelalter I/ii (Munich, 1967), 203-05.
37. Göppingen, 1972.
38. See M.Benskin and B.Murdoch, "The Literary Tradition of Genesis: some comments on J.M.Evans' "'Paradise Lost' and the Genesis Tradition"; Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 76 (1975), 402. Two works which mention Lutwin and other works on Adam and Eve are by S.Singer, "Zu Wolframs Parzival", Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie: Festgabe für Richard Heinzel (Halle, 1898), pp.374-412 and by W.Kirkconnell, The Celestial Cycle (Toronto, 1952), p.533.
39. "Der Adam und Evastoff", p.38.
40. See E.Dorn, Der Sündige Heilige in der Legende des Mittelalters (Munich, 1967), pp.21-28.
41. See P.Schwarz, Die neue Eva (Göppingen, 1973), especially pp. 44-59. For the Church Fathers' views see B.Murdoch, The Fall of Man, pp.39-95.
42. In: Deutsche Literatur des späten Mittelalters: Hamburger Colloquium ed. W.Harms and L.P.Johnson (Berlin, 1975), pp.209-224.
43. "Adam und Eva", Gesamtabenteuer, (Tübingen/Stuttgart, 1850), I, pp.5-16.
44. Published by H.Fischer, "Die Busse Adams und Evas", Germania 22 (1877), 316-41.
45. Ein deutsches Adambuch (Hamburg, 1908).
46. See B.Murdoch, Hans Folz and the Adam-Legends: Texts and Studies (Amsterdam, 1977).
47. See A.Peter, Volksthümliches aus Österreich-Schlesien I (Troppau, 1865), pp.375-78.
48. "Das Adambuch", p.219.
49. In his introduction and notes on the Saltair na Rann (see note 7 above) Murdoch refers to Lutwin's misogyny on a number of occasions.

50. "Eve's Anger", p.269.
51. Brief reference is made to Lutwin by J.Schwietering in Die Demutsformel Mittelhochdeutscher Dichter (Berlin, 1921) and by W.Fechter in Lateinische Dichtkunst und deutsches Mittelalter (Berlin, 1964).
52. Kain und Abel in der deutschen Dichtung (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), p.13. W.Harms also comments on Lutwin's treatment of the Cain and Abel story in Der Kampf mit dem Freund oder Verwandten in der deutschen Literatur bis um 1300 (Munich, 1963), pp.86-88.
53. Die Signifikanz von Rabe und Taube in der mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur (Cologne, 1965), pp.197-99.
54. "Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christi", Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil. Klasse 16 (1882), 158f.
55. The Penitence of Adam (University of Mississippi, 1980), p.51.
56. Only Goedeke (see note 3 above) refers to the poem as Eva und Adam, although he no longer does so in his second edition that came after the publication of the poem.

## II. THE SOURCE

### A. The editorial history of the *Vita Adae et Evae*

More attention has been paid to Lutwin's source by critics than to other aspects of his work. This was partly because W.Meyer, who was concerned to publish the poem, considered Lutwin's handling of the source exceptionally independent. Meyer's view owed much to the fact that although he had edited several Latin manuscripts containing the *Vita Adae et Evae*, there remained many more unknown to him. The following brief survey of the editorial history of the *Vita Adae et Evae* is intended to illustrate the difficulties in ascertaining the precise nature of Lutwin's source.

The modern editorial history of the *Vita Adae et Evae* begins with W.Meyer, who was the first to recognize the importance of the Latin legend in the Middle Ages. The legend, or rather accretion of legends, is of Jewish origin and extends the biblical account of Adam and Eve by relating their lives after their expulsion from paradise.<sup>1</sup> Meyer also made an important contribution to the study of medieval literature as a whole by drawing attention to a number of vernacular versions of the legend which have a more or less common source.<sup>2</sup> While assisting in the cataloguing of the Latin manuscripts in the Munich National Library, Meyer found over twenty MSS dating from the 10th to 15th centuries containing matter relating to Adam and Eve under a number of different headings. In 1878 he edited some of these MSS under the title of "*Vita Adae et Evae*" in the publications of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (philos.-philol.Klasse 14/III, 185-250). In his extensive introduction to the text Meyer refers to twenty of the Munich MSS and mentions in foot-notes five Austrian MSS, one in Graz and four in Vienna.<sup>3</sup> As an appendix he also published a 9th century MS which is in Paris.

There have since been two further editions of significance.<sup>4</sup> In 1929 John Mozley published an edition based on MSS written in England under the title of "*Vita Adae*" in the Journal of Theological Studies (30, 121-149). The introduction refers to fourteen MSS dating from the 13th to 15th centuries. In 1935 Gerhard Eis

edited a text, the "Vita Adam et Evae", in his collection of Beiträge zurmittelhochdeutschen Legende und Mystik (pp.241-55) which he based on two 13th century Austrian MSS.

The Vita Adae et Evae is, however, a general title and does not represent a uniform text. Meyer found the MSS difficult to edit and was obliged to classify them in four groups:

Offenbar haben wir eigentlich nur mit zwei Handschriftenfamilien es zu thun, dem Texte der I. Klasse einerseits, andererseits einem Texte, der uns in den jungen Abschriften der II. Klasse erhalten ist, aus welchem schon im 8. Jahrhundert ein Auszug (IV.P.) gemacht und durch kecke Interpolationen im XII-XIII Jahrhundert der Text der Klasse III gebildet wurde. Der Hauptunterschied der beiden Familien beruht in den Paragraphen 29a,b,c,d und 51a,b,c,d, welche in der Klasse I nicht stehen.  
(p.219)

This passage has been quoted at length, because Meyer's classification has frequently been cited, although a number of not necessarily justified assumptions have come to be made about it. Mozley refers to Class I as representing the "earliest form" and to the two passages in Class II as "interpolations".<sup>5</sup> Meyer's system does not, however, admit questions of textual precedence. Class I contains the earliest Munich MSS (10th to 12th centuries), but Meyer based his edition on this, chiefly because it provided "einen festen und lesbaren Text". He does concede the likelihood of this class also having a number of omissions:

Es ist durchaus nicht zu kühn, wenn wir dem Text der Klasse I solche Auslassungen zutraun, Denn so alt auch die Handschriften dieser Klasse und so jung die von II und III sind, so müssen doch viele Stellen nach II und III gebessert werden.  
(p.219)

The additional matter found in Class II is in fact also present in other MSS which have since come to light.

Obviously Meyer was faced with a difficult editorial task. Despite the fact that the groupings are not as rigid as has perhaps been assumed and that they certainly do not imply a clear chronological development, the classification has proved useful. For all that, the textual history of this important apocryphal cycle may well be examined more closely.

Mozley's edition has proved useful for the study of the vernacular versions of the legend, because he was able to show a number of instances where the English MSS diverge from those

of Meyer. Moreover, there are other passages: the formation of Adam out of eight elements; his naming after the four cardinal points; the place of his formation. These passages are to be found on their own, but they appear in the majority of Mozley's MSS which he designates the "Arundel" class.<sup>6</sup> Eis' text contains little in the way of additional material but is a reminder that variant readings are to be expected in any MS version of the legend.

We cannot, therefore, speak with confidence of interpolation in a text that is itself considerably fluid, especially in the absence of clear chronological evidence. As Brian Murdoch has indicated in the context of the Irish Adam and Eve story in the 10th century Saltair na Rann, it is to an extent incorrect even to refer to "the" Vita Adae et Evae.<sup>7</sup> He refers there to the division of the legend under rubrics such as "de penitentia" and "de mortis Adae" and further headings such as "de nomine Adae", "de natu Cain", "de visione Adae", and "de ligno crucis" may be postulated. Rather than classes with interpolations it is perhaps safer to speak of a group of elements or narrative units, many of which are found together regularly in set patterns. There is, plainly, a core of these units to which additions may be made, and these include not only Meyer's "interpolations" but also details on the creation of Adam and episodes taken from Genesis and the Holy Rood legend. Each MS can be seen as containing the sum of what was known about Adam and Eve at a particular time and place. Further evidence of this is provided by the vernacular texts which are not referred to by Meyer or Mozley. The existence of the Saltair na Rann indicates clearly a lost Latin text quite close to the Vita but with elements known otherwise only in the Greek Apocalypsis Mosis. It is hard to think of these elements as interpolations. Thus vernacular texts can provide evidence of lost texts, an aspect as important as their own classification, for it must not be assumed that all vernacular texts depend upon known versions of the Vita in Latin.

The preparation of a new edition of the Vita is a task which has implicit in it several major, if not indeed insuperable, difficulties. In view of the fluid nature of the text it is debatable whether any edition would be more viable than that



produced by Meyer as a working text. Nevertheless, it is plainly important to have such a working text, and Meyer's edition suffers from the fact that it is based upon a limited range of MSS. A necessary preliminary for any further work is to establish just how far Meyer's (and Mozley's and Eis') range of MSS can be extended. In Appendix II the list of extant Latin MSS containing the Vita brings together and expands the brief references supplied (more often than not in abbreviated form or in foot-notes) in the major editions. To these are added five MSS which Friedrich Stegmüller lists in Repertorium biblicum medii aevi (Madrid, 1940, I, 25-29) and two further MSS in the Supplementum (Madrid, 1976, VIII, 7ff.). Stegmüller's groupings of the MSS are unclear. There are a further seventeen MSS for which I have found references in catalogues. The list cannot, of course, presume to be complete. Searching through catalogues of Latin MSS is as frustrating as it is rewarding. Many catalogues, such as that of the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, cannot easily be consulted, simply because they are not provided with an index. In addition, MSS may not always be correctly identifiable merely by relying on the entry made by the cataloguer. The heading may be general and refer only to Adam and Eve, or it may mention their expulsion (probably because of the incipit), or again it may allude to their penance, a major episode in the narrative. However, a MS in the John Rylands Library in Manchester entitled "The legend of Adam's Penance (lat.\*)" proved on inspection to be a copy of the Holy Rood legend.<sup>9</sup>

Conclusions about the MSS listed can only be of the most tentative nature. The bulk appear to be late, but this may be a simple question of survival; the evidence of the vernacular texts indicates that the Adam-material was well-known in the West from an early stage. Again the question of survival makes any geographical conclusions doubtful. A large number of these MSS appear to have been written in Germany, but so far none have been found in Italy, where the legend was also known, so that the evidence we have is somewhat out of proportion. Perhaps the most important general conclusion lies in the number of extant texts. It is hardly necessary to stress the theological importance of the protoplasts in the Middle Ages, but it is perhaps less frequently noted that the apocryphal, as opposed to the canonical, treatments of the Adam and Eve story are very widespread indeed in the fifteenth century and earlier.

## B. Lutwin and his source

Discussion of Lutwin and his source must begin with reference to the debate between Dunstan and Eis. In 1929 Dunstan's aim was to refute Meyer's claim that Lutwin showed remarkable independence and originality in the treatment of his source by comparing Lutwin's poem with Mozley's English MSS of the Vita.<sup>10</sup> Dunstan begins by making the important point that originality was not expected of authors of religious works and proceeds to demonstrate how Meyer's judgement of Lutwin had been distorted by his ignorance of other Latin MSS containing the Vita. Dunstan concludes that Lutwin found in his source passages relating the naming of Adam, the four rivers of paradise, the biblical account of Adam and Eve, of Cain and Abel, and even of Noah. In 1935, at a time when political ideals could influence academic views, Eis is concerned to show that the Sudetenland was the provenance of the poem. While much of what Eis says about "Leutwin der Schreiber" is acceptable, his weakest argument centres on his belief that Lutwin was using a version of the Vita to be found in the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum.<sup>11</sup> He edits a text based on two MSS in Admont and Zwettl. Unable to ignore Dunstan's paper, however, Eis is obliged to defend his own theory by trying to demonstrate that Lutwin's poem had more in common with the two Austrian MSS than those edited by Meyer or Mozley. His failure to do so convincingly underlines the point that it is the knowledge of further MSS (his own included) that will throw light on Lutwin's source, rather than the speculation that a particular version was the poet's direct source. In his reply Dunstan is able to counter Eis' arguments effectively and concludes that Lutwin's poem has much in common with the texts of Meyer, Mozley, and Eis and contains "a little found only in each one of these three groups".<sup>12</sup> To this we may add the possibility that further groups of MSS, made up of unedited MSS unknown to Dunstan, might yield further information about Lutwin's type of source, but it is unlikely that his direct source will ever be established.

In the light of the debate between Dunstan and Eis, the Latin source that Lutwin used appears to have included the following episodes: matter taken from Genesis II and III with the naming of Adam and a passage about the Devil (based on Isaiah XIV); the

penance and Eve's second temptation; the Devil's narrative; the birth of Cain; the story of Cain and Abel; Adam's account of his vision; Adam's sickness; Seth's and Eve's journey to paradise for the Oil of Mercy and their return with an olive-branch; Adam's death and burial; Eve's death; and the final episode of Noah and the dove. Nevertheless, Meyer's early claim that Lutwin handled his source with some originality need not be dismissed entirely. There can be no doubt that Lutwin did alter passages in his source with which he was not in agreement. The best known of these is where Eve leaves Adam out of anger rather than shame. In all the printed texts of the Vita Eve confesses her shame at having believed in the Devil a second time and announces that she will leave Adam so that she may die in the west. In Meyer's Class III Eve acts on her resolve as a result of Adam's silence:

qui non respondit ei verbum. hoc audiens (videns) Eva  
cepit ambulare contra partes occidentales ....  
(VA 18)

Lutwin appears to have found Adam's behaviour in need of explanation, for in his version Adam and Eve part as a result of a lovers' quarrel. Another passage in which Lutwin seems to have been in disagreement with his source is where Adam on his death-bed reproaches Eve, after she has returned from paradise with Seth. This Adam does (2785-2815), whereupon the narrator makes much of Eve's immediate suffering and invites special sympathy for her:

Nieman lebete so unmüte  
Er müste sich erbarmen  
Über Eua, die vil armen,  
Der von ir fliesen die trehen sehe.  
(2829-32)

The narrator proceeds to list the various causes of her suffering and in an excursus expounds the necessity of the Fall (2885-2919). This exoneration of Eve is a deliberate attempt to moderate the attitude expressed by Adam in the Vita. In both cases the narrator has imposed a personal, if not "original", view upon his source and can be credited with acting upon his own initiative.

Bearing in mind Lutwin's regard for his source and at the same time his readiness to clarify or modify what he found there, we may turn to his treatment of the concluding episode of his poem. Meyer's belief that Lutwin knew a Class III version of the Vita rests mainly on the fact that Lutwin introduces the theme of the

Holy Rood at a corresponding point in his poem. The legend of the Holy Rood appears to have been very popular in the Middle Ages. It tells the history of the wood that was used at the Crucifixion and is found in numerous versions. Its inclusion in the Vita appears to have been comparatively late and is the most obvious example of the Christianization of these originally Jewish legends.<sup>13</sup> As Adam lies dying he sends Eve and Seth to paradise to fetch the Oil of Mercy. This he is refused, but in an early borrowing from the Gospel of Nicodemus the angel promises that Christ will come and annoint all those who believe in him. In Class III there is the following addition: as Seth and Eve leave paradise, the angel gives them a branch with three leaves from the tree of knowledge. Seth drops the branch into the Jordan while crossing but retrieves it at Adam's request. Adam rejoices when he sees the branch, and it is planted on his grave. The branch grows into a great tree which is later found by Solomon's huntsmen. Solomon has the tree placed in his temple, and when the Queen of Sheba sees it, she prophesies that it will bring about the downfall of the Jews. The tree is then thrown into the probativa piscina, but at the time of the Crucifixion it floats to the surface and is used for the cross.

The Class III version of the Holy Rood legend is by no means highly developed and forms a short digression in the story of Adam and Eve. Lutwin's source contained a different version which he relates in the following manner: Seth is given a green olive-branch and told to plant it on Adam's grave, for when the branch bears fruit, Adam will be redeemed. Seth rejoices and determines to keep the branch well watered, so that it will soon bear fruit, for he has understood only the literal meaning of the angel's words. Adam dies. An angel carries the olive-branch at the funeral, and it is planted on his grave. After Eve's death the children take great care of the tree in the hope that it will soon bear fruit. Despite its wonderful properties the children can find no fruit on it and finally despair and disperse. Seth is left alone and goes to paradise a second time, where the angel Cherubin gives him an apple-branch with Eve's half-eaten apple still hanging from it. He explains that the wood that brought misfortune will one day bring about redemption and tells Seth to take care both of it

and the olive-tree. Thereafter only the best of men may have the branch in his keeping. Noah has the apple-branch with him in the ark, and the dove brings him a branch from the olive-tree as a sign of God's peace and the end of the Flood. Noah recognizes that both branches will bring about the redemption of mankind.

Far from being a digression, the Holy Rood legend is here worked into the conclusion of the poem. Meyer is rather dismissive about the whole episode, perhaps because it does not fit into his classification satisfactorily, and deals with it briefly. He suggests that Seth's first journey to paradise is based on a Class III source and that Seth's second journey is based on the Holy Rood legend in its independent and greatly expanded form. The version of the Holy Rood legend in Lutwin's poem is, however, quite different from that of Meyer's Class III, the main point of resemblance being their introduction at the same stage in the story, Seth's and Eve's journey to paradise. In the Class III version the history of the branch from the tree of knowledge consists of a series of recognitions. Adam, Solomon, and the Queen of Sheba (all figures of the Old Testament) each recognize that the branch will play an important part in the history of mankind, as the events of the New Testament then prove. In Lutwin's version the link between the olive-branch and the Crucifixion is not as strong: the branch is not from the tree of knowledge; Adam does not recognize the branch as an instrument of his salvation; and his children eventually despair of the barren tree. Only Noah recognizes the significance of the branch, when the dove brings it to him at the end of the Flood, but here the olive-branch is playing a more immediate role as a symbol of God's peace to mankind. If it were not for the angel's promise that when the branch bears fruit, Adam will be redeemed (2693-2707), there would be little to link the Old Testament with the New, and the establishing of such a link is precisely the function of the Holy Rood legend as such.

It is possible that Lutwin's source did in fact contain an ancient Jewish legend that sought to establish a link between the lost paradise and the new world after the Flood. For this possibility we may refer to E.C.Quinn's thesis "that there existed

earlier forms of the Seth legend in which Seth went to paradise and returned with a twig, probably from the tree of life."<sup>14</sup> Quinn refers to a Jewish legend preserved in the Gali Razia (a cabbalistic work written in 1552) in which Adam sends Seth to paradise to ask for God's mercy. The angel gives Seth a branch from the tree of life and tells him that when it bears its first fruits God's mercy will be granted and the gates of heaven opened. Seth plants the branch, and later Moses cuts his staff from it.<sup>15</sup> The Moses legend offers an analogy with the Noah legend in Lutwin's narrative. First there is the question of the true nature of the olive-branch which the angel brings Seth. There can be little doubt that it is a branch from the tree of life, the tree from which Adam was debarred as a result of eating from the tree of knowledge:

Dovon gebent dem böm hüt,  
Umb den es ist also gewant:  
Wer daran leget sin hant  
Und siner frühte nusset,  
Das leben in begüsset,  
So das er ewigklichen lebet.  
(753-58)

But God's words will be revoked, when Adam is finally restored to paradise:

Do er wol mag berüren  
Den boum der barmhertzikeit,  
Von dem des lebens süssikeit  
One allen gebresten flüsset.  
(2645-48)

Nowhere does Lutwin refer directly to either the tree of knowledge or to the tree of life (as they are called in Genesis II:9 and III:22-24), but in his description of the former he dwells only on its visual beauty (347-53), while in describing the off-shoot of the latter he also describes its curative powers (3676-80) and its indestructibility (3681-85). The fact that the olive-branch is not from the tree of knowledge more or less precludes the possibility of its playing a role in the legend of the Holy Rood.

The angel's prophecy that the first fruits of the tree will be a sign of God's mercy towards Adam is more readily assimilated into the Holy Rood legend. This motif is not present in Meyer's Class III but is there in two other German versions of the Vita which include elements from the other legend. In both cases

the branch is indisputably from the tree of knowledge and in the fuller prose version edited by H.Vollmer the reference is brief: "wen das zwy wirt frucht tragen, so wirt dein vater erst gesunt!"<sup>16</sup> H.Fischer's edition of "Die Busse Adams und Evas" from some of the MSS of Rudolf von Ems's Weltchronik refers to two MSS which contain the Sethite narrative in another form that does not correspond with Meyer's Class III. Here a son is given a branch from the tree of knowledge and told that if his father is to recover from his illness, "ein wurcz muz an disem reis sten."<sup>17</sup> The son then ponders on how this may best be achieved<sup>18</sup>:

ez must in der erden sten  
daz es wurzelt vnd grunet  
sam andrew grune zwei tunt ...

as does Seth in Ewa und Adam:

Wir sullent pflantzen wol den zwy  
Und jme fuhte machen by  
Nach der lieben engels sage,  
Das er schier fruht trage,  
Das unser vatter schier erste ...  
(2714-18)

Here Seth's credulity is seized on by the narrator as an opportunity in which to intervene and make clear the connection between the olive-branch and the Crucifixion:

Und darzü sol der selbe zwy  
Wahssen, das der sunden fry  
Gottes lamp daran ersturbe  
Und das leben uns erwurbe  
Mit sinem reinem tode.  
(2734-38)

That Lutwin feels obliged to spell out the angel's metaphorical message at some length (2721-60) indicates that he feels it is necessary to explain the connection with the Holy Rood legend. His concern may well be due to the fact that originally the olive-branch legend did not continue beyond Noah, and therefore the extension of its role required to be stressed from the start. In Lutwin's poem the Noah legend is discernible beneath the additional layer of Christological interpretation: Seth is given a branch from the tree of life and told that it will bear witness to God's mercy to Adam and his children. The branch grows into a tree, but when it fails to bear fruit, the children lose faith, and their descendants incur God's wrath. The Flood destroys them all except Noah and his family to whom the dove brings the olive-branch, the symbol of God's

peace. In the Vollmer and Fischer versions of the Seth legends the fruit-bearing function of the branch is still briefly alluded to, but the branch is from the tree of knowledge with all its Christological associations. In Lutwin's poem the branch from the tree of life retains its independence as a symbol of hope amidst the destruction of the aftermath of the Flood, but it is also paired with the other branch in a unique combination of the legends of Noah and the Holy Rood.

The fruit-bearing branch of the tree of life, itself a symbol of life and rebirth, appears to have been almost completely superseded by the branch from the tree of knowledge, the symbol of death. The branch that bore the fruit that Adam ate seemed better fitted to bear Christ, the second Adam, at the Crucifixion. In Eva und Adam the apple-branch is introduced in order to reinforce the function of the olive-branch. Whether Lutwin made this expansion himself cannot be established with certainty, although his intervention, especially at the end of the poem, suggests that he may have played a part. His source may have contained a fuller version of the Holy Rood legend that followed on from the Noah legend in the MS. Alternatively the Holy Rood legend may have been known to Lutwin from another source in a version that he considered more suitable than the one present in his source. A point that must be stressed is that Lutwin does not appear to be interested in relating the history of the Holy Rood as such but rather in providing the conclusion to his poem with the promise of eventual salvation to all descendants of Noah.

In all the printed texts of the Vita Eve summons her children before she dies and warns them that they will be judged by God "primum per aquam, secundum per ignem" (VA 49). Accordingly, she directs Seth to record the history of his parents on tablets of bronze and stone. In Lutwin's version Eve refers specifically to the Flood and to the sole survival of Noah and his family (3560-71) and to Judgement Day (3576-83). After her death the children's fall from grace is foreshadowed by their eventual despair of there being any hope of salvation. Seth does not record his parents' lives but instead returns to paradise where he is promptly presented with a token of their first act of sin, the apple-branch. It should be noted that this episode is brief. The angel Cherubin's words to Seth amount to an explanation of



the apple-branch and its future purpose, notably:

Also su von disem hõiltzelin  
Gefallen sint jn den dot,  
Also wurt alle jre not  
An disem holtze verendet.  
(3760-63)

and an emphatic reminder that the olive-tree will also play its part:

Und habe ouch in (dinre pflege)  
Den oleyboum alle wege,  
Der dort (florieret) stat,  
Do din vater sin grap hat.  
Von disen holtzen beiden  
Wurt erlost von allen leiden  
Eua und din vatter Adam,...  
(3769-75)

Thus the apple-branch is introduced but immediately coupled with the olive-tree, so that the former reinforces rather than reduces the importance of the latter.

After Seth's second journey to paradise the poem draws swiftly to a close with an account of the Flood. The Flood itself is passed over quite quickly, but the narrator lingers over the scene where Noah sends out first the raven and then the dove. The vivid account of the dove returning to Noah with the olive-branch and being rewarded with its freedom forms a peaceful and optimistic conclusion to the poem. In the end the good prevails, and Noah is able to understand the mystery of the human suffering that has gone before:

Noee der mere wol verstunt,  
Als die wisen alle dünt,  
Das mit dem zwige (heilbere)  
Gottes fride gekundet were, ...  
(3906-09)

But at this point the narrator again intervenes in order to reiterate the claims of both branches as being instrumental in the redemption of mankind in words slightly more emphatic than those of the angel Cherubin:

Wanne, als ich vor han geseit,  
Die zwige beide kunfftig waren,  
Was des todes was verfahren,  
Das (das) von den zwigen beiden  
Von dem tode wurde gescheiden.  
Sus lassent wir die zwige hie.  
(3919-24)

Despite the emphasis, the treatment of the Holy Rood legend is

somewhat perfunctory. The narrator dismisses it altogether with the words:

Wie unser herre (Jhesu) Crist  
An dem zwige die martel leit,  
Das wurt von mir nu nit geseit.  
(3933-35)

But the dismissal is enough to provide the work with a specifically Christological ending evidently required by its author. The combination of the Noah and the Holy Rood legends is not to be found elsewhere. Unlike the former the latter legend was to expand and flourish in an independent form. The illustrator of the fifteenth century MS which preserves the Eva und Adam is obliged to go his own way and omits the olive-branch altogether in favour of the apple-branch. It is fortunate that the poem itself is faithful to the Noah legend which might otherwise have been lost to us.

In conclusion we may consider the number of occasions in which the narrator refers to a written source. On the subject of the Creation he refers to Genesis I-II four times (78f., 209f., 211-15, 3049f.); Cain and Abel are both named with reference to Genesis IV (1832f., 1904f.); and there are two references to Genesis VIII on the subject of Noah and the Flood (3809-14, 3851-53). The narrator therefore invokes Genesis every time he introduces material from that source. In all there are five direct references to the unnamed Latin source that he was following: the first is during the naming of Adam after the four parts of the world (148); the second confirms that Adam was nine hundred years old when he spoke to Seth (2137-41), and in connection with this we are later told that "nach sage" Adam lived on another thirty years (2279-84); the third reference is to nature's mourning of Adam's death which lasted six days and six nights (3057-59); the fourth reference confirms the recovery of nature to its former joyfulness (3497-99), and linked with these last two references are the verifications of the eclipse of the sun, moon, and stars (2975-78, 3476-79); the final reference occurs as the archangels, Michael and Gabriel, are named who assist at the burial of Adam and Abel (3210-12). These references to a written source confirm names and numbers, and apart from the first they all appear in the latter part of the work. There are two further

references to the written word, but their sources cannot be traced. As the narrator expounds the necessity of the Fall, he refers to "die buch" (2896), but more arresting, perhaps, is the statement, that in Noah's day the sacred apple-branch was the only relic in existence:

Wanne, als die geschrifft giht,  
Uff der erde was anders niht  
In der zit das heiltüm were,  
Nüwen der zwig (heilbere).  
(3799-3802)

This piece of information would presumably have afforded some interest to an audience of the fourteenth century, a period in which Christians appear to have been very concerned with the efficacy of relics.

Apart from references to the written word there are also several assertions made as to the telling of the truth. The majority of these are to be found at the start of the work which opens with the maxim "Wer die worheit gerne mynn ..." (see also 102, 276, 533), and before embarking on a description of the Temptation and Fall, the narrator asserts:

Aller erst horent ein ungemach,  
Das ich uch hie kunden wil,  
Sit ich der worheit nit enhil.  
Die rede ist der worheit zil.  
(341-44)

The placing of this assertion just before a crucial moment in the story gives it the added weight of authority, unlike the narrator's later call upon Cato, Ovid, and Plato (689ff.) to support the truth of his claims, which is nothing more than a rhetorical device. Towards the end of the poem there are repeated references to "worheit" in connection with the true meaning of the angel's message to Seth, the deeper truth of which Seth and the other children have failed to grasp (2743-45, 2751-54). Eve's grief (3430f.) and the miraculous nature of the tree (3681ff.) also give rise to further assertions of the truth.

It has been suggested that medieval poets were given to referring to a written source or vowing that they were telling the truth precisely at the point where they were being innovative themselves.<sup>19</sup> Convention may have required some poets to resort to such elaborate concealment, but this does not appear to be the case with Lutwin, who, when he departs from what we may suppose to be his source, says nothing. For instance, when he names Adam, he

refers to a source for the derivation of the name which is present in many versions of the Vita Adae et Evae. Lutwin also provides not one but two etymologies for Eve's name without a reference for either, and neither is included in any of the known versions of the Vita. Similarly there is no reference to a source when Eve leaves Adam out of anger before the birth of Cain. In a religious work we must expect insistence upon the telling of the truth and fidelity to the source and that such literary secularization as there is offers some variation in the presentation of facts but seldom seeks to alter them outright.

Where Eva und Adam is concerned, it seems improbable that its direct Latin source will ever be established. From our knowledge of other texts of the Vita, however, we may deduce that Lutwin was following a text that was considerably more extensive than that of Meyer's Class I and quite different from that of Class III. Whether Lutwin himself Christianized the Noah legend is open to debate but its presence is of some importance in the consideration of the development of the Holy Rood legend.

NOTES

1. For a convenient introduction to the general history of the Adam-apocrypha, see the translation of Latin and Greek texts by L.S.A.Wells in R.H.Charles' Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford, 1913) II, 123-33. In spite of the difficulties of separating the various strands of development in the Adam-apocrypha, it goes beyond the scope of this introduction to include references to the Greek Apocalypsis Mosis or related texts in other languages, although once again it is difficult to make clear distinctions; see references to Saltair na Rann below, n.2.
2. Further vernacular versions not noted by Meyer which can in fact throw great light on the history of the Latin text include the Old Irish Saltair na Rann (The Old Irish Adam and Eve Story, ed., trans., and annotated by D.Greene, F.Kelly, and B.Murdoch, Dublin, 1976). Vol.II refers to texts in German and Breton not mentioned by Meyer, and there are also Italian materials (pp.25-31).
3. Meyer does not refer to all the Munich MSS which appear to contain the Vita Adae et Evae (=VA), see Munich 22-26 in the MS list. In "Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christi", also in the publications of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (philos.-philol.Klasse 16/II, Munich, 1882), Meyer refers to another previously unmentioned MS which precedes a Holy Rood legend (=Munich 20). The equally important legend of the Holy Rood became linked with the Vita (as Meyer's Class III) in a comparatively short version. It is little more than a digression. In its independent form the legend appears in numerous MSS.
4. Leaving aside partial editions of the Latin texts which pre-date Meyer, we may note that Latin texts have been published by L.Katona, "Vita Adae et Evae", in the Magyar tudomanos akademia, köt.18, sz.10, Budapest, 1904 (texts covered by Meyer), and by C.Horstmann, "Nachträge zu den Legenden 10", Archiv 79 (1887), 459-70 (covered by Mozley). Katona printed from an incunable, Horstmann from an Oxford MS (=Oxford 3). Dr. Murdoch has asked me to point out that this MS is referred

to in error as being in the British Museum in his commentary on Saltair na Rann, II, 19, n.21. S. Harrison Thomson published the preface of the MS in the Huntington Library (see San Marino, California in the list) in "A Fifth Recension of the Latin 'Vita Ade et Eve'", Studi Medievali N.S.6 (1933), 271-78. The preface contains the fall of Lucifer and the canonical story of Adam and Eve and may be related to that of the MS in Brussels.

5. "Vita Adae", p.121.
6. Mozley's edition brought about two important studies on the vernacular versions by A.C.Dunstan: "The Middle High German 'Adam und Eva' of Lutwin and the Latin 'Vita Adae et Evae'" in MLR 24 (1929), 191-99 and "The Middle English 'Canticum de Creatione' and the Latin 'Vita Adae et Evae'" in Anglia 55 (1931), 431-42. For studies on the formation of Adam see those of M.Förster, "Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung" in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 11 (1908), 477-529, and H.L.C.Tristram, "Der 'homo octipartitus' in der irischen und altenglischen Literatur" in Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie 34 (1975), 119-53.
7. Old Irish, II, 18-21.
8. Stegmüller lists, for example, the Greek texts first, but in his notation of the Latin versions he includes two texts of Holy Rood legend amongst the VA material.
9. This is also true of two MSS in Lincoln Cathedral Library with equally misleading titles which Dr. Murdoch refers to in "Das deutsche Adambuch und die Adamlegenden des Mittelalters" in Deutsche Literatur des späten Mittelalters ed. W.Harms and L.P.Johnson (Berlin, 1975), pp.209-24, n.11.
10. "The Middle High German 'Adam und Eva' by Lutwin and the Latin 'Vita Adae et Evae'", p.191ff.
11. "Heimat, Quellen und Entstehungszeit von Lutwins 'Adam und Eva'" in Beiträge zu mittelhochdeutschen Legende und Mystik (1935), pp.25-106.
12. "Lutwin's Latin Source" in German Studies presented to H.G.Fiedler (Oxford, 1938), p.173.
13. Meyer's eight Munich MSS which form Class III are all of the 15th century, none are of the 12th century as E.C.Quinn states

in The Quest Of Seth for the Oil of Life (Chicago, 1962) on p.88. However, the 13th century metrical version that is partially included in Vollmer's Das deutsche Adambuch (Hamburg, 1908) corresponds with Meyer's Class III.

14. The Quest of Seth, p.90.
15. Ibid., p.92-95.
16. Ein deutsches Adambuch, p.33.
17. "Die Busse Adams und Evas", Germania 22 (1877), 340, 1.60.  
Fischer did not edit the Seth episode.
18. Ibid., ll.66-68.
19. See U.Pörksen, Der Erzähler im mittelhochdeutschen Epos (Berlin, 1971) p.60 ff. for discussion of this.

### III. THE NARRATOR AND HIS TEXT

#### A. Stylistic influences

Having made the customary request that whoever hears or reads his work might commend him to God's grace, the narrator formally names himself:

...  
Der dis büch hat gedihet,  
Mit rymen wol berihtet.  
Er ist Lutwin genant.  
(57-59)

and adds a traditional humility topos by way of further explanation:

Sin nammen ist lutzel jeman erkant,  
Das machet sin grosz unheil  
Und sin krancker synne ein teil,  
Das er nit bas erkant ist.  
(60-63)

Medieval authors were never unduly concerned to present accurate autobiographical details and are notorious for being laconic and somewhat unhelpful. The above seven lines are typical in the way in which they impart their information, information which to us, seven hundred years later, is undoubtedly of greater significance than intended by the author or felt by his public. The author names himself and excuses the fact that he is not better known, and it is tempting to wonder whether, had he been better known, he would have named himself at all, since that is all he tells us. We are, in fact, prevented from further speculation by E. Steinmeyer who recognized that Lutwin was familiar with Wirnt von Gravenberg's Wigalois and compared the above lines with the following from Wirnt's prologue<sup>1</sup>:

...  
der ditze hât getihtet,  
mit rîmen wol berihtet,  
wan ditz ist sîn êrstez werc.  
er heizet Wirnt von Grâvenberc.  
(138-41)  
daz machet mîn grôz unheil  
und mîn boeser sin ein teil.  
(62f.)

Verbally the two passages are similar, but they do indicate an important distinction between the two authors. We are told specifically that this is Wirnt's first work, while Lutwin



apologizes for the fact that he is not better known. Wirnt may well not be telling the truth (the rhyme is convenient, and audiences may be more sympathetic to beginners), even though this major work is all that has come down to us. Lutwin, on the other hand, makes it clear that although his name is little known, it is known and could have been better known. However, the references by both poets to misfortune and personal failings must be regarded as literary fiction rather than as historical fact, especially in the literary context of the prologue, where the narrator addresses his audience with all due formality.<sup>2</sup>

In his prologue Wirnt, after apologizing for his lack of experience, makes it clear that his aim is to entertain:

ob ich mit mīnem munde  
möhte swaere stunde  
den liuten senfte machen,  
und von solhen sachen  
daz guot ze hoeren waere.  
(126-130)

Lutwin's prologue echoes a number of points made by Wirnt, but it is briefer and diverges radically on one issue:

Nü wer mag der welte mynne  
Verdienen und gottes grüs ?  
Der zweyer eins er tün müe:  
Sich der welte mynne (bewegen)  
Und gottes dienstes mit trüwen pflegen,  
Oder mit der welte sich betragen  
Und gottes dienst wider sagen,  
Wann nieman mag zwein heren wol  
Dienen nach des nützes zol.  
Jedoch der mir volgen wil,  
Der sol gar der welte spil  
Lassen usz siner aht  
Und von aller siner maht  
Dienen dem vil süssen Crist.  
(40-53)

Lutwin's professed aim is to instruct, and his biblical reference to God and mammon (Matthew VI:24) makes it clear which master he serves. This piece of didactic rhetoric is in sharp contrast with the final lines of Wirnt's prologue:

der werlte ze minnen  
enblient erz sīnen sinnen:  
ir gruoz wil er gewinnen.  
(142-44)

Wirnt is about to narrate a romance, a tale of chivalry, while Lutwin has chosen a religious topic.

Despite his intention to instruct rather than to entertain, Lutwin is as confident as Wirnt that he will succeed in completing his work "nach dem müt, Das es die wisen doch düncke güt" (119f.). By this he does not refer only to his choice of subject matter. Later in the poem he follows Wirnt in employing another humility topos which but thinly veils his obvious confidence in his own powers:

Obe ich rette nach kindees sitte,  
Erzöige ich do iht gütes mit,  
Obe mir got fūgete das,  
So sol man mir dancken bas  
Dann eime kunstenrichen man,  
Der meister ist und dihten kan,  
Der hat sin me dann ich getan.  
(121-27)

This defence of the narrator's "simple" style, itself a topos, invites praise and favourable comparison with the more experienced but possibly less sincere "meister". On three other occasions, once while describing the Creation and twice while describing Eve's grief for the dead Adam (110-13; 3379-82; 3428f.), Lutwin employs the humility topos, but every time it is closely linked with that of inexpressibility, and twice more he employs the humility topos where it is evident that he considers he has succeeded rather well in his description (222-25; 1630-35). Convention required that an author be modest, and Lutwin, like any other poet, complied to a certain degree. At this point it would be well to recall the final lines of the prologue of the fourteenth century religious poem, Die Erlösung, in which the author's claim to a "simple" style is belied by its very expression<sup>3</sup>:

Ich enkan nit vil gesmiren  
noch die wort geziehen;  
ich wil die rede vieren  
âne allez florieren.  
Gblümet rede seit der grâl,  
her Iwein und her Parzivâl,  
und wie gewarp zû Cornewâl  
Brangâne, Isôt, Tristan, Rewâl,  
Und wie die klâre Blanzeflûr  
bestrieket in der minne snûr  
mit Tristande durch amûr  
heim zû Parmenie fûr.  
Solcher rede ich niht enger.  
Wer sich dan nit wil kêren her,  
der vindet doch wol sinen wer;  
der sehe vor sich dirre und der.

Die rede ist ernstlich gevar,  
des rede ich ernstlichen dar  
mit blößen worten unde bar.  
Nû hört und nemet der rede war.  
(85-104)

The unknown author of Die Erlösung employs a formidable array of decorative rhetorical devices throughout the poem despite the gravity of its subject. Lutwin was also schooled in the arts and narrative skills practised by poets. His work, he informs us, is "Mit rymen wol berichtet" (58), and he probably copied Wirnt in using three rhyming lines to mark the end of a paragraph or speech. Stylistically Lutwin was certainly deeply influenced by Wirnt, but as far as his handling of his theme is concerned Lutwin probably owes more to Konrad von Heimesfurt.

Nowhere does Lutwin explicitly state the theme of his work, except in its closing lines where he makes a point of saying what he will not relate, because his story has come to an end:

Wie unser herre (Jhesu) Crist  
An dem zwige die martel leit,  
Das wurt von mir nu nit geseit.  
Hie ist der rede nit mere.  
Got helffe uns zu (siner ere)  
One alle swere. Amen amen.  
Hie hat Eua und Adam ein ende.  
(3933-39)

In the final line Lutwin names his work "Eua und Adam", something which almost invariably has been overlooked by critics in this and in the last century.<sup>4</sup> Lutwin never refers to his Latin source by name, though it seems reasonable to assume that, if it had a title at all, it was "de Adam et Evae", the most general of them. We may assume that he chose to reverse the customary order of the protoplasts' names, and, although it is a minor detail, this is not without significance.

Lutwin's reticence in specifying the theme of his poem appears to be deliberate and is in marked contrast with the careful way in which Konrad von Heimesfurt introduces his subject in a passage which is of relevance to Lutwin's work. The following lines are from the prologue of Konrad's Mariä Himmelfahrt, which was written in the first quarter of the thirteenth century<sup>5</sup>:

Diu heilige schrift was wilent e  
ebreisch in der alten e.  
do wart si so gemeret,  
ze kriechen verkeret,  
dar nach in latine braht.

do wart des sit also bedaht  
von den die tihten kunden,  
swaz si solher maere funden  
von misselichen oder von waren  
diu da guot ze sagenne waren,  
das si diu en tiusche tihten  
und ze solhem sinne rihten  
daz sie ein ieglich man  
der doch der buoche niht enkan  
wol ze rehte vernimt  
und im ze hoeren baz gezimt.  
der selben han ich einez,  
daz suezer nie deheinez  
von menschen geschriben wart,  
von unser vrouwen hinwart,  
wie und wa si beliep,  
wer da was und wer ditz schreip.  
(45-66)

In this religious context we may translate the descriptive phrase "von misselichen oder von waren" as stories which are apocryphal or canonical. Authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were far from prejudiced against apocryphal tales, as long as they were "guot ze sagenne", to use Konrad's phrase. Konrad himself claims that his apocryphal tale about the Ascension of the Virgin Mary is based on a book "daz suezer nie deheinez von menschen geschriben wart."

Steinmeyer drew attention to the fact that Lutwin was familiar not only with Wigalois but also with Konrad's Mariä Himmelfahrt, and this is perhaps more significant than he realized.<sup>6</sup> Lutwin certainly knew this passage and found it unnecessary to give a similar explanation for the use of his source. He may well have been aware that other poets had already used the matter of the so-called Vita Adae et Evae, even though they had by no means exhausted its possibilities. The two texts published by Fischer and von der Hagen were written before 1300 and narrate only three episodes of the many that relate to Adam and Eve. The author of the slightly fuller version published as "Adams klage" by von der Hagen was aware that there was more to tell<sup>7</sup>:

Min maere hat ein ende,  
sint daz ich han vol braht  
der rede, der ich hat' gedaht.  
Daz maere heizet Adams klage.  
Ob ich nu allez solde sagen,  
daz er uf der erden leit,  
daz waer' ein michel arbeit,  
und dihte lihte idoch ze lank.  
(414-21)

Lutwin has no such qualms about his tale being too long. His is the fullest version of the legend known in German. With one exception he follows closely the various episodes that have come to be known as the Vita Adae et Evae.

## B. Narrative Structure

An assessment of Lutwin as a narrator may begin with a consideration of the formal structure of the work. To clarify the overall theme of the poem its contents may be divided as follows: Part I comprises the prologue, the creation of Adam and Eve, their temptation, fall, and expulsion; Part II comprises their penance, the Devil's narrative, and the birth of Cain; Part III begins with the story of Cain and Abel, continues with Adam's sickness and death, followed by that of Eve, and ends with Noah. Parts I - III may be further divided into sections which follow paragraph division to a large extent (although the rubricated letter which indicates a new paragraph in the later manuscript is not always to be trusted) but are primarily based on subject matter. The number in brackets after the line numbering indicates the total number of lines in each section.

### PART I

1 - 77 (77)	:	The Prologue
78 - 102 (25)	:	The necessity for the Creation
103 - 127 (25)	:	The poet's defence
128 - 153 (27)	:	The naming of Adam
154 - 184 (31)	:	Phizon
185 - 225 (41)	:	Geon, Tygris, Eufrates
226 - 260 (35)	:	The naming of Eve
261 - 299 (39)	:	Laudatio Dei
300 - 344 (45)	:	God's command; observations by the narrator
345 - 391 (47)	:	Vituperatio Diabuli
392 - 432 (41)	:	The Devil questions Eve
433 - 463 (31)	:	The Temptation
464 - 506 (43)	:	The Fall; observations by the narrator
507 - 533 (27)	:	The immediate consequences
534 - 566 (33)	:	The divine interrogation
567 - 591 (25)	:	God curses the Serpent
592 - 615 (24)	:	God curses Eve
616 - 648 (32)	:	God curses Adam
649 - 731 (83)	:	excursus: <u>memento mori</u>
732 - 810 (79)	:	The Expulsion; concluding prayer

PART II

- 811 - 955 (145) : A matter of survival  
956 - 1088 (133) : The penance; Eve's second fall  
1089 - 1263 (175) : excursus: an exhortation to all good men  
and women  
1264 - 1310 (47) : The wisdom of Adam  
1311 - 1489 (179) : The Devil's narrative  
1490 - 1635 (146) : The price of Minne: a lovers' quarrel  
1636 - 1879 (244) : The curses are partially lifted: Eve gives  
birth to Cain, and Adam is shown how to  
cultivate the earth

PART III

- 1880 - 2096 (217) : Cain and Abel  
2097 - 2276 (180) : Adam's vision  
2277 - 2521 (245) : Seth's and Eve's journey to paradise:  
the olive-branch  
2721 - 2760 (40) : The narrator explains the angel's words  
2761 - 2884 (124) : Adam reproaches Eve; her first lament  
2885 - 2919 (35) : excursus: o felix culpa  
2920 - 3059 (140) : The death of Adam; Eve's second lament  
3060 - 3279 (220) : The burial of Adam and Abel  
3280 - 3304 (25) : The narrator's prayer  
3305 - 3499 (195) : Eve's third lament; the angel's message that  
they are not to mourn longer than six days  
3500 - 3628 (129) : Eve's final lament; her prophecy and death  
3629 - 3706 (88) : The miraculous tree  
3707 - 3802 (96) : Seth's second journey to paradise:  
the apple-branch  
3803 - 3939 (137) : Noah and the dove; the epilogue

From the above outline we may draw a number of conclusions. Parts I and II comprise almost half the lines of the work, Part III the rest. In Part I there are no major narrative units but twenty sections which are short, with the excursus on human frailty (83) followed by the conclusion (79) and the prologue (77) the longest of them. The narrator intervenes directly at frequent intervals throughout. In Part II there are seven narrative units, and these are considerably longer than the sections in Part I. The narrator intervenes only occasionally, but in the excursus addressed to "all good men and women" he does so at some length (175). In Part III there are fourteen major narrative units with the direct interventions by the narrator dwindling from 40 to 35 to 25 lines. The three final units are comparatively shorter in length as the narrative flow is accelerated.

In Part I we might expect the narrator to inform us of his intentions other than the fact that he has chosen a religious topic, but this he does not do explicitly. There are, however,

two occasions where an attentive listener or reader might have been alerted. The first comes after the Devil has been introduced and castigated:

Do er rehte erkos die wile,  
Und sich die engel mit yle  
Zu hymele begunden heben,  
Die do zü hūte wurden geben  
Dem schönen paradise,  
In einer slangen wise  
Hup er sich in des boumes este,  
Wanne er darunder weste  
Adam und Eua sunder hūt.  
(392-400)

Here in the context of Genesis III the narrator has introduced an incident from his Latin source: Adam is lying on his sick-bed, and his children urge him to explain what is the matter. He proceeds to recount his fall and to explain how God inflicted seventy maladies upon him. In W.Meyer's edition of the Vita Adam begins his tale in the following manner:

Dedit nobis dominus deus angelos duos ad custodiendos nos. venit hora ut ascenderunt angeli in conspectu dei adorare. statim invenit locum adversarius diabolus dum absentes essent angeli. et seduxit diabolus matrem vestram, ...  
(VA 33)

Lutwin does not refer to a source for this piece of extraneous information which underlines the vulnerability of the protoplasts, but it is there to be recognized. His Latin source may have included Genesis II and III, but it is unlikely that it would have had this small detail which directly precedes Lutwin's account of the Fall, a crucial moment in his tale. The other occasion is just before the Expulsion, where God decrees that Adam must be banished from paradise lest he eat of the tree of life and become immortal. This elicits a passionate prayer from the narrator with which Part I is brought to a close. The following are its opening lines:

Eya, gott, der tugent vol,  
Hette ich des bömes einen zwy,  
Das ich vor dem tode fry  
Jemerme one ende were,  
Das were mir ein süsse mere,  
Und were vor truwen wol genesen.  
(763-68)

The reference here to the branch from the tree of life is of thematic importance for the rest of the work. Later on, Adam professes

to value a branch from paradise more highly than the joys of love (1563-68), and the work ends on the certainty that Adam will be redeemed by the second Adam's willing sacrifice on the paradisiacal wood. In Part I these two indirect references to the legends of Adam and Eve and the Holy Rood are the only indications of what is to come. In general terms, however, Part I can be seen as an introduction to the rest of the work, and not merely because the biblical account of Adam and Eve logically precedes the apocryphal account. Lutwin tells the story of the Fall with the customary emphasis on its dire consequences for mankind (464-506). Adam and Eve are introduced and named, but in the case of the latter the narrator slightly modifies her role in the Fall so that she is presented more sympathetically than is usual. There is a formal laudatio of God (261-99) and an energetic vituperatio of the Devil (345-91) who is presented as a formidable adversary. God's cursing of Adam leads into a homiletic excursus on the memento mori theme, and Part I concludes with a prayer addressed to Christ and Mary, the second Adam and Eve. The division of Parts II and III is thematic rather than formal. In Part II Adam and Eve are the main subjects as they come to terms with their new condition. This time only Eve succumbs to the Devil's guile and through Adam the curses are lifted to a small extent. Eve receives help from the angels at the time of Cain's birth, and Adam is shown how to cultivate the earth. In other words man is no longer completely divided from God for whom the angels act as intermediaries. In Part II the mood is lighter, and the narrator allows a certain amount of secularization to prevail, as Adam and Eve establish the human race. In Part III, however, Cain's fratricide introduces a more sombre note. The reality of death is the unavoidable consequence of the Fall, and this is dwelt upon in the sufferings of Adam and Eve. The promise of redemption that is given to mankind proves to be of little immediate comfort to Adam and Eve themselves.

### C. Style and Personality of the Narrator

The personality of the author of Eva und Adam appears to have struck critics in different ways. Eis sees Lutwin as something of a misanthrope telling a dark tale of suffering. De Boor, on the



other hand, sees him as a moralist with a limited point of view, the somewhat verbose teller of a comforting tale. Most recently Murdoch has seen in Lutwin a literary consciousness that combines with a secular approach to a popular religious subject. These views may all be justified to a certain extent at some point or other in the work, which as a whole is of uneven quality. In comparison with Folz' concise poetic account of the Vita, Lutwin's is at times long-winded and undistinguished. However, there are virtues to be gained from proceeding at a more leisurely narrative pace, the chief being the care with which Lutwin portrays Adam and more especially Eve. This may be compared with his far less interesting portrayal of Cain and Abel who remain stereotypes, or with his even less substantial portrayal of Seth. Sophisticated character development is not to be expected in a religious work of this period, whereas stereotyped characterization is. This makes Lutwin's portrayal of Adam and Eve the more remarkable: Adam emerges as practical and rational, while Eve is vulnerable, impulsive, and passionate. The humanity of the couple is most successfully presented in Part II of the work, where Lutwin clearly felt free to take some liberties with his source. Part II forms the most homogeneous section of the poem and contains some of the poet's better writing. We may cite, for example, the passage in which the Devil justifies his harassment of the protoplasts by claiming that Adam was the cause of his down-fall. After the creation of man in God's image Lucifer was commanded to adore Adam, but this he refused to do:

Er ist gemaht von erde,  
So bin ich hoch und werde  
Nach gottes bilde beschaffen vor.  
Ich bin uber der engel chor  
Gehöhet sunder menschen list,  
Er ist nūwent erde und myst.  
Jch bin schöne, er ist swar.  
Er ist drübe, ich bin clar.  
Er ist vinster, ich bin lieht.  
Niemer das von mir beschiht,  
Das ich knuwe fur in  
Vur den ich gehöhet bin.  
(1408-19)

The feeling of infinite superiority, the disdain with which the angel of light dismisses the earth-made man, is skilfully conveyed in these well-matched antithetical phrases.

The theme of mankind's base beginnings is one that the narrator has already dealt with in Part I. After God has cursed Adam, the narrator launches into a homiletic excursus which is based on the memento mori theme (thus linking with the narrative where God has told Adam that he will die) :

Lieber mensche, bedencke das,  
Wer du bist und was  
Din kranckes angenge sy.  
(649-51)

In this excursus Lutwin displays complete familiarity with the rhetorical techniques of the sermon:

NÜ mercke, mensche, ob (iht) sy  
Swacher danne die erde ist,  
Do du von geboren byst  
Mit vil swachem werde.  
Nech bistu swacher dann die erde,  
Spreche ich, swecher je gar vil,  
Als ich dir bescheiden will.  
(663-68)

The argument is emphatically stated with the four-fold repetition of "swach". In the explanation there follows an almost lyrical description of the bounteous nature of mother earth (669-85) which is dramatically interrupted by:

NÜ sage, meneche, du füles asz,  
Was gütes von dir kommen möge,  
Das zü reinikeit döge ?  
(686-88)

The narrator then calls upon the authorities (who are in this case Cato, Ovid, and Plato) to support his claim that nothing can be said in favour of man's existence, the irony being that man himself is unable to recognize this truth, as the rest of the excursus points out.

As is to be expected, this excursus has been cited as proof of Lutwin's misanthropic nature, but the very expression of these sentiments makes this particular passage an unreliable witness.<sup>8</sup> Lutwin is here following a tradition and not expressing a personal point of view. That the Devil later expresses a similar disdain for man's base beginnings also makes the memento mori-excursus a questionable piece of autobiography, for in the Devil's mouth the denigration of man made in God's image is clearly a blasphemy. So it would seem that Lutwin is primarily concerned with the literary expression of an idea that forms part of the

dichotomy of the Christian view of man.

The wanckel-excursus that follows on after Eve's second fall has also been cited as evidence of the narrator's personal views, in particular his attitude towards women. In the context of the poem we would expect Eve's behaviour to be commented on and applied to her descendants, as it is in the dictum:

Wanckel erbet die fröwen an  
Von Eua, die sinerste began  
(1103f.)

Eve's credulity has given rise to her unfortunate bequest to woman-kind of "wanckelsmut" and "unstete" which the narrator defines as the inability to distinguish bad counsel from good and to consider the consequences (1120-29). This view is partially expressed in Wigalois in a far briefer excursus (5393-5412) which begins by condemning the following feminine characteristic:

es ist ouch noch ein Übel wip  
wirser danne dehein man,  
wan si niht bedenken kan  
waz ir dar nâch kûmftic sf.  
(5393-96)

Wirnt then praises "edeln wip", and it is possible to see in his excursus the nucleus of that by Lutwin: a man will do better if he finds favour with a good woman than if he possesses a bad one. Before addressing both men and women on the subject of choosing a spouse, Lutwin reflects of women:

Su wüstant nit was wanckel wer,  
Ob in nit dicke offenbere  
Euen wanckel wurde geseit.  
(1133-35)

This somewhat ironic observation from one who is telling the story of Adam and Eve at some length might seem to excuse women, if it were not for the qualifying statement:

Das ist wor, su (were) basz verseit,  
Wanne das su (volgent) mere  
Der bösen danne der gûten lere.  
(1136-38)

This generalization that women are more likely to follow a bad rather than a good example (just as they will follow bad rather than good counsel) is a typical part of the process that has been called the Eve analogy.<sup>9</sup> Lutwin does not, however, indulge in sweeping generalizations to the extent that Gottfried does in the section on Eve in his huote-excursus, for he makes a careful and

important distinction between good and bad women:

Es ist ein witter underlas  
Zwischent den bösen und gūten,  
Den valschen und rein gemūten.  
Die bösen haben valschen mūt,  
Die reinen sint vor valsche behūt.  
Den reinen sol man gūtes yehen,  
Alles gūt müs in geschehen.  
(1240-46)

Thus Lutwin's misogynism is considerably tempered by this admission, and by the time it is reached it is clear that the excursus is more of a rhetorical exercise than a personal expression of Lutwin's opinion of women. B. Murdoch has already commented that a passage in the excursus (1155-62) reads as though Lutwin were parodying Gottfried (or his imitators), and in his vituperation of "trüwelose wip" Lutwin follows the standard rhetorical procedure. Men are warned against the physical attractions of women (1185-88) and (at greater length) against the lure of their wealth (1193-1212). They are told to value honour above all things, and Adam, Samson, and Solomon are cited as men who have been humiliatingly enslaved by women in the past (1225-34).<sup>10</sup> If the passages which denigrate women come across more vividly than those that praise them, then it is due to the nature of rhetorical vituperation, but even so the excursus ends with the narrator formally naming himself as a well-wisher of good women:

Wer in gūtes nit gunne,  
Der müsse von in gescheiden sin.  
Aber ich armer Lutwin  
Sencke darzu myn synne,  
Das ich in (wünschende) bin  
Den reinen maniges gūtes,  
Die unverhowendes mūtes  
Sint gegen den valschen mannen.  
(1252-59)

This is a statement that needs to be borne in mind when considering the extent of Lutwin's misogynism, especially with regard to his portrait of Eve.

Possibly the most revealing passage about Lutwin is the excursus in which he defends Eve after Adam has reproached her (2885-2919). In Part III the narrator intervenes far less frequently than in the rest of the work. This is doubtless because his source gives him less scope, the main subject now being Adam's mortal suffering. In the midst of this Lutwin chooses to portray the more personal

suffering of Eve, which he first justifies by exonerating her almost completely. The o felix culpa-excursus (2885-2919) may not be very sophisticated in terms of theological thought, but the notion is arresting enough in this particular context, where it allows the narrator in his depiction of Eve's grief to indulge his liking for rhetorical description and expression.

#### D. The Presentation of Adam and Eve

The way in which Lutwin presents the protagonists of the poem is of considerable interest: Adam and Eve are exemplary figures and as such do not offer the author much scope for characterization. Their historical and theological significance is indisputable. Historically they are the first man and woman to have been created and therefore of abiding personal interest to their descendants. Theologically their act of disobedience caused a rift between man and God. And yet in the words of the Exsultet of Easter Saturday: "O felix culpa, quae talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem", their act of disobedience can be seen as one of divine necessity. Lutwin adopts this optimistic view of the Fall, when he defends Eve against her detractors at the end of the poem. A defence of Eve is not a common feature of the Adam and Eve story: Jewish and Christian interpreters of the first three chapters of Genesis have invariably placed the responsibility of the Fall upon Eve, and in the apocryphal legends she receives the greater part of the blame as well. When they do their penance, it is Eve who succumbs once more to the temptation that Satan offers her, while Adam resists. Throughout Eve's guilt is stressed rather than that of Adam. It cannot be said that Lutwin tries to reduce Eve's guilt to any great extent, but he is at pains to elicit sympathy for her.

We may consider first the manner in which Lutwin portrays Adam and Eve in his biblical account of their story. Adam is introduced and named after the four cardinal points (128-153). This naming is first found in the Book of the Secrets of Enoch and in the Sibylline Books.<sup>11</sup> Along with the formation of his body from eight parts it became an episode in the Vita, although

its position appears not to have been fixed, and it is not always included.<sup>12</sup> In its most elaborate form God sends the four arch-angels to the four earth-stars, and each brings back the first letter of their names: Anatole, Dysis, Arctos, and Mesembrion. Lutwin mentions only the names, and his explanation is brief: "Der welte teil sint vier" (145), as is his comment: "Den möchte er wol sunder han" (153). The naming of Eve does not appear in any of the known versions of the Vita, and Lutwin appears to have supplied this etymology himself. There was a well established tradition concerning the interpretation of Eve's name which was based on Jerome's "Eva calamitas aut vae vel vita"<sup>13</sup> and on the traiectio of eva into ave, Gabriel's greeting to Mary.<sup>14</sup> The latter became a highly popular topos both in Latin and vernacular Marian literature, where the behaviour of the second Eve is contrasted at length with that of the first.<sup>15</sup> Lutwin uses an etymology that is less familiar and to be found in the writings of Richard of St. Laurent (fl.1245)<sup>16</sup>:

Eua dicta est ab a, quod est sine, et eu, quod est bonum, quasi sine bono: quia bonum sibi datum a domino sibi abstulit et viro, immo et toti posteritati suae, quia paradisi porta per Euam cunctis clausa est.

Lutwin gives a slightly abbreviated version of this interpretation:

'Eu' in krieschem sprichet: 'güt';  
'A' in latin betütet: 'an',  
Der den nammen prüfen kan,  
So sprichet: 'Eua one güt'.  
Nach anders man in bedüten düt:  
Eua kriesch in latin verkeret  
Sprichet: '(ach)'. Ich bin geleret,  
Der erbet su zü rehte an,  
Wanne Eua güttes uns verban.  
(247-55)

If "an" (in 253) is emended to "ach" (Jerome's "vae"), then Lutwin's knowledge of Greek is indeed questionable, but more important is the fact that he introduces Eve in a deliberately negative light as "Eua one güt". The tradition to which Lutwin refers (253-55) places the guilt of the Fall on Eve rather than Adam, a fact which influenced the characterization of the protoplasts to no small degree. J.M.Evans points out that<sup>17</sup>:

the portrayal of the temptation is determined to a large extent by the characterization of Adam and Eve, and this in turn affects their reactions after the Fall and the nature of their condemnation.

The biblical text itself poses certain problems concerning their characterization, for the Priestly account views man as perfect, while the Jahwist account sees him as open to temptation and disobedient.<sup>18</sup> Christian exegetes had to reconcile the two views, and, since the woman was clearly the prime mover in the account of the Fall, misogynistic logic came to be applied to the case in which both were created perfect but the woman less perfect than the man. This did not exculpate her in any way (although it did increase the man's share of the guilt to some extent), for the dominant attitude towards women in general was hostile. Since the Bible offers so little in the way of detail about either protoplast, especially concerning their motivation, the exegetes were left to surmise and dictate.<sup>19</sup> Thus Eve is both intellectually and physically inferior to Adam. Tropologically she represents the flesh, while he represents the intellect, and historically her temptation of Adam is seen as a malicious act. The paradox inherent in most portrayals of Eve is summed up in B. Murdoch's comment that<sup>20</sup>:

it is not unusual, particularly in the transmission from theological exposition proper to vernacular literary adaption, to find, for example, that qualities of which Eve is the tropological figure come to be applied to her prelapsarian nature, even when such qualities are theologically irreconcilable with her paradisaical state.

In the Vita a comparatively sympathetic view is taken of Eve. She illustrates quite closely the mulier from mollier etymology found in Isidore's Etymologiae XI, ii, 18 and elsewhere in that her physical weakness and her yielding nature are stressed rather than a malevolent disposition as such, a view that was also adopted by the author of the Anglo-Saxon Genesis B.<sup>21</sup> In the Vita Eve is the first to voice her hunger, and Adam assigns her a penance that is slightly shorter than his own. Halfway through her penance the Devil tempts her with the promise that she and Adam will be returned to paradise, and believing him she falls a second time. Rejected by God it is only when Adam intercedes on her behalf that angels are sent to assist her at the birth of Cain, and when on the way to paradise the Devil taunts her, only her son can drive him away. Eve's vulnerability is stressed, but she is consistently portrayed as being meek and penitent and fully conscious of her guilt. Eve begs Adam to kill her so that he may be saved (an ignorant though

well-meaning request) as it was she who sinned, and after she has been deceived a second time, she leaves him out of feelings of shame. Her love for Adam is never in doubt up to the moment of his death, and just before she dies she acquires some dignity, when she warns her children of the future destruction of the world by fire and water. Eve is then buried beside Adam to share in his final redemption. This view of Eve is quite different from those expressed in some Jewish haggadah, where Eve's motives for tempting Adam are attributed to jealousy or disrespect.<sup>22</sup> In the Vita Eve is portrayed as being weak, both physically and intellectually, but her intentions are never wicked, and she is truly penitent.

Despite the fact that Lutwin introduces Eve as being "one güt;" he takes care in relating her first fall to present her as sympathetically as possible. Instead of agreeing with patristic tradition that there is a potential sinfulness in Eve that causes her to fall, he stresses her innocence and naivety which make her the easy victim of a cunning enemy. The Devil is introduced as a powerful adversary (401-14) who understands the child-like nature of his prey. The words of the Serpent are considerably different from those of the biblical text:

Got weis wol, wanne ir  
Das obes essen begynnent,  
Das ir uch zü hant versynnent  
An allen güten dingen.  
Wie möchte uch mysselingen  
Von disem cleinen böymelin ?  
Was kreffte mag daran gesin,  
Dovon ir fröide verliesent  
Und den tot dovon kiesent ?  
Das ist ein kintlicher won.  
(442-51)

Indeed the biblical passage is only partially rendered, since there is no mention of their being "sicut dii", and they are to acquire only the knowledge of good, not of good and evil.<sup>23</sup> Instead of trying to turn Eve against an invidious God, the Serpent stresses the apparent triviality of the command by referring to the tree in a derogatory diminutive. The rest of the speech is based upon the Serpent's promise "aperientur oculi vestri" but enlarges upon it by stressing their present condition of childish ignorance:

Als schiere wurt geton,  
Das ir das obes rüret,  
Zü hant wurt uch entpfüret



Der blinde und der dumbe sitt,  
Do jr sint gefangen myt.  
Darzû wurt uch sunder wan  
Manig synne uff getan  
Und offen uwer ougen  
Zû wissende manig tougen,  
Die vor uch verholen sint,  
Und sint nyme als die kint  
One kunst und an synnen blint.  
(452-63)

This emphasis upon the protoplasts' stupidity and inexperience is striking and reduces their culpability to a significant extent. The most they can be accused of wanting to do is improve themselves, while the more common view of both exegetes and poets imputes pride, arrogance, and vainglory amongst other sins to their simple act of disobedience.<sup>24</sup>

The manner in which Lutwin presents the protoplasts may be compared with that of the slightly earlier Jansen Enikel whose Weltchronik begins with an account of the Creation and Fall.<sup>25</sup> Enikel's rather rambling version takes into account a number of sources, and he may well have known of the Vita, for after the Expulsion he alludes to a source:

Daz buoch uns von im seit,  
das Adam vil tiuwer kleit  
und ouch sin wîp Eva,  
daz sölcher jâmer aldâ  
sît noch ê wart vernomen, ...  
(1119-23)

He does not relate any of the episodes of the Vita, however, but his account of the Temptation and Fall offers a clearly defined characterization of Adam and Eve. Adam is virtuous and falls against his will, while Eve is easily tempted and an accomplished temptress. When the serpent suggests that God is jealously withholding wisdom and beauty from them, she replies:

sam mir sêl und lîp,  
west ich daz für ein wârheit,  
swem ez waer liep oder leit,  
ich waer dar zuo alsô kluoc,  
daz ich des obzs aez genuoc.  
(810-14)

Eve is promised the "öbristen krôn" (821), and, speedily convinced of the truth she wants to believe, she eats the fruit. Eve then seeks out Adam who immediately recognizes the probable consequences of her deed. His objections are brushed aside however:

swic und iz den apfel sâ,  
und bricheet dô hiut daz gebot,  
sô wirst dô schoener dann got.  
daz weiz ich von der wârheit,  
swem ez sî liep oder leit.  
solt ich niht lieber frou sîn,  
und daz der himel waere mîn  
und ouch daz paradîse,  
so waer ich vil unwise.  
(862-70)

Eve's pride and ambition are stressed as is her lack of respect for Adam:

Adam, dô bist ein vorhtic man,  
dâ von maht dô niht êre hân.  
des muost dô haben mînen haz.  
(873-75)

Adam gives in to her, fully convinced in his own mind of the evil consequences that will ensue but prepared to suffer with her :

wir müezen beidiu lîden scham.  
nô gip mir her den apfel rôt.  
(894f.)

Having eaten the fruit Adam gives vent to his grief in a highly rhetorical fashion:

dô erder scham wart gewar,  
dô brach er ûz dem kopf daz hâr,  
wan er schrei mit grimme  
mit vil lûter stimme:  
'ôwê mir armen diser nôt.  
ich hân den bitterlîchen tôt  
gerüeret an mit mîner hant.  
Evâ, ich bin von dir genschant, ...  
(903-10)

From this point onwards Eve is repeatedly blamed, and from the way in which she has been presented it is clear that she is culpable.

