OLD ENGLISH SERIES · VOLUME 21

The Homilies and Laws of Wulfstan

Wulfstan

Sermones Lupi episcopi

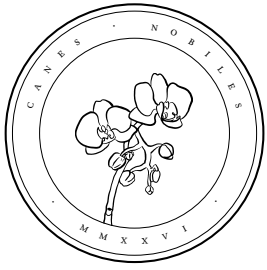
The Homilies and Laws of Wulfstan

With the Canons of Edgar,
the Institutes of Polity, and the Laws of Cnut

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order

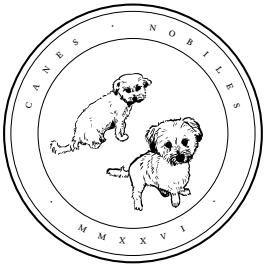


CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

Copyright © 2026 Christopher Hench
All rights reserved

Published by Canes Nobiles
canesnobiles.com

The source text is in the public domain



Volume 21 of the Canes Nobiles Old English interlinear texts

The Old English text follows Arthur Napier's text of the homilies, Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit, Erste Abteilung (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883); Benjamin Thorpe's of the Canons of Edgar and the Institutes of Polity, Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, vol. II (London: Commissioners on the Public Records, 1840); and F. Liebermann's of I and II Cnut, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, vol. I (Halle: Niemeyer, 1903)

Translated and composed with AI, edited by Christopher Hench
Artwork by Esther Steves

The homilies are Napier's, with the circumflexes he prints over long vowels and his pointed numerals; they are numbered as he numbers them, and the items he prints in Latin or by other hands are omitted, so the numbers run with gaps, and XLVII stops at 243.21, the rest standing in Old English 30. The margin gives Napier's page and line where a paragraph begins. The Canons and the Institutes follow Thorpe, with his accents, his raised points, and his ȝ and þ; I and II Cnut follow the manuscript Liebermann prints in his first column, with his brackets, and the margin gives each law's number, Thorpe's Roman canon numerals set as Arabic figures.

CONTENTS

SERMONES LUPI EPISCOPI

I · Adam, the First Man 11
II · Here Begin the Sermons of Bishop Lupus 16
III · On the Catholic Faith 31
V · On Baptism 43
VI · On the Vision of Isaiah 55
VII · On the Sevenfold Spirit 72
X · On Christendom 82
XII · Dear Men, Understand 96
XIII · According to Mark 99
XIV · The Reading of the Holy Gospel According to Matthew . . . 107
XV · According to Luke 112
XVI · On the Times of Antichrist 118
XVII · A Sermon for Lent 129
XVIII · On the False Gods 134
XIX · A Sermon to the People 141

SERMONES LUPI EPISCOPI

(continued)

XX · For the Need of Us All 144
XXI · The Greatest Friendship 145
XXII · Let Us Do as We Need 146
XXIII · The Church's Dues 150
XXIV · Loyalty, Baptism, and Purity 153
XXV · To the People 157
XXVII · To All the People 160
XXVIII · On Divine Warning 163
XXXII · A Sermon for the Lord's Supper 169
XXXIII · The Sermon of the Wolf to the English 175
XXXIV · A Sermon of the Wolf 186
XXXV · On Various Calamities 189
XXXVI · To All the People 193
XXXVII · The Reading According to Luke 198
XXXVIII · Yet Another Good Addition 206
XXXIX · Decreed When the Great Army Came 208
XLI · The Words of the Prophet Ezekiel 211
XLVII · Sermon and Penitential 214
L · A Sermon 216
LI · To All the People 232
LII · To Mass-Priests 235
LIII · To Mass-Priests 237
LIV · On the Dedication of a Church 239
LIX · A Sermon of the Wolf 249

SERMONES LUPI EPISCOPI

(continued)

LX · On Heathendom 254
LXI · On Christendom 257

THE CANONS OF EDGAR

I–XXIII · The Synod and the Priest's Charge 263
XXIV–XLV · The Church and the Mass 268
XLVI–LXVII · The Priest's Life and Office 273

THE INSTITUTES OF POLITY

I · On the Heavenly King 281
II · On the Earthly King 282
III · On Kingship 284
IV · On the Throne 285
V · On the Councilors of the Nation 287
VI · On Bishops 290
VII · Likewise 293
VIII · Likewise 296
IX · Likewise 297
X · Here Begins on the Synod 298
XI · On Earls 302
XII · On Reeves 303
XIII · On Abbots 305
XIV · On Monks 306

THE INSTITUTES OF POLITY

(continued)

XV · On Nuns 308
XVI · On Priests and on Nuns 309
XVII · On Widows 309
XVIII · On God's Servants 310
XIX · On Priests 312
XX · To Priests 318
XXI · To Priests 319
XXII · On Lay Men 322
XXIII · On Ordained Men 324
XXIV · On All Christian Men 328
XXV · On the Church 330

I CNUT

I · The Peace of the Church 337
II · The Clergy, Marriage, and God's Dues 343
III · The Faith and the Shepherds 350

II CNUT

I · The Secular Law 359
II · Surety, Oath, and the Ordeal 367
III · Crimes Against Church and Feast 378
IV · The Relief of the People 384

WULFSTAN

Sermones Lupi episcopi

The Homilies

Adam se æresta man

I · ADAM, THE FIRST MAN

Adam, driven from paradise for his sins, could no longer see the heavenly joys but remembered them; his descendants only heard of them and doubted more with each generation. Mankind is like a boy born in a king's prison who doubts his mother's word about the sun, the moon, and the fields until the king unlocks the door: so the soul, freed from the body, will see what it was told. Healings at saints' tombs show that the righteous are rewarded, and all who return to earth face endless torment or bliss.

Adam se æresta man wæs gesceapen on neorxnawonge and for 1.1
Adam the first man was created in paradise and for
his sylfes synnum þanan adræfed on þas wræcworuld and on
his own sins thence driven into this exile-world and into
eall þa earfeðu, þe we for his synnum and ure sylfra siððan
all the hardships which we for his sins and our own afterward
drugon, and he ða syððan þa gefean þæs heofonlican eðles,
endured and he then afterward the joys of-the heavenly homeland
þe he ær sceawode, þanonforð geseon ne mihte. ða þa he
which he before beheld thenceforth see not could then when he
on neorxnawonge wæs, he wæs mid heortan clænnesse and
in paradise was he was with of-heart purity and
mid heofenlicre gesyhðe eadigra engla gefera and godes word
with heavenly sight of-blessed angels companion and of-god word
gehyrde; ac eft, þa he hider adræfed wæs fram þæm modes
heard but afterward when he hither driven was from the of-mind
leohte, þe he mid gefylled wæs ær, he wearð myccles syððan
light which he with filled was before he was much afterward
lange benumen. we þa syðþan of ðæs ylcan mannes flæsce on
long deprived we then afterward from of-the same man flesh into
þas wræclican worulde acende wurdon, and we ða geacsodon be
this wretched world born were and we then learned about

þam heofonlican eðle, and we geacsodon his geceasterwaran
the heavenly homeland and we learned its citizens
beon godes englas, and we geacsodon þæra engla geferan beon
be of-god angels and we learned of-the angels companions be
þa gastas soðfæstra and fulfremedra manna. ac flæsclice men,
the spirits of-righteous and perfect men but fleshly men
forðon þe hy þa ungesynelican ne magon angytan, heo þonne
because that they the invisible-things not can perceive they then
tweogað, hwæþer hit soð sy, þe ne sy, þæt hi mid lichamlicum
doubt whether it true be or not be what they with bodily
eagum ne geseoð. ac Adam se æresta man ne þorfte he na
eyes not see but Adam the first man not needed he —
tweogan, þeah ðe he ût adrifen wære of neorxnawonges
doubt though that he out driven were from of-paradise
gefean, and ðeah he hit ne gesawe, þa he gemunde swaþeah
joy and though he it not saw then he remembered nevertheless
þæt ylce, þæt he ær geseah, and þæt he ær anforlet.
the same that he before saw and what he before forsook
2.10 ac ða syððan, þa þe he gestrynde, þa hit ne gemundan,
but then afterward those whom he begot they it not remembered
ac þeh hy gelyfdan be his segene, þe hit ær geseah,
but though they believed by his saying who it before saw
untweogendlicor, þonne þa heora segene eft gelyfdon, þe
more-undoubtingly than those their saying afterward believed who
æfter heom acende wæron. and syððan æghwylc fæder þeh
after them born were and afterward each father though
sæde his suna, and ðone æftran aa tweode ma, þonne þæne
said to-his son and the later ever doubted more than the
ærran, forðon heora nænig þæron wæs ægþer ge mid saule
earlier because of-them none therein was each both with soul
ge mid lichoman, swa swa Adam wæs. ac we synd þam
and with body so as Adam was but we are to-that

gelicost gescapene on þisse worulde, þe sum cyning hate
likest created in this world which a-certain king command
sum forworht wif don on carcern, and þæt sy bearneacen,
a-certain guilty woman put in prison and that be pregnant
and heo þonne cenne cniht, and se þonne sy ðær afeded,
and she then bear boy and he then be there reared
oð he sy twentigwintre oððe gyt yldra. hwæt, he þonne
until he be twenty-winters or yet older lo he then
naht oðres ne wat, butan þæt he þærinne geseah. ðeah ðe
naught of-other — knows except what he therein saw though that
his modor him secge, þæt heo gesawe sunnan and monan,
his mother to-him say that she saw sun and moon
steorran and streamas, muntas and feldas, fleotende fixas and
stars and streams mountains and fields floating fishes and
fleogende fugelas and yrnende hors, wyrmas and wildeor and
flying birds and running horses serpents and wild-beasts and
eal, þæt we geseoð, ic wat, þæt hine wile tweogan, hwæðer
all that we see I know that him will doubt whether
heo him soð secge. and, gyf se cniht oþerne þærinne
she to-him truth say and if the boy another therein
gestryneð and ðæm segeð, þæt he sylf ne gesawe, ac his
begets and to-him says that he self not saw but his
modor him sæde, þæt heo hit eall sylf gesawe, he þonne
mother to-him said that she it all self saw he then
gyt swyðor tweoð, þonne se ærra. hû, ne mæg se cyning
yet more doubts than the earlier how not can the king
þonne þæne tweon eaðe gebetan? onlucan þæs carcernes duru:
then the doubt easily amend unlock of-the prison door
þonne magan hy þæt eall geseon, þæt him ær gesæd 3.12
then can they that all see which to-them before said
wæs. ðæt is þonne þæm gelicost, þe we nu on carcerne sŷn
was that is then to-that likest as we now in prison are