In Enikel's account of the Fall the protoplasts play an active role, especially in the scene where Eve tempts and taunts Adam and he tries to reason with her. This vivid scene is not based on the biblical account but can be said to illustrate a popular interpretation of the Fall. Lutwin avoids such an interpretation altogether by stressing the child-like innocence of the pair:

Die worent alsam die kint  
One schamme und sünden eine,  
Falsches fry und so reine,  
Mit schône und mit wiszheit, ...  
(268-71)

However, here the purity, beauty, and wisdom of the pair in paradise is as yet untried. The Serpent mocks Eve with her inexperience

rather than inciting her to rebel against God, and she believes him in her naivety:

Eua was der reden fro.  
Sü wonde, es were also,  
Als er ir kunt hette getan.  
Do betroug sü leider jr wan.  
(464-67)

As in the Vita her act of disobedience is due to a gullible rather than a malicious nature. The eating of the fruit is related as laconically as it is in the Bible and, unlike Enikel's Eve, she has little problem in persuading Adam to share it with her:

Domitte beisz sü darin,  
Das ander teil gab sü hin  
Adam, das nosz er zü hant.  
(480-82)

At this point the narrator intervenes in order to lament the Fall and its consequences for mankind. Eve is once more addressed as "sunder güt", but the narrator breaks off the elaborate chess imagery with which he berates her in order to remind us that Eve too will suffer the bitter consequences of her sin:

Das lossent wir one hassz,  
Wenne su sin wenig genosz,  
Die uns broht der sunden klosz,  
Dovon sint wir selden blosz.  
(503-06)

In retelling the Vita Lutwin emphasizes the sorrows of Eve.

So far Eve has been the main subject with Adam a passive presence in the background. There is, however, an important if brief glimpse of him after the Fall:

Adam dört verborgen lag  
Under der boüm este.  
Er truwete nit, das gott weste  
Die sunde, die er hette getan.  
Zwore das was ein tumber wan,  
Wann gott erkante die wercke ee,  
Das der wille volle gee;  
(520-26)

Adam, like Eve, is in a state of ignorance which eating from the tree of knowledge has done little to cure. The Serpent's insistence on their "tumpheit" (455, 474) to Eve is confirmed and recalled by the "tumber wan" which makes Adam unable to comprehend the nature of God. Once more Lutwin takes a different view of Adam than does Enikel who presents Adam in a far more positive light. A comparison may be drawn in the scene where God con-

fronts and questions the guilty couple and is met with the following replies<sup>26</sup>:

Dixitque Adam: Mulier quam dedisti mihi sociam dedit mihi de ligno, et comedi.

Et dixit Dominus Deus ad mulierem: Quare hoc fecisti ?

Quae respondit: Serpens decepit me, et comedi.

This passage was of considerable interest to the exegetes, because here the effects of the Fall could be seen at work.<sup>27</sup> The standard commentary of Augustine stresses the pair's arrogance in not admitting their guilt, while Jerome's comment goes further by claiming that they were seeking to blame their Creator. Thus the author of the Wiener Genesis (amongst others) comments: "daz was der wirsere ual."<sup>28</sup> Both Lutwin and Enikel introduce an apology at this point but for different reasons. Enikel's Adam on seeing God confesses and begs for mercy:

'genâd, herr,' sprach Adam,  
'ich hân die gehorsam  
zerbrochen und ouch mîn wîp.  
erbarm dich, herre, übr minen lîp.  
(953-56)

He then blames Eve, whose guilt is emphasized by the reversal in which God curses her first and at some length before turning on the Serpent. God does not curse Adam, instead the curse is delivered by an angel after the Expulsion. Thus Enikel succeeds in reducing Adam's guilt by increasing that of Eve. Lutwin's Adam is not excused in any way. He is only too eager to stress that his guilt is small in comparison with Eve's:

Die wart der äppfel susse ynne.  
Der asz su und gap ouch mir,  
Der nosz ouch ich, die schulde ist ir,  
Min schulde ist kleine daran."  
(553-56)

while Eve is prepared to accept personal responsibility for what she has done:

"Herre, mir riete der slange also,  
Das ich des bömes wücher nusse,  
An manigem dinge ich des genusse  
Und nach der selben slangen rat  
Asz ich den appfel ander statt.  
Jch wonde, ich dete reht daran.  
Do trög mich leider myn won,  
Wanne ich nit reht gevolget han."  
(559-66)

Instead of insisting that the Serpent deceived her, she admits

that on his advice she deceived herself. Eve's admission of guilt is highly unusual in this context and shows Lutwin as desirous of portraying Eve as sympathetically as possible. Lutwin may have known Enikel's Weltchronik and was certainly familiar with the more traditional and sterner view of Eve, from which he took the etymology of her name. His portrayal of her, however, appears to be influenced by the way she is presented in the Vita: guilty but penitent nevertheless.

In the Vita Adam is presented as possessing an intellect far superior to that of Eve: when she invites him to kill her, he refuses to do so on the grounds that they were created as one flesh, and it is he who suggests undertaking a penance and directs Eve in what she is to do. The Devil fails to tempt Adam a second time, and having completed his penance Adam once more enjoys God's favour. At Adam's request God sends angels to assist Eve at the birth of Cain, and an angel shows him how to till the ground. Before his death Adam is promised eventual redemption, and God himself is present at his burial. In the Vita the fallen Adam is restored not to paradise but to something of his former dignity: he remains the Lord of Creation whom nature (such as the fish in the Jordan) obeys and whose death it mourns. Lutwin endorses this positive view of Adam from the very first in his description of Adam immediately after the Expulsion:

Adam möhte belangen  
Nach so süsser ougenweyde,  
Die er verlosz mit grossem leide,  
Doch dett er als ein wyse man,  
Der sich des wol enthalten kan,  
Des er nit gehalten mag.  
(830-35)

This is another borrowing from Wigalois (1207-12) where it describes Gawan, Wigalois' father, who having left his wife cannot return to her, because he has left with her the magic girdle that secures re-entry to her land. Lutwin has been criticized for his borrowings from other poets and his comment on the above passage, "Das ist myn rate, dem volge ich" (839), has given offence, because it appears to appropriate the lines.<sup>29</sup> However, the narrator is chiefly concerned with expressing approval of the resourcefulness which enables Adam to set about making shelter for himself in a strange new world, as it does Gawan to return to Arthur's court

and to continue his life there. Like Adam, Gawain is excluded from the place where he most wants to be, but an analogy between their situations may not be pushed too far. In Adam's case it is a question of survival at the basic level of human need, and at this point the narrator stresses Adam's resourcefulness rather than his integrity as such.

In the Vita Adam and Eve search for food and can find only that which is fit for animals to eat, whereupon Adam remarks on this and suggests that they do penance. Lutwin makes Adam dig up the food regardless of its unsuitability and share it with Eve:

Hiemik. Adam begunden graben  
Der wurtze usz der erden do  
Und asz und gab ouch Eua so  
Zu niessen wurtze und grasz,  
Das vil wenig gegerwet wasz.  
(934-38)

There follows a list of the various culinary items for which they might have been grateful, which has something of the irony with which in Parzival Wolfram describes the plight of the inhabitants of Pelrapeire which is such that they do not require tooth-picks<sup>30</sup>:

der zadel fuogte in hungers nôt.  
sine heten kaese, vleisch noch prôt,  
si liezen zenstüren sîn.  
(184,7-9)

The purpose of Lutwin's addition appears to be a playful attempt to reduce the superhuman stature of the protoplasts at an early stage, even though it is not possible to alter the superhuman demands made on them later, for they have to undertake a gruelling penance, produce sixty-three children, and live for ninehundred-and-thirty years:

Der hunger gab darzu sin sture,  
Das su das krutel dühte güt,  
Wanne su mit swerem müt  
Gangen worent one essen,  
Als ich die zale han gemessen,  
Drig und zwentzig tage  
(Dovor) nach senender klage.  
(944-50)

By adding up the number of days in which they have gone without food, the narrator draws attention to the fact that he is following his source assiduously, but at the same time he cannot refrain from using the facts as proof that they were starving and ready to eat anything. And again he commends Adam's presence of mind:

Er dett als der byderman:  
Wann er es nit verbessern kan,  
Do duncket in ein rat,  
Was er zu niessende hatt,  
Als es imme an die not gat.  
(951-55)

It should be noted that Lutwin stresses Adam's practical nature rather than his intellectual superiority which he does not confirm until the Devil fails to tempt him a second time:

Er wonde der selbe böse geist,  
Alles ubels volleist,  
Das er mit syme valschen liegen  
Solte Adam betriegen  
Als er Euam hette getan.  
(1272-76)

In the preceding excursus there is a reminder of Adam's part in the first Fall, when he is cited as an example of a man who has been ruined by a woman (1229f.). This time Adam is proof against the Devil's scheming:

Doch was so wise Adam,  
Wie doch der tūfel were schön  
(Verkeret) jn engels person,  
Das er sin glichsheit,  
Sin triegen und valscheit  
Zu stunde wol erkant, ...  
(1276-82)

and when the Devil accuses Adam of being the cause of all his misfortunes, Adam objects vigorously (1338-51) and finally drives him away in a prayer to God (1492-1501). This establishing of Adam's ascendancy over the Devil is, of course, in the Vita, where it is followed by Eve's decision to leave Adam out of shame for what she has done. However, it is at this point that the narrator intervenes. As the Vita stands an explanation is certainly called for: Eve suddenly leaves Adam out of feelings of shame, and despite the fact that she is his wife (now pregnant by him) Adam permits her to depart without a word. Lutwin clearly considered this silence on the part of Adam inhuman and unsatisfactory, and he skilfully succeeds in changing the episode quite considerably, although the eventual outcome remains the same, and Adam and Eve are separated when the time comes for her to give birth to Cain.

In this episode where Lutwin can be seen to be at his most independent in the handling of his source, the secularization of the same becomes noticeably pronounced. At the same time, however,

this secularization is of a peculiarly literary nature.<sup>31</sup> On emerging from the river Adam is seized by a desire for Eve which is couched in the conventional terms of the Minne tradition:

Eua wart von ymme gegrüsset  
Mit vil lieplichen dingen.  
Jn begunde sere zwingen  
Die mynne und ir meisterschaft.  
Su kam in an mit solicher crafft,  
Das er des nit erwenden kunde.  
(1511-16)

This resembles a stylized passage in Wigalois which comes after the hero has seen Larie for the first time:

Vrou Minne nam in mit ir kraft  
und zöch in in ir meisterschaft  
gewalticliche âne wer ...  
(41523-25)

But whereas Wigalois must rescue Larie from the situation she is in and face many dangers on her behalf before he can win her, Adam's desire is speedily gratified:

Er müste begynnen an der stunde  
Mit Eua seltzammer gedat,  
Als nach menschlich nature hat,  
Dovon ir kusche (verwart).  
Mit libe ouch su swanger wart ...  
(1517-21)

The juxtapositioning of the conventional euphemisms for the sexual urge with the matter-of-fact description of its biological consequences is not without effect and does not exclude an affection that is both mutual and sincere:

Su hetten sin ee nit getan,  
Jn geschach beiden liep daran.  
(1524f.)

Lutwin has no qualms in mentioning a fact which the Vita simply passes over. The ironic interplay of courtly euphemisms and uncourtly realism is carried on in the ensuing dialogue between Eve and Adam:

"Eya, frunt und here myn,  
DÜ bist mir in das hertzen schrin  
Gevallen so kreffticlichen,  
Das ich des nit mag wichen,  
Min hertze lige by dir begraben.  
(1527-31)

Here Eve speaks of Minne with the emphasis on the heart as the seat of emotion and then bewails the fact that they did not discover their "hertzen liebe" (1539) sooner, since it has done them



so much good. In her enthusiasm she concludes with the assertion:

Ouch sie fur wor dir geseit,  
Das ich lieb prise  
Vur das schone paradise.  
Das soltu gloüben mir.  
Das machet der grossen liebe gir,  
Die ich, here, han zü dir.  
(1542-47)

The sentiment is typical of Lutwin's impulsive Eve in that she has not thought about the implications of what she has said, she is simply anxious to express how happy she is. Adam's reply is of great interest. His immediate response is perfectly in accord with hers:

Ouch het myn hertz und sin  
Gehüset also zü dir,  
Das du ie me liebest mir.  
Von diner mynne ist das geschehen.  
(1551-54)

and takes up the "exchange of hearts" topos of her speech, but with

Doch müs ich dem paradis iehen  
Vur alle schöne und wunne  
(1555f.)

the speech develops into a rhetorical diatribe against the over-praising of Minne:

Dovon wene ich, du tobest,  
Das du so hoch lobest  
Die liebe vor das paradis.  
(1560-62)

The argument is founded on the contrast between the eternal joys of paradise and the transient pleasures of Minne. To support this a number of paradise topoi are invoked, namely those which claim that in paradise there is a complete absence of physical and spiritual discomfort such as hunger, thirst, anxiety, or sorrow. Enikel's Adam refers to some of these as he bewails his loss of paradise:

mich hungert, des tet ez e niht.  
owe der jaemerlichen geschicht.  
mich durstet nu, des was ich fri.  
ja waen ich mir verteilet si.  
(1203-06)

These topoi are echoed in the Cave of Lovers episode in Gottfried's Tristan, where the lovers spend their exile from court in a terrestrial paradise. Here the intense spiritualization of Minne reaches its peak in the narrator's claim that Tristan and Isolde had no need of ordinary food<sup>32</sup>:

si sahen beide ein ander an,  
da generten si sich van;  
der wuocher, den daz ouge bar,  
daz was ir zweier lipnar;  
sin azen niht dar inne  
wan muot unde minne.  
(16815-20)

Perhaps Lutwin had this claim in mind when he made Adam, the uncourtly lover, describe the physical effects of Minne with deliberately crude realism. Here courtly euphemisms are dispensed with, and the passage gains in effectiveness from the way in which the paradise topoi are reversed and driven to their logical conclusions:

Nu lo mich keren (mynen) müt,  
So das ich diner mynne pflēge  
Und din liebe mich dozū wege,  
Das ich dich mynnen müs,  
Dovon (wirt mir nit) hungers būs.  
Durstet mich (vor) mynne ee,  
So durstet mich nach mynne me.  
Bin ich vor müde und lasz,  
So bin ich darnach müder basz.  
Wanne ich zu der mynne go  
So ist mir wol, und darno  
Bin ich aber frōiden losz.  
(1577-88)

In Adam's speech Lutwin appears to be criticizing the literary extravagances of the Minne tradition, and it is not without effect that he uses Adam as his mouth-piece:

Was mit leides hie geschicht,  
Des was ich ungewon dort.  
Dovon der mynne lop wort  
Behagent mir nit umb ein hor.  
(1597-1600)

for Adam has been in paradise and is therefore in the unique position of having experienced its delights which are inconceivable to all other mortals. Thus Adam speaks with authority if not with dignity on the subject of Minne. In human terms Adam has overreacted towards Eve's enthusiasm: his definition of Minne as a physical experience that results in spiritual dissatisfaction is one-sided to say the least and might have been voiced from the pulpit. It is small wonder that Eve is angered and hurries away in the impulsive fashion that is so typical of her:

Mit zorne sū dannen schiet,  
Als ir tumber müt riet,  
Und ging mit leide und yle  
Me danne tusent myle.  
(1615-18)

Adam's silence is now more convincing, for it is clear that Eve gave him little time to raise any objections. Nor does he remain unmoved by her departure:

Adam ouch vor leide nam  
Einen langen verren gang,  
Des in ouch sin müt twang.  
(1622-24)

He is also compelled to undertake a long journey, and, as Murdoch points out, the "ouch" implies that the impulse that compels him is as irrational as that which goads Eve.<sup>33</sup> The inadequacies of the Vita are thus resolved by Lutwin in a very human lovers' quarrel. Murdoch also draws attention to the fact that it would be possible to interpret the episode in a theological sense with Adam representing the rational and Eve the carnal instinct in mankind, but the narrator does not encourage such a reading, even though it corresponds with the way in which Adam and Eve are presented in the Vita.<sup>34</sup> Lutwin's Adam is not entirely rational at this point nor so pragmatic that he remains unaffected by Eve's departure, for he must learn through experience what it is to be without both paradise and Minne, which in a far broader sense means the human companionship which was given to him in paradise and which he was allowed to keep. That Adam has learnt something is perhaps reflected in the verbal echo of Parzival's Mitleidsfrage when he later finds Eve in great pain and asks: "Eua, waz wirret dir?" (1750).

As we have noted, Lutwin's Eve was prepared in the Genesis account to assume personal responsibility for her act of disobedience, and in the apocryphal account the narrator also emphasizes her sense of guilt, especially at the point immediately prior to her request that Adam should kill her:

"Wolte gott, das ich were tot,  
Sit du lideest solche not.  
Die solt ich billiche eine dulden.  
Die ist von mynen schulden,  
Durch das ich han missetan.  
(888-92)

However, it is her impulsiveness that distinguishes Lutwin's Eve from those in other versions of the Vita. When Adam suggests that they do penance, Eve agrees and hurries away to the Tigris:

Zu der büsse wart ir gach.  
Das was durch das ungemach,  
Das su von hunger kumber leit,

Wanne jr erste frossikeit,  
Dye hatt erzöiget vor  
Uns der unselden spor,  
Die hing ir noch ein teil an.  
(1014-20)

The reference to her "erste frossikeit" prepares us for the outcome of her penance. Greed was seen as one of the sins of the Fall<sup>35</sup> and is appropriate enough in the context of the Vita where the first theme is the search for food, but it is the adverb "gach" that distinguishes Eve's actions most tellingly. After Satan has persuaded Eve to break off her penance, the narrator comments on her action in an excursus which begins with the generalization that women inherit inconstancy from Eve who was the first to exhibit it:

Do si wider die gehorsam  
Das verbotten obsz nam  
Und wider Adams gebiet,  
Als ir der tüfel riet,  
So gohes usz der büsse tratt.  
(1105-09)

Again the narrator notes the hastiness of her breaking off of her penance and later concludes that women in general are inclined not to consider the consequences of their actions until it is too late. Lutwin does not criticize Eve for this. When she learns from Adam that she has been deceived again, she faints, and the same topos is used of her as of many a courtly lady in moments of stress:

Die liechte sunne wart ir naht,  
So das su horte nach sprach  
Vor dem leide, das ir geschach,  
Das su nach des tüfels rat  
So gahes us der büsse trat.  
Das was ir ander myssetat.  
(1305-10)

The fact that Lutwin's Eve leaves Adam out of anger rather than shame is in keeping with his portrayal of her character. She delights wholeheartedly in the discovery of Minne, but she is understandably angered by Adam's reasoning which is far from kindly expressed. Once she is by herself, she is full of anguish and, unlike in the Vita, longing for Adam:

(Su) was mit leide vaste dort.  
Jr hertze was belangen (vort)  
Nach der mynne sū sich sent,  
Der sū Adam het gewent.  
(1638-41)

As her time to give birth approaches, the narrator concentrates upon Eve's state of mind. First she turns to God for mercy, but it is in vain, and finding herself ignored she reproaches him:

"Eya, werder got, wie tūstu so ?  
Von dinen gnaden was ich fro.  
Mir hat din gotheit geben  
Zü wunschen ein reines leben.  
Das bin ich nū beroubet,  
Min froide ist betoubet  
Mit bitterlicher clage  
Von der swere, die ich trage.  
(1679-86)

These lines are again adapted from Wigalois, where Beleare is lamenting for her husband whom she believes to be dead. This appears to be the only Wigalois passage used in connection with Eve, and it may seem rather inappropriate in that Eve can hardly claim to have led a "reines leben" up until this point. Nevertheless, she is here the heart-broken lover and not just the Eve of the biblical context. She recalls her quarrel with Adam and concedes that he was right and that she was being unreasonable:

Eya, paradis, wer ich in dir,  
Das myn weinen wurde mir  
Geringert nach zü einer stunde.  
Das mir von Adams munde  
Vor geseit ist, das ist wor.  
Jch was güter synne bar,  
Do ich die mynne lobete mer  
Danne das paradis so her,  
Wann mir nie leit von dir beschach.  
Das ich der mynne lobes yach,  
Das was gar ein tōrlich ding.  
(1687-97)

This is an important passage, because it again underlines Eve's willingness to admit to her faults, as she does after the Fall. Experience has shown her that Minne is the source not only of joy but also of suffering, and she is the wiser for it. Thus it would seem superficial to view Eve merely as a symbol of the flesh, for Lutwin presents her in a far more human light as one who errs and learns.

One of the notable features of the Vita is the way in which Adam and Eve are shown to be isolated in a completely new and featureless world. Thus they never go anywhere specific, because there is nowhere. There are only directions to follow, and these are given by the rising and setting sun. Eve now addresses the sun, because although she is in the west the sun will be seen by Adam when it rises in the east. This links with the tradition

that Adam was the first astrologer, although Lutwin does not appear to have known this (1738ff.).<sup>36</sup> Throughout the Vita the forces of nature are allied to the protoplasts, and Eve turns to the sun, because she knows that Adam alone can help her:

Mir wurde bas, das weis ich wol,  
Obe ich Adam nach gesehe,  
Was ioch mir darnach beschehe.  
(1723-25)

although she is not being altogether truthful when she ends her prayer to the sun with the words:

Bring mir in zit den selben man,  
Der mich hie eynig hat verlan.  
(1733f.)

It was, after all, she who left him. When Adam is restored to her, she greets him joyfully, and it is striking that she is less ignorant about her pregnancy than other versions make her.<sup>37</sup> When Adam asks her the cause of her suffering, Eve replies:

Das wene ich, das kummet von dir.  
Eins ist gewahssen in mir,  
Das git mir we iemer mere  
Und zabelt jn der mossen sere,  
Als es von mir gerne were.  
(1753-57)

and the narrator again shows his liking for realistic detail. The birth of Cain appears to have been a popular episode of the Vita, and each narrator tries to include some detail that will convey the novelty of the event.<sup>38</sup> Here Eve is filled with wonder at the birth:

Wer hat dis geschaffen,  
Das ich also wunderlich  
Einen menschen mir glich  
Getragen han by mynem hertzen  
Mit manigem ungefugem smertzen ?  
Das ist ein grosses wunder ...  
(1795-1800)

as she voices her awe at the miracle which has been wrought inside her. But it proves necessary for the angels to show Eve how to take care of the child before they depart, as she comes close to crushing it in an excess of new-found maternal zeal:

Von irem hertzen wart (gestort)  
Was ir leides ie geschach,  
Do su ir liebes kint ansach.  
Su nam es mit gelust  
Und drucket es an ir brust,  
So das sin hertze krachte sere.  
(1820-25)

The second part of Eva und Adam ends on an optimistic, even cheerful note with the angels acting as God's intermediaries and partially relieving the protoplasts of the curses laid upon them. Adam has succeeded in exonerating himself in the eyes of God, and the angel tells Eve that he has been sent to her on Adam's behalf:

Er hat Adams truwe erkant,  
Sit er von angenge her  
Nyt vant an ymme kranckes mer,  
Wanne das er einest dime rat  
Volget, und nach der myssetat  
Nam er ymme büsse und leistet die.  
Was du hast selden hie,  
Die wurt dir von gotte getan  
Durch Adam, den güten man.  
(1774-82)

This passage expands the words of the angel in the Vita quite considerably, for there no explanation is given for Adam's powers of intercession. Here there is the reminder that Adam has proved his "truwe" to God by carrying out the penance that he imposed upon himself. He is no longer in the state of guilty ignorance that he was in after the Fall, and the narrator can now stress Adam's intellectual superiority. This he does when the angel shows him how to cultivate the land:

Das volget er wann er was wise.  
Er lerte in wurcken alles das,  
Was menschen synne ie genas,  
Darzu hat er bereiten müt,  
Wanne er was rein und gut  
Und was einer der wisesten man,  
Der mannes synne ie gewan.  
(1872-78)

With the formal application of the wisdom topos the narrator sets the seal upon his portrayal of Adam. The resourceful outcast is now ready to assume the role of the noble sage.

With the birth of Cain the most intimate episodes of the Vita can be said to be at an end. After the story of Cain and Abel, Adam increasingly becomes the central figure of the narrative: it is he who tells Seth about his vision of God in paradise and who recounts the Fall as he explains to the children the cause of his sickness. Eve is relegated to the back-ground until she is told to accompany Seth to paradise. On their return (without the Oil of Mercy but with the promise of eventual redemption) Adam bitterly reproaches Eve for her part in their fall (2785-2815). Before this he has addressed Eve affectionately (2295ff.), and the narrator perhaps excuses Adam's outburst with the words:

Dem verkeret was syn synn  
Zu leide, von we das geschach.  
(2781f.)

Adam's reproach is, of course, in the Vita, and Lutwin employs it as the starting-point at which he refocuses attention upon Eve, for:

Nieman lebete so un müte  
Er müte sich erbarmen  
Über Eua, die vil armen,  
Der von ir fliesen die trehen sehe.  
(2829-32)

He further elicits sympathy for her by enumerating her three sorrows: the first is her loss of paradise; the second the fact that she is the cause of all misfortune in the world; the third that Adam is dying. This, the narrator claims, was "ir meist clage" (2866). Eve's devotion to Adam is expressed in the four laments that Lutwin puts in her mouth and which, along with his own comments, form a substantial addition to the Vita narrative. In her first lament Eve bewails the fact that she cannot do anything to help Adam and longs to suffer pain herself (2867-84). Whereupon the narrator challenges her detractors with the notion that her action was intended by God in the first place:

Wellich mensche Eue flüchet  
Und darumbe roche süchet,  
Das su den appfel as  
Und Adam was ir gemas,  
Der sundet sere daran,  
Wann, als ich mich versten kan,  
Got verhangete darumbe der sunde,  
Das su (were) urkunde  
Siner grossen barmhertzikeit,  
Und das er die menscheit  
Wolte nemen an sich,  
Als die buch bewisent mich.  
(2885-96)

The unfortunate consequences of the Fall are thus justified and outweighed by the fortunate, namely God's inestimable mercy to mankind as revealed in the Incarnation and yearly recalled in the words of the Exsultet: "o felix culpa, quae talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem". With this interpretation Lutwin takes the Christianization of the Vita a stage further and justifies his portrayal of Eve as not being entirely "one gut" and deserving of sympathy. Her laments after Adam's death (2993-3012) and his funeral (3319-69) are not, however, merely to provoke sympathy. In the latter it is especially clear that Lutwin is also using this display of Eve's grief for literary effect. The speech is



full of rhetorical devices such as exclamations (variations of "Ach, mich vil armes wip" occur in 3319, 3341, 3348, 3357), questions, and exhortations. We are reminded of Enite's lament in Hartmann's Erec, a well-known display piece of feminine grief.<sup>39</sup> Like Enite, Eve reasons that she should die with her husband and chides God for his lack of mercy towards her:

Jch wene, vil lutzel erbarmen  
Dem hohen got von hymelrich,  
(Dem aller) gnaden ist nit glich,  
Sit du, liber here Adam,  
Von mynre ungehorsam  
Bist gefallen in den dot.  
(3342-47)

Like Enite she invites Death to take her and then taunts him when he fails to comply with her wishes:

Owe, dot, du bist (verseit).  
Schühest du ein armes wip ?  
(3360f.)

After the frenzy of this lament the narrator again intervenes with reflections on the nature of human suffering:

Dem nu geschicht hertzeleit  
Und das leit wurt so geleit,  
Das leidiclich ein hertzeleit  
Mit leide das ander treit,  
So das leit nach leide geschicht  
Und doch ein leit das ander niht  
Mit leide mag veryagen,  
Des hertze müsz schiere verzagen  
An frölichen sachen.  
(3383-91)

This highly rhetorical passage with its repetition of the word "leit" is another borrowing, this time from Konrad von Heimesfurt's Mariä Himmelfahrt. Lutwin parallels the cumulative effect of this passage with another enumeration of Eve's sorrows caused by her disobedience to God, her loss of paradise, her disobedience to Adam, and Cain's murder of Abel (3398-3407).<sup>40</sup> Each of these sorrows fails to cancel the other out and is renewed in her loss of Adam:

Ernuwet ist (ir) alles leit  
Mit ungefüger bitterkeit,  
Wanne er do begraben (lag)  
Der yr naht und manig dag  
Mit liebe hette vertriben hien.  
(3423-27)

It will be noted that the second enumeration of her sorrows is an intensification of the first, but again it is her grief for Adam that predominates. Eve lies on Adam's grave for six days, neither

eating nor drinking, until the angel appears and orders her and Seth to cease their mourning. Nature returns to its former state, but Eve remains unconscious and close to death. Towards midday Eve recovers sufficiently to be able to speak. In the Vita she addresses only her children before dying, but Lutwin makes her first deliver an encomium on behalf of Adam (3520-46). The calm resignation of this speech is in marked contrast with the frenzy of the previous laments as she extols Adam's virtues and welcomes her own death:

Den tot ich williclichen dol,  
Durch das myn sele nach gesehe  
Dine reine sele und ir veryehe  
Der leit, die ir gescheen sint.  
(3539-42)

In conclusion we may consider the typological function of Adam and Eve in Lutwin's poem. The Vita contributes to the Adam/Christ and Eve/Mary typology to a certain extent. Adam does his penance in the Jordan (a Christianization of the Jewish legend which probably placed him in the Gihon), and the waters stand still, as do the stars and the birds in the sky at the time of Christ's birth according to the infancy-gospels.<sup>41</sup> Further points of comparison may be drawn between Adam's death in the Vita and the canonical account of the death of Christ: Adam also dies at midday, the sun and the moon and the stars are eclipsed, and there is an earth-quake (2975-82). In his description of nature in mourning Lutwin recalls Adam's penance in the Jordan:

Die ursprunge von dem brunnen,  
Die faste zu tale flussen,  
Jre (creffte) su nit genüssen.  
Sü müstent gar stille stan  
Und clageten den doten man.  
Den vischen det jn dem see  
Adams dot we.  
Die vogel fielen umberal  
Von den lufften herabe zu tale.  
Die wilden diere und die zammen  
Clagetent den heren Adammen  
Mit clegelichem syt.  
Do erzöigetē su mit,  
Das er jr here were gewesen, ...  
(3036-49)

and we are reminded that Adam was lord over the animal kingdom (Genesis I:26) which implicitly justifies its mourning of him.

Lutwin does not, however, draw a parallel between Adam and Christ the king of all Creation. Nor does Lutwin comment directly on the typological link between Eve and Mary, although Mary is duly hailed after Eve's fall:

Su muter brut, der sun (wirt).  
Jr schone wol die hymel zirt.  
Jr schone ist wol lobes wert, ...  
(802-04)

In the Vita Eve is tempted a second time by the Devil, now disguised as an angel of light, who before his fall was the Archangel Lucifer, the bearer of light, and this second temptation parallels the canonical Annunciation far more closely than the first. At the Annunciation the Archangel Gabriel hails Mary, whereupon she conceives Christ, while Eve, having broken off her penance at the instigation of the false angel, and after Adam has succeeded in completing his, conceives Cain.<sup>42</sup> The similarities fit into a pattern which is one of reversal and opposites: Eve's act of disobedience results in the disgrace of her descendants, while Mary's passive acceptance of God's will gives mankind the opportunity of being restored to its former state of grace. Gabriel is the antitype of the fallen Lucifer, just as the murdered Christ is the antitype of the murderer Cain. We might also recall that while Eve was formed from the body of Adam, the second Adam was born of the flesh of the second Eve. The God-ordained but nevertheless incestuous nature of the relationship of the first couple is reflected in the relationship between Mary and Christ, who in a wider typological sense are the Bride and 'groom of the Song of Songs, the King and Queen of Heaven.<sup>43</sup> This habit of thinking in terms of reversals and antitheses and in seeing a pattern in events of significance came more naturally to Lutwin and those for whom he wrote than it comes to us. However, we are helped a little by the knowledge that Lutwin had in mind Konrad von Heimesfurt's Mariä Himmelfahrt in his description of Eve's grief for the dead Adam, namely the "leit" passage (3383-91) quoted above. In the circumstances Lutwin might be accused of plagiarism, but such an accusation does not take the context of the passage into account.<sup>44</sup> For a moment Lutwin emulates the techniques of a poet who has been more ambitious than himself in endeavouring to express Mary's grief. In both cases the highly stylized passage serves to underline the inexpressibility of such intense grief. It is the formal solution of an other-

wise insoluble problem. That Lutwin does not over-emphasize Eve's typological link with Mary is not surprising as it is a far from flattering one, and despite the fact that they both have cause to mourn, their circumstances are very different. Eve is mourning for her husband who has died of old age and whose death is a release from his physical suffering. Mary on the other hand is mourning for her son who, still in his prime, has been unjustly tortured to death. Mary's tragedy under the Cross is incomparably greater than that of Eve at Adam's death-bed.

NOTES

1. AfdA 8 (1882), 223ff.
2. See P.Kobbe, "Funktion und Gestalt des Prologs in der Mittelhochdeutschen nachklassischen Epik des 13.Jahrhunderts", DVJS 43 (1969), 405-57 and O.Sayce, "Prolog, Epilog und das Problem des Erzählers" in: Probleme Mittelhochdeutscher Erzählformen. Marburger Colloquium 1969 ed. P.F.Ganz and W.Schröder (Berlin, 1969), pp.63-72.
3. ed. F.Maurer (Leipzig, 1934). For a recent study of the rhetorical aspect of the work see F.Urbaneck, "Die Tribunal-szene in der 'Erlösung' als Beispiel rhetorischer Textsublimierung", Euphorion 74 (1980), 287-311.
4. Goedeke refers to the poem as Eva und Adam in the first edition of the Grundriss (see note 3 of Part I of this Introduction) but not in the second edition which appeared after the publication of the poem.
5. ed.F.Pfeiffer, ZfdA 8 (1851), 156-200.
6. AfdA 8 (1882), 226f.
7. Gesamtabenteuer (Tübingen/Stuttgart, 1850), I, 5-16.
8. See Eis, Beiträge, pp.40-51.
9. A.K.Blumstein, Misogyny and Idealization in the Courtly Romance (Bonn, 1977), pp.40-51.
10. F.Maurer, "Der Topos von dem 'Minnesklaven'", DVJS 27 (1953), 182-206.
11. Translations of these works are to be found in R.H.Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford, 1913),II. The passage from the Sibylline Books III, 24-26 is on p.379 and from the Secrets of Enoch XXX, 13-15 on p.449.
12. See M.Förster, "Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung" in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 2 (1908), 477-529, and more recently H.L.C.Tristram, "Die 'homo octipartitus' in der irischen und altenglischen Literatur" in Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie 34 (1975), 119-53.
13. In the Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum (CCSL 72), p.65. For the lengths to which this interpretation could be taken see Peter Comestor (PL 198, 1071) who claims that every newborn infant wails part of Eve's name.

14. U.Ruberg, "Verfahren und Funktion des Etymologisierens in mittelhochdeutschen Literatur", Verbum und Signum (Munich, 1975), I, especially pp.324-28.
15. A.Salzer, Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur (Linz, 1893). The section on Eve is on pp.476-487.
16. Ibid., p.486f.
17. 'Paradise Lost' and the Genesis Tradition (Oxford, 1968), p.4.
18. Evans gives a clear description of the Priestly and Jahwist accounts on pp.9-25.
19. For the exegetical tradition of Eve's guilt see Murdoch, The Fall of Man, pp.39-95.
20. The Irish Adam and Eve Story from 'Saltair na Rann'II: Commentary (Dublin, 1976), p.13.
21. Isidore, PL 82,47. In Genesis B (ed. O.Behagel, Tübingen, 1965) the poet stresses Eve's weaker nature (l.590f., p.224 and l.649f. p.226) but makes her act in good faith (l.708f., p.228).
22. L.Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia, 1913-38) I, p.73f. and V, p.95.
23. Genesis II:4-5.
24. See Murdoch, The Fall of Man, pp.68-95.
25. Enikel's Weltchronik was edited and introduced by Philipp Strauch (Hannover and Leipzig, 1900), see also the entries in VL II (1936), 575-80 by B.Schmeidler and VL V (1955), 445 by Hannemann. Little study has been made of Enikel: the most recent focuses on his other work, the Fürstenbuch, see U.Liebertz-Grün, "Bürger, Fürsten, Dienstherren, Ritter und Frauen. Gesellschaftsdarstellung und Geschichtsbild in Jans Enikel's 'Fürstenbuch'", Euphorion 74 (1980), 77-94.
26. Genesis III:12-13.
27. See Murdoch, The Fall of Man, pp.130-39.
28. ed. V.Dollmayr (Halle/S, 1932), l.793.
29. See Steinmeyer, p.224 n.1.
30. ed. K.Lachmann (Berlin/Leipzig, 1926).
31. Murdoch draws attention to this secularization in "Eve's Anger", see Part I, n.25 of this Introduction.
32. ed. F.Ranke (Berlin, 1964).
33. Murdoch, "Eve's Anger", p.268.

34. Ibid., p.267f.
35. B.Murdoch, "Zu einer quellenbestimmten Lexikologie des Altdeutschen. Die theologisch-formelhafte Wortgruppe gula—vana gloria—avaritia in den volkssprachigen Denkmälern zwischen 750 und 1500", Doitsubungaku Ronko 13 (1971), 43-63.
36. G.Bauer remarks that the tradition does not appear to have been wide-spread in the Middle Ages as Lutwin does not mention it in Sternkunde und Starndeutung der Deutschen in 9.-14. Jahrhundert unter Ausschlusse der reinen Fachwissenschaft (Berlin, 1937), p.110.
37. In Ein deutsches Adambuch (ed. H.Vollmer) the narrator stresses Eve's ignorance of her condition: "ir was wee vnd west doch der geschicht nicht das sy wär swanger" (p.14, 10).
38. It is this episode that is included in some of the Historienbibeln, see vol. I of Merzdorf's edition, p.120f.
39. ed. A.Leitzmann (Halle,1939), ll.5774-6109.
40. In Hartmann's Gregorius ed. H.Paul and L.Wolff (Tübingen, 1966) the mother's sorrows are enumerated in a similarly stylized fashion, see ll.805-30.
41. B.Murdoch, "The River that stopped flowing: Folklore and Biblical Typology in the Apocryphal Lives of Adam and Eve", Southern Folklore Quarterly 37 (1973), 37-51.
42. In the Obergrunder Weihnachtsspiel the scene of the penance and Eve's second temptation is immediately followed by the Annunciation.
43. The incestuous nature of the relationship between Adam and Eve is played upon by Hartmann in Gregorius. Hartmann's knowledge of the Adam-legends adds an extra dimension to the understanding of this work, see B.Murdoch, "Hartmann's 'Gregorius' and the Quest of Life", New German Studies 6 (1978), pp.79-100.
44. For the importance of the context of such borrowings from other poets, see "diu wip sint alliu niht also: 'Aristoteles und Phyllis' and the Reception of Gottfried's 'Tristan'" by A.Deighton, New German Studies 6 (1978), 137-150.

#### IV. TEXT AND ILLUSTRATION

##### A. The iconography of Adam and Eve and the Vita Adae et Evae

Lutwin's Eve und Adam, (thus the title given to the work by its author in the last line) an early fourteenth century German poem on the lives of the protoplasts, is preserved in a mid-fifteenth century manuscript at the National Library in Vienna. The twenty-nine illustrative pen-drawings which, unlike the text,<sup>1</sup> have never been published<sup>2</sup> have had little attention paid to them, but the poem itself has attracted some interest, chiefly because it is the most extensive German version of the Vita Adae et Evae.<sup>3</sup> The legends which constitute this accretion of texts appear to be largely Jewish in origin but had been Christianized by the time the Latin version took shape, which was probably in the fourth century,<sup>4</sup> and enjoyed considerable popularity in Germany during the later Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup> These legends, however, do not appear to have materially affected the iconography of Adam and Eve. For the moment at least the Lutwin manuscript stands alone in depicting the lives of the protoplasts in, according to Leonie Reygers, "einer sonst nie wiederkehrenden Ausführlichkeit" by portraying not only the Biblical account of their Creation, Fall, and Expulsion from paradise but also their apocryphal efforts to regain entry and their eventual deaths.<sup>6</sup>

Other than in the Lutwin manuscript there appear to be only two recognized representations of the river-penance. On the West Portal of St.Theobald's at Thann (near Colmar, now in France) a late fourteenth century cycle includes Adam and Eve standing together in the water. Eve is also shown holding Cain with an angel on either side of her.<sup>7</sup> There is also one miniature illustrating a German prose version of the Vita Adae et Evae in Codex 8 in scrinio (after 1458), which is in the University Library at Hamburg. This also has both the protoplasts standing together up to their necks in a river but includes the Devil, disguised as an angel, standing on the bank.<sup>8</sup> Although no cyclic representations of the legends of Adam and Eve have survived to prove an independent existence, the legends appear to have influenced the earliest canon-



ical Genesis iconography to some extent.<sup>9</sup> The seventh century Ashburnham Pentateuch depicts Adam and Eve, clothed in skins, standing inside a hut before passing on to show Eve with the children; the four Carolingian Bibles of the School of Tours may also reflect the legends in their Genesis frontispieces.<sup>10</sup> In Germany on the bronze doors of St. Michael's at Hildesheim (which were made in 1015 at the instigation of Bishop Bernward) an angel brings tools to Adam, and in the Abbey Church at Andlau (in Lower Alsace) the sculptures of a mid-twelfth century cycle have the couple sitting under a tree and bewailing their fate immediately after their Expulsion.<sup>11</sup> However, these examples represent only minor additions to an iconographic tradition which was otherwise firmly based on the first three chapters of Genesis. The remaining fragments of the earliest surviving illustrated Bible, the Greek fifth century Cotton Genesis,<sup>12</sup> as well as related iconographic recensions of the later twelfth century, such as the Millstätter Genesis in Klagenfurt<sup>13</sup> or the Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad of Landsberg,<sup>14</sup> show that the earliest Bibles were illustrated very fully indeed. A certain amount of freedom of choice in the selection of incidents to be portrayed becomes characteristic of later Adam and Eve iconography. Examples which have survived or been documented range from full cycles to one representative scene of the Adam and Eve story.<sup>15</sup>

The three most important canonical scenes are the Creation, Fall, and Expulsion; the other scenes are entirely dependent on these.<sup>16</sup> Together they form the iconographic cycle, but as independent scenes they have each acquired an individual significance. Of great importance are the medium and the context in which the subject is portrayed, as both affect the choice of scene (or scenes) and the expansion or contraction of the cycle. The creation of Eve out of Adam's side often represents the Creation of Man, because it shows with economy both protoplasts at once<sup>17</sup> as well as furnishing a typological parallel for the birth of the Church out of the wounded side of Christ.<sup>18</sup> The Fall itself, the major representative scene of the story, is frequently portrayed in isolation as the sole representation of human culpability or as the typological counterpart of the First Temptation of Christ in the wilderness.<sup>19</sup> In cyclic represent-

ations the events leading up to the Fall are sometimes included. The Andlau sculptures show the protoplasts being led into paradise and being warned not to eat of the tree of knowledge by the Creator.<sup>20</sup> Eve is sometimes shown alone with the Serpent, before she is seen tempting Adam.<sup>21</sup> The iconographic pattern of the Serpent coiled around the tree and the protoplasts standing on either side of it is of great antiquity and very often the simple, decorative, and, above all, decent addition of fig-leaves expands this scene to include its immediate consequences. A less familiar example of this is the fourth century silver vase which was part of the treasure found on Traprain Law in Scotland.<sup>22</sup> Here the serpent is directing its guile at Eve as both she and Adam reach for the fruit with one hand and simultaneously cover their nakedness with the other. The third important scene, the Expulsion, is often preceded in cyclic representations by the Creator addressing the guilty couple, but only the San Marco mosaics in Venice show him clothing them as well.<sup>23</sup> In the four Tournonian Bibles they are still clothed at the Expulsion, but this is not found in later representations. As an independent scene, the Expulsion is often linked iconographically with the Annunciation, where Mary, the second Eve, learns of her role which proves to be that of assisting mankind in opening the gates of paradise once closed to them.<sup>24</sup> The scene which usually completes the Adam-and-Eve cycle shows the protoplasts enduring the curses laid upon them by their Creator: they are clothed and Adam is working the ground, while Eve is either spinning or nursing a child.<sup>25</sup>

In many ways it is surprising that the canonical scenes of the Creation, Fall, and Expulsion were not combined with their counterparts in the apocryphal legends to form an expanded version of the Adam-and-Eve cycle, for there are a number of peculiarly iconographic details to be found in the legends.<sup>26</sup> The creation of the protoplasts might well be paralleled by their deaths, the isolation of Adam before Eve's creation contrasted with her isolation after his death. Eve's being tempted by the Serpent/Satan obviously parallels her second temptation in the Tigris by Satan again in disguise. Adam, the Lord of Creation, surrounded by animals in paradise, is

also surrounded by animals as he prays in the Jordan. The expulsion of Adam and Eve by the angel with the flaming sword counterbalances Seth's and Eve's acts of penance at the gates of paradise. The theological significance of the tree through which man both fell and was redeemed proved a potent iconographic symbol but it is rarely found in the context of these legends.<sup>27</sup> The labours of the protoplasts remain. Here is perhaps the key to understanding why the legends never enjoyed iconographic popularity. Compared with the canonical account of Adam and Eve the legends are straightforward, positive, and full of optimism. In particular the harsh labours imposed on the hapless protoplasts by their vengeful Creator are alleviated: Adam is shown how to cultivate the earth successfully, and Eve, after a pregnancy made terrifying by her loneliness and ignorance, is finally granted angelic aid at the birth of her first child. From then on Adam and Eve constantly enjoy the favour of God and the assistance of his angels. Even their deaths are ameliorated by the promise of eventual Redemption. In Christian iconography, however, the Adam-and-Eve cycle or representative scenes from it occupy an important position at the beginning of the Heilsgeschichte, the history of mankind's Redemption as it is traced through the Bible. Within this theological and iconographic framework the towering figures of Christ (the second Adam) and Mary (the second Eve) bring salvation to mankind of which Adam and Eve remain the defenceless, suffering, and sinful representatives.

#### B. Codex Vindobonensis 2980

The mid-fifteenth century manuscript which contains Lutwin's Eva und Adam shows signs of being a hurried copy, which is not uncharacteristic of the period.<sup>28</sup> The manuscript is written on paper in a neat Bastarda by a single hand and contains a number of orthographic errors.<sup>29</sup> The twenty-nine pictures precede (in eighteen instances) and follow (in eleven) the passages which they illustrate. According to the capitals each illustration is placed before a new paragraph, but with reference to the text this is not true of [4], [11], [15], and [23]. The illustrations

occupy approximately half a page (the size of the manuscript corresponds roughly to modern A5) averaging twenty lines and are unframed. They are more or less within the limits set by the copyist but frequently extend into the margins. The prose rubrics for [1] to [16] and [18] to [20] are written by the same hand, and since the rubrics are of some importance, it seems probable that those of the remaining ten illustrations were deliberately omitted. In [8], [12], [18], and [19] the rubrics are placed at the foot of the preceding page rather than above the illustration, and in [12] and [19] the copyist has forgotten to leave a space and continued to write a couplet before remembering, stopping, leaving a space, repeating the couplet, and finally continuing. An unsuccessful attempt to erase the extra lines has been made in both cases. The indications are that he was anxious to fit the work onto as few pages as possible as quickly as possible. Fifty-four pages contain half of the poem and spaces for eighteen illustrations, while the rest of the work and spaces for eleven illustrations occupy fifty-two pages. In the first half of the poem the copyist was forced to leave out the rubric of [17], a rather full illustration, and it would appear that in the second half he was encouraged to omit the rubrics of the final nine illustrations, thereby leaving the illustrator more space and saving two pages. The copyist and the illustrator were clearly working from an already illustrated manuscript, since the illustrator was able to continue undeterred. Although it cannot be ascertained when the illustrations were introduced (and the possibility of the poem's having been illustrated at the time of its composition should not be ruled out altogether), it is possible that once they were introduced more than one copy may have been made. The survival of a single manuscript does not necessarily constitute proof of a work's unpopularity.<sup>30</sup>

Colour-washed pen-drawings came to be a popular method of illustration during the later Middle Ages, but as their purpose was that of illustration rather than decoration, there has been a tendency in the past to ignore or dismiss them as being of little value.<sup>31</sup> The illustrations in the Lutwin manuscript are not exceptional even though their subject

appears to be; it is not, however, the purpose of this thesis to evaluate them in aesthetic terms but rather in their function as illustrations of a given text.<sup>32</sup> It is nevertheless necessary to give some indication first of the general style of the pictures.<sup>33</sup>

As in most illustrations of this type, the figure drawings are the focal points. The colour (with brown and green predominating) has been rather carelessly applied and emphasizes the plain background of the individual pictures. These consist in most cases of angular, three dimensional blocks or hillocks with trees, and where paradise is represented, this is indicated by walls sometimes with trees inside. Added detail, however, may be relatively complex and realistic such as Eve's distaff in [8] or Adam's plough in [18]. The modelling and perspective of the figures, which have also been more carefully coloured in, point to the period of the manuscript itself, for they are invariably inclined or viewed three-quarters-on. There are many stylized attitudes but often considerable movement. Indications of the later date are also to be found in the facial features of the figures and in the folds of their garments. The genesis of the illustrations is problematic, and it is possible that if the original manuscript contained both text and illustration, these may represent an updating in themselves much as the language has assumed a later form than that of the presumed original. In this case elements of individual detail but not of broad structure would derive from the artist of this manuscript.

The immortals are portrayed throughout in traditional robes, while the mortals are in contemporary costume or dressed as clerics.<sup>34</sup> Individual characters are not stylized in a typical form that is constant throughout the drawings, rather the artist makes use of a "standard" figure of a young man which can as well serve for Adam or one of his sons. Only the situation and context of the illustrations make it clear which characters are here involved. Adam and Eve are for the most part naked: Adam's rib-cage is still highly stylized, but Eve's soft curves suggest an interest in depicting the feminine form.<sup>35</sup>

The female-headed Serpent is a common feature of later

portrayals of the Fall. A literary source has been found for this in Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica, where it is suggested that the Devil assumed the head of a maiden quia similia similibus applaudunt.<sup>36</sup> Some illustrators of the tale make the Serpent's face identical with that of Eve, complete with long, flowing hair,<sup>37</sup> but others, as in our manuscript, simply give the Serpent indeterminate features and a feminine hair-style.<sup>38</sup> The addition of a crown makes plausible the suggestion that dramatic representations of the Fall, necessitating a speaking Serpent who was played, perhaps, by the same actor who had played Lucifer, gave rise to this development. The crown suggests a pictorial link between the Serpent and the fallen Lucifer, but whatever the exact origins this exotic hybrid comes to represent in general terms the workings of deceit, vanity, and pride upon the proto-plasts.<sup>39</sup>

The other important figure is that of Seth, the third son, in whom his parents rediscover the virtues of their murdered second son, Abel.<sup>40</sup> The Sethite legend became the first episode concerning the history of the Holy Rood and was, therefore, usually only part of a separate iconographic cycle which extends from Seth via numerous distinguished figures in the Old Testament (notably Moses and Solomon) to the Crucifixion and beyond that to the discovery of the True Cross by St. Helena.<sup>41</sup> In the Lutwin manuscript the Sethite legend forms the conclusion of the Vita Adae et Evae.

Actions rather than attributes distinguish the figures from each other, especially in the case of Seth who would be indistinguishable otherwise from the young (clothed) Adam, Cain, or his other brothers. A beard indicates maturity. The young Adam's fair hair varies between straight and curly; that of the young Eve is long, fair, and unbound, but on her death-bed she and her daughters have their hair fashionably styled. Gestures are important: that of pointing appears, for example, to indicate which character is talking while the listener has one arm across the breast. Not only gestures and the carriage of the head and body suggest such emotions as sorrow and anger, facial features, especially the eyes, are also expressive. As the proto-plasts grow older, their eyes are increasingly heavily outlined.

There are never more than five figures in an illustration

with the exception of [17] which has a minor addition in the shape of the newly born Cain. Thus in [17] four angels represent the twelve in the text (1768), and in [20] two angels represent many thousands (2178). Of the thirty sons (plus Seth) and thirty daughters (2116-19; for 2931, see Meyer's comment) the former are represented by two in [21], [25], and [27] and four in [28], and in each case Seth is probably one of them; the latter are represented by one in [21] and two in [28]. In [29] Noah's family is represented by one son. On the whole scenery is kept to a minimum: a tree is enough to indicate that the action is taking place out of doors, and a large object like a bed or a sarcophagus is not placed in any kind of surrounding at all. Lack of space clearly dictates the depiction of what is essential to the understanding of the scene, and, indeed, to be understood the majority of these illustrations are dependent on the rubrics and, above all, upon the text. The illustrator was aware of his own limitations and those of the medium, but within this scope there remained to him the opportunity of exercising a considerable and by no means unimportant freedom of choice. Our artist worked quickly but nevertheless skilfully.

#### C. The twenty-nine illustrations: description and context

Meyer's and Hofmann's edition of Lutwin's Eva und Adam contains the rubrics and brief but accurate descriptions of the illustrations at the appropriate point in the text. Since their edition is not readily available, a more detailed description of the pictures seems desirable as an attempt to do justice not only to the illustrations themselves but also to the text. The pictures are described as follows: scene, folio and size of illustration, rubric, description, text placing, and source.

##### [1] The Creation of Heaven and Earth

Folio 3v. 123 x 88 mm.

Rubric: Wie gott von ersten hymelrich und ertrich beschuff

The Creator is represented as a man in a brown robe with long, fair hair and beard and a crossed nimbus. He is blessing the world which is represented in a circle by water and land with

trees and houses on it. This in turn is surrounded by another circle which represents the cosmos.

Placed before 103 and illustrates 103-109.

Source: Genesis I.

The text does not give a detailed description of the Creation as such. The depiction of the act of Creation presented problems, but this solution, which makes use of concentric circles, appears to have been fairly well known.<sup>42</sup>

[2] The Creation of Adam

Folio 5r. 128 x 95 mm.

Rubric: Wie gott Adam den ersten menschen beschu[ff]

The Creator is seen pointing at Adam (and probably naming him) and blessing his new creation.<sup>43</sup>

Placed before 154 and illustrates 139-140(153) which give an etymology of Adam's name rather than a description of his creation.

Source: Genesis II:7

[3] The Creation of Eve

Folio 8r. 137 x 97 mm.

Rubric: Wie got Euam uss Adam beschuff

The Creator stands with his left hand held out to the sleeping Adam and his right pointing at Eve as she emerges from Adam's side.<sup>44</sup>

Placed before 261 and illustrates 235-242 (260) which also give an etymology of Eve's name.

Source: Genesis II:21-22

[4] Adam and Eve are led into Paradise by the Creator

Folio 8v. 142 x 99 mm.

Rubric: Wie got Adam und Eua in das paradisz furte

Paradise is represented by a garden enclosed by four walls. Inside are two trees one of which bears fruit similar to that of the tree of knowledge in [5]. Adam's head is turned away from the Creator, and his interest is focused on Eve.

Placed before 277 and perhaps expands 266-271:

Do das wip und Adam



Von gotte in gesetzt sint.  
Die worent alsam die kint  
One schamme und sünden eine,  
Falsches fry und so reine,  
Mit schöne und mit wiszheit, ...

According to the Bible Adam was placed in paradise (Gen:II:8), and Eve was created there (Gen:II:21-22). Iconographically this scene, which was supported by a belief that the protoplasts were both created outside paradise, formed a useful link between the Creation and the Fall as well as counterbalancing the Expulsion.<sup>45</sup> In the Andlau sculptures the scene is combined with the Commandment (Gen:II:17), and this may be the case here, as the tree of knowledge is present in the garden. If so, Adam and Eve are not paying much attention, but their natural interest in each other may be a particularly human interpretation of Genesis II:23-25.

[5] The Temptation and Fall of Adam and Eve

Folio 13v. 130 x 120 mm.

Rubric: Wie Adam und Eua von dem slangen betrogen wurdent und sū das gebott gottes ubergingent

The tree of knowledge has a yellow trunk, its green leaves are grouped in threes, and it bears six round, brown fruit. A seventh is hanging from a twig in the Serpent's mouth, an eighth is in Eve's hand. The Serpent's blue, spotted body is coiled round the tree and ends in a crowned human head. Its hair, which is arranged in two plaited buns in nets, one on either side of its face, is in the style of a woman. Eve and the Serpent are looking at each other, but her body is turned towards Adam. She is holding the fruit as though she has just eaten and is about to stretch out her arm and offer the rest to Adam. Adam, who is holding out his hand to take the fruit from her, is also looking up at the Serpent.

Placed before 464 and illustrates 464-482.

Source: Genesis III:1-6

The apparent simplicity of the symmetry of this scene is deceptive: it combines both the moments of the Temptation (the Serpent offering the fruit to Eve) and the Fall (Eve offering the fruit to Adam). Adam's curiosity about the Serpent is an interesting feature.<sup>46</sup>

[6] Adam and Eve hide as they are addressed by the Creator

Folio 15v. 141 x 117 mm.

Rubric: Wie Adam und Eua sich in dem paradise verbargent umb  
das su gottes gebott ubergangen hettent.

Only the heads and shoulders of the protoplasts are visible as they crouch within the walls of paradise. The Creator is standing without, pointing at them accusingly, and holding an orb in his right hand.

Placed before 534 and illustrates 534-536.

Source: Genesis III:8-13

Iconographically, the effects of the Fall are usually symbolized by the addition of the fig-leaves, but here the couple are shown in hiding amongst the trees of paradise, according well with the text which emphasizes the futility of Adam's action in 520-533<sup>47</sup> :

Adam dōrt verborgen lag  
Under der boūm este.  
Er truwete nit, das gott weste  
Die sunde, die er hette getan.  
Zwore das was ein tumber wan,  
Wann gott erkante die wercke ee,  
Das der wille volle gee ...  
(520-26)

The orb, an attribute of God the Father,<sup>48</sup> is with its cross an apposite reminder of the Crucifixion to come. It may have been suggested by these lines which follow on soon after those above:

Gott aller gütte urspring,  
In des hant der welte ring  
Jst beslossen, und des gewalt  
Jst ungezalt und manigvalt ...  
(534-37)

[7] The Expulsion of Adam and Eve

Folio 20v. 146 x 109 mm.

Rubric: Wie Adam und Eua us dem par\_dise getriben wurdent von  
dem engel

The walls of paradise are now crenellated. An angel with green and brown wings is holding up a sword as he drives out the protoplasts. Adam is clearly resisting expulsion with a firmly implanted right foot. Both are looking back at paradise and are completely naked.

Placed before 732 after a sermon-like excursus on the memento mori theme (649-731) but illustrates 818-823.

Source: Genesis III:24

The iconographic tradition concerning this episode is less flexible than others: an angel rather than the Creator expels the protoplasts who are naked except for their fig-leaves.<sup>49</sup> This nakedness does not accord with the Biblical account where they are clothed in skins by the Creator (Gen:III:21) nor here in 734-748 and 811.<sup>50</sup>

[8] The Labours of Adam and Eve

Folio 23v. 142 x 128 mm.

Rubric: Wie Adam hacken und Eua spynnen mustent, umb das su das gebott gottes ubergangen hettent.

Adam, clothed in a green tunic and brown shoes and hose, is holding a mattock above his head. Eve, wearing a brown dress, is seated with a tall distaff between her knees and is holding the spindle and thread. She is watching Adam.

Placed after the narrator's prayer (763-810) which brings the Genesis account to its formal conclusion and before 811.

This scene is also the last in the Biblical Adam-and-Eve cycle. The labours are derived from the curses in Gen:III:16 and III:19 (child-bearing and cultivation of land), but Eve's spinning is a commonplace.<sup>51</sup> The presence of a child would have been inappropriate at this point because of the legends which follow. As it is, the picture receives little support from the text (813-817) which contains only a brief reference to Adam's future labours and makes no mention of Eve.

[9] Adam and Eve deliberate

Folio 24v. 127 x 100 mm.

Rubric: Wie Adam und Eua zu rate wurdent, wie su büssen woltent

The hut is a thatched roof supported on poles. Adam and Eve are sitting on the grass under it. Adam is clothed in a fringed, yellow tunic and is barefoot. He is pointing at Eve, who is wearing the same dress as before.<sup>52</sup>

Placed before 870 and illustrates 965-1010.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae I-VI:

Quando expulsi sunt de paradiso, fecerunt sibi tabernaculum et fuerunt VII dies lugentes et lamentantes in magna tristitia... Et dixit Adam ad Evam: ... sed iuste et digne plangimus ante conspectum dei, qui fecit nos. peniteamus penitentiam magnam; forsitan indulgeat et miserebitur nostri dominus deus et disponet nobis, unde vivamus. Et dixit Eva ad Adam: domine mi, dic mihi, quid est penitentia et qualiter peniteam, ... domine mi, quantum cogitasti penitere, quod ego tibi induxi laborem et tribulationem. Et dixit Adam ad Evam: non potes tantum facere quantum ego, sed tantum fac ut salveris. ego enim faciam quadraginta diebus ieiunans: tu autem surge et vade ad Tigris fluvium et tolle lapidem et sta in aqua fluminis XXXVII dies. ego autem faciam in aqua Jordanis XL dies. forsitan miserebitur nostri dominus deus.

This picture is placed near the point at which the poem takes up its apocryphal source, but according to the rubric it refers to Adam's and Eve's later decision to do penance. It would appear that at some stage an attempt was made to clothe the protoplasts correctly in the tunicas pelliceas of Gen:III:21. In this copy only Adam is shown thus and his attire is something of an anomaly when compared with the two preceding illustrations.

[10] Eve's Penance in the Tigris

Folio 28v. 136 x 87 mm.

Rubric: Wie Eva in dem wasser Tygris stunt und ir sunde büssen wolte

Eve is naked and standing up to her waist in the Tigris with arms outstretched. In front of her three groups of circles break up the blue and white horizontal lines, which represent water, as though they were waves.

Placed before 1012 and illustrates 1021-27, 1058-60.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae VII:

Et ambulavit Eva ad Tigris flumen et fecit sicut dixit ei Adam.

According to both source and text (1000, 1026, 1035) the protoplasts stood up to their necks in the water. The illustrator evidently felt it was more important to be able to differentiate the figures clearly.<sup>53</sup>

[11] Adam's Penance in the Jordan

Folio 29v. 137 x 84 mm.

Rubric: Wie Adam in dem Jordan sin sunde büssete, und wie die vische im dar zu hulffent in

Adam is naked and standing up to his waist in the Jordan

with hands folded in prayer. In front of him in the water are the heads of four fishes with open mouths.

Placed before 1049 and illustrates (1031) 1049-57.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae VII-VIII:

similiter ambulavit Adam ad flumen Jordanis ... Et dixit Adam: tibi dico, aqua Jordanis, condole mihi et segregate mihi omnia natantia, ... et circumdant me ac lugeant pariter mecum ... statim omnia animantia venerunt et circumdederunt eum et aqua Jordanis stetit ab illa hora non agens cursum suum.

Adam's composed posture of prayer provides a contrast with Eve's more emotional gesture of lamentation, although both are traditional orans positions.

[12] The Second Temptation and Fall of Eve

Folio 31r. 138 x 94 mm.

Rubric: Wie der tufel in eins engels schin zu Euam kam

The Devil, disguised as an angel in a white robe with green and brown wings, is standing up to his waist in the water. He is taking Eve by the hand, and she is turned towards him, her hair blowing out behind her.

Placed before 1089 and illustrates (1058) 1066-82.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae IX-X:

Et transierunt dies XVIII. tunc iratus est Satanus et transfiguravit se in claritatem angelorum et abiit ad Tigrem flumen ad Evam et invenit eam flentem. et ipse diabolus quasi condolens ei coepit flere et dixit ad eam: egredere de flumine et de cetero non plores ... audivit dominus deus gemitum vestrum et suscepit penitentiam vestram; ... Haec audiens autem Eva credidit et exivit de aqua fluminis ...

Here the Devil's disguise is complete, and he is drawn in the same way as the other angels throughout the illustrations. He is shown in the water and taking Eve by the hand as the text describes in 1066-69 and 1081. This illustration precedes an excursus on the frailties of men and women (1089-1263) which may be why the illustrator felt free to emphasize Eve's physical attractions:

Prüffent nit ir clores vele  
Noch ir goltvarwes hor,  
Jr hende noch ir helse clor,  
Jr mündelin noch ir ougbrawen,  
Sunder ir sollent (schouwen),  
Wo ir vindent ein wip,  
Die mit küsche zier iren lip

Und sye tugentliche gesitt,  
Do jr sint behalten myt.  
(1185-93)

[13] The Second Temptation of Adam

Folio 36v. 140 x 92 mm.

Rubric: Wie der tufel Euam betrogen und usz der bÛsse gefÛret hette und wie er Adam ouch wolte betrogen haben

The Devil (his identity now betrayed by his cloven feet) is seen leading Eve towards Adam, who remains in the water with his hands raised as though in exclamation.<sup>54</sup>

Placed before 1311 and illustrates 1264-1298.

The Devil's intention to tempt Adam is not stated specifically in the Vita Adae et Evae X:

cum autem vidisset eam Adam et diabolum cum ea, exclamavit cum fletu dicens: o Eva, o Eva, ubi est opus penitentiae tuae? quomodo iterum seducta es ab adversario nostro, ...

The illustration, therefore, follows the rubric and elaborates on 1272-1284:

Er wonde der selbe böse geist,  
Alles ubels volleist,  
Das er mit syme valschen liegen  
Solte Adam betriegen  
Als er Euen hette getan.  
Doch was so wise Adam,  
Wie doch der tÛfel were schön  
(Verkeret) jn engels person,  
Das er sin (glichsenheit),  
Sin triegen und valscheit  
Zu stunde wol erkant,  
Do er Even by der hant  
Furte gein dem wasser her.

In the illustration the Devil is pointing at Eve and recommending that Adam join her, but this is being met with disapproval by Adam, who remains in the Jordan.

[14] And Adam knew Eve ...

Folio 43r. 94 x 79 mm.

Rubric: Wie Adam und Eua gar lieplich miteinander lebeten und wie Eua ires ersten kindes swanger wart

Adam is shown embracing Eve.

Placed before 1548 and illustrates 1511-1525.

In the cycles of the Cotton recension Adam and Eve are shown

in their marriage-bed, because they were regarded as the founders of the institution of marriage. This is not, however, the purpose of our picture, which like the text is at this point more concerned with the discovery of physical love<sup>55</sup>:

Er müste begynnen an der stunde  
Mit Eua seltzammer gedat,  
Als nach menschlich nature hat,  
Davon ir kusche (verwart).  
Mit libe ouch su swanger wart  
Eins kindes an der stat,  
Als ir (beyder liep bat).  
Su hetten sin ee nit getan,  
Jn geschach beiden liep daran.  
(1517-25)

[15] Adam and Eve part

Folio 45r. 140 x 83 mm.

Rubric: Wie Adam und Eua sich Schiedent und me danne tusent mylen von einander gingent.

In this remarkable illustration Adam and Eve are shown walking away in opposite directions. They are looking back over their shoulders at each other, but Eve is holding herself erect; her expression is haughty, and her arms are folded. This attitude expresses her anger but may also indicate that she is now with child. Adam, on the other hand, is raising his right hand in a gesture of reluctant farewell.

Placed before 1615 and illustrates 1615-29:

Mit zorne su dannen schiet,  
Als ir tumber müt riet,  
Und ging mit leide und yle  
Me danne tusent myle.  
Das was verre genüg.  
Ein kint su under ire brüsten trüg,  
Des sü von Adam bekam.  
Adam ouch vor leide nam  
Einen langen verren gang,  
Des in ouch sin müt twang.  
Er ging bis an die stat,  
Do die sunne uff gat.  
Eya, süsser got und herre,  
Wo koment zwey liebe ie so verre  
Von einander als sü beide ?

Lutwin's best known adaptation of his Latin source is here, where Eve, instead of leaving Adam out of feelings of shame (Vita Adae et Evae XVIII), departs in anger, because Adam insists on valuing that which they have lost, paradise, more highly than that which they have just found, their love.<sup>56</sup>

[16] Eve prays to the Sun

Folio 48r. 145 x 106 (including rubric) mm.

Rubric: Wie Eua die sunne anbat und sich Übel gehup umb iren man und bat sū das sū yme iren kumber clagete

Eve, lying naked on the ground with a swollen stomach, is praying to the sun. The sun is yellow, has human features, and is drawn in the margin next to the rubric.