betŷnede on þisse wôrulde, and eft þonne se gâst wyrð ût
shut in this world and afterward when the spirit becomes out
of ðam lichoman alǽd, þe he nu mid befângen is, þonne
from the body led which he now with enclosed is then
bið us gesawen, þæt ûs ǽr gesæd wæs, þeah þe we hit
is to-us seen what to-us before said was though that we it
nu geortrywan, forðy þe we hit geseon ne magon. ac ealles
now doubt because that we it see not can but all
to lytel andgyt bið þeah on ðæs mannes heortan, þe nele
too little understanding is though in of-the man heart who will-not
soðes gelyfan, þeh he sylf his agenum eagum eal ne gesawe,
truth believe though he self with-his own eyes all not saw
þæt soðes is geworden. la, hwæt byð betweonan mannes and
what of-truth is become o what is between of-man and
nytenes andgyte, gyf he nat ne witan nele, butan þæt he
of-beast understanding if he knows-not nor know will except what he
on starað? ac se byð wita, se ðe soð asmeað, and se ðe fela
on stares but he is wise-man he who truth considers and he who much
wat þæs, þe ær wæs and æfter gewurðan sceal. and swutule
knows of-that which before was and after happen shall and clearly
eac mæg gecnawan be mistlican tacnan, se þe wile soð witan,
also can perceive by various signs he who will truth know
þæt þa habbað god lean æfter heora liffæce, þa ðe wisdomes
that those have good reward after their life-span those who wisdom
gymað þa hwile, þe hy libbað, and þa ðe gode hyrað and
heed the while that they live and those who god obey and
godes lage healdað and soþes gelyfað and georne þæt smeageað.
of-god law hold and truth believe and eagerly that consider
4.9 and sylfe we gesawon þæs swutele bysene: we gesawan for oft
and selves we saw of-that clear examples we saw very often
æt sumra þæra byrgenan, þe gode wel gecwemdan, manege
at of-some of-those tombs who god well pleased many

gefettan lichamlice hæle, and þær wurdan hale, þe ær wæran
fetched bodily health and there became whole who before were
limmlaman, þæs þe we sylfe wistan ful georne; blinde
lame-limbed of-that which we selves knew full well blind
gefettan, þæt hy locedan brade, and halte wurdan hale, and
fetched that they looked broadly and lame became whole and
mistlice gebrocade hæle geforan æt halgra manna banan. be
variously afflicted health obtained at of-holy men bones by
þam man mæg gecnawan and be ma þinga, þæt þær syndan
that one can perceive and by more of-things that there are
mihta, mærþa and myrhþa, þær ða motan wunjan æfter
powers glories and joys where those may dwell after
heora liffæce, þe godes willan wyrcað and wisdomes gymað þa
their life-span who of-god will work and wisdom heed the
hwile, þe hy libbað. ac þa beoð adwealde and þurh deofol
while that they live but those are led-astray and through devil
beswicene, þe þæs ne gelyfað, ac wenað, þæt se man scyle
deceived who that not believe but think that the man must
deadlice swyltan, efne swa nyten, and syþþan ne þoljan ne
mortally die even as beast and afterward not suffer nor
yrmðe ne myrhðe, ne ænig lean habban þæs, ðe he worhte
misery nor joy nor any reward have of-that which he wrought
on lifes fæce þa hwile, þe he mehte. ac soþ is, þæt ic secge:
in of-life span the while that he could but true is what I say
of eorþan gewurdan ærest geworhte þa, ðe we sylfe ealle of
from earth were first made those whom we selves all from
coman, and to eorþan we scylan ealle geweorþan and syþþan
came and to earth we must all become and afterward
habban swa ece wite ⁊ butan ende, swa ece blisse, swa
have either eternal torment ever without end or eternal bliss so
hwæþer we on life æror geearnedon. god ure helpe, amen.
whichever we in life before earned god us let-help amen

Incipiunt sermones Lupi episcopi

II · HERE BEGIN THE SERMONS OF BISHOP LUPUS

Bound by the prophet's command to cry aloud, the preacher tells sacred history: Lucifer's fall through pride and the making of Adam and Eve to fill heaven's empty places; the devil's envy, the forbidden fruit, and Cain; the Flood, idolatry, and the devil's false cures at wells and stones; Abraham, Moses, David, the captivity, and Cyrus; Christ born of Mary 4,163 years after Adam, his passion, resurrection, and ascension; and Antichrist's coming before the judgment.

6.2 Leofan men, us is deope beboden, þæt we geornlice
Dear men to-us is deeply commanded that we eagerly
mynegjan and læran sculan, þæt manna gehwylc to gôde
admonish and teach must that of-men each to good
buge and fram synnum gecyrre. se cwyde is swyðe egeslic,
bow and from sins turn the saying is very terrible
þe god þurh þone witegan be þam cwæð, þe godes folce
which god through the prophet about those said who of-god to-people
bodjan sculon, þæt syndon biscopas and mæssepreostas. he
preach must that are bishops and mass-priests he
cwæð be þam: 'clama, ne cesses; quasi tuba exalta uocem
said about them cry not cease like trumpet raise voice
tuam' et reliqua. clypa hlude and ahefe up ðine stemne and
thy and the-rest cry loudly and raise up thy voice and
gecyð minum folce, þæt hit georne fram synnum gecyrre.
make-known to-my people that it eagerly from sins turn
gyf ðu þonne þæt ne dest, ac forsuwast hit and nelt
if thou then that not doest but keepest-silent it and wilt-not
folce his þearfe gecyðan, þonne scealt þu ealra þæra sawla
to-people its need make-known then shalt thou of-all the souls
on domesdæg gescead agyldan, þe þurh þæt losiað, þe hy
on doomsday account render which through that perish that they

nabbað þa lare and ða mynegunge, þe hy beðorfton. ðes
have-not the teaching and the admonition which they needed this
cwyde mæg beon swyðe gemyndiglic eallum þam, þe to þam
saying may be very memorable to-all those who to that
gesette syn, þæt hi godes folce riht bodjan sculon, and folc
appointed are that they of-god to-people right preach must and people
ah eac myccle þearfe, þæt hi wære beon þæs cwydes, þe
has also great need that they wary be the saying which
þæræfter gecweden is. he cwæð, se witega, æfter þam: 'gyf
thereafter said is he said the prophet after that if
ðu godes folce riht bodast and ðu hit gebigean ne miht to
thou of-god to-people right preachest and thou it bend not canst to
rihte, þonne gebyrhst ðu þinre agenre sawle, and, se ðe woh
right then protectest thou thy own soul and he who wrong
drifð and geswican nele, he sceal habban ðæs ece wite'.
practices and cease will-not he shall have for-that eternal torment
Leofan men, ic bidde eow, þæt ge geþyldelice hlystan þæs, 7.11
Dear men I pray you that ye patiently listen that
ðe ic eow nu secgan wille. hit is lang to areccenne, þæt we
which I to-you now say will it is long to relate what we
on bocum ymbe godes wundra rædað. nu wille ic þeah be
in books about of-god wonders read now will I though in
suman dæle scortlice hit eow sum asecgan. an is ece god,
some part briefly it to-you some tell one is eternal god
þe gesceop heofonas and eorðan and ealle gesceafta, and on
who created heavens and earth and all creatures and in
fruman he gelogode on þære heofonlican gesceafte, þæt is, on
beginning he placed in the heavenly creation that is in
heofona rice, engla weredu mycle and mære. ða wearð þær
of-heavens kingdom of-angels hosts great and famous then became there
ân þæra engla swa scinende and swa beorht and swa wlitig,
one of-the angels so shining and so bright and so beautiful

þæt se wæs Lucifer genemned. þa þuhte him, þæt he mihte
that he was Lucifer named then seemed to-him that he could
beon þæs efengelica, ðe hine gescop and geworhte; and,
be of-him equal who him created and wrought and
sona swa he þurh ofermodignysse þæt geðohte, þa hreas he
as-soon as he through pride that thought then fell he
of heofonum and eall, þæt him hyrde, and hy gewurdan
from heavens and all that him obeyed and they became
of englum to deoflum gewordene, and heom wearð hyll
from angels to devils turned and for-them was hell
gegearwod, and hi ðær wunjað on ecan forwŷrde. æfter þam
prepared and they there dwell in eternal perdition after that
gescop god ælmihtig ænne man of eorðan, þæt wæs Adam,
created god almighty one man from earth that was Adam
and of Adames anum ribbe he gescop him wîf to gemacan,
and from of-Adam one rib he created for-him woman as mate
seo wæs Eua genamod; and to ðam hy gesceop god ælmihtig,
who was Eve named and for that them created god almighty
þæt hy and heora ofspring scoldan gefyllan and gemænigfyldan,
that they and their offspring should fill and multiply
þæt on heofonum gewanad wæs; þæt wæs ungerim, þæt
what in heavens diminished was that was countless which
ðænon þurh deofles ofermodignesse into helle behreas.
thence through of-devil pride into hell fell
9.1 ac, sona swa deofol ongeat, þæt mann to ðam gescapen wæs,
but as-soon as devil perceived that man for that created was
þæt he scolde and his cynn gefyllan on heofonum, þæt se
that he should and his kin fill in heavens what the
deofol forworhte ðurh his ofermodignesse, þa wæs him þæt
devil forfeited through his pride then was to-him that
on myclan andan, ongann þa beswican and gelæran, þæt se
in great envy began then deceive and persuade that the

man abræc godes bebod. god lyfde Adame, þæt he moste
man broke of-god command god allowed Adam that he might
brucan ealra wæstma, butan anes treowes wæstm he him
enjoy all fruits except of-one tree fruit be him
forbead, þæt he þæs næfre ne abite. þa beswac deofol and
forbade that he that never — bit then deceived devil and
forlærde his wîf ærest, and heo hine syððan, þæt hy abræcan
misled his wife first and she him afterward that they broke
godes bebod and âtan of ðam forbodenan wæstme. and, sona
of-god command and ate of the forbidden fruit and as-soon
swa þæt wæs, þæt hi swa gedon hæfdon, þa hæfdon hy
as that was that they so done had then had they
forworhte hy sylfe and wurdon of þære myrhðe aworpene,
ruined them selves and were from the joy cast-out
þe hy ær on wæron, and on þis wræclice lif bescofene
which they before in were and into this wretched life thrust
and her syððan on earfoðan and on geswince wunedon,
and here afterward in hardships and in toil dwelt
and of heom twam is eall manncynn cumen. heora bearna
and from them two is all mankind come of-their children
ân gedyde syððan eac þurh deofles lare deoflice dæde,
one did afterward also through of-devil teaching devilish deed
þæt wæs Câin: he ofsloh Abel, his agenne broðor, and ða
that was Cain he slew Abel his own brother and then
wæs godes yrre þurh ða dæde ofer eorðan yfele geniwod.
was of-god anger through the deed over earth evilly renewed
and syððan ââ, swa heora ofspringes and mancynnes mare 10.2
and afterward ever the of-their offspring and of-mankind more
wearð, swa deofol mâ and mâ manna forlærde and getihte
became the devil more and more of-men misled and enticed
to heora agenre unþearfe swa æt nyhstan, þæt hy to gode
to their own harm so at last that they toward god