Placed before 1735 and illustrates 1711-34.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae XIX-XX:

Et cum adpropinquasset tempus partus eius coepit conturbari doloribus et exclamavit ad dominum dicens: miserere<sup>re</sup> mei, domine, adiuva me. et non exaudiebatur nec erat misericordia dei circa eam. et dixit ipsa in se: quis nuntiabit domino meo Adae? deprecor vos, luminaria caeli, dum revertimini ad orientem, nuntiate domino meo Adam. In illa autem hora dixit Adam: planctus Evae venit ad me; forte iterum serpens pugnavit cum ea. et ambulans invenit eam in luctu magno; ...

The illustrator emphasizes both Eve's pathetic isolation as well as her condition at this point.

[17] Eve admires her first-born Son

Folio 49v. 144 x 107 mm.

No rubric.

Eve is lying on the ground surrounded by four angels. Two of them support her so that she can look at Cain whom a third holds out to her. The infant is drawn with an unusual amount of fair hair.

Placed before 1788 and illustrates 1790-1802.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae XX-XXI:

... et deprecatus est Adam dominum pro Eva. Et ecce venerunt XII angeli ... stantes a dextris et a sinistris Evae. et Michahel ... dixit ad Evam: beata es, Eva, propter Adam ... missus sum ad te, ut accipias adiutorium nostrum. exsurge nunc et para te ad partum. et peperit filium ... et continuo infans exurgens cucurrit et manibus suis tulit herbam et dedit matri suae. et vocatum est nomen eius Cain.

Meyer's Class III version of the Vita Adae et Evae has in addition that Eve ignorans et admirans asks Adam to kill the child lest it harm them. This is not present in our text, but both she and Adam are filled with wonder by the event.<sup>57</sup> The sculptures at Thann which depict the Penance after the Expulsion also show Eve, accompanied by two angels, nursing Cain.



Here Cain's hair and alert expression indicate that the illustrator had the immediate actions of this infant prodigy in mind who in the poem addresses his mother thus:

Es sprach: " liebe müter myn,  
Nym das laub und nusz ouch der,  
Die brahte ich von dem walde her.  
Ich weis das wol, du bist krang.  
Des dich manig stos betwang,  
Des ich dir gein hertzen pflag,  
Do ich in dinem libe lag,  
E ich kam her an den tag. "  
(1811-18)

[18] An Angel teaches Adam to cultivate the land

Folio 52v. 145 x 109 mm.

Rubric: Wie ein engel Adam lerte zu acker faren

An angel is steering the plough which is being pulled by a small grey horse. Adam is leading the horse with a whip in his hand and is watching the angel. He is wearing a brown tunic, blue hose, shoes, and a brown hat with a wide green brim.

Placed before 1880 and illustrates 1856-1866.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae XXII:

... et misit dominus deus per Michahel angelum semina diversa et dedit Adae et ostendit ei laborare et colere terram, ut habeant fructum, unde viverent ipsi et omnes generationes eorum.

This scene could also form the conclusion of the canonical cycle (compare that on the Hildesheim doors). It represents, however, a stage further than that shown in [8] and is in keeping with the text: Adam described as a byderman (899; 951) here certainly looks like one.

[19] Cain murders Abel

Folio 56v. 139 x 116 mm.

Rubric: Wie Caym sinen bruder Abel zu tode erslüg

Abel is kneeling with his head on his crossed hands as though he were trying to protect his face; only his tonsured head is visible. He is wearing a brown tunic and blue hose. Cain is bending over him and about to bring a mattock down on his head. He is wearing a green tunic, hat, and brown hose.<sup>58</sup>

Placed before 2025a and illustrates 2008.

Source: Genesis IV:8

[20] Adam is brought before the Creator in Paradise

Folio 61v. 144 x 95 mm.

Rubric: Wie Adam in eime furin wagen verzucket und vor got den heren in das paradis gefüret wart

Paradise is again represented by three crenellated walls and a door. Two angels are holding the shoulders of Adam, who is kneeling in the centre, and assisting him to his feet. Adam is wearing a brown tunic, his hair and beard are blue, and his hands are raised in supplication. The Creator is seated on the right on a rectangular stone. His right hand is raised, his left is holding the orb as in [6].

Placed before 2232 and illustrates 2168-2190, especially 2184-90:

Ich bot mich zu den süssen  
Unsers heren füssen  
Uff die erde nider.  
Die engel hüben wider  
Mich von der erde enbor.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae XXV-XXVI:

Et dixit Adam ad Seth: audi, fili mi Seth, ... quae audivi et vidi. postquam eiecti sumus de paradiso ego et mater tua, cum essemus in oratione, venit ad me Michahel ... et vidi currum tamquam ventum et rotae illius erant igneae et raptus sum in paradisum iustitiae. et vidi dominum sedentem ... et multa milia angelorum erant a dextris et a sinistris currus illius. Haec videns perturbatus sum et timor comprehendit me et adoravi coram deo super faciem terrae.

In this case the rubric is taken from the text (2144-2169), but the picture actually illustrates the lines following. Adam is now nine hundred years old.

[21] Adam addresses Seth, Eve and the other Children from his Death-Bed

Folio 64v. 145 x 99 mm.

No rubric.

Adam is lying in bed, his head and shoulders are visible above the brown cover and are resting on a large white cushion. He is looking at Seth. Eve is stationed behind him and is wearing a blue dress with a white veil covering her hair. She appears to be smoothing down the sheets. Seth, the dominant figure, is wearing a green tunic and hat. Next to him stands another son, similarly clad, and behind them both a daughter in a grey dress.

Placed before 2338 and illustrates 2291, 2327-37 and possibly 2373-81, 2387-2452.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae XXX-XXXVI:

Postquam factus est Adam annos DCCCCXXX, ... dixit: congregentur ad me omnes filii mei, ut benedicam eos, antequam moriar, et loquar cum eis ... Tunc filius eius Seth dixit: domine, forte desiderasti de fructu paradisi, ex quo edebas, ... Dic mihi et vadam ad proximas ianuas paradisi ... respondit Adam et dixit: non, fili mi, non desidero, sed infirmitatem et dolorem magnum habeo in corpore meo ... et dixit Eva ad Adam: domine mi, da mihi partem dolorum tuorum, quoniam a me culpa haec tibi accessit. Et dixit Adam ad Evam: exsurge et vade cum filio meo Seth ad proximum paradisi ... fortisan miserebitur et transmittet angelum suum ad arborem misericordiae suae, de qua currit oleum vitae, et dabit vobis ex ipso modicum, ut me unguatis ex eo, ut quiescam ab his doloribus, ex quibus consumor.

[22] Seth and Eve confront the Devil (again disguised as the Serpent) on the their way to Paradise to fetch the Oil of Mercy for Adam

Folio 69r. 147 x 92 mm.

No rubric.

The Serpent is in appearance exactly the same as in [5] and is coiled as it was on the tree but now stands upright supported only by its tail. Seth is pointing at the Serpent with his right index finger; his left hand is raised as though admonishing it. Eve is standing behind him. She is holding up a fold of her brown dress (revealing a blue underdress), and her left hand is held up to her throat.

Placed before 2522 and illustrates 2522-30 and 2566-75.

Source : Vita Adae et Evae XXXVII-XXXIX:

et abierunt Seth et mater eius contra portas paradisi; et dum ambularent, ecce subito venit serpens bestia et impetum faciens morsit Seth. Tunc dixit Seth ad bestiam: increpet te dominus deus. Stupe ... et dixit bestia ad Seth: ecco recedo, sicut dixisti, a facie imaginis dei ...

[23] Seth listens to Michael's Prophecy concerning the Coming of Christ and receives from him a Branch from the Tree of Knowledge, instead of the Oil of Mercy

Folio 73v. 139 x 104 mm.

No rubric.

Paradise is again represented by three crenellated walls

enclosing a garden. The angel is sitting where the fourth wall should be. In his hand is a branch which is drawn in the same way as those on the tree of knowledge in [5], the three twigs each ending in three leaves. Seth is standing with one foot placed on the step of paradise. He is taking the branch with his right hand and holding his hat in his left.<sup>59</sup>

Placed before 2683 and illustrates 2601-2709 but contradicts 2595-2603:

Sant Mychahel der werde,  
Des paradises pflegere,  
Erschēin in offenbere;  
Und der selbe wandels fry  
Fürt eins olyboumes zwy  
Grüne in siner hant.

and 2692-2709.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae XLIII:

Tu autem, Seth, vade ad patrem tuum Adam, quoniam completum est tempus vitae illius ... et reversi sunt Eva et Seth. ac tulerunt secum odoramaenta hoc est nardum et crocum et calaminthen et cinamomum.

Meyer's Class III version of the Vita Adae et Evae (in addition) substitutes the branch with three leaves from the tree of knowledge for the spices at this point.

[24] Seth shows the dying Adam the Branch from the Tree of Knowledge, and Eve is overcome by grief

Folio 77r. 144 x 85 mm.

No rubric.

Adam is lying in bed with his head supported by a tasselled pillow. There is a grey chamber-pot under the bed. Adam is wearing a white cap, and his eyes are closed. Seth is leaning over him and holding out the branch in the manner of a priest holding up a crucifix before the eyes of the dying. Eve, in a grey dress, is turned away from them with her right hand raised as she looks back at Adam.

Placed before 2816 and illustrates 2777-79 and 2859-66:

Die dirte clage, die su het,  
(Wer kan das vollesagen  
Das jemerliche clagen?)  
Das was umb iren lieben man,  
Der lag und sich nit versan  
Von grymes siechtümes not,  
Wann er lag an dem dot.  
Dis was ir meiste clage.

Lutwin describes Eve's feelings of guilt and grief in the rhetorical manner but emphasizes in particular her deep love for Adam.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae XLIV:

Et cum pervenissent Seth et mater eius ad Adam dixerunt ei, quia bestia serpens morsit Seth. et dixit Adam ad Evam: quid fecisti? induxisti nobis plagam magnam, delictum et peccatum in omnem generationem nostram ... haec audiens Eva coepit lacrimare et ingemescere.

[25] Eve laments over the Corpse of Adam with her Sons

Folio 82r. 144 x 119 mm.

No rubric.

Adam is lying dead in a sarcophagus. He is bearded but bald, and his forehead is lined. He is clothed in a grey tunic and blue hose. Eve, in a brown dress, is standing behind the sarcophagus with both hands raised (c.f.[10]) and her eyes heavily outlined. On her right stands Seth who is turned from her weeping with one hand over his eye. On her left stands another son.<sup>60</sup>

Placed before 3013 and illustrates 2983-3012.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae XLVI:

et cum esset Seth amplexans corpus patris sui lugens desuper et Eva cum esset respiciens in terram intextas manus super caput eius habens et caput super genua imponens et omnes filii eius fletibus amarissimis lacrimassent.

There is no mention of a sarcophagus in the text, as Adam is buried with Abel by the angels (3205-3278). The illustrator, however, perhaps felt unequal to showing Seth and Eve lying on top of the corpse during her lament (the first of Lutwin's major additions for her):

Su rueff lüte: " we disem tage,  
Der mir hüte zu leide erluhte.  
Niht yemerliche mich duhte,  
Obe ich, lieber herre myn,  
Solte mit dir dot syn,  
Wann ich an dir verlorn han,  
Was ich fröiden ye gewan...  
(2993-99)

[26] Adam is mourned by Eve and Seth

Folio 89v. 144 x 96 mm.

No rubric.

The sarcophagus is now closed, and behind on the left Eve is leaning over it with tears falling from her eyes. She is wearing a grey skirt and a brown top. Seth, dressed as before, stands on the right also weeping.

Placed before 3308 and illustrates 3305-3382 but especially 3309-17:

Dannach bliben by dem grabe  
Mit jemerlicher habe  
Eua und Seth ir sun.  
Su begudent jn der masse tün,  
Also den hertzeleit beschiht.  
Jr jamer halff su lenger niht.  
Von leide su zu der erden vielen.  
Us der beider ougen wielen  
Die heissen trehen als ein bach.

[27] Eve addresses her Children from her Death-Bed

Folio 94v. 138 x 109 mm.

No rubric.

Eve is lying in bed with her head on the left. Her unveiled hair is arranged in two buns, one on either side of her face. She is addressing two sons and two daughters who are standing in a row behind the bed.

Placed before 3500 and illustrates (3500)3510-3611.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae XLIX:

Post sex dies vero quod mortuus est Adam, cognoscens Eva mortem suam, congregavit omnes filios suos et filias suas, qui fuerunt Seth cum XXX fratribus et XXX sororibus, et dixit ad omnes Eva: audite me, filii mei, ut referam vobis, quod ego et pater vester transgressi sumus praeceptum dei et dixit nobis Michahel archangelus: propter praevaricationes vestras generi vestro superinducet dominus noster iram iudicii sui primum per aquam, secundum per ignem: his duobus iudicabit dominus omne humanum genus.

[28] The Sons of Adam discuss the Miraculous Tree which has grown out of their Parents' Grave

Folio 98v. 145 x 102 mm.

No rubric.

The branch, now resembling a small cruciform tree, is growing out of the middle of a closed sarcophagus. On the left a bearded man in a grey robe and a brown cowl is pointing at the tree. On the right another bearded man is in discussion with two younger men.

Placed before 3657 and illustrates 3629-3696.

Despite references in the text to the branch being placed At Adam's head (2698f., 2780f., 3233-36, 3263-65, 3629-31) and in his grave, there is no sign of it in [25] and [26]. The man in the cowl is probably Seth, who after the others have left, remains behind to pray for his parents (3707-14).

[29] Noah sends out the Dove

Folio 104v. 144 x 100 mm.

No rubric.

A dove has just been released from an empty chest. Noah, bearded and wearing a long, brown robe, is holding up the lid of the chest and pointing at the dove. Behind him stands a young man (one of the three sons) who is also looking at the dove.<sup>61</sup>

Placed before 3872 and illustrates 3866-3871.

Source: Genesis VIII:10

D. Text and Illustration

The first eight illustrations constitute the traditional Adam-and-Eve cycle, beginning with the creation of the world and leading through the events which result in the protoplasts having to labour in it. Although the pictures correspond in general, the relationship to the text at one point is far from close: the transition from the Biblical to the apocryphal account is apparently ignored in [8] where the protoplasts are shown toiling. As this scene usually forms the conclusion of the canonical cycle, it is out of place here, because the poem goes on to describe Adam's and Eve's vain search for the food of paradise and their decision to do penance. Other details indicate that the illustrator was following an iconographic model rather than the text at this point. The rubric of [4] (as of [8]) is not derived from the text, but this transitional scene (between the Creation and Fall) of the protoplasts being led into paradise by the Creator was probably present in the illustrator's model. The nakedness of the protoplasts in [7] is also at odds with the text, which gives the usual interpretation of the clothing as an

act of divine mercy (734-747), but is again a feature of the traditional iconography.<sup>62</sup>

That the illustrator should have followed at first a familiar model and disregarded the text on minor points is in itself unremarkable, but the remaining illustrations reveal a different approach. Apart from [19] and [29] (which are scenes from the Biblical Genesis and therefore belong to an iconographic tradition of their own) these illustrations were in the first instance almost certainly accomplished without a direct model and with the text serving as the source of detail. The scarcity of examples suggest that there was never a fully established iconographic tradition where the Vita Adae et Evae was concerned, so this again is not surprising and probably explains the anomaly caused by the fact that Adam is naked in [7], clothed and using an implement in [8], and wearing skins in a rudimentary hut in [9]. The illustrator evidently first followed an iconographic tradition familiar to him and then discovered that he would have to use the text more closely for the rest of the work. If indeed there is a tradition of manuscript transmission, then it has at no stage been felt necessary to correct this anomaly.

Those pictures which illustrate the life of Adam and Eve after their Expulsion are certainly the more interesting in that they reflect the written work. The illustrator is, after all, aiming to clarify the poem for the reader, but it lies within his judgement (and that of the rubricator if they are not one and the same) to decide where clarification is necessary. In this case the illustrator appears to have been chiefly concerned with keeping the main thread of the episodes concerning Adam and Eve intact, and there is nothing to illustrate such digressions as the Devil's narrative of his Fall (1327-1489; Vita Adae et Evae XII-XVI). Where there are illustrations, they follow the text closely, as do [10] to [13] which depict the Penance and second Temptation of the protoplasts. Both the sculptures at Thann and the Hamburg miniature (see note 8 below) condense these events by showing Adam and Eve standing together in the water with the Devil standing on the bank in the latter case. In the Lutwin manuscript Eve is first shown alone in an



undulating Tigris [10], an imaginative touch on the part of the illustrator, and Adam is then seen with the fish in a static Jordan [11]. Their separation is in fact crucial to the story, because it enables the Devil to approach the credulous Eve first in his attempt to recapitulate the events of the first Fall [12], and where the Bible is vague on the matter of Adam's exact whereabouts during the Temptation, the Vita Adae et Evae is precise. Thus Adam's victory over the Devil is emphasized here as it is in the poem where it is explained that the Devil wanted to tempt Adam as well but was confounded by his superior wisdom.<sup>63</sup> Illustration [13] shows Eve being led by the false angel, while Adam remains in the water clearly resisting the temptation to fall with Eve a second time. The well-known topos of Adam's wisdom (but nevertheless an addition to the Vita Adae et Evae at this point) was obviously considered by the illustrator to be an important factor in the understanding of this major episode and deserving of emphasis.

The next episode, [14] to [17], comprises the events leading up to the birth of Cain. Here Lutwin diverges, it will be recalled, from his Latin source by making Eve part from Adam in anger as a result of a lovers' quarrel rather than in shame. This secularization of the legend appears to have appealed to the illustrator strongly. In [14] the lovers are first shown in an embrace, but in [15] the terms on which they are parting are unmistakable. The rubric only refers specifically to the distance of the separation, but Eve's haughty expression and Adam's reluctance can only be accounted for by the text. These illustrations and [16], where Eve prays to the sun to return Adam to her, and [17], where she marvels at her first-born, reveal the illustrator's interest in recording the more intimate moments in the lives of the protoplasts, but are also entirely in the spirit of the poem.

The illustrator was not above diverging from the text where it suited him, and his treatment of the Sethite legend is of special interest. Lutwin's version of the legends indicates that there were separate traditions concerning which of the two trees of paradise was used for the Cross. The narrator, however, is emphatic on this point: Seth is given an olive-branch from the

tree of life on his first journey to paradise which then supplies Noah's dove with a branch in the final episode of the poem,<sup>64</sup> but on a second journey, undertaken after Adam's death, he is given a branch from the tree of knowledge with the half-eaten apple still hanging rather improbably from it.<sup>65</sup> Understandably perhaps, the illustrator has simplified the story by showing the first journey only with Seth receiving a branch without the apple from the tree of knowledge in [23]. Unfortunately, it is in this episode that the rubrics are discontinued, and it is impossible to tell exactly how this readjustment was phrased, although the illustrations remain clear.

A notable feature of the Lutwin manuscript is that the Sethite legend is still only an episode of the Vita Adae et Evae. Thus Adam is shown addressing Eve and other children as well as Seth in [21], and Eve accompanies Seth to paradise, and on their way they meet the Serpent in [22]. Seth receives the branch, but the illustrator makes little of its future role in the redemption of mankind at this stage. In [24] Seth shows the branch to Adam, but his eyes are closed, and the following two illustrations depict only the grief of his family. Thus the illustrator passes over such grandiose passages describing the elaborate funeral arrangements made by the angels in the presence of the Creator and the mourning of the entire Creation for its dead Lord, both beyond his scope perhaps,<sup>66</sup> and especially in [26], where Eve and Seth linger in floods of tears at Adam's grave, he directs the reader's attention with full support from the text back to the human suffering involved.

The final two illustrations show that the artist was unwilling to exclude altogether that symbol both of Original Sin and of Redemption, the branch from the tree of knowledge growing out of the grave of the first Adam and upon which the second Adam will eventually be sacrificed [28]. He was also conscious that his modification of the text had presented a problem concerning the illustration of the final episode where the dove brings Noah an olive-branch from the tree growing out of Adam's grave:

Su floug von der arche zu hant,  
Und floug do sū den oleyboum fant  
Grünen nach alsam ein grasz,  
Der do vor gesteket was

Dort zu Adams grabe,  
Als ich vor gesaget habe ...  
Abe dem oleyboum su beis  
Ein zwig mit jrme snabelin ...  
Noee der mere wol verstunt,  
Als die wisen alle dünt,  
Das mit dem zwige (heilbere)  
Gottes fride gekundet were ...  
(3874-3909)

Adam's children, failing to understand Michael's ambiguous message to Seth which the narrator explains in 2721-2760, lose faith in the miraculous tree when it fails to bear fruit both literally and immediately. They depart, and, because Seth himself is still at a loss, he makes the second journey to paradise and receives not only the apple-branch but also a degree of enlightenment from the angel. Noah, Seth's most honoured descendant, finally understands not only, Lutwin insists, that peace will be restored but that the wood of the olive-tree as well as that of the apple-tree are to be instrumental in redeeming mankind:

Den zwig behielt er ewiglich,  
Als siner heiligkeit gezam.  
Des appfels zwig er darzu nam  
Und hette es jn grosser wirdikeit,  
Wanne, als ich vor han geseit,  
Die zwige beide kunfftig waren,  
Was des todes was verfahren,  
Das (das) von den zwigen beiden  
Von dem tode wurde gescheiden.  
Sus lassent wir die zwige hie.  
(3915-24)

When faced with such conviction, what else could the illustrator do but show the dove, itself a symbol of peace, departing from the ark in [29] ? He thus avoids having to draw in the olive-branch altogether.<sup>67</sup> This tactful solution seems more than justified by the closing lines of the poem itself, for here Lutwin emphasizes that the protoplasts are truly the subject of his work, and on this point the illustrator appears to have been in perfect agreement throughout<sup>68</sup> :

Wie unser herre (Jesu) Crist  
An dem zwige die martel leit,  
Das wurt von mir nu nit geseit.  
Hie ist der rede nit mere.  
Got helffe uns zu (siner ere)  
One alle swere. Amen amen.  
Hie hat Eua und Adam ein ende.  
(3933-39)

NOTES

1. The poem was published by Konrad Hofmann and Wilhelm Meyer as vol. 153 of the publications of the Stuttgart Litterarischer Verein (Tübingen, 1881). Line references, however, are to the edition included in the present study of the poem. Where the poem is cited emendations are given in brackets. The illustrations which form the subject of this study are numbered according to the sequence in which they appear in the MS. The numbers are given throughout in square brackets.
2. The exception is [8] which is published as pl.XXXIX/i by Arpad Weixlgärtner, " Ungedruckte Stiche, Materialien und Anregungen aus Grenzgebieten der Kupferstichkunde " in: Jahrbuch der kunsthist. Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 29 (1910/11), 259-385. On p.349f. Weixlgärtner describes briefly the Lutwin MS with special reference to the technique of the illustrations: " Diese Illustration wirkt genau so wie ein gleichzeitiger illumini<sup>ni</sup>erter Holzschnitt, ein Eindruck, der nicht so sehr durch das in beiden Fällen mit denselben Farben erzeugte Kolorit als vielmehr durch den Stil der Zeichnung hervorgerufen wird. Es erscheint völlig klar, dass der unbekannte Künstler gewohnt war, für den Holzschnitt zu zeichnen. "
3. See Brian Murdoch's entry "Lutwin" in: Verfasserlexikon, 2. ed. by K.Ruh (Berlin, 1977ff.), in press.
4. For an introduction to and an edition of the Vita Adae et Evae (=VA), see that by Wilhelm Meyer in the Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-philol. Kl. 14/III (Munich, 1878), pp.185-250, which is cited throughout. The complex development of the story of the Fall is clearly outlined by Brian Murdoch in his introduction to The Irish Adam and Eve Story from 'Saltair na Rann'. II: Commentary (Dublin, 1976), pp.11-25. There is an English translation of the VA by L.S.A.Wells, " The Books of Adam and Eve " in: Apocrypha and Pseud-epigrapha of the Old Testament ed. R.H.Charles (Oxford, 1913), II, 134-54.

5. See B.Murdoch, " Das deutsche Adambuch und die Adamlegenden des Mittelalters " in: Deutsche Literatur des späten Mittelalters. Hamburger Colloquium, ed. W.Harms and L.P.Johnson (Berlin, 1975), pp.209-24.
6. "Adam und Eva" in: Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte (=RDK) ed. O.Schmitt (Stuttgart, 1937ff.), I, 126-56. The reference to Lutwin is on col. 146.
7. Ibid., col. 145, pl. 13.
8. See H.Vollmer, Ein deutsches Adambuch (Hamburg, 1908), pl.1 which is dismissed with a brief description in the footnote on p.50.
9. See L.Troje, "Adam und Zoe", Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften 7/17 (1916), pp.5-98.
10. The former is illustrated in Herbert L. Kessler, The Illustrated Bibles from Tours (Princeton, 1977). In his second chapter, "Hic homo formatur" pp.13-35, Kessler gives passages of the VA as the source of some of the details in the frontispieces, but indicates that his research is by no means conclusive.
11. See Ernst Guldan, Eva und Maria. Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv, (Graz and Cologne, 1966), pls.3-5, with discussion of the importance of Hildesheim as an artistic centre on p.13ff.; Reygers, RDK, I, pl.11 for the Andlau sculpture.
12. See J.J.Tikkanen, Die Genesismosaiken von S.Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Miniaturen der Cottonbibel ... originally published in Helsinki as part of the Acta Societatis Fennicae 17 (1889), now repr. Soest, 1972.
13. See Hella Frümorgen-Voss, Studien zur illustrierten 'Millstätter Genesis' (Munich, 1962).
14. See Rosalie B. Green, " The Adam and Eve Cycle in the 'Hortus Deliciarum' " in: Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A.M.Friend Jnr.(Princeton, 1955), pp.340-47. This includes excellent plates of the S.Marco mosaics and the Millstätter Genesis with which those of the Hortus Deliciarum are compared.
15. The iconography of Adam and Eve is so extensive that J.B.Trapp claims, in his introduction to " The Iconography of the Fall of Man " in: Approaches to 'Paradise Lost',

ed. C.A.Patrides (London, 1968), pp. 223-65, that it is "difficult to compress the essential iconography of the Fall of Man into a small space and to write its history without at the same time writing a history of Old Testament illustration, or even the history of Christian Art itself." (p.255). The problem is further illustrated by the numerous iconographic examples listed under "Adam and Eve" by G.Binding, A.Reinle and K.Wessel in the Lexikon des Mittelalters (Munich and Zurich, 1978ff.), I, 115f. This list indicates the variety but it is by no means comprehensive. Together with J.B.Trapp's article, other recent studies demonstrate that specialized approaches to this subject are necessary: Murdoch, The Recapitulated Fall (Amsterdam, 1974), esp. pp.149-69; Lutz Röhrich, Adam und Eva. Das erste Menschenpaar in Volkskunst und Volksdichtung (Stuttgart, 1968); Guldan, Eva und Maria; Ewald M. Vetter, "Necessarium Adae peccatum", Ruperto-Carola 39 (1966), pp.144-81; Sigrid Braunfels-Esche, Sündenfall und Erlösung (Düsseldorf, 1957); H.W.Jansen, Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (London, 1952), esp. pp.107-44. H.Schade's entry "Adam und Eva" in the Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie (=LCI/F) ed. E.S.J.Kirschbaum and W.Braunfels (Freiburg, 1968-76), I, 41-70, concludes with a detailed bibliography. In addition to Reyger's article in RDK see also that by K.Wessel in Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst (Stuttgart, 1963ff.), I, 40-54, and by H.Aurenhammer, Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie (=LCI/W) (Vienna, 1959ff.), I, 35-51. See too Louis Réau's standard work Iconographie de l'art chrétien (Paris, 1955-59), II/i, 78-99. It should be noted that only Schade, Reygers, and Aurenhammer mention the Lutwin MS.

16. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 47-49, 54-62, and 65-67; Reygers, RDK, I, 130-40; Aurenhammer, LCI/W, I, 35-39; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 71-75, 83-85, and 89-91.
17. For examples see The Creation from the German Bible of Johann Reinhard of Grüningen printed at Strasbourg, 1485 (Edinburgh University Lib. Inc. ii.) or that of the Lübeck Bible of Steffen Arndes of 1494, see Reygers, RDK, I, 145f., pl.16.

18. See Hildegard Zimmermann, "Armenbibel" in RDK, I, 1072-84, pls. 1 and 2.
19. See Murdoch, The Recapitulated Fall, pp.149-69.
20. See Reygers, RDK, I, 137f., pl. 10.
21. See Trapp, Iconography, pl. 12: Temptation of Eve, from Speculum humanae salvationis, in the Paris codex BN MS Lat. 9854.
22. The vase is described by Alexander O. Curle, The Treasure of Traprain (Glasgow, 1923), pp.13-19, pl. V, fig. 2.
23. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 62-65; Reygers, RDK, I, 138f.; Aurenhammer, LCI/W, I, 46-49; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 86-88; Green, "The Adam and Eve Cycle of the Hortus Deliciarum", Pl. 3 o.
24. See Friedrich Kobler, "Eva-Maria" in RDK, VI, 417-38 for further discussion of the female antithesis.
25. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 67f.; Reygers, RDK, I, 140f.; Aurenhammer, LCI/W, I, 49f.; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 91-93.
26. The fact that the legends are "Apocryphal" does not mean that in practice they were considered to be unsuitable material for the artist or writer. Indeed translations and literary adaptations of the legends abound throughout the Middle Ages. See Achim Masser's introductory chapter to Bibel, Apokryphen und Legenden (Berlin, 1969) for valuable general discussion of this point.
27. See notes 40 and 60 below.
28. The MS is described by Hermann Menhardt, Verzeichnis der altdeutschen literarischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Berlin, 1961), II, 721.
29. See W.Meyer, "Die Textkritik von Lutwins 'Adam und Eva'" in: Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-philol. Kl. (1880), 598-616.
30. See Joachim Kirchner, Germanistische Handschriftenpraxis, 2. ed. (Munich, 1967), p.32. Hans Wegener, "Die Deutschen Volkshandschriften des späten Mittelalters" in: Mittelalterliche Handschriften: Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstage von Hermann Degering (Leipzig, 1929), pp.316-24 still provides a useful general introduction to the subject.

31. See David F. Bland, A History of Book Illustration. The Illuminated Manuscript and the Printed Book (London, 1958) with useful bibliography. Wilhelm Worringer, Die altdeutsche Buchillustration (Munich, 1921), describes the Federzeichnungstechnik in his introduction on pp.15-19. A book which concentrates, unusually, on drawing rather than on illumination or wood-cuts is that of M.W.Evans, Medieval Drawings (London,1969), who notes that " manuscripts with drawings continued to be the basic form of popular literature until printing provided a more convenient alternative. In the 15th century German artists evolved a simple but effective style of manuscript illustration to keep pace with growing demand. It employed vigorous, angular pen-strokes and broad areas of colour-wash and was very similar in appearance to the pictures in block-books. " (p.18). See also Norbert H. Ott, "Die Bilderlosigkeit jiddischer Handschriften" in: Fragen des älteren Jiddisch, ed. H-J. Müller and W.Roll (Trier, 1977), pp.42-45.
32. See Kurt Weitzmann, Illustrations in Roll and Codex (Princeton, 1947). Wolfgang Stammer calls specific attention to the illustrations of German medieval texts in "Epenillustration", RDK, V, 810-57, although he does not note the Lutwin MS under those of the 15th century. Two important studies on text and illustration in the Middle Ages are by F.P.Pickering, Literatur und darstellende Kunst imMittelalter (Berlin, 1966), and Hella Frühmorgen-Voss, Text und Illustration im Mittelalter, ed. N.H.Ott (Munich, 1975). The most recent studies are to be found in Text und Bild. Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit, ed. Christel Meier and Uwe Ruberg (Wiesbaden, 1980).
33. Encouragement and incentive for the primarily literary student to enter the province of the art historian is provided by D.J.A.Ross' study in comparative iconography: Illustrated Alexander-Books in Germany and the Netherlands (Cambridge, 1971). As will also be apparent Hella Frühmorgen-Voss proves an invaluable guide in her Studien zur illustrierten 'Millstätter Genesis'.
34. See Beryl Smalley, Historians in the Middle Ages (London,1974) esp. pp.62-65.



35. This would appear to characterize the later development of Adam and Eve iconography; see Kenneth Clark, The Nude. A Study of Ideal Art (London, 1956), esp. pp. 301-13.
36. In PL CXCVIII, col.1072 and see Murdoch, Irish Adam and Eve Story, p.81f.
37. For a slightly later example see Albert Schramm, Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke (Leipzig, 1924-39), XIV, pl.115/573: The Fall from the Bothe-Sachsenchronik by Peter Schöffer, 1492.
38. For a slightly later example see Theodor Ehrenstein, Das Alte Testament in der Graphik (Vienna, 1936), chapter II, pl.4: The Fall from Der selen wurczgart, a woodcut printed by Dinckmut in Ulm, 1483.
39. See J.K.Bonell, "The Serpent with a Human Head in Art and Mystery Play", American Journal of Archeology, Ser. II, 21 (1917), 255-91; Reygers, RDK, I, 137f.; B.Brenk, LCI/F, IV, "Teufel", 295-300; W.Kemp, LCI/F, IV, "Schlange"; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 56-64; B.Rowland, Animals with Human Faces (London, 1974), esp. pp.142-47.
40. See Esther C. Quinn, The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life (Chicago, 1962) for a lucid account of this complex legend; also H.W. von Os and G.Vászai, LCI/F, II, "Kreuzlegende", 642-48; L.Stauch, RDK, II, "Baum", 63-73; H.Bethe, RDK, I, "Astkreuz", 1152-61.
41. In the first of Jan Veldener's sixty-four wood-cuts of 1484, an old but not yet ailing Adam is seen telling Seth to go to paradise to fetch the Oil of Mercy for him, in the second Seth receives instead seeds from the tree of life from the angel, and in the third he plants these in the mouth of the dead Adam. Although these pictures may have been derived from the VA originally, they have been totally lifted out of its context, and only Seth, Adam, and the seeds which will grow into three trees and eventually combine as the wood of the Cross are of importance. For the wood-cuts see pls.77-85 in Roger Cook, The Tree of Life (London, 1974).
42. For a 14th century example see M.R.James, Illustrations of the Book of Genesis (Oxford, 1921), where on fol. 1a and 1b the six days of Creation are shown by two similar circles

- but with the Creator seated on top of them; see also S.C.Cockerell, A Book of Old Testament Illustrations of the thirteenth century in the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York/London, 1927), where on fol. 1a and 1b the second to the sixth days of the Creation are each shown by the Creator holding a circle in a similar manner to [1]. See also J. van der Meulen, O.Holl and others, LCI/F, IV, "Schöpfer, Schöpfung", 99-123 and Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 65-76.
43. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 49; Reygers, RDK, I, 131-33; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 71.
  44. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 51-54; Reygers, RDK, I, 134-36; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 75.
  45. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 49; Reygers, RDK, I, 134; Aurenhammer, LCI/W, I, 39f.
  46. Compare with the Lübeck Bible of Steffen Arndes, ed. M.J.Frieling (Munich, 1923), pl.1: The Fall, where Adam is holding the apple but studiously avoids Eve's gaze. Our text indicates that both were under the tree at the time of the Temptation (398-414) and does nothing to suggest that Adam had doubts of any kind (180-82). For this common telescoping of events see Schade, LCI/F, I, 54-62; Reygers, RDK, I, 138f.; Aurenhammer, LCI/W, I, 46-48; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 86-88.
  47. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 62-65; Reygers, RDK, I, 138f.; Aurenhammer, LCI/W, I, 46-48; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 86-88.
  48. See W.Braunfels, LCI/F, II, "Gott, Gottvater", 166-70; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 3-29.
  49. See O.Holl and others, LCI/F, I, "Engel", 626-42; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 30-55; K.A.Wirth, RDK, V, 341-555.
  50. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 65-67; Reygers, RDK, I, 139f.; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 89-91.
  51. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 67f.; Reygers, RDK, I, 140-42; Aurenhammer, LCI/W, I, 49f.; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 91-93.
  52. While the Ashburnham Pentateuch has them clothed in skins and standing inside a wooden hut, a wood-cut of 1480 illustrating Hans Folz's poetic version of the VA (see B.Murdoch, Hans Folz and the Adam-Legends (Amsterdam, 1977), p.133 for a description) shows them naked and seated under a hut with a roof of foliage outside the gate of paradise. Adam's fringed tunic is similar

- to those worn by the protoplasts at the Expulsion in the 12th century Byzantine mosaics of the Real Cappella Palatina in Palermo (see Ehrenstein, Das Alte Testament, chapter II, pls. 27 and 28).
53. For the two other known German representations of the Penance see notes 7 and 8 above. The sculptures at Thann also depict the heads of four fishes in the river with the protoplasts. In addition see Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 91 who describes a miniature in the 15th century Livres des Merveilles (Paris BN, mss. fr. 95 and 1837) which shows Adam and Eve holding hands but standing only up to their waists in a lake in Ceylon said to have been formed by their tears; see F. de Mély, "Nos premiers parents dans l'art. Adam, Eve, Lilith" in: Mélanges Hulin de Loo, ed. P. Bergmans (Brussels and Paris, 1931), pp.116-22, pl.3: Adam et Eve dans le lac de Colombo. On the Penance see Schade, LCI/F, I, 50; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 91 and 94. None of these examples show them standing on a stone, although in the Baptism in the Jordan the second Adam, Christ, is sometimes depicted thus. See Friedrich Ohly, Der Verfluchte und der Erwählte (Opladen, 1976), pp.43-56.
54. In the Hamburg miniature the Devil's disguise is betrayed not only by cloven feet but also by a dark face and large ears. See Murdoch, The Recapitulated Fall, pp.162-64, for further instances of the Devil in disguise.
55. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 68f.; Reygers, RDK, I, 141; Aurenhammer, LCI/W, I, 51; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 94. Compare with the wood-cut in Worringer, Die altdeutsche Buchillustration, pl.10: Mann mit Frau in einer Badewanne. Aus dem deutschen Kalender. Augsburg um 1480.
56. For discussion of Lutwin's adaptation of this episode see Brian Murdoch, "Eve's Anger: Literary Secularization in Lutwin's 'Adam und Eva'", Archiv 215 (1978), 256-71 and Part III of this Introduction.
57. See Murdoch, "Adambuch", for comparison of Lutwin's treatment of the motif with that of Folz on p.221f.
58. For the iconography of Cain and Abel see O. Holl and others, LCI/F, I, "Abel und Kain", 5-10; Reygers, RDK, I, "Abel und Kain", 17-27; Aurenhammer, LCI/W, "Abel", 8-11; Réau, Icon-

ographie, II/i, 96-99. Abel's tonsure would appear to be unusual. The text relates that his death at his brother's hands prefigures that of Christ by the Jews (2018-24), a theological commonplace, and both Abel, the shepherd and prototypal priest, and Melchisedech, the priest-king (see G.Seib, LCI/F, III, "Melchisedech", 241f.), appear in their sacerdotal roles in iconography, which is also alluded to in vernacular literature; see Auguste Brieger, Kain und Abel in der deutschen Dichtung (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), p.10f. The illustrator may have had this connection in mind as well as a respect for the clergy.

59. Compare with the 14th century cycle on the S. E. door of the Church of the Holy Cross in Schwäbisch Gmünd, where Adam is lying on the ground tended by Eve, while behind him Seth is seen asking the angel (but not receiving if the name of the church is taken into account) the Oil of Mercy which is contained in a goblet. See Courtauld Institute Illustration Archives, ed. P.Lasko, Archive 3: Medieval Architecture and Sculpture in Europe, III, Germany: Baden-Württemberg (1) ed. A.Tomlinson (London, 1977), pl.3/3/128.
60. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 69f.; Reygers, RDK, I, 144f.; O.Erich, RDK, I, "Adam-Christus", 157-60; Aurenhammer, LCI/W, I, 41f.; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 98-101. The text makes little of where Adam was actually buried although the tradition that the Crucifixion took place on Golgotha, the place of the (i.e. Adam's) skull, was of great importance iconographically. The legend of the Holy Rood is but a variation on a major theme, since the wood from the tree which grows out of Adam's grave is eventually used for the Cross. An interesting combination is to be found in the early 15th century Hours of Catherine of Cleves, ed. J.Plummer (New York, 1966), pl.82, where a tree, at the foot of which is a skull, is growing out of a grave-slab, and in the lower border Abraham is about to sacrifice Isaac, a scene which frequently prefigures the Crucifixion, as it does on the Verdun Altar (see Floridus Röhrig, Der Verduner Altar (Vienna, 1955), pl.26 I/9). See also Murdoch, Irish Adam and Eve Story II, 146f. for further discussion.

61. See H.Hohl, LCI/F, I, "Archa Noe", 178-80; R.Daut, O.Holl and others LCI/F, IV, "Noe (Noah)", 611-20; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 104-10. In a 14th century MS Noah and his family are shown standing inside a chest with a raised coped lid and a large lock on the front; see M.R.James' description of the facsimile of the Paris BN MS Lat. 9584: Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Oxford, 1926), esp. p.13f.
62. Canonical iconography is indeed at variance with the supposition to be found in exegetical writings that the protoplasts were in fact clothed while in paradise but lost these garments as a result of the Fall. See B.Murdoch, The Fall of Man in the Early Middle High German Biblical Epic (Göppingen, 1972), pp.106-18.
63. For the intellectual reputations of the protoplasts see B.Murdoch, The Fall of Man, pp.39-58.
64. It should be noted that Lutwin never refers to the tree of life by name.
65. Lutwin's treatment of the Holy Rood legend has been regarded in the past as an inconsistent fusion of the version found in the VA with what came to be an independent and more extensive version (as depicted in the sixty-four Veldener wood-cuts), the Kreuzlegende. See Part II.B of this Introduction for further discussion.
66. 3013-3304 are to be found in Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur. Texte und Zeugnisse (Munich, 1965), Mittelalter I/i, 203-07.
67. This is no iconographic peculiarity, however, see note 61 above.
68. Of the twenty-nine illustrations only [1], [19], [23], [28], and [29] exclude both Adam and Eve.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

INTRODUCTION TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Lutwin's poem was published by Konrad Hofmann and Wilhelm Meyer as volume 153 of the publications of the Literarischer Verein in Stuttgart in 1881. Meyer's "Textkritik von Lutwins Adam und Eva" was published the previous year in the Münchener Sitzungsberichte and states the editors' aims at some length on p.601:

So wurde versucht, den Nachtheil, dass nur eine Handschrift vorhanden ist, in soweit zum Vortheil zu wenden, dass das Gedicht mit allen sprachlichen Formen gedruckt wird, mit welchen es die Handschrift überliefert hat, dass dagegen alle die Stellen geändert wurden, welche sachlich und sogar für die Sprache des Schreibers sprachlich gefälscht sind. Schien es also nicht thunlich, die orthographischen und sprachlichen Unsauberkeiten zu entfernen, welche der späte Schreiber hereingebracht hat, so war das Hauptbestreben, den Sinn und die Worte des Dichters wieder herzustellen: ein Ziel, dessen Erreichung durch die vielen Verderbnisse der Handschrift schwer genug gemacht ist.

In the circumstances, Meyer appears to have formed an unnecessarily poor opinion of the fifteenth century copyist who was doing a tedious job and seems to have worked conscientiously enough, as his corrections show. There is certainly some evidence of both carelessness and thoughtlessness, but to speak of "absichtliche Fälschungen" (p.608) is too severe. Both in his "Textkritik" and in the "Nachwort" of the edition, Meyer gives a slightly exaggerated account of the copyist's failings and lays much of the blame for error at his door, which cannot be fully justified in view of the fact that the copy was made at least 150 years after the poem was written and nothing else is known about the transmission of the text. As Hofmann and Meyer themselves make a number of mistakes and tacit emendations, their impatience was perhaps due to lack of time in which to copy, edit, and publish the text.

Questions of textual edition have been raised and resolved in a variety of ways in recent years. Given the basic extremes of a completely diplomatic transcription (or indeed low-cost facsimile publication), which can well have the major disadvantage of placing the entire critical onus upon the reader, and at the other extreme a text that can amount to a reconstruction, a critical decision has to be made. The problem is at once ameliorated and aggravated in the case of a unique manuscript.<sup>1</sup> Solutions have varied: the Litterae series of facsimiles presents one, as does B.Murdoch's edition of

செய்து, கருவி உருவாக்கப்பட்டு, பதிப்பிக்கப்பட்டது. இது ஒரு மிகவும் முக்கியமான நிகழ்வு.

Hans Folz's Adam-legends which endeavours to present the unique MS (which in this case would be unsuitable for facsimile) in an accessible fashion.<sup>2</sup> D. Neuschäfer's edition of the Anegenge compromises by presenting both a diplomatic and a parallel reading text, the latter in normalised form.<sup>3</sup> The provision of a critical edition is somewhat different when more than one manuscript is extant. G. Baesecke's Oswald and other similar texts draw on several manuscripts in the desire to reach a putative original version.<sup>4</sup> Such versions are, however, invariably putative, although sometimes it is expedient to aim for such a reconstruction as E. Kiepe-Willms has decided to do in her recent work on Muskatblut.<sup>5</sup>

Lutwin's Eva und Adam survives in a manuscript which is patently later than the time of its composition. The text is, therefore, potentially in need of emendation, but the present edition retains virtually all the idiosyncracies and mistakes present in the manuscript, leaving the reader to make up his own mind on individual points, which with a unique manuscript he is entitled to do. Punctuation has been supplied for the sake of readability and capitalization has been regulated (where it has been added, it is underlined), and a few of the letters have been normalised. Otherwise this is an essentially diplomatic edition, where assistance in understanding the text is to be found in the apparatus, notes, and translation. A Latin text of the Vita Adae et Evae has not been included. Meyer added his own edition of the Vita in the apparatus which led to a certain amount of study of Lutwin's source. It now seems clear that Lutwin's exact source will never be known, and any further study would have to take into account a number of Latin MSS that are at present unedited (see Appendix II). Far from ignoring the work of Hofmann and Meyer the present edition notes all their emendations in the apparatus as H and M. Tacit emendations in that edition have been noted here as HM, and references are made also to emendations by de Boor (DB), Haupt (Hpt), Sprenger (Spr), and Steinmeyer (St). Suggestions by the present editor are undesignated. Emendations, however plausible, remain hypothetical, which is why they have not been placed within the text itself. The translation has, of course, drawn upon the emendations, and in some cases words have been added (in brackets) for the sake of clarification.



The decision to add a translation may require some justification. Lutwin's work is part of a wide tradition, and as such demands comparison not only with other German works but with works on the same theme in other languages. In recent years at least two parallel versions from other languages have appeared in text and translation editions, the Irish Adam and Eve story in the Saltair na Rann<sup>6</sup> and the later French compilation entitled The Penitence of Adam in the Andrius MS.<sup>7</sup> The translation may also serve as a commentary on the textual readings.

It will be noticed that there are discrepancies in the line-numbering of the Lutwin manuscript owing to the incorrect counting of Hofmann and Meyer which is partially acknowledged in the "Nachwort" on p.132. In the new edition from line 1011 onwards the numbering is one ahead of the old, at 1437 it drops to three lines behind, at 2016 to four, and at 2317 again to three lines behind. Thus the manuscript finally totals 3939 as opposed to 3942 lines. Eis draws attention to the incorrect line-numbering, and his calculations total 3940 lines. The extra line is where Hofmann suggests emending three lines out of two in the MS (3025f.) which Eis includes in his line-count. The present edition does not include this emendation in the text.

In this edition the aim has been to combine a reading text with a text faithful as far as possible to the MS. As complete consistency is never entirely possible, some preliminary comments need to be made on the actual graphemic forms and the way in which they are treated. As far as the vowels are concerned, neither a nor e appear with diacritics, but problems are presented by the other vowels:

- i: the dot of the i can appear as an extended circumflex, as a macron, or as an acute accent; but as these signs cannot be interpreted as having any proper diacritic function, they are rendered as a dot.
- j: is sometimes interchang<sup>e</sup>able with i but has been retained as it stands.
- o: may appear with an umlaut, and this has been retained even where vowel modification does not seem appropriate.
- u/v: there seems to be no consistent use of the two forms either depending upon position or upon function: for the most part

(and always in medial or final position) u is employed for the vowel or the consonant; initially either v (rather more frequently) or u may be employed. The present text adapts this to modern conventions of consonantal or vocalic use.

In the case of Eua, however, the medial u has been retained throughout, because Lutwin's etymology of the name (242-55) renders the modern convention inappropriate. The u form is sometimes provided with diacritics in the MS, but these are highly inconsistent, and only the umlaut has been retained.

y: appears regularly with a diaeresis or other diacritics which have been omitted.

s: is used here for both the  $\int$ , which appears initially and medially, and the final s.  $\beta$  is shown as sz.

The somewhat erratic use of nasal bars to indicate doubling of n or m has been resolved and indicated in the text by underlining. The state of flux of the various graphemic forms employed in this period is best illustrated by the case of namme where consonantal doubling is used to indicate a preceding short vowel (as in wann or vernommen) which, however, has not survived as a NHG form.<sup>8</sup>

MS Vindob.2980 is described by H. Menhardt in the Verzeichnis der altdeutschen literarischen Hss. der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek II, 721. The text is written on 106 folios in one hand in a reasonably neat Bastarda of the mid-fifteenth century. The corrections and the rubrics, which appear to have been written with a finer pen, are also by the same hand. There is no punctuation, but paragraphs are indicated by capitals of two or more lines in depth that have been drawn by the rubricator (for whom there is usually an indicator in the margin) and are sometimes embellished with flowers. The letters I, J, and L sometimes have small unidentifiable creatures attached to them, and the J of l.732 is a carefully drawn fish complete with scales and fins. The rubricator has also added a short vertical stroke to the majuscule with which every line begins, thus forming a margin of descending red strokes on every page. There are between 19 and 21 lines on each page where there is no illustration. New paragraphs, which are indicated by red majuscules of more than one line in depth, are shown by indentation of the line in the edition. The sign / marks the end of a folio recto or verso.

NOTES

1. See F.H.Bäumel, "Some Aspects of Editing the Unique Manuscript: A Criticism of Method" , Orbis Litterarum 16 (1961), 27-33.
2. Hans Folz and the Adam-Legends: Texts and Studies (Amsterdam, 1977).
3. Das Aneenge. Textkritische Studien. Diplomatischer Abdruck. Anmerkungen zum Text (Munich, 1966).
4. See B.Murdoch's review of M.Curschmann's edition of Der Münchener Oswald in Studi Medievali 16 (1975), 960-62, in which he discusses Baesecke's method.
5. Die Spruchdichtungen Muskatbluts. Vorstudien zu einer kritischen Ausgabe (Zurich and Munich, 1976).
6. D.Greene and F.Kelly, The Irish Adam and Eve Story from 'Saltair na Rann (Dublin, 1976).
7. E.C.Quinn, The Penitence of Adam: A Study of the Andrius MS (Mississippi, 1980). The transcription and translation are by M.Dufau.
8. See J.Wright, Historical German Grammar I (Oxford, 1907), p.55f. for discussion of the MHG short vowel.

ABBREVIATIONS IN THE APPARATUS

- DB        Emendations by Helmut de Boor in Die deutsche Literatur. Texte und Zeugnisse. Mittelalter I/i (Munich, 1965), pp.203-07.
- Hpt        Emendations by Moritz Haupt in "Ährenlese (47)", ZfdA 15 (1872), 265.
- H:        Emendations by Karl Hofmann in Adam und Eva edited by Karl Hofmann and Wilhelm Meyer as vol. 153 of the Stuttgart Litterarischer Verein (Tübingen, 1881).
- HM        Unattributed emendations in the edition of Adam und Eva noted above.
- M        Emendations by Wilhelm Meyer in the edition of Adam und Eva noted above.
- Spr        Emendations by R. Sprenger in "Lutwins Adam und Eva", Literatur Blatt 3 (1882), 259.
- St        Emendations by Elias Steinmeyer in "Lutwins Adam und Eva", AfdA 8 (1882), 222-30.
- VA        The "Vita Adae et Evae" edited by Wilhelm Meyer in Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften phil.-philol. Klasse 14/III (Munich, 1978), 221-250.

Emendations by the present editor are undesignated.

TEXT

WER die worheit gerne mynn 1  
Und sich güter dinge versynn,  
Der müsz der besten einre s[in]  
Und lebet nit jn gouches schin,  
Als nü leider maniger dut, 5  
Den man siht durch krancken müt  
Jn unsteter füre louffen.  
Wer künde mich do gerouffen  
Do mir gewühs nie hor ?  
NÜ sehent üff und nement war, 10  
Obe die rede gelogen sie:  
Wem tumbe sitten wonent by,  
Was mich der selbe geleret,  
Und jchs mit willen an in geret,  
Das were gar ein verdorben ding, 15  
Und müste ouch one widerwing  
Der selben einer wesen,  
Die man so gefüge siht wesen  
Das böste von dem besten dört,  
Und gedencke werdent wort,/ 20  
Das sagent uns die wisen.  
NÜ lossent wir der toren füren risen,  
Der die meiste menge ist völ,  
Hin do sü zü rehte ligen sol,  
Und volgen wyser lere, 25  
Das fristet lip, güt, und ere,  
Und flissen uns darzü,  
Wie unser jegelicher getü  
Nach dem, do man des besten giht,  
Und den, man doch darunder siht, 30  
Leben nach gottes lere.

1 Fol. 1r. Page is torn at r-h edge and has been repaired.  
WER: W of 3-line depth, red. mynn: mynn[et] H. 2 versynn:  
versynn[et] H. 3 s: s[in] H. 6 krancken: kranken HM.  
16 ouch: ich M. müste: müsse HM. 18 wesen: lesen M.  
19 von: vor M. 21 Fol. 1v. 22 füren: fure H.

Dem volgen wir, wann das ist der,  
Dem got die selde hat gegeben  
Und dort das ewige leben.  
Das ist wol und reht geton, 35  
Es ist der welte ein selig man.  
Wer nach gottes leben wil,  
Der müsz ouch der welte spil  
Lossen, als ich mich versynne.  
Nü wer mag der welte mynne 40  
Verdienen und gottes grüs ?/  
Der zweyer eins er tün müs:  
Sich der welte mynne pflegen  
Und gottes dienstes mit trüwen pflege[n],  
Oder mit der welte sich betragen 45  
Und gottes dienst wider sagen,  
Wann nieman mag zwein heren wol  
Dienen nach des nützes zol.  
Jedoch der mir volgen wil,  
Der sol gar der welte spil 50  
Lassen usz siner aht  
Und von aller siner maht  
Dienen dem vil süssen Crist.  
Wünschent alle zü dirre frist,  
Wer dis höre oder lese, 55  
Das ymme got genedig wese,  
Der dis büch hat gedihitet,  
Mit rymen wol berihitet.  
Er ist Lutwin genant.  
Sin nammen ist lutzel jeman erkant, 60  
Das machet sin grosz unheil  
Und sin krancker synne ein teil,/

32 der: ere H; der St. 33 die: hie ? M; hie St.  
36 der: zer ? M. 37 gottes: gotte H. 42 Fol. 2r.  
43 pflegen: bewegen H. 44 pflege: pflegen H.  
51 Lassen: Lossen HM. 59 Lutwin: poet's name under-  
lined in red. In the margin: Autoris Nomen Lutwin (later  
hand). 60 MS: erkant: inserted r.

Das er nit bas erkant ist.  
Nü bittent got, den richen Crist,  
Das er durch alle sine gütte 65  
Sende in unser gemüte,  
Das wir verdienen hie  
Die fröide, die kein ore nie  
Gehöret, nach ouge gesach,  
Nach nie münt üsz gesprach, 70  
Das sü müge glichen dar.  
Jo wene ich, do sint düsent jar  
Kurtzer danne ein halber tag.  
Den fröiden sich nit glichen mag,  
Die er den bereit hat, 75  
Der jn one myssetat  
Minnet und die sünde lat.  
DO verendet was die zit,  
Als es an der schrifft lit,  
Und die Jorzal was ergangen, 80  
Die gotheit begunde verlangen  
Mit yr nachvolgerynne,  
Das was die güte und mynne/  
Und ouch die barmhertzikeit,  
Die lebetent in der eynikeit 85  
Vor der welte one angenge,  
Und do das dühte zü lenge  
Die gotheit, wann sie eine vertrosz,  
Den güten und den mynnelosz  
Und die barmhertzikeit gehüre 90  
Gobent darzü jre sture,  
Das sich got neigete  
Und sin gewalt erzöigete.

63 Fol. 2v. 71 Das sü: Das sü sich M. 75 den: dem H.  
78 DO: D of 2-line depth, red. 84 Fol. 3r. 85 eynikeit:  
ewikeit (?) H. 86 Vor der welt anegenge ? H. 89 Den güten  
und den mynnelosz: Die güte und die mynnelosz.



Gegen wem solt er sich neigen  
Oder wem solt er erzöigen 95  
Sinen ewigen gewalt,  
Der was und ist unerzalt,  
Do niht was und nieman lebete,  
Aber er one tougen swebete,  
Unsegelich in der gotheit 100  
Mit der ewen ewikeit,  
Als uns saget die worheit ?/

rubric of Illus.[1]: Wie got von ersten hymelrich und ertrich  
beschüff

Nü do in das duhte zit,  
An dem unser heil lit,  
Das er sich ewigen wolt, 105  
Nach der güte solt  
Und nach syme werde,  
Geschüff er hymel und erde  
Und was sie ziere habent beide.  
Das ich jegelichs bescheide 110  
Sünderlich nach syme wert,/  
Als das myn hertze gert,  
Den ist myn synne zü krang:  
Nie das mich myn müte twang,  
Das ich myn willen hie 115  
Gerne erzöigen, wüste ich wie,  
Und das ich die gedinge han,  
Obe ich nit vollebringen kan  
Die werck nach dem müt,  
Das es die wisen doch düncke gü[t]. 120  
Obe ich rette nach kindes sitte,

rubric if Illus.[1]: Fol. 3v. 103 Nü: N of 2-line depth, red.  
105 ewigen: erzeigen or neigen M. 110 ich: ichs HM.  
112 Fol. 4r. 113 Den: Dem H. 114 Nie das: Wie des H.  
116 erzöigen: erzoiget H. 120 gü: gu[t] H.

Erzöige ich do iht gütēs mit,  
Obe mir got fūgete das,  
So sol man mir dancken bas  
Dann eime kunstenrichen man, 125  
Der meister ist und dihten kan,  
Der hat sin me dann ich getan.  
DO got, der gnoden hort,  
Beschüff alleine mit dem wort  
Hymel, erde, und ir zier 130  
Nach der süssen mynne gir,/  
Mahte er als ymme gezam  
Das paradīs so wunnesam.  
Das heisset wol der wunnegart,  
Wanne so schönērs nie nit wart, 135  
Das sich ymme glichen müge,  
Nach zū sprechen darzū tūge  
Von menschlichem synne.  
Einen man sat er darynne  
Gewircket mit siner hant, 140  
Der wart Adam ganant  
Von vier būchstaben.  
Wovon der namme wart erhaben  
Das wil ich bescheiden schier.  
Der welte teil sint vier, 145  
Als ich han vernommen ee:  
Das erste teil Anathole,  
Des mahtent uns die būch gewis,  
Das dirte teil Arthos,  
Das vierde heisset Mensembrios. 150  
Sus wart der selbe man/  
Zūsamme geleit Adam,

131 der: d corrected in red. 132 Fol. 4v. 135 schönērs:  
schönes H. 141 ganant: genant HM. 144 wil ich: wil ich  
uch (?) M. 148 Des: Das M; clearly there is a line missing  
before or after 148. M suggests: Das ander heisset Dysis.  
151 man: nam M. 152 Fol. 5r.

Den möhte er wol sunder han.

rubric of Illus.[2]: Wie gott Adam den ersten menschen besch[uff]

Als ich erfunden han,  
Us dem paradise ran 155  
Zü fūhten baum und gras  
Und alles das darynne was  
Zü güter mosz ein wasser grosz,  
Das jn vierteil darnach flosz,/br/>Die nach jren flus hant, 160  
Als es mir ist bekant.  
Das eine ist Phison genant  
Das umbflusset ein lant,  
Das ist geheissen Eyulat.  
Das beste golt das jeman hat, 165  
Das ist in dem lande do.  
Das golt von Arabie  
Und ouch das von Kaukasas,  
Das ie das beste golt was,  
Das ist doby kuppfer var, 170  
Also ist erwelet gar  
Das golt von Eyulat.  
Das selbe lant ouch wunder hat  
Von edelm gesteine,  
Das findet man so gemeine 175  
In dem selben lande do  
Me danne anderswo.  
Als ich uch sage, das kompt dovon,/br/>Das das wasser Phizon  
Usz dem paradise pflüsset. 180

153 MS: mö~~h~~hte. 154 Als: A of 2-line depth, red.

160 Fol. 5v. 168 H emends Kankazas to Kaukasas, MS reads Kaukasas. 179 Fol. 6r.

Das selbe lant das genüset  
Des vil mancher richeit,  
Dovon des landes wirdikeit  
Vor aller der welte ist geseit.  
    DAs ander wasser ist genant 185  
Geon und ist der Mören lant  
Mit syme flüsse umbegat.  
Die welt manig wunder hat.  
Vur ein wunder prüfe ich das,  
Wolt ir hören, ich sage uch, was, 190  
Das die Mören alzü mole  
Sint swartz als ein kole.  
Wovon das ist, das sage ich uwe:  
Das kummet nūwen von hüwe,  
Das sie vor hitze hant kein frist 195  
Und das lant so hoch ist,  
Das es der sunnen so nohe lit,/br/>Das su hörent zü aller zit  
Die sunne des morgens uffgon,  
Als sü iren schin hebet an 200  
Mit eime suse in der wise,  
Als hymel und erde zūsammen rise.  
Das kumet von der hitzen schin.  
Deste heisser müs das lant sin,  
Sit der heissen sunnen stral 205  
In dem lande gent zü tal.  
Dovon sint die selben lute  
Alle swartz an der hūte.  
Was touget me dovon geseit  
Nach der būche worheit ? 210  
Das dirte wasser Tygris,

179 Fol. 6r. 185 DAs: D of 2-line depth, red, with decoration. 186 ist: es H. 193 uwe: iu Hpt and H. 194 hüwe: diu Hpt and H. 196 das: daz daz Hpt. 198 Fol. 6v. 211 Das dirte wasser heisst Tygris (?) M.

Also uns Genesis  
Das büch kundet sunder wan.  
Das flüsset, als ich gelesen han,  
Gegen der Assirien lant. 215  
Das vierde ist Eufrates genant,/   
Ein wasser luter als ein zin,  
Als ich von rehte bewiset bin.  
Der wasser rede ein ende habe.  
Das paradis ist urhab 220  
Diser wasser alle vier.  
Als es ist gekundet mir,  
Also han ich bescheiden das.  
Wer nü bescheide die wasser bas,  
Das losz ich varen one has. 225  
    DO got nü sin beschöffede sach,  
Die geviel ymme wol, und sprach:  
"Das eine wesen nit sanffte tüt,  
Dovon ist es nit güt,  
Das der man alleine blibe. 230  
Wir süllent machen von syme libe  
Ein menschen, der sin glich sy  
Und der yme blibe by."  
Do dis also ergie,  
Einen süssen sloff er lie 235  
In Adam, den geschaffen man./  
Ein Rip brach er yme lise dan,  
Darus ein wip er worhte,  
Die ouch durch sine vorhte  
Dete und lies, 240  
Was er tün und lossen hies.  
Dye wart Eua genant.  
Jr namme wart uns sit erkant  
Nach mangen unsern leiden.

217 Fol. 7r. 221 alle: aller H. 224 a deletion before nü.  
226 DO: D of 2-line depth, red. 237 Fol. 7v. 239 cf.  
2202 H. 240 lies: lise H. 241 hies: hiese H.  
242 Dye: final letter added in red.

Den wil ich uch bescheiden, 245  
Was er bezeichnen tüt:  
'Eu' in krieschem sprichet 'güt',  
'A' in latin betütet 'an',  
Der den nammen prüfen kan,  
So sprichet 'Eua one güt'. 250  
Nach anders man in bedüten düt:  
Eua kriesch in latin verkeret  
Sprichet 'an'. Ich bin geleret,  
Der erbet su zü rehte an,  
Wanne Eua güttes uns verban. 255  
Sü hat uns leit gemeret,/  
Und manig selde verkeret  
Mit ungehorsam,  
Dovon der erste val bekam,  
Der menschlich kunne uber sich nam. 260

rubric of Illus.[3]: Wie gott Euam usz Adam beschüff

DO alles das beschaffen was,  
Des der tügende adamas,  
Got unser here, gedoht,  
Nü was mit ziere ouch vollebroht  
Das paradis so wunnesam, 265  
Do das wip und Adam/  
Von gotte in gesetzet sint.  
Die worent alsam die kint  
One schamme und sünden eine,  
Falsches fry und so reine, 270  
Mit schöne und mit wiszheit,  
Die got hette an sü geleit

253 Sprichet an ich bin geleret: Sprichet 'ach'. Ich bin  
geleret St. 257 Fol. 8r. 260 Der: Den M; uber sich nam:  
Überkam (?) M, St disagrees. 263 Got unser here, hat gedoht (?),  
cf.305, 421 M. 264 was mit ziere: mit inserted. 267 Fol. 8v.

Mit unmeszlichen genaden  
Und überflüssig geladen,  
Das es ist unsegelich. 275  
Das ist wor, das was billich,  
Sit sü wurckete gottes hant

rubric of Illus.[4]: Wie gott Adam und Eua in das paradise furte

Syt sü wickete gottes hant, 277a  
Dem alles werck ist erkant,

E sin werde begunnen:  
Der sternnen, mon, und sunnen, 280

Vinsternis, lieht, alle element,  
Abgründe, und firmament  
Mit den Worten werden hies  
Und die wasser nit enlies  
Fliessen über jr rehten zil. 285

Dis was siner genoden spil  
Und sins gewaltes krafft.  
O wol der süssen meisterschafft,  
Die von niht alle ding  
Gewircket hat one widerwing, 290  
Und one aller mosse lere.

Was touget dovon zü sagen mere ?  
Wann das wip und der man,  
Die ich vor benant han,  
An allen tugenden woren volkummen/ 295

Das wart in leider sit benommen  
Mit der ersten mysetat,  
Die an uns gewiset stat,  
Als der sunden angenge bat.

Nu was das paradys gegeben, 300

277a Fol. 9r; Syt: S of 2-line depth, red. 283 den Worten:  
dem worte, cf.129, 2255 M. 292 cf.1896 H. 296 Fol. 9v.  
300 Nu: N of 2-line depth, red, with floral decoration.

Das darynne solten leben  
Adam und Eua sunden on,  
Und das in were underton  
Zü fröiden aller der slahte,  
Das got darynne het gedaht 305  
One eynen boum er jn verbot:  
"Wellent ir nit den ewigen dot  
Entpfohen", sprach die gotheit,  
"So lont uch wesen leit  
Zü nützen des boumes fruht. 310  
Obe ir die tobeliche suht  
Wellent uber sin zü liden,  
So süllent ir gar vermyden/  
Den wücher den der boum git.  
Wann werlich zü welicher zit 315  
Jr das obes beginnent essen,  
Zü hant duncket uch vergessen  
Die schamme aller der gnaden,  
Die ich uff uch han geladen."  
Wer noch wiser lere düt, 320  
Das ist sele und libe güt.  
Dovon hörent alle gliche  
Beide arm und riche  
Dise hertzenswere clage:  
Wir alten ie von tag zü tage 325  
Mit ungluckes stüre  
Und sint doch leider hure  
Lutzel wiser danne fernt.  
Affenfur ist nieman wert,  
Wanne imme selber, als ich wene. 330  
Wer zimbern wil und dreme

304 aller der slahte: aller slahte/ aller böme slaht Der (?)  
cf. 420 M. 307 Wellent: final letter blotted. 309 lont:  
blot over final two letters. 314 Fol. 10r. 315 315-319 cf.  
425-429 H. 327 hure: blotted r. 330 Wanne: final letter  
blotted and rewritten. 331 dreme: dren (droejen) St.



Von fülem holtze güte mas,  
Der sliffe sin ysen bas/  
Und lo mich danne sehen,  
Wes ymme die wissen yehen, 335  
Und wie die was sin gestalt,  
Das sü weder warm oder kalt,  
Doch sol der gast wesen frü.  
Jch gewanne nie so güte rü,  
Do keme ein ungewitter noch. 340  
Aller erst horent ein ungemach,  
Das ich uch hie kunden wil,  
Sit ich der worheit nit enhil.  
Die rede ist der worheit zil.  
NOch der gotheit gebiet 345  
Den boum man in beschiet.  
Enmitten in dem paradise,  
Stunt der boum zü prise,  
Schön und wol florieret  
Von öppfeln schöne gezieret, 350  
Die worent zü dem anblick schöne.  
Den selben boum ich kröne/  
Für alle, die ie ouge gesach.  
Und do dis alsus geschach,  
Das got den rücken kerte dar, 355  
Der tüfel nam des rehte war,  
Das ymme die state werden möhte,  
Als es sin valschen reten döhte,  
Der niemer niht war geseit,  
Der güte und der worheit 360  
Und alles rehtes ein unreht,  
Der alles menschlich gesleht

332 holtze güte: holtze ze gute H; mas: vas St.