næfdon naþer ne lufe ne ege, ac on ælce wisan hy þurh
had-not either — love nor fear but in each way they through
heora synna god to þam swyðe gegremedon, þæt he let æt
their sins god to that greatly angered that he let at
nehstan flôd gân ofer ealne middaneard and adrencan eal, þæt
last flood go over all middle-earth and drown all that
on worulde wæs butan þam, ðe on ðære earce wæron; þæt
in world was except those who in the ark were that
wæs þæt an scyp, þe godd sylf gedihte Noe to wyrcanne,
was the one ship which god self directed Noah to make
and on ðam anum scype wearð genered se gôda man Nôe
and in the one ship was saved the good man Noah
and his ðry suna and heora wif. eall, þæt æfre manncynnes
and his three sons and their wives all that ever of-mankind
elles wæs, eall hit adranc, and eall, þæt nu is, eall hit com
else was all it drowned and all that now is all it came
of ðam mannum, þe on þære arce generede wæron; and
from the men who in the ark saved were and
ða, syððan þæt wæs, þæt se flod gesette and Noe and his
then after that was that the flood settled and Noah and his
suna landes geweald ahtan, hy gestryndan fela bearna, and
sons of-land power had they begot many children and
of heora ofsprincge com, þæt eft wearð folces unlytel.
from their offspring came that afterward became of-people not-little
ða dyde deofol þa gyt, ealswa he â deð, mannum mycle
then did devil then yet just-as he ever does to-men great
dare: he gedwealde eft mænigne man to þam swyðe, þæt
harm he misled again many man to that greatly that
hy ofergeaton and forgymdon æt nyhstan heora drihten
they forgot and neglected at last their lord
and wurðedon þurh deofles lare mistlice gedwolþing and
and worshiped through of-devil teaching various false-things and

worhton fela gedwimera on anlicnessum and ðærto abugan
made many phantoms in images and thereto bowed
and hy ðærto gebædon and wendon, þæt heom of
and themselves thereto prayed and supposed that to-them from
ðam come bôt and willa, þæs ðe hy þonne wylnigende
them came remedy and will of-that which they then desiring
wæron. swa hy dwelode deofol and adwealde. hwæt, þa
were so them deceived devil and misled lo the
yrmingas nyston nâ, hu lytelice hy þonne deofol bepæhte,
wretches knew-not — how cunningly them then devil deceived
þe ma, þe þa witan, þe gyt on þa wisan deofles willan
the more than those know who yet in that way of-devil will
dreogað ealles to wide. deofol ah þurh godes geþafunge
perform all too widely devil has through of-god consent
þæs geweald, þæt he mot manna fandjan, hwæðer heora
of-that power that he may men test whether their
geþanc aht sy, and hwæþer hi willan on godd anrædlice
thought aught be and whether they will in god steadfastly
getruwjan, þe hy willan þurh deofles lare awacjan. ælc
trust or they will through of-devil teaching weaken each
yfel cymð of deofle and ælc broc and nan bot;
evil comes from devil and each affliction and no remedy
þonne deþ he þeah swyðe lytelice, þær he ongyt unwære menn, 11.15
then does he though very cunningly where he perceives unwary men
sent sona on hy sylfe oððon hwilum on heora yrfe sum
sends at-once on them selves or sometimes on their cattle some
swiðlic brocc, and ðonne hwilum gehatað hy ælmessan þurh
great affliction and then sometimes promise they alms through
deofles lare oðþon to wylle oððon to stane oðþon elles to
of-devil teaching either to well or to stone or else to
sumum unalyfedum ðingum, and ðonne sona for oft byð þæt
some unlawful things and then at-once very often is the

brocc liðre. la, for hwy þonne bið hit swa, buton forðam, þe
affliction milder o for why then is it so but because that
se mann byð þonne beswicen, and deofol ah ða saule, butan
the man is then deceived and devil owns the soul unless
he geswice and ðe deoppor gebete þa misdæde? of deofle ne
he cease and the deeper amend the misdeed from devil not
cymð ænig oþer bôt, buton, þonne he hæfð þæs mannes sawle
comes any other remedy except when he has of-the man soul
beswicen, þonne geswicð he þære dare, þe he þam menn elles
deceived then ceases he the harm which he the man else
ær mid derede, and, witod, se ðe his broces bote secð, buton
before with harmed and certainly he who of-his affliction remedy seeks except
to gode sylfum and to his halgum and to rihtlæcum, he dryhð
to god self and to his saints and to right-physicians he performs
deofles wyllan and godes unwillan. leofan men, þa þa þæt
of-devil will and of-god displeasure dear men then when that
wæs, þæt deofol þæt folc swa mistlice dwelede, swa ic eow ær
was that devil the people so variously deceived as I to-you before
rehte, þa wæs þeah an mægð, ðe æfre weorðode þone soðan
told then was though one tribe which ever worshiped the true
godd, and seo asprang of Seme, se wæs Noes yldesta sunu;
god and it sprang from Shem who was of-Noah eldest son
12.17 and of ðære mægðe com se mæra mann Abraham, þe man
and from the tribe came the famous man Abraham whom one
on bocum fela ymbe rædeþ. and of ðam mæran Abrahame
in books much about reads and from the famous Abraham
comon heahfæderas; and of his mæran cynne eac coman þa
came patriarchs and from his famous kin also came the
witegan, þe cyddan Cristes tocyme; and ðam sylfan cynne
prophets who made-known of-Christ coming and to-the same kin
god sylf sette lage and Moyse bebead, þæt he hy be ðære
god self set law and Moses commanded that he them by the

lage wisjan scolde. se Moyses wæs godes sylfes gespeca, and
law guide should the Moses was of-god self spokesman and
se Moyses wæs eac þæs rihtcynnes. and of ðam sylfum
the Moses was also of-the right-kin and from the same
Abrahames cynne com eft Judea cynecynn; and ðæra
of-Abraham kin came afterward of-Jews royal-line and of-the
cyninga sum hatte Dauid, þe of ðam cynne asprang,
kings one was-called David who from the kin sprang
se wearð swyðe mære man ægðer ge for gode ge for
he became very famous man each both before god and before
worulde, and of his cynne eft com Scã Maria, Cristes
world and from his kin afterward came Saint Mary of-Christ
modor, and þæt Dauides cynn þeah wel oftost ––, ealswa
mother and the of-David kin throve well most-often ever just-as
him to gebyrede. and swaþeahhwæðere sume þa, ðe his
it to befitted and nevertheless some those who of-his
cynnes wæron and æfter him ðæs rices weoldon, mishyrdan
kin were and after him the kingdom ruled disobeyed
gode swyþor, þonne hy beþorftan. sume hy wurdon æt
god more than they needed some they became at
nyhstan swa þurh deofol ahyrde, þæt hi næfdon to gode
last so through devil hardened that they had-not toward god
naðer ne lufe ne ege, swa swa hy scoldan, ac ðurh deofles
either — love nor fear so as they should but through of-devil
lâre unriht lufedon ealles to swyðe, and æt nyhstan þæt
teaching wrong loved all too greatly and at last the
folc ða wearð swa wið god forworht, þæt he let faran
people then became so against god guilty that he let go
hæþenne here and forhergjan eall þæt land, and ðone cyningc
heathen army and lay-waste all the land and the king
Sedechîam, þe þa wæs on Judea lande, mân gebând, and
Zedekiah who then was in of-Jews land one bound and

ealle þa duguðe, þe on þam earde wæs, man ofsloh oðþon
all the nobility which in the land was one slew or
gebænde and lædde hi ût of earde, and fullice lxx wintra
bound and led them out from land and fully seventy winters
syððan on ân wæs se ðeodscype eall geðeowod under heora
afterward on end was the nation all enslaved under of-their
feonda gewealde, swa forð hy wæron wið god þa forworhte.
enemies power so far they were against god then guilty
14.9 ac eft æfter þam ymbe lxx geara, þæs ðe seo hergung
but again after that after seventy years of-that which the harrying
wæs, Cyrus hatte Persa cyning; se gefreode, ealswa god
was Cyrus was-called of-Persians king who freed just-as god
wolde, eal þæt judeisce folc, þe þa on lîfe wæs, and let hy
would all the Jewish people which then in life was and let them
faran ham to heora earde, and hy ða syððan georнlice agunnan
go home to their land and they then afterward eagerly began
rædes gyman, and hit agann mid heom godjan georne, and
counsel heed and it began with them improve eagerly and
of heora cynne syððan geboren wearð ealra bearna betst, þe
from their kin afterward born was of-all children best who
æfre geboren wurde, þæt wæs ure drihten Crist, þe eallum
ever born were that was our lord Christ who to-all
manncynne com to ðearfe of ðæs mæran mædenes innoðe,
mankind came for benefit from of-the famous maiden womb
Sancta Marian. and þa, ða þæt wæs, þæt Crist geboren
Saint Mary and then when that was that Christ born
wearð, þa wæs agan geargerimes fram þam timan, þe Adam
was then was gone of-year-count from the time that Adam
ærest gescapen wæs, feower þusend and hundteontig and þreo
first created was four thousand and hundred and three
and sixtig geara, þæs ðe bec secgað. nu is mænig ungelæred
and sixty years of-that which books say now is many unlearned

man, þe wile þencan, hu þæt beon mæge, þæt se, ðe gescop
man who will think how that be may that he who created
on fruman ealle gesceafta, þæt he wearð þus late geboren, swa
in beginning all creatures that he was thus late born as
ic eow nû areht hæbbe. ac ic wylle eow gyt cuðlicor secgan,
I to-you now told have but I will to-you yet more-plainly say
þæt ge hit magon þe swutelicor ongytan. he wæs æfre soð
that ye it can the more-clearly perceive he was ever true
godd and is and ââ bið, and he gescop þurh his godcundan
god and is and ever will-be and he created through his divine
mihte ealle gesceafta lange, ær he sylf geboren mann wurde,
might all creatures long before he self born man became
forðam he næs na ær mann, ær he for ealles middaneardes
because he not-was — before man before he for of-all middle-earth
alysednesse sylfwilles menniscnesse underfeng þurh þæt clæne
redemption voluntarily humanity received through the pure
mæden Scã Marian. seo menniscnes is wundorlic ymbe to
maiden Saint Mary the humanity is wonderful about to
smeagenne: full mycel wundor hit wæs, þæt þæt mæden
consider full great wonder it was that the maiden
gebær cild, þe næfre nahte þurh hæmedþing weres gemanan.
bore child who never had through intercourse of-man fellowship
ac, se ðe hæfð rihtne geleafan and understent godes mihta, 15.16
but he who has right faith and understands of-god powers
he mæg ful georne witan, þæt hit wæs gode yðdæde, þa
he can full well know that it was for-god easy-deed when
he hit swa gedon habban wolde. ær he wæs soð godd on
he it so done have would before he was true god in
godcundnesse and næs na mann, ac nu he is ægðer ge soð
divinity and not-was — man but now he is each both true
godd ge soð mann, and nis æfre æniges mannes mæð, þæt
god and true man and not-is ever of-any man measure that

he þa godcundnesse asmeagan cunne; ac us is þeah mycel
he the divinity search-out can but to-us is though great
þearf, þæt we ââ habban rihtne gelêafan on god ælmihtigne,
need that we ever have right faith in god almighty
þe us ealle gescop and geworhte; he wæs æfre efenmihtig,
who us all created and wrought he was ever equally-mighty
and he gyt is, and he â swa byð buton ælcum ende. la, hû
and he yet is and he ever so will-be without any end o how
mihte god ælmihtig wið manncynn mildra gewurðan, þonne
could god almighty toward mankind milder become than
hê wæs, þa þa he asende his agen bearn of heofonum nyðer
he was then when he sent his own child from heavens down
to eorðan, and her wearð man geboren to þam þingum, þæt
to earth and here was man born for the things that
he mid his agenum feore mancynn alysde of deofles gewealde
he with his own life mankind redeemed from of-devil power
and of helle wite? ær ðam timan næs æfre ænig mann on
and from of-hell torment before the time not-was ever any man in
worulde swa mære, þæt he on ân ne sceolde to helle, swa he
world so famous that he at once not must to hell as he
forðfaren wæs; and þæt wæs ærest for Adames gewyrhtum.
departed was and that was first for of-Adam deeds
16.16 ac wundorlice swyðe geeadmedde Crist hine sylfne, þa he
but wonderfully greatly humbled Christ him self when he
menniscnesse underfeng, and swa on þære menniscnesse wæs
humanity received and so in the humanity was
seo godcundnes bediglod, þæt he þurh eadmetta on his
the divinity hidden that he through humility in his
menniscnesse eal adreah, þæt mann deð, butan synne anre.
humanity all endured that man does except sin alone
ða he cild wæs, eall hine man fedde, swa man oðre cild
when he child was all him one fed as one other children

fedeð; he læg on cradole bewûnden, ealswa oðre cild doð,
feeds he lay in cradle swaddled just-as other children do
hine man bær, oð he sylf gân mihte. ðurh ælc þing seo
him one carried until he self walk could through each thing the
menniscnes adreah, þæt hyre to gebyrede; hine þyrste hwylum
humanity endured what it to befitted him thirsted sometimes
and hwilum hingrode, he æt and dranc, and ægðer he þolode
and sometimes hungered he ate and drank and each he suffered
ge cyle ge hætan. eall seo menniscnes þolode, þæt menn to
both cold and heat all the humanity suffered what men to
gebyrede, forðam þe he wæs soð man þurh his medrengecynd;
befitted because that he was true man through his mother's-nature
and he þeah, swa hit mæð wæs, fægere forðwerd, swa þæt
and he throve as it fitting was fairly forward so that
hit com to ðam, þa he þære ylde wæs, þæt he geceas him
it came to that when he of-the age was that he chose for-him
leorningcnihtas, þa he þæt wolde, and ða he sylf gelærde
disciples when he that would and them he self taught
and gewissode ymbe ealles folces þearfe, swa his willa wæs,
and directed about of-all people need as his will was
and heom bebead, þæt hy geond ealne middaneard syððan
and them commanded that they throughout all middle-earth afterward
bodjan scoldan rihtne geleafan; and ðurh mænige wundra,
preach should right faith and through many wonders
þe he worhte, he eac geswutelode þæt he wæs and is soðlice
which he wrought he also revealed that he was and is truly
godes sunu, and syððan æfter þam, þa se tima com, þæt he
of-god son and afterward after that when the time came that he
for eall manncynn þrowjan wolde, þa sæde he his ðegnum
for all mankind suffer would then said he to-his thanes
fore eal, hu hit gewurðan scolde, and hit sona æfter þam
beforehand all how it happen should and it at-once after that

ealswa âeode. judeisc folc þurh deofles lâre hine forrædde,
just-so went Jewish people through of-devil teaching him conspired-against
and ân his agenra cnihta hine belæwde to deaþe. hit wæs
and one of-his own disciples him betrayed to death it was
ðeah eall geworden, swa he sylf wolde, and þæt wæs swutol
though all done as he self would and that was clear
þæs ðriddan dæges, þa he of deaðe arâs, þa he cydde,
on-the third day when he from death arose then he showed
þæt he âr mihte ful eaðe deað forbugan, gyf he swa wolde;
that he before could full easily death avoid if he so would
18.5 ac he alysde ûs þurh his deað of êcan deaðe and
but he redeemed us through his death from eternal death and
geswutelode mid his æriste, þæt he hæfð us gerymed
revealed with his resurrection that he has for-us opened
rihtne weg to ecan life; and he raðe eft þa gyt þæt
right way to eternal life and he soon afterward then yet that
furðor geswutelode; hit gewearð ymb .xl. daga, þæs þe he
further revealed it happened after forty days of-that which he
of deaðe aras, þæt him com of heofonum ongean mycel
from death arose that to-him came from heavens toward great
engla werod, and he mid þam werede to heofonum ferde,
of-angels host and he with the host to heavens went
and ðærto gerymed hæfð us eallum rihtne weg, gyf we sylfe
and thereto opened has for-us all right way if we selves
þæs earnjan willað, and ðanan he eft to his dome cymð.
that earn will and thence he again to his judgment comes
ðonne is us mycel þearf, þæt we eac þæt understandan, þæt
then is to-us great need that we also that understand that
hit to ðam dôme nu georne nealæcð, þe he sylf to cymð;
it to the judgment now eagerly approaches which he self to comes
forðam þonne he wile æt us witan, hu we him geleanod
because then he will from us know how we him repaid

habban eall, þæt he for ûs þolode, and we witan to soðe, þæt
have all that he for us suffered and we know for true that
hit þærto georne nealæcð, forðam þe we habbað gecnawen
it thereto eagerly approaches because that we have known
fela þæra fortacna, þe Crist sylf foresæde, þæt cuman
many of-the portents which Christ self foretold that come
scolde; and eac he sæde for myclan egsan, þe gyt toweard
should and also he said of great terror which yet to-come
is; he sæde, þæt æfter þisum fæce gewurðan sceall swa egeslic
is he said that after this time happen shall so terrible
tima, swa æfre ær næs, syððan þeos woruld gewearð;
time as ever before not-was since this world came-to-be
Antecristes tima bið æfter ðysum, and nu swyðe raðe his 19.4
Of-antichrist time will-be after this and now very soon him
man mæg wenan, and ðurh hine gewyrð swa micel gryre,
one may expect and through him happens so great terror
swa næfre ær on worulde ne gewearð. eall middaneard bið
as never before in world — happened all middle-earth will-be
þurh hine gedreht and gedrêfed, and eal hit forwurde, gyf
through him afflicted and troubled and all it would-perish if
god his hwile ne scyrte; ac godd hine fordeþ þe raþor, forðam
god his time not shortened but god him destroys the sooner because
þe he wile gebeorhgan þam, ðe him sylfum syn gecorene
that he will protect those who to-him self are chosen
and gecweme. and raðe syððan æfter þam, þæs ðe us bec
and pleasing and soon afterward after that of-that which to-us books
secgaþ, gewyrð se micla dôm, and ðeos woruld geendað;
say happens the great judgment and this world ends
on þam dome witodlice sceal manna gehwylc habban swylc
at the judgment certainly must of-men each have such
edlean, swylc he on lîfe âr geearnode; ða, þe godes willan
reward as he in life before earned those who of-god will

her wyrcað, þa sculan þonne habban ece blisse on heofona
here work they must then have eternal bliss in of-heavens
rîce, and ða, þe her nu deofle fyligað, and his unlarum,
kingdom and those who here now devil follow and his evil-teachings
þa sculon þonne mid deofle faran on êce forwŷrd helle
they must then with devil go into eternal perdition of-hell
wites. eala, leofan men, utan we don, swa us mycel þearf
torment O dear men let-us we do as to-us great need
is, lufjan godd eallum mode and eallum mægene and healdan
is love god with-all mind and with-all strength and hold
his bebodu georne, þonne geearnige we us ece blisse æt
his commands eagerly then earn we for-us eternal bliss from
ðam sylfum gode, þe leofað and rixað a butan ende. amen.
the same god who lives and reigns ever without end amen

De fide catholica

III · ON THE CATHOLIC FAITH

Every Christian must know the Paternoster, which Christ himself taught and which holds seven petitions, and the Creed, which the apostles sang before they parted. The sermon then expounds the Creed: one God in three persons; Christ conceived when Mary received Gabriel's word, his miracles, crucifixion, harrowing of hell, resurrection, and ascension; the Church, the communion of saints, and forgiveness; and the rising of all at doomsday, when the world burns, the damned go to hell, and the blessed go with Christ into heaven's endless joy.

Leofan men, doð, swa eow mycel þearf is, understandað, þæt 20.6
Dear men do as to-you great need is understand that
ælc cristen man ah micle þearfe, þæt he his cristendomes
each Christian man has great need that he of-his Christendom
gescead wite, and þæt he cunne rihtne geleafan rihtlice
understanding know and that he can right faith rightly
understandan. wac bið þæt geðanc on cristenum men, gyf he
understand weak is the thought in Christian man if he
ne cann understandan þurh rihtne geleafan þæne, þe hine
not can understand through right faith him who him
gescop and geworhte, and gyf he nele geleornjan, þæt he
created and wrought and if he will-not learn that he
cunne, þæt ælc cristen man huru cunnan sceal, pater noster
can that each Christian man at-least know must pater noster
and credan. forðam mid þam oðrum sceal ælc cristen man
and creed because with the one must each Christian man
hine to gode gebiddan and mid þam oðrum geswuteljan rihtne
himself to god pray and with the other reveal right
geleafan. Crist sylf sang pater noster ærest and þæt gebedd
faith Christ self sang pater noster first and the prayer
his leorningcnihtum tæhte; and on ðam godcundan gebede
to-his disciples taught and in the divine prayer

syn .VII. gebedu, mid þam se, ðe hit inwerdlice gesingð,
are seven prayers with which he who it inwardly sings
geærndað to gode sylfum ymbe æfre ælce neode, þe man
intercedes to god self about ever each need which one
beðearf, aðor oððon for ðisum lîfe oððon for ðam toweardan.
needs either or for this life or for the future
ac hu mæg þonne æfre ænig man hine inweardlice to gode
but how can then ever any man himself inwardly to god
gebiddan, buton he inwerdlice on god hæbbe rihtne geleafan.
pray unless he inwardly in god have right faith
leofan men, ures drihtnes agene leorningcnihtas, ær hy
dear men of-our lord own disciples before they
toferdan, ealswa heom beboden wæs, cristendom to bodjanne,
dispersed just-as to-them commanded was Christendom to preach
hy geswutelodon rihtne geleafan and sungon credo in deum
they revealed right faith and sang I-believe in god
for trymmincge and for mynegunge þæs soðan geleafan;
for strengthening and for admonition of-the true faith
21.8 and þæne geleafan mot ælc ðæra rihtlice cunnan and anrædlice
and the faith must each of-those rightly know and steadfastly
healdan, þe geearnjan wile ece myrhðe æt ðam soðan gode, þe
hold who earn will eternal joy from the true god who
leofað and rixað in ealra worulda woruld a butan ende, amen.
lives and reigns in of-all worlds world ever without end amen
21.12 Leofan menn, understandað swyðe georne, þæt ge æfre
Dear men understand very eagerly that ye ever
habban rihtne geleafan on ænne ælmihtigne god. an is êce
have right faith in one almighty god one is eternal
god, fæder ælmihtig, þe gescôp heofonas and eorðan and ealle
god father almighty who created heavens and earth and all
gesceafta. on þæne we gelyfað and on his sunu, urne drihten
creatures in whom we believe and in his son our lord