333 sliffe: schliffe St. 334 Fol. 10v. 335 wissen:  
wisen H and St. 336 was: wasser H, vas St. 337 Das sü  
weder: Das sü sin weder H, Das weder si St. 345 NOch:

N of 2-line depth, red. 350 öppfeln: öpfeln HM. 353 Fol.11r

Zü allen bösen dingen übet,  
Das böszheit übertrübet  
Lichten schin und cloren lust, 365  
Der dieff jn der hellen gruft  
Behüset ist durch übermüt,  
Der steteclich alles güt  
Zü übele verkeret  
Und das güte selten meret. 370  
Selten wor und sprich ich das:  
Wenne allen nydt und has/  
Hat von ymme angenge.  
Der welte breite und ir lenge  
Von sinen schulden bevangen stat. 375  
An ymme ist aller der rat,  
Der sich zü ubele pflihtet,  
Das das reht anvihitet.  
Der vil leide Sathanas,  
Wanne er verstossen was 380  
Von dem hymelrich,  
Do er got eben gliche  
Wolte setzen sinen stül,  
Dovon er in der helle pfül  
Durch sin hochfart viel. 385  
Zü tal in der helle giel  
Wart ymme hus geben,  
Und das der mensche solte leben  
Jn gnoden, das was sin nydt,  
Als er hat erzöiget sit, 390  
Dem reht trüg er ie widerstrit.

364 Das: Des H. 365 lust: luft, cf. 1335, 1455 H.

366 H emends grust to gruft, MS reads gruft. 371 Selten wor und sprich ich das: Sehent, worumbe sprich ich das (?) M.

372 allen: aller H. 373 Fol. 11v; quire indicator.

374-376: blot partially covering the words lenge, bevangen, and rat. 375 sinen: final two letters faint. 378 Das das: Der das H. 387 geben: gegeben HM.

DO er rehte erkos die wile,/
Und sich die engel mit yle
Zu hymele begunden heben,
Die do zü hüte wurden geben 395
Dem schönen paradise,
In einer slangen wise
Hup er sich in des boumes este,
Wanne er darunder weste
Adam und Eua sunder hüt. 400
Er det als nach der valsche düt,
Der sich liebet domit,
Das er mit dienstes sit
Den lüten sich erzöiget
Und doch domit feiget 405
Den, der nach symme rote düt.
Alles ubels ein ubele brut,
Der tüfel ungehüre,
Mit der lügen stüre
Begunde er also losen 410
One truwe mit Eua kosen,
Mit dem zagel umbevaren
Und dem glich gebaren,/
Als er jr gütes gunde.
An der selben stunde 415
Sprach er: "Eua, sage mir,
Warumbe sint verbotten dir
Die boum und ir fruht von got ?"
Sü sprach: "das ist sin gebot,
Das wir aller böme slaht, 420
Dar er hie jnne hat gedaht,
Zü essende süllent pflegen
Und das eine uns verwegen,
Des niessen uns den tot git.

393 Fol. 12r. 414 Fol. 12v. 423 Und das eine uns verwegen:
Und des einen uns bewegen (?) H. 424 den tot git: tot
inserted.

Wanne an der selben zit, 425  
Obe wir sin obes begynnen essen,  
Zü hant duncket uns vergessen  
Die schamme aller gnaden,  
Die got uff uns het geladen.  
Der wurden wir veryrret gar 430  
Von dem tode, das ist war.  
Nach symme rate ich gerne var."  
DER tüfel sprach: "Das ist niht.  
Ich weis wol, was davon geschiht./  
Jr kiesent dovon nit den dot 435  
Nach keinre slahte not,  
Obe ir des bömes essent  
Und ir nit vergessent  
Diser liechten ougen weide.  
Uch mag davon nit zü leide 440  
Beschehen, das gloubent mir.  
Got weis wol, wanne ir  
Das obes essen begynnent,  
Das ir uch zü hant versynnent  
An allen güten dingen. 445  
Wie möchte uch mysselingen  
Von disem cleinen böymelin ?  
Was kreffte mag daran gesin,  
Dovon ir fröide verliesent  
Und den tot dovon kiesent ? 450  
Das ist ein kintlicher won.  
Als schiere wurt geton,  
Das ir das obes rüret,  
Zü hant wurt uch entpfüret  
Der blinde und der dumbe sitt,/ 455  
Do jr sint gefangen myt.

425 cf. 315 H. 433 DER: D of 2-line depth, red.  
435 Fol. 13r; Jr: J of 3-line depth, red, with animal  
decoration. 437 bömes: boumes HM. 450 tot: letter o  
blotted out and rewritten in red. 456 Fol. 13v.

Darzü wurt uch sunder wan  
Manig synne uffgetan  
Und offen uwer ougen  
Zü wissende manig tougen, 460  
Die vor uch verholen sint,  
Und sint nyme als die kint  
One kunst und an synnen blint."

rubric of Illus.[5]: Wie Adam und Eua von dem slangen betrogen  
wurdent und su das gebott gottes ubergingent

Eua was der reden fro.  
Sü wonde, es were also, 465  
Als es ir kunt hette getan.  
Do betroug sü leider jr wan.  
Domitte er sich in die este vielt,  
Der aller untruwen wielt,  
Und brach einen appfel abe. 470  
Er sprach: "Eua, nym die habe,  
Die ist dir güt zü neissende.  
Von krafft begynnet fliessende  
Von dir zü hant der tumbe synne.  
Den appfel bot er ir hin. 475  
Der was schön und wol gesmach.  
Vil lieplichen sü in anesach  
Und begunde in sere wenden  
Hin und her in den henden.  
Domitte beisz sü darin, 480  
Das ander teil gab sü hin  
Adam, das nosz er zu hant.  
Owe dirrer unselden bant/  
Und maniger flüch.  
Eua, möhtestu dinen buch 485  
Mit anders nit gesatten ?

Din koste kunde matten  
Ein gar gewonnen spil,  
Das menschlich kunne uff das zil  
Gezogen hette, das es were 490  
Gewunnen und unschedelichen were.  
Do kam du, Eua, sunder güt,  
Do das spile was unbehüt,  
Und dete leider einen schach,  
Dovon leit und ungemach 495  
Aller welte ist geschehen.  
Din ougen kunden rehte spehen,  
Wanne das spile zü matte were.  
Owe dirre grossen swere,  
Das aller dirre ungemach 500  
Nüwent von einem bisse geschach.  
Der were verlossen bas.  
Das lossent wir one hassz,  
Wenne su sin wenig genosz,/br/>Die uns broht der sunden klosz, 505  
Dovon sint wir selden blosz.  
DO der appfel gessen wart  
In des paradises gart  
Von Eua und Adamen,  
Die sich müstent schammen, 510  
Und do in dis leit geschach  
Jr yetweders des loubes brach  
Von eins vygebömes aste  
Und bundent das vil vaste  
Zü deckende fur jr scham, 515  
Wanne su die scham so sere ankam,  
Das su sich bergen begunden.  
Nu was es an den stunden,  
Als sich endet mittag.

490 das es were: das es iemer mere St. 505 Fol. 15r.  
507 DO: D of 2-line depth, red.

Adam dōrt verborgen lag 520  
Under der boüm este.  
Er truwete nit, das gott weste  
Die sunde, die er hette getan.  
Zwore das was ein tumber wan,/ 525  
Wann gott erkante die wercke ee,  
Das der wille volle gee.  
Vor gotte kan niht  
Verholen sin, was geschicht  
Offenbare oder tougen,  
Es sehent sin göttlichen ougen. 530  
Er hatte dovor lange gesehen  
Was Adam solte beschehen.  
Das leit hōre ich die worheit jehen.

rubric of Illus.[6]: Wie Adam und Eua sich in dem paradisever-  
burgent umb das su gottes gebott ubergangen hettent

GOTT aller gütte urspring,  
Jn des hant der welte ring 535  
Jst beslossen, und des gewalt  
Jst ungezalt und manigvalt,  
Kam also gegangen dar,  
Do Adam lag, und nam sin war  
Jn dem paradise 540  
Reht in der wyse,  
Ob er sin nit wuste do.  
Er rüffe lute und sprach so:  
"Adam, wo bistu ? Zöige dich mir."  
"Herre, ich schamme mich vor dir, 545  
Wanne ich blosz und nacket bin."  
Er sprach: "Wer gab dir den synn,  
Das du wütest, was schamme were,  
Wanne das du nit verbere  
Den boum, den ich verbot dir ?" 550

"Herre, das wip, das du mir  
Gebe zü einer gesellynne,  
Die wart der äppfel susse ynne.  
Der asz su und gap ouch mir,/ 555  
Der nosz ouch ich, die schulde ist ir,  
Min schulde ist kleine daran."  
"Warumbe hastu das getan ?"  
Sprach er zu dem wibe do.  
"Herre, mir riete der slange also,  
Das ich des bömes wücher nusse, 560  
An manigem dinge ich des genusse,  
Und nach der selben slangen rat  
Asz ich den appfel an der statt.  
Jch wonde, ich dete reht daran.  
Do trög mich leider myn won, 565  
Wanne ich nit reht gevolget han."  
Gott in zorne sich enzunde,  
Wanne an der selben stunde  
Der slangen flüchen er began.  
Er sprach: "Sit du den rate hast getan, 570  
Dovon leit geschen mag  
Der welte, so bis fur disen tag  
Verteilt und verflüchet gar  
Under aller wurme schar,  
Den ich naturlich leben/ 575  
Uff erden han gegeben.  
Die ginge uffgeriht ee,  
Du müst aller yemerme  
Gon nach mins willen glüst  
Uff der erden mit der crust. 580  
Ouch müstu one wende  
Essen erden bitze an din ende,  
Domitte will ich dich letzen.

555 Fol. 16v. 559 also: letter l inserted. 567 Gott:  
G of 2-line depth, red, with floral decoration; cf. 1449 H.  
576 Fol. 17r. 577 Die: Du M. 578 aller: aber (?) H.  
580 crust: brust H.



Vyentschafft will ich setzen  
Zwüschent dir und dem wibe, 585  
Du yemer hessig blibe,  
So das su dich an dir reche  
Und din houbt zerbreche.  
So solt ouch du jr  
Slahen mit diner eyter zungen gir. 590  
Den flüch habe ich iemer me von yr."  
DER slangen was geflüchet so,  
Gegen dem wibe kerte gott do  
Mit zornes grymme und sprach:  
"Hertzeleit und ungemach/ 595  
Wyll ich dir yemer meren.  
Du solt kint geberen  
Mit hertze sweren wehen.  
Myt leide in ungemach  
Von maniger slahte sach 600  
Wurt dir not gekundet.  
Sit du hast gesundet,  
So sol dins libes fruht  
Mit vil grosser sünden suht  
Von dem manne enpfohen sich. 605  
Ouch sol der man uber dich  
Gehöhet sin und geheret.  
So wursten dicke verseret  
Von mannes gewalte,  
So das er din walte 610  
Und dich habe in siner pflege.  
Disen flüch habe allewege  
Sit du mit sunden uberlast  
Min gebot ubergangen hast.  
Nu sige die selde dins libes gast." 615

586 Du: Du ir M. 587 dich: sich H. 589 du jr: du die  
fersen yr H. 590 mit diner eyter: mit eyter H. 591 habe  
ich iemer me von yr: habe iemer me von mir H. 593 DER:  
D of 2-line depth, red. 596 Fol. 17v. 598 There is clearly  
a line missing after 598, H suggests: Din leben sol ergen  
cf. 1762. 608 wursten: wurstu H.

ADam lag noch dōrt verborgen/  
In vorhten und jn sorgen.  
Jm seite wol sin swerer müt,  
Als er mir selber dicke düt,  
Das ymme maniger slachte swere 620  
Von den sünden kunfftig were.  
Untze er do an der stunde  
Zu ime sprechen begunde  
Zornigklichen in grymme:  
"Sit du des wibes stymme 625  
Gevolget hast und nit mir  
Und nach der froszheit gir  
Der frühte hast genommen dan,  
Die dich nit gefrommen kan  
Und die ich dir verbot ee, 630  
So müsz die erde yemer me  
Jn dinen nammen verflüchet sin.  
Mit sweysz soltu die spise din  
Uff der erden beiagen,  
Mit arbeit dich betragen. 635  
Du müst vil vaste buwen  
Die erde mit der höwen,/   
Bitze das es kommet uff die zit  
Das dir der tot ein ende git,  
So müstu wider werden 640  
Zu eschen und zu erden,  
Wanne du nit anders bist  
Danne erde und myst.  
Zu erden müstu kommen,  
Dovon bistu genommen. 645  
Des mag dich nit ubertragen  
Das obes, du müst in leide betagen  
Und din spise in sweisz beiagen."

616 ADam: A of 2-line depth, red. 617 Fol. 18r; Jn: J of  
4-line depth, red, with animal decoration. 638 Fol. 18v.  
641 zu erden: deleted letter between the words.

Lieber mensche, bedencke das,  
Wer du bist und was 650  
Din kranckes angenge sy.  
Warumbe wonet dir fröide by,  
Sit du von erden bist genommen  
Und müst zü erden widerkommen,  
Du weist nit wanne oder wie ? 655  
Diser sünden slag ergie,  
Do Eua den appfel asz/  
Und Adam was jr gemasz  
Und der sünden volleist,  
Als jm riet der bösr geist, 660  
Dem valscher rate wonet by.  
Nü mercke, mensche, ob ich sy  
Swacher danne die erde ist,  
Do du von geboren byst  
Mit vil swachem werde. 665  
Noch bistu swacher dann die erde,  
Spreche ich, swecher jo gar vil,  
Als ich dir bescheiden will.  
Die erde gebirt jerliche  
Manige fruht nerliche, 670  
Dovon sich alles das ernert,  
Dem das leben ist bescheret,  
Lüte, vogel, zam und wilt,  
Die erde des nit bewilt.  
Sü gebirt wucher alle ior 675  
Mit manigem velde grunevar,  
Su git liechte ougenweide  
Mit blümen in maniger heyde,/ \\  
Die nach fröiden sint gestalt,  
Darzü git su grünen walt. 680

649 Lieber: L of 2-line depth. 658 Fol. 19r; cf. 2888 H.  
662 ich: iht M. 670 nerliche: werliche HM. 674 bewilt:  
bevilt H. 679 Fol. 19v.

Dis alles von erden kommet.  
Was alle creaturen frommet,  
Das gebirt die fruchtberende erde.  
Su git ouch in liehtem werde  
Böm, blüte, loup, und grasz. 685  
Nü sage, mensche, du füles asz,  
Was gütes von dir kommen möge,  
Das zü reinikeit döge ?  
Des kan ich nit wissen.  
Und het sich ye geflissen 690  
Der wise Katho,  
Ovidus und plato,  
Die kundent rehte nie erspehen,  
Was von dir gütes möge geschehen  
Jeman, wanne dir alleine. 695  
In der wyse ich das meyne,  
Das du nach dem wollust  
Dem libe wol und sanffte tust  
Und kanst das ahsz mesten,/   
Das doch wurt zum lesten 700  
Den wurmen in der erden beschert.  
Als der lip wurt verheret  
Des sele mit des todes krafft.  
Gedencke, mensche, an die geschafft,  
Das ist erde und leyme, 705  
Donach von naturen weine.  
Von leymen der lip erkicket wurt,  
Der lip danne aber birt  
Und wurt zu leymen als ee.  
Ach leit dir, mensche, und we. 710  
Warumbe bistu gütes mütes,  
Eren, libes, und gütes,  
Sit erde ist din anevang  
Noch swacher dann krang ?

693 MS: rehte/. 700 Fol. 20r. 703 Des: Der M.  
704 die: din M. 706 weine: sweime H. 708 aber birt:  
abebirt M.

Gedencke an din kranckes leben, 715  
Do der selen ist mit vergeben,  
Ob du dem libe volgest stete,  
Der git dir misserete,  
Dovon die sele wurt fröidenbar.  
Nu nemment der welte tüsent jar,/ 720  
Das ist ein vil kurtze zyt,  
So dir der tot ein ende git;  
So ist dir in der wise wie,  
als ob du lieben tag nie  
In der welte gewynne. 725  
Der welte fröide und wunne  
Jst zwor anders niht,  
Als man tegelichen siht,  
Dann valsche und untruwen vil.  
Das ist nū der welte spil, 730  
Dovon treit su der sorgen vil.

rubric of Illus.[7]: Wie Adam und Eua us dem par\_dise getriben  
wurdent von dem engel

JCh wil aber gryffen hie  
An myn rede, do ich die lie.  
Nach der ungehorsam  
Wurt das wip und Adam 735  
Myt zweyen röcken angeleit,  
Domitte su gott bekleit.  
Die röcke worent wüllin.  
Es mochte do nit weher gesin,  
Wanne ich wene, in ture weren 740  
Nodelen und scheren,  
Vadem und vingerhüt.

720 nemment: nim (?) M. 721 Fol. 20v. 725 gewynne:  
gewunne H. 732 Fol. 21r; JCh: J of 6-line depth, red,  
decorated with a fish complete with fins and scales. 735  
Wurt: Wart HM. 738 wullin: vellin (?) H. 741 Nodelen:  
Nodeln HM.

Dovon müst su duncken güt  
Das selbe unreht gewant,  
Das gott andett mit siner hant 745  
Dem man und dem wybe  
Zu decken ir schamme an irem libe.  
Und do sü gekleidet woren,  
Got sprach zu der engel scharen:  
"Nu sehent, Adam worden ist 750  
Als unser einer in kurtzer frist /  
Wyssende ubel und güt.  
Dovon gebent dem böm hüt,  
Umb den es ist also gewant:  
Wer daran leget sin hant 755  
Und siner frühte nusset,  
Das leben in begüset,  
So das er ewiglichen lebet.  
Adam das unhoch hebet,  
Er esse des bömes und lebet stet. 760  
Ob man dem böm nit hüte dett,  
So neme er sin, das weisz ich wol."  
Eya, gott, der tugent vol,  
Hette ich des bömes einen zwy,  
Das ich vor dem tode fry 765  
Jemerme one ende were,  
Das were mir ein süsse mere,  
Und were vor truwen wol genesen.  
So wolte ich hie wesen  
One tötliche swere, 770  
Die wile und die welte were,  
Und danne nach der welte leben  
Myt dir, here, zü hymel sweben.  
Das mag leider nü nit sin,  
Doch bitte ich die gnode din, 775  
Das du myn gerüchest hüten  
Vor des ewigen todes wuten,

Und gerüchest der selen geben  
Nach dem libe das ewige leben  
In dem frone hymelriche, 780  
Des fröide ist unglich.  
Was fröide do zü hymel sy,  
Die ist vor menschen sinnen fry,  
Das sü nieman geprüffen kunde.  
Hey, was fröiden und wunne 785  
Lyt an gottes anschowe.  
Do ouch der engel frowe,  
Die müter und maget ist,  
Nebent irem sune, dem süssen Crist,  
In der hohen pfaltze swebet, 790  
Do su ewiglichen lebet.  
Do su wilent kunfftig sach/  
Und von dem heiligen geiste sprach  
Der heilige wyssage David.  
Er sprach also: "Astitit 795  
Regina a dextris tuis."  
Domitte möchte er uns gewysz,  
Das es die selbe kunigin ist,  
Die one menschlichen list  
Ist mit zepter und mit won 800  
Erhöhet in dem höchsten thron:  
Su müter brüt, der sun wurt.  
Ir schöne wol die hymel zirt.  
Ir schöne ist wol lobes wert,  
Der aller engel fröide gert 805  
Und ouch der erwelte schar.  
In den fröiden tüsent jor  
Sint noch kurtzer danne die frist,  
Die in dirre wile vergangen ist.  
Zu den hülfte uns, heren Jhesu Crist. 810

781 unglich: one gliche M. 784 kunde: kunne H. 793 Fol.22v.  
797 möchte: machte H. 800 won: cron H. 802 wurt: wirt H.  
803 hymel: hymmel HM. 806 erwelte: erwelten H. 810 heren:  
here H.

rubric of Illus.[8]: Wie Adam hacken und Eua spynnen müstent  
umb das su das gebott gottes ubergangen hettent

DO Adam wart bekeit,  
Als ich vor han geseit,  
Do müste er jn leider wise  
Rumen das paradise  
Und vil vaste buwen mit pflügen, 815  
Mit scharen und mit höwen  
Die erde, do er von was kommen.  
Und als ich rehte han vernommen,/  
Eyn engel wart gesetzet dar  
Mit einem swerte fürwar 820  
Dem paradise zü hüte.  
Adam mit der sunden glüte  
Darusz verstossen wart zu hant.  
Domitte das paradisz verswant  
Sihtecliche vor jren ougen, 825  
Als es noch in gottes tougen  
Beslossen ist jemer mere,  
So das dohin nieman kere,  
Der mit sunden ist bevangen.  
Adam möhte belangen 830  
Nach so süsser ougenweyde,  
Die er verlosz mit grossem leide,  
Doch dett er als ein wyse man,  
Der sich des wol enthalten kan,  
Des er nit gehalten mag. 835  
Wer ye güter witzen pflag,  
Der habe ouch den selben sitt,  
Do fristet er sin ere mit.  
Das ist myn rate, dem volge ich./

rubric of Illus.[8]: Fol. 23r. 811 DO: D of 2-line depth,  
red. 815 M suggests that mit pflügen or mit scharen should be  
deleted, cf.636, 2058. 819 Fol. 23v. 820 fürwar: fürvar or  
furwar H, viurvar. 824 cf.2266 H. 833 er: corrected r.  
836 witzen: witze H; pflag: pflac HM.



Adam domitte bewarte sich 840  
Und machte von holtze ein hüttelin,  
Do er und das wip sin  
Abe dem wetter underlegen  
Und rüwe darunder pflegen.  
Darunder logent sü suben tage 845  
Myt jomer und grosse klage,  
Bitze das su hungern began.  
"Adam, here, lieber man,"  
Sprach das wip, "ich bin nohe tot,"  
Sprach Eua, "von hungers not 850  
Zwinget sere die kreffte myn.  
Dovon tū mir kreffte schin,  
Bringe etwas, das wir essen.  
Ob gott hat vergessen  
Des zornes, den er zu uns hatt, 855  
Und setzet uns wider an die statt,  
Von dannen wir vertiben sin,  
So were uns gnade schin,  
Als uns gnade ist gewest e./  
Darnach wurt uns niemer we 860  
Von hunger noch von leide,  
Ob wir die süssen weide  
An der stunden gewynnen.  
Adam, mit dynnen synnen  
Solt dar|noch werben, 865  
Das wir nit verderben.  
Fрут und lieber herze myn,  
Nü lo dirs enpfolhen sin,  
Als ich getrūwe den truwen din."

840 Fol. 24r. 845 Darunder: Darunter HM. 846 grosse:  
grosser H. 850 von: wan H.. 852 kreffte: helffe M.  
860 Fol. 24v. 864 dynnen: dynen H. 865 Solt: Soltu H.  
867 herze: herre HM.

rubric of Illus.[9]: Wie Adam und Eua zu rate wurdent wie su  
büßen woltent

DO Eua die rede volsprach, 870  
Adam wart zu der verte gach.  
Myt leide hüp er sich an die vart.  
Das ime wenig vergolten wart,  
Wanne er suben tage gie,  
Das er des vil lutzel lie, 875  
Er erstreich gar das lant.  
Und, do er nit envant  
Der selben sussen spise,  
Der er jn dem paradise  
Hett betoret zu einer stunde, 880  
Wider ylen er begunde  
An die selbe statt,  
Do er Eua gelossen hatt,  
Und brohte jr leide mere,  
Das er umbsusz gegangen were. 885  
Daran in beden leit geschach.  
Eua zu Adam sprach:  
"Wolte gott, das ich were tot.  
Sit du lidest solche not,/br/>Die solt ich billiche eine dulden. 890  
Dis ist von mynen schulden,  
Durch das ich han missetan.  
Adam, frunt und lieber man,  
Wiltu, so ertöte mich.  
Was ob gott erbarmet sich 895  
Und nymet dich wider an die statt  
Von der er uns vertriben hatt ?  
Din schulde ist myn myssetat."

870 Fol. 25r; DO: D of 2-line depth, red. 877 MS: envangt.  
880 betoret: becoret H. 890 Fol. 25v.

ADam als ein byderman  
Sprach: "Die rede soltu lan. 900  
Din müt sye verwahssen.  
Wie möhte ich gelossen  
Myn hant zu ubel an ein wip ?  
Du bist myn fleysche und lip.  
Dovon were es ungehört, 905  
Ob du von mir wurdest ermort.  
Der erden soltu abegen.  
Wir söllent süchen und gen,  
Bitze uff die selige zyt,  
Das uns gott ein spise git,/ 910  
Do der lip wurt von ernert.  
Sit uns nit anders ist beschert,  
Wir söllent beiagen die lipnar."  
Eua sprach: "Wie gerne ich var."  
Nit lenger su sich sumeten, 915  
Das hüttelin su rumeten  
Und gingent miteinander dan  
In velde und manigen vinstern tan  
Und fundent doch nit der spyse,  
Die su in dem paradise 920  
Dovor hettent gehabet.  
Susz gingent su ungeladet  
Bis an den nunde morgen  
Mit leide und mit sorgen  
Und fundent doch anders niht 925  
Wann krut wurtze, das was ein wiht  
Zu niessen menschlichem leben.  
Adam sprach: "Das hatt gegeben  
Got zu weyde dem wilden tier.

899 ADam: A of 2-line depth, red. 901 verwahssen: verwasen H.  
907 Der erden: Der rede H. 911 Fol. 26r; ernert: second r  
inserted. 922 ungeladet: ungelabet M. 923 So: Do (?) M.  
926 krut: krut und M.

Mir aber und ouch dir/ 930  
Was in dem paradise  
Geben engelsche spyse,  
Der wir leider nü nit haben."  
Hiemit Adam begunden graben  
Der wurtze usz der erden do 935  
Und asz und gab ouch Eua so  
Zu niessen wurtze und grasz,  
Das vil wenig gegerwet wasz.  
Wann ich wene, in were türe  
Hafen, kessel, und fure, 940  
Brot, pfeffer, und saltz,  
Oley, milch, und smaltz,  
Das was in alles türe.  
Der hunger gab darzu sin sture,  
Das su das krutel dühte güt, 945  
Wanne su mit swerem müt  
Gangen worent one essen,  
Als ich die zale han gemessen,  
Drig und zwentzig tage/  
Dovon nach senender klage. 950  
Er dett als der byderman:  
Wann er es nit verbessern kan,  
Do duncket in ein rat,  
Was er zu niessende hatt,  
Als es imme an die not gat. 955  
Adam und Eua nit vermeit  
Manig hertzeliches leit  
Dovon nu die ougen uberlieffen,  
Manigen süfftzen tieffen  
Noment es uff von hertzen 960

931 Fol. 26v. 934 begunden: begunde H. 937 wurtze und grasz:  
wurtze und grass H. 949 MS: Drig. 950 Fol. 27r; Dovon:  
Dovor M. 956 ADam: A of 2-line depth, red. 958 nu: in H.  
960 es: sü H.

Umb des jomers smertzen,  
Den su littent von gottes zorn  
Und das su hettent verlorn  
Des libes und der selen weid.  
Adam sprach: "Wir süllent beid 965  
Klagen hüte disen tag,  
Bitze gott verkeret sinen slag,  
Den er uff uns hatt geleit,  
So das sin barmhertzigkeit/  
Uns noch gerüche geben 970  
Ein spise, dovon unser leben  
Ein teil sich gebessern möge  
Und zu des libes krefftent töge.  
Dise spise ist ein wiht,  
Su hörent zu dem libe niht, 975  
Dovon wir klagen müssent  
Und von gnaden bussent."  
Su sprach: "Büssen, was ist das ?  
Das soltu mich bescheiden basz,  
Ob wir es erliden mögen, 980  
Das wir uff uns legen  
Ein arbeit, die zu swere sy  
Und gottes güte doch doby  
Nit erhöret unser bett  
Und zürne aber, als er e dett. 985  
Dovon, Adam, sage mir,  
Was wiltu nemen zu büsse dir ?  
Durch das ich gesundet han,  
Du hast daran nit missetan,  
Dye büsse sol ich alleine han." 990

963 Und: Umb HM. 970 Fol. 27v. 975 hörent: höret H.  
976 müssent: müssen H. 977 bussent: büssen; von: um M.  
981 wir nit uff (?), cf. ne inponamus (VA 5) M.  
990 Fol. 28r.

ADam sprach: "Du bist ein wip  
Und hast darzu ein krancken lip,  
Wann menschliche blöde tüt dir we.  
Dovon will ich der büsse me  
Besten nach gottes hulden, 995  
Die du niht maht gedulden.  
Ich wil vasten viertzig tage  
Und wil so lange mit senender klage  
Zu büsse in dem Jordan  
Bitze na mynen halsz stan, 1000  
Domitte gottes zorn stillen,  
So soltu nach mynen willen  
Ouch büssen, als ich dir sage,  
Vasten vierunddrissig tage  
Und die wile ston dort 1005  
In dem wasser sunder wort,  
Bitze ob der reine süsse gotte  
Ere daran sin gebotte/  
Und setze uns wider an die stat,  
Davon er uns vertriben hatt, 1010  
Das kam von diner missetat."

rubric of Illus. [10]: Wie Eua in dem wasser Tygris stunt und ir  
sunde büssen wolte

Dye büsse nit lenger wart gespart,  
Eua hüß sich an die vart.  
Zu der büsse wart ir gach.  
Das was durch das ungemach, 1015  
Das su von hunger kumber leit,/br/>Wanne jr erste frossikeit,

991 ADam: A of 2-line depth, red. 1000 na: an St.  
1006 gotte: got H. 1007 gebotte: gebot H. 1009 Fol. 28v.  
1012 Dye: D of 2-line depth, red. 1017 Fol. 29r.

Dye hatt erzöiget vor  
Uns der unselden spor,  
Die hing ir noch ein teil an. 1020  
Domitte hüp su sich dan  
Und gie, do sü ein wasser vant.  
Das was Ieygris genant.  
Darin stunt su uff einen stein,  
Duch stunt su do allein, 1025  
Das jr bitze uff das halbe bein  
Jr das kalte wasser gie.  
Nu lossent wir su büssen hie,  
Got gebe, das su gebusse wol.  
Nü wil ich sagen, als ich sol, 1030  
Von der büsse, die Adam  
Zu gewynnen gottes hulde nam.  
Er hüp sich an die büsse dan,  
Do er vant den Jordan,  
Und stunt bitze an den halsz darjn. 1035  
Jn leide kerte er sinen synn,  
Er rüff mit klegelicher stymme/  
Und mit jomers gryme:  
"Ach, Jordan, ich sage dir,  
Du solt helfen klagen mir. 1040  
Samene was in dir swebe  
Und naturlichen lebe,  
Vysch und was swymendes sy,  
Dar sü mir stont klagende by,  
Und klagent nit uber sich, 1045  
Sunder klagen uber mich,  
Wann su nit habent missetan  
Sunder ich gesundet han."

1025 M suggests deletion of this line. 1026 halbe bein:  
halsbein M. 1027 Ir: Ie (?) H. 1038 Fol. 29v.  
1044 Dar: Das H.

rubric of Illus.[11]: Wie Adam in dem Jordan sin sunde būssete  
und wie die vische im dar|zu hulffent usw.

DO er die wort volsprach,  
Zu hant er die vische umb sich sach 1050  
Stille ston und nit fliessen.

Jren flusse, iren leich su liessen  
Die viertzig tage vollygkliche  
Und geberten dem gliche,  
Sam in leit umb in were, 1055  
Und klagetent sin swere  
Der do stunt gnaden lere.

Eua stunt zu būsse dort  
Jn dem wasser one wort  
Vasten mit senender klage 1060  
Bitze an den ahtsten tage.

Do hüp sich dar der Sathanas,  
Dem das ye leit was,  
Was zü güte geschehen möhte,  
Als sinem valschen rote döhte. 1065

Er hatt verkeret sin grüwelich bilde  
Jn eins liechten engels bilde  
Und ging, do er su weinen sach  
Jn dem wasser, und sprach:/  
"Eua, warumbe weinstu ? 1070

Du solt nit furbas clagen nü,  
Wanne gott din büsz vernommen hat.  
Jch sol dich wider an die statt  
Bringen in dirre frist,  
Von dannen du vertriben bist, 1075  
Und wurt dir wol aber als e.

1049 Fol. 30r; DO: D of 2-line depth, red. 1052 flusse:  
fluss H. 1058 Eua: E of 2-line depth, red. 1060 senender:  
sente (?) M. 1066 bilde: wilde H. 1070 Fol. 30v.  
1072 MS: ~~g~~gott.



Du solt nu nit büssen me,  
Das habent wir engel got erbetten.  
Du solt harusz der büsse tretten,  
Darumbe bin ich har gesant." 1080

Hiemitte reichte er jr die hant  
Und halff ir usz dem wasser dan  
Fur das wasser uff den plan.  
Do viel sü nyder uff das lant.  
Er hüp su uff mit der hant. 1085

Der lip ir von froste was  
Aller grün als ein grasz,  
Des su doch harte wol genasz.

rubric of Illus.[12]: Wie der tufel in eins Engels schin zu  
Euam kam

Elcher man sprichet nü  
Ob ein wip myssetu 1090

Illus.[12]

Welcher man sprichet nü, 1089a  
Ob ein wip myssetu, 1090a  
Das komme von jrem krancken müt,  
Des volcke duncket mich nit güt.  
Wanne sit das wip myssedet,/br/>Die gott selbs gewurcket hett,  
So mag des nit rate sin, 1095  
Es tu ein wip ein wenckelin  
Und gloube nach Euen sitte  
Das man jr rede mitte,  
Und volget des uff den gedingen,  
Das su wenet ir sol gelingen 1100

1089 Fol.31r; an attempt has been made to erase this and the  
following line. 1089a Welcher: W of 2-line depth, red.  
1092 volcke: volge H. 1094 Fol. 31v.

Und gewynnet doch leit dovon,  
Des su ee was ungewon.  
Wanckel erbet die fröwen an  
Von Eua, die sin erste began,  
Do su wider die gehorsam 1105  
Das verbotten obsz nam  
Und wider Adams gebiet,  
Als ir der tüfel riet,  
So gohes usz der büsse tratt.  
Su wonde, er dete ir güten rat, 1110  
Dovon su gloubte und hort  
Sinen rate und sinen wort,  
Daran ir leider myssegie./  
Und hette su davor ye  
Vernommen solche swere, 1115  
Als dovon kunfftig were,  
So hette su es lihte so bewart,  
Das es ir were uff die vart  
Nit kommen also krefftigklich.  
Dovon die fröwen mynneklich 1120  
Habent noch den selben sitt:  
Ob ein man in redet myt,  
Das su ire oren bietent dar  
Und nemment irs rates war,  
Do nit wannn valsches usz gat, 1125  
So wenent su, der selden rat  
Werde in do züm besten,  
Und ahten nit den gebresten,  
Der dovon kommen mag.  
Der wanckels müte von ersten pflag, 1130  
Das was Eua, dovon ich  
Den fröwen unstete gich.

1101 gewynnet: gewynne M. 1102 Des: Das HM. 1106 obsz:  
obs HM. 1109 cf. 1309 M. 1112 sinen: sinem H.  
1114 Fol. 32r. 1125 cf. 1262 H.

Su wüstent nit was wanckel wer,  
Ob in nit dicke offenbere/  
Euen wanckel wurde geseit. 1135  
Das ist wor, su verre basz verseit,  
Wanne das su volget mere  
Der bösen danne der gūten lere.  
Doch, werden und reine wip,  
Tragent in zūhten myner lip 1140  
Mit küsche und stetikeit.  
Der tugent krantze die kusche treit.  
Dovon sollent ir varen lossen  
Die valschen man verwahssen,  
Die mit frundes munden 1145  
Geren zū allen stunden,  
Wie su letzen uwer ere  
Und uch fügen hertzen swere  
Mit maniger süssen valscheit.  
Owe maniger valscher eit 1150  
Wurt umb uwere ere gesworn,  
Do die valscheit als ein dorn  
Begeret zu letzen uwere ere.  
Was sol ich sagen mere ?  
Wanne welches wip ir werdikeit, 1155  
Jr lop und ir reinikeit,  
Jr ere und schöne iugent,  
Jr gewissen und ir tugent,  
Jr zuht, ir scham und ir lone,  
Und ir küsche crone 1160  
Verswachat durch einen valschen man,  
Zwore das ist nit reht getan.  
Die nū an eren wolle genesen,

1135 Fol. 32v. 1136 ist wor: wer M; verre: were; verseit:  
verdeit H. 1137 su: sūn HM; volget: volgent M. 1140 myner:  
uwer M. 1144 verwahssen: verwasen H. 1155 Fol. 33r.

Ob su mannes nit mag entwesen,  
Die kyese einen steten man, 1165  
Ob su den yergent vinden kan,  
Der one valsche getruwe sy.  
Ist aber valsche den trüwen by,  
So wurt der man niemer güt.  
Dovon wendent uwarn müt, 1170  
Reine wip, one reine man  
Und ziehent uch von den bösen dan.  
Nyt bessers ich geraten kan.  
    Ir werdent man alle gliche,  
Vernem<sup>u</sup>ment mich tugentliche,/ 1175  
Einen demütigen rat,  
Der von kindes hertzen gat,  
In frowen hulden hebent an.  
Und rate uch das, ir werden man,  
Nydent trüwelose wip, 1180  
Die ere, sele, und lip  
Bringe dicke in myssetat,  
So das niemer wurde rat  
Beyde libes und der sele.  
Prüffent nit ir clores vele, 1185  
Noch ir goltvarwes hor,  
Jr hende noch ir helse clor,  
Jr mündelin, noch ir ougbrawen,  
Sunder ir sollent spehen,  
Wo ir vindent ein wip, 1190  
Die mit küsche zier iren lip  
Und sye tugentliche gesitt,  
Do jr sint behalten myt.  
Ob uwer einer sölle nemmen

1171 reine: a blot over i and n; one: an H. 1174 werdent:  
werden H; Ir: I of 2-line depth, red, with side-pieces.  
1176 Fol. 33v.; quire indicator. 1177 kindes: frundes (?) M.  
1178 hebent is a participle H. 1180 Nydent: Mydent H.  
1182 bringe: bringent M. 1184 Beyde: Bede HM. 1189 spehen:  
schouwen H.

Ein wip, die ime solle gezemmen, 1195  
So fragent nit wo das güt sy./  
Ob ir armüt wonet by,  
Hatt su danne reinen müt,  
Den nemment fur grosz güt.  
In wurdent dicke ungemüt 1200  
Dovon nemment reinen müt  
Von der wibe grosses güt.  
Aber des sitten pfligt man niht,  
Als man tegelichen siht,  
Man nymet güt fur ere. 1205  
Wer das güt uber mere  
Nymet, der hatt krancken müt,  
Und das ist nit güt,  
Wann es die lüte zu nötten treit.  
Das lange zu hüffen ist geleit 1210  
Nach der hordere list,  
Das zergat in kurtzer frist.  
Er mangelt des gluckes rat,  
Der von erbe nit eren hatt.  
Von sinem güte geschicht das, 1215  
Zwor er were hie nyden bas,  
Do er viel in einen myst,/  
Als jmme angeboren jst.  
Dovon, ir man wol gemüt,  
Mynnent ere fur das güt 1220  
Von fremdent uch von wiben hin,  
Den zu valsche stet ir synne.  
Volgent iren liepkosen niht,  
Das zu untruwe hatt pfliht.  
Brufent zu eime bildenere: 1225

1197 Fol. 34r. 1200 In: Ir M. 1201 M suggests the deletion of this line for being a compound of 1196 and 1197. 1202 grosses grossem M. 1206 uber: aber St. 1207 Nymet: Minnet (?) M. 1208 cf. notes. 1216 bas: red line over a; das (?) H. 1218 Fol. 34v. 1221 Von: Und M. 1223 iren: irem M.

Mange hohe hertze swere,  
Die von wiben ist bekummen.  
Als ir ee habent vernommen,  
Wie Adam ungehorsam  
Den val von syme wybe nam. 1230  
Samson het starcken lip,  
Doch valte in Dalida, sin wip.  
Salomons wysheit  
Verswant von wyben, als man seit.  
Welicher uwer hatt nü den synn, 1235  
Der one schaden kumme von in,  
Den wonent grosse synne by./  
Reine wip sint valsches fry,  
Von den bösen sprich ich das.  
Es ist ein witter underlas 1240  
Zwischent den bösen und güten,  
Den valschen und rein gemüten.  
Die bösen haben valschen müt,  
Die reinen sint vor valsche behüt.  
Den reinen sol man gütes yehen, 1245  
Alles güt müs in geschehen.  
Des gan ich den reinen wol  
Alles gütes, als ich billich sol.  
Die do sint one myssewende,  
Su habent unbewollen hende, 1250  
Der welte fröide und wunne.  
Wer in gütes nit gunne,  
Der müsse von in gescheiden sin.  
Aber ich armer Lutwin  
Sencke darzu myn synne, 1255  
Das ich in wünschen bin  
Den reinen maniges gütes,/

1232 dalida: Dalila H. 1237 den: dem M. 1238 Fol. 35r.  
1239 sprich: i inserted. 1256 wünschen: wünschende H.

Die unverhowendes mütes  
Sint gegen den valschen mannen.  
Reine wip sint verbannen 1260  
Vor der truwelosen rat,  
Do nit dann valsch uszgat,  
Wanne ir hertze nit reines hat.  
Nü wil ich wider griffen an,  
Do ichs vor gelossen han. 1265  
Als ich dovor han geseit,  
Der tüfel in engels cleit  
Furte Euam by der hant,  
Do su Adam vant  
Mit hertzelichem ruwen stan 1270  
Zu büsse in dem Jordan.  
Er wonde der selbe böse geist,  
Alles ubels volleist,  
Das er mit syme valschen liegen  
Solte Adam betriegen 1275  
Als er Euam hette getan.  
Doch was so wise Adam,  
Wie doch der tüfel were schön/  
Verkereht jn engels person,  
Das er sin glichsheit, 1280  
Sin triegen und valscheit  
Zu stunde wol erkant,  
Do er Euen by der hant  
Furte gein dem wasser her.  
Was sol ich sagen mer ? 1285  
Do su Adam komen so nohen,  
Das su einander wol sohen,  
Zu hant Adam mit grymme schrey:

1258 Fol. 35v. 1259 gegen: corrected n. 1264 NÜ: N of  
2-line depth, red. 1266 cf. 1081f. H. 1279 Fol. 36r;  
Verkerent: Verkeret H. 1280 glichsheit: glichsenheit H.

"Owe dir, Eua, iemer we  
Mahtu sagen. wie bistu 1290  
Von der büs gescheiden nū ?  
Wie bistu ander stunt betrogen,  
Von dem der dir ee hat gelogen,  
Dem tūfel, unserm widerwarten,  
Der uns der wunnegarten 1295  
Und die geistliche fröide  
Des paradises ougenweide  
Mit siner valscheit hat benommen ?"  
Do Eua reht het vernommen,  
Das su also betrogen was 1300  
Von dem leiden Sathanas,  
Der jr ee leit hette getan,  
Do viel su nider uff den plan  
One krafft und one maht.  
Die liechte sunne wart ir naht, 1305  
So das su horte nach sprach  
Vor dem leide, das ir geschach,  
Das su nach des tūfels rat  
So gohes us der büsse trat.  
Dis was ir ander myssetat. 1310

rubric of Illus.[13]: Wie der<sup>tufel</sup> Euam betrogen und usz der büsse  
gefüret hette und wie er Adam ouch wolte betrogen haben.

Adam usz dem Jordan  
Mit zorn rieff den tufel an:  
"Owe, du böser geist,  
Unsers leides volleist,  
Was sint unser schult gein dir, 1315  
Das du Euen und ouch mir



Jagest nach mit diner valscheit  
Und buwest uns arbeit  
Mit diner ungetruwen lere ?  
Haben wir dir fröide oder ere 1320  
Benommen ie an keiner stat,  
Das uns din heszlich rat  
Ist so vigent in den dot ?  
Wir liden one schulde not.  
Wir haben dir leides nit geton. 1325  
Das soltu uns geniessen lon."  
Der tüfel so hinwider sprach:  
"Hertzeleit und ungemach  
Wil ich dir jemer fügen./  
Mych mag nit genügen, 1330  
Was ich dir leides bringen mag,  
Wann du bist myner fröiden slag.  
Jch bin durch dich verstossen  
Von den engeln myn genossen,  
Von des hohen hymels lüfft 1335  
Zu tal in der erden grufft.  
Des ist nu die schulde din."  
Adam sprach: "Wie mag das sin,  
Das du von mynen schulden  
Und von gottes hulden 1340  
Siest von dem hymel verstossen  
Mit andern dinen genossen,  
Sit ich nit by dir was  
Jn dem hymelschen palas  
Nach mir nit erdencken kan, 1345  
Das ich dir leides han getan,  
Dovon du myr gebest die schulde,  
Das du des werden gottes hulde  
Hast verlorn und die fröide,/"

1318 buwest: bruwest, cf.2542, 3735 St and Spr.  
1330 Fob. 37v. 1340 Und von: Wit von (?) M.

Dye du hettest an siner beschöide, 1350  
So din schöne sin schöne ansach ?"  
Der tufel do sin ungemach  
Besuffezete und beweinte,  
Do er mit bescheinte,  
Das in dannach jomerte dar 1355  
Zu hymel zu der engel schar,  
Von dannen er verstossen wart  
Nüwent durch sin hochfart.  
Das beclagete er ie so.  
Zu Adam sprach er aber do: 1360  
"Adam, nü höre mych.  
Jch wil bas bewisen dich,  
Wie ich von den schulden din  
Verloren han die hulden sin, ,  
Der mir gliche schöne gap. 1365  
Jch meine got den hymel hab,  
Der mich von hymel sties herabe.  
DO got der unervorhte  
Dich in dem parise geworhte/  
Und dir nach siner gotheit 1370  
Gap eine sin forme cleit  
Und das leben mit der sele,  
Min geselle, der engel Mychahele,  
Furte dich zu der engel schar.  
Do nam got diner forme war. 1375  
Die geviel jmme an dir verre bas  
Danne an ymme selber, wisse das.  
Do er sin bilde an dir sach,  
Mit grosser liebe er zu dir sprach:  
"Mir glich, Adam, nü sich. 1380  
Jch han nach mir gebildet dich

1350 Fol. 38r. 1368 DO: D of 2-line depth, red.

1369 parise: paradise H. 1370 Fol. 38v. 1371 sin: siner H.

Und dich geformet schöne  
Nach glicher persone.  
Dovon du mir wol behagest,  
Wann du dir gotheit zeichen tragest." 1385  
Do der rede wart gewigen,  
Die engel dir zu füssen nigen  
Und boten an din menscheit  
Durch das bilde der gotheit.  
Mychahel hup den keine val,/ 1390  
Darnach die engel ublich,  
Zu eren din forme cleit  
Durch die liebe der gotheit,  
Das got hette gebotten  
By Michahel sinen botten. 1395  
Und dis also geschach  
Mychahel der engel zu mir sprach:  
"Geselle, du solt nach unsern sitten  
Den menschen eren und bitten,  
Der gebildet ist nach got. 1400  
Das ist myn rot und myn gebot,  
Der mych und dich beschaffen hat."  
Ich sprach: "Das were ein arge gedat,  
Das ich den solt betten an,  
Der sich mir nit glichen kan 1405  
An höhe und an wurdickeit,  
Die ich vor in bin angeleit.  
Er ist gemaht von erde,  
So bin ich hoch und werde  
Nach gottes bilde beschaffen vor./ 1410  
Ich bin uber der engel chor  
Gehöhet sunder menschen list,

1385 dir: der HM. 1388 boten: betten H. 1390 keine val:  
knieval M. 1391 Fol. 39r. 1392 din: diner HM. 1395 sinen:  
sinem HM. 1396 dis: do dis, cf.3865 M. 1401 myn: sin M.  
1403 arge: r inserted. 1410 vor: corrected r. 1411 Fol.39v;  
cf.799-801; Ich: I of 3-line depth, red, with animal decoration.

Er ist nüwent erde und myst.  
Ich bin schöne, er ist swar.  
Er ist drübe, ich bin clar. 1415  
Er ist vinsten, ich bin lieht.  
Niemer das von mir beschilt,  
Das ich knuwe fur in  
Vur den ich gehöhet bin.  
Zwor das ist billich. 1420  
Er ist mir niemer glich  
An tugende nach wirdikeit.  
Das er mir dienstes sie bereit."  
Das hörten etliche engel do,  
Die volgeten mir ie so 1425  
Und begunden sich zu mir scharen,  
Wann<sup>n</sup> su des selben mütes waren  
Das su sich mit mir satten wider,  
Das wir nit knuweten nider,  
Dich zu bitten nach zü eren./ 1430  
Mychael sprach: "Du solt bekeren  
Zu güten dingen dinen müt.  
Din gedencke sint nit güt.  
Du solt den menschen betten an  
Und dinen ubermüt lan. 1435  
Anders got erzurnet sich."  
Zu Mychael sprach aber ich:  
"Was kan mir geschaden das,  
Obe got zu mir sinen has  
Keret? Des wurt wol rat. 1440  
Ich nyme mir die höhste stat  
In dem hohen hymelrich  
Und setze ebenglich  
Dem höchsten got mynen tron.

1423 Das: Des M. 1426 a deleted letter before begunden.  
1431 Fol. 40r. 1433 cf.1941 H. 1436 H omitted ll.1436-1439  
bymistake in his line count.

Jo vorht ich lutzel gottes dron 1445  
Und bin als er zu hymel fron."  
DO ich die wort vollesprach,  
Nü hören zu, was geschach.  
Got in zorne enzunte sich/  
Mine bystonde und mich 1450  
Warff er zu hant herabe  
Von der hymelschen habe  
In das apgrunde zü tal.  
Sus noment wir glichen val  
Herabe von des hymels lust 1455  
Zu tal in der hellen grust,  
Do wir iemer müssent sin,  
Do sternen nach sunnen schin,  
Der mon nach der liehte tag  
Niemer hin geluhten mag. 1460  
Unser not nit ende wirt,  
Jemerme one ende su swirt.  
Ouch wil ich dir sagen,  
Jch was also schön vortagen  
Und hette so grosse clorheit 1465  
Uber der engel wirdikeit,  
Das ich so liehte was gefar,  
Das die nün chöre gar/  
Noment von der schöne myn  
Allesam<sup>u</sup>ment cloren schin 1470  
Und des liehtes uberglast.  
Der schöne bin ich leider gast  
Und ist myn engelsch bilde  
Unkeret engestlich wilde  
Mit freszlicher ungestalt. 1475

1447 DO: D of 2-line depth, red. 1448 cf.1789 H; hören:  
hörent M. 1450 Fol. 40v; mine: min HM; bystonde: bystende HM.  
1455 lust: luft H, cf.365, 1335 H. 1456 grust: gruft,  
cf.366, 1336 H. 1469 Fol. 41r. 1474 Unkeret engestlich:  
Verkeret in engestlich H. 1475 freszlicher: freislicher H.

Adam, alsus bin ich gevalt  
Herabe durch dine menscheit,  
Dovon das ich widerstreit  
Und ich dich nit eren wolt  
Mit myn engeln als ich solte. 1480  
Sus bistu myner fröiden slag.  
Jch rich mich so ich beste mag,  
Das ich dir füge ungemach,  
Als dir ee von mir geschach,  
Das ich mit nyde fügete das, 1485  
Das Eua den appfel as,  
Dovon su das paradisz verlos,  
Als ich das hymelrich verkos,  
Sus sint wir beide trübelos."  
DER tüfel do der rede gesweig. 1490  
Adam sufftzende zu himel neig.  
Er sprach: "Schöppfer, süsser got,  
Es ist alles in dime gebot,  
Was himel und erde beslossen hat,  
Nach der barmünge rat 1495  
Tribe den bösen geist von mir,  
D~~E~~r mich förmdet von dir.  
Gip mir die fröide und die stat,  
Die er zu hymel verloren hat.  
Das bitte ich, here, erhöre mich 1500  
Durch din güt, das eret dich."  
Der tüfel mit der rede swant,  
Eua versan sich zu hant,  
Das su uff dem lande lag.  
Adam siner büsse pflag 1505  
Mit rüwen und sender clage/

1480 myn: mynen H. 1487 paradisz: pardis H. 1488 Fol. 41v.  
1489 trübelos: truvelos (?) M, erbelos (?) St, froidelos (?), cf  
notes. 1490 DER: D of 2-line depth, red. 1492 schöppfer:  
schöpfer HM. 1497 förmdet: fremdet M. 1501 cf.1655 H.  
1502 swant: verswant St. 1504 Das: Da H.

Volliclich die viertzig tage.  
Und do die büsse ende genam,  
Adam us dem wasser kam,  
Do er in hette gebüsset. 1510  
Eua wart von ymme gegrüsset  
Mit vil lieplichen dingen.  
Jn begunde sere zwingen  
Die mynne und ir meisterschaftt.  
Su kam in an mit solicher crafft, 1515  
Das er des nit erwenden kunde.  
Er müste begynnen an der stunde  
Mit Eua seltzammer gedat,  
Als nach menschlich nature hat,  
Dovon ir kusche wart. 1520  
Mit libe ouch su swanger wart  
Eins kindes an der stat,  
Als ir beyde lip hat.  
Su hetten sin ee nit getan,  
Jn geschach beiden liep daran. 1525  
Eua zu Adam sprach:/  
"Eya, frunt und here myn,  
Dü bist mir in das hertzen schrin  
Gevallen so kreffticlichen,  
Das ich das nit mag wichen, 1530  
Min hertze lige by dir begraben.  
Sich hat ein nuwe liebe erhaben  
Zwuschent uns beyden,  
Die nieman mag gescheiden,  
Es du dann got, der es alles mag. 1535  
Mich ruwet, das so manig tag  
Zwuschent uns ergangen ist,

1507 Fol. 42r. 1520 Dovon: Davon HM; wart: verwart M.  
1523 beyde lip hat: beyder liep bat H. 1527 Fol. 42v.  
1528 des hertzens schrin: das hertzen schrin H.  
1535 a deleted letter before Es; der es: der M. 1536 manig:  
inserted i.

Das wir nit vor langer frist  
Die hertzen liebe hüben an,  
Sit su so wol hat getan. 1540  
Das ruwet mich und ist mir leit.  
Duch sie furwer dir geseit,  
Das ich lieb prise  
Vur das schone paradise.  
Das soltu gloüben mir./ 1545  
Das machet der grossen liebe gir,  
Die ich, here, han zü dir."

rubric of Illus.[14]: Wie Adam und Eua gar lieplich miteinander  
lebten und wie Eua ires ersten kindes swanger wart.

Adam antwurte do:  
"Es düt mir wol und bin fro,  
Das ich dir also lieb bin. 1550  
Duch het myn hertz und sin  
Gehüset also zü dir,  
Das du ie me liebest mir./  
Von diner mynne ist das geschehen.  
Doch müs ich dem paradis iehen 1555  
Vur alle schöne und wunne,  
Die der tag und die sunne  
Erluhten mag und ir schin,  
Das mag ymme nit glich sin,  
Dovon wene ich, du tobest, 1560  
Das du so hoch lobest  
Die liebe vor das paradis.  
Jo, hette ich ein risz  
Usz dem paradise here,  
Jch gepflege niemer mere 1565

1546 Fol. 43r. 1548 Adam: A of 2-line depth, red.  
1554 Fol. 43v. 1555 paradis: pardis H.



Der mynne und liebe mit dir,  
Wie wol sie aber liebet mir,  
Und wil dir sagen, wo won.  
Jch was hungers ungewon,  
Durstete, widermüt, und leit, 1570  
Ungemach und arbeit,  
Das was mir alles unerkant,/  
Bis ich es hie uszbevant.  
Mich ubertrüg das paradis  
Maniger nöte in süsser wis, 1575  
Des die mynne nit endüt.  
Nu lo mich keren mynnen müt,  
So das ich diner mynne pflege  
Und din liebe mich dozü wege,  
Das ich dich mynnen müs, 1580  
Dovon hungers büsz.  
Durstet mich von mynne ee,  
So durstet mich nach mynne me.  
Bin ich vor müde und lasz,  
So bin ich darnach müder basz. 1585  
Wanne ich zu der mynne go  
So ist mir wol, und darno  
Bin ich aber fröiden losz.  
Sit ich das paradis verkos,  
Gewanne ich nie lieben tag, 1590  
Wanne sich nit glichen mag  
Dem gnodenrichen paradis./  
Syn fröide, sin schöne ich prise  
Vur alles, das ie wort geschprach,  
Nach kein ouge ie gesch, 1595  
Das kan sich ymme glichen niht.

1568 wo won: wovon H. 1570 Durste: Dürsten H, St disagrees.  
1573 Fol. 44r. 1577 mynnen: mynen M. 1581 Dovon wirt mir  
nit hungers büsz H. 1582 von: vor M. 1593 Fol. 44v.

Was mir leides hie geschicht,  
Des was ich ungewon dort.  
Dovon der mynne lopwort  
Behagent mir nit umb ein hor. 1600  
Ich bin nü gar seldom bar  
Und leidig nach wo ich var."

Die rede wart Eua ungemach.  
In zorne su zu Adam sprach:  
"Lieber Adam, sit du mir 1605  
Nit gehillest als ich dir,  
So wil ich gon sunder heil  
Westen in der welte teil,  
Do die sunne undergat,  
Syt myn lip nit seldom hat 1610  
Von sunden weder hie nach dört/  
Und das dir mynne wort  
Missevallent an aller stat."  
Domit su urlobes bat.

rubric of Illus.[15]: Wie Adam und Eua sich schiedent und me  
danne tusent mylen von einander gingent.

Mit zorne sü dannen schiet, 1615  
Als ir tumber müt riet,  
Und ging mit leide und yle  
Me danne tusent myle.  
Das was verre genüg./  
Ein kint su under ire brüsten trüg, 1620  
Des sü von Adam bekam.  
Adam ouch vor leide nam  
Einen langen verren gang,  
Des in ouch sin müt twang.  
Er ging bis an die stat, 1625

1603 Die: D of 2-line depth, red. 1611 nach: noch HM.  
1612 Fol. 45r; mynne: myne H. 1614 urlobes: urloubes HM.  
1620 Fol. 45v; quire indicator.

Do die sunne uffgat.  
Eya, süsßer got und here,  
Wo koment zwey liebe ie so verre  
Von einander als sü beide ?  
Obe ich nü bas bescheide, 1630  
Das duncket mich vur niht.  
Doch eins zu tün mir geschiht,  
Als mir seit myn gedinge,  
Das ich zü sammen wider dringe.  
Got gebe, das mir wol gelinge. 1635  
Nü lossen wir Adam hie  
Und sagen, wie es Eua gie.  
So was mit leide vaste dort.  
Jr hertze was belangen mort/  
Nach der mynne sü sich sent, 1640  
Der sü Adam het gewent.  
Sus was ir fröide zerbrochen  
Mit leide viertzig wuchen.  
Darnach kam ir die stunde,  
Das sü not zwingen begunde, 1645  
Des su von dem kinde pflag,  
Das under irem hertzen lag,  
Wanne do su sin genesen solte,  
Als got und das reht wolte.  
Do wart ir gryme von hertzen we, 1650  
Gegen got zü hymel su schre  
Mit hertze weinen und sprach:  
"Got, allergüte ein obetach,  
Erbarme dich, here, uber mich  
Durch din güt, das eret dich. 1655  
Hilff mir, got, diner genode,

1630 nü: sü M. 1634 zu . . . dringe: sü . . . bringe H.  
1638 So: Sü H. 1639 mort: vort H. 1640 Fol. 46r.  
1643 wuchen: wochen H. 1652 hertze: final letter deleted.  
1655 cf.1501 H.

Wann myn hertze ist uberladen  
Mit hertzlicher clage  
Von dem kumber, den ich trage.  
Gedencke an mich, din hantgetat,/ 1660  
Wann myn leit nit trostes hat  
Anders, here, wanne dych.  
Lieber here, erhöre mich,  
Das myn kumber mylte sich."  
Eua also in dem ellende 1665  
Bot zu hymel ir hende  
Und clagete got jr hertzeleit,  
Das er durch sine barmhertzikeit  
Jr swer verkeren geruchte.  
Was su das mit bete süchte, 1670  
Das was gemolet an ein want,  
Wann gottes güte vor jr verswant.  
Was su leit oder rüffete  
Oder ye von hertzen guffete,  
Des was su leider unerhort. 1675  
Sus was ir fröide gar zerstort  
Von hertzen ungemach.  
Zu hymel su do aber sprach:  
"Eya, werder got, wie tüstu so ?/  
Von dinen gnaden was ich fro. 1680  
Mir hat din gotheit geben  
Zü wunschen ein reines leben.  
Das bin ich nü beroubet,  
Min froide ist betoubet  
Mit bitterlicher clage 1685  
Von der swere, die ich trage.  
Eya, paradis, wer ich in dir,

1661 Fol. 46v. 1665 Eua: E of 2-line depth, red. 1670 das:  
des M. 1673 leit: bat M. 1677 hertzen: hertzelichem M.  
1680 Fol. 47r. 1682 Zu wunschen: Ze wünsche H. 1683 das:  
des H 1687 paradis: pardis H.

Das myn weinen wurde mir  
Geringert nach zü einer stunde.  
Das mir von Adams munde 1690  
Vor geseit ist, das ist wor,  
Jch was güter synne bar,  
Do ich die mynne lobete mer  
Danne das paradis so her,  
Wann mir nie leit von dir beschach. 1695  
Das ich der mynne lobes yach,  
Das was gar ein törlich ding.  
Got, der welte umbering,  
Gewaltig und schöppfere,  
Gerüche senfften myne swere, / 1700  
Wanne du je der beste were."  
Nü was hie geclaget genüg.  
Von der swere die su trüg  
Hup su die lenden mit beider hant.  
Adam was das unerkant, 1705  
Do er dort ostern lag  
Und su grosser swere pflag.  
Nu nohet es gein einer naht  
Jn irem leide su gedaht  
Ostern an Adam hin. 1710  
Su sprach: "Das ich mit leide bin,  
Wer kundet das Adam dort ?  
Vernement myn clage wort,  
Jch bitte uch, sternen und sunne,  
Durch die ziere und wunne, 1715  
Die got an uch geleit hat,  
Als schiere ir morne an uwer stat  
Ostern kummet an uwern schin,

1694 Danne: Denne HM. 1697 war: was H. 1701 Fol. 47v.  
1702 NÜ: N of 2-line depth, red. 1704 mit beider hant:  
mit der hant St, mit leider hant Str.

Das ir Adam, dem heren myn,  
Allen mynnen kumber clagent 1720  
Und jmme des nit verdagent,/

Das ich so grosse swere dol.  
Mir wurde bas, das weis ich wol,  
Obe ich Adam nach gesehe,  
Was ioch mir darnach beschehe. 1725

Liebe sunne, nū tu so wol,  
Sit du bist clores liehtes vōl,  
Sage dem lieben man myn,  
Das ich lide von hertzen pin,  
Das ich wene das var von ymme. 1730

Liebe sunne, mich vernyme,  
Wanne ich nit anders botten han,  
Bring mir in zit den selben man,  
Der mich hie eynig hat verlan."

rubric of Illus.[16]: Wie Eua die sunne anbat und sich übel  
gehup umb iren man und bat sū das sū yme iren kumber clagete usw.

Eua die naht mit leide lag. 1735  
Des morgens do den liechten tag  
Nach jrem sitte die sunne erluhte,  
Jch weis nit, was Adam dūhte,  
Das er zu jmme selber sprach:  
"Eua clage und ungemach 1740  
Jst von westen kummen mir.  
Jch vorhte, das der slange mit ir  
Strit als su vor het getan."  
Mit der rede gie er von dan  
Und kam do er Euen vant. 1745

1720 mynnen: mynen H. 1722 Fol. 48r. 1730 wene: wone  
(weine ?), cf.1753 H; das: sus (or dus) H. 1735 Fol. 48v;  
Eua: E of 2-line depth, red.

Do su in sach, su sprach zu hant:  
"Here, Adam, lieber man,  
Sit ich dich gesehen han,  
So ist ein teil gesenfftet mir."  
Er sprach: "Eua, was wirret dir ?" 1750  
Su sprach: "Das mir leides wirret  
Und mich aller fröiden irret,  
Das wene ich, das kummet von dir.  
Eins ist gewahssen in mir,  
Das git mir we iemer mere 1755  
Und zabelt jn der mossen sere,  
Als es von mir gerne were.  
Sich, Adam, das sint myn swere.  
Dovon bitte got fur mich,  
Das er mir helffe durch dich 1760  
Und lösse mich von mym wein,  
Von dem myn leben müsz zergen,  
Es ensie got, der es wende."  
Adam bot zu hymel sin hende  
Und bat got leit verkeren 1765  
Und sin lop an ymme meren.  
E das er die wort gesprach,  
Zwölff engel er by ymme sach,  
Die hette got dargesant.  
Sehs Eua zur rehten hant 1770  
Stunden, und sehs zur lincken sitten.  
Der zwölffer einer zu den zitten  
Sprach: "Eua, got hat und dir gesant.  
Er hat Adams truwe erkant,  
Sit er von angenge her/ 1775  
Nyt vant an ymme kranckes mer,

1755 Fol. 49r. 1761 wein: wen H. 1765 leit: ir leit M.  
1772 zwölffer: zwölffe H. 1774 truwe: ruwe HM.  
1776 Fol. 49v; cf.3138 H.

Wanne das er einest dime rat  
Volget, und nach der myssetat  
Nam er ymme büsse und leistet die.  
Was du hast selden hie, 1780  
Die wurt dir von gotte getan  
Durch Adam, den gūten man.  
Dovon, Eua, bereite dich  
Zu der geburt. Nu habe mich  
Zu helffe und myn gesellen hie, 1785  
Wann\_ uns dir zu helffe lie  
Got der den sinen halff ie."

Illus.[17]

DO der engel dis gesproch,  
Nu hören zu, was geschach.  
Eua zu hant ein kint gebar. 1790  
Do su des rehte wart gewar  
Und sin bilde ersach,  
Jn grossem wunder su do sprach:  
"Eya, woffen, here, waffen  
Wer hat dis geschaffen, 1795  
Das ich also wunderlich  
Einen menschen mir glich  
Getragen han by mynem hertzen  
Mit manigem ungefugem smertzen ?  
Das ist ein grosses wunder, 1800  
Das ich prufen wil besunder  
Vur alles ich je gesach."  
Adam ouch dasselbe yach,  
Er masz es vur ein grosse geschicht.

1788 Fol. 50r; DO: D of 2-line depth, red. 1789 hören:  
hörent, cf.1448 H. 1802 ich: das ich H.



Das kint sumete sich lenger niht, 1805  
Do es von der müter kam,  
Einen louff es yme nam/  
Snelliclich zu walde  
Und broht siner müter balde  
Wurtzeln an dem armelin. 1810  
Es sprach: "Liebe müter myn,  
Nym das laub und nusz ouch der,  
Die brahte ich von dem walde her.  
Jch weis das wol, du bist krang.  
Des dich manig stos betwang, 1815  
Des ich dir gein hertzen pflag,  
Do ich in dinem libe lag,  
E ich kam her an den tag."  
Eua die rede gerne hort.  
Von irem hertzen wart gesport, 1820  
Was ir leides ie geschach,  
Do su ir liebes kint ansach.  
Su nam es mit gelust  
Und drucket es an ir brust,  
So das sin hertze krachte sere. 1825  
Die engel goben ir die lere,/  
Wie su kint ziehen solte.  
Die engel goben ir die lere 1826a  
Und wie su kint ziehen solte. 1827a  
Die engel, als es got wolte,  
Hübent sich zu hymel wyder,  
Die durch Adam kommen hernider 1830  
Zu helffe ruwen woren gesant.  
Das kint wart Cayn genant,  
Als uns die schrifft düt bekant.

1808 Fol. 50v. 1810 Wurtzeln: Wurtze, cf.1893 M. 1819 Eua:  
E of 2-line depth, red. 1820 gesport: gestort, cf.2207, 2817 St  
1827 Fol. 51r. 1830 Adam kommen hernider: Adam hernider M.  
1831 ruwen: Ewen H.

Adam got genode seit,  
Das er sin hertzeleit gros 1835  
Also lieplich hette verkeret  
Und sin fröide sus gemeret  
Mit Cayn, sinem sün.

Er begunde ymme gute lere dün,  
Als vatter sinem kinde düt. 1840

Er sprach: "Du solt wesen früt,  
Lieber sun, zu güten dingen,  
So mag dir niemer mysselingen.  
Trage got diensthaftten müt./  
Das böse lasz und tū das güt. 1845

By dem soltu wesen zu aller zit.  
Flüchen, schelten, has, und nit  
Lo vor des hertzen tür.  
Diene got, der selden spur.

Mide die sunde, das rot ich dir. 1850  
Minnen got, der hymel zir,  
Lieber sün, das volge du mir."

Adam wart sins sunnes fro.  
Sin hertze steig in fröiden ho,  
Wanne er liebe an yme sach. 1855

Zu einer zit das geschach,  
Ein engel wart von hymel gesant,  
Der Adam det bekant  
Der erden wucher und ir art.  
Die gnode wart nit lenger gespart. 1860

Er lerte in büwen und segen,  
Den wylden somen abemegen  
Und in werffen mit der hant/  
Uff den umbgeworffen sant,

1834  
Adam: A of 2-line depth, red. 1835 hertzeleit gros: gros  
hertzeleit HM. 1845 Fol. 51v. 1849 Diene got: Denne gat H.  
1851 Minnen: Minne HM. 1853 sunnes: sunes H; Adam: A of  
2-line depth, red. 1864 Fol.52r.

So keme er hundert val herwider. 1865  
Das volget er und det es sider.  
Ouch lerte er in, als got wolte,  
Wie er das vihe zemen solte,  
Das ymme helffe solte geben  
Zu buwen und zu allem leben, 1870  
Zu gewant und zu spise.  
Das volget er wann er was wise.  
Er lerte in wurcken alles das,  
Was menschen synne ie genas,  
Darzu hat er bereiten müt, 1875  
Wanne er was rein und gut  
Und was einer der wisesten man,  
Der mannes synne ie gewan.  
Hiemit hüp sich der engel dan.

rubric of Illu.[18]: Wie ein engel Adam lerte zu acker faren

Cayn mit Adams lere 1880  
Wüchs in eime jor mere,  
Danne ein anders in zwein tüt.  
Ouch gap ymme got der selden müt,  
Das er rette alle worte glich.  
Zwor das was wunderlich, 1885  
Obe ein kint nit jores alt  
Mit rede und wercken were so balt/  
Als Cayn das kynt was.  
Wanne do sin müter sin genas,  
Als ich do gesprochen han, 1890  
Do lieff es als ein alt man  
Und brohte der müter sin

1865 hundert val: hundertvalt H. 1872 er: corrected r.  
1874 Was: Wes M. rubric of Illus.[18]: Fol. 52v.  
1880 Cayn: C of 2-line depth, red. 1884 alle: aller H.  
1888 Fol. 53r.

Von cleinem crüte ein spiselin,  
Do su sich solte laben mit  
Nach der kintbetterin sit. 1895  
Was touget dovon me zu sagen ?  
Wir söllent der rede hie getagen  
Und lossen Cayn wahssen hie  
Und sagen, wie es ergie  
Eua, der müter sin. 1900  
Die gebar ein ander kindelin,  
Einen sün zü rehtem zil,  
Den ich ouch nennen wil,  
Der Abel wart genant,  
Als uns Genesis düt bekant. 1905  
Dem gap got in siner jugent  
Wiszheit und gantze tugent/  
Des wunschet er mit selikeit.  
Ouch was sin müt darzü bereit.  
Do er wart zu einem man 1910  
Und sich guter dinge versan,  
Das er got sin oppfer gap  
Von aller siner hap  
Die er mohte geleisten.  
Das rüch in got geisten 1915  
Der reine hertzen mynnet hie.  
By sinen tagen er nie verlie,  
Er gap durch der selen heil  
Von sime güte das zehende teil  
Und det das mit so reinem müt, 1920  
Das es got nam vor güt.  
Aber des pflag Cayn niht.  
Der gap, des oppfer was ein wiht,  
Als ich uch bescheiden wil.

1896 cf.292. 1903 ouch: uch, cf.2106 H. 1908 Fol. 53v;  
Des: Den St; wunschet er: wunsch het H. 1913 siner: einer HM.  
1915 Das rüch: Des ruchte H. 1916 hie: ie M. 1923 Der gap:  
Des H.

Do es kam uff das zil, 1925  
Das er wart zu einem man  
Und er got oppfern began,/

Das det er Myt valscheit,  
Das es got nit beheit  
Und mit so valschen müt, 1930  
Als das valsche hertze düt,  
Das es got was widerzeme.  
Abels oppfer was geneme,  
Wanne er es mit reinem müt bot,  
Sin hertze het gantzer truwen lot. 1935  
Des trüg ym Caym grossen hasz  
Und doch glich umb das,  
Das got Abels oppfer nam  
Und dem sinen was so gram.  
Er gedohte jn sinem müte 1940  
Gedencke worent nit güt.  
Wie er, als ymme der tüfel riet,  
Abel von syme leben schiet,  
Durch das er was reht und güt  
Und trug got dienshafften müt, 1945  
Als der rehte reine düt.

Do Kayn dage und naht/  
Jn sime hertzen gedaht,  
Wie er Abel zu ubel geleit,  
Das mit solicher wirdikeit 1950  
Got sin oppfer von ymme nam,  
Eins nahtes der herre Adam  
Durch sloff an sine bette lag  
By Eua und gemaches pflag.  
Do begunde Eua wuffen, 1955

1928 Fol. 54r. 1929 M corrects er to es, the MS reads es.  
1930 valschen: corrected v. 1937 doch glich: lediglich M.  
1941 Gedencke: Gedencke die, cf.1433 M. 1948 Fol. 54v.

Usz dem sloffe sere rüffen.  
Su claget und weint,  
Als su domitte bescheint,  
Das jr vil swere troumt.  
Adam sich nit sumt. 1960  
Usz dem sloffe er su wackete,  
So das su sere erschracke.  
Er fragete su, was su meint,  
Das su so sere weint,  
Was ir getroymet were. 1965  
Su sprach: "Got der schöppfere,  
Der gebe es uns zu güte./  
Jch han Mit swerem müte  
Einen herten troum gesehen  
Des ich dir, here, veryehen. 1970  
Got der gebe mirs zu güte.  
Mir troynte, wie Abels blüte  
Cayn hette jn siner hant."  
Adams hertze erschrack zu hant.  
"Owe," sprach er, "diser not. 1975  
Cayn sleht Abel dot.  
Das kan nieman underfaren.  
Doch eine wis süllen wirs bewaren,  
Wir sullent su von eine scheiden,  
Das sich zwüschent in beiden 1980  
Kein has müge erheben.  
Wir süllent Cain das ampt geben,  
Das er sie ein buman,  
Und süllent Abel schaffen dan,  
Das er des vihes pfleger sie. 1985  
Sus werdent su villihte fry  
Hertzen leides beide./

1962 erschracke: erschrackte H. 1968 Fol. 55r.  
1970 veryehen: wil veryehen M. 1971 Got der gebe:  
inserted der.

Doch ist mir von hertzen leide,  
Wann mir seit myn swerer müt,  
Das mir vil unsanffte düt. 1990  
Got der füge mirs zu güt."  
DER sloff Adam nam die clage.  
Des morgens do dem tage  
Die sunne luhte nach jrem sitte,  
Cayn rette Abeln mytte: 1995  
"Abel, brüder myn,  
Wir süllent uff das velt," sprach Cayn,  
"Und schowen die arbeit."  
Des was Abel zu hant bereit,  
Wann er was einfaltig und güt. 2000  
Er wuste nit das so gemüt  
Cayn sin brüder were.  
Owe der leiden swere.  
Do sü kommen an das velt,  
Cayn ungetruwes gelt 2005  
Gap Abel, dem brüder sin.  
Wie möhte grosser untrüwe sin ?/  
Er slüg Abeln zu dot.  
Owe der mortlichen not.  
Cayn, was hastu getan ? 2010  
Du hast einen getruwen man,  
Der welte vierteil, erslagen.  
Güte lüte, nü helffent clagen  
Abeln den rehten man,  
Der nie schult daran gewan, 2015  
Das Cayn got was widerzam  
Und jmme sin oppfer was genam.  
Domit vorbezeichent ist  
Unser here Jhesu Crist, 2020  
Den die ungetruwe diet

1988 Fol. 55v. 1989 cf.618. 1992 DEr: D of 2-line depth,  
red. 1996 bruder: lieber bruder M. 2008 Fol. 56r.

One schulde von dem leben schiet,  
Do er sin reines blüt vergos.  
Do wart des tūfels gewalt blos,  
Des sit manige sele genos.

rubric of Illus.[19]: Wie Cayn sinen bruder Abel zu tode erslög

O Abel nu erslagen wart, 2025  
Cayn sich nit lenger spart,

Illus.[19]

Do Abel nū erslagen wart, 2025a  
Cayn sich nit lenger spart, 2026a  
Er begrüp in und gie von dan  
Also ein trübeloser man.

Und do er von dem morde schiet,  
Got sin reine güte riet, 2030

Das ymme das wort was ungemach./  
Usz dem wolcken su do sprach:  
"Cayn, wo ist der bruder Din ?"

Er sprach: "Lieber here myn,  
Jch weis nit wo myn brüder ist. 2035

Jch mag ouch nit zu aller frist  
Jmme volgen und hüten nach."

Unser here aber sprach:

"Cayn, was hastu getan

An Abeln, dem güten man, 2040

Den du one schulde hast erslagen ?

Sin blüt höre ich clagen,

Usz der erden bitten mich

2023 des tūfels gewalt blos: der tūfel gewaltes blos St.

2024 before sele two letters deleted in red with three red dots below. 2025 Fol. 56v; an attempt made to erase this and the following line. 2025a Do: D of 2-line depth, red. 2028 Also: Als M; trübeloser: truweloser H. 2029 morde: orte (?) H, St disagrees. 2031 wort: mort M. 2032 Fol. 57r; su: er. 2034 here: herre HM.



Rache gerihtes uber dich.  
Von der sunden müstu werden 2045  
Gar verflüchet uff der erden,  
Die iren munt geoffent hat  
Und one alle myssetat  
Dins brüder blüt enpfie.  
Von diner hant das ergie, 2050  
Mordylichen an dirre frist./  
Darumbe die welt verflüchet ist  
In dinem buwe ewiclich.  
Also das su glich,  
Was su früht und wüchers git, 2055  
Und als es kumet an die zit,  
Das du su solt buwen  
Mit pflügen und howen,  
So wehsset dir anders niht,  
Dir zu leide das geschih, 2060  
Nuwent disteln und dorn.  
Die selde hastu verlorn,  
Die du hast gehabet ee.  
Irre varen iemer me  
Müstu und fluhtig wesen, 2065  
Mit nöten uff erden genesen.  
Das man harnach begynnet lesen."  
Cayn was des flüches unfro.  
Zu unserm heren sprach er do:  
"Here, myner schult ist mer 2070  
Danne antlos ger.  
Du nymest mir hüte din gemein,/br/>Das ich verflüchet sie alleine  
Under menschlichem geslehte.

2051 Mordylichen: Mordiclichen H. 2052 Fol. 57v; quire indicator. 2054 su: sie H. 2057 Das du su: du inserted. 2060 geschih: geschicht H. 2068 Cayn: C of 2-line depth, red. 2071 antlos: antloses H. 2073 Fol. 58r.

Jch bin gefallen jn din ehte, 2075  
Dovon müsz ich jrre varen  
Und flühtig sin by mynen jaren.  
So welliche mich vinden,  
Das su nit erwinden,  
Man tu den selben gerich 2080  
Uber myn leben und döte mich,  
Den ich an mynem bruder rach."  
Unser here do aber sprach:  
"Cayn, das geschiht niht.  
Wir dich vindet oder siht, 2085  
Der richet nit den brüder din.  
Du müst sus verflüchet sin  
Und mit unselde leben."  
Hiemit begunde sich heben  
Caym, der mörder, von dan 2090  
Als ein genodenloser man  
Und wonet osten uff der erde  
Flühtig in swachem werde,/  
Eins hin, das ander her,  
Nach der gotheit flüches ger, 2095  
Der uff in geladen was her.  
Hie lossen wir Cayn jrre varen.  
Wir süllent es nit lenger sparn.  
Abel lag leider dort erslagen,  
Den vil sere begunde clagen 2100  
Adam und Eua von hertzen  
Umb des todes smertzen,  
Den er one schult het erlitten.  
Darnach nit lange wart gebitten.  
Eua gebar den dirten sün, 2105  
Des namme ich uch kunt tün:  
Der wart geheissen Sed.

2079 das: des M. 2085 Wir: Wer H. 2090 Caym: Kaym HM.  
2094 Fol. 58v; cf.3700 H. 2097 Hie: H of 2-line depth, red.

Eua zū Adam ret:

"Here, lieber myn Adam,

Einen sun lobesam 2110

Han ich dir getragen

Vor Abeln den erslagenen,

Den Kayn sin brüder slüg."

Nū ist es hie geseit genüg./

Adam und Eua gewonnen kint, 2115

Darnach su gezalet sint

Drissig dōhter und drissig tegen,

Uff drū und sehtzig sint gegeben

Die kint alle ungezalt.

Der some wart so manigvalt 2120

Bewiget und geseget

Und ūff die erde gespreget

So wite, das von in kam

Aller menschlicher stam.

Sus wurdent su gemeret sere. 2125

Nach Adam's lere

Ein bettehusz su in mahten,

Darynne su gedahten

Gegen got ir myssedat.

Dys was Adam's rat, 2130

Der usz ymme selben nie getrat.

ADam bewisete sin kint,

Die imme von hertzen woren gemynt,

So er aller besten kunde

Mit wercken und munde,/ 2135

Wanne er was ein wise man.

Darnach gie in der alter an

Wanne er sin genüg het.

2112 erslagenen: erslagen H. 2115 Fol. 59r. 2118 sint  
gegeben: sū stegen (sich belaufen) ? M. 2121 Bewiget:  
Gewiget HM; geseget: gesegnet H, St disagrees. 2122 gespreget:  
gesprenget H, St disagrees. 2132 ADam: A of 2-line depth, red.  
2136 Fol. 59v. 2137 cf.2279 H.

Als es do geschriben stet,  
So het er wol nūnhundert jor, 2140  
Als ich gelesen han fur wor.  
Zu einer zit das geschach  
Zu Sed syme sune er sprach:  
"Sed, lieber sun, höre mich,  
Los kunden und bewisen dich, 2145  
Was mir myn tage ist geschehen,  
Das ich nie menschen han veryehen.  
Do got yme zorne sin  
Mich und die müter din  
Usz dem paradise treip 2150  
Und uns leider nit beleip  
Der engelschen gnaden,  
Die er uff uns hat geladen,  
Eins tages es so kam  
Das ich mir ein gebette nam/ 2155  
Umb myne sunde zü got,  
Do kam zu mir syn bot  
Michahel mit eime wagen.  
Den sach ich nieman tragen,  
Sin reder worent furin 2160  
Und gobent also liechten schin,  
Das es zu sagen erschricket myn synn.  
Domitte zucket er mich hin  
Balde und vil lise  
Jn das schöne paradise, 2165  
Von dem mich durch myssetat  
Unser here vertriben hat.  
Do sach ich mit eigen witzen  
Unsern heren schöne sitzen.  
Des schöne gap so schönes liht 2170  
Das sich ymme kan glichen niht.

Das luhte als die welt brunne,  
Sternen, mon, und sunne,  
Und aller hymelscher schin  
Möht ymme nit glich sin./ 2175  
Ouch sach ich by den ziten  
Zu der rechten und lincken siten  
Engel manig tusent schar.  
Die woren alle so glich gefar,  
Das es myn hertze nit kan ergrunden 2180  
Nach mit dem munde gekunden,  
Was ich do fröiden sach.  
Das ich dir sage, das geschach.  
Jch bot mich zu den süssen  
Unsers heren füssen 2185  
Uff die erde nider.  
Die engel hüben wider  
Mich von der erde enbor.  
Sus stunt ich inserm heren vor,  
Dem do dienet der engel kor. 2190  
DO ich so stunt und er mich sach  
Zörnlich er zu mir sprach:  
"Adam, wie hastu gefaren ?  
Nieman mag dich bewarn.  
Du müst des todes sterben 2195  
Und an dem libe verderben,/   
Wanne du mich versmohet hast  
Und mit sundigem uberlast  
Gevolget hast dinem wibe,  
Die von dinem libe 2200  
Jch brach darumbe und worhte,  
Das su durch din vorhte

2173 mon: mond HM. 2176 Fol. 60v. 2180 kan: kann HM.  
2184f. H suggests reversing süssen and füssen, St disagrees.  
2191 DO: D of 2-line depth, red. 2196 cf.2686 H.  
2197 Fol. 61r; versmohet: versmehet HM.

Dete und llesse,  
Was du lossen hiesse.  
Der hastu vor mich 2205  
Gevolget, das weis ich.  
Dovon bistu gestöret  
Von diser engel kören,  
Von diser ougenweide."  
Do ich das horte, mir was leide. 2210  
Jch viel nieder vor den werden  
Hin uff die erden,  
Jch süchete gnade und sprach:  
"Got, der genoden obetach,  
Almehtig und der hymel zier, 2215  
Rüch genedig wesen mir,  
Zöige mir dine almehtige krafft,  
Nit los verderben din geschafft,/  
Wann du mich, here, hast gemacht.  
Wie ich mich han gewachet 2220  
Mit myner sunden myssetat,  
Doch friste mich, din hantgedat,  
Und lo mich, here, scheiden niht  
Von diner schönen angesiht  
Und dinem antlitze, 2225  
Das zü fröiden ist so nütze.  
Scheide mich nit von dinen gnaden,  
Uff den du hast geladen  
Maniger tugent uberlast,  
Den du erzöigen hast, 2230  
Wie ich diene der sunden last."

rubric of Illus.[20]: Wie Adam in eime furin wagen verzucket  
Und vor got den heren in das paradis gefüret wart

2204 lossen: tun und lossen, cf.241 M. 2212 erden: deleted  
letter between r and d. 2219 Fol. 61v; hast: corrected a.  
2230 erzoigen: erzogen (nutristi) M.

DEs antwurt unser here mir,  
Jch sage, lieber sun, dir.  
Er sprach: "Adam, armer man,  
Du hast zu sere myssetan. 2235  
Sage, wie sint din tage gestalt ?  
Du were ee jung, nü bistu alt  
Mit maniger slahte unheil,  
Das dir füget der sünden teil.  
Du hast verstandigen müt 2240  
Zu wissende ubel und güt.  
Was kan dich gehelffen das ?  
Jch wene, dir were vere bas  
Und werestu verliben,  
Dannen du bist vertriben, 2245  
Jn dem paradise gast,  
Do dir nihtes jnne gebrast.  
Des du nü müst wesen gast."  
Der rede wart ich harte fro.  
Zu unserm heren sprach ich do: 2250  
"Du bist ewig, starcker got.  
Rein und süsse ist din gebot./  
Du bist der ewige morgenstern,  
Der hohe und der tieffe lucern.  
Mit dime worte beschaffen ist, 2255  
Was swymmet, get, und ist,  
Das müsz ouch dir zü eren leben,  
Wann du in leben hast gegeben.  
Su loben dich, als billich ist,  
Wanne du ir aller schöppfer bist. 2260  
Got, here, ein bürnen metten liht,  
Trip mich nit von der angesiht,  
Der sich mag glichen niht."

2232 Fol. 62r; DEs: D of 2-line depth, red. 2243 vere:  
verre H. 2246 gast: glast (?) M. 2251 starcker: starker HM.  
2253 Fol. 62v. 2256 ist: krist H. 2261 bürnen: bürnent  
(cf. matutina, VA 28) H.

Do die rede verendet was,  
Von vorhte ich kume genas. 2265  
Domit das paradis verswant.  
Der engel nam mich by der hant  
Und satte mich wider an die stat,  
Dovon er mich gezücket hat.  
Er floch dohin und lie mich hie. 2270  
Jch han es geseit syder nie.  
Lieber sun, das sint die taugen,  
Die mir got sunder laugen/  
Gekundet und erzöiget hat  
Nach siner grossen güte rat, 2275  
Der die sinen nit verlat."

Adam seit syme sune nit me.  
Als ich han gesprochen ee.  
Der alter in müwen began,  
Wann er was ein alter man, 2280  
Doch nach sage, und nach rede,  
Die er syme sune dede,  
Lebet er drissig jor doch  
Mit güten witzen dannach.  
Und donach den selben joren 2285  
Begunde in sere sworn,  
Wanne jmme kunfftig was der dot,  
Das wuste er wol. Von der not  
Kam in so grymmen siechtüm an,  
Das er sich kume versan. 2290  
An sinem bette er stetes lag,  
"We und we" er schrigen pflag,  
Wann in des todes gewalt brach./  
Jn syme leide er do sprach:  
"Eua trute, liebes wip, 2295

2264 Do: D of 2-line depth, red. 2266 cf.824 H. 2272 taugen:  
touggen H. 2273 laugen: lougen H. 2274 Fol. 63r. 2277 Adam:  
A of 2-line depth, red. 2283 doch: noch HM. 2285 MS: ~~U~~Und.  
2294 Fol. 63v.



Du bist myn fleisch und lip,  
Wann du von mir genommen bist.  
Es ist nü kummen an die frist,  
Das ich sterben müs und sol.  
Eua liep, nü tu so wol, 2300  
Sammene alle myne kint,  
Die von dir geboren sint,  
Das su kummen har zu mir,  
Das ich kunde in und dir  
Den bittern smertzen, 2305  
Den ich lide in hertzen  
Und an dem libe ublich  
Von dem houbet hin zu tal."  
Nit lenger summete su die vart,  
Wenne es ir leit von hertzen wart. 2310  
Su ging mit clage zu hant,  
Do su die kint alle vant.  
Su seite ymme leidige mere,  
Das jr vatter siech were  
Und von wetage lege 2315  
Und nit wann schrigens pflege.  
Domitte summete su sich niht.  
Su koment fur sine angesiht  
In das bethus, do er schre  
Nyt wanne " owe und we". 2320  
Von grossem siechtüm det er das.  
Do er su sach, do wurden nas  
Von fröiden die ougen sin,  
Wie in twang des todes pin.  
Er sach sie mit jomer an 2325  
Als ein dotsiecher man.  
Su sprachen: "Vatter, was ist das,  
Das du ligest also las

2313 yme: in H. 2314 Fol. 64r. 2317 sumete: sumeten H.

In dem bette und trurig bist ?  
Oder was sint wir an dirre frist 2330  
Gesamenet also gohes her ?"  
Adam sprach: "Ich bin ser,  
Das ich von nöten ligen müsz.  
Usz dem houbet bitze in den füs/ /  
Jst mir bitterlichen we. 2335  
Dovon mag ich nit liden me,  
Got sie, der mir by beste."

Illus.[21]

Dye kint wurdent gar unfro.  
Su sprochent zu Adam do:  
"Here, we, was ist das ? 2340  
Das soltu uns bescheiden bas./  
Uns ist we unerkant,  
Wir werden sin dan bas ermant."  
Domitte der rede wart geswigen.  
Jr houbet vor leide nider sigen, 2345  
Umb iren vatter das geschach.  
Sed, sin lieber sun, do sprach:  
"Herre, vatter, als ich mich  
Versynne, so senestu dich  
Nach des süssen obes spise, 2350  
Des du in dem paradise  
Hast bekort zu einer zit,  
Des an dir truren git.  
Dovon han ich iht won,  
Das soltu mich wissen lon, 2355  
Das ich gen one qual,  
Beide berg und tal,

2335 Fol. 64v. 2337 sie: ensie (?) H. 2338 Dye: D of  
2-line depth, red. 2340 MS: we/. 2342 Fol. 65r.  
2353 an: andaht H; git: lit St. 2354 iht: rehten (?) H.  
qual: twal H.

Bis an das paradises tor,  
Do wil ich danne ligen von  
Und esche uff das houbet legen 2360  
Und nit dann bete und clage pflegen,  
Bis das got erhöret mych/  
Und geruchet erbarmen sich  
Uber die grosse quale din  
Und rüchet den engel sin 2365  
Senden usz dem paradise,  
Der mir bringet der spise,  
Nach der sich sent das hertze din.  
Herre, vil lieber vatter myn,  
Myr seit myn gedinge, 2370  
Das ich des obes bringe.  
Got gebe, das mir gelinge."  
Adam sprach: "Viel liebs kint,  
Als liep du mir bist genynt,  
Got weis wol, das ich mich 2375  
Myt sene, als du versynnest dich,  
Nach des paradises fruht,  
Sunder ein ungehure suht  
Und grosz smertzen mich swinget."  
Dis dühte wunderlich die kint, 2380  
Was smertzen were.  
Su sprochen: "Offen uns die mere,  
Vatter, was smertze sy,  
Sit dir smertze wonet by,  
Das wir uns rihten darnach." 2385  
Adam mit clage aber sprach:  
"Nü hörent, myn lieben kint,  
Was smertzen und we sint  
Und siechtums anevang.

2359 von: vor H. 2363 Fol. 65v. 2370 cf.1633ff.  
2373 Adam: A of 2-line depth, red. 2374 genynt: gemynnt H.  
2376 Myt: Nyt HM. 2379 swinget: swint H. 2384 Fol. 66r.

Do git sin güte darzü zwang, 2390  
Das er, süsser und güter,  
Mich beschüff und uwer müter  
Und uns engelsche spise  
Gap in dem paradise,  
Nüwen ein böm er uns verbot. 2395  
Er sprach: "Ir kiesener den dot,  
Obe ir das obes essent,  
Zu hant ir vergessent  
Mit maniger slahte leide  
Diser augenweide." 2400  
Darzu gap uns der güte  
Zwene engel zu hüte,  
Die uns hüte solten geben.  
Do sich die begunden zu heben/  
Zü hymel zu einer bette zit, 2405  
Do kam des rehten widerstrit,  
Der tufel ungehure,  
Mit urkunde und mit sture,  
Mit nidiclicher valscheit,  
Das ich sit dicke han gecleit, 2410  
Domitte er Euam betrog.  
Mit liebekosen er ir loug,  
Er riet das su des bömes esse,  
Darumbe su nit vergesse  
Der englschen ougenweide. 2415  
Ach, uns allen zu leide,  
Nach des bösen geistes aht  
Als su das obes an der stat,  
Ouch volgete ich ir myssetat.  
Do uns dis zu leide geschach, 2420

2390 Do git : Do got M; MS has a deletion between the words.  
2396 kiesener: kiesent; kieseu (?) H. 2400 augen:  
ougen H. 2404 zu heben: heben H. 2405 Fol. 66v.  
2417 aht: rat M. 2418 Als: As M. 2420 Do: D of 2-line  
depth, red.

Got zornig zu uns sprach:  
"Jr habent sere mysetat,  
Das ir hant genommen dan,  
Das obes das ich uch verbot.  
Jr müssent maniger slahte not/ 2425  
Von den sunden liden,  
Syt ir nit wolten myden  
Das obes, das uch was lutzel frum.  
Subentzigerley siechtüm  
Wil ich uff uch legen, 2430  
Die uwer süllent pflegen  
Us dem houbet in die füsse.  
Das ich uch selten büsse,  
Jr mügent sunder mynen fride  
Uber alle uwere gelide 2435  
Liden siechtüm und qual  
Und nit ein, sunder ublich  
Alles uwer nachgeslehte."  
Dis ist der flüch und die ehte,  
Die got von der mysetat 2440  
Uff uns zu leide gewegen hat,  
Die mich von erste hat besessen.  
We dem jemerlichen essen  
Und der verfluchten spise,  
Die in krancker wise 2445  
Mir so manigen smertzen bringet/  
Und so bitterlichen twinget,  
Das ichs nit mag vollesagen.  
Jch müsz vor grossen nöten clagen,  
Wann ich genodeloser man 2450  
Ablos von smertzen nit enhan,  
Dovon myn leben müsz zergan."

2422 mysetat: mysetan H. 2426 Fol. 67r.

2447 Fol. 67v. 2448 ichs: inserted c. 2449 müsz: mus HM.

DO Adam so sere geclaget,  
Euen und den kinden gesaget  
Den bitterlichen smertzen, 2455  
Den er leit jn hertzen  
Und in Eua weinen sach,  
Do weinte ouch su und sprach:  
"Here got, der tugende last,  
Wann du uns beschaffen hast 2460  
Dir zu lobe und zu eren,  
Rüch genediclich verkeren  
Adams smertzen, den er duldet,  
Den ich eine han verschuldet,  
Und sende in har an mynem lip, 2465  
Wann ich unselig wip  
Die sunde von erste han getan./  
Jch solt eine den smertzen han,  
Das were zwar billich.  
Adam, here mynneclich, 2470  
Teile myt mir den smertzen,  
Den du clagest von hertzen.  
Gip in me dann halbes mir,  
Das einteil werde senffter dir  
Der smertze, den ich dich höre yehen." 2475  
"Eua, das mag nit geschehen.  
Sunder tu, das ich dich bitte,  
Do du mir wol senfftest mit.  
Nym mynen sün Sed zu dir,  
Der ist der liebeste mir, 2480  
Der ist güt und wise,  
Und get züm paradise  
Und lit dovor mit sender clage  
Beyde naht und dage

2453 DO: D of 2-line depth, red. 2462 MS: genediclich.  
2468 Fol. 68r. 2473 in: hin. 2475 höre: r over a  
deletion.

Mit bete uff der erde, 2485  
Das es schin werde,  
Das uch sie von hertzen leit,  
Umb myn bittere arbeit./  
Besprengen mit esche uwer houbet,  
Das uch gantzlich werde gloubet, 2490  
Das ir do genoden gert.  
Was got obe er an mir mert  
Sin lop und rüchet sich erbarmen  
Uber mich vil siechen armen  
Und sendet nach der gire myn 2495  
By den süssen engeln sin  
Des bömes siner barmhertzikeit,  
Von dem des lebens süssikeit  
Flüsset zu aller zit.  
Obe man uch des ein wenig git 2500  
Von dem wunnegarten dan,  
Das ir mich vil süssen man  
Bestrichent und besalbent mit,  
Das ich nach dem alten sitte  
Geraste ein wile nach der qual, 2505  
Die ich lide von houbet zu tal  
Bis in die füsse.  
Werder got, nü büsse/  
Mir myn swere in kurtzer frist,  
Wann myn dot und myn genyst, 2510  
Herre, an dir alleine lit.  
Hilff, here, das ist zit.  
Verzich mir myne myssedat,  
Friste den do beschaffen hat  
Dine süsse götliche hant, 2515  
Und rüch lösen myne bant,  
Die mich sere zwingent

2489 Fol. 68v. 2492 got obe er: obe got M. 2496 den süssen  
engeln: dem süssen engel, cf. 2779, 3234 M. 2502 süssen:  
siechen M. 2509 Fol. 69r. 2510 cf. 3368 H.

Und nit wann we bringent,  
Dovon myn leben endet sich.  
Ach lieber got, erbarme dich 2520  
Durch din erbermde uber mich."

Illus.[22]

Eua und Sed worent bereit,  
Wann in was von hertzenleit  
Herren Adams not.  
Su hü bent sich, als er gebot, 2525  
Zu hant von siner angesiht.  
Der tūfel summete sich lenger niht.  
Er hüp sich an ir strosse,  
In engestlicher mosse,  
Als ein slange getan. 2530  
Do su in nohen began,  
Die selbe tufeliche slange  
Beis Sed durch ein wange  
Einen bis also grosz,  
Das kam von der slangen schos 2535  
Er viel uff die erde nider,  
Doch kam er zu synnen wider.  
In der wile, do das geschach,  
Eua zu der slangen sprach:  
"Ach, verflüchete slange, 2540  
Wie oft und wie lange/  
Wyltu uns buwen leit ?  
Wer gap dir die krantheit,  
Das du getorst angereichen  
Minen sün, der gottes zeichen 2545  
Und sine forme um ym hat ?"

2522 Fol. 69v; quire indicator. 2529 H corrects engesclicher  
toengestlicher, the MS reads engestlicher. 2535 Das kam von:  
Das von M; schos: schuss (?), stoz (?) M. 2542 Fol. 70r;  
buwen: bruwen H. 2543 krantheit: karkheit H, kuonheit.



Der tūfel antwurt an der stat:

"Eua, in han dirs ee,

Jst nit unsee trugenheit

Gegen menschlichem kunne, 2550

Von der wir der hymel wunne

Sint behert und beroubet ?

Oder wie bistu betoubet ?

Mahtu nit uff dinem kragen

Dinen sun von hynnen tragen, 2555

Den ich do gebissen han ?

Du hettest doch maht daran,

Das du ehse des bömes fruht,

Von der du lidest soliche zūht,

Der ich ein aller meist 2560

Reter was und volleist,

Als du vil wol selber weist."

Sed kam zu synnen wider./

Er lag nit lenger nider,

Ouch versweig er nit das, 2565

Er sprach: "Vare in gottes has

Von uns, tufelicher geist,

Aller lügen volleist,

Verflücher vigent der worheit,

Ursprung der valscheit, 2570

Der die ersten lügen begie.

Flüch die gottes balde hie,

Das gebüt ich dir an gottes stat,

Der uns nach ymme gebildet hat,

Als in sine gūte twang und bat." 2575

DEr tufel sprach: "Ich vare von dir,

Als du hast gebotten mir."

Hiemitte er von ymme verswant.

2548 in: ich H. 2551 der: dem M. 2564 Fol. 70v.

2569 Verflücher: Verfluchter H. 2572 balde: bilde H.

2574 nach: a over a deletion. 2575 sine: sin H.

2576 DEr: D of 2-line depth, red.

Sed wart gesunt zu hant.  
Er hup sich, do er sich versan, 2580  
Mit Euen siner müter dan  
Vor des paradises tor  
Und logent do mit bette vor,/ 2585  
Myt clage, und Mit andaht,  
Und doten in aller aht,  
Als in Adam hat vor geseit.  
Umb das oley der barmhertzikeit  
Baten su mit willen,  
Domit su wolten stillen  
Adams smertzen und sin leit, 2590  
Das in twang mit bitterkeit.  
Und do su also logen  
In ir andaht clagen  
Gestreckt beide uff der erde,  
Sant Mychahel der werde, 2595  
Des paradises pflegere,  
Erschein in offenbere  
Und der selbe wandels fry  
Fürt eins olyboumes zwy  
Grüne in siner hant. 2600  
Er sprach: "Ich bin hargesant,  
Sed, gottes man, das ich dir sage,  
Das du dich mossest diner clage  
Und der williclichen bete,/ 2605  
Die du hast hie zu stete,  
Umb das oley der barmhertzikeit.  
Vur wore sie das dir geseit,  
Du solt darnach nit synnen,  
Du maht sin nit gewynnen,  
Bis das nach der zit, das ist wor, 2610  
Wann funff dusent zwy hundert jor

2584 Fol. 71r. 2593 clagen: und ir clagen M.  
2605 Fol. 71v. 2610 Bis das: Bis H.

Ende habent, und danne darnach  
Kunet des hymels obetach  
Herabe uff das ertrich,  
Ein kunig gar so mynneclich, 2615  
Gottes sun Jhesu Crist,  
Der ie was und jemer ist.  
Der wurt in dem Jordan  
Gedoiffet, das ist one won,  
Zu weschen menschlich geslehte 2620  
Von der angeborenen ehte,  
Die din müter und Adam  
Mit jr ungehorsam  
Brahten uff die erde weid,  
Dem funfftigen kunne zu leide./ 2625  
Ouch wil der selbe gottes sün,  
Als ich dir hie kunt tün,  
One allen widerstrit,  
Als nü kumpt die selige zit,  
Salben mit der süssikeit 2630  
Des oleys siner barmhertzikeit  
Über alle die seligen kint,  
Die darzu erwelet sint.  
Die müssen ouch sin erkorn  
Und an der stunde geboren 2635  
Von wasser und vom heiligen geist.  
Die zwey gebent allermeist  
Sture zu dem sussen leben,  
Das den getöifften wurt gegeben  
Von dem gottes fure herabe. 2640  
So wil der selbe hymel habe  
Dinen vatter gar gesunt  
Machen und in an der stunt  
Jn das paradis füren,

2624 weid: beide St. 2625 funfftigen: kunfftigen H.  
2626 Fol. 72r. 2632 Über alle: Uberal St. 2635 an der:  
ander. 2640 dem gottes fure: der gottes fur M.

Do er wol mag berüren/ 2645  
Den boum der barmhertzikeit,  
Von dem des lebens süssikeit  
One alle gebresten flüsset.  
Der fruht er danne müsset  
Völliclich uber alle jor. 2650  
Ouch wurt mit jmme der selen schar  
Gefüret jn das paradys here,  
Das su lebent jemer mere  
Mit fröiden one alle sere."  
Sed zu dem engel sprach: 2655  
"Was mir leides ie geschach,  
Das wil sich nü nuwen.  
Mich müsz von hertzen rüwen,  
Sol myn vatter so manig jor  
Ligen siech und fröiden bar, 2660  
Als du mir fur die worheit,  
Lieber engel, hast geseit.  
Das were ein jemerliche not.  
Jo were ymme besser den dot,  
Danne solicher smertze, der in ymme swert 2665  
Und des ouch nit one wirt/  
Jn funff dusent zwy hundert joren.  
One wie sol ich geboren,  
Sol er also manige stunde  
Ligen siech und ungesunde ? 2670  
Das machet myn fröide mat.  
Lieber engel, gip mir rat,  
Obe ich darzu tüge,  
Das ich erwenden müge  
Mines vatter arbeit." 2675

2646 Fol. 72v. 2649 müsset: nüsset M. 2655 Sed: S of  
2-line depth, red. 2664 den: der H. 2665 swert: swirt H.  
2667 Fol. 73r. 2668 One: Owe H; geboren: gebaren (?) H.

Der engel sprach: "Dir sie geseit,  
Von h<sup>u</sup>te an dem sehsten tage  
So endet sich Adams clage,  
Die er an dem libe hat,  
Umb die sele es anders stat, 2680  
Die müsz zur helle sin gevangen  
Bitze die jorzal ist zergangen.

Illus.[23]

Als ich dir han gesaget,  
Wanne der sehste tag betaget,  
So sol din vatter sterben 2685  
Und an dem libe verderben.  
Din ougen danne wunder sehent  
Von grossen zeichen, die geschehent  
An hymmel und an ertrich,  
Die begynnent clagen clegelich 2690  
Dins vatter do clagen./  
Ouch wil ich dir sagen,  
Wanne er ist begraben,  
So soltu zu einee zeichen haben  
Disen grünen oley zwyge, 2695  
Das dir ein zeichen sige  
Dins vatter urstende.  
Den stecke du mit der hende  
Zü' dins vatter houbet,  
Das uns wurt gloubet 2700  
Mir und dir die worheit,  
Wann als der zwig fruht treit,  
Das gloube den Worten myn,  
So erstot der vatter din  
Von dem tode an der stunt 2705

2678 H emends endes to endet, the MS reads endet. 2682 MS:  
ØBitze; rubric of Illus.[23]: Fol. 73v. 2683 Als: A of  
2-line depth, red. 2686 cf.2196 H. 2690 clagen clegelich:  
clegelich H. 2691 do: dot H. 2692 Fol. 74r. 2694 einee:  
eime HM. 2696 cf.3266.

Und ist danne ewiclich gesunt  
Und wurt siech niemer mere."  
Domitte der engel here  
Gap ymme den zwig in die hant.  
Vor iren ougen er verswant 2710  
Und fur, danne er was gesant.  
Sed was des zwiges fro./  
Zü siner müter sprach er do:  
"Wir sullent pflantzen wol den zwy  
Und jme fuhte machen by 2715  
Nach der lieben engels sage,  
Das er schier fruht trage,  
Das unser vatter schier erste  
Und er danne niemer me  
An dem libe wurt ungesund." 2720  
Ach lieber got, wie gar unkunt  
Sed und Eua, den zwein luten,  
Was des engels beduten.  
Wann als er in hatte gesiet,  
Als balde der zwig wucher treit, 2725  
So hat ein ende Adams pin,  
Das meinde er in dem synne sin,  
Wann die zit ende hette,  
Als er in vor seite,  
So kemme uff die erde herabe 2730  
Der reine süsse hymel habe,  
Und neme an sich die menscheit  
Durch vertiben unser leit,/br/>  
Und darzü sol der selbe zwy  
Wahssen, das der sunden fry 2735  
Gottes lamp daran ersturbe  
Und das leben uns erwurbe  
Mit sinem reinem tode.

So wurde von aller not  
Adams sele erlost 2740  
Und solt mit götlichem trost  
Maniger sele zu troste kummen.  
Sed die worheit het vernommen,  
Die yme der engel hette geseit,  
Und doch nit nach der worheit, 2745  
Wann yme was der wone by,  
Wenne des oleybömes zwy  
Nach siner art trüge früht,  
So solte von dötlicher süht  
Sin vatter Adam erston. 2750  
Das was ein kintlicher won,  
Wann es der engel anders niht  
Meinte, als die worheit giht,/  
Als ich do vor han geseit,  
Nuwen das die menscheit 2755  
Got an sich nemen wolte  
Und do mit lösen solte  
Adam, sint hantgeschafft,  
Und alle, die der krafft  
Hette gemachet zagehafft. 2760  
Wir süllent die rede nit lenger sparn.  
Eua und Sed, die do warn  
Zu dem paradise gesant,  
Su huben sich von danne zu hant  
Und kommen zu Adam wider, 2765  
Dem uber alle sin gelider  
Vil wirser was danne ee,  
Er schrey nit dann "we und we".  
Su sagten yme die mere,  
Wie jn erschinnen were 2770

2743 worheit: wort M. 2751 cf.451f. 2754 Fol. 75v.  
2758 sint: sin H. 2759 krafft: helle krafft H. 2761 Wir:  
W of 2½-line depth, red. 2770 H emends win jn to Wie in, the  
MS reads Wie jn.

Ein engel und hette in geseit,  
Das das oley der barmhertzikeit  
Nieman gewynnen kunde,/

Bis uff die selige stunde,  
Das der gottes sün keme, 2775  
Dem es allein zu geben gezeme.  
Ouch zöigeten sie jmme das risz  
Das usz dem paradis  
By dem engel was gesant.  
Das wart gestecket zu hant 2780  
Zu Adams houbeten sin,  
Dem verkeret was syn synn  
Zu leide, von we das geschach.  
Myt jomer zu Euam sprach:  
"Ach Eua, was hasstu geton, 2785  
Das hast mich, vil armen man,  
Und alles unser nachgeslehte  
Gesetzt in gottes ehte ?  
Jch weis wol harnach geschicht,  
Des mir myn gewissen giht, 2790  
Uber alle der welte kint,  
Die nach uns kunfftig sint,  
Die begynnent ouch verflüchen/  
Und uber uns roche süchen  
Von dem zornigen got, 2795  
Wider der süssen gebot  
Wir ein urkunde  
Sint gewesen aller sunde.  
Die harnach begynnent sprechen:  
"Here got, du solt rechen, 2800  
Das Eua und unser vatter Adam

2774 Fol. 76r. 2781 houbeten sin: houbete hin, cf.3076 H.  
2784 zu: er zu H. 2785 hasstu: hastu HM. 2786 Das: Das  
du H. 2789 harnach: was harnach H. 2794 Fol. 76v.  
2796 der: des H.



Mit unser ungehorsam  
Uns so manigvaltige leit  
Habent broht in arbeit,  
Des uns niemer ende wirt. 2805  
Die erde uns mit nöten birt,  
Do unser lip wurt von ernert.  
Maniger tugende sint wir verkert,  
Die wir williclichen solten haben.  
Von Euen het sich das erhaben, 2810  
Die die öppfel kunde veressen,  
Dovon uns hat besessen/  
Maniger slahte arbeit,  
Die die sunde uff ir treit."  
Dis wurt got vil dicke gecleit." 2815

Illus.[24]

Do Eua die rede erhorte,  
Von irem hertzen was gestöret  
Lutzel fröide die **do** was.  
Nie munt von wiben gelas  
So hertzecliche ruwe. 2820  
Jr smertze der was nuwe,  
Wanne su an der stunt/  
Von des hertzen grunt  
Grundeloses weinen brohte,  
Do su die unselde bedohte, 2825  
Das su aller der welte sunde  
Wer anevang und urkunde,  
Das trübet su in irem müte.  
Nieman lebete so unmüte

2802 unser: ir, cf.2623 M. 2804 in: und H. 2809 willic-  
lichen: billiclichen H. 2811 Die die: Die den, cf.2887.  
2813 Fol. 77r. 2816 Do: D of 2-line depth, red.  
2823 Fol. 77v; hertzen: hertzens HM. 2824 Grunde-  
loses: Endeloses (?) M. 2829 unmüte: unguete or ungemut M.

Er müste sich erbarmen 2830  
Über Eua, die vil armen,  
Der von ir fliessen die trehen sehe.  
Jr dotent drige smertzen we,  
Die su jemerlichen cleit.  
Züm ersten claget su das leit, 2835  
Das su noch des tufels rot  
Und von ir selbes myssedot  
Mit hertzecllichem leide  
Von der schönen ougenweide  
Des paradises were vertriben, 2840  
Und ir nit was bliben  
Keinerley genoden/  
Wann kumber und schaden.  
Dis was das erste leit.  
Das ander was das su cleit, 2845  
Das su verdienent hette  
Den yttewis der nach stete,  
Das man jemer saget do mere,  
Das su ein vinderin were  
Sunden und arbeit, 2850  
Domitte sich nū betreit  
Die welt, als man tegelich siht.  
Die welt pfliget anders niht,  
Nuwent sunde und arbeit.  
Kumber, schaden, und hertzeleit 2855  
Hat die welt bessessen,  
Das kam von dem essen,  
Das Eua unser müter det.  
Die dirte clage, die su het,  
(Wer kan das vollesagen 2860  
Das jemerliche clagen ?)

2843 Fol. 78r. 2847 der nach: darnach M.

2856 bessessen: besessen H. 2859 clage: final t deleted.

Das was umb iren lieben man,/
Der lag und sich nit versan
Von grymes siechtümes not,
Wann er lag an dem dot. 2865
Dis was ir meiste clage.
Sü sprach: "We disem tage,
Das ich den ie gelebet.
Min selde erste von mir strebet,
Sit ich mynem lieben man 2870
Leider nit gehelffen kan,
Der so jemerliche quilt.
Minen lip es nit bevilt,
Obe es gottes wille were,
Das ich vor jn litte die swere. 2875
Die sunde frumete alleine ich,
Dovon were billich,
Das ich den smertzen eine litte.
Lieber got, sit ich dich bitte,
Sende den smertzen an myn lip." 2880
Sus quelte sich das arme wip
Mit driger hande leit,/
Das su hertziclichen cleit
Mit des weinens bitterkeit.
Wellich mensche Eue flüchet 2885
Und darumbe roche süchet,
Das su den appfel as
Und Adam was ir gemas,
Der sundet sere daran,
Wann, als ich mich versten kan, 2890
Got verhangete darumbe der sunde,
Das su were er urkunde
Siner grossen barmhertzikeit,
Und das er die menscheit

2863 Fol. 78v. 2876 cf.891f. 2883 Fol. 79r.

2885 Wellich: W of 2-line depth, red. 2892 were er: were H.

Wolte nemen an sich, 2895  
Als die buch bewisent mich.  
Obe nū nieman sunde dete,  
Was were dann, das do bette  
Unsern heren zu erbarmen sich ?  
Es ist gar wönlich, 2900  
Got alle welt beslossen hat  
Under den sünden myssetat,/   
Darumbe das su sich erkennen  
Und in erbermyg nennen,  
Von dem die erbarmikeit flüsset, 2905  
Der manig sunder genüsset,  
Und glouben one valschen list,  
Das sin erbermde merer ist,  
Dann aller welt myssedat.  
Wer ist, der synne hat, 2910  
Der gottes erbermde müge gesagen ?  
Der müsz an worten gar versagen.  
Der sternemenge, des meres gries  
Sich nach lihter zelen lies,  
Danne gottes barmhertzikeit, 2915  
Die zu entpfohen ist bereit  
Den sunder, als schier er ir gert  
Mit ruwen, so wurt er gewert,  
So su an yme wurt gemert.  
Nū griffen wir wider an 2920  
Die rede, do ichs gelossen han.  
Adam lag mit smertzen nach/  
Und lebete kume iedoch,  
Und als der engel hette gesaget,  
Do der sehste tag betaget, 2925  
Er wüste wol die zit,  
Das er des tages one strit

Des todes sterben solt,  
Und als es gott wolt.  
Eua und sine kint, 2930  
Der lxij gezalet sint,  
Die stunden do mit grosser clage.  
Und do es nohete mittem tage  
Adam der halbe dote man  
Blickete die kint mit jomer an. 2935  
Er clagete mit grossem leiden,  
Das er sich solte scheiden  
Den sins selbes smertzen,  
Den er leit von hertzen.  
Er sprach: "Lieben kindelin, 2940  
Verendet sint die tage myn.  
Ich bin, als ich han gezalt,/br/>Nüwen hundert und drissig jor alt.  
Nü bitte ich, lieben kint, als ich  
Sterbe, so begrabent mich 2945  
Ostern gegen der sunnen schin."  
Hiemitte er die hende sin  
Gegen got zu hymel bot.  
Jmme brach der gryme dot,  
So er jemerlichen schrey: 2950  
"Hertze", sprach er, "brich enzwey,  
Das ich sterbe an dirre frist,  
Wanne myn leben unnütze ist.  
Dovon, got vatter myn,  
Dü dinre gnaden schin, 2955  
Wis mir nit also hert  
Zu mynre hinferte,  
Sit du bist alleine güt.  
Gerüche die engelsche hüt

2929 Und als: Als M. 2931 lxij: lxi, cf.2118 M.

2934 halbe dote: halbdote H. 2938 Den sins: Von sin H.

2943 Fol. 80v. 2952 sterbe: corrected r.

Minre armen selen schaffen, 2960  
Die du, here, hast beschaffen.  
Die hastu geben mir,/

Die habe ouch hien wider dir,  
Und gerüche, here, ir geleite sin  
In das hymelriche din 2965  
Vur din lieplich antlitz,  
Das zu fröiden ist so nütze."  
Domitte die sprache er geleite  
Mit jemerlicher bitterkeite,  
So das man horte brachen 2970  
Sin hertze als ein ture krachen,  
Wanne er was ein starcker man.  
Darnach er sufftzen began,  
Alsus er den geist lie.  
Zu hant der sunnen schin zergie, 2975  
Der mon und die sternen clor  
Burgent ir schöne, das ist wor,  
Bitze an den subenden tag.  
Der hymel und sine ziere erschrack.  
Grosser erbtidemen wart 2980  
Von Adams hinefart,  
Der do leider do lag./  
Die clage nieman vollesagen mag,  
Die Eua und die kint begingent.  
Mit grosser jomer umbefingen 2985  
Seth und das arme wip  
Adam der doten lip.  
Do wart offte geschruwen "we".  
Darzü das arme wip schre,  
Do su weinende lag 2990  
Uff Adam und pflag  
Niht wann bitterliche clage.

2963 Fol. 81r. 2970 brachen: brechen H, krachen St.  
2971 ture krachen: durre rechen H, durren spachen St.  
2980 erbtidemen: erbtideme H. 2982 do: dot H.  
2983 Fol. 81v; quire indicator. 2987 der: den H.  
2990 weinende: inserted en.

Sie rieff lüte: "We disem tage,  
Der mir hüte zu leide erluhte.  
Niht yemerliche mich duhte, 2995  
Obe ich, lieber herre myn,  
Solte mit dir dot syn,  
Wann ich han dir verlorn han,  
Was ich fröiden ye gewan.  
Du were ye myn hōhester hort und trost, 3000  
Der mich offte von kumber loste.  
Wer sol nü, here, drosten mich,  
Sit ich han verlorn dich ?/  
Du were so güt und reine,  
Das ich dich billich weine. 3005  
Din tot git mir sterben.  
Min hertze müsz verderben  
Von leide jemer mere.  
Ich weis niht, war ich kere,  
Sit du mir, here, bist gelegen, 3010  
Des müs ich verkiesen das leben  
Und furbas niht wann jamers pflegen."

Illus.[25]

Ich wene nieman lebet so wiser,  
So junger nach so gryser,  
Der enfolen konne gedencken 3015  
Die wort und die clage sencken,  
Die Eua hette und die kint.  
Alle die nu lebendig sint  
Möhtent nit vollesagen  
Das jemerliche clagen, 3020  
Das die dohter und die knehte hetten.

2998 han: an H. 3000 delete ye (?) H. 3004 Fol. 82r.  
3010 mir: min (?) M. 3011 Des mus ich verkiesen das leben:  
Muss ich des lebens mich bewegen, cf.413, 423 H. 3013 Fol. 82v;  
Ich: I of 2-line depth, red. 3015 gedencken: ze dencken (?),  
in sin gedencken (?) M.

Das war ir reht, su billich deten.  
Su clagetent jn billich,  
Den hymel und ertrich  
Und was jn vestenunge hat beslossen 3025  
Mit gemeinem rat das got hat gegossen,  
Clagetent mit bitterkeit  
Sin dot was in allen leit.  
Das scheine an dem mone wol,  
Mone und sternen worent völ 3030  
Leides durch Adams dot.  
Ouch clagetent in, als got gebot,/  
Der erwücher und alle ir art,  
Die ie von got geschaffen wart.  
Die boume falwen begunden, 3035  
Die ursprunge von den brunnen,  
Die faste zu tale flussen,  
Jre treffte su nit genüssen.  
Sü müstent gar stille stan  
Und clageten den doten man. 3040  
Den vischen det jn dem see  
Adams dot we.  
Die vogel fielen umberal  
Von den lufften herabe zu tale.  
Die wilden diere und die zammen 3045  
Clagetent den heren Adammen.  
Mit clegelichem syt.  
Do erzöigeten su mit,  
Das er jr here were gewesen,

3022 Das war ir reht subillich deten: Das ir reht was sü deten,  
or Das die dohter und die knehte/ Deten, das was ir rehte H.  
3025 in vestenunge: ir vestnunge H. 3026 Mit gemeinem rat das  
got hat gegossen: H suggests Das got hat gegossen/ Mit gemeinem  
rate, or Das got hat gegossen/ Mit siner handgetate/ Mit gemeinem  
rate. DB gives: Das got hate gegossen,/ Und was er beslossen/  
In ir vestnunge hate/ Mit gemeinem rate. 3027 MS: bitterkeit.  
3029 dem mone: der sunne, cf.2975f. 3033 Fol. 83r; erwucher:  
erd wucher M. 3035 begunden: begunnen H. 3036 brunnen: r  
over deleted letter. 3038 treffte: creffte HM. 3044 tale:  
tal HM.



Wanne wir fur wore lesen, 3050  
Das er trachen und lewen gebot  
Und andern tieren, das sie durch not  
Müstent wurcken und pflüge ziehen/  
Und durfftent des niht entpfiehen,  
Su müstent alle gehorsam, 3055  
Die er in gebot, tün Adam.  
Sus wart die jemerliche clage  
Gemein nach der büch sagen  
Sehs tage und sehs tage.  
Als ich vorgesprochen han, 3060  
Nu lag Adam, der dote man,  
Jn dem bette huse das er het  
Gebuwen. Eua und Seth,  
Sin lieber sün und sin wip,  
Hettent der toten lip 3065  
Mit armen beslossen.  
Su hettent jn begossen  
Mit der zeher unden.  
Nu sehent wo an den stunden  
Got, unser here, kam dar 3070  
Mit aller engelschen schar,  
Domit die reine sele.  
Der engel furste sante Mychahele  
Jn sine engelsche gewant/  
Myt der selen stunt zu hant 3075  
Zu Aadams houbet hin.  
Er sprach: "Was sol der sin  
Dir und dem armen wibe,  
Das es lit uff dime libe  
Mit unzymelicher clage ? 3080

3054 Fol. 83v. 3058 sagen: sage H. 3059 Sehs tage und:  
Sehs nehte und H. 3060 Als: A of 2-line depth, red.  
3065 der: den H. 3072 Domit die reine sele: Da kam ouch  
mit der reinen sele DB. 3074 sine engelsche: sinem engelschen  
St, DB. 3075 Fol. 84r. 3079 dime: sime H.

Stant uff, als ich dir sage,  
Abe dem toten licham  
Und besihe was mit Adam  
Unser here habe gedaht,  
Mit der gotheit ist vollebroht, 3085  
Dem zü tün ist nit zu vil,  
Das er sich erbarmen wil  
Uber sine hantgetat,  
Adam, den er gewircket hat  
Nach siner gotheit gestalt, 3090  
Durch den der tufel wart gevalt  
In die wise manigvalt."  
Do su den engel vernommen,  
Su stunden uff von Adammen,  
Setht und das arme wip 3095  
Und rumeten den doten lip./  
Sü student uff hoher bas,  
Von weinen worent ir ougen nas,  
Wanne leider vor in tot lag,  
Der ir ee mit truwen pflag 3100  
Manigen tag und manig jor.  
Hiemit alle der engel schar  
Mit unserm herren got  
Hübent alle ir lop.  
Jr styme lute herklungen 3105  
Mit schalle sungen  
Su alle alsus:  
"Benedictus domynus,  
Gelobet siest du, here und got,  
Geendet ist din gebot. 3110  
Dir zymmet wol lop und ere  
Von angenge und jemer mere.  
Du hymel ziere, du sunnen glast,  
Wis gelobet, das du hast

3085 ist vollebroht: vollebroht M. 3097 Fol. 84v.  
3103 got: gote M. 3104 lop: note M. 3105 herklungen:  
erklungen H.

Mit dinre barmunge rat 3115  
Herlöset dine hantgetat  
Und dirre welte arbeit./  
Des sie dir lop und ere geseit  
Vor und nü und ewiclichen."  
Nü sohent schinberlichen 3120  
Eua und ir sün Seht,  
Was got mit Adam det.  
Er wart siner güte ermant.  
Er leit sine götliche hant  
Uff das houbet. Adams sele 3125  
Er entpfalch su sant Mychahele.  
Er sprach: "Es sol din ampt sin  
Von dem gewalt myn,  
Das du aller lute geist,  
Die du in rehtem leben weist 3130  
Leitest zu hymelriche.  
Aber nü gemeinliche  
Müsz alles menschlich geslehte  
Wesen jn myner ehte,  
Es wol oder ubel tu, 3135  
Es müsz der helle kommen zu.  
Als ouch dise sele hie,  
Die mich nach müte nie,  
One zu der ersten mysetat./  
Das mag ouch nit wesen rat, 3140  
Su müsse von dem zorne myn  
Mit andern selen zu helle sin,  
Bis an die lesten zit,  
Als ich den dot uber strit.  
So wurde der zorn hiengeleit 3145  
Zwüschent myner gotheit  
Und menschlichem kunne.

3116 Herlöset: Erlöset H. 3117 Und: Von M. 3118 Fol. 85r.  
3131 MS: leite~~st~~. 3135 Es: Ob es H. 3138 cf.1776 H.  
3140 Fol. 85v. 3146 Zwüschent: corrected w.

So kume ich mit grosser wunne  
Und mit götlicher crafft  
Und zerbrich die helle hafft. 3150  
Die mynen willen hant begangen,  
Die löse ich mit gewaltes hant  
Von der vorhellen bant.  
Doch zu vörderst und allermeist  
Wil ich lösen disen geist, 3155  
Adam, myn hantgetat,  
Und wil ymme geben stat  
By mir jn dem höchsten throne,  
Wann ich in nach mynre persone  
Mit mynre hant gewircket han./ 3160  
Des wil ich jn geniessen lan.  
Als verendet wurt die zit,  
So wurt one allen widerstrit  
Syne fröide gemeret  
Und sine swere verkeret 3165  
Jn wunne, der nit ende wurt.  
Die wunne der nit ende wurt. 3166a  
Die wunne mynre fröide birt,  
Die er mit mir haben sol.  
Der eren gan ich ymme wol.  
Zu der zit das geschiht, 3170  
Als mich Adam zu helle siht.  
Als lange ist myn erbarmekeit  
Durch der lute boszheit  
Verborgen under der gotheit."  
Do dis also verendet wart, 3175  
Nu wart nit lenger gespart:  
Die arme sele wart gegeben  
Der helle, das su solte leben  
Jn der vinsten bis an die frist,

3150 a line is missing and M suggests: Do die selen sint  
befangen. 3161 Fol. 86r. 3167 mynre: myne M. 3175 Do:  
O of 2-line depth, red.

Als davor geschriben ist, 3180  
Wenn der zorne wurde hingeleit/  
Zwuschent der gotheit  
Und menschlicher art.  
Owe der jemerlichen vart.  
Die arme A Adams sele 3185  
Vant den getruwen A bel  
Gefangen jn der helle bant,  
Den sines brüder hant  
Slüg one alle schulde.  
Wie er ein ubel gulde 3190  
Aller gerehtikeit were,  
Doch müste er liden swere  
Jn der vorhelle stat.  
Owe der clagehafften gedat,  
Von der gefrummet wart, 3195  
Das man von menschlicher art  
Güte selige lute waren  
Und müsten jn die wise faren,  
Das su jnne zu büsse bitten,  
Bis der dot wurde uberstritten, 3200  
Do er an dem crutze starp,/br/>Der jr Losunge erwarp,  
Dovon der helle furste verdarp.  
DER rede su gewigen hie.  
Unser here schin lie, 3205  
Wie lieb er A adam het.  
Sine gnade und sine güte er det  
Völliche an yme do.  
Mit zwein engeln schüff er so,  
Das eine was sante Mychahel, 3210  
Der ander engel hies Gabriel,

3182 Fol. 86v. 3190 ubel gulde: Übergulde H. 3196 man:  
nu (?) H. 3199 Das: Do (= Dar) M. 3202 Fol. 87r.  
3204 su gewigen: sie gewigen H; DER: D of 2-line depth,  
red. 3210 was: war HM.

Als wir lesen fur wor,  
Das su balde brahten dar  
Zwey snewissee rehte cleit  
Mit engelscher hant bereit. 3215  
Do wurdent nach der doten sitte  
Der here Adam gedecket mitte  
Und der rehtikeit hort,  
Abel, der uff dem velde dort  
Manig jare was dot gelegen, 3220  
Dem sunne, wint, nach der regen  
Nie geschadet umb ein har./  
Er was unverfulet gar  
Bliben und one alle mole.  
An ymme schein niergent ein hole, 3225  
Als nü an andern doten licham.  
Er wart mit Adam  
Begraben zu dem grabe.  
Got, der süsse hymel habe,  
Volget nach den lichem 3230  
Mit scharen wunneclichen.  
Das grüne oleyboumes risz,  
Das usz dem paradis  
By dem engel was gesant,  
Das trüg ein engel in der hant 3235  
Bis do das grap was bereit,  
Daryn wart Adam geleit  
Und sin lieber sun Abel.  
Der engel furste sante Mychahel  
Und alle engelsche schar 3240  
Datent in ir rehte gar  
Nach todes fleischlicher art.  
Von luten nie gesehen wart/

3214 sne wisse: snewise H; rehte cleit: recleit DB.

3223 Fol. 87v. 3225 hole: according to M the rhyme requires hale so he suggests vale (= valwe, valheit), St disagrees.

3230 lichem: lichen HM. 3236 Bis do das: inserted do.

3242 todes fleischlicher: tode fleischliche H, Spr disagrees.

Die in so hohem werde  
Bestatent wurdent zu der erde, 3245  
Als die zwene man hie.  
Die erde die licham enpfie.  
Mit wunneclicher schonheit  
Wurdent su do hingeleit  
Von den engelschen geisten. 3250  
Sus kundent su leisten  
Das dugentliche gebot,  
Das in unser here got  
Gebot zu leisten. An der stet  
Sant Michahel sprach zu Seht 3255  
Und zu Euen: "Ir süllent sehen,  
Mercken, und vil ange sphehen,  
Wie die liche hie  
Begangen ist, das ir sie  
Dünt uuern dotten ouch." 3260  
Manig edeler süsser rouch  
Wart do gesmecket.  
Der oley zwig wart gestecket,  
Als ich bewiset bin,/   
Zu Adams houbeten hin, 3265  
Das es ein urkunde were,  
Wenne es wurde fruhtbere,  
Das danne Adam erlost wurde  
Von der vinstern helle burde,  
Do er jnne was gefangen. 3270  
Nu die begrebende ist begangen  
Mit engelscher wirdikeit.

3244 Fol. 88r. 3245 Bestatent: Bestatet HM; wurdent: wurde M, Spr disagrees. 3247 licham: lichen. 3253 unser: first two letters inserted. 3257 ange sphehen: angespehen HM, ange spehen St. 3259 ir sie: ir's ie (?) M, DB. St disagrees. 3265 Fol. 88v; houbeten: houbete, cf.2781, 3076 H. 3266 after Das the word were deleted in red with four red dots below. 3267 cf.2696 es: er (?) H.

Got, aller engel heiligkeit,  
Schüff das sich die himmel neigeten,  
Die iren dienst erzöigeten, 3275  
Su entpfingent jn dar  
Mit siner egelschen schar,  
Wanne er jr ziermacher was.  
Der selben hymel palas  
Gip uns, here, durch dine gnade, 3280  
Do keiner slahte schade  
Nach gebreste risent jne,  
Durch die güte und durch die mynne,  
Die gegen Adam hielt,/ 3285  
Do du ymme die götliche hant beziert,  
Und in von der hellen erlostete.  
Do kome du zu troste  
Dinre reinen hantgetat  
Durch die sunde und durch den rat,  
Domitte der zorn wart hingeleit 3290  
Zwüschent dinre gotheit  
Und den sunderen.  
Ruche uns von den swern  
Lösen aller myssetat  
Nach diner barmunge rat. 3295  
La uns, here, des geniessen,  
Das sich hie besliessen  
Dine starcke götheit  
Jn unsere swachen forme cleit.  
Gedencke an dinre mynne crafft 3300  
Das wir von den sunden hafft.  
Dovon lere uns ruwe pflegen  
Und wise uns abe der sunden wegen  
Durch dinre siten blütes regen./

3284 Die gegen Adam hielt: Der du gegen Adam hielt H.

3285 Fol. 89r; Do du ymme die götliche hant beziert: D in din götliche hant behielt H. 3289 sunde: sune M. 3297 hie: lie M

3301 von den: vremden M, vermieden BB, vonen or vonen der St.



Illus.[26]

Die herre nu bestetet sint. 3305  
Mit leide schiet von dannen die kint,  
Beide dohter und degen,  
Die müstent grosses jamers pflegen.  
Dannach bliben by dem grabe  
Mit jemerlicher habe 3310  
Eua und Seth ir sun.  
Su begudent jn der masse tün,  
Also den hertzeleit beschiht./  
Jr jamer halff su lenger niht.  
Von leide su zu der erden vielen. 3315  
Us der beider ougen wielen  
Die heissen trehen als ein bach.  
Eua do mit jomer sprach:  
"Ach, mich vil armes wip.  
Was sol mir leben und lip, 3320  
Sit du, here und lieber man,  
Mich hunder dir hast gelan  
Hie in disem jamertal ?  
Ach, solte ich haben die wale  
Von gotte unserm heren, 3325  
Was möhte mir dann geweren,  
Das ich sterben solte mit dir ?  
So were wol geschehen mir.  
Wir worent ie mit libe jn eime synn,  
Jn gantzer truwen schin 3330  
Zwüschent uns beiden,  
So ist der dot unbescheiden,

rubric of Illus.[26]: Fol. 89v. 3305 herre: herren H;  
Die : D of 2-line depth, red. 3306 schiet: schiedent M.  
3307 MS: dohter. 3310 habe: ungehabe, cf.3371 Spr and St.  
3314 Fol. 90r. 3322 hunder: hinder H. 3325 heren:  
herren H. 3326 geweren: gewerren H. 3329 H corrects worent  
to worent, MS reads worent; jn eime synn: in ein H and St.  
3330 Jn gantzer truwen schin: Ie gantze truwe schein H.