Crist, and on þone halgan gast: þæt is eall an soð godd,
Christ and in the holy spirit that is all one true god
fæder and sunu and halig gast. ealle þa ðry naman befehð an
father and son and holy spirit all the three names embraces one
godcund miht, and is untodæled an êce godd, waldend and
divine might and is undivided one eternal god ruler and
wyrhta ealra gesceafta. eac we gelyfað and georne witan, þæt
maker of-all creatures also we believe and eagerly know that
Crist, godes sunu, is ægðer ge soð godd on godcundnesse ge
Christ of-god son is each both true god in divinity and
eac soð man þurh ða menniscnesse, þe he underfeng þurh
also true man through the humanity which he received through
his modor Scã Marian for ealles mancynnes neode and for
his mother Saint Mary for of-all mankind need and for
ealles middaneardes alysednesse. eal mancyn wæs þurh deofles
of-all middle-earth redemption all mankind was through of-devil
lare ær þam beswicen and forworht into helle wite; ac god
teaching before that deceived and condemned into of-hell torment but god
ælmihtig ðurh his mildheortnesse, þa þa he wolde mancynn
almighty through his mercy then when he would mankind
of deofles gewealde ahreddan, þa sende he his heahencgel
from of-devil power rescue then sent he his archangel
Gabriel to ðam mæran mædene Scã Marian, and he hyre
Gabriel to the famous maiden Saint Mary and he to-her
gecydde, þæt heo scolde geberan godes sunu. and, sona swa
made-known that she should bear of-god son and as-soon as
he þæt word gecwæþ, and heo hit mid geleafan underfeng,
he the word spoke and she it with faith received
þa wearð heo þurh haligne gast on innoðe geeacnod and
then was she through holy spirit in womb conceived and
mid þam cilde wearð sona and þæt gebær, ða hit þæs tima
with the child was at-once and it bore when it of-that time

wæs, eallum middanearde to soðan helpe. hit weox þa syððan
was to-all middle-earth for true help it grew then afterward
and ðeah on menniscnesse, swa his sylfes willa wæs, oð se
and throve in humanity as of-his self will was until the
tima côm, þæt he furðor openlice cydde þurh ða wundra,
time came that he further openly showed through the wonders
þe he worhte, þæt he wæs soðlice godes sylfes sunu. hit
which he wrought that he was truly of-god self son it
is on hrædinge earfoðrecce, hwæt he gesawenlicra wundra
is in haste difficult-to-tell what he of-visible wonders
geworhte, ær þæt mæste gewurde. he hælde blinde and
wrought before the greatest happened he healed blind and
deafe and dumbe and mistlice gebrocode and arærde mænigne
deaf and dumb and variously afflicted and raised many
man of deaþe and æt nyhstan let on him sylfum þæt
man from death and at last let on him self the
mæste wundor gewurðan, þæt is, þæt he geþafode, swa he
greatest wonder happen that is that he allowed as he
sylf wolde, þæt hine man to deaþe forrædde; hine man band,
self would that him one to death betrayed him one bound
and hine man swang and æt nyhstan on rode aheng and
and him one scourged and at last on rood hanged and
him ægðer þurhdraf mid isenum næglum ge fet ge handa;
for-him each pierced with iron nails both feet and hands
22.22 and swa ða Judeas þurh deofles lâre þa menniscnesse to
and so the Jews through of-devil teaching the humanity to
deaðe acôman. and hine man syððan on eorðan bebyrigde. hu
death brought and him one afterward in earth buried how
mihte æfre mare wundor gewurðan, þonne þæt wæs, þæt se,
could ever greater wonder happen than that was that he
ðe ah geweald heofones and eorðan and ealra gesceafta, se let
who has power of-heaven and earth and all creatures he let

hine sylfne for ure neode þam earmlicestan deaþe lichamlice
him self for our need with-the most-wretched death bodily
acwellan? ac hit wearð þeah mancynne to mycelre þearfe, forðam
kill but it became though for-mankind for great benefit because
þe we ealle wurdan þâ alysede mid his deorwurðan blôde of
that we all were then redeemed with his precious blood from
deofles gewealde, and he þæt ðurh his godcundan mihte eac
of-devil power and he that through his divine might also
þa geswutelode. on þam sylfum fæce, þe se mennisca lichama
then revealed in the same time that the human body
on byrgene læg, he abræc þurh his godcundan mihte helle
in tomb lay he broke through his divine might of-hell
geata and ðone deofol gewylde and of helle ut gelædde ealle
gates and the devil subdued and from hell out led all
þa, ðe him sylfum gecweme wæron; and ðæs þriddan dæges
those who to-him self pleasing were and of-the third day
of deaðe aras and mænige eac arærde, þe lange ær deade
from death arose and many also raised who long before dead
wæron. ða he geswutelode, þæt he ah ægðer geweald ge lifes
were then he revealed that he has each power both of-life
ge deaþes, and eac þær wæs þa swytol, þæt he ær mihte
and of-death and also there was then clear that he before could
wið deað gebeorgan and deað forbûgan, gyf he swa wolde. ac
against death protect and death avoid if he so would but
he ahredde us þurh his deað of ecan deaðe and gerymde us
he rescued us through his death from eternal death and opened for-us
wêg to ecan life. we agan nu geweald, hwæþer we geearnjan
way to eternal life we have now power whether we earn
willan þe êce lîf and êce blisse, þe êcne deað and endelease
will or eternal life and eternal bliss or eternal death and endless

yrmðe. witodlice witan we moton, hu we Criste geleanjan
misery certainly know we must how we Christ repay
eal, þæt he for ûs and for ure lufan þâfode and ðolode.
all that he for us and for our love allowed and suffered
23.22 leofan men, æfter his æriste, syððan he of deaðe arisen
dear men after his resurrection after he from death risen
wæs, he com to his ðegnum and hy gegladode and
was he came to his thanes and them gladdened and
feowertig daga her on eorðan wunode and hine sylfne ywde
forty days here on earth dwelt and him self showed
swa oft, swa he wolde, and his apostolum bebead, þæt hy
as often as he would and to-his apostles commanded that they
syððan faran scoldon geond ealne middaneard bodjende and
afterward go should throughout all middle-earth preaching and
lærende rihtne geleafan, and þæt hy fulljan scoldon þa, ðe
teaching right faith and that they baptize should those who
rihtne geleafan underfon woldon; cwæð, þæt ælc ðæra, þe on
right faith receive would said that each of-those who in
rihtan geleafan þurhwunode and fulluht underfenge, gehealden
right faith continued and baptism received kept
wurde wið deofles dare. and on ðam .xl. dæge he astah
were against of-devil harm and on the fortieth day he ascended
to heofonum and ðær on his wuldre wunað and rixað. leofan
to heavens and there in his glory dwells and reigns dear
men, we gelyfað, þæt halig gelaðung sy ealra cristenra manna
men we believe that holy church be of-all Christian men
to anum rihtan gelêafan, and þæt ða sŷn gode leofe, þe
in one right faith and that those are to-god dear who
þurh anfeald geðanc hine lufjað and herjað. and we gelyfað,
through single thought him love and praise and we believe
þæt haligra gemana sy; halige men habbað gemanan her
that of-saints communion be holy men have communion here

on lîfe on godum dǽdum, and hy habbað eac gemânan on
in life in good deeds and they have also communion in
þæm toweardan þurh ða edlean, þe heom þonne god gyfð.
the future through the rewards which to-them then god gives
and we gelyfað, þæt synna forgyfenes sy ærest þurh rihtne
and we believe that of-sins forgiveness be first through right
geleafan and ðurh fulluht and eft þurh synna behreowsunge.
faith and through baptism and again through of-sins repentance
and we gelyfað, þæt ærist sy on domesdæge ealra manna. 24.18
and we believe that resurrection be on doomsday of-all men
and we gelyfað, þæt ece lîf sŷ; forðam, ealswa þa godan
and we believe that eternal life be because just-as the good
habbað ece lîf on myrhðe, swa habbað þa yfelan and þa
have eternal life in joy so have the evil and the
forwyrhtan êce lîf on yrmðe, and ðæs æfre ænig ende ne
condemned eternal life in misery and of-that ever any end not
cymð. ðam yrmingan wære micle betere, gif hit beon mihte,
comes for-the wretches were much better if it be might
þæt hi swa deade wæron, þæt hy ða yrmða leng næfdan,
that they so dead were that they the miseries longer had-not
þonne hi swa lîf hæfdon, þæt hi þoljað êce yrmðe. heora lîf
than they such life had that they suffer eternal misery their life
nis naht, buton seo mæste yrmð, þe æfre gewearð, and is
not-is aught but the greatest misery which ever happened and is
rihtor to taljanne to êcan deaðe, þonne to ænigum lîfe. eala,
more-rightly to count as eternal death than as any life O
leofan menn, hwæt, we georne geseoð and gelomlice gecnawað
dear men lo we eagerly see and frequently perceive
be ðam tacnum, þe Crist sylf foresæde, þæt hit nu georne
by the signs which Christ self foretold that it now eagerly
nealæcð to þam dome, þe he sylf to cymð, and we witan, þæt
approaches to the judgment which he self to comes and we know that

ðærto gesamnod wyrð eall heofonwaru and eall eorðwaru and
thereto gathered will-be all heaven-folk and all earth-folk and
eall hellwaru, and sceall þonne manna gehwylc gescâd agyldan
all hell-folk and must then of-men each account render
ealra þæra dæda, þe he her adrêah ær on life. ne wyrð
of-all the deeds which he here did before in life not will-be
þær bedîhlad þæt dihlyste geþanc, þe æni man æfre geðohte,
there hidden the most-secret thought which any man ever thought
buton hit ær geandet and gebet wære. eall middaneard
unless it before confessed and amended were all middle-earth
bið þonne on dæg byrnende, and eall mancyn sceall þænne
will-be then on day burning and all mankind must then
of deaðe arisan and ðurh þæt fŷr to ðam dome faran;
from death arise and through the fire to the judgment go
25.18 and se bið swyðe clæne ælcere synne, se ðe þæne bryne
and he is very clean of-each sin he who the burning
ðurhfærð unbesencged. ðær bið þonne on dæg gryre se mæsta,
passes-through unscorched there is then on day terror the greatest
forðam þurh godes mihte bið eal astyred ge heofonwered
because through of-god might will-be all stirred both heaven-host
ge eorðwered ge hellwered, and eal hit bið bifjende and
and earth-host and hell-host and all it will-be trembling and
cwacjende. ac ðær gewyrð ðurh godes mihte raðe toscaden
quaking but there happens through of-god might quickly divided
þæt wered on twa, and sculan þa forwyrhtan, þe her on lîfe
the host in two and must the condemned who here in life
gode nôldan hyran, ac deofle fyligdon, þonne eac habban,
god would-not obey but devil followed then also have
þæt hy ær gecuron: ðæt is, þæt hy þonne sculon to helle
what they before chose that is that they then must to hell
faran mid saule and mid lichaman and mid deofle wunjan
go with soul and with body and with devil dwell

on helle witum. ðær is êce bryne grimme gemencged, and
in of-hell torments there is eternal burning grimly mingled and
ðær is êce gryre, þær is wanung and granung and a
there is eternal terror there is wailing and groaning and ever
singal sorh. wa þam, þe þær sceal wunjan on wite; him
continual sorrow woe to-him who there must dwell in torment for-him
wære betere, þæt he æfre on worulde man ne gewurde,
were better that he ever in world man not became
þonne he gewurde. nis se man on lîfe, þe areccan mæge
than he became not-is the man in life who relate can
ealle þa yrmða, þe se gebidan sceal, se þe on ða witu
all the miseries which he endure must he who into the torments
ealles behreoseð; and hit is ealles þe wyrse, þe his ænig
altogether falls and it is all the worse that of-it any
ende ne cymð æfre to worulde. ðyder sculan mannslagan, and
end not comes ever to world thither must manslayers and
ðider sculan manswican; ðider sculan æwbrecan and ða fulan
thither must traitors thither must adulterers and the foul
forlegenan; ðider sculan mânsworan and morðwyrhtan; ðider
fornicators thither must perjurers and murderers thither
sculan gitseras, ryperas and reaferas and woruldstruderas;
must misers plunderers and robbers and world-robbers
ðider sculon þeofas and ðeodscaðan; ðyder sculon wiccan
thither must thieves and public-enemies thither must witches
and wigleras and, hrædest to secganne, ealle þa manfullan,
and soothsayers and quickest to say all the wicked
þe ær yfel worhton and noldan geswican ne wið god
who before evil wrought and would-not cease nor with god
þingjan. wa heom þæs siðes, þe hi men wurdon.
make-terms woe to-them of-that time that they men became