Der dich eine hat ermort./  
Ach herre, mynre selden hort,  
Jch solte mit dir dot wesen. 3335  
One dich kan ich nit genesen.  
Min trost, myn froiden, myn selikeit  
Ist mit dir zu grabe geleit.  
An dir ist dot, vil lieber man,  
Was ich eren ie gewan. 3340  
Owe, ach mir vil armen.  
Jch wene, vil lutzel erbarmen  
Dem hohen got von hymelrich,  
Aller gnaden ist nit glich,  
Sit du, liber here Adam, 3345  
Von mynre ungehorsam  
Bist gefallen in den dot.  
Owe, ach, und we der not,  
Das ich mich des onen müsz,  
Der mir je det sorgen büsz, 3350  
Der mich truwen het gewent,  
Nach dem sich myn hertze sent./  
Ach bitter tot, du büsse hie,  
Was du dete mit leides ye.  
Fure mich die selbe vart, 3355  
Dine crafft nit lenger werde gespart.  
Ach mir vil armen wibe.  
Brich von mynem libe  
Mine sele mit bitterkeit.  
Owe, dot, du bist verzert. 3360  
Schühest du ein armes wip ?  
Zwor ich han so blöden lip,  
Das du mich bringest dohin  
Von dannen ich bekommen bin,

334 Fol. 90v; herre: corrected second r. 3337 froiden:  
fröide H. 3344 Aller: Dem aller St. 3349 onen = anen H.  
3353 Fol. 91r. 3357 Ach: An H. 3360 verzert: verzeit H.

Das ich wurde zu eschen und zu erden 3365  
Nach mynre clage gerde.  
Eyn, tufel, an dirre frist  
Wanne myn leben und myn genyst  
An mynem herren erstorben ist."  
Der nū reines hertze habe, 3370  
Der clage die grosse ungehabe,  
Die Eua by dem grabe het.  
Ir sūn, der getruwe Seth,  
Bat, su wol gehalten sich.  
Ouch claget er also clegelich, 3375  
Das es nieman kunde gesagen.  
Man hörte den sufftzen die trehe iagen  
Uff von des hertzen grunt.  
Min synne, myn zunge, nach myn munt  
Zu rehte nit betuten mag, 3380  
Das jamer das das wip pflag  
Mit clage bitze an den sehsten tag.  
Dem nu geschicht hertzeleit  
Und das leit wurt so geleit,  
Das leidiclich ein hertzeleit 3385  
Mit leide das ander treit,  
So das leit nach leide geschicht  
Und doch ein leit das ander niht  
Mit leide mag veryagen,  
Des hertze müszi schiere verzagen 3390  
An frölichen sachen.  
Wenne mit des hertzen krachen  
Aller leidest ye geschach,  
Das leit und das ungemach  
Kan sich nit glichen here 3395

3367 Ein: Eia M. 3370 Der: D of 2-line depth, red.  
3371 ungehabe: final e in red. 3374 Fol. 91v.  
3377 trehe: trehen H. 3381 das das: des das H.  
3383 Dem: D of 2-line depth, red. 3392 Wenne: Weme H.  
3394 Fol. 92r.

zu dem hertzeclichen sere,  
Das Euen ist beschehen hie.  
Ein leit was, das ubergie  
Unsers heren erste gebiet.  
Das ander leit, das su schiet 3400  
Usz dem schönen paradise.  
Das dirte, das su trügwise  
Wider Adams rat  
So gahes usz der büsse trat.  
Das vierde, das getrüwe hort, 3405  
Abel ir sun, wart ermort,  
Der Kayn sin bruder slug.  
Jr was leides genüg  
An disen leiden gescheen.  
Doch hette su einteil veryehen 3410  
Den manigfaltigen ungemach,  
Der jegeliches durchbrach  
Besonders jr hertze./  
Der selbe grosse smertze  
Was ir ein teil entsliffen. 3415  
Nu het su aber begriffen  
Alles des leides dach,  
Das jr zu leide ie geschach.  
Ey, wie do ein hertzeleit  
Mit leide das ander treit, 3420  
Und das ytlich leit doch  
Bleip an sinem vollen nach.  
Ernuwet ist ymme alles leit  
Mit ungefüger bitterkeit,  
Wanne er do begraben wart, 3425  
Der yr naht und manig dag  
Mit liebe hette vertriben hien.

3398 das: das sü M. 3405 getrüwe: der truwe H. 3407 Der:  
Den H. 3410 veryehen: versehen (?) M. 3414 Fol. 92v.  
3418 leide: leiden H. 3423 ymme: ir M. 3425 wart: lag St.

Zu solicher clage ist myn synn  
Zu konig, das ich su sage gar.  
Mere eins weis ich fur war: 3430  
Der bitterlichen smertze  
Ersüchete gar ir hertze  
Und alle ire glide darzu,  
Das su nit möhte nü  
Gehaben keinre slahte wort. 3435  
Sus lag su vil nohe dot dort  
Bis an den selben morgen hie,  
Das jr lip nie enpfie  
Weder trang nach essen.  
Also hette su bessessen 3440  
Des todes bitter geschicht.  
Nu summet sich ein engel niht,  
Dovon hymel wart gesant.  
By dem grabe er vant  
Die arme Eua ligen nach 3445  
Und Seth jren lieben süh jedoch,  
Dem ouch von leide sin hertze brach.  
Zu in beiden er do sprach:  
Höre, Seth und armes wip,  
Jr söllent keinen doten lyp 3450  
Nyt clagen uber sehs tage.  
Der subende tag, als ich uch sage,  
Jst ein zeichen ane wende/  
Der kunfftigen urstende,  
So unser here wil erstan, 3455  
Nach leide fröide eren daran.  
Do got der welte umbring  
Beschaffen hat und alle ding,  
Jn sehs tagen das ergie,  
Den subenden tag er gevie 3460  
Zu rasten von dem wercke sin.

3429 konig: krang H. 3434 Fol. 93r. 3437 selben: sehsten,  
cf.3382, 3476 M; hie: ie M. 3443 Dovon: Der von H.  
3454 Fol. 93; quire indicator. 3456 eren daran: und eren  
han M.

Dovon folgent der lere myn,  
Von got rot ich uch das,  
Jr sülent nit clagen furbas  
Die toden nuwent sehs tage 3465  
Und doch mit menschlicher clage."  
Der engel mit der rede verswant.  
Der kunde komment einteil zu hant  
Zu dem grabe, do jr müter lag  
Und grosser ungehabe pflag. 3470  
Zu leit kerte sich ir synn.  
Su brahten zu herberge hin/  
Su und jren bruder Seth.  
Jr jomer jn vil we tet,  
Ernuwet was ir aller clage. 3475  
Dis was an dem sehsten tage.  
Nach was es vinsten, das ist war,  
Über alles ertrich gar  
Sit von Adams dot  
Befangen was mit sender not, 3480  
Was der hymel hette bedaht.  
Mit leide gie hin die naht.  
Des morgens an dem subenden tage  
Het ein ende die gemeine clage.  
Die sunne von hymmel her zu tal 3485  
Erluhte die welt ublich.  
Die wasser wider engüssen,  
Die vische wider flussen  
Nach jr art als ee.  
Die vogel trurten nit me, 3490  
Su übetent wider jren gesang.  
Die tiere, die ee die vinstere twang,/br/>Liefent nach jrem müte  
Zu walde und wo su dühte güt.

3466 menschlicher: maeslicher M. 3468 Der kunde koment:  
Der künde kom H. 3473 Fol. 94r. 3481 bedaht: b corrected  
out of a g. 3493 Fol. 94v; Lieffent: L is decorated with an  
animal. 3494 MS: güt

Die böyme und die blümelin 3495  
Frowetent sich der sunnen schin.  
Und als wir an der geschrifft lesen,  
Was ee trurig was gewesen,  
Das was an truren genesen.

Illus.[27]

Wie die liechte sunne den tag 3500  
Erluhte als su ee pflag,  
Des frowet sich alles ertrich.  
Eua aber jemerlich  
Lag dort in amahten.  
Der liechte tag wart jr nahten, 3505  
Weder su gehort nach gesach.  
Der tot su bitterlichen brach,  
Wanne su, als got wolte,  
Des tages sterben solte.  
Die kint komment alle dar 3510  
Und noment ires smertzen war.  
Do su nu gesamment woren,  
Man sach su clegelich geboren  
Umb jr müter, die do lag  
Und grosser unkrefftten pflag. 3515  
Dis was der kinde clage.  
Do es nohete mittem tage,  
Eua sich do wunder versan,  
Die rede ouch su wider gewan:  
"Owe, lieber herre Adam,"/ 3520  
Sprach su, "Din vil süsser nam  
Müsse von gotte geseigent sin.  
Nach dem libe die sele myn  
Müsse dinen dot uff ir tragen  
Und ewiclich mit leide clagen. 3525

3500 Fol. 95r; Wie: W of 2-line depth, red; liechte: lihte HM.  
3508 \$U: followed by a deleted y. 3518 wunder: wider M.  
3521 Fol. 95v.

Owe, Adam mynneclich,  
Den tugenden wart nie glich,  
Die du mir offte hast erzöiget.  
Der dot hat geneiget  
An dir aller bester man, 3530  
Der mannes nammen je gewan.  
Ach here, mynes hertzen drüt,  
Din güte, stille, und uberlut  
Kunde mich lieplich truwen.  
Mich müsz jemer ruwen, 3535  
Das ich so lange gelebet nach dir.  
Das ist nu verlihen mir,  
Das ich hute sterben sol.  
Den tot ich williclichen dol,  
Durch das myn sele nach gesehe 3540  
Dine reine sele und ir veryehe/  
Der leit, die ir gescheen sint.  
Su worent hie gliche gemynt,  
So süllent su ouch haben glich billich  
Jn jenner welt, was jn geschiht. 3545  
Myne arme sele, nu sume dich niht."  
Do die rede het ein ende,  
Zu hymel reichete su ir hende.  
Die kint su vor ir sach.  
Mit clageston zu in su sprach: 3550  
"Liebene kint, nu hörent mich.  
Erfüllet ist die zit, das ich  
Hute sterben sol und müsz.  
Von mynem tode ist nit ein füşz.  
Min hertze myt sere ist überladen. 3555  
Besonders von gottes gnaden

3529 geneiget: geveiget (?) H. 3530 aller: den aller H;  
bester: besten H. 3534 mich: mit M, ich. 3542 Fol. 96r.  
3544 glich billich: gelicht M. 3547 Do: D of 2-line depth,  
red. 3550 clageston: clagenston H. 3551 Liebene: Lieben H.



Bin ich des todes gewert,  
Des ich von hertzen han begert.  
Dovon vernement das ich uch kunde:  
Von der angebornen sunde 3560  
Under uwerme kumber uffstat/  
Als unmenschliche myssetat,  
Das got durch die boszheit  
Uwer vil verderben lat  
Zu aller slahte beschafft 3565  
Mit des wassers güsse krafft.  
Uwer vier manne und vier wip  
Genesent und behaltent iren lip.  
Der some so wite danne burt,  
Das von in erquicket wurt 3570  
Ein welt mehtig und grosz.  
So wurt manig ruch blosz,  
Do ee walt ist gestanden,  
Das wurt gerütet mit den handen,  
Die wilde erbuwen und gezamt. 3575  
Wenne die welt wurt gesamt  
An ir tugende aller beste,  
So kummet dann zu leste  
Unsers herren gerihtes tag, was ist  
Daran sich nit verhelen mag. 3580  
Als mir seit der geist myn,  
So kommet ein regen furin/  
Und brennet lute und ertrich.  
So wurt eben und glich  
Beide berge und tal. 3585  
Das geschicht uber ale.  
Vurbas ist mir zu wissen niht,  
Was ergat und geschicht.  
Das ist in gottes tougen.

3561 kumber: kunne H. 3562 Fol. 96v; unmenschliche:  
unmaesliche (?) M. 3564 Uwer vil: Übervil (?), Überal (?) H;  
lat: leit M. 3567 Uwer: Nuwer M, Nuwan Spr. 3577 ir  
tugende: ir ende (?) H. 3583 Fol. 97r. 3586 uber ale:  
Überal H ;

Lieben kint, sunder lougen 3590  
Han ich uch darumbe gesaget,  
Das ir sorge darzu tragt  
Und hütent uch vor böser dat.  
Das ist myn bete und myn rat,  
Der rat mir von hertzen gat. 3595  
Lieben kint, nu bitte ich mere,  
Dunt mir müterliche ere,  
Bestatent mynen lichnam  
Zu mynem lieben heren Adam,  
Das myne sitte rüre die sinen 3600  
Und sin reiner lip den mynen.  
So hant jr mir wol getan,/br/>Wanne ich mit ymme müsz erstan  
An der jungesten zit,  
Als got der welte ende git. 3605  
Domitte wil ich uwer leben  
In unsers heren schirme ergeben,  
Das er uwer müsse pflegen  
Mit sinem götlichen segen,  
Wanne ich nu sterben müsz. 3610  
Der tot düt mir sorgen büsz."  
Hiemitte su von bete gie,  
Su viel an jre baren kneie  
Und reichet jre hende hin zu got.  
Su lobet sine gnade und sin gebot 3615  
Mit hertzen und mit munde,  
So su aller beste kunde.  
Domitte die sele von jr schiet.  
Nach unsers heren gebiet  
Müste su ouch zu helle faren, 3620  
Do su Adammen und erbaren  
Abeln in der vinsten vant./

3592 M emends Dar to Das, MS reads Das. 3596 Lieben: L of  
2-line depth, red. 3600 sinen: sin H. 3601 mynen: myn H.  
3603 Fol. 97v. 3612 bete: bette H. 3621 erbaren: ir barn H.

Die kint noment zu hant  
Jre müter und begyngent jr  
Begrebede mit grosser zier 3625  
Und mit grossen hochziten.  
Su wart zu Adam sitten  
Mit grosser eren begraben.  
Als wir ee gedocht haben,  
Das grüne oleybömes zwy 3630  
Stecket nach das dem grabe by.  
Schöne grünen das began,  
Duch sprungent löiber daran.  
Do das Aadams kint ersohen,  
Under in selber su yohen: 3635  
"Got wil unser hertzeleit,  
Also uns der engel hat geseit,  
Verkeren jn kurtzer frist,  
Sit der zwig bekommen ist,  
Daran stat unser zuversiht. 3640  
Wann man den böm tragen siht  
Nach siner art etliche fruht,/  
So sol von dötlicher suht  
Unser vatter Aadam erstan.  
Dovon sullent wir sin flis han 3645  
Mit gütem gezuge alle frist.  
Fruhte und feisten myst  
Sullent wir yme genüg geben,  
Sit unsers vatter leben  
Sin wucher wider bringet. 3650  
Wol dem tage, so erspringet  
Das wucher, das uns heil burt,  
Dovo wol gesunt wurt  
Unser lieber vatter Aadam.

3623 Fol. 98r. 3627 Adam: Adams HM. 3628 eren: ere H.  
3631 das: do M. 3643 Fol. 98v. 3647 fruhte: fuhte M.  
3549 MS: vatter~~s~~. 3653 Dovo: Dovon H.

Das ist ein seliger sam 3655  
Von got uns zu selden gesant."

Illus.[28]

Von dem grabe schiedent su do.  
In irer clage worent su fro,  
Das der lichnam grünen begunde,  
Der von unlanger stunde 3660  
Was gepflantzet dar.  
Su noment sin offte war.  
Su pflogen sin mit sorgen.  
Es wart nie kein morgen,  
Su gingent zu dem boume 3665  
Und hettent sin goume,  
Obe iht wüchers wuhse daran.  
Das was ein dumberlicher wan.  
Wanne er wühs also,  
Do er wart schöne und ho 3670  
Und ouch mit loube also dicke,  
Das regen nach der sunnen blicke  
Dardurch niemer möhte kommen.  
Jch han von bömen nie vernommen,  
Der so schöne zu sehende were. 3675  
Obe ein do riser/  
Under dem böme were gesessen,  
Zu hant wer er genesen  
Aller siner swere.  
So gar was er fröidenbere. 3680  
Er stunt mit loube, das ist wor,

3656 Von got uns zu selden gesant: Von got er uns zu selden kam M. 3657 Fol. 99r; Von: V of 2-line depth, red. 3659 lichnam: boum H. 3660 von: vor M. 3661 gepflantzet: gepflantzet H. 3668 dumberlicher: tumplicher, cf.524 H. 3670 Do: Das H. 3674 bömen: bome M. 3676 do riser: dotsere H, totriusaere St, dotriuwesaere Spr. 3677 Fol. 99v; gesessen: gewesen (?) H. 3678 genesen: vergessen Spr.

Ungefalwet durch das jor  
Beide summer und winter.  
Riffe und schne der schat jmme niemer  
Als er andern böymen düt. 3685  
Er was hart wol gemüt  
Von Adams kinden,  
Doch möhtent su nie finden  
Keiner slahte fruht daran,  
Wie schöne er were getan, 3690  
Das su alle morgen gingent dar  
Durch des wuchs schowen gingen.  
Do su die genge niht versingen,  
Und er nit wuchers wolte tragen,  
Do begudent sie verzagen 3695  
An jrem vatter und sin leben./  
Su begunden sich dannen heben  
Und deiltent sich zu hant  
Verre und wite in die lant,  
Einer hin, der ander her. 3700  
Do wurdent su gemeret sere,  
Also das von jrem sam  
Ein welt grosz und mehtig kam.  
Su komment niemer wider dar.  
Su hettent nu verwartet gar. 3705  
Sus stunt der boum wahssens bar.  
Nü die kint schieden dan,  
Seht als ein güt man  
Jn dem bette hüse bleip,  
Do er sine zit vertreip. 3710  
Mit giessenden ougen

3684 niemer: ninder H. 3686 gemüt: gehut H. 3691 M suggests a line such as " Sü trugen sin vil sorgen" before 3691 and that in 3691 gingent dar should be deleted. 3692 wuchs: wuchers M. 3693 versingen: verfinden H. 3696 sin: sim H. 3697 Fol. 100r. 3700 cf. 2094 H. 3706 wahssens: wuchers H. 3707 Nu: N of 2-line depth, red.

Begunde er clagen tougen  
Sins lieben vatter dot  
Und siner muter todesnot.  
In sinem müt er gedaht, 3715  
Das er mit willen sit vollebrohte./  
Er wolte dar versuchen,  
Obe got nach wolte rüchen,  
Imme usz dem paradise geben,  
Dovon sins vatter leben 3720  
Sich wider uffrihten begunde.  
Er hup sich an stunde  
Gegen dem paradise hin.  
Der heilige engel Cherubin  
Erschein ymme uff dem wege, 3725  
Dem das paradises pflége  
Von unserm herren gegeben was.  
Ein zwig grune alsam ein grasz  
Furet er in siner hende,  
Gesant von gottes genende, 3730  
Do hing der halbe appfel an  
Do Eua hette gebissen van  
Vor manigem jare das halbe teil,  
Dovon der welte unheil  
Gebuwet wart und ungemach. 3735  
Zu Seht do der engel sprach:/  
"Sage mir, Seth, was du süchest."  
"Herre, anders nit, wann was du rüchest  
Mir geben etlichen rat.  
Min ding mir kumberlichen stat, 3740  
Des ich wene, also du wol weist,  
Umb mynen vatter aller meist,  
Der do lit dot nach,  
Und myne müter yedoch.

3712 MS: Begunden/. 3717 Fol. 100v. 3722 an: ander H.  
3726 das: des H. 3735 Gebuwet: Gebuwet, cf.2542, 3871 H.  
3737 Fol. 101r. 3738 was: das H. 3741 wene: weine.

Die sint nu beide verfahren, 3745  
Die mich soltent bewaren  
Und besynnen guter synne.  
Dovon durch gottes mynne  
Gip mir helffe und rat,  
Als ich dich zu einre stunde bat." 3750  
Cherubin der engel sprach:  
"Diner müter ungemach,  
Din leit, und dines vatter dot  
Gar, und aller welte not  
Jst bekommen von disem rise,/ 3755  
Do jn dem paradise  
Din müter beis den appfel dan.  
Von dem holtze sol erstan  
Der vatter und die müter din.  
Also su von disem höiltzelin 3760  
Gefallen sint jn den dot,  
Also wurt alle jre not  
An disem holtze verendet.  
Das ist dir gesndet  
Nach dinre truwen ger 3765  
Usz dem paradise her.  
Du solt es haben jn dinre hut  
Mit vil heiligem müte,  
Und habe ouch in dinre hüte pflege  
Den oleyboum alle wege, 3770  
Der dort florierent stat,  
Do din vatter sin grap hat.  
Von disen holtzen beiden  
Wurt erlost von allen leiden  
Eua und din vatter Adam,/ 3775  
Die durch ir ungehorsam  
Habent erlitten manige not  
Und nu zu leste den dot,

3756 Fol. 101v. 3769 dinre hüte pflege: dinre pflege H.  
3771 florierent: florieret H. 3776 Fol. 102r.

Und als sie gewesent sint  
Eigen und des todes kint, 3780  
Also werdent su nach fry."  
Domitte gap er yme das zwy.  
Mit dem appfel in dye hant.  
Von sinen ougen er do verswant  
Der heilige engel Cherubin. 3785  
Seht ging mit fröiden hin  
Jn das bethusz dann.  
Als ein güter man  
Het er den zwig jn siner hüt  
One falsche mit reinem müt. 3790  
Dovor er degeliche det  
Umb sine sunde sin gebet.  
Und darnach güter lute mere  
Hettent es in grosser ere./  
Wer ye was der beste, 3795  
Den man jn truwen wuste,  
Dem wart durch sin heiliges leben  
Der zwig jn sine hüt geben,  
Wanne, als die geschrifft giht,  
Uff der erde was anders niht 3800  
Jn der zit das heiltüm were,  
Nüwen der zwig heiligbere.  
Sus kam es zu maniger hant  
Bis sich sin underwant  
Noee darnach uberlang, 3805  
Das in sin reines hertze twang.  
Mit grosser wurden er sin pflag  
Manig jor und manig tag,  
Bitze es kam uff die zit,  
Als es geschriben sit, 3810

3779 gewesent: gewesen H. 3784 cf.2710 H. 3791 er degeliche:  
inserted de. 3793 güter: gutter HM. 3795 Fol. 102v. 3796  
wuste: west H. 3800 MS: erde~~n~~. 3802 heilig bere: heilbere H  
3806 Das: Des H. 3810 sit: lit, cf.79 M.



Das got alle die welt verdet,  
Wanne su zu vil gesundet het,  
Mit des wassers sintflüt,  
Als die geschriffte erkennen dut./  
Do die wolcken so sere gusse 3815  
Und alle wassers zusammen flusse,  
Das es wart gemeret so,  
Das es sehshundert clofftern ho  
Uff die höchsten berge gie,  
Die got het beschaffen ye, 3820  
Und aller menschliche geslechte  
Starp jn gottes ehte.  
Und do Noee, der güte man,  
Als er sich von gotte versan,  
Jn der arche genas 3825  
Und was by jmme darjnne was,  
Der vorgeant Appfel zwy  
Was jmme in der arche by.  
Sus wart der ungefüge wage  
Völlicliche wol viertzig tage. 3830  
Darnach gestunt das wasser so,  
Das es nit wuhs furbas ho,  
Und sich Nöee des versan/  
Das das wasser mynren began.  
Er sante usz einen rappen, 3835  
Den wolte er zu botten haben.  
Er sante jn usz uff den wan,  
Obe er nit state möhte han,  
Das er zu rüge sehse nider,  
Das er danne keme wider, 3840  
Und brehte ymme das urkunde,

3815 Fol. 103r; gusse: gussen H. 3816 flusse: flussen H.  
3821 aller: alles H. 3829 wage: wag H. 3830 tage: tag H.  
3834 Fol. 103v. 3835 rappen: raben H. 3839 sehse:  
sesse H.

Obe des grossen wassers unde  
Sich yergent wolte mynren nach.  
Der rappe floch umbe iedoch  
Und viel uff eins doten asz, 3845  
Wanne er gar hungerig was.  
Uff dem asz er gasas  
Bitze er ymme genüg gasz,  
Domitte er von dem wasser starp.  
Die botschafft er nit hinwider warp. 3850  
Und darnach, nach der büche sage,  
Noee an dem andern tage  
Sante usz eine düben,/   
Der wolt er bas getruwen.  
Su floug zu einem fenster usz so zu hant 3855  
Und do su niergent stat vant,  
Do su were gesessen nyder,  
Do kerte su gegen der arche wider  
Und floug zu dem venster jn,  
Uff den won und durch den synn, 3860  
Das su die worheit rehte wurbe  
Und von dem wage nit verdurbe.  
Do begunde der gerich  
Und das wasser mynren sich,  
Und dis also geschach, 3865  
Darnach an dem subenden tage  
Darnach der güte Noee  
Sante die tube aber als ee  
Zu wissen die mere,  
Obe der wog gefallen were, 3870  
Der jn buwet leides mere./

Illus.[29]

3844 rappen: raben H. 3839 sehsse: sesse H. 3844 rappe:  
rabe H. 3850 botschafft: botschaft HM. 3854 Fol. 104r.  
3855 zu einem: zum M; so zu: zu M. 3865 Und: Und do, cf.  
354 M. 3866 Darnach an: An H, An dem sübenden tage darnach St.  
3867 Darnach der güte Noee: Der güte Noee St. 3871 buwet:  
bruwet H. Illus.[29]: Fol. 104v.

Die tube, als ir gebotten wart,  
Sumete nit lenger die vart,  
Su floug von der arche zu hant,  
Und floug do su den oleyboum fant 3875  
Grünen nach alsam ein grasz,  
Der do vor gesteckket was  
Dort zu Adams grabe,  
Als ich vor gesaget habe,  
Die tube uff dem böme sasz,/ 3880  
Und fliegen was su müde und nasz,  
Ein lutzel su daruff ruwet.  
Als ein frumme botte düget,  
Su wolte ein wortzeichen han.  
Der wog faste vallen began, 3885  
Jre botschafft su sich gerne fleis.  
Abe dem oleyboum su beis  
Ein zwig mit jrme snebelin,  
Das daran wurde schin,  
Das got fride wolte han, 3890  
Und sinen grossen zorn lan  
Gegen der welte uber ale.  
Su floug sunder one qual  
Mit dem zwige wider hin  
Gegen der arche zum venster jn. 3895  
Den friden su mit dem zwige broht,  
Den got zu haben hette gedaht  
Mit aller der welte bis an das ende.  
Noee reichte beide sine hende/  
Und enpfing von dem dubelin 3900  
Den zwig usz dem snebelin.  
Domitte floug su wider dan,

3872 Die: D of 2-line depth, red. 3875 Und floug do: Do M.  
3881 Fol. 105r; Und: Von M; nasz: lass M. 3882 ruwet: rut H.  
3883 düget; dut H. 3888 snebelin: before it the same word  
deleted in red. 3892 uber ale: umberal HM. 3893 qual: twal H;  
sunder one qual: sunder alle twal St. 3900 Fol. 105v; quire  
indicator.

Jr snabelweide, alsamme  
Als ein visch der fry ist von dem hamme. 3905  
Noee der mere wol verstunt,  
Als die wisen alle dünt,  
Das mit dem zwige heilbrehtebere  
Gottes fride gekundet were,  
Und es were ein urkunde, 3910  
Das der grossen sintflüt unde  
Von gotte solte haben ende.  
Des reichet er sine hende  
Mit bete gegen dem hymelrich.  
Den zwig behielt er ewiclich, 3915  
Als siner heiligkeit gezam.  
Des appfels zwig er darzu nam  
Und hette es jn grosser wirdikeit,  
Wanne, als ich vor han geseit,  
Die zwige beide kunfftig waren, 3920  
Was des todes was verfahren,  
Das was von den zwigen beiden  
Von dem tode wurde gescheiden.  
Sus lassent wir die zwige hie.  
Do die sintflüt ergie 3925  
Und verlieff überal,  
Die arche gestunt jn eime tale.  
Noee und sine geselleschafft  
Wurdent also berhaff,  
Das von irem wücher und von irem sam 3930  
Ein welt starck und mehtig kam,  
Die nach hute welt ist.  
Wie unser herre Jhesum Crist  
An dem zwige die martel leit,  
Das wurt von mir nu nit geseit. 3935  
Hie ist der rede nit mere.  
Got helffe uns zu sinen gnoden  
One alle swere. Amen amen.  
Hie hat Eua und Adam ein ende.

3903 fryde: frige H. 3905 Als ein: Ein H. 3908 heil brehte-  
bere: heilbere H. 3920 Fol. 106r; kunfftig: kundig St. 3922  
Das was: Das das H. 3924 MS: lassent. 3926 überal: über-  
all HM. 3929 berhaff: berhaft H. 3933 jhesum: Jesu H. 3937  
sinen gnoden: siner ere H. 3939 final line written in red ink.

TRANSLATION

He who cherishes the truth and dwells in his mind upon good matters must be one of the best (of men) and does not live like a fool in the way that, regrettably, many a man now does whom we see in his folly pursuing a crooked path. Who can pluck hair from me, where it has never grown? Attend now and observe whether these words are lies: truly, it would be a waste of time if a man with foolish habits were to teach me, and I were to take his words gladly to heart, for without consideration I would become one of those people whom we see so often reading the worst instead of the best that there is (to choose from), and wise men tell us that thoughts become words. Let us now leave those fools of which most crowds are full to make their own way to the place to which they are rightly destined, and follow wiser teaching, for that preserves body, possessions and honour, and strive that every one of us emulates the man of whom the best is said and whom we see amongst us, living according to the teaching of God. Let us follow him, for he is the man on whom God has bestowed his grace here and eternal life there. That is right and proper for blessed is such a man on earth. He who wants to live according to God's will must refrain from worldly pleasures, as I understand, for who can earn the love and favour of both the world and God? He must do one of two things: either reject worldly love and trust in dedicating himself to God's service or be at ease with the world and reject God's service, for no man can serve two masters effectively. He who wants to follow me, however, must give up worldly pleasures altogether and serve the sweet Christ with all his strength. May all who at this time hear or read this (book) desire that God may be gracious to the author, who devised its rhymes well and is called Lutwin. Nobody has heard of him. His great misfortune and partly his own weakness of spirit have brought it about that he is not better known. Let us now pray to God, the bountiful Christ, that he in his goodness will so inspire us that we will earn here (in this life) that joy of which the ear has never heard, nor the eye

seen, nor the tongue ever told in adequate terms. I believe that there a thousand years are shorter than half a day. The joys are beyond compare which he has prepared for the man who without having transgressed loves him and refrains from sin.

When, according to the Bible, the time was fulfilled and a number of years had passed, the godhead along with its companions Goodness, Love, and Mercy, who had all lived in unity before the world was created and (were) without beginning, desired (change), because the godhead considered that it had existed long enough (in isolation) and it was weary of being alone, and Goodness and Love, who had nobody to love, and sweet Mercy agreed that God should so far incline himself as to reveal his power. To whom should he incline himself? To whom should he reveal his eternal power, which was and is incalculable, since there was nothing and nobody was alive, although he moved without secrecy, the inexpressible godhead of the eternity of ages, as the truth relates?

Now that God deemed that the time had come for our salvation and that he should reveal himself, in accordance with what Goodness and his own virtue required, he created heaven and earth and that which both adorn. It is beyond my weak powers to describe each thing in detail according to its merit, as my heart desires. I readily accept my duty, however, here to reveal my intention that, if I but know how, I have hopes of completing this work in such a way that wise men may yet deem it good. Even if I speak like a child, were I to achieve anything good (in doing so) by the grace of God, then men would have more cause to thank me, rather than one skilled in the art, a master who can write poetry and has had more experience than myself.

When God, the epitome of grace, created by word alone heaven and earth and their adornment, as sweet Love desired it, he made, as it seemed most fit, the marvel that is paradise. It is rightly called the garden of delights, for there has never been anything more beautiful that could be compared with

it, nor are human faculties capable of describing it. Inside it he placed a man created by his hand, who was called Adam, (his name) being the sum of four letters. Where the name originated I shall now explain. The world is divided into four parts, as I have always understood. The first part is called Anathole, the second is Dysis, according to the book, the third is called Arthos and the fourth Mensembrios. Thus brought together they (the initial letters) spell Adam, by which he alone was known.

According to my researches, there flowed out of paradise a large (amount of) water in good measure to nourish trees and grass and all that they support. Thereafter it was divided and continued as four separate rivers, as I understand it. One is called Phison and flows through a land which is known as Eyulat. The best gold to be had comes from that same land. The gold of Arabia and that of the Kaukazas too, which were always considered (to have) the best gold, is copper-coloured in comparison, so distinguished is the gold of Eyulat. This same land also has marvellous precious stones, which are found more commonly there in that land than anywhere else. As I told you, this is because the water of the Phison flows out of paradise. The same land enjoys many other riches, which is why it has a prestige above all other lands.

The other water is called Geon, and with its streams it encircles the land of the Moors. The world has many marvels. I know of a marvel, and if you will listen, I will tell you what it is, namely that the Moors are always as black as coal. Why this should be I will tell you: it is because they have no respite from the heat, and the land is so high and lies so close to the sun that every day they hear the sun rise in the morning. It raises its beams with a humming noise as though heaven and earth were coming together. That is caused by the glare of the heat. The land must be that much hotter, since the rays of the hot sun in that land penetrate (even) the valleys. Because of this these people all have black skins.



What is the point of further comment when the truth is to be found in the Bible ? The third water is the Tigris as the book Genesis tells us in truth. It flows, as I have read, towards the land of the Assyrians. The fourth is the Euphrates, a water which is clearer than pure metal, as I am correctly informed. This discourse on the rivers must come to an end. Paradise is the source of all four waters. As it was related to me, so have I described it. He who can describe the rivers better is welcome to do so.

Now when God saw his creation, it pleased him well and he said: " It is not good for that one creature, it is not right that the man should remain alone. We shall make from his body a human being who will be just like him and be his companion." As he spoke he caused Adam, the created man, to fall into a sweet sleep and then from him gently broke a rib out of which he fashioned a woman, who in awe of Adam was to do or refrain from doing whatever Adam told her to do, or not to do. She was called Eve (Eua). Her name was later to become well known to us through many of our sufferings. I shall describe to you what it means: Eu in Greek means "good" but a in Latin means "without", so for the man who can interpret the name, it means: Eve, she who is without good. There is yet another way of interpreting her name: Eve in Greek when translated into Latin means "alas". I am told that she rightly inherited her name, for Eve banished us from all that is good. It was she who increased our suffering and nullified much joy through disobedience, which was the cause of the first fall, and her legacy to the human race.

When all had been created that our Lord God in his adamant virtue had planned, then paradise with all its delights was also complete in all its glory, and in it God placed the woman and Adam. They were like children without shame nor a single sin, free of falsehood and so pure in the beauty and wisdom with which God had endowed them in his immeasurable grace, that it is impossible to describe (the

virtues) he overgenerously heaped upon them. This is true, that was how it was. For they were created by the hand of God, whose work was acknowledged before it was begun: with a word he created the stars, the moon and the sun, darkness and light, all the elements, the deep and the firmament and caused the waters to flow their proper course. Such was his grace and the strength of his power. O blessed be that sweet mastery, which without the weight of onerous learning effortlessly created everything out of nothing. Why say more? For the woman and the man, whom I named earlier on, were perfect in all virtue. Since then, unfortunately, (that state) was taken from them, because of their first transgression, which is constantly brought to our notice as being the origin of sin.

Paradise was now given to Adam and Eve who had never sinned so that they could live there, and for their enjoyment all the different things that God had created were subject to them. One tree alone he forbade them: "If you do not want to earn eternal death," spoke the godhead, "then do not enjoy the fruit of this Tree. If you want to survive mortal disease, then you must avoid completely the fruit which the Tree bears. For, truly, the moment that you eat the fruit, it will instantly seem to you as though you had forgotten the modesty (which accompanied the) grace that I heaped upon you." He who abides by wise teaching benefits both body and soul. Therefore listen all of you, whether you be rich or poor, to this complaint which weighs heavily upon the heart: daily we get older with misfortune's assistance, and we are, regrettably, little wiser this year than we were before. I suppose a monkey's fur is of no use to anybody except the monkey itself. If a carpenter wants to trim a good length from rotten wood, then he had better have a sharp saw, and then I would like to hear what wise men tell him and see how water may be produced so that it is neither warm nor cold, and yet the guest may rejoice. I never achieve a really good rest without a thunderstorm coming. But first of all listen to a misfortune that I will relate to you, for I do

not withhold the truth. The object of this discourse is the truth.

In accordance with God's decree the Tree was pointed out to them. In the middle of paradise it stood for all to marvel at, a handsome tree, decked with lovely blossom and beautiful apples that were fair to behold. This same Tree I crown above all that were ever seen. And at the very moment that God turned his back, the Devil took the opportunity to make the place his own in accordance with his false practices. He (it is) who has never spoken the truth and is the enemy of all that is good and true and just, who urges on the entire human race in all evil practices, whose wickedness bedims bright radiance and pure joy, who because of his pride is housed deep down in the abyss of hell and constantly turns all that is good to evil and seldom increases that which is good. See now why I say all this: he is the origin of all envy and hate. The whole breadth and length of the world is held captive because of him. In him is all counsel that encourages wrong-doing and militates against good. Most loathed Satan was cast out of heaven when he wanted to set his throne next to that of God, and because of this arrogance he fell into the pit of hell. Down below within the jaws of hell a home was given to him and, because mankind was to live in grace, the Devil was full of envy, as he has since proved himself to be, for he always protests gainst that which is right.

When he had chosen the right moment and the angels who were provided to guard fair paradise had swiftly risen up to heaven, the Devil, in the guise of a serpent, lifted himself into the branches of the Tree, for he knew that Adam and Eve were under it without their guardians. He did what false men still do, who delight in pretending that they are being of service to people and yet destroy those who follow their counsel. The evil offspring of all that is evil, the terrible Devil, assisted by his lies, quite shamelessly and faithlessly proceeded to cajole Eve, flourishing his tail and making other

gestures as though he meant her no harm. At the same time he asked: " Tell me, Eve, why has God forbidden you the Tree and its fruit ? " She replied: " It is his command that we should accustom ourselves to eating of all the trees that he has created, but one is forbidden to us, because the tasting of it would be death. For the moment we start eating its fruit, we shall instantly seem to forget the modesty (that accompanied) the grace that God heaped upon us. Death would utterly confound us, that is true. I gladly follow his advice."

The Devil spoke: " That is wrong. I know what will happen to you. You will not be choosing death nor any other calamity, if you eat of the Tree and do not forget this glorious feast for the eyes. Believe me, nothing harmful can come of it. God knows that when you eat the fruit you will at once think on all that is good. What can this tiny little tree do to harm you ? What powers can it possibly have that will make you lose your happiness and earn your deaths ? That is a childish idea. As soon as you touch the fruit, you will be instantly freed of these blind and foolish habits which trap you now. Without a doubt many of your senses will be opened to you as well, as will be your eyes, to know many secrets which were previously kept hidden from you, and then you will no longer be like children, artless and blind to sense."

Eve was pleased by what he said. She thought it would be as he had told her. Sadly she was duped by her folly. With that he coiled himself into the branches, that epitome of all that is false, and broke off an apple. He said: " Eve, take the fruit, it is good to eat. Its power will immediately rid you of your stupidity." He offered her the apple. It was ripe and looked good to eat. Longingly she gazed at it and began to turn it this way and that in her hands. With that she bit into it and gave the other part to Adam, which he instantly ate.

Alas (that there should have been) so unlucky a bond between them (i.e. Adam and Eve) and so many curses. Eve, could you not have filled your belly with something else ? Your sense of

taste succeeded in checkmating a game that (otherwise) might well have been won, for the human race could have made a move by which the game would have been won and no longer a danger to the human race. Then you came along, Eve, who are without good, when the game was unguarded, and unfortunately made a move that brought suffering and misfortune to all the world. You should have been able to see that the game would lead to checkmate. Alas that so crushing a burden and so much misfortune should be the consequence of a mere bite. She should have refrained from it. But let that be and let us not hate her, for she had little joy of it, who brought the burden of sin upon us and stripped us of our joy.

When in the garden of paradise Eve and Adam had eaten the apple, they were bound to feel shame, and when this misfortune befell them, each one tore the leaves from a branch of a fig-tree and tied them on securely in order to cover up their shame; in fact they were so overcome by shame that they hid themselves as well. The hour that ends the after-noon had come. Adam lay there in hiding under the branches of the Tree. He did not suspect that God knew of the sin that he had committed. That was indeed a foolish delusion, for God always has knowledge of intended actions. Nothing can be concealed from God; whatever happens, whether openly or secretly, is seen by his divine eye. He had long foreseen what would befall Adam. Truth tells us this sad story.

God, the origin of all that is good, in whose hand the circumference of the world is enclosed and whose power is incalculable and manifold, came (to the spot) in paradise where Adam lay and behaved as though he did not know that Adam was there. He called out aloud and spoke thus: " Adam, where are you ? Show yourself to me." " Lord, I am ashamed of myself in front of you, for I am so naked." God said: " How could you have learnt what shame is, unless you have failed to keep away from the Tree that I forbade you ?" " Lord, the woman whom you gave me as a companion, it was she who became aware

of the succulence of the apple. She ate it and gave me some, which I also tasted, but the fault is hers; in comparison my fault is not so great." "Why did you do that?", God then asked the woman. "Lord, the serpent advised me to taste the fruit of the Tree so that I should enjoy many things, and in accordance with the serpent's counsel I ate the apple immediately. I thought I was doing right. But unhappily I was deceived by my own folly, for I have been disobedient."

God was enflamed by rage and immediately cursed the serpent. He said: "Since you gave the counsel through which the world will suffer, be from this day forward outcast and utterly accursed amongst all reptiles to whom I gave a natural life on earth. Until now you walked upright, but now for evermore you must all crawl on the ground on your bellies as my will desires it. You must also eat earth continuously until your end; with this I shall humiliate you. Enmity shall I place between you and the woman; may you always remain hateful to her, so that she may revenge herself on you and crush your head. You are also to strike at her heel with your flickering and poisonous tongue. Thus you are for ever cursed by me."

Having cursed the serpent, God then turned to the woman in awful wrath and said: "I will increase your heart-ache and unhappiness for evermore. You will give birth to children amid heartfelt agony. With sorrow and suffering you will learn of misfortune in many different ways. Since it was you who sinned, the fruit of your womb will be conceived in great sin from the man. The man is also to be raised and honoured above you. You will often suffer from man's strength by means of which he will rule you and have you in his keeping. Be thus accursed for evermore, since you defied my command in sinful excess. May your body now know no happiness."

Adam still lay there in hiding full of fear and sorrow. His heavy spirits told him, as they often do me, that all kinds of troubles were to be his in the future. And immediately God in his fury spoke angrily to him: "Since you heeded the

woman's voice and not mine, and out of gluttonous greed then took the fruit which can do you no good and which I forbade you before, the earth must be accursed for ever in your name. You will have to work and forage for your food with the sweat (of your brow). You will have to subjugate and cultivate the earth until the time comes when you will die and be but ashes and dust, for you are nothing more than earth and dung. You must return to the earth from which you were taken. The fruit cannot save you from this: you must pass your days in suffering and forage for your food with the sweat (of your brow)."

Dearly beloved, remember now who you are and the nature of your humble beginnings. Why are you happy when you were taken from the earth and must return to it, you know not when or how? Thus sin struck as Eve ate the apple, and Adam proved to be her equal by compounding her sin. He was prompted by the evil spirit who always gives false counsel. Take heed, mankind, and mark whether there be anything that is frailer than the earth which bore you with so little dignity. You are frailer than the earth, I say to you, frailer by far, as I will prove. Every year the earth brings forth many nourishing fruits which sustain all to whom life has been given, (whether they be) men, birds, tame animals or wild beasts. The earth does not begrudge them this. Every year she brings forth her bounty amid many a green field. On many a heath she creates out of flowers a radiant feast for the eyes, which bring joy, as do her green woods. The earth provides all this, and that which all creatures need is brought forth by the fecund earth. She also gives us the glory of trees, blossom, foliage, and grass. Now tell me, mankind, you rotten carcass, what good ever comes of you that might equal such purity? I know of nothing. Long ago wise Cato, Ovid, and Plato all tried (to find) something, yet they could never discover that you were of benefit to anybody other than yourself alone. This is what I mean: in your voluptuousness you treat your body gently and well and even fatten up your carcass, which in the end is given to earth-

worms. As the body is destroyed, so too the soul by the power of death. Consider, mankind, your constitution which is of earth and lime and natural fluids. The body is quickened by lime, but when the body dissolves, it becomes the lime that it was before. O woe to you, mankind, and alas. Why are you in such high spirits, (enjoying) your honours, physical well-being, and possessions when your beginnings are but of earth, which is even frailer than frail? Remember your puny existence and that your soul is lost if you constantly pursue the (pleasures of the) body, because it can only misguide you and cause misery to your soul. Take a thousand years of our world and (you will find) that it is a very short time once death has made an end of you, for it will seem as though you never experienced a happy day in the world. The joys and raptures of the world are, as we daily see, nothing but false delusions. That is the way of the world, and because of it there is much suffering.

I will once more take up my tale where I left it. After their disobedience the woman and Adam were clothed with two garments by God. The tunics were made of skins. Nothing could have been more uncomfortable, for I imagine that they would have liked needles, scissors, thread, and thimbles. They were obliged to think well of the unsuitable garments which God gave them with his own hands, so that the man and the woman could conceal their shameful bodies. When they were clothed God spoke to the angelic host: " Now see how Adam has become as one of us in a short space of time, knowing both evil and good. Because of this you must guard the Tree whose property is such that whoever lays hands on it and tastes its fruit is suffused by life, so that he lives for evermore. Adam would be elevated too high if he were to eat of the Tree and live eternally. I know well that he would help himself if the Tree were left unguarded." Ah me, o virtuous God, had I but one branch of that Tree, I could be free of death for evermore, and that would be sweet tale indeed, to be free



of all struggle with death. I should like to be a while in the world without being weighed down by death, so that after my life in this world I could float to heaven with you, Lord. Unhappily that cannot be now, but I beg you to be gracious and protect me from the terrors of eternal death and to take care of my soul and once it is released to give it eternal life in blessed heaven where joys are unmatched. The joys that exist in heaven are beyond the experience of mankind and cannot be expressed. What joy, what bliss there is in the vision of God. That angelic woman who is both mother and maid is there seated beside her son, sweet Christ, in that lofty region where she lives eternally. That is how the holy prophet David foresaw her, when he spoke through the Holy Spirit saying: "Astitit regina a dextris tuis." Thus he assured us that it is the same queen who, without human intervention, was raised to the highest throne with sceptre and crown, she who is the mother and bride and consort of her son. Her beauty truly adorns the heavens. Her beauty is worthy of praise, for it is the joy of all angels as well as of the multitudes of the chosen. Where there are joys such as these a thousand years are shorter than the time which has just passed. Help us to (know) such joys, Lord Jesus Christ.

Once Adam had been clothed, as I related earlier, he had to leave paradise in sadness and cultivate with hoes and shears the earth from which he came. As I rightly understand it, an angel with a fiery sword was placed before paradise in order to guard it. Adam, with his sin upon him, was cast out at once. With that, paradise vanished before their eyes and remains to this day concealed for evermore as a divine mystery, so that nobody can go there who is ensnared by sin. Adam might yearn for so sweet a feast for the eyes as that which he left behind with great sorrow, but he behaved like a sensible man who is well able to do without that which he may not have. May he who has any good sense at all be of the same frame of mind, for then he will preserve this honour. That is my advice, and I

follow it myself. Adam thus took care of himself and made a small wooden hut wherein he and his wife could shelter from the weather and take their rest. They lay in it for seven days in sorrow (expressed in) great lamentation, until they began to get hungry. " Adam, lord, my dear husband," said the woman, " I am nearly dead, for hunger-pains are sapping my strength. Therefore help me and bring us something to eat. Perhaps God has forgotten his anger towards us and will return us to the place from where we are banished and so reveal his grace to us as he was used to do. We would never suffer from hunger or sorrow again, if we could obtain that sweet food at once. Adam, with your wits you must strive for this, so that we shall not perish. My friend, dear heart, let (what I have said) recommend itself to you, as I trust your loyalty."

By the time Eve had finished talking, Adam was eager to depart. In sorrow he made himself ready to go. The journey was not worth the effort, for he went seven days and covered all the land in order not to overlook anything. And when he did not find the same sweet food which had once been theirs in paradise, he hurried back to the place where he had left Eve and brought her the bad news of how he had gone in vain. Both were cast down by this. Eve said to Adam: " I wish to God that I were dead, since you are suffering such hardship. By right I should endure it by myself. All this is my fault, because I did wrong. Adam, friend and dear husband, if you want to, then kill me. Perhaps God will then have mercy and return you to the place from which he has banished us. Your fault is all my misdoing."

Adam replied like a sensible man: " You must stop talking like that. You must be going out of your mind. How can I lay hands on a woman in such a terrible way ? You are my flesh and blood. It would be unheard of if I were to murder you. Do not talk of it again. We must go and look until that happy hour when God will give us food with which to nourish our bodies. Since there is nothing else left for us to do, we shall have to

forage for food." Eve replied: " I will gladly go with you." They did not delay but left the little hut and together went into fields and many a forest of dark pines, but still they could not find the food that they had had before in paradise. Thus they went unrefreshed until the ninth morning with much sorrow and suffering and found only weeds and roots as something to nurture human life. Adam said: " God gave these as fodder to wild beasts. Myself, however, and you as well he gave angelic food while we were in paradise, which sadly we no longer have." With that Adam started to dig up the roots out of the earth, and these he ate and also gave Eve to eat, so that she could taste the roots and grass which had not been cooked at all. I imagine they would have appreciated the following items: a hearth, a cooking-pot, a fire, bread, pepper, salt, oil, milk, and lard; all these they would have prized. Their hunger ensured that the roots tasted good, for with heavy hearts they had gone without sustenance , according to my calculations, for twenty-three days with heart-felt complaining. Adam behaved like a sensible man, for, being unable to improve (his lot), a plan occurred to him which ensured that he had something edible to meet his desperate need.

Adam and Eve were not spared much heartache, and this caused their eyes to overflow (with tears) and deep sighs to well up from their hearts, for they suffered agonies of grief, because they (had caused) God's wrath and had lost both bodily and spiritual nourishment. Adam said: " Today we must both lament until God reverses the blow that he has dealt us and in his mercy grants us a source of food that will improve our lot and restore our bodily strength. The food we have is not fit for our bodies, and on this account we must lament and do penance (in order to win his) grace." " Penance ? What is that ?" she asked, " you must describe it to me so that we may avoid undertaking anything that would be too difficult, thereby causing God in his goodness to ignore our prayers and be as enraged as he was before. Therefore, Adam, tell me what act of penance

you plan to undertake ? Seeing that it was I who sinned and you who did nothing wrong, I alone should do penance."

Adam replied: " You are a woman, and your body is weak, for human frailty causes you to suffer. Because of this I shall endure the penance longer in God's mercy than you will be able to suffer it. I will fast for forty days, and so long with heartfelt complaint shall I do penance in the Jordan. By standing up to my neck in it I shall assuage God's wrath. It is my wish that you should also do penance as I tell you. You are to fast for thirty-four days, and during that time you are to stand in the water without saying a word until our pure, sweet God honours his command and restores us to that place from which he banished us. That was because of your wrongdoing."

No time was lost in starting the penance, and Eve made ready to depart. She was eager to do her penance. That was due to the discomfort she suffered from being hungry, for the greed, which on the first occasion brought about our misfortunes, clung partly to her still. So she left and went until she found a river. It was called the Tigris. She stood in it upon a stone all alone, and the cold water reached up to her neck. We shall now leave her to do her penance and pray to God that she may do it well. I will now tell you, as I must, of the penance that Adam undertook in order to win God's mercy. He also set off to do his penance and when he found the Jordan stood in it up to his neck. He was overcome by sorrow and called out in plaintive tones and bitter suffering: " Oh, Jordan, I say to you that you must help me in my lamentations. Together with all that moves in you and lives a natural life, fish or anything that swims, you must stand by me and mourn. They are not to mourn for themselves but for me, for they have done nothing wrong, but I have sinned."

When he had spoken he straightaway saw the fishes round him; they remained still and did not swim . For the full forty days they abandoned their rivers and ponds and behaved

as though they were sorry for him and bewailed the hard fate of him who stood there deprived of (God's) grace.

Eve stood in the water for eighteen days doing her penance without a word (to anybody) while fasting with pitiful lamentation. Then Satan roused himself, for he was sorry to see anything good being achieved, for that was not in accordance with his false counsel. He had transformed his horrible appearance into that of an angel of light and, on seeing her weeping in the water, said: "Eve, why are you crying? Now you must no longer lament, for God has taken heed of your penance. This very hour I am to bring you back to the place from which you were banished, and all will be well with you as it was before. You no longer have to do penance, for we angels have requested this of God. You are to leave off your penance which is why I have been sent here." With that the Devil offered her his hand and then helped her out of the water and onto the bank. There she fell to the ground. He raised her with his hand. Because of the icy waters her frozen body was as green as grass, and she only just recovered from this.

Whoever now says, when a woman does wrong, that it is because of her frail nature uses an argument that is unlikely to meet my approval. For although the woman erred whom God himself created, there is no reason for every woman who commits a tiny error to believe that she will merely be reminded of Eve's ways and to hope that in imitating her she will be the one to succeed, for she will merely achieve a misery that was previously unknown to her. Women have inherited inconstancy from Eve, who first revealed it when she disobediently took the forbidden fruit and then, contrary to Adam's instructions and counselled by the Devil, gave up her penance all too hastily. She thought he was giving her good advice which was why she listened to his words and believed in his counsel, which unfortunately proved to be her undoing. And had she ever experienced the misfortunes that were to be hers in the future, she would probably not have given in so hastily. Lovely ladies are still in the habit of

doing this: when a man talks to them, they listen attentively and heed counsel that contains nothing but falsehood, and believe that this counsel will be to their advantage and pay no heed to the consequences that may come of it. Eve was the first to have a vacillating nature, and because of this I maintain that ladies are inconstant. They would not, however, know about vacillation themselves, if they were not so frequently told about Eve's vacillating behaviour. That is true; it would be better if Eve were not mentioned, since ladies more often follow a bad rather than a good example. And yet, you women who are worthy and pure, honour yourselves and be modest and constant. Modesty is rewarded by the crown of virtue. You must leave be those false and damnable men, who with sweet falsehoods (uttered) by false mouths desire at all hours to injure your honour and cause you much heartache. Alas, how many false oaths have been sworn for the sake of your external esteem, for falsehood like a thorn desires only to pierce that esteem. What more is there to say? When a woman's worthiness, her praise and her purity, her honour and lovely youthfulness, her conscience and her virtue, her breeding, her modesty and her reward, not to mention her crown of virginity have been compromised by a faithless man, that is wrong indeed. Those who want to retain their honour but cannot be without a man must see to it that they choose a constant man, if they can find such a hero, who is true and not false. But if he is both false and true, he will not turn out well. Therefore devote your minds, virtuous women, to virtuous men and turn (your thoughts) from wicked ones. I can give you no better advice than that.

All you worthy men listen to me patiently and accept the humble advice which comes from a child-like heart and concerns the courting of ladies. I advise you, worthy men, to avoid faithless women who often bring honour, soul, and body into jeopardy, so that body and soul are no longer in harmony. Do not be swayed by their flawless complexions, their golden-

coloured hair, their hands, their lovely throats, their little mouths, not even by their eye-brows; rather you should seek where you can find a woman who adorns her body with modesty and is virtuous in her ways, for with her you will come to no harm. If one of you would take a wife that suits you, then do not enquire as to whether she is wealthy. If she is poor but in possession of a pure mind, then take that instead of a large property. A wife's large property often causes worry, so take a pure mind. But that is not the custom nowadays, as we daily see, for it is wealth rather than honour that is sought. He who esteems wealth above all else has a sick mind, and that is bad, for it drives people to extremes. That which is hoarded for long, in the manner of a miser, melts away fast. He who has not inherited a sense of honour is seated uncomfortably upon Fortune's wheel. Wealth can cause a man, whoever he may be, to fall into the mire that is his birthright. Therefore, you who are virtuous men, love honour rather than wealth and be estranged from women who are false (in spirit). Do not heed their love-making, for it is bound to be lacking in fidelity. Prove this to yourselves (by remembering) those occasions of great suffering of the heart which have been caused by women. As you have already heard, Adam's disobedience was brought about by his wife. Samson had a powerful body, but he was brought low by Delilah, his wife. Solomon's wisdom deserted him where women were concerned, so it is said. Any of you who have the sense to escape from them unscathed must certainly have your wits about you. Pure women are free of falsehood; I am talking only about the bad ones. There is a wide gulf between the bad and the good, the false and the pure. Bad women have false natures while pure ones are shielded from falsehood. Pure women should be spoken well of, for only good can come to them. I gladly wish them all that is good, as doubtless I should. Those who have never done anything wrong may grasp the joys and pleasures of the world. Anybody who does not wish them well should not be in their company. But I, poor Lutwin, am

directing all my efforts towards wishing those pure women well who are steadfastly opposed to faithless men. Pure women are debarred from the counsel given by faithless men, which contains nothing but falsehood because of the impurity of their hearts.

I shall now once more take up (the tale) where I left off. As I have already said, the Devil in angel's clothing led Eve by the hand (to the place) where she found Adam, who with heartfelt contrition was standing in the Jordan as a penance. The same wicked spirit, the sum of all that is evil, thought that with his false lies he could betray Adam as he had Eve. Adam, however, was so wise, that despite the Devil having been transformed so beautifully into an angel, he recognized his dissimulation, his treachery, and his falsehood at once when he led Eve by the hand towards the water (i.e. the Jordan). What more should I say? When she had come near enough to Adam for them to be able to see each other clearly, Adam at once shouted angrily: "Woe to you, Eve, for you will cry woe for evermore. Why did you break off your penance now? How were you deceived a second time by him who lied to you before, the Devil, our adversary, who with his deception took from us the garden of delights and the spiritual joys of paradise, that feast for the eyes?" When Eve had rightly understood that she had thus been deceived by loathsome Satan, who had already brought grief upon her, she fell to the ground, bereft of all her strength. The bright sun was as night to her, so that she neither listened nor spoke because of the sorrow that overwhelmed her for having broken off her penance so hastily on the advice of the Devil. That was her second misdeed.

From the Jordan Adam shouted angrily at the Devil: "Alas, you evil spirit, originator of our suffering, what is our guilt concerning you, that you pursue Eve and myself too with your falsehood and cause us trouble with your faithless advice? Have we ever deprived you of joy or honour that your hateful advice should be so deadly and inimical to us? We are suffering



through no fault of our own. We have done nothing to make you suffer. Be fair to us." The Devil answered him thus: " I shall always cause you heartache and unhappiness. Whatever suffering I can bring you will not suffice me, for you are the ruin of my happiness. I was banished because of you from the angels, my companions, from the aether of high heaven down to the bottom of earth's abyss. Now that is your fault." Adam spoke: " How can this be, that through fault of mine you were banished from God's grace and from heaven with others who were your companions, when I was not with you in that heavenly palace, nor can I recall doing you (the) harm of which you accuse me, namely that you have lost the grace of our almighty God, and the joy that you had in his sight when your beauty beheld his ?" The Devil then sighed and wept at his unhappiness and made it plain that he was full of longing for heaven and the angelic host from which he had been banished because of his arrogance alone. Thus he has always mourned(his loss). But to Adam he said: " Adam, now listen to me. I shall inform you correctly as to how through fault of yours I lost his grace who gave me equal beauty. I mean God who dwells in heaven and who cast me out of it.

" When almighty God created you in paradise and clothed you alone in his divine image and gave life to your soul, my companion, the angel Michael, led you before the angelic host. God then took heed of your appearance. Know that it pleased him much more in you than in himself. When he saw his image in you, he spoke most lovingly to you: ' See, Adam, you are like me. I have formed you in my image and fashioned your beauty after my very person. Therefore you please me, for you bear the sign of the godhead.' When he had finished speaking, the angels bowed down at your feet and worshipped mankind (for being in) the image of God. Michael knelt first followed by all the angels in honour of the image presented by your person through the love of the godhead, as God had ordained through Michael, his messenger. When this had taken place the

angel Michael said to me: ' Friend, you must do as we do and honour and adore man, who was created in the image of God. That is my advice and his command, who created both me and you.' I replied: ' That would be a foolish act, if I were to worship one who cannot bear comparison with me in the superiority and worthiness which have been bestowed on me rather than him. He is made of earth, but I am of superior and nobler (stuff) and was created in God's image before Adam was. I was elevated above the angelic choir without human intervention, while he is nothing but earth and dung. I am fair, he is dark. He is dull, I shine bright. He is darkness, I am light. It shall never come to pass that I shall kneel before him above whom I am raised. That is only proper. He can never equal me in virtue nor in nobility. He should be ready to serve me.' A number of angels heard me who have followed me ever since and began to flock to me then, for they were of the same mind as myself and were against kneeling down and adoring and honouring you. Michael said: ' You must think better of it. Your thoughts are not good. You must worship the man and leave off this arrogance. Otherwise God will be enraged.' But I replied to Michael: ' How can it harm me if God turns his hate on me ? It can be avoided. I will ascend into high heaven and exalt my throne above that of the highest God. Indeed I little fear God's threats and am as honoured as he is in heaven.'

" Now listen to what happened when I finished speaking these words. God, inflamed by rage, at once cast my companions and myself out of heaven and down into the abyss. Thus we all fell from the aether down into the caverns of hell, where we must remain for evermore and where neither stars nor the light of the sun, nor the moon, nor the bright day ever shine. Our suffering will have no end, for evermore it will torment us. I will also tell you that in days gone by I was so beautiful and so radiant (that I outshone) the glory of the angels, and because I (shone so) brightly all nine choirs took from my beauty their bright radiance and their pure brilliance.

Unfortunately my beauty has been taken from me, and my angelic form has been transformed into a terrifying hideousness of foul aspect. Adam, thus have I fallen through you, in that I rebelled and would not honour you with my angels as I ought to have done. That is why you are the destroyer of all my joy. I avenge myself as best I can in bringing misfortune upon you, as I have already done, for out of envy I brought it about that Eve ate the apple whereby she lost paradise as I lost heaven, so that (now) we are both discomfited."

The Devil was silent once he had spoken. Adam, sighing, turned to heaven. He prayed: " Creator, sweet God, everything that heaven and earth contain is under your command; in your mercy drive from me this evil spirit who alienates me from you. Give me the joy and the status which he lost in heaven. This I ask of you, Lord, grant me this through your goodness and in your honour." After these words the Devil vanished, and Eve recovered her senses (and realized) that she was lying on the ground. Adam continued his penance with sorrow and heartfelt complaining for the full forty days. And when the penance had been completed, Adam came out of the water in which he had done his penance. Eve was greeted by Adam with many loving words. Love had begun to master him and (finally) rendered him, such was the power with which it stormed (his heart), unable to resist. He was at once forced to perform a strange act with Eve, which is, however, in accordance with human nature whereby her virginity was lost. There and then she also conceived a child, as the love of both demanded it. They had never done it before, and both derived much happiness from it. Eve said to Adam: " Ah, my friend and lord, you have raided the shrine of my heart so completely that I can only surrender; may my heart be buried with yours. A new love has sprung up between us which nobody can sever, unless it be God who can do anything. It grieves me that so many days have passed between us and that we did not practise love long ago, since it has done us so much good. It grieves me and makes me sad. Truly I say to you that

I prize love above fair paradise. You must believe me. It is the desire of the great love, my lord, which I bear for you."

Adam then replied: " It does me good, and I am glad that I am so dear to you. My heart and mind are so lodged with yours that you will always be dear to me. Your love has brought this about. Yet I must proclaim paradise to be above all beauty and bliss, for it cannot be compared with that which the day reveals and the sun illuminates, which is why I think you are mad to praise love more highly than paradise. Yes, if I had a branch from glorious paradise, I should no longer practise our love, even though I enjoy it, and I shall tell you why it is. I was unaccustomed to hunger, thirst, depression, sorrow, suffering, and exertion. These were all unknown to me, until I found out about them here. Paradise spared me many troubles in a kindly manner which is not the way of love. Let me now change my mind and make love to you as your love urges me to do. Hunger is the penance that comes of needing to love you. If I was thirsty before making love, then I was even thirstier afterwards. If I was tired and lethargic beforehand, then afterwards I was all the more so. All is well with me when I want to make love, but afterwards I am bereft of all joy. Since I lost paradise, I have not had a single happy day, for nothing can be compared with them. There I was unaccustomed to the sufferings that are visited upon me here. Therefore praise of love is not worth a jot to me. I am bereft of all bliss and suffer wherever I go."

This speech distressed Eve. Angrily she said to Adam: " Dear Adam, since we do not agree with each other, I will go in misery into the western part of the world, where the sun sets, since my body knows no blessings because of my sins both here and there and because words of love do nothing but displease you." With that she made her farewell. She then left in anger, prompted by a foolish impulse, and in sorrow and haste walked more than a thousand miles. That was far indeed. She carried a child under her heart, which she had conceived

of Adam. Full of sorrow Adam too went on a long walk. An impulse also forced him to it. He went as far as the place where the sun rises. Alas, sweet Lord and God, when have two lovers ever been as far from one another as these two? To describe it any better seems impossible to me. Yet there remains one more thing for me to do, as my resolve bids me, which is to bring them together again. God grant that I may succeed well in doing so.

We will leave Adam here now and relate how things were with Eve. She nearly died of her sufferings. Her heart was (full of) fearful desires, for she longed for the love to which Adam had accustomed her. Thus was her joy shattered by sorrow for forty weeks. And then came the hour in which the pains began to oppress her, which she received from the child that lay under her heart, for she was to give birth to it as God wished and the law (of nature required). She was in terrible pain and screamed to God in heaven amid heartfelt weeping saying: "Oh God, protector of all that is good, have mercy, Lord, upon me in your goodness and in your honour. Help me, God, in your grace, for my heart cannot endure this heart-rending complaint which is due to the sorrow that I bear. Remember me, created by your own hand, for there is no comfort for my suffering, unless, Lord, (it is) you. Dear Lord, hear me, so that my suffering may be eased." Eve then lifted her hands to heaven in her suffering and lamented to God her heartfelt pain, so that in his mercy he might consider reversing her misfortune. But what she sought in prayer was like writing on a wall, for God's goodness was not for her. Sadly her cries of sorrow and the sighs from her heart went unheard. Thus was her joy shattered by the anguish in her heart. To heaven she then again spoke: "What is this, almighty God, why are you acting like this? Your grace made me happy. Your godhead bestowed on me a perfect and pure existence. I have now been robbed of this, and my joy has been numbed by my bitter complaining caused by the burden that I bear. Ah paradise, if

if I were in you my tears would cease at once. What Adam foretold was true. I was out of my mind when I praised love more highly than glorious paradise, for you never caused me sorrow. My praise of love was indeed foolish nonsense. Oh, God and Creator, who encompasses the mighty world, think of me and soothe my pain, for you were always the best."

That was enough complaining. The burden that she carried made her support her belly with her hand. Adam, who was in the east, was unaware of the great pain that she suffered. Now it so happened that one night in her suffering she thought of Adam's being in the east. She said: "Who will tell Adam there of my suffering? Hear my complaint, I beg you, stars and sun, and for the sake of the beauty and joy that God gave you, may you tomorrow, the moment you come to the place in the east where you shine, bewail all my sufferings to Adam, my lord, and do not keep secret from him how great my sorrows are. I should feel better, I know well, if I could only see Adam, whatever were to happen afterwards. Dear sun, be now so good, since you are all pure light, and tell my dear husband that I am suffering anguish in my heart which, I think, is his doing. Dear sun, listen to me, for I have no other messenger, bring me soon the man who abandoned me here all on my own."

That night Eve lay in pain. Next morning when the sun had lit up bright day in its usual fashion, I do not know what Adam was thinking that made him say to himself: "Eve's complaint and unhappiness have come from the west to me. I fear that the serpent has made trouble for her again as it did before." With these words he went and came to where he found Eve. When she saw him she at once said: "Lord, Adam, dear husband, seeing you has partly eased (my pain)." He said: "Eve, what is hurting you?" She said: "That which is causing me pain and dispels all joy has come from you, I think. Something has grown inside me which hurts me all the time and wriggles about as though it would like to be out of me. Look, Adam, these are my troubles. Therefore ask God on my behalf to help

me through you and deliver me from my pains which will destroy me, unless it is God who averts that." Adam raised his hands to heaven and asked God to end (her) suffering and so increase his praise. He had hardly spoken when he saw twelve angels which God had sent. Six stood to Eve's right and six to her left side. One of the twelve then spoke: "Eve, God has sent us to you. He has recognized Adam's loyalty, for from the first he found no more weakness in him other than having followed your advice, and after that misdeed he undertook a penance and carried it out. The happiness that you have had here was granted to you by God on behalf of Adam, that good man. Therefore, Eve, prepare yourself to give birth. You now have me and my companions to help you, for God sent us to you, who always helps his own." The angel having said this, now listen to what happened. Eve immediately gave birth to a child. When she became clearly conscious of it and beheld it, she exclaimed in great wonder: "Ah help me, lord, help. How did this happen that in some wonderful way I have carried under my heart and with much pain a human being like myself? It is a great marvel, I do declare, and above all that I have ever seen." Adam agreed for he thought it was a marvellous thing. The child did not waste time, for when he had been born he ran quickly to the wood and soon brought back in his little arms some herbs for his mother. He said: "Dear mother, take this plant which I have brought you from the wood and eat it. I know very well that you are ill. I used to inflict many blows at your heart as I lay in your womb, before I emerged (into the light of) day."