27.4 ac do nû manna gehwylc, swa him mycel þearf is, geswice
but let-do now of-men each as to-him great need is let-cease
yfeles and bete his misdæda þa hwile, þe he mage and
evil and let-amend his misdeeds the while that he can and
mote: god is swyðe mildheort and wile swyðe gemildsjan
may god is very merciful and will greatly have-mercy
and mycel forgyfan þam, þe mid inwerdre heortan yfeles
and much forgive to-those who with inward heart evil
geswicað and geornlice betað. ac wa ðam, þe on yfele
cease and eagerly amend but woe to-those who in evil
þurhwunjað and nan þing ne betað: hi sculan witodlice mid
continue and no thing — amend they must certainly with
ealle forweorðan. eala, eala, gesælig bið þæt wered, þe þonne
all perish O O blessed is the host which then
on domesdæge asyndred wyrð fram deofles gemânan: þæt
on doomsday separated will-be from of-devil fellowship that
syn þa gesæligan, þe god lufjað and his bebodu gehealdaþ;
are the blessed who god love and his commands keep
hi sculon þonne þæs êce lean habban; heom þonne on
they must then for-that eternal reward have them then on
dæg Crist sylfa to clypað and luflice geþancað, þæs þe hi
day Christ self to calls and lovingly thanks of-that which they
on life him rihte gehyrdon. and he raðe æfter cweð oðrum
in life him rightly obeyed and he soon after says in-other
worde to ðam, þe his willan ær gefremedan: 'farað nu', he
word to those who his will before performed go now he
cwæð, 'mid me into heofona rîce, þæt eow is gegearwod
said with me into of-heavens kingdom which for-you is prepared
to ecan edleane eowres geswinces, þe ge for minum lufan
as eternal reward of-your toil which ye for my love
âr on worulde adrugan'. and hy ðonne farað mid gode
before in world endured and they then go with god

sylfum and mid his englum on êcne gefean heofona rices,
self and with his angels into eternal joy of-heavens kingdom
ðær is mærð and myrhð and ece blis. nis æfre ænig man,
there is glory and mirth and eternal bliss not-is ever any man
þe sylf geþencan cunne oðþon oðrum areccan mæge, hwylce
who self imagine can or to-other relate can what
þa mærða and ða myrhða syn, þe god on heofonum
the glories and the joys are which god in heavens
gegearwod hæfð þam, ðe his willan gewyrcð her on lîfe;
prepared has for-him who his will works here in life
and, se ðe to þam gesælig bið, þæt he to ðam mærðum 28.9
and he who to that blessed is that he to the glories
and to þam myrhðum cymð, ne ateorjað hy him æfre, ac he
and to the joys comes not fail they him ever but he
hy symle hæfð mid gode sylfum and mid his englum. nu
them always has with god self and with his angels now
ic hæbbe eow areht rihtne geleafan. se, ðe hine aht þisses
I have to-you told right faith he who himself aught of-this
tweoð and his gelŷfan nele, ne cymð he æfre to godes rîce,
doubts and it believe will-not not comes he ever to of-god kingdom
gyf he on þam geendað; and se, ðe ðonne rihtne geleafan
if he in that ends and he who then right faith
hæfð and his ealles gelyfð, þæs ðe ic rehte, þæt ðurh
has and it all believes of-that which I told that through
god gewearð and gyt gewurðan sceal, gif he þurhwunað on
god happened and yet happen shall if he continues in
þam rihtan gelêafan and god georne lufað and his bebodu
the right faith and god eagerly loves and his commands
gehealdeð, he þæs habban sceal êce edlean on godes rîce.
keeps he for-that have shall eternal reward in of-god kingdom
utan forðam don, swa us micel þearf is, habban ââ on ân
let-us therefore do as to-us great need is have ever on end

on urne drihten rihtne geleafan and lufjan hine eallum mode
in our lord right faith and love him with-all mind
and eallum mægene and healdan his bebodu georne and
and with-all strength and hold his commands eagerly and
dôn to gôde þæne dæl, ðe we þurh godes fultum magan,
do for good the part which we through of-god help can
and ælces yfeles georne geswican; and ænig man oðrum ne
and each evil eagerly cease and any man to-other not
bêode butan riht: þæt is, þæt gehwa oðrum beode, þæt
let-offer but right that is that each to-other offer what
he wille, þæt man him beode. se byð wel cristen, þe þis
he wishes that one to-him offer he is well Christian who this
gehealdeð, and, gyf we þis gehealdaþ, þonne geearnige we,
keeps and if we this keep then earn we
þæt we habban motan ece lîf on ðam toweardan lîfe and
that we have may eternal life in the future life and
êce blisse mid gode sylfum a butan ende. amen.
eternal bliss with god self ever without end amen

Sermo de baptismate

V · ON BAPTISM

Before baptism a man must renounce the devil, believe, and learn the Paternoster and the Creed. The rite is explained piece by piece: the priest's breath drives out the devil, and a sinful priest cannot spoil the sacrament; the salt signifies wisdom, the spittle on nose and ears holy discernment, the chrism a shield on breast and shoulders, the three immersions rebirth through the Trinity, and the white robe good deeds. Elders must teach the young, and a catalog of vices to avoid closes the sermon.

Leofan men, eallum cristenum mannum is mycel þearf, þæt 32.4
Dear men to-all Christian men is great need that
hy heora fulluhtes gescead witan; and gehadedum mannum
they of-their baptism understanding know and to-ordained men
gebyreð swyðe rihte, þæt hi geornlice understandan huru,
befits very rightly that they eagerly understand at-least
þæt manna gehwylc, gyf he þære ylde and ðæs andgytes
that of-men each if he of-the age and of-the understanding
hæfð, þæt he hit understandan mæg, hwæt him man to
has that he it understand can what to-him one for
ðearfe segð, þonne mot he beon ærost ðinga gemynegad
benefit says then must he be first of-things admonished
and gewisod, þæt he cunne, hu he of hæþendome mæge to
and directed that he can how he from heathendom may to
cristendome ðurh rihtne geleafan and ðurh fulluht cuman.
Christendom through right faith and through baptism come
Þonne is ærost se fruma, þæt man gedô þurh gôde wissunge,
then is first the beginning that one cause through good guidance
þæt he his drihten ongyte rihtlice, and þæt he eac wiðsace
that he his lord perceive rightly and that he also renounce
anrædlice deofles gemanan: þæt is, þæt he forsace and
steadfastly of-devil fellowship that is that he forsake and

forbuge his unlara, þæs ðe he æfre mæge, and ðæt he
shun his evil-teachings as-far as he ever can and that he
geswutelige eac, þæt he hæbbe and æfre habban wille anræde
reveal also that he have and ever have will steadfast
geðanc and anrædne geleafan on ænne soðne and ealmihtigne
thought and steadfast faith in one true and almighty
godd, and leornige, þæt he cunne, þæt ælc cristen man huru
god and learn that he can what each Christian man at-least
cunnan sceal, pater noster and credan. mid þam pater nostre
know must pater noster and creed with the pater noster
man sceal to gode gebiddan and mid þam credan geswuteljan
one must to god pray and with the creed reveal
rihtne geleafan. and, syððan se man þæt can and rihtne
right faith and after the man that knows and right
geleafan hæfð ariht understanden, þonne bið he wyrðe, þæt
faith has aright understood then is he worthy that
he fulluht underfo, gif he þis huru ærest, ealswa ic cwæð
he baptism receive if he this at-least first just-as I said
beforan, gedeð, ðæt is, þæt he deofol and his gemanan ealne
before does that is that he devil and his fellowship all
forsæcð and him mid ealle fram byhð and Crist gecyst
renounces and him with all from turns and Christ chooses
and him to gebyhð and on hine anrædlice gelyfð. se gelyfð
and him to turns and in him steadfastly believes he believes
anrædlice and rihtlice on hine, se ðe hine rihtlice lufað,
steadfastly and rightly in him he who him rightly loves
and se hine lufað rihtlice, ðe his beboda and his laga
and he him loves rightly who his commands and his laws
gehealdeð. elles ne byð seo lufu naht, and elles ne fremeð
keeps else not is the love aught and else not profits

eac þæt fulluht na swyðe, butan man godes beboda gyme
also the baptism — much unless one of-god commands heed
þe geornor, and man his lara and laga þe rihtlicor healde.
the more-eagerly and one his teachings and laws the more-rightly hold
Leofan men, on ðære cristnunge, þe man deð ær ðam 33.16
Dear men in the christening which one does before the
fulluhte, is mycel getacnung; þonne se sacerd cristnað, þonne
baptism is great signification when the priest christens then
orðaþ he on þone man, þonne hit swa gebyrað, in modum
breathes he on the man when it so befits in manner
crucis, and ðonne wyrð þurh godes mihte sona deofol
of-cross and then becomes through of-god might at-once devil
swyðe geyrged, and mid þæs sacerdes halsunge se deofol
very terrified and with of-the priest exorcism the devil
wyrð aflymed fram þare menniscan gesceafte, þe ær ðurh
is put-to-flight from the human creature which before through
Adam forworht wæs, and ðam halgum gaste byð sona
Adam ruined was and for-the holy spirit is at-once
eardungstow on þam menn gerymed. twa ðing syndon þurh
dwelling-place in the man made-room two things are through
godes mihte swa myccle and swa mære, þæt æfre ænig man
of-god might so great and so glorious that ever any man
ne mæg ðæron ænig ðing awyrdan ne gewanjan, fulluht and
not can therein any thing mar nor diminish baptism and
huslhalgung. nis se mæssepreost on worulde swa synfull
communion-hallowing not-is the mass-priest in world so sinful
ne swa fracod on his dædan, gyf he ðæra þenunga aþere deð,
nor so vile in his deeds if he of-the services either does
swa swa ðærto gebyreð, þeah he silf ælc unriht dreoge on
so as thereto befits though he self each wrong commit in
his life, ne byð seo þenung þæs na þe wyrse. ne eft nis
his life not is the service for-that — the worse nor again is

ænig swa mære ne swa haliges lifes, þæt aðor ðæra þenunga
any so famous nor so of-holy life that either of-the services
gegodjan oððon gemyccljan mæge; do swa hwylc, swa hit
improve or increase can let-do so whichever so it
do, godes sylfes miht byð on þære dæde þurh halig geryne.
do of-god self might is in the deed through holy mystery
34.13 ac se earma synfulla man hearmað þeah him sylfum egeslice
but the wretched sinful man harms yet him self terribly
swyðe, se þe geþristlæcð to mæssjanne oððon husl to
greatly he who presumes to say-mass or communion to
ðicganne and wat hine sylfne on synnum to fulne and swyðe
receive and knows him self in sins too foul and very
forwyrhtne and nele ær hit geandettan and betan, ær he to
guilty and will-not before it confess and amend before he to
ðam geþristlæce. his dyrstignes witodlice dereð him sylfum, ac
that presume his presumption certainly harms him self but
þæt ne dereð elles þam na þe swyðor, þe þa ðenunga underfoð
that not harms else those — the more who the services receive
mid rihtum geleafan. forðam ne mæg ænig man godes mihta ne
with right faith because not can any man of-god powers nor
his mærða geminsjan ne ænig ðing awyrdan. þæt sealt, þæt se
his glories diminish nor any thing mar the salt which the
sacerd þam men on muð deþ, þonne he cristnað, þæt getacnað
priest to-the man in mouth puts when he christens that signifies
godcundne wisdom; and ealswa se lichama þonne gefelð þæs
divine wisdom and just-as the body then feels of-the
sealtes scearpnesse, swa sceal seo sawul ongytan wisdomes
salt sharpness so must the soul perceive of-wisdom
snotornesse. and ðonne se sacerd him ætforan singð credo in
prudence and when the priest him before sings I-believe in
deum, þonne trymeð he his geleafan and mid ðam geleafan
god then strengthens he his faith and with the faith

gefrætewað and gewædað his hus, þæt is, þæt he gegearwað
adorns and clothes his house that is that he prepares
his heortan gode on to wunjanne. and ðonne se sacerd
his heart for-god in to dwell and when the priest
æthrinð mid his spatle þæs mannes nose and earan, þonne
touches with his spittle of-the man nose and ears then
tacnað he mid þam, þæt he sceal ægðer ge þurh stenc ge
signifies he with that that he must each both through smell and
ðurh hlyst underfon godcunde halignesse and gesceadwisnesse.
through hearing receive divine holiness and discernment
and ðonne se sacerd smyreð mid þam halgan crisman breost 35.15
and when the priest anoints with the holy chrism breast
and sculdru, þonne befehð he þæne man mid godes scylde on
and shoulders then encloses he the man with of-god shield on
ægðre healfe, þæt deofol ne mæg ænig his ættrenra wæpna
each side that devil not can any of-his poisonous weapons
him on afæstnjan, naðor ne beforan ne wiðæftan, gif he
him on fasten either — before nor behind if he
þanonforð þurhwunað anrædlice on rihtan geleafan and godes
thenceforth continues steadfastly in right faith and of-god
lagum folgað. and ðonne þis gedon bið eal fullice wel, swa
laws follows and when this done is all fully well as
to ðære cristnunge gebyreð, þonne is æfter eallum þisum mid
to the christening befits then is after all this with
rihtum geleafan to efstanne wið fontbæðes georne. and ðurh
right faith to hasten toward font-bath eagerly and through
þa fonthalgunge þær gewyrð sona godes ælmihtiges midwist.
the font-hallowing there happens at-once of-god almighty presence
and ðurh ða orðunge, þe se sacerd on þæt wæter orðað,
and through the breathing which the priest on the water breathes
þonne he font halgað, wyrð deofol þanon afyrsad. and ðonne
when he font hallows becomes devil thence removed and when

se sacerd gehalgodne tapor in þæt wæter deð, þonne wyrð
the priest hallowed taper into the water puts then becomes
þæt wæter mid þam halgan gaste ðurhgoten, and, hrædest
the water with the holy spirit suffused and quickest
to secganne, eal, þæt se sacerd deð þurh ða halgan þenunge
to say all that the priest does through the holy service
gesawenlice, eal hit fulfremeð se halga gast gerynelice.
visibly all it performs the holy spirit mystically
Þa ðreo dyfinga on fontbæðe getacnjað, þæt we beoð
the three immersions in font-bath signify that we are
geedcennede þonne to ecan life ðurh þa halgan þrynnesse
reborn then to eternal life through the holy trinity
patris et filii et spiritus sancti, þæt is eal an soð godd.
of-father and of-son and of-spirit holy that is all one true god
36.12 and þæt hwite hrægel, ðe man mid þæne mann befehð,
and the white garment which one with the man encloses
þonne he gefullod bið, þæt getacnað þæne gastlican wlite,
when he baptized is that signifies the spiritual beauty
þe se man ðurh godes gife habban sceal, þæt sŷn þa godan
which the man through of-god grace have must that are the good
and ða clænan dæda, þe he on cristendome þanonforð began
and the clean deeds which he in Christendom thenceforth practice
sceal. and mid þam crismale, þe man him onufan þæt
must and with the chrism-cloth which one him upon the
heafod deð, man tacnað þæne cristenan cynehelm, þe he
head puts one signifies the Christian king-helm which he
on heofonum ah, gyf he þanonforð his cristendom mid rihte
in heavens has if he thenceforth his Christendom with right
gehealdeð and on rihtan geleafan rihtlice þurhwunað. forðam,
keeps and in right faith rightly continues because
gyf he þæt gehealdeð, he bið Criste to bearne geteald,
if he that keeps he is to-Christ as child counted

and he bið cynehelmes swyðe wel wyrðe, gif he mid rihte
and he is of-king-helm very well worthy if he with right
gehyrð his fæder, þæt is, heofonlicum cyninge. he is ure
obeys his father that is heavenly king he is of-us
ealra fæder, and þæt we swuteljað, þonne we singað, Pater
all father and that we reveal when we sing Father
noster, qui ês in cęlis sanctificetur nomen tuum et reliqua.
our who art in heavens be-hallowed name thy and the-rest
ðonne eac æfter ðysum he bið wel husles wyrðe, and
then also after this he is well of-communion worthy and
him gebyreð þæt swyðe rihte, þæt he þonne þicge Cristes
to-him befits that very rightly that he then receive of-Christ
lichaman and his blôd, forðan he bið þonne Cristes lima ân.
body and his blood because he is then of-Christ limbs one
Leofan men, understandað, þæt Crist is cristenra heafod, and 37.6
Dear men understand that Christ is of-Christians head and
ealle cristene men syndon to Cristes limum getealde. ðonne
all Christian men are as of-Christ limbs counted then
is mycel ðearf, þæt cristenra manna gehwylc þæt understande,
is great need that of-Christian men each that understand
and þæt he his cristendom mid rihte gehealde. se gehealt his
and that he his Christendom with right keep he keeps his
cristendom rihtlice, se ðe Criste mid rihte gehyrð, þæt byð
Christendom rightly he who Christ with right obeys that is
se, ðe his bebodu gehealdeð and deofles unlarum eornostlice
he who his commands keeps and of-devil evil-teachings earnestly
wiðstandeð, ealswa man behet, þæt man don wolde, þa
withstands just-as one promised that one do would when
man fulluhtes gyrnde. understandað godes beboda georne.
one baptism desired understand of-god commands eagerly
godes agen þæt forme bebod is, þæt man lufige godd sylfne
of-god own the first command is that one love god self

ærest eallum mode and eallum mægene; and oðer bebod is,
first with-all mind and with-all strength and second command is
þæt man lufige his nyhstan, swa swa hine sylfne. ælc cristen
that one love his neighbor so as him self each Christian
man is oðres nyhsta, forðam we synð þurh cristendom ealle
man is of-other neighbor because we are through Christendom all
gebroðra, and we syndon Cristes agene bearn, gyf we sylfe
brothers and we are of-Christ own children if we selves
willað. and ðy hit is rihtlic dom, þæt æni cristen man
will and therefore it is right judgment that any Christian man
oðrum ne beode, butan þæt he wille, þæt man him beode;
to-other not offer but what he wishes that one to-him offer
and se byð swyðe gesælig, þe þæne dom rihtlice gehealdeð.
and he is very blessed who the judgment rightly keeps

38.3 Leofan men, we motan swyðe wærlice on ælce wisan us
Dear men we must very warily in each way us
healdan, gyf we us sculan wið deofol gescyldan, forðam he
keep if we us must against devil shield because he
byð æfre ymbe þæt ân, þæt he wyle us beswican and gedon,
is ever about that one that he will us deceive and cause
gyf he mæg, þæt we alêogan þæt, þæt we behetan, þa we
if he can that we belie that which we promised when we
fulluht underfengon. ac utan understandan, hwæt ða twa word
baptism received but let-us understand what the two words
mænan, abrenuntio and credo, þe man æt fulluhtþenunge
mean abrenuntio and credo which one at baptism-service
on gewunan hæfð. abrenuntio, þæt is on englisc, ic wiðsace
in custom has abrenuntio that is in English I renounce
heononforð æfre deofles gemanan. credo, þæt is on englisc, ic
henceforth ever of-devil fellowship credo that is in English I
gelyfe on god ælmihtigne, þe ealle ðing gescop and geworhte.
believe in god almighty who all things created and wrought

nage we nane ðearfe, þæt we ðyses weorðan lease; ac utan
have-not we any need that we of-this become false but let-us
don, swa us þearf is, gelæstan hit georne. and ðeah þæt cild to
do as to-us need is fulfill it eagerly and though the child to
ðam geong sy, þæt hit specan ne mæge, þonne hit man fullað,
that young be that it speak not can when it one baptizes
his freonda forspæc forstent him eal þæt sylfe, swylce hit sylf
of-its friends intercession avails it all the same as-if it self
spæce; and, butan hit gelæste, ðonne hit ylde hæfð, eal, þæt on
spoke and unless it fulfill when it age has all that in
his geogoðe for hit gode wæs behaten, hit mot forweorðan æt
its youth for it to-god was promised it must perish at
his endedæge, gyf hit godes lage forgymde, syððan hit ða ylde
its end-day if it of-god law neglected after it the age
and þæt andgyt hæfde, þæt hit godes lage gyman mihte.
and the understanding had that it of-god law heed could
þonne agan þa yldran eac on cristenum folce ðæs oferþearfe, 38.22
then have the elders also in Christian people of-that great-need
þæt hi heora gingran gode gestrynan and hi deofle
that they their younger for-god gain and them from-devil
ætwænjan, forðam eal, þæt hi to unrihte geðafjað heora
wean because all that they in wrong allow their
gingran, eal hit byð ongean þæt, ðe hy gode behetan, þa
younger all it is against that which they to-god promised when
hy him fulluht begeatan, and ealles ðæs hy motan stið
they for-them baptism obtained and for-all that they must hard
wite ðoljan æfter godes dome, butan hy hit gebetan, þæs
torment suffer after of-god judgment unless they it amend as-far
ðe hy don magan. cristenra manna gehwylc ah swyðe mycle
as they do can of-Christian men each has very great
þearfe, þæt he rihtne geleafan on ænne godd habbe, and
need that he right faith in one god have and