Eve heard these words with joy. Whatever had caused her pain was now driven from her heart as she looked upon her dear child. With delight she took him and hugged him to her breast so that he gasped for breath. The angels taught her how to care for the child. They then, as God wished, returned to heaven from whence they had come at Adam's (request) in order to help Eve. The child was called Cain as the Bible tells us.

Adam thanked God for so sweetly commuting his unhappiness and increasing his joy through Cain, his son. As is customary the father gave his son good advice. He said: " You must be conscious, dear son, of all that is good, and then you shall never fail. Be ready to serve God. Refrain from doing evil and do good. You must follow that (precept) at all times. Do not permit cursing, swearing, hate, and envy entry to your heart. Serve God, and you are on the right track. I advise you to avoid sin. Love God, the splendour of heaven, dear son, and obey me in all this."

Adam rejoiced in his son. His heart leapt high with joy, for he beheld him with love. At that time it so happened that an angel was sent from heaven who acquainted Adam with the fruits of the earth in all their various species. Grace was no longer withheld. He taught him to farm and sow seeds, how to increase the wild seeds by throwing them by hand onto the tilled earth so that they would grow a hundredfold. This he did then and for ever after. He also taught him, as God wished, how to tame animals, so that they might help him farm and live by providing garments and food. Adam followed (this advice), for he was wise. (The angel) taught him how to apply all that has ever been conceived by the human mind. For this he had a ready mind, for he was pure and good and one of the wisest men that there have ever been. The angel then departed from him.

With Adam's teaching Cain grew in one year more than any other child does in two years. God also gave him the good fortune of complete faculty of speech. It was indeed wonderful that a child, that was not even a year old should be as forward in word and deed as was Cain. As I have already told you, after his mother had given birth to him, he ran like a grown-up man and brought her a small portion of little plants so that she could be healed, as is the custom of women after child-birth. What is the point of saying anything more about it? Let us finish here and permit Cain to grow up and relate how things were with Eve, his mother. She bore another little child at



the appointed hour, a son, whom I shall also name: he was called Abel, as Genesis informs us. God bestowed upon him in his youth wisdom and complete virtue, the very prize of blessedness. His nature prepared him to be so, that, when he had reached manhood, his thoughts being on good things, he (decided) to sacrifice to God (the best) that he could afford out of all his possessions. God, who always loves pure hearts, must have inspired him. As long as he lived, he never failed and gave, in order to save his soul, a tenth of his goods and did so with so pure a spirit that God took it gladly. But this was not what Cain did. His offering, his sacrifice was such as I shall describe to you. When the time had come and he had reached manhood, he sacrificed to God, but he did so with falseness, which did not please God, and with so insincere a spirit, as is the way of a heart that is false, that it was displeasing to God. Abel's sacrifice was accepted because he offered it with a pure spirit, his heart being tried and true. Cain bore Abel great hatred, because God accepted Abel's sacrifice but was so outraged by his own. In his heart Cain had thoughts which were not good. (Such as) how he, as the Devil advised him, should dispose of Abel's life, merely because he was upright and good and bore God a humble spirit, as do upright and pure men.

As Cain pondered by day and night on how he could persuade Abel to evil so that God would accept his own sacrifice with honour, Lord Adam lay asleep one night in his bed with Eve and took his ease. Then Eve started to call for help, calling out aloud in her sleep. She moaned and wept, and it was clear that her dream troubled her deeply. Adam did not waste time. He woke her out of her sleep which startled her greatly. He asked her what she meant by crying so much (and about) what she had been dreaming. She said: " God the Creator, may he have pity on us. My spirit is heavy, for I have had a terrible dream about which, lord, I shall you. May God have pity on me. I dreamt that Cain had Abel's blood upon his hands." Adam was

at once deeply shocked. " Alas," he cried, " what horror! Cain will kill Abel. Nobody can prevent that. No, yet there is one way in which we can guard against it: we must part them from each other so that no hatred may rise up between them. We must appoint Cain to be a farmer and Abel to guard the animals. Perhaps then both will be spared deep grief. And yet I grieve in my heart, for my heavy spirit tells me that there will be much unhappiness. May God have pity on me."

Thus complaining, he slept again. Next morning when the sun had illuminated the day as it was wont to do, Cain spoke to Abel: " Abel, my brother, let us go out to the field," said Cain, " and see to the work." Abel was immediately prepared to do so, for he was naive and good. He did not know the nature of his brother Cain's feelings. Alas, how heavy a sorrow. When they had come to the field, Cain repaid his brother Abel most disloyally. Could anything be more disloyal? He beat Abel to death. Alas, such mortal agony. Cain, what have you done? You have murdered a virtuous man, a quarter (of the population of the) earth. Good people, now help me mourn Abel, that virtuous man, for it was no fault of his that Cain's sacrifice was rejected by God while his was deemed acceptable. Thus Abel prefigures our Lord Jesus Christ, whom, though guiltless, the fickle mob condemned to death, so that he shed his innocent blood. Then the Devil's power was evident, which since has triumphed over many souls.

Once Abel had been murdered, Cain did not linger, but buried him and went from there, a wicked man. And when he had left the (place of the) murder, God in his pure goodness was angered by the murder and spoke thus from out of the clouds: " Cain, where is your brother?" He said: " My dear Lord, I do not know where my brother is. I cannot be following and guarding him the whole time." But our Lord said: " Cain, what have you done to Abel, that good man, whom you have murdered although he was guiltless? I hear his blood complaining to me from out of the ground and begging me for a just revenge on

you. Because of your sins you must be utterly accursed upon this earth which has opened its mouth and received the innocent blood of your brother. This murder was committed by your hand. Therefore the ground shall be eternally accursed in your (labour) to till it. That applies to all the fruit and riches that it supplies, and when the time comes for you to till it with plough and hoe, to make you suffer, nothing will grow for you except thistles and thorns. You have lost all the bliss that you had before. For evermore you must be a fugitive and a vagabond and suffer calamities upon earth. This will be remembered hereafter."

Cain was cast down by this curse. He then said to our Lord: " Lord, my guilt (demands) more than remission (of my sin). Today you have withdrawn your presence from me, so that I alone am accursed amongst mankind. You have banished me so that I must be a fugitive and a vagabond all the years (of my life). Whoever finds me may well not refrain from judging my life in the same way that I did my brother's and so kill me." But our Lord said: " Cain, that will not happen. He who finds or sees you will not avenge your brother. Your life will thus be accursed and wretched." With that Cain, the murderer, went from there, a man without grace, a dishonoured fugitive, and lived in the east in one place after the other, in accordance with the divine curse which had been laid upon him.

Here let us leave Cain to wander. We must no longer delay. Sadly, Abel lay murdered there, whom Adam and Eve mourned deeply within their hearts for the mortal agony that he, though guiltless, had suffered. After that there was no cause to wait. Eve bore their third son, whose name I shall tell you: he was called Seth. Eve said to Adam: " Lord, my dear Adam, I have born you a noble son (who will replace) our murdered Abel, who was killed by his brother Cain." Enough has now been said. Adam and Eve had (more) children, numbering thirty daughters and thirty sons, so that altogether there were sixty-three children. Their seed was increased manifold and was so blessed and scattered so far over the earth, that from it came the entire

human race. Thus they were greatly multiplied. In accordance with Adam's instructions they made him an oratory, wherein they contemplated their misdeeds before God. This was Adam's advice, and he never stopped practising it himself. Adam taught his children, whom he dearly loved in his heart, as best he could by word and deed, for he was a wise man. In time his age began to affect him, for he was very old. As it is written, he was no less than nine hundred years old, which is the truth as I have read it. One day he spoke to his son, Seth: " Seth, dear son, listen to me, let me tell you and acquaint you with something that happened to me in my time about which I have never told anybody. After God in his anger had driven myself and your mother out of paradise and, sadly, nothing more remained to us of that angelic grace which he had bestowed upon us, it came about that one day, as I was praying to God for my sins, there came to me his messenger, Michael, with a chariot. I saw that nobody was inside it and that its wheels were of fire and gave so bright a light, that to talk of it affrights my senses. In it he translated me swiftly and silently to fair paradise, from whence our Lord had driven me because of my transgression. There I saw with my own eyes our Lord seated most beautifully. This beauty gave so beauteous a light that nothing may be compared with it. It shone like the fountain of the world, and the stars, the moon, the sun, and all the heavenly radiance could not compare with it. At the same time I saw to his left side and to his right a host of many thousands of angels. They were all of the same brilliance, so that my heart cannot reveal nor my tongue tell the joys that I saw there. What I tell you did take place. I cast myself down upon the ground at the feet of our sweet Lord. The angels raised me up again from the ground. Thus I stood before our Lord, whom the angelic choir serves.

" As I stood and he beheld me, he spoke angrily to me: ' Adam, what have you done ? Nobody can save you. You must die the death, and your body must be destroyed, for you have scorned me and with the burden of sin upon you followed your

wife, whom I took from your body and fashioned in order that through fear of you she would do or refrain from doing whatever you told her to do or not to do. You followed her rather than me, that I know. Because of this you have been driven from the angelic choir and from this feast for the eyes.' I was sad when I heard this. I fell down upon the ground before the worthy one; I sought grace and said: ' God the protector of all grace, almighty one and heaven's adornment, be gracious to me, reveal to me your almighty power, and do not let your creation perish, for it was you, Lord, who made me. Even though I have demeaned myself by my sinful misdeed, yet spare me, your creation, and do not let me, Lord, be deprived of (the sight of) your beautiful countenance and your presence which brings so much joy. Deny me not your grace upon which so many of your virtues rest and which you revealed when I subjected myself to the burden of sin.'

" I shall tell you, dear son, the answer that our Lord gave to me. He said: ' Adam, poor man, you have sinned too greatly. Tell me, how do your days pass ? You were once young, now you are old (and have suffered) all kinds of misfortunes as a consequence of your sin. You have the understanding to distinguish evil from good. How can that help you ? I think it would have been better for you, if you had stayed there from where you were banished, in the glory of paradise, where you lacked nothing but where you must now be a stranger.' These words made me extremely glad. I then spoke to our Lord: ' You are eternal, mighty God. Your command is sweet and true. You are the eternal morning star, the light of the heavens and the deep. By your word was created whatever swims, walks, or crawls, which must live in your honour since you gave it life. They praise you, as is right, for you are the Creator of them all. God, Lord, blazing morning light, do not drive me from your presence, for nothing can compare with it.'

" When I had finished, I scarcely recovered from the terror (I felt). With that paradise vanished. The angel took me by the

hand and set me back on the spot whence he had snatched me up. He flew away and left me here. Since then I have never spoken of it. Dear son, those are the secrets which, without deceit, God proclaimed and revealed to me, according to his great goodness, who never abandons his own."

Adam said no more to his son than what I have related. His age was starting to trouble him, for he was an old man. Nevertheless it is said that for thirty years after the talk he had had with his son he lived on in sound mind. Thereafter the years began to weigh heavily on him, for his death was imminent, as he knew well. The agony brought on by a dreadful sickness made him almost unconscious. He lay on his bed the whole time and would cry " Alas, alas," for the power of death had broken him. In his sorrow he said: " Beloved Eve, dear wife, you are my flesh and blood, for you were taken from me. The time has now come that I must die. Dear Eve, be now so good and gather together all my children that are born of you, that they may come here to me so that I can tell them and you about the bitter pains that I am suffering in my heart and all over my body from head to toe." She made no delay setting off, for she felt deeply sorry for him. Immediately she went in mourning to where all the children were. She told them the unhappy news that their father was ill and prostrated by his suffering and did nothing but cry out. With that they made no delay. They came before him in the oratory, where he cried only " Alas, alas." This he did because of his great suffering. But when he saw them, his eyes grew wet with (tears of) joy, despite the torments of death. He looked on them with great longing as a dying man. They said: " Father, what is this ? Why are you lying so exhausted here in bed, and why are you so sad ? And why are we gathered here at this hour in such haste ?" Adam said: " I am suffering and am forced to lie. From head to foot I am suffering agonies. I will not endure it any longer, may God stand by me." The children were very sad. They then said to Adam: " Lord, what is suffering ? You must describe it

to us. We who do not know what suffering is shall then be better informed." With that they were silent. Their heads were sunk in sorrow because of their father. Seth, his dear son, then spoke: " Lord, father, as I understand it, you are longing for the nourishment of that sweet fruit, which you used to eat in paradise, the thought of which is making you sad. I only suspect this, so you must tell me, and then I shall go without hindrance across mountains and valleys up to the gate of paradise, before which I shall then lie with ashes sprinkled upon my head and do nothing but pray and lament, until God hears me and has pity for your great torments and allows his angel to send from paradise the food which he has brought me and for which you long in your heart. Lord, my dearest father, my hope tells me that I shall bring (you) the fruit. God grant that I may be successful."

Adam said: " Dearest child, as much as I love you, God knows well that I am not longing, as you think, for the fruit of paradise, but that a dreadful disease and great agonies oppress me." The children were amazed and (curious to know) what suffering was. They said: " Tell us, Father, what pain is, since you are in pain, so that we know what to do." Adam with a groan again spoke: " Now listen, my dear children, and learn) what pain and suffering are and the cause of this malady. When goodness compelled God, the sweet and good one, to create me and your mother and to give us angelic food in paradise, only one tree was forbidden to us. He said: ' You will choose death, if you eat of that fruit, for you will at once forget amid all kinds of sufferings this feast for the eyes.' In his goodness he further gave us two angels to guard us, who were to give us protection. As they ascended to heaven at the hour of prayer, there came the adversary of what is right, the terrible Devil, and with misleading persuasion and false envy, which since then I have often lamented, he betrayed Eve. He lied with sweet words and advised her to eat from the Tree so that she would not forget that angelic feast for the eyes. Alas,

to the misfortune of us all, heeding the evil spirit's counsel she ate the fruit at once, and I too followed her in her misdeed.

" When our suffering had come to pass, God spoke angrily to us: ' You have done great wrong in taking the fruit which I forbade you. You will have to endure all kinds of misfortunes' because of this sin, since you would not refrain from (eating the) fruit that has done you little good. I will lay upon you seventy maladies which will plague you from head to foot. I shall seldom spare you, and without pity from me you will suffer in all your limbs sickness and torment, not in one (place) but everywhere, as will all those who succeed you.'

" That is the curse and the birth-right which God, on account of our misdeed, meted out to us, to our sorrow, and which I was the first to inherit. Alas, that eating (should have brought such) wretchedness, and accursed be the food that brings me in so mean a fashion so much pain that I cannot fully describe it. I must grieve because of my misfortunes which are great, for I, wretched man, have no respite from my pains, which will make an end of my life."

When Adam had lamented so bitterly and told Eve and the children of the bitter pains that he suffered in his heart, and Eve had seen him weep, she too wept and said: " Lord God of virtue, since you created us in order to praise and honour you, be gracious and ease Adam's sufferings, which he endures and I alone deserve, and visit them upon my body, since it was I, wretched woman, who committed the sin in the first place. I alone should suffer the pains, that would be just. Adam, dearest lord, share with me the pain that causes you to lament from your heart. Give more than half of it to me so that part of the pain that I heard you describe, will be eased." " Eve, that cannot be. Instead do as I ask, for thereby you will ease me. Take my son Seth with you, for he is dearest to me; he is good and wise, and go to paradise and lie before it on the ground with heartfelt lamentation, and pray both night and day, so that it is apparent that your hearts are full of suffering



because of my bitter agony. Scatter ashes on your heads so that you will convince them that you are seeking grace. Perhaps God will increase his honour through me and have mercy upon me, sick man that I am, and send me what I desire by his sweet angel from the Tree of his Mercy from which the sweetness of Life flows at all times. Perhaps you will be given a little (of this) from the garden of delights so that with it you may annoint and dress my sick (body) and, according to old usage, I can rest a while from the torments that I suffer from head to foot. Honoured God, now free me from my suffering soon, for my death and my recovery, Lord, depend upon you alone. Help me, Lord, for it is time. Forgive me my misdeed, spare him who was created by your sweet hand divine, and grant me freedom from these bands, which constrict me and bring nothing but suffering and will end my life. Ah dear God, have mercy on me in your mercy for me."

Eve and Seth were prepared (to go), for Adam's plight brought anguish to their hearts. They immediately rose, as he had asked them, and departed from his presence. The Devil made no delay. He rose up in their path, a frightening object, for he was disguised as a serpent. As they drew closer to him the same demonic serpent bit Seth's cheek, and so deep was the bite caused by the serpent's attack that Seth fell to the ground, but he (later) recovered his senses. Meanwhile, Eve addressed the serpent: "Alas, accursed spirit, how many times and for how much longer will you cause us suffering? Who gave you the audacity that you dare touch my son, who bears both the sign and image of God?" The Devil immediately replied: "Eve, as I have already told you, is not our deception of the human race due to the fact that through it the joys of heaven were destroyed and taken from us? Are your senses so dull? Should you not make haste and carry your son from here, whom I have bitten? You had the strength to eat of the Tree for which you are suffering such punishment, and it was I who counselled and supported you, as you yourself well know."

Seth came to his senses. He no longer lay on the ground and was silent. He said: " Leave us, and may God's hatred be upon you, devilish spirit, begetter of all lies, accursed adversary of the truth, originator of falsehood, teller of the first lies. Flee from the image of God here, this I command of you on behalf of God, who created us in his likeness, as his goodness required and demanded it of him."

The Devil said: " I will leave you as you have commanded me." With that he vanished. Seth recovered immediately. He rose restored and went with Eve, his mother, to the gates of paradise before which they prostrated themselves in prayer, lamentation, and repentance and did everything that Adam had told them. They begged for the Oil of Mercy with all their might, whereby they wished to relieve Adam's suffering and sorrow which oppressed him so bitterly. And as they lay there in sorrowful supplication, both prostrated upon the ground, worthy Saint Michael, the guardian of paradise, appeared to them (in person), and he who is without fault bore a green olive-branch in his hand. He said: " I have been sent here, Seth, man of God, in order to tell you that you must moderate your complaining and the petitions of your prayer that you now make here for the Oil of Mercy. In truth, it must be said that you ought no longer to contemplate it, for you shall never gain it until the time, that is true, when five thousand and two hundred years have passed, after which the Lord of heaven will descend upon earth, a most loving king, Jesus Christ, the son of God, who ever was and ever is. He will be baptized in the Jordan, that is true, in order to wash the human race clean of its inherited state, which your mother and Adam through their disobedience both brought upon the world to the sorrow of future generations. The same Son of God will, as I make known to you, without opposition, when that blissful time comes, anoint all those blessed children who have been chosen with the sweetness of the Oil of his Mercy. They must be chosen and born again through water and the Holy

Spirit. These two things are the clearest divine path to the blessed life which will be given to him who has been baptized. Thus will the Lord of Heaven restore your father to health and once more lead him to paradise, where he will be permitted to touch the Tree of Mercy from which the sweetness of life freely flows. He will then taste the fruit to the full for ever. A host of souls will also be led into glorious paradise, so that they can live eternally without any pain."

Seth said to the angel: " Whatever misfortune befell me is now renewed. I must grieve in my heart, if my father is to lie sick and joyless for so many years, as you, dear angel, have told me is the truth. That would be a calamitous fate. Death would be preferable for him to the agony that he suffers and from which he will not be relieved for five thousand and two hundred years. Alas, how can I bear it, if he is to lie sick and ailing for so long ? That destroys all my happiness. Dear angel, tell me if there is anything I can do in order to avert my father's ordeal." The angel replied: " You are permitted to know that six days from today Adam's complaint on account of his body will be ended, but not concerning his soul, which must be imprisoned in hell until the time is fulfilled.

" As I have told you, when the sixth day dawns your father is to die, and his body is to perish. Your eyes will then see the marvels and great portents that shall take place in heaven and on earth, as they most grievously lament your father's death. I will also tell you that when he is buried you are to have this green olive-branch as a symbol of your father's redemption. You must plant it by hand at your father's head, so that the truth that you and I (share) may be believed, for when the branch bears fruit, believe these words of mine, your father will rise again from the dead and will then be cured eternally and never sicken again." With that the glorious angel put the branch in his hand. He vanished before their eyes and went whence he had been sent.

Seth rejoiced over the branch. He then spoke to his mother:

" We must plant this branch carefully and water it in accordance with the dear angel's tidings, so that it will soon bear fruit and our father will be resurrected. Then he will never again be ill." Ah, dear God, how uncomprehending were Seth and Eve, those two people, as to what the angel meant. When he told them that as soon as the branch bore fruit Adam's punishment would be at an end, he meant it in the sense that when time had passed, as he had already told them, the pure sweet Lord of Heaven would descend to earth and take on human flesh and drive away our sorrow. For this that branch must grow, so that the immaculate Lamb of God might die upon it and win life for us with his pure death. Thus Adam's soul would be redeemed from all suffering, and many souls would receive divine comfort. Seth had heard the words that the angel had spoken to him but had not grasped the truth, for he was under the delusion that when, according to its nature, the branch of the olive-tree had borne fruit, his father Adam would recover from his mortal illness. That was a childish idea, for the angel meant, as the truth proves and as I said before, only that God wished to assume human flesh, thereby redeeming Adam, his creation, and all those whom the powers of hell had defeated.

We must no longer hold up the story. Eve and Seth, who had been sent to paradise, immediately set off and returned to Adam, the (pain) in whose limbs was much worse than before, so that he cried only " Alas, alas." They told him the story of how an angel had appeared to them and told them that nobody could obtain the Oil of Mercy until the blessed hour when the Son of God would come, who alone was entitled to dispense it. They also showed him the branch which had been sent from paradise by the angel. It was immediately placed near Adam's head, whose mind, however, had turned to sorrow because of his sufferings. In anguish he spoke to Eve: " Ah, Eve, what have you done to put me, wretched man, and all our descendants in God's displeasure ? I know well what will happen hereafter, for my conscience tells me that all over the world the children who

will succeed us will begin to curse you and seek revenge on us from the wrathful God whose sweet command we opposed, which made us the originators of all sin. In the future they will say: ' Lord God, you must avenge (us) for Eve and our father, Adam, who through their disobedience have brought many sorrows and trials upon us which will never end. The earth bears us with difficulty and must nourish our bodies. We are deprived of many blessings which we would gladly have. This was brought about by Eve who succumbed in eating the apple, whereby all kinds of troubles were brought upon us which sin forced upon her.' This complaint will often be made to God."

When Eve heard this, the little joy that was there was driven from her heart. No woman's mouth ever uttered such heartfelt contrition. The pain was fresh, for there immediately welled up from the bottom of her heart a torrent of never-ending tears, as she dwelt upon her misfortune in being the originator and cause of all the sinfulness in the world. This weighed heavily upon her spirit. There is nobody so unfeeling that would not pity Eve, that poor woman, on seeing the tears flowing from her (eyes). There were three sorrows which caused her pain and which she lamented piteously. First she lamented the misfortune that because of the devil's counsel and her own misdeed she had with heartfelt suffering been driven from paradise, that beautiful feast for the eyes, and that no grace had remained to her, nothing but sorrow and misfortune. That was her first sorrow. The second that she lamented was that she had earned the ensuing reproach, namely that it would always be said of her that she was the originator of sin and misfortune which the world now endures, as can be seen daily. The world practises nothing but sin and misdeeds. Sorrow, destruction, and heartfelt grief have taken over the world, and that was the result of our mother Eve's eating (of the apple). The third cause of her grief — who can adequately express such moving lamentation ? — was occasioned by her beloved husband, who lay unconscious in the grip of unrelenting agonies, for he lay at death's (door).

This gave her the most cause to grieve. She said: " Alas, that I should have ever lived to see the this day. My happiness is only now abandoning me, since, unhappily, I cannot help my dear husband, who is suffering so wretchedly. It would not be too much for my body, if it were God's will, that I rather than he should suffer pain. Dear God, since I ask it of you, inflict these pains upon my body." Thus the poor woman tortured herself with her three sorrows which she lamented from her heart with bitter tears.

Whoever curses Eve and seeks revenge, because she ate the apple and Adam did the same, is committing a sin himself, for, as I understand it, God permitted sin (to enter the world), so that it would bear witness to his great mercy and because he wished to take on human flesh, as the Bible informs me. If now nobody were to sin, who would there then be that would pray to God for mercy ? It is well known that God condemned the whole world through one sinful act, so that people would recognize and call upon his mercy, from whom mercy flows, which many a sinner has enjoyed, and faithfully believe that his mercy outweighs all the sins of the world. Who is there capable of describing God's mercy ? He would be at a loss for words. It would be easier to count the number of stars or the grains of sand in the sea than (to estimate) the mercy of God, who is ready to receive the sinner the moment he seeks mercy in contrition. Mercy will be granted, so that it may increase.

We shall now resume the story where we left off. Adam still lay in pain, barely alive, and, as the angel had said, when the sixth day dawned, he knew that the time (had come) and that without reprieve he would die the death that day, as God wished. Eve and his children, who numbered sixty-one in all, stood there, and great was their lamentation. And as it approached midday, Adam, that half-dead man, looked sadly at the children. He mourned with great sorrow that he must leave them because of that pain that he suffered in his heart. He said: " Dear children, my days are finished. I am, according to my reckoning,

nine hundred and thirty years old. I ask you now, dear children, that when I die, you bury me facing the east and the light of the sun." With that he lifted up his hands to God in heaven. Grim death broke him, so that he exclaimed piteously: " Ah, heart," he said, " break in twain, so that I may die at this moment, for my life is of no use to me. Therefore, God my father, be gracious to me and do not be too stern as I die, since you alone are good. Grant that angelic protection may be given to my poor soul, which you, Lord, created. You gave it to me, and now it is yours again to grant, Lord, that it may be led into your heavenly kingdom and into your dear presence which is so necessary to happiness." His words were accompanied by a sad bitterness, and his heart was heard cracking like dry tinder, for he was a strong man. After that he sighed as he surrendered up his spirit. Immediately the sunshine disappeared, and it is true that the moon and the bright stars concealed their beauty until the seventh day. Heaven and that which adorns it was troubled. Great earthquakes were caused by Adam's death, who, sadly, lay there dead. Nobody can fully describe the lament which Eve and the children began. In great distress Seth and the poor woman embraced Adam's corpse. " Alas " was uttered many times. The poor woman moaned as she lay on top of Adam in tears and did nothing but lament bitterly. She cried out aloud: " Alas the day which today dawned on my sorrow! It would not seem calamitous to me, if I, Adam, my dear lord, were to be dead with you, for I have lost in you all the joy that I ever knew. You were always my most valued treasure and comfort, for you often freed me from sorrow. Who is now to comfort me, Adam my lord, now that I have lost you? You were so good and pure that I weep for you with just cause. Your death will be death to me. My heart must be destroyed by anguish for evermore. I know not where to turn, since you, Adam my lord, have been vanquished, wherefore I must disregard life and from now on do nothing but mourn."

I expect there is nobody alive who is so wise, whether

he be young or old, that could fully imagine the words and lamentations which Eve and the children uttered. All who are now alive cannot fully describe the piteous lamentations to which the daughters and sons gave voice. It was their right to do so. They justly mourned him as did heaven and earth and that which they contained in the firmament, which God had formed with every means (in his power); they mourned him bitterly, for his death brought sorrow to them all. The light of the sun, the moon, and the stars was dimmed with sorrow because of Adam's death. As God ordained, the riches of the earth and all its species which had been created by God also mourned him. The trees began to wither, and the sources of the springs which flowed into the valleys no longer enjoyed their powers. They had to remain still and mourn the dead man. The fishes in the sea were saddened by Adam's death. Everywhere the birds fell down (from the skies). Both wild and tame animals mourned Lord Adam in some piteous way. Thus they proved that he had indeed been their lord, for we read that he had in command dragons and lions and other animals who were bound to work and pull ploughs and were not allowed to escape, for they all had to do obediently what Adam commanded. Thus continued the mournful lamentations, according to the books, for six nights and six days.

As I said before Adam, the dead man, now lay in the oratory that he had built. Eve and Seth, his dear son and his wife, had been embracing the corpse. They had shed quantities of tears over him. Now behold how at that hour our Lord God appeared with the angelic host and the pure souls. The prince of angels, Saint Michael, in his angelic robes and (accompanied by) the souls at once took up position by Adam's head. He spoke: "What is the meaning of this? Why is that poor woman lying on the body in unseemly lamentation? Stand up, as I tell you, (and leave) the corpse and see what our Lord proposes for Adam, he who perfects the godhead and for whom nothing is too much. God will have mercy on his creation, on Adam, whom he created



in his own image, (the image) through which the Devil was often defeated."

When they heard the angel, Seth and the poor woman stood up and left the corpse. They stood on a hill, and their eyes were wet with tears, for, unhappily, before them lay dead he who had cared for them loyally many days and years. Thereupon the entire angelic host (that accompanied) our Lord God burst into praise of him. Their voices carried far, and resoundingly they sang: "Benedictus dominus, praises be to you, Lord God, for your command has been fulfilled. All praise and honour are due to you from the beginning and for evermore. You who are the ornament of heaven, the radiance of the sun, are praised, because in your mercy you have released your creation from the struggles of this world. For this you shall be praised and honoured now and for ever." Eve and her son Seth now saw clearly what God in his goodness did with Adam. He laid his divine hand upon Adam's head. His soul he entrusted to Saint Michael saying: "It will be your office, empowered by me, to conduct to heaven the spirits of all those whom you know to have led a good life. But now for the most part the entire human race must be banished from me, whether it conducts itself well or badly, it must be consigned to hell. As must also this soul here, which never defied me, apart from (committing) the first misdeed. It may not be spared, for my wrath (decrees) that it must be in hell with other souls, until the final hour when I shall overcome death. Then the enmity of my god-head towards the human race shall be dispelled. I shall come in great joy, and with my divine power I shall break open the confines of hell. Those who have carried out my will I shall set free with my powerful hand from the chains of purgatory. But first and foremost I shall set free this spirit, Adam, my creation, and will place him beside me on the highest throne, for I fashioned him with my own hand in my own image. That he will be permitted to enjoy. When the time is fulfilled his joys will be increased without fail and his sadness will be

transformed into bliss and have no end. This bliss will increase my joy that he is to share with me. These honours I shall be glad to bestow on him. This will happen the moment Adam sees me in hell. Up until then my mercy shall be concealed within the godhead because of the evil ways of mankind."

When God had finished speaking, there was no more delay. The poor soul was dispatched to hell, where it was to languish in the gloom until the time, as has already been described, when the enmity of the godhead towards the human race shall be dispelled. Alas, for so sorrowful a journey. Poor Adam's soul found that of loyal Abel imprisoned in hell, who though guiltless had been slain by his brother's hand. Even though he had been the epitome of righteousness, he still had to suffer hardship in purgatory. Alas for the lamentable deed which brought it about that members of the human race could be good and honest and still have to make the journey and wait in penance until death is vanquished, when he will die on the cross and win their freedom, thereby destroying the prince of hell.

Listen carefully to what happens here. Our Lord God made plain how much he loved Adam. His grace and goodness were fully bestowed upon him then. He prevailed upon two angels, the one was Saint Michael, the other angel was called Gabriel, as we read the truth, to bring immediately two snow-white shrouds which had been prepared by the hands of angels. As is customary amongst the dead, Lord Adam was covered with one as was Abel, that paragon of virtue, who had lain dead on the field there for many years and whom neither sun, wind, nor rain had ever harmed in the least. He had remained uncorrupted and without a blemish. He was in no way disfigured as other corpses would have been. He was buried with Adam in the grave. God, the sweet prince of heaven, followed the corpses with the marvellous throng. The green branch of the olive-tree which had been sent from paradise by the angel, was carried in the hand of an angel until the grave was ready, wherein Adam was laid and his dear son Abel. The prince of angels, Saint Michael,

and the angelic host did all that befitted a human funeral. No mortals were ever seen to have been laid in earth with such high honour as were these two men here. The earth received the corpses. With miraculous beauty they were laid to rest by the angelic spirits. Thus they carried out the honourable duty which our Lord God had commanded them to perform. Saint Michael immediately addressed Seth and Eve: " You must watch, note, and closely observe how the corpses have been treated, so that you do likewise to your dead." Many noble and sweet varieties of incense could be distinguished. The olive-branch was planted, as I am informed, near Adam's head, so that it would be a symbol, when it bore fruit, of Adam's redemption from the depths of murky hell, where he was imprisoned. Now the funeral had been completed with angelic honour. God, whom the angels adore, caused the heavens to bow down in homage to him, and thus they received him with his angelic host, for he was their Creator. Give us, Lord, in you grace, the same heavenly palace, where no injury of any sort nor malady may intrude, for the sake of your goodness and the love which you bore Adam, when your divine hand protected him and freed him from hell. Then you came to comfort your creation which had been purified by repentance and deprivation, so that the enmity of your godhead towards sinners was dispelled. Grant that in your mercy we may be delivered from the burden of all misdeeds. May we, Lord, rejoice that your powerful godhead assumed the guise of our weak frame. Remember the power of your love and that we are imprisoned by sin. Therefore teach us to practise repentance and deliver us from the ways of sin for the sake of the blood that gushed from your side.

The lords (Adam and Abel) are now buried. The children departed in sorrow, both daughters and sons, bearing the burden of grief. Eve and her son, Seth, remained behind by the grave with their sorrowful lamentations. They began to do in ample measure whatever the sorrow in their hearts dictated. Their grief could no longer be assuaged, and in anguish they fell to

the ground. Hot tears welled up in the eyes of both and flowed like a stream. In her grief Eve exclaimed: " Alas, wretched woman that I am! What are life and health to me, now that you, my lord and beloved husband, have left me here behind you in this vale of suffering? Ah, could I but have a choice (granted me by) our Lord God, what would then prevent me from dying with you? That would be the best thing that could happen to me. We were always of one flesh, and complete devotion was ever apparent between us, so that death is indiscriminate in killing only you. Ah, Adam, my lord, my dearest treasure, I should be dead with you. I cannot survive without you. My comfort; my joys, my bliss are all buried in the grave with you. With you has died, dearest husband, whatever honour I had. Alas, how wretched I am! I believe that the high God of heaven has very little mercy (for us), and grace is unequally (bestowed), for you, dear Adam, my lord, have been ensnared by death because of my disobedience. Alas, alack, what wretched fate that I must be deprived of him who always allayed my fears, who taught me loyalty, and for whom my heart longs. Ah, bitter death, repent you now of what you have made me suffer. Lead me on the same journey and spare your powers no longer. Ah, wretched woman that I am! May my soul burst in bitterness out of my body. Alas, death, you are a coward. Are you afraid of a poor woman? My body is so weak that you could reduce me to what I originated from, mere ashes and earth, which is what I long for in my grief. Ah, devil, (take me) now, for life and well-being have ended with Adam, my lord."

He who has a pure heart should now grieve for the great sorrow that Eve suffered at the grave. Her son, loyal Seth, told her to take care of herself. He also lamented so piteously that it is beyond description. Their sighs could be heard from the bottom of their hearts (rivalling) their tears. Neither my imagination nor my tongue can rightly tell the sorrow that that woman suffered and lamented until the sixth day.

Whoever now experiences sorrow in his heart and suffers

sorrow in such a way that, sorrowfully, one heart's sorrow pursues the next in sorrow, so that there is sorrow upon sorrow, and yet the one sorrow may not drive out the other, his heart must indeed balk at joyful things. The sorrow and suffering of one whose heart has been broken by all the sorrow that ever was still can not be compared with the heartfelt pain that Eve suffered here. The first sorrow was that she had disobeyed our Lord's first command; the second that she had left fair paradise; the third that, deceived and against Adam's counsel, she had abandoned her penance so hastily; the fourth that her son, Abel, that paragon of loyalty, had been murdered by his brother, Cain. There was enough suffering for her in these sorrows. Yet only a part of her many different sufferings have been mentioned, each of which pierced her heart. That great sorrow had partly released its hold on her. But now all that had ever caused her grief seized her in its entirety. Alas, how one heartfelt sorrow sorrowfully pursued the other, and each sorrow remained complete. Renewed was all her sorrow with unrelenting bitterness, for he was buried with whom she had passed many nights and days of love. My powers are too weak to describe fully such lamentation. But one thing I know to be true, which is that bitter suffering overcame her heart and all her limbs as well, so that she was unable to utter a word. Thus she lay almost dead until the sixth morning and partook of neither drink nor food. She was possessed by bitter thoughts of death. An angel sent from heaven made no delay. He found poor Eve still lying by the grave and Seth, her dear son, as well, whose heart was also breaking with sorrow. To both of them he said: "Hear me, Seth, and you, poor woman, you are not to mourn a corpse for more than six days. As I tell you, the seventh day is without a doubt a symbol of the future Resurrection when our Lord will rise (from the dead) and after sorrow enjoy happiness and honour. When God created the whole world and everything in it, he did so in six days, and on the seventh day it was his pleasure to rest from

his work. Therefore follow my teaching, for it is that of God. You must not mourn your dead for longer than six days, and your lamentation should be restrained." The angel vanished with these words. Some of the children immediately came to the grave where their mother lay suffering great misery. Her mind had turned to sorrow. They brought her and their brother Seth home. Her grief distressed them all and their lamentation was renewed. This was on the sixth day. All over the earth it was still dark, that is true, for owing to Adam's death the rulers of the heavens were in mourning. The night passed in sorrow. On the morning of the seventh day there was an end to the general mourning. From the heavens the sun shone down upon the world. Water flowed once more and the fishes swam as they were wont to do. The birds no longer mourned and again practised their song. The animals, inhibited by the darkness, now ran as they were used to the woods or wherever they pleased. The trees and the little flowers rejoiced in the sunshine. And, as we read, whatever had been unhappy was now freed from its sorrow.

As the bright sun lit up the day, as it was accustomed to do, everything on earth rejoiced. All but Eve who, sadly, lay there unconscious. The bright day was as night to her for she could neither hear nor see. Death tormented her bitterly for she was to die that day as God wished. The children all came to her and took heed of her pains. When they were gathered together it was apparent how concerned they were for their mother, who lay there in a very weak state. The children grieved over this. As it approached midday Eve recovered her senses and was able to speak: "Alas, Adam, my dear lord," she said, "your sweet name should be blessed by God. When I am dead my soul should bear the burden of your death and mourn in sorrow for ever. Alas, beloved Adam, there was no equal to the virtues which were often apparent to me in you. Death has vanquished in you the best of men, whosoever deserved the name of man. Ah, Adam, my lord, dear heart, your goodness, stillness, and perfection I could trust in love. I shall always

regret that I lived for so long after you. Now it is decreed that I am to die today. I shall suffer death willingly, for then my soul will again see your pure soul and will be able to tell you of the sorrows which it endured. Here they loved each other, so may they be treated equally whatever happens in the next world. Now, my poor soul, make no delay."

When she had finished speaking, she raised her hands to heaven. She saw her children before her. In a sorrowful voice she addressed them: " Dear children, listen now to me. The hour is come, and today I shall and must die. My death is close at hand. My heart is overladen with sorrow. With the especial grace of God I am being permitted to die, which is what I long for in my heart. Therefore listen to what I tell you: because of the inherited sinfulness your race will rise up and commit inhuman atrocities, and because of this sinfulness God will everywhere destroy with the power of water all the species that he created. Only four men and four women will survive and remain alive. Their seed will be scattered so far that from it will spring a great, a mighty race. Many changes of scene will be evident, where once there was forest hands will clear it, the wilderness will be cultivated and mastered. When the world has been united in all its best virtues, there will come at last our Lord's Judgement Day, from which nothing can be concealed. As my spirit tells me, there will be a rain of fire that will consume mankind and earth. Both mountains and valleys will be levelled out. That will happen everywhere. Indeed it is not for me to know what will take place. That is a mystery of God. Dear children, in truth I have told you this, so that you will take care and beware of doing evil deeds. That is my prayer and my counsel which springs from my heart.

" Dear children, now I ask something more of you, namely that you honour your mother and bury my corpse with that of Adam, my dear lord, so that my side touches his and his pure body mine. Then you will have done well for me, for at the Last Judgement when God destroys the world, I shall be resurrected

with him. Therefore I entrust your lives to our Lord's protection, that he may protect you with his divine blessing, for I must now die. Death will relieve me of my cares." With that she left her bed and, falling upon her bare knees, reached out her hands to God. She praised his grace and his commands with heart and voice as best she could. With that her spirit left her. In accordance with our Lord's will she had to go to hell, where she found Adam and her child, Abel, in the darkness. The children immediately took up their mother and proceeded to bury her with great ceremony and festivities. She was buried at Adam's side with great honour. As we have mentioned before, the green branch of the olive-tree had been planted at the grave. It was flourishing beautifully and leaves appeared upon it. When Adam's children saw this they said to each other: " God will end the sorrow in our hearts shortly, as the angel told us, for the branch flourishes upon which our future hopes depend. When the tree bears fruit according to its nature, our father Adam will recover from his mortal illness. Therefore we must take pains to see that it is always well cared for. We must give it enough damp, rich manure, since its fruit will restore our father to life. Blessed be the day on which it brings forth its fruit, for we shall be saved and our dear father Adam will be redeemed. This is a blessed seed which has come from God for our happiness."

They then departed from the grave. Amidst their lamentation they were glad that the tree was flourishing which had only recently been planted there. They often studied it. They tended it carefully. Not a morning passed without their going to the tree in order to inspect whether there was any fruit on it. That was a foolish action. The tree grew so that it was fair and tall, and its foliage was so thick that neither rain nor the rays of the sun could penetrate it. I have never heard of a tree that was so beautiful to behold. If one in death's despair were seated under the tree, he would at once forget all his woes. It brought so much joy. It stood, it is true,



with foliage that never rotted throughout the year, neither in summer nor in winter. Frost and snow never harmed it as it does other trees. It was much loved by Adam's children, yet they could never find any fruit upon it, despite its being so beautiful, as, every morning they hunted through its leaves. Since they gained nothing from their expeditions and it would not bear any fruit, they despaired of their father and his life. They departed and at once spread themselves far and wide throughout the land, one here and the other there. They multiplied in numbers, so that from their seed a great and mighty world arose. They never returned. They had waited in vain. Thus the tree stood without food.

The children had gone, but Seth like a good man stayed in the oratory, where he bided his time. With tears streaming down his face he silently mourned his dear father's death and the anguish that it had caused his mother. He pondered on what he was next to undertake so determinedly. He wanted to try (to see) if God would have mercy and give him something from paradise that would bring his father back to life. He rose at once and went towards paradise. The holy angel Cherubin appeared to him on his way there, to whom the custodianship of paradise had been given by our Lord. In his hand he bore a branch that was as green as grass and had been sent directly from God, and from it hung half the apple from which, many years before, Eve had bitten the other half, thereby bringing suffering and misfortune to the world. The angel spoke to Seth: " Tell me, Seth, what you seek." " Lord, nothing but that you may be so good as to give me some advice. I find myself in unhappy circumstances, which I expect you already know, and must weep above all for my father who still lies there dead and my mother as well. They are now both gone who were to take care of me and teach me the right way. Therefore, for the love of God, help and advise me, as I asked you once before." The angel Cherubin replied: " Your mother's grief, your sorrow, even your father's death, and the misfortunes of all the world originated from this

branch, when in paradise your mother bit into this apple. Your father and mother are to be redeemed by this wood. Just as this small piece of wood brought about their deaths, so all their misfortune will have its end on this same wood. It has been sent to you from paradise (in answer to) your loyal wishes. You are to have it in your keeping with much reverence, and you are also to take care of the olive-tree at all times which flourishes on the sight of your father's grave. Eve and your father Adam, who because of their disobedience have suffered many misfortunes and now at last death, will be redeemed from their sorrow by these two trees. Inasmuch as they are (now) but slaves and the children of death, so they will hereafter be free." With that he put the branch with the apple in his hand. The holy angel Cherubin then vanished before his eyes. Seth returned joyfully to the oratory. Being a good man he took care of the branch without falsehood and with a pure spirit. Daily he said his prayers for his sins before it. Thereafter many good people honoured it highly. Whoever was the best man and known to be true had the branch consigned to his care because of his holy way of life, for, as the book says, there was at that time on earth nothing sacred except the branch that would bring about salvation. Thus it passed into a number of hands until it came to Noah, who had it a long time as his heart was so pure. He cared for it with great honour for many years and days, until the time came, as it is written, when God destroyed the whole world with a flood of water, because it had sinned too greatly, as the Bible tells us. As the clouds poured forth so much (water) and all the waters flowed together, there was such an increase that (the flood) rose six hundred cubits up to the highest mountains that God had once created, and the entire human race died in God's wrath. Noah, however, that good man ever mindful of God, survived in the ark with everybody that was with him, and he had the aforementioned apple-branch with him in the ark. Thus the unruly waves wrought havoc for fully forty days. Thereafter the water stood still and did not rise any further, and Noah noticed

that the water had begun to drop. He sent out a raven to be his messenger. He sent it out in the hope that if it was unable to find anywhere to perch and rest, it would return and bring him news of whether the waves of the deep were receding anywhere. The raven flew around and fell upon a corpse, for it was very hungry. It sat on the corpse and ate until it was sated, when<sup>e</sup> upon it drowned. It never returned with any news. After that, as the Bible tells us, on another day Noah sent out a dove in which he had more trust. It flew out of the window at once, and as it could not find anywhere to alight, it flew back to the ark and in at the window with the purpose of showing that it had gleaned the truth without perishing in the waves. Both (God's) wrath and the waters began to abate, and when this happened, seven days later, worthy Noah sent out the dove, as he had before, to discover whether the waters had receded which had caused so much suffering.

The dove, as it was bidden, made no delay and flew at once from the ark, and when it had found the olive-tree, which was still as green as grass and which had been planted on Adam's grave, as I have already related, the dove perched on the tree, for it was weary and damp from flying, and rested a little upon it. Like any loyal messenger it wanted to have a token. The waters were falling swiftly, and it carried out its duties happily. With its small beak it picked off a branch from the olive-tree, so that it would be apparent that God now sought peace and his great wrath upon the whole world was spent. Without mishap it flew with the branch back to the ark and in at the window. With the branch it brought the peace that God intended for the world up to the very end. Noah held out both hands and received the branch from the dove's tiny beak. Then the dove flew away, for it wanted freedom and food, just like a fish that has been freed from the hook. Noah understood the significance full well, as do all wise men, namely that this sacred branch proclaims the peace of God and that it was a sign that God would put an end to the waves of the flood. For

this he raised his hands to heaven in prayer. He kept the branch ever after as befitted its sanctity. He also took the apple-branch and held it in great honour, for, as I said before, both branches had a part to play in the future. Whosoever had been enslaved by death would, through both branches, be released from death. Thus we here leave (off discussion of) the branches. When the flood had subsided and (its waters) had flowed away everywhere, the ark came to rest in a valley. Noah and his company were so fertile that from their seed and fruit came a world that is strong and mighty and is still the world today. I shall not now relate the manner in which our Lord Jesus Christ suffered tortures on the tree. Here the discourse is ended. May God help us to his honour without undue difficulty. Amen. Amen. This is the end of (the story of) Eve and Adam.

NOTES TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION

25-34

St compares these lines with the following from the prologue of Wirnt von Gravenberg's Wigalois:

der volge guoter lère ...	22
unde vlîze sich dar zuo	24
wie er nâch den getuo	25
den diu werlt des besten giht,	
und die man doch dar under siht	
nâch gotes lône dienen hie;	
den volge wir, wan daz sint die	
den got hie saelde hât gegeben	30
und dort ein êwiclichez leben.	

This passage supports Steinmeyer's reading of l.32f.

57-62

St compares these lines with the following from the prologue of Wigalois:

der ditze hât getihtet,	138
mit rîmen wol berihtet,	
wan ditz ist sîn êrstez werc.	140
er heizet Wirnt von Grâvenberc.	
daz machet mîn grôz unheil	62
und mîn boeser sin ein teil.	

67-71

St compares these lines with the following from Wigalois, which are part of a prayer on behalf of the forty ladies mourning for Roaz:

und gip daz wir verdienen hie	8086
die vreude, die dhein ôre nie	
gehôrte noch nie ouge ersach,	
noch nie munt dâ von gesprach	
daz sich iht gelîche dar.	8090

It should be noted that these "inexpressibility" topoi were frequently employed in describing heavenly delights.

82-85

The three companions are attributes of God, see Anegeuge ll.187-93.

89

Die gūten und die mynnelosz: for these must surely be the subjects of " Gobent darzū jre sture " (91).

105

M suggests " erzeigen " or " neigen " in place of " ewigen ". In this context " erzeigen " appears the more appropriate.

110-120

See Konrad von Heimesfurt's formulation of the humility topos (also coupled with the hope to succeed in his undertaking) in the prologue of Mariā Himmelfahrt:

swie kranc ich aber an sinnen sî,	26
doch wont mir ein gedinge bî,	
daz got des armen willen hât	
für eines rîchen argen tât.	29

115f. and 120-27

St compares these with the following lines from the prologue of Wigalois:

daz ich mînen willen hie	41
gerne erzeichte -- wesse ich wie --	
daz ez die wîsen dôhte guot. ...	
des sprich ich nâch kindes sit.	47
erziuge ich hie iht guotes mit,	
ob mîn geist gevüeget daz,	
des sol men mir danken baz	50
dan einem sinne rîchen man,	
der meister ist und sprechen kan:	
der hât des mêr dan ich getân.	

247-250

This etymology is to be found in Richard of St.Laurent (fl.1245), see A.Salzer, Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur (Linz, 1893), p.486f.

251-255

St: " die zweite deutung des namens Eva ist unverständlich, und mit Hofmanns frage in der note ' d.h. Ave begehre ' weisz ich nichts anzufangen. erwägenswert scheint mir ein vorschlag, den Strauch mir mitzuteilen die freundlichkeit hatte: er ändert an v.253 in ach und nimmt eine interpretation des wortes Eva

durch lat. heu ah an. " H takes this interpretation of the name to be an interpretation of Ave, and notes Lat. avere "desire". This seems unhelpful as St points out. Strauch's emendation of "an" to "ach" leads us to the other anagram of Eva which is Lat. vae, an exclamation of distress. Jerome interprets the name as "Eva calamitas aut vae vel vita" in De interpretatione hebr. nominorum (CCSL 72), p.65. In support of this see ll.485-505.

304

M's specification at this point seems unnecessary.

336-338

These lines are obscure and St's emendations and his reference to Spervogel's motto (Minnesangs Frühling 27,6) offer little assistance. The passage (329-40) comprises what can only be described as an odd assortment of proverbial expressions.

380-385

St compares these with the following lines from Wigalois:

und der den vâlant verstiez 3994  
von dem himelrîche  
durch daz er im gelîche  
wolde setzen sînen stuol --  
er warf in in der helle pfuol.

This is a stock description of the Devil who here is said to be the accomplice of the wicked Roaz. The passage is based on Isaiah XIV:12-15.

534-537

See Konrad von Heimesfurt's Mariä Himmelfahrt:

here, alwaltender Krist, 807  
in diner hant beslozzen ist  
dirre welte umberinc ...

738

wÛllin: H suggests "vëllin" which, indeed, the context demands: the passage stresses that the garments were "unreht" (i.e. unsuitable) and that Adam and Eve were without practical tools (ll.740-43) with which they might have improved them. The

Bible describes the garments as tunicas pelliceas (Genesis III:21).

792-801

St compares these lines with the following from the Mariä Himmelfahrt:

Dâ soltu küneginne stân 228  
in dem oberisten trône  
mit zepter und mit krône,  
dâ dich der herre Dâvit  
künftic sach vor maneger zît,  
alsô noch stêt geschriben dâ  
'astitit regina  
a dextris tuis.'  
dâ mite tuot er uns gewis  
daz duz diu küneginne bist.

833-838

St compares these lines with the following from Wigalois (with the foot-note: die darauf folgende zeile Das ist myn rate, dem volge ich zeigt, wie ungeniert Liutwin seines vorgängers sentenzen sich zu eigen machte):

dô teter als der biderbe man, 1207  
der sich des wol getroesten kan  
swes er niht gehaben mac.  
swer ie guoter sinne pflac,  
der habe ouch noch denselben sit  
da vrfstet er sîn êre mit.

Some of the Wigalois MSS read "biderman" rather than "biderbe man". These lines refer to Gawan who cannot return to his wife because he cannot enter her land without the magic girdle.

951-955

St compares these lines with the following from Wigalois:

doch tâtens als der biderbe man: 2030  
swenne erz niht gebezzern kan,  
sô dunket ez in ein rât  
swaz er danne hât,  
als ez im an die nôt gât.

Wigalois and his companions prepare to spend the night in the for<sub>est</sub>.

1126

der selden rat: as this adjective does not seem to fit the context, the possibility of an error for "selben" must be considered.



1136

... su verre basz verseit: "su" may be singular and refer to Eve or plural and refer to "Even wanckel" in the preceding line. I have translated "su" as being in the singular (and specifically as Eve), because it agrees better with the following line.

1137

Wanne das su volget mere: I agree with M that "volget" should read as "volgent", as the subject of this generalization is clearly the same as that of ll.1133-35.

1208

Und daz ist nit güt: the judgement of H, who claims that this line is incomplete and makes the passage incomprehensible, is difficult to accept, for where Lutwin is emphatic he is often brief. The meaning of the passage is clear enough.

1225ff.

Adam ... Samson ... Solomon: all three are common exempla of men whom women have caused to suffer.

1408-1416 and 1439-1444

A.C.Dunstan in "The Middle High German 'Adam und Eva' by Lutwin and the Latin 'Vita Adae et Evae'", p.198f., cites the Gospel of Bartholomew as the source of these passages:

Et ego vidi quod factus esset de limo terre et dixi:  
De igne et aque sum et prius formatus sum. Ego non  
adoro lutum terre. ... Non irascitur mihi dominus  
sed ponam meum thronum adversum thronum eius.

He points out certain similarities: erde und myst = de limo terre, lutum terre; clar = de aqua; licht = de igne. The ideas echo Isaiah XIV: 12-15.

1489

trübelos: the correction of this word though necessary appears too arbitrary and in translating it I have followed the context without being specific. See also l.2028.

1612

mynne: H's emendation illustrates how cautiously editors should proceed. There is no reason why Eve should not refer to "mynne wort" (words of love), for Adam has only just referred to "mynne lopwort" (praise of love) with contempt in l.1599.

1632-1635

St compares these and l.2373f. with the following lines from Wigalois:

mir seit daz mîn gedinge 1313  
daz ich in wider bringe;  
got gebe, daz mir gelinge.

Here Wigalois is taking leave of his mother and promising to return with his father.

1679-1684

St compares these lines with the following from Wigalois:

herre got, wie tuostu sô ? 4923  
von dînen gnâden was ich vrô;  
mir hêt zer werlte ein sûezez leben  
dîn reiniu gotheit gegeben;  
des bin ich nû beroubet;  
mîn freude die ist betoubet ...

Beleare is bewailing the fate of her husband, Moral von Joraphas, who has been seized by a dragon. He is not in fact dead and they are later reunited when Wigalois kills the dragon.

1885

Heroes who were infant prodigies are a mythical and literary common-place with Hercules, Alexander, and Siegfried amongst the best-known. Lutwin seems less interested in this "wunder" than in that of the pregnancy itself, cf. ll.1751-58, 1814-18.

1996

brüder myn: M suggests "lieber bruder myn" which appears unnecessary in the context but smoothes the metre.

2931

lxij: Meyer corrects this to lxi. According to 1.2118 there were sixty-three children in all, and at this point Abel is dead and Cain has been banished.

3125-3131

See Christ's words to Mary in the Mariä Himmelfahrt:

ich bevilhe dine sêle 483  
der engel fürsten Michahêle:  
der beleitet si mit der himel scharn;  
dâ von sô muoz si wol gevarn.

3145-3147 and 3180-3183

See Simon Peter's prayer in the Mariä Himmelfahrt:

dô wart der zorn hin geleit 835  
zwischen uns unt dîner gotheit,  
den mit ir ungehârsam  
unser muoter Evâ und Adam  
an uns mit erbe brâhten,  
dô si dîn gebôt versmâhten  
durch des alten vîndes rât,  
den sît dîn werk erwûrget hât ...

3211

Gabriel: VA 48 names Uriel. It is, of course, impossible to establish what was in Lutwin's actual source.

3219-3226

nu enlac doch diu gehiure 512  
niht einem tôten gelich,  
als bî unser zît ein lîch  
gerêwet unde gestrecket,  
diu lîhte unsûeze smecket.

. . .  
von ir reinem lîbe gie 522  
ein alsô sûezer wâz,  
er waer wol iemer ungâz  
unt voll aller swaere genesen,  
der in solhem smacke solte wesen.

2249

Der rede wart ich harte fro: as God has said nothing to justify Adam's joy, it would appear that there is an omission of some kind. In the Vita God replies: quoniam firurantur dies tui factus es diligens scietiam, propter hoc non tolletur de semine tuo usque in seculum ad ministrandum mihi. (VA 27).

2370-2372

cf. ll.1636-38.

2504

Das ich nach dem alten sitte: it is an anomaly that Adam should be talking of an established custom, namely the sacrament of the Last Rites, when he is the first to die a natural death. However, at his burial it is stressed that this is a new rite which the children have to be taught, c.f. l.3255ff. At this point there is no direct mention of the Oil of Mercy, although the verbs "flüsset" and "bestrichent und besalbent" suggest it. The Oil is first referred to in l.2587.

2543

Wer gap dir die krangheit: in the Vita Eve says: bestia maledicta, quomodo non timuisti mittere te ad imaginem dei, sed ausus es pugnare cum ea ? (VA 37). Therefore the reading of "kuonheit" for "krangheit" is a possibility.

2616ff.

A clear statement of the Adam/Christ typology.

2694-2697

Compare with Gabriel's words to Mary in the Mariä Himmelfahrt:

Er hât dir, vrouwe, her gesant  
disen balmen unt diz wîze gewant.  
der wuohs im paradîse.  
mit dem selben rîse  
kündet er dir den wâren vride ...

3383-3396

St compares these lines with the following from the Mariä Himmelfahrt:

swem nu herzeleit geschicht 159  
und in des leides anders niht  
wan leit mit leide ergetzet,  
sô leit solch leit setzet  
daz leides niemer ende wirt,  
swâ leit mit herzeleide swirt,  
swem aller leidest ie beschach,  
des leit unt des ungemach  
gelîchet sich unnâch her zuo, ...

St also sees a resemblance between l.163f. above and l.1464f. of Lutwin:

Unser not nit ende wirt.  
Jemerme one ende sû swirt.

At this point it proved extremely difficult to render Lutwin's rhetorical intentions into English prose.

3431-3433

St compares these two lines with the following from the Mariä Himmelfahrt:

des tât ir durch ir herze brach 172  
und ersochte ir diu lit sô gar.

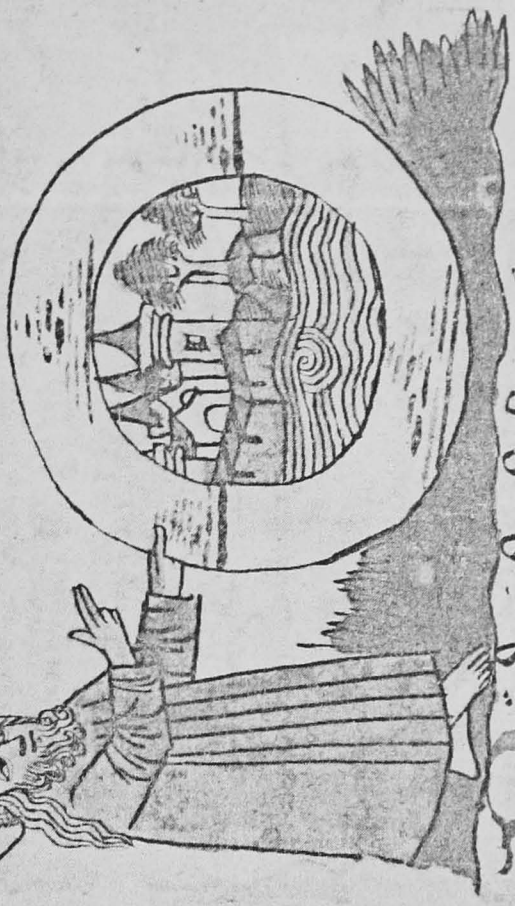
3728

See the description of the branch of palm in the Mariä Himmelfahrt:

der balme vil bezeichnenlich was, 349  
der schein noch grüener danne ein gras  
oder iht daz gelpfe grüne hât,  
ich meine, swenne Ôf gât  
der morgenstern vor tage fruo.

APPENDIX I.  
Illustrations from Codex Vindob.2980

Wie got von ersten hymelrich  
erreich beschriff



**I**u do in das dufte fite  
An dem onser heil lit

Das er sich ewigen wolt,  
Nach der gute solt  
Sond nach sime werde  
Beschriff er hymel und erde  
Und was sie Tiere habent seide,  
Das ich Negeliche bescheide  
Einderlich nach sime wort

[1]

In samene geleit Adam  
 Den mochte er wol sinder han  
 Wie got Adam den ersten menschen besch.



**A**ls ich erfunden han  
 De dem paradise an  
 In fichten baum vnd gras  
 Vnd alles das darinne was  
 In guter moß im wasser groß  
 Das im viertel darnach floss

[2]

Vnd manig selde verkeret  
 Wit ungesorsam  
 Von der erste wal belam  
 Der menschlich bume über sich mo.