þæt he his fulluhtes gescad wite and þæt symle rihtlice
that he of-his baptism understanding know and it always rightly
healde and his gingran georne tihte to ðam ylcan. and æfre
keep and his younger eagerly urge to the same and ever
swa þæt cild raðost ænig ðing specan mæge, tæce man him
as the child soonest any thing speak can let-teach one him
sona ealra þinga ærest pater noster and credan; þonne sceal
at-once of-all things first pater noster and creed then must
him ðananforð a þe bêt gelimpan. and eac ic on godes
to-him thenceforth ever the better befall and also I in of-god
naman bidde and beode, gyf ænig cristen man, þe ylde
name pray and command if any Christian man who age
hæbbe, swa sy forgymed, þæt he hit ne cunne, leornige hit
have so be neglected that he it not know let-learn it
georne; and ne sceamige ænigum men for his ylde, ac do,
eagerly and not let-shame any man for his age but let-do
swa him þearf is, helpe his sylfes, forðam he ne bið wel
as to-him need is let-help his self because he not is well
cristen, þe þæt geleornjan nele, ne he nah mid rihte æniges
Christian who that learn will-not nor he has with right any
mannes æt fulluhte to onfonne ne æt bisceopes handa, se
man at baptism to receive nor at of-bishop hand he
ðe þæt ne cann, ær he hit geleornige, ne he rihtlice ne
who that not knows before he it learn nor he rightly —
bið husles wyrðe ne clænes legeres, se ðe on life þæt
is of-communion worthy nor of-clean burial he who in life that
geleornjan nele, huru on englisc, buton he on læden mæge.
learn will-not at-least in English unless he in Latin can

ac dô manna gehwylc, swa swa him ðearf is, leornige his 39.21
but let-do of-men each so as to-him need is let-learn his
þearfe and hine sylfne wærlice beðence and his cristendôm
need and him self warily let-consider and his Christendom
clænlice healde and ælcne hæþendôm mid ealle aweorpe.
cleanly let-keep and each heathendom with all let-cast-off
Leofan men, beorgað eow georne wið deofles lara. ne beon 40.3
Dear men guard you eagerly against of-devil teachings not be
ge naðor ne to swicole ne to ficole ne lease ne luðerfulle
ye either — too treacherous nor too fickle nor false nor wicked
ne fule ne fracode ne on ænige wisan to lehterfulle; ne
nor foul nor vile nor in any way too sinful nor
ge ahwar ne beon, þæs ðe ge betan magan, gewitan
ye anywhere — be as-far as ye help can witnesses
ne gewyrhtan æniges morðres oððon manslihtes, stala ne
nor workers of-any murder or manslaughter of-thefts nor
strudunga, ac strynað mid rihte. scyldað eow wið gitsunga
robberies but gain with right shield you against avarice
and wið gifornessa, and ðæt ge ahwar ne beon manswican
and against gluttonies and that ye anywhere not be traitors
ne mansworan, wedlogan ne wordlogan, ne on leasre
nor perjurers pledge-breakers nor word-breakers nor in false
gewitnesse ahwar standan. scyldað eow wið galscypas and
witness anywhere stand shield you against lusts and
swyðe georne wið æwbrecas, and wið oferfylle beorgað eow
very eagerly against adulteries and against gluttony guard you
georne. and ne gyman ge galdra ne idelra hwata ne wigelunga
eagerly and not heed ye charms nor vain omens nor divinations
ne wiccecræfta; ne weorðjan ge wyllas ne ænige wudutreowu,
nor witchcrafts nor worship ye wells nor any wood-trees
forðam æghwylce idele syndon deofles gedwimeru. ne beon
because all-such vanities are of-devil illusions not be

ge ofermode ne to weamode ne to niðfulle ne to flitgeorne
ye proud nor too wrathful nor too envious nor too quarrelsome
ne to felawyrde ne ealles to hlagole ne eft to asolcene ne to
nor too talkative nor all too laughing nor again too slothful nor too
unrote. ne beon ge to rance ne to gylpgeorne ne færinga to
sad nor be ye too haughty nor too boastful nor suddenly too
fægene ne eft to ormode. ne beon ge to slapole ne ealles to
glad nor again too despairing nor be ye too sleepy nor all too
sleace, ac scyldað eow georne wið deofles dare. ealle unðeawas
slack but shield you eagerly against of-devil harm all vices
aweallað of deofle, and he þæt unsǽd saweð to wide.
well-up from devil and he the evil-seed sows too widely
40.23 ac utan don, swa us ðearf is, helpan ure sylfra and ðæs huru
but let-us do as to-us need is help our selves and of-that at-least
efstan, nu we fyrst habbað þa hwile, ðe god wile, þe læs ðe
hasten now we time have the while that god wills the less that
we forweorðan, þonne we læst wenan, and utan ðurh æghwæt
we perish when we least expect and let-us through everything
godes willan wyrcan, swa we geornost magan: þonne geleanað
of-god will work as we most-eagerly can then repays
he hit us, þær we betst beðurfon. him symle sy lof
he it to-us where we best need to-him ever let-be praise
and wuldor in ealra worulda woruld, a butan ende, amen.
and glory in of-all worlds world ever without end amen

Incipit de uisione Isaie prophete, quam uidit super Judam et Jerusalem

VI · ON THE VISION OF ISAIAH

Latin passages from Isaiah and Jeremiah come first, then Wulfstan's English on each under its own heading. Isaiah foresaw the ruin of sinful Judah and pronounced woe on the wicked, the vain daughters of Zion, the greedy, drunkards, the corrupt, those who call evil good, the hardhearted, the makers of unjust laws, and those who trust in their own strength; then he bade the people wash themselves clean and defend the widow and the orphan. Jeremiah calls his people to turn back and mend their ways.

In diebus illis dixit Isaias propheta: audite, celi, 41.7
In days those said Isaiah prophet hear heavens
et auribus percipe, terra, quoniam dominus locutus
and with-ears perceive earth because lord spoken
est. filios enutriui et exaltaui, ipsi autem spreuerunt
has sons I-nourished and exalted they however despised
me. dereliquerunt dominum, blasphemauerunt sanctum
me forsook lord blasphemed holy-one
Israel, abalienati sunt retrorsum. ideo terra uestra,
of-Israel estranged are backward therefore land your
ait dominus, deserta, ciuitates uestre succense igni;
says lord deserted cities your burned with-fire
regionem uestram coram uobis alieni deuorant. et cum
country your before you strangers devour and when
multiplicaueritis orationem, non exaudiam, manus enim
ye-multiply prayer not I-will-hear hands for
uestre iniquitate sunt plene. hæc dicit dominus, deus
your of-iniquity are full these says lord god
exercituum, conuertimini ad me et salui eritis. Item Isaias
of-hosts be-converted to me and saved ye-will-be Also Isaiah
dicit.
says

41.18 Ve impio in malum, retributio manuum
Woe to-impious-one into evil repayment of-hands
eius fiet ei. populum meum exactores
his will-be-made to-him people my exactors
spoliauerunt. rapina pauperis in domo uestra. hæc
plundered plunder of-poor in house your these
dicit dominus, deus exercituum, et reliqua. Item Isaias
says lord god of-hosts and the-rest Also Isaiah
dicit.
says

41.23 Pro eo, quod eleuate sunt filie Sion, et ambulauerunt
For that that lifted-up are daughters of-Zion and walked
extenso collo et nutibus oculorum ibant et
with-outstretched neck and with-winkings of-eyes went and
plaudebant et in pedibus suis incedebant composito
clapped and on feet their went with-measured
gradu, decaluabit dominus uerticem filiarum Sion,
step will-make-bald lord crown of-daughters of-Zion
et dominus crinem illarum nudabit. in die illa
and lord hair of-them will-bare in day that
auferet dominus ornatum calciamentorum et lunulas
will-take-away lord ornament of-shoes and crescents
et torques et monilia et armillas et cetera. hæc
and chains and necklaces and bracelets and the-rest these
dicit dominus deus, exercituum, et reliqua. Item Isaias
says lord god of-hosts and the-rest Also Isaiah
dicit.
says

42.7 Ve, qui coniungitis domum ad domum et agrum agro
Woe who join house to house and field to-field
copulatis usque ad terminum loci. numquid habitabitis
couple even to end of-place whether will-ye-dwell

soli uos in medio terræ? in auribus meis sunt hæc,
alone ye in midst of-earth in ears my are these
dicit dominus, deus exercituum, et reliqua. Item Isaias
says lord god of-hosts and the-rest Also Isaiah
dicit.
says
Ve, qui consurgitis mane ad bibendum et estis viri fortes ad 42.12
Woe who rise-up early to drinking and are men strong to
ebrietatem sectandam et potandum usque ad uesperam, ut
drunkenness pursue and drinking even to evening that
uino estuetis. cithara et lira et timpanum in conuiuiis
with-wine ye-be-inflamed harp and lyre and drum in feasts
uestris, et opus domini non respicitis. ideo captiuus
your and work of-lord not ye-regard therefore captive
ductus est populus meus, quia non habuit scientiam. hec
led is people my because not had knowledge these
dicit dominus, deus exercituum, et reliqua. Item Isaias
says lord god of-hosts and the-rest Also Isaiah
dicit.
says
Ve, qui sapientes estis in oculis uestris et coram 42.20
Woe who wise are in eyes your and before
uobismetipsis prudentes. qui iustificatis impium pro
yourselves prudent who justify impious for
muneribus et iustitiam iusti auferetis ab eo hæc
gifts and justice of-just ye-will-take-away from him these
dicit dominus, deus exercituum, et reliqua. Item Isaias
says lord god of-hosts and the-rest Also Isaiah
dicit.
says

42.25 Ve, qui dicitis bonum malum et malum bonum, ponentes
Woe who say good evil and evil good putting
amarum dulce et dulce in amarum, ponentes lucem tenebras
bitter sweet and sweet into bitter putting light darkness
et tenebras lucem. hæc dicit dominus, deus. Item Isaias
and darkness light these says lord god Also Isaiah
dicit.
says

42.29 Audite audientes et nolite intelligere, et uidete uisionem
Hear hearing and do-not understand and see vision
et nolite cognoscere. Item Isaias dicit.
and do-not know Also Isaiah says

43.2 Exceca cor populi huius et aures eius adgraua et oculos
Blind heart of-people this and ears its make-heavy and eyes
eius claude, ne forte uideat oculis et auribus suis audiat
its close lest perhaps it-see with-eyes and with-ears its hear
et corde suo intellegat et conuertatur, et sanem eum.
and with-heart its understand and be-converted and I-heal it
et dixi: usque quo, domine? et dixit: donec desolentur
and I-said until when lord and he-said until be-made-desolate
ciuitates absque habitatore et terra relinquatur deserta. hæc
cities without inhabitant and land be-left deserted these
dicit dominus, deus exercituum, et reliqua. Item Isaias
says lord god of-hosts and the-rest Also