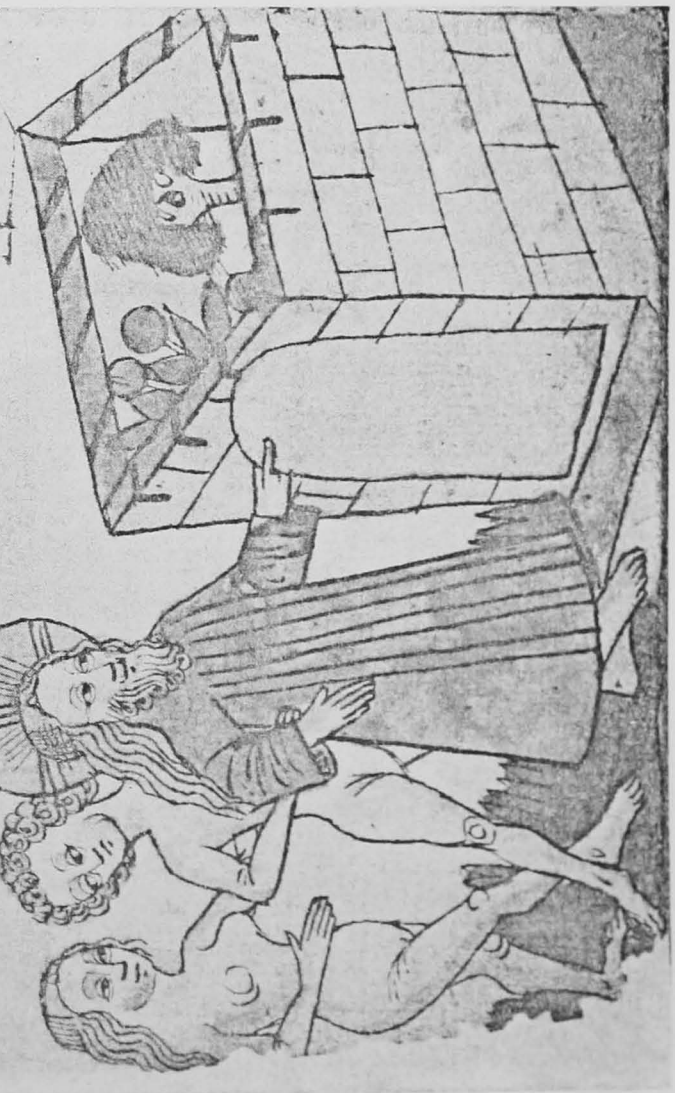


**W**ie got Erwinns Adam beschrieff  
 Vn alles das beschaffen was  
 Des der tiggende adamas  
 Got vnser here gedocht  
 In was ziere auch vollebrot  
 Das paradies so wunnensam  
 So das corp vnd adam

[3]



**D**en gotte in gesezet sint  
 Die worenent alsam Die sint  
 Dne schame sond sünden eme  
 Falsthes sey sond so reime  
 Mit schone sond mit wisheit  
 Die got hetten an sü geleit  
 Mit vnnemflichen genaden  
 Sond über flüssig geladen  
 Das es ist vnseliglich  
 Das ist vor das was billich  
 Düt sü voursete gottes hant  
**D**ie got adam vnd eua in das p<sup>re</sup>adis  
 fürte



[4]

[5]

**I**r sint gefangen mit  
 Dar zu obert uch sündet wan  
 chänig spime vff getan  
 Sond offen irer ougen  
 Sü wissende manig tougen  
 Die vor uch verholen sint  
**E**nd sint wime als die sint  
 Dne kunst vndan sömney blint  
**D**ie die eldam vnd eua den slangen  
 betrogen wurdent vnd sü das  
 gebott gotes übergingent

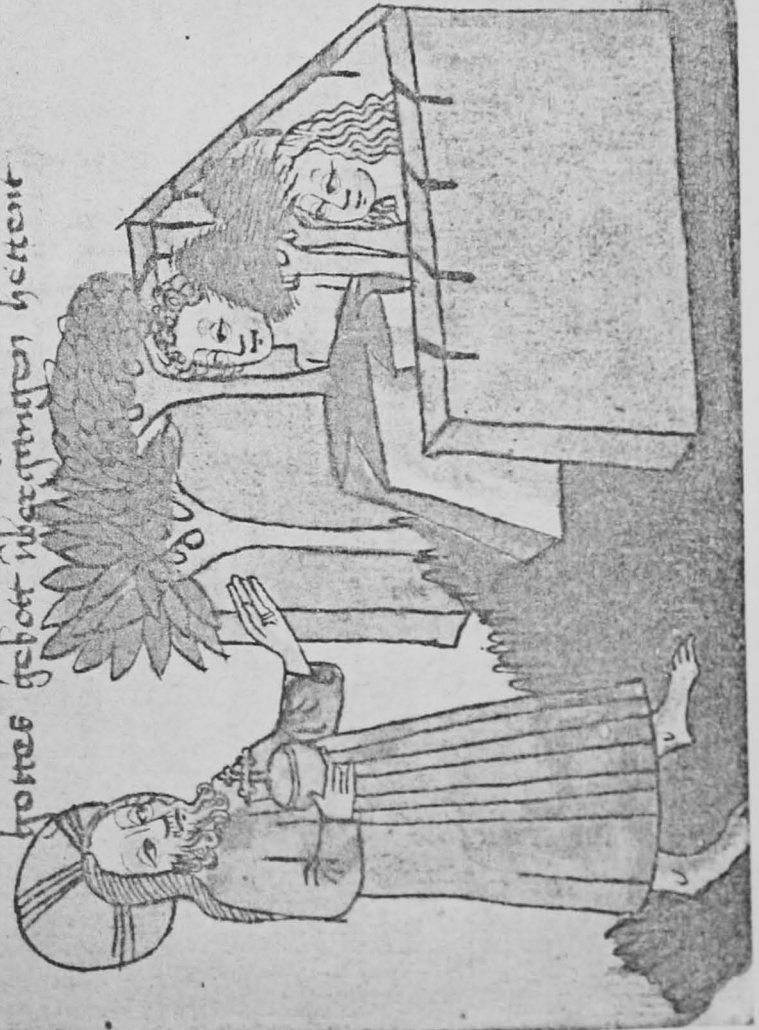


Das ist ein vil kurtze zyt  
 Do die der tot ein ende git  
 Do ist die in der wise wie  
 tile ob du lieben tag me  
 In der welcke gewinne  
 Der welcke fröide vnd rüme  
 Ist zwor anders nit  
 Als man tegelichen siht  
 Dard vns selbe vnd vntwren vil  
 Das ist in der welcke spil  
 Douon teit sü der sorgen eis  
 Wie adam vnd eua von dem paradise  
 vertriben wurden von dem engel



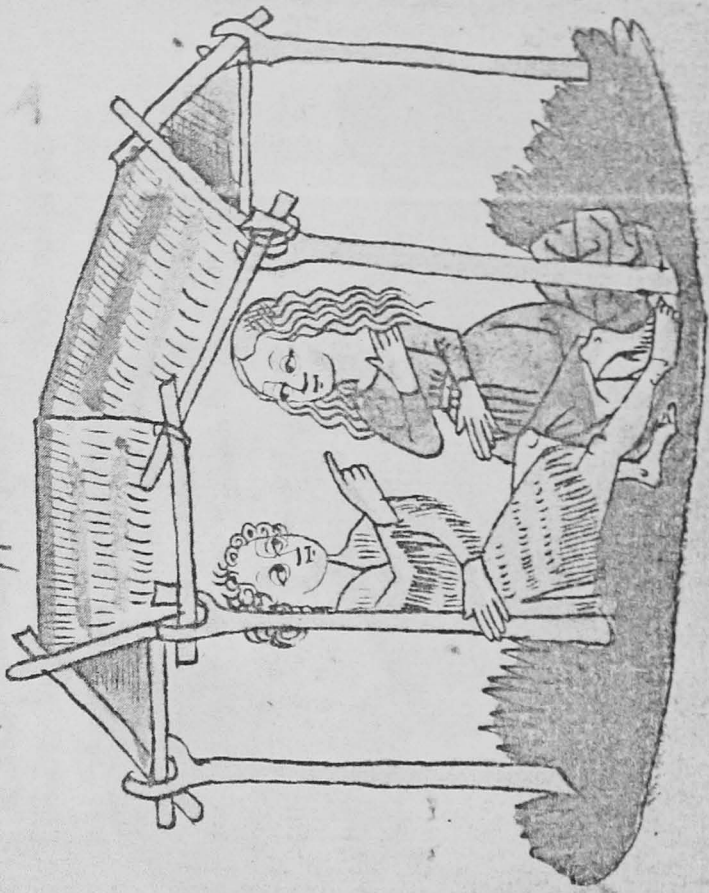
[7]

Adam gott erkante die wercke  
 Das der wille volle gee  
 Voor gotte kam nit  
 Verholen sin was geschichte  
 Offenbare oder bougen  
 So sehent sin göttlichen ougen  
 Ir hatte douor lange gesehen  
 Was adam solke bestehen  
 Das leit here ich die werheit sehen  
 Die Adam vnd eua sich in dem  
 paradise verbugent vmb das sü  
 gottes gebot übergingen heit



[6]

149  
 3. Dar nach wuelt uns inenex we  
 Von hunger noch von laide  
 Als wie die süßen weide  
 In der stunden gewönnen  
 Adan mit seinen sinnen  
 Dolt dar noch werben  
 Das wir mit vorderben  
 Feunt und lieber herze my  
 Als lo dics enpfelhen sin  
 Als ich getruwe den bewen din  
 Wie adam und via zu rate wurdent  
 Wie sū bissen wolent



[9]

[8]



149  
 4. Adam wart beklet  
 Als ich vor han gefeit  
 Do müste er in leidet wise  
 Nimen das paradise  
 Und vil vaste buwen mit pflügen  
 Mit spaken und mit hörwan  
 Die erde do er von mus kōmen  
 Und als ich rechte han veruonden

Und setze uns wider an die stat  
 Donon ex uns verteilen hatt  
 Das kam von dner missetat  
 Wie Eva in dem wasser tygeis stunt  
 Und in sünde biessen wotee

[10]



Die biisse mit lenger wart gespetet  
 Eva hieß sich an die wart  
 In der biisse wart sie gach  
 Das was durch das vngemach  
 Das si von hunger kumber leit

Und mit Jonces geyma  
 Ich Jordan ich sage die  
 In solt helfen klagen mich  
 Samene was in die swobe!  
 Und naturlichen lebe  
 Christ und was stymendes se  
 Das si mich stont klagende by  
 Und klagent mit über sich  
 Sinder klagen über mich  
 Wand si mit habert missetam  
 Sinder ich gesundet han  
 Die adam in dem Jordan sin  
 Sünde bißete und wie die wofsege  
 my Sore zu huffent in



[11]

17  
87

Waher man sprichet mi  
 Ob ein wip missetu



Waher man sprichet mi  
 Ob ein wip missetu  
 Das dome von seim beanden mit  
 Des wolke. Dinder mich mit gut  
 Wame sit das wip missetet

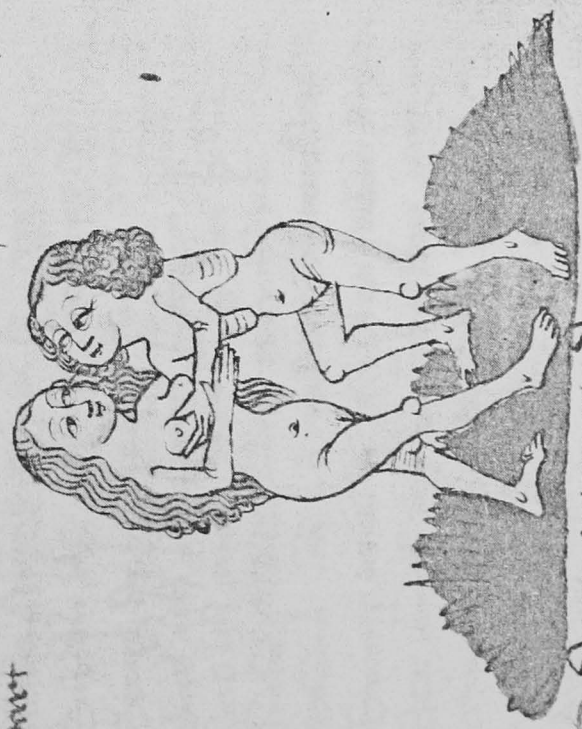
[12]

Do aus recht het vernomen  
 Das si als betrogen was  
 Von dem leiden satanas  
 Der ir ee leit hette getan  
 Do viel si inder ruff den plan  
 Die krafft und one macht  
 Die lichte sinne wart ir nacht  
 So das si horte nach sprach  
 Voor den leide das ir geschach  
 Das si nach des tufels rat  
 So gahes us der biffe trat  
 Dis was ir ander missetat  
 Wie der tufel euam betrogen vnd us der  
 biffe gefuirt hette vnd wie er adinlouch  
 wolke betrogen haben



[13]

Das machet der grossen liebe gic  
 Die ich heere han zu die  
 Wie adam vnd eua gar lieplich mitemander  
 lebten vnd wie eua. nes ersten kindes swanger  
 wort



Adam antworte do  
 Als du mit mir wol vnd bin fro  
 Das ich die also liep bin  
 Durch het mich heets vnd sin  
 Behüset also zu die  
 Das du ic me liebest mit

[14]

Und das die myme wort  
 Wissenallent an aller stat  
 Do mit si verlobes bat  
 Wie adam vnd eua sich striedent vnd me  
 Darme tufent mylen von emander gینگent



ut forne si dannen sthiet  
 Als ic tumber mitriet  
 Und ging mit leide vnd ple  
 Die dama tufent myle  
 Das was verre genigt

[15]

Das ich so grosse swere dol  
 Wie wurde das das weis ich wol  
 Ob ich adam nach gesche  
 Was noch mir darnach bestsche  
 Liebe sünne mir tu so wol  
 Sit du bist dorcs lichter wol  
 Sage dem lieben man mir  
 Das ich lide von heizen mir  
 Das ich wene das war von sünne  
 Liebe sünne mich weenme  
 Weand ich nit anders kotten han  
 Bring mir in zit den selben man  
 Der mich hie sünig hat verlan  
 Wie ena die sünne andat vnd sich ubel gehüp  
 Vnd iren man vnd dat si die sünne iren  
 kinder chagete ir



16  
48

[16]

Nitz vant an zine frantee mee  
 Wame das ee enest zime rat  
 Folget mid nach der missetat  
 Namer sünne büsse vnd leset de  
 Was du hast selden hie  
 Die vmet die von gotte getan  
 Durch adam den güten man  
 Douon ena bereite dich  
 Tu der gebuet nu habe mich  
 Tu helffe mid mir gesellen hie  
 Wan vns die zu helffe lie  
 Got der den sünen halff ic



[17]

Dabel mi erslagen waert  
sagen sich mit lenger spaert



Dabel mi erslagen waert  
sagen sich mit lenger spaert  
Ist begriep hi and gie von dan  
also ein teubelosee man  
Vond do er von dem moede schiet  
Wat sin reñie güte niet  
Dat pme das waert was vngemach

[18]

[19]



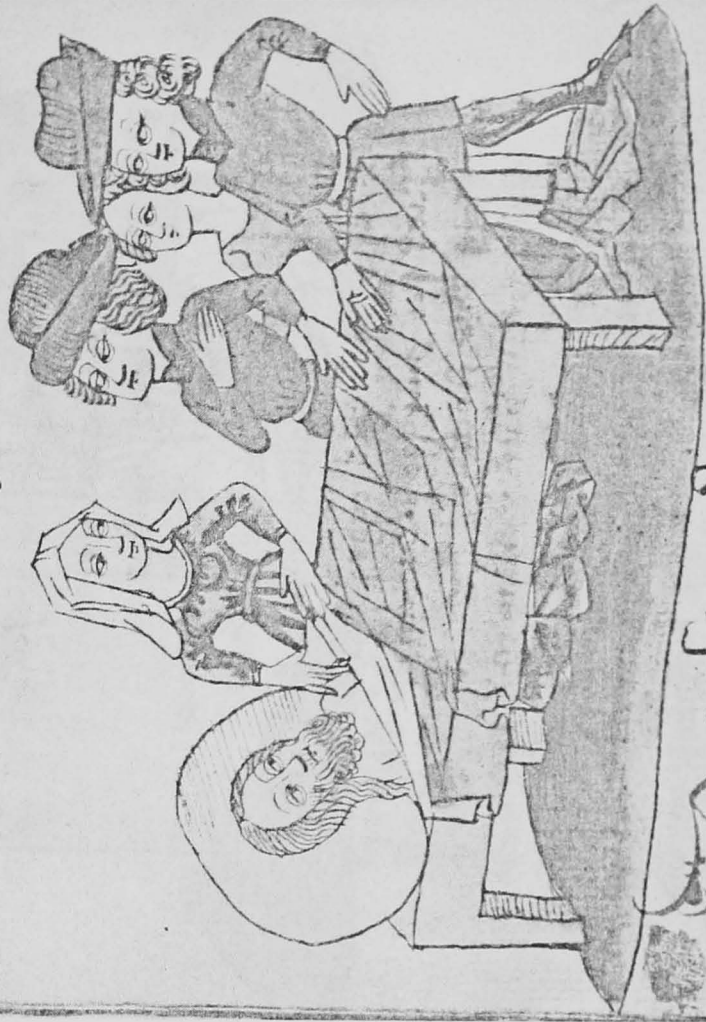
Wijn mit adams leere  
wische in eme soe nere  
Pame ein andees in tweeñ tuit  
Duch gay pme got der selven mit  
Das er vette alle woerte gleich  
Dvoor Das was wonderlich  
Alle ein Enit mit soes ale  
Wit rede and werden were so bate



**W**an du mich here hant gemachet  
 wie ich mich han gemachet  
 mit myner sunden messet  
 doch seiste mich din hant gedat  
 und lo mich here scheiden nit  
 von diner schönen angesichte  
 und dinem antlitze  
 Das zu seiden ist so nitze  
 Scheide mich nit von dinen guaden  
 off den du hast geladen  
 swinger tugent überlast  
 den du erzeigen hast  
 wie ich diene der sunden last  
 wie adam in eine suem wagen verzudet  
 und vor got d heren in dat paradys  
 gesiret



**I**st mir bitterlichen we  
 donen mag ich nit liden me  
 her se dex mir by besta



**O** se sint vordout gar onfro  
 En sprechent zu adam so  
 here. wees. was ist dat  
 Das soltu ons bescheiden sae



**A**ls ich die han gesaget  
 Wanne der sechste tag betaget  
 So sol din vatter sterben  
 Vnd an dem libe verderben  
 Din augen danc wunder sehen  
 Von gressen zeichen die geschehen  
 In hymel vnd an ertrich  
 Die begynnen dagen degelich  
 Dins vatter do dagen

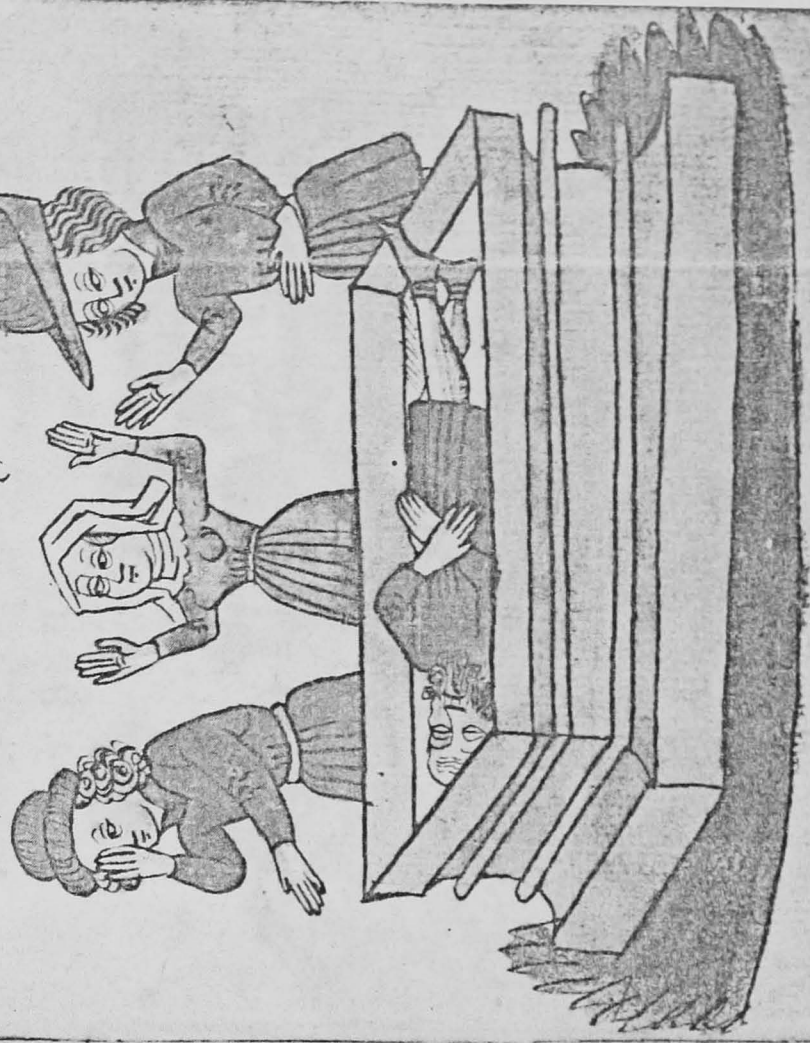
[23]

Wie myn sweere in fuerger frist  
 Von myn dot vnd myn gewyst  
 herre an die allerne lit  
 hilff here das ist zeit  
 Verzych mir mine missdat  
 freye den do best affen hat  
 Dine suse götliche hant  
 Vnd vüch lösen myne bant  
 Die mich seer zwingent  
 Vnd nit wan me bringent  
 Vonon myn leben endet sich  
 Rich lieber got erbarme dich  
 Durch din erbarmde über mich



[22]

Du were so gut sond reue  
 Das ich dich billich weine  
 An tot gut mir sterben  
 Min herze muß sterben  
 Von leide serner mere  
 Ich weis nicht war ich leue  
 Du du mir here bist gelogen  
 Des muß ich verkiesen das leben  
 Und für das nicht wan Jamers pfflegen



[25]

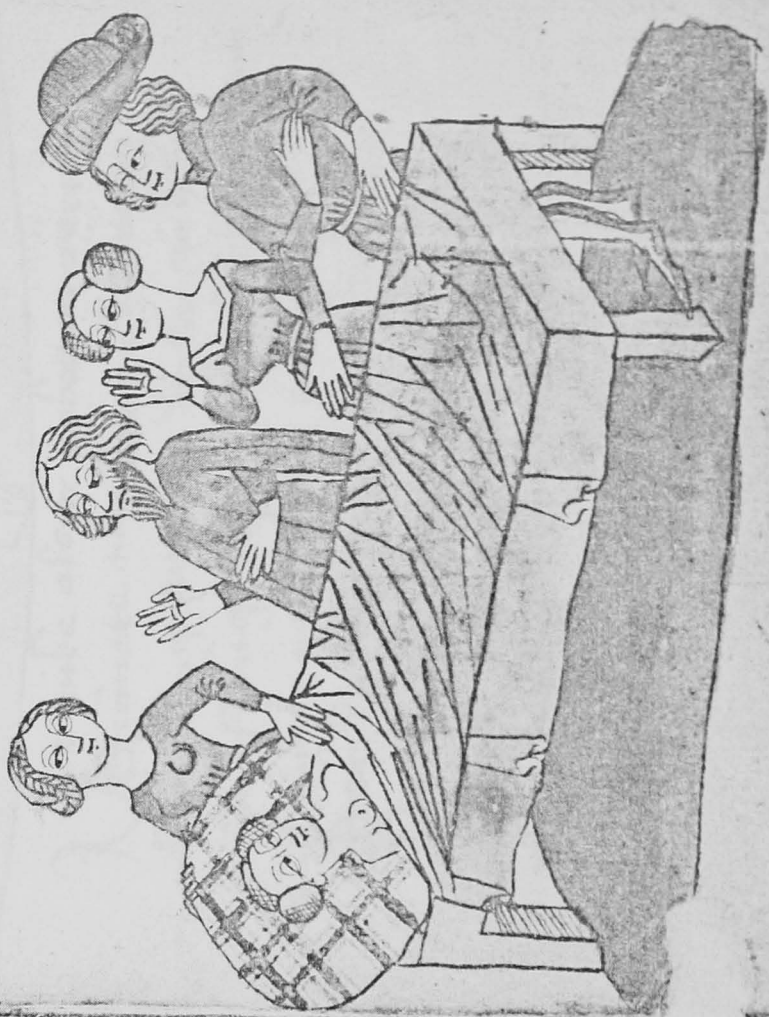
Maninger slachte arbeit  
 Die die sünde uff ir treit  
 Die wirt got vil dicke gedreit



Und die rede erhorte  
 Von nem herten was gestört  
 Nutzel seide die do was  
 Wie mit von wiben gelas  
 So hertzliche reue  
 Die smertze det was muve  
 So wame sü an der stunt

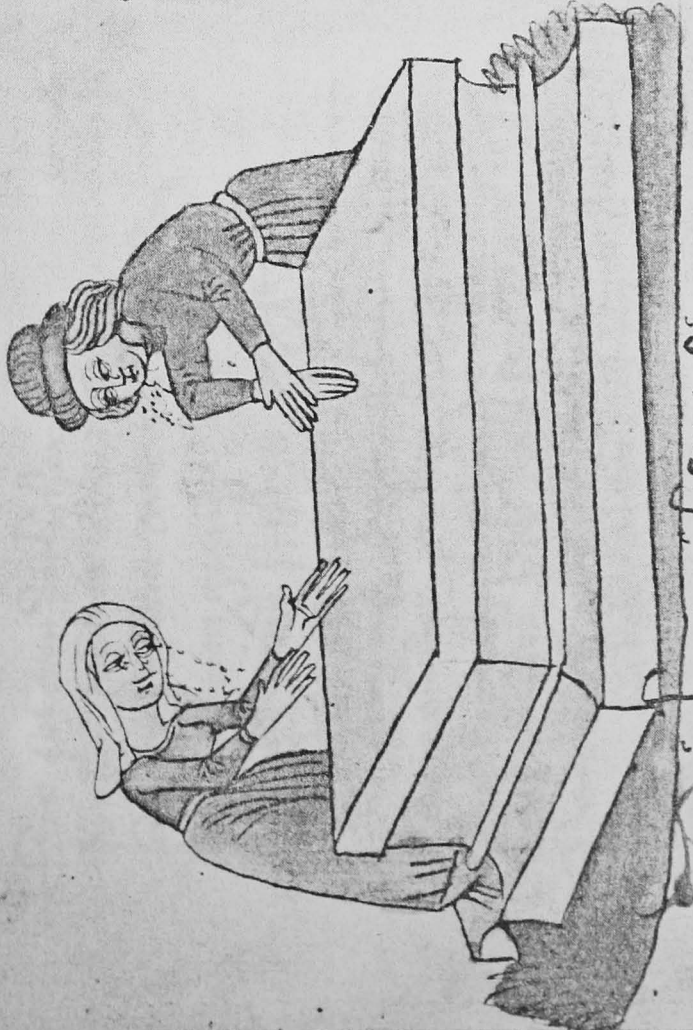
[24]

Liefent nach iren amite  
 In walde und wo si dihte gutt  
 Die boyme und die blümelin  
 frowent sich der sumen schin  
 sond als wie ander geschiffe lesen  
 Was sy irwig was gewesen  
 Das was an iren genesen



[27]

[26]



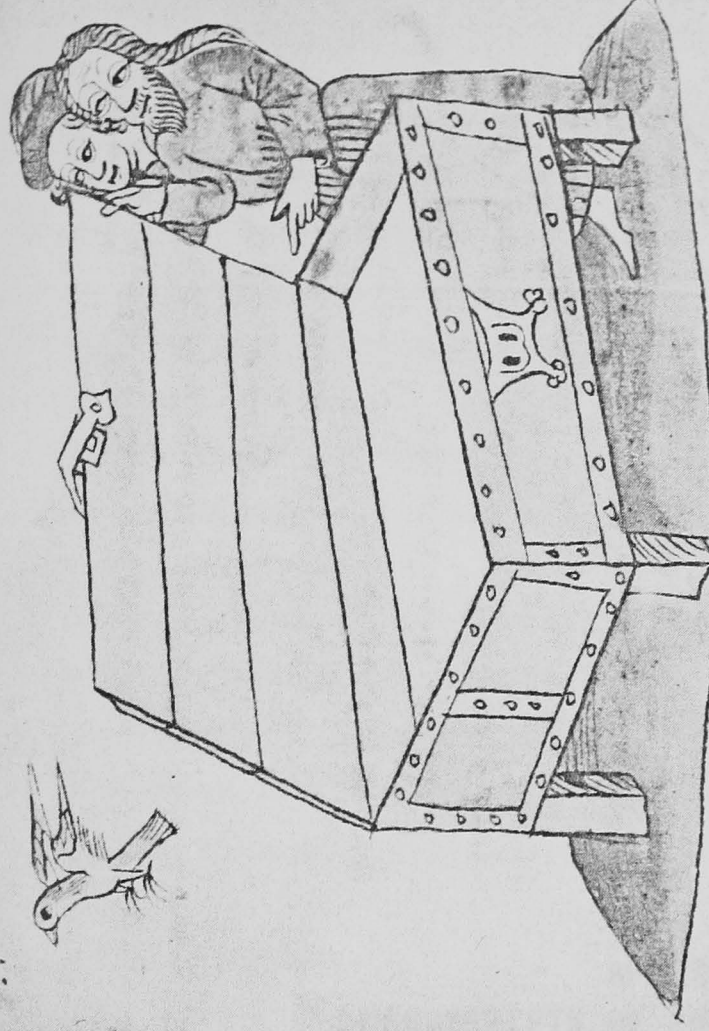
Die herre in bisteret sin  
 Mit leide schiet von dainen die sint  
 Als eide dohter und degen  
 Die müstent großes Jamers pflegen  
 Damach bliben by dem geabe  
 Mit Jenerlicher habe  
 Ina sond sich ir sin  
 In begundent in der masse tin  
 Alsoden herreleit bestricht

Do sol von dötlicher suht  
 Konser watter adam erstam  
 Douon süllent wir sin flis her  
 Mit gutem gezüge alle frist  
 Feuchte und feisten omst  
 Süllent wir yne genug geben  
 Dit unser watter leben  
 Ein wücher wider bringet  
 Swol dem tage so espringet  
 Das wücher das vns heil büet  
 Douo wol gesunt muet  
 Konser lieber watter adam  
 Das ist ein seliger sam  
 Von got vns zu selig gesant



[28]

[29]



Die tube als ir gebotten wart  
 Einete mit lenger die wart  
 Ein flug von der arke zu hant  
 Und flug do zu den oleybaum fant  
 Brünen nach alsam ein gras  
 Der do vor gesteket was  
 Dort zu adams grabe  
 Als ich vor gesaget habe  
 Die turff den böne saz

APPENDIX II.  
MANUSCRIPTS OF THE VITA ADAE ET EVAE

In the list of manuscripts containing the Vita Adae et Evae the major editions are referred to as MEYER, MOZLEY, and EIS. Sigla and page numbers are provided as appropriate. Reference is made to STEGMÖLLER by which is meant the relevant sections of the Repertorium biblicum medi aevi volumes I and VIII with reference numbers. Meyer's classes are retained and noted for convenience in spite of the problems described above in Part II A of the Introduction. I have been able to verify only those MSS in English libraries. MSS which I have listed but not seen are marked with an asterisk. The five Munich MSS (22-26) are not marked thus as they were catalogued by Meyer though never referred to by him. The MSS are arranged alphabetically by place and are numbered and listed chronologically where more than one MS is found at a given location.

ABERYSTWYTH\*

The National Library of Wales MS 335A (Hengwrt 239)  
14th century.

fol.131-40: De Adam et Eva.

Handlist of Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales  
(Aberystwyth, 1943), part I, p.2.

According to the explicit supplied by the librarian, this probably belongs to Mozley's "Arundel" class.

ADMONT

Stiftsbibliothek MS 25  
13th century. parchment. 272 fols.

fol.270-272v: De eiectione Adam.

P.J.Wichner, Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Admontensis  
(1889), p.29.

= EIS A

BRUSSELS\*

Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er MS IV F.15

mid 15th century. paper. 12 fols. Written in Germany.

fol.1-11v: Post casum luciferi qui superbia inflatus ...

CAMBRIDGE 1

Corpus Christi College MS 275

15th century. parchment. 239 fols.

fol.9-14: Vita protoplasti Adae et Evae uxoris ejus.

M.R.James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge (Cambridge, 1913), p.211.

= MOZLEY P; STEGMÜLLER 74,7.1.

CAMBRIDGE 2

St John's College MS 176

15th century. parchment. 74 fols.

fol.67-74: Poenitentia Adae.

M.R.James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of St. John's College Cambridge (Cambridge, 1913), p.211.

= MOZLEY J; STEGMÜLLER 74,7.1.

CHICAGO\*

Newberry Library MS Ry 6

11th/12th century. 228 fols. Written in Southern Germany.

fol.224r-228v: Vita Adae et Evae.

S.de Ricci and W.J.Wilson, Census of medieval and renaissance MSS in the United States and Canada (New York, 1935-37, 1940), I, 540.

COPENHAGEN

Königliche Bibliothek, Ny Kgl. Saml. MS 123

15th century. paper. 349 fols.

fol.47v-49v: De Ada et Eua.

E.Jørgensen, Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis (Copenhagen, 1926), p.164.

= STEGMÜLLER 74,3

DONAUESCHINGEN\*

Hofbibliothek MS 449

15th century. paper. 39 fols.

fol.1-5r: Vita Adae et Evae.

K.A.Barack, Die Handschriften der Fürstlich-Fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek zu Donaueschingen (Tübingen, 1865), p.306f.



DUBLIN

Trinity College MS 509

15th century. parchment.

Historia Adae et Evae.

T.K.Abbott, Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Trinity College Dublin (Dublin/London, 1900), p.76.

No signum in Mozley but akin to MOZLEY D + Q; STEGMÜLLER 74,7.1.

GRAZ

Universitätsbibliothek MS 904 (38/)

15th century. paper. 355 fols.

fol.164-169v: Liber apocrifus de vita Ade et Eve.

Anton Kern, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz (Vienna, 1956), II, 120.

= Class II. Meyer notes this as MS 33/3 on p.210n; STEGMÜLLER 74,10.

LONDON 1

British Library MS Arundel 326

13th/14th century. parchment. 134 fols.

fol.42-50: De expulsione Ade et Eve de Paradiso.

Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum. New Series.

Part 1. The Arundel Manuscripts (London, 1834-40), I, 94.

= MOZLEY A; STEGMÜLLER 74,7.1.

LONDON 2

British Library MS Royal 8 F XVI

14th century. parchment. 65 fols.

fol.55-59: Vita Ade et Eue uxoris eius.

G.F.Warner and J.P.Gilson, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections (London, 1921), I, 273.

= MOZLEY R; STEGMÜLLER 74,7.1.

LONDON 3

British Library MS Harley 495

14th. century. parchment. 58 fols.

fol.43-50: Tractatus Fabulosus de Lapsu et Poenitentia Adami et Evae.

R.Nares, A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1808), I, 330

= MOZLEY D; STEGMÜLLER 74,7.1.

LONDON 4

British Library MS Harley 526

14th century. parchment. 77 fols.

fol.68-77: Vita Proto-plasti nostri Ade, et Eve uxoris sue, fabulosissima.

R.Nares, A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1908), I, 341.

= MOZLEY C; STEGMÜLLER 74,7.1.

LONDON 5

Lambeth Palace Library MS 352

14th century.

fol.1-4: Vita prothoplausti nostri Ade et Eve uxoris eius.

M.L.R.James and C.Jenkins, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace (Cambridge, 1932), III, 467.

= MOZLEY L; STEGMÜLLER 74,7.

LONDON 6

British Library MS Harley 275

15th century. paper. 160 fols.

fol.153-158v: De Penitencia Ade et Eve, quando expulsi essent de Paradiso.

R.Nares, A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1808), I, 103.

= MOZLEY E; STEGMÜLLER 74,7.1.

LONDON 7

British Library MS Harley 2432

15th century. parchment. 174 fols.

fol.1-10: Adami et Evae vitae.

R.Nares, A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1808), II, 691.

= MOZLEY F; STEGMÜLLER 74,7.1.

LONDON 8

British Library MS Sloane 289

15th century. parchment. 195 fols.

fol.70v-79v: Vita protoplasti Adami et Evae.

E.J.L.Scott, Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1904), p.3.

No signum given by Mozley but a close copy of MOZLEY A;  
STEGMÜLLER 74,7.1.

fol.70v-73v contain the Holy Rood legend.

LONDON 9

Inner Temple Library MS Petyt 538 Vol.36

15th century. paper. 346 fols.

fol.140-48: Vita Prothoplasti nostri Ade et Eve uxoris sue.

J.Conway Davies, Catalogue of Manuscripts in the library of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple (Oxford, 1972), II, 815.

Belongs to Mozley's "Arundel" class.

LUND

Medeltid MS 30

fol.144-153: De Adam et Eve

= STEGMÜLLER 74,6.1.

MUNICH 1

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 17740 (St.Mang.10)

10th and 11th century. parchment. 113 fols.

fol.37-46: Vita Adam et Aevae.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 119.

= MEYER S (Class I); STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 2

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 18525b (Teg.525b)

10th century. parchment. 95 fols.

fol.89-95: De poenitentia Adae et Euae.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 170.

= MEYER T (Class I); STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 3

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 19112 (Teg.1111)

12th century. parchment. 178 fols.

fol.156-162: Historia Adami et Euae post expulsionem ex paradiso.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 232.

= MEYER M (Class I); STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 4

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 21534 (Weihest.34)

12th century. parchment. 164 fols.

fol.101: Secunda temptatio Adam et Eve. (VA 1-15)

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1881), IV, pt.IV, 4.

= MEYER (21) Class II

MUNICH 5

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 17151 (Scheftl.151)

12th century. parchment. 177 fols.

fol.177: Historia de Adam et Eva.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 83.

= MEYER (17) Class II; STEGMÖLLER 74,6

MUNICH 6

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 4358 (Aug.S.Ulr.50)  
14th century. paper. 92 fols.

fol.28-29: De Vita Adam et Evae. (VA 1-29)

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(2nd ed. Munich, 1894), III, pt.II, 176.

= MEYER (43) Class II

MUNICH 7

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 2778 (Ald.248)

15th century. paper. 368 fols.

fol.227: De Creatione Adam et Evae, eorum lapsu, poena et penitentia.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(2nd ed. Munich, 1894), III, pt.II, 37.

Class III

MUNICH 8

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 2778 (Ald.248)

15th century. paper. 368 fols.

fol.264: De Creatione Adam et Evae, eorum lapsu, poena et penitentia.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(2nd ed. Munich, 1894), III, pt. II, 37.

= MEYER (2) Class III; STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 9

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 2800 (Ald.270)

15th century. paper. 387 fols.

fol.240-250: Formula de creatione Adae et Evae et eorum lapsu et pena.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(2nd ed. Munich, 1894), III, pt.II, 40.

Class III

MUNICH 10

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 4756 (Bened.256)

15th century. paper. 206 fols.

fol.192-200: Sermo de penitentia Adae et Evae.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(2nd ed. Munich, 1894), III, pt. II, 239.

= MEYER (4) Class III; STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 11

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 5604 (Diess.104)

15th century. paper. 298 fols.

fol.156-159: Vita Adae et Evae transgressio.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1873), III, pt.III, 27.

Class I; STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 12

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 5865 (Ebersb.65)

15th century. paper. 498 fols.

fol.342-345: De expulsione Adam et Eva de paradiso.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1873), III, pt.III, 48.

= MEYER (5) ClassII; STEGMÖLLER 74,6

MUNICH 13

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 5976 (Ebersb.176)

15th century. paper. 187 fols.

fol.82: Electula seu formula de creatione, lapsu, pena et penitentia  
Adae et Evae.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1873), III, pt.III, 61.

Class III

MUNICH 14

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 7685 (Ind.285)

15th century. paper. 215 fols.

fol.122-126: Penitentia primorum parentum Ade et Eve.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1873), III, pt.III, 187.

Class I; STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 15

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 9022 (Mon.Frans.322)

15th century. paper. 371 fols.

fol.311-317: De penitentia Ade et Eve.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1874), IV, pt.I, 76.

=MEYER (9) Class II; STEGMÖLLER 74,6

MS Y 121 (17) 62600  
MS Y 121 (18) 62600  
MS Y 121 (19) 62600

MUNICH 16

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 11740 (Polling.440)

15th century. paper. 312 fols.

fol.291-297: Vita Adae et Euae.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1876), IV, pt.II, 35.

Class I; STEGMÜLLER 74,10

MUNICH 17

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 11796 (Polling.496)

15th century. paper. 173 fols.

fol.152-155: Gesta de Adam et Eua et de expulsione eorum.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1876), IV, pt.II, 40.

Class I; STEGMÜLLER 74,10

MUNICH 18

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 15610 (Rot.110)

15th century. paper. 245 fols.

fol.165-168: Historia de Adam et Eva.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 23.

= MEYER (15) Class III; STEGMÜLLER 74,10

MUNICH 19

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 18406 (Teg.406)

15th century. paper. 283 fols.

fol.95-98: De penitentia Ade et Eue.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 161.

= MEYER (18) Class III; STEGMÜLLER 74,10

MUNICH 20

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 26630

15th century. paper. 354 fols.

fol.351-353: De penitentia Ade et Eue.

fol.354: Historia de ligno S.Crucis.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1881), IV, pt.IV, 196.

UNICH 21

ayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 3866

5th century. paper.

fol.194-199: Historia Adae et Evae, capitulis XII.

preceded by Genesis I-III and includes biblical material relating to ( Cain and Abel)

Catalogus Codicis manuscryptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1866), VI, 397.

MEYER (3) Class II; STEGMÜLLER 74,6

UNICH 22

ayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 11601 (Polling.301)

14th century. 250 fols.

fol.87-88: Historia de Adam et de Eva.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1876), IV, pt.II, 30.

UNICH 23

ayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 16472 (S.Zen.72)

14th century. 205 fols.

fol.165-173: Penitentia Adae et Evae et generatio filiorum suorum.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 69.

UNICH 24

ayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 17668 (Semansh.68)

5th century. 379 fols.

fol.77-83: De expulsione Adae et Evae.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 116.

UNICH 25

ayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 18597 (Teg.597)

5th century. 347 fols.

fol.273: Electula seu formula de creatione Ade et Eve et de eorum lapsu et eorum pena et penitentia.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich 1881), IV, pt.III, 187.



MUNICH 26

Bayrische Staatsbibliothek clm 23929 (ZZ.929)

5th century. 35 fols.

Fol.32-35: Vita Adae et Euae.

Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis  
(Munich, 1881), IV, pt.IV, 110.

NAMUR

Bibliothèque du Musée Archéologique MS 162

15th century. paper. 221 fols.

Fol.128r-131r: De poenitentia Adae.

Paul Faider, Catalogue des Manuscrits Conservés dans la Bibliothèque  
du Musée Archéologique de Namur (Grembloux/Belgique, 1934), p.240.

= STEGMÖLLER 74,6.1.

OXFORD 1

Bodleian Library MS 3462 (MS Selden Supra 74)

13th century. parchment.

Fol.14-18: Vita [Adam] prothoplausti et Eve uxoris eius.

Falconer Madan and H.H.E.Craster, Summary Catalogue of Western  
Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (rpt. Oxford, 1922), II,  
pt.I, 642-644.

Belongs to Mozley's "Arundel" class.

OXFORD 2

Balliol College MS 228

14th/15th century.

Fol.203-206v: Quidam tractatus Ade et Eve primorum parentum.

R.A.B.Mynors, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford  
(Oxford, 1963), p.231.

= MOZLEY B; STEGMÖLLER 74,7.1.

OXFORD 3

Queens College MS 213

15th century. parchment. 50 fols.

Fol.1-8: Vita prothoplasti Adae.

J.O.Coxe, Catalogus Codicum MSS in Collegiis Aulisque hodie adservantur  
(Oxford, 1852), pt.I, 47.

= MOZLEY Q; STEGMÖLLER 74,7.1.

PARIS 1

Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat.5327

9th century. parchment.

fol.83-87: Vita Adae et Evae.

Catalogue Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae (Paris, 1744),  
IV, pt.III, 96.

= MEYER P Class IV; STEGMÖLLER 74,10

PARIS 2\*

Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat.590

14th/15th century. parchment and paper. 193 fols.

fol.163-168: Liber de vita Ade et Eve.

Ph.Lauer, Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue General des Manuscrits  
Latins (Paris, 1939), I, 210.

PRAGUE 1\*

Universita Karlava Biblioteka MS 789 [V.A.7(Y.III.2.n.7.)]

14th century. 212 fols.

fol.196r-200r: Vita Adae et Evae annexa historia de ligno crucis.

J.Truhlář, Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Latinorum qui in C.R.

Bibliotheca Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur (Prague,  
1906), I, 325.

PRAGUE 2\*

Universita Karlava Biblioteka MS 1914 [X.E.13.(Y.III.4.n.48.)]

14th century. 229 fols.

fol.85v-88v: "Liber de Adam, qualiter vixit, quando fuit eiectus de  
paradiso" sequiter "de formacione Ade et de nomine eius".

J.Truhlář, Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Latinorum qui in C.R.

Bibliothecae Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur (Prague,  
1906), II, 77.

PRAGUE 3\*

Universita Karlava Biblioteka MS 2619 [XIV.G.II.]

14th/15th century. 152 fols.

fol.132r-137v: Vita Adae et Evee in exilio.

J.Truhlář, Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Latinorum qui in C.R.

Bibliothecae Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur (Prague,  
1906), II, 332.

PRAGUE 4\*

Universita Karlova Biblioteka MS 2032 [XI.C.8.]

15th century. 307 fols.

fol.206v-209r: Vita Adae et Evae expulsorum de paradiso.

J.Truhlář, Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Latinorum qui in C.R.

Bibliothecae Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur (Prague, 1906), II, 138.

ROUEN\*

Bibliothèque de Rouen MS 1426 (U.65)

14th century. parchment. 245 fols.

fol.245: De penitentia Ade post peccatum.

Catalogue Général des Manuscrite des Bibliothèques Publiques de France (Paris, 1886), I, 428.

SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA

H.E.Huntington Library MS HM 1342

15th century. Written in England. paper. 187 fols.

fol.4r-14v: Vita Adae, third recension.

S.de Ricci and W.J.Wilson, Census of medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the United States and in Canada (New York, 1935-37, 1940), I, 106.

= STEGMÜLLER 74,6.2

SCHLÄGL 1

Stiftsbibliothek MS 156. Cpl. [818]. 145.

15th century. paper. 414 fols.

fol.405v-409v: De poenitentia Adae.

J.Vielhaber, Catalogus Codicum Plagensium (Cpl) manuscriptorum (Linz, 1918), p.264.

= STEGMÜLLER 74,2

SCHLÄGL 2\*

Stiftsbibliothek MS 198. Cpl. [820]. 126.

15th century. paper. 251 fols.

fol.1-4v: Liber de poenitentia Adae.

J.Vielhaber, Catalogus Codicum Plagensium (Cpl) manuscriptorum (Linz, 1918), p.314.

For cataloguers refer to Vienna 1.

ST. GALL\*

Stiftsbibliothek MS 927

15th century. paper.

fol.225-235: Penitencia primorum parentum Ade et Eve.

G.Scherrer, Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St.Gallen (Halle, 1875), p.348.

STRÄNGNÄS

Domkyrkobiblioteket Q.16 (Op.1)

15th century.

fol.5r-9r: De Adam et Eva.

H.Aminson, Bibliotheca Templi Cathedralis Strengnesensis. Supplementum (Stockholm, 1863), p.III.

= STEGMÖLLER 74,2

STUTTGART\*

Württembergische Landesbibliothek MS HB XII 20

late 14th century. paper.

fol.132ra-134vb: De Adam et Eva.

M.S.Buhl and L.Kurras, Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Hofbibliothek Stuttgart (Wiesbaden, 1969), IV, pt.II, 70.

The cataloguers refer to Munich 23.

VALENCIENNES\*

Bibliothèque de Valenciennes MS 168 (160)

late 13th century. parchment. 242 fols.

fol.241: Legende d'Adam et Eve. (latin)

Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France (Paris, 1894), XXV, 260.

VIENNA 1

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. Vindob.1628 [Rec.2015.a]

mid 14th century.

fol.95r-98r: De vita Adae et Evae expulsorum e paradiso.

Tabulae Codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in

Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum (Vienna, 1864), I, 265.

Class III (Meyer, p.210n.)

VIENNA 2

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod.Vindob.1629 [Rec.3129 ]  
mid 14th century.

fol.98v-101v: Poenitentiale Adae et Evae et de vita et morte  
eorundem.

Tabulae Codicum manu scriptorum . . . in Bibliotheca Palatina  
Vindobonensi asservatorum (Vienna, 1864), I, 265.

Class II (Meyer, p.210n.)

VIENNA 3

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod.Vindob.1355 [Lunael.Q.114]  
14th/15th century.

fol.92r-97v: De expulsione Ade et Eve de paradiso.

Tabulae Codicum manu scriptorum . . . in Bibliotheca Palatina  
Vindobonensi asservatorum (Vienna, 1864), I, 227.

Class II (Meyer, p.210n.)

VIENNA 4

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod.Vindob.2809 [Rec.3006] 3  
15th century. paper.

fol.308v-310v: Historia apocrypha latina Adae et Evae post peccatum.

H.Menhardt, Verzeichnis der Altdeutschen Literarischen Handschriften  
der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Berlin, 1960), I, 320.

Class II (Meyer, p.210n.)

WERTHEIM

Ev.Kirchenbibliothek MS 726

De Adam et Eva.

= STEGMÜLLER 74,5

WINCHESTER

Cathedral Library MS VII

13th century. parchment. 116 fols.

fol.109v-112r: De expulsione Ade de paradiso.

G.F.Warner, Description of the MSS in the Library of Winchester  
Cathedral (1895), p.47.

= MOZLEY W; STEGMÜLLER 74,7.1.

WOLFENBÜTTEL 1

Herzog-August Bibliothek MS 450 (Helmst.415)

5th century.

Fol.1-4: *Historia mystica Adami et Eve.*

Kataloge der Herzog-August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. I Die Helmstedter  
Handschriften 1 (Wolfenbüttel, 1884; rpt. Frankfurt, 1963), 324f.

= STEGMÜLLER 74,4

WOLFENBÜTTEL 2\*

Herzog-August Bibliothek MS 3329 (29.7.Aug.)

15th century.

Fol.189-192v: *Liber de penitentia Ade. Fabulosa narratio eorum, quae  
Adamo et Evae post expulsionem e paradiso accidisse feruntur.*

Kataloge der Herzog-August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. VII Die Augusteischen  
Handschriften 4 (Wolfenbüttel, 1900; rpt. Frankfurt, 1966), 347.

ZWETTL

Stiftsbibliothek MS 13

13th century. parchment. 234 fols.

Fol.221v-223: *Adam et Eva quando expulsi sunt ex paradyso.*

Xenia Bernardina . . . Pars secunda. Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der  
Cistercienser-Stifte (Vienna, 1891), I, 306.

= EIS Z

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

TEXTS

- Adams Busse. In Gesamtabenteuer I. Ed. F. von der Hagen. Tübingen/Stuttgart, 1850, pp.5-16.
- Die Busse Adams und Evas. Ed. H.Fischer. Germania 22 (1877), 316-41.
- Die Erlösung. Ed. F.Maurer. Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen; Geistliche Dichtung 6. Leipzig, 1934; rpt. Darmstadt, 1964.
- Genesis B. In 'Heliand' und 'Genesis'. Ed. O.Behagel and W.Mitzka. Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 4. Tübingen, 1965, pp. 211-48.
- Gottfried von Strassburg. Tristan und Isold. Ed. F.Ranke. Berlin, 1964.
- Greene, D. and F.Kelly, ed. and trans. The Irish Adam and Eve Story from 'Saltair na Rann'. Dublin, 1976.
- Hartmann von Aue. Erec. Ed. A.Leitzmann and L.Wolff. Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 39. Tübingen, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Gregorius. Ed. H.Paul and L.Wolff. Tübingen, 1966.
- Jans Enikel. Werke. Ed. P.Strauch. Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters. Vol.III. Hannover and Leipzig, 1900.
- Konrad von Heimesfurt. Mariae Himmelfahrt. Ed. F.Pfeiffer. ZfdA 8 (1851), 156-200.
- Lutwin. Adam und Eva. Ed. K.Hofmann and W.Meyer. Stuttgart Litterarischer Verein 153. Tübingen, 1881.
- Merzdorf, Theodor J.F.L., ed. Die deutschen Historienbibeln des Mittelalters. Nach vierzig Handschriften. 2 vols. Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins 100-101. Stuttgart, 1870; rpt. Hildesheim, 1963.
- Murdoch, B.O., ed. Hans Folz and the Adam-Legends. Texts and Studies. Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literatur 28. Amsterdam, 1977.
- Neuschäfer, D., ed. Das Aneenge. Textkritische Studien. Diplomat-ischer Abdruck. Anmerkungen zum Text. Medium Aevum. Philologische Studien 8. Munich, 1966.
- Peter, A., ed. Das Obergrunder Weihnachtsspiel. In Volksthümliches aus Osterreich-Schlesien I. Troppau, 1865, pp. 361-78.



Quinn, E.C., The Penitence of Adam. A Study of the Andrius MS.  
(Bibliothèque Nationale Fr.95 Folios 380r-394v). Transcribed  
and trans. M.Dufau. Romance Monographs 36. University,  
Mississippi, 1980.

Rudolf von Ems, Weltchronik. Ed. G.Ehrismann. Deutsche Texte  
des Mittelalters 20. Berlin, 1915.

Vita Adae et Evae. Ed. W.Meyer. Abhandlungen der bayerischen  
Akademie der Wissenschaften phil.-philol. Klasse 14/III.  
Munich, 1878, pp.221-250.

Vita Adae. Ed. J.H.Mozley. Journal of Theological Studies 30  
(1929), 128-149.

Vita Adam et Evae. In Beiträge zur mittelhochdeutschen Legende  
und Mystik. Ed. G.Eis. Germanische Studien 161. Berlin,  
1935, pp.241-255.

Vollmer, H., ed. Ein deutsches Adambuch. Nach einer ungedruckten  
Handschrift der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek aus dem XV. Jahr-  
hundert. Hamburg, 1908.

Wiener Genesis. Ed. V.Dollmayr. Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 31.  
Halle/S, 1932.

Wirnt von Gravenberc. Wigalois. Ed. J.M.N.Kapteyn. Rheinische  
Beiträge und Hülfsbücher zur germanischen Philologie und  
Volkskunde 9. Bonn, 1926.

Wolfram von Eschenbach. Parzival. Ed. K.Lachmann. Berlin and  
Leipzig, 1926.

#### SECONDARY WORKS

Arbusow, L. Colores Rhetorici. Göttingen, 1948.

Auerbach, E. Typologische Motive in der mittelalterlichen  
Literatur. Schriften und Vorträge des Petrarca-Institutes  
Köln II. Krefeld, 1953.

Aurenhammer, H. Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. Vienna,  
1959-67.

Backes, H. Bibel und ars praedicandi im Rolandslied des Pfaffen  
Konrad. Philologische Studien und Quellen 36. Berlin, 1966.

Bartsch, K. "Lutwin". Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliographie 19 (1884),  
21.

Bauer, G.K. Sternkunde und Sterndeutung der Deutschen im 9-14.  
Jahrhundert unter Ausschluss der reinen Fachwissenschaft.  
Berlin, 1937.

- Bäuml, F.H. "Some aspects of Editing the Unique Manuscript: A Criticism of Method". Orbis Litterarum 16 (1961), 27-33.
- Becker, P.J. Handschriften und Früdrücke mittelhochdeutscher Epen. Eneide, Tristrant, Tristan, Erec, Iwein, Parzival, Willehalm, Jüngerer Titurel, Nibelungenlied und ihre Reproduktion und Rezeption im späteren Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Wiesbaden, 1977.
- Benskin, M. and B.O.Murdoch. "The Literary Tradition of Genesis. Some comments on J.M.Evan's 'Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition' (Oxford:U.P.,1968)". Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 76 (1975), 389-403.
- Bland, D.F. A History of Book Illustration. The Illuminated Manuscript and the Printed Book. London, 1958.
- Blumstein, A.K. Misogyny and idealisation in the courtly romance. Studien zur Germanistik, Anglistik und Komparatistik 41. Bonn, 1977.
- Bonnell, J.K. "The Serpent with a human head in Art and Mystery Play." American Journal of Archeology Series II 21 (1917), 255-291.
- Boor, H. de. Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter I. 1250-1350. Munich, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Die deutsche Literatur. Texte und Zeugnisse. Mittelalter I/i. Munich, 1965.
- Braunfels-Esche, S. Adam und Eva, Sündenfall und Erlösung. Düsseldorf, 1957.
- Brieger, A. Kain und Abel in der deutschen Dichtung. Stoff und Motivgeschichte der deutschen Literatur 14. Berlin and Leipzig, 1934.
- Brinkmann, H. Zu Wesen und Form mittelalterlicher Dichtung. Halle/S, 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Der Prolog im Mittelalter als literarische Erscheinung. Bau und Aussage". Wirkendes Wort 14 (1964), 1-21.
- Burger, O. Annalen der deutschen Literatur. Stuttgart, 1951.
- Charles, R.H., ed. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. 2 vol. Oxford, 1913.
- Chuquet, A. Litterature Allemande. Paris, 1913.
- Clark, K. The Nude. A Study of Ideal Art. London, 1956.

- Cockerell, S.C. A Book of Old Testament Illustrations of the thirteenth century in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. London, 1927.
- Cook, R. The Tree of Life. Symbol of the Centre. London, 1974.
- Curle, A.O. The Treasure of Traprain. A Scottish Hoard of Roman Silver Plate. Glasgow, 1923.
- Curtius, E.R. Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter. Bern and Munich, 1965.
- Deighton, A. "diu wip sint alliu niht also: 'Aristoteles und Phyllis' and the Reception of Gottfried's 'Tristan'". New German Studies 6 (1978), 137-150.
- Denis, A.M. Introduction auz pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament. Leiden, 1970.
- Dorn, E. Der Sündige Heilige in der Legende des Mittelalters. Medium Aevum. Philologische Studien 10. Munich, 1967.
- Dunstan, A.C. "The Middle High German 'Adam und Eva' by Lutwin and the Latin 'Vita Adae et Evae'". MLR 24 (1929), 191-99.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Middle English 'Canticum de creatione' and the Latin 'Vita Adae et Evae'". Anglia 55 (1931), 431-42.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Lutwin's Latin Source". In German Studies presented to H.G.Fiedler. Oxford, 1938, pp.160-173.
- Ehrenstein, T. Das Alte Testament in der Graphik. The Old Testament in Graphic Art. L'Ancien Testament dans l'art graphique Reproduktionen von Holzschnitten, Kupferstichen, Radierungen, Lithographien, usw. Vienna, 1936-.
- Ehrismann, G. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. 4 vols. Munich, 1918-35.
- Eis, G. "Heimat, Quellen und Entstehungszeit von Lutwins 'Adam und Eva'". In Beiträge zur mittelhochdeutschen Legende und Mystik. Germanische Studien 161. Berlin, 1935; rpt. Nendeln, 1967, pp.25-106.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Vom Werden Altdeutscher Dichtung. Literarhistorische Proportionen. Berlin, 1962.
- Evans, J.M. 'Paradise Lost' and the Genesis Tradition. Oxford, 1968.
- Evans, M.W. Medieval Drawings. London, 1969.
- Fechter, W. Das Publikum der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung. Deutsche Forschungen 28. Frankfurt, 1935.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Lateinische Dichtkunst und deutsches Mittelalter. Forschungen

- Über Ausdrucksmittel poetischer Technik und Stil mittelhochdeutscher Dichtungen. Philologische Studien und Quellen 23. Berlin, 1964.
- Förster, M. "Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung". Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 2 (1908), 477-529.
- Frenzel, E. Stoffe der Weltliteratur. Ein Lexikon dichtungsgeschichtlicher Längsschnitte. Stuttgart, 1976.
- Frielanger, M.J., ed. The Lübeck Bible of Steffen Arndes Munich, 1923.
- Fromm, H. "Komik und Humor in der Dichtung des deutschen Mittelalters". DVJS 36 (1962), 321-39.
- Frühmorgen-Voss, H. Studien zur illustrierten Millstätter Genesis Munich, 1962.
- Text und Illustration im Mittelalter. Aufsätze zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Literatur und bildender Kunst. Ed. Norbert H.Ott. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 50. Munich, 1975.
- Ginzberg, L. The Legends of the Jews. 7 vols. Philadelphia, 1913-1938.
- Goedeke, K. Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung I. Berlin, 1884.
- Green, R.B. "The Adam and Eve Cycle in the 'Hortus Deliciarum'" In Late classical and medieval Studies in honor of A.M.Friend. Princeton, 1955, pp. 340-47.
- Guldan, E. Eva und Maria. Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv. Graz and Cologne, 1966.
- Hahn, I. "Das lebende paradys". ZfdA 92 (1963), 184-195.
- Halford, M.B. Illustrations and Text in Lutwin's 'Eva und Adam'. Codex Vindob.2980. GAG 303. Göppingen, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Apocryphal 'Vita Adae et Evae': Some Comments on the Manuscript Tradition". Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, in press.
- Harms, W. Der Kampf mit dem Freund oder Verwandten in der deutschen Literatur bis um 1300. Medium Aevum. Philologische Studien I. Munich, 1963.
- Harrison Thomson, S. "A Fifth Recension of the Latin 'Vita Ade et Eve'". Studi Medievali N.S.6 (1933), 271-78.
- Haupt, M. "Ährenlese (47)". ZfdA 15 (1872), 265.

- Hoefler, H. Typologie im Mittelalter. Zur Übertragbarkeit typologischer Interpretation auf weltliche Dichtung. GAG 54. Göppingen, 1971.
- Hofmann, K. and W. Meyer. "Die Textkritik von Lutwin's 'Adam und Eva'". Münchener Sitzungsberichte phil.-philol. Klasse (1880), 598-616.
- Horstmann, C. "Nachträge zu den Legenden 10". Archiv 79 (1887), 459-70.
- James, M.R. Illustrations of the Book of Genesis. Oxford, 1921.
- Jansen, H.W. Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. London, 1952.
- Jillings, L. 'Diu Crone' of Heinrich von dem Türlin: The attempted emancipation of secular narrative. GAG 258. Göppingen, 1980.
- Kaiser, G. ed. Literatur--Publikum--historischer Kontext. Beiträge zur Älteren Deutschen Literaturgeschichte 1. Bern, 1977.
- Katona, L. "Vita Adae et Evae". Magyar tudomanos akademia köt. 18, sz.10 (1904).
- Kelle, J. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von der ältesten Zeit bis zum dreizehnten Jahrhundert II. 1896.
- Kessler, H.L. The Illustrated Bibles from Tours. Studies in Manuscript Illumination 7. Princeton, 1977.
- Kirchner, J. Germanistische Handschriftenpraxis. Ein Lehrbuch für die Studierenden der Deutschen Philologie. Munich, 1967.
- Kirkconnell, W. The Celestial Cycle. The Theme of Paradise Lost in World Literature with Translations of the Major Analogues. Toronto, 1952.
- Kirschbaum, E. ed. Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. 4 vols. Freiburg, 1968-72.
- Kleinhenz, C. ed. Medieval MSS and Textual Criticism. Chapel Hill, 1976.
- Klimke, C. Das volkstümliche Paradiesspiel und seine mittelalterlichen Grundlagen. Germanistische Abhandlungen 19. Breslau, 1902.
- Klinck, R. Die lateinische Etymologie des Mittelalters. Munich, 1970.
- Kobbe, P. "Funktion und Gestalt des Prologs in der Mittelhochdeutschen nachklassischen Epik des 13. Jahrhunderts". DVJS 43 (1969), 405-57.

- Künstle, K. Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst. 2 vols. Freiburg, 1926-28.
- Lexikon des Mittelalters. Munich and Zurich, 1978-.
- Liebertz-Grün, U. "Bürger, Fürsten, Dienstherren, Ritter und Frauen. Gesellschaftsdarstellung und Geschichtsbild in Jans Enikels Fürstenbuch". Euphorion 74 (1980), 77-94.
- Masser, A. Bibel, Apokryphen und Legenden. Geburt und Kindheit Jesu in der religiösen Epik des deutschen Mittelalters. Berlin, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Bibel und Legendenepik des deutschen Mittelalters. Grundlagen der Germanistik 19. Berlin, 1976.
- Maurer, F. Leid. Studien zur Bedeutungs- und Problemgeschichte, besonders in den grossen Epen der staufischen Zeit. Bibliotheca Germanica 1. Bern, 1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Der Topos von den 'Minnesklaven'. Zur Geschichte einer thematischen Gemeinschaft zwischen bildender Kunst und Dichtung im Mittelalter". DVJS 27 (1953), 182-206.
- Meier, C. and U. Ruberg, ed. Text und Bild. Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Wiesbaden, 1980.
- Mely, F. de. "Nos premiers parents dans l'art. Adam, Eve, Lilith". In Melanges Hulin de Loo. Ed. P. Bergmans. Brussels and Paris, 1931, pp. 116-22.
- Menhardt, H. Verzeichnis der altdeutschen literarischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin; Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für deutsche Sprache und Literatur 13. Berlin, 1961.
- Messelken, H. Die Signifikanz von Rabe und Taube in der mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur. Ein stoffgeschichtlicher Beitrag zum Verweisungscharakter der altdeutschen Dichtung. Cologne, 1965.
- Meyer, W. "Vita Adae et Evae". Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften philos.-philol. Klasse 14/III (1878), 185-250.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christi". Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften phil. Klasse 16 (1882), 103-160.
- Miksch, G. "Der Adam und Evastoff in der deutschen Literatur". Diss. Vienna, 1954.

- Mitgau, W. "Nachahmung und Selbständigkeit Wirnts von Gravenberg in seinem 'Wigalois'". ZfdPh 82 (1963), 321-37.
- Morvay, K. and D.Grube. Bibliographie der deutschen Predigt des Mittelalters; Veröffentlichte Predigten. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 47. Munich, 1974.
- Mozley, J.H. "The Vita Adae". Journal of Theological Studies 30 (1929), 121-49.
- Murdoch, B.O. "Zu einer quellenbestimmten Lexikologie des Altdeutschen. Die theologisch-formelhafte Wortgruppe gula--vana gloria--avaritia in den volkssprachigen Denkmälern zwischen 750 und 1500". Doitsubungaku Ronko 13 (1971), 43-63.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Fall of Man in the Early Middle High German Epic. The 'Wiener Genesis', the 'Vorauer Genesis' and the 'Anegenge'. GAG 58. Göttingen, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The River that stopped flowing: Folklore and Biblical typology in the Apocryphal Lives of Adam and Eve." Southern Folklore Quarterly 37 (1973), 37-51.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Recapitulated Fall: A Comparative Study in Mediaeval Literatur. Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literature 11. Amsterdam, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Das deutsche Adambuch und die Adamlegenden des Mittelalters". In Deutsche Literatur des späten Mittelalters. Hamburger Colloquium. Ed. W.Harms and L.P.Johnson. Berlin, 1975, pp. 209-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Irish Adam and Eve Story from 'Saltair na Rann'. II: Commentary. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Dublin, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Genesis and Pseudo-Genesis in Late Medieval German Poetry". Medium Aevum 45 (1976), 70-78.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Breton 'Creation Ar Bet' and the Medieval Drama of Adam and Eve". Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie 36 (1977), 157-79.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Hartmann's Gregorius and the Quest of Life". New German Studies 6 (1978), 79-100.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Eve's Anger: Literary Secularisation in Lutwin's 'Adam und Eva'". Archiv 215 (1978), 256-71.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Adam und Eva" ("Adams Klage"). In VL I (1977), 45-47.

- Murdoch, B.O. "Adambuch (Prosa)". In VL I (1977), 61f.  
\_\_\_\_ "Lutwin". VL in press.
- Mussafia, A. "Sulla leggenda de legno della croce". Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften phil.-hist. Klasse 63 (1870), 165-216.
- Northcott, K.J. "Paradisiacal love in early middle high German literature". In Festschrift für Taylor Starck. Ed. W.Betz. The Hague, 1964, pp.164-75.
- Ohly, F. Der Verfluchte und der Erwählte. Vom Leben mit der Schuld. Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Vorträge G 207. Opladen, 1976.
- Ott, N.H. "Die Bilderlosigkeit jiddischer Handschriften. Zur Frage von Gebrauchssituation und Anspruch jiddischer Literatur anhand ihrer Überlieferung." In Fragen des älteren Jiddisch. Ed. H.J.Müller and W.Roll. Trier, 1977, pp.42-45.
- Peiffer, L. Zur Funktion der Exkurse im 'Tristan' Gottfrieds von Strassburg. GAG 31. Göppingen, 1972.
- Pickering, F.P. Literatur und darstellende Kunst im Mittelalter. Grundlagen der Germanistik 4. Berlin, 1966.  
\_\_\_\_ "Trinitas Creator: Word and Image". Reading Medieval Studies 2 (1976), 77-90.
- Piper, P. Die geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters. Berlin, 1888.
- Plummer, J., ed. Hours of Catherine of Cleves. New York, 1966.
- Pörksen, U. Der Erzähler im mittelhochdeutschen Epos. Formen seines Hervortretens bei Lamprecht, Konrad, Hartmann, in Wolframs 'Willehalm' und in den 'Spielmannsepen'. Philologische Studien und Quellen 58. Berlin, 1971.
- Quinn, E.C. The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life. Chicago, 1962.  
\_\_\_\_ The Penitence of Adam. A Study of the Andrius MS. (Bibliothèque Nationale Fr.95 Folios 380r-394v). With a transcription of the Old French and English translation by M.Dufau. Romance Monographs 36. University, Mississippi, 1980.
- Randall, L.M.C. Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts. California Studies in the History of Art 4. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966.
- Réau, L. Iconographie de l'art chrétien. 3 vols. Paris, 1955-59.
- Reyggers, L. "Adam und Eva". In RDK I. Stuttgart, 1937, pp.127-146.



- Röhrich, L. Adam und Eva. Das erste Menschenpaar in Volkskunst und Volkdichtung. Stuttgart, 1968.
- Röhrig, F. Der Verduner Altar. Vienna, 1955.
- Rosenfeld, H.F. "Lutwin". In RDK III. Berlin, 1943, pp.202-04.
- Ross, D.J.A. Illustrated Medieval Alexander-Books in Germany and the Netherlands. A study in comparative iconography. Cambridge Modern Humanities Research Association; Publications 3. Cambridge, 1971.
- Rowland, B. Animals with Human Faces. London, 1974.
- Ruberg, U. "Verfahren und Funktionen des Etymologisierens in der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur". In Verbum et Signum. Beiträge zur mediävistischen Bedeutungsforschung. Studien zur Semantik und Sinntradition im Mittelalter I. Ed. H.Fromm, W.Harms and U.Ruberg. Munich, 1975, pp.295-330.
- Salzer, A. Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur. Linz, 1893.
- Sayce, O. "Prolog, Epilog und das Problem des Erzählers". In Probleme mittelhochdeutscher Erzählformen. Marburger Colloquium 1966. Berlin, 1969, pp.63-72.
- Schiller, G. Iconography of Christian Art. 2 vols. Trans. J.Seligman from the 2nd German ed. of 1969. London, 1971.
- Schilling, M. "Rota Fortunae. Beziehungen zwischen Bild und Text in mittelalterlichen Handschriften". In Deutsche Literatur des späten Mittelalters. Hamburger Colloquium 1973. Ed. W.Harms and L.P.Johnson. Berlin, 1975, pp.293-313.
- Schmitt, O., ed. Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte. Stuttgart, 1937-.
- Schramm, A. Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke. Leipzig, 1924-39.
- Schwarz, P. Die neue Eva. Der Sündenfall in Volksglaube und Volks-erzählung. GAG 77. Göppingen, 1973.
- Schwietering, J. Die Demutsformel Mittelhochdeutscher Dichter. Berlin, 1921.
- \_\_\_\_ "The Origins of the Medieval Humility Formula". PMLA 69 (1954), 1279-91.
- Seemüller, J. "Deutsche Poesie vom Ende des XIII. bis in den Beginn des XVI. Jahrhunderts". In Geschichte der Stadt Wien III/i. Vienna, 1907.

- Singer, S. "Zu Wolframs Parzival". In Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie. Festgabe für Richard Heinzel. Halle/S, 1898, pp.353-436.
- Smalley, B. The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages. 2nd. ed. Oxford, 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Historians in the Middle Ages. London, 1974.
- Sowinski, B. Lehrhafte Dichtung des Mittelalters. Metzler 103. Stuttgart, 1971.
- Sprenger, R. "Lutwins Adam und Eva". Literatur Blatt 3 (1882), 259.
- Stammler, W. Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon. 5 vols. Vols. III-V ed. K.Langosch. Berlin and Leipzig. 1933-55.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Wort und Bild. Studien zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Schriftum und Bildkunst im Mittelalter. Berlin, 1972.
- Stegmüller, F. Repertorium biblicum medii aevi. 7 vols. Madrid, 1940-61. Supplementum . Vol.VIII. Madrid, 1976.
- Steinmeyer, E. "Lutwins Adam und Eva". AfdA 8 (1882), 222-30.
- Tikkanen, J.J. Die Genesismosaiken von S.Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Miniaturen der Cottonbibel nebst einer Untersuchung über den Ursprung der mittelalterlichen Genesisdarstellung besonders in der Byzantinischen Kunst und Ilatienischen Kunst. Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 17. Helsinki, 1889. rpt. Soest, 1972.
- Trapp, J.B. "The Iconography of the Fall of Man". In Approaches to 'Paradise Lost'. Ed. C.A.Patrides. London, 1968, pp.223-265.
- Tristram, H.L.C. "Die 'homo octopartitus' in der irischen und altenglischen Literatur". Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie 34 (1975), 119-53.
- Troje, L. "Adam und Zoe. Eine Szene der altchristlichen Kunst in ihren religionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge". Heidelbergerische Sitzungsberichte 7/17 (1916), 5-98.
- Urbanek, F. "Die Tribunalszene in der 'Erlösung' als Beispiel rhetorischer Textsublimierung". Euphorion 74 (1980), 287-311.
- Vetter, E.M. "Necessarium Adae peccatum". Ruperto-Carola 39 (1966), 144-81.
- Warner, M. Alone of All Her Sex. The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary. London, 1976.

- Wegener, H. "Die deutschen Volkshandschriften des späten Mittelalters". In Mittelalterliche Handschriften: Paläographische, kunsthistorische, literarische und bibliotheksgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Festgabe zum 60.Geburtstage von Hermann Degering. Ed. A.Bömer and J.Kirchner. Leipzig, 1926, pp.316-324; rpt. Hildesheim and New York, 1973.
- Weitzmann, K. Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A study of the origin and method of text illustration. Studies in Manuscript Illumination 2. Princeton, 1947.
- Wessel, K. "Adam und Eva". In Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst I. Stuttgart, 1963 , 40-54.
- Weixlgärtner, A. "Ungedruckte Stiche. Materialien und Anregungen aus Grenzgebieten der Kupferstichkunde". In Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 29/4 (1910/11), 259-385.
- Wiedmer, P. Sündenfall und Erlösung bei Heinrich von Heslar. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der deutschen Biblepik des späten Mittelalters. Basler Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur 53. Bern, 1977.
- Wiereński, D. Minne. Herkunft und Anwendungsgeschichten eines Wortes. Cologne, 1964.
- Worringer, W. Die altdeutsche Buchillustration. Mit 105 Abbildungen nach Holzschnitten. Munich, 1921.
- Wright, J. Historical German Grammar. Oxford, 1907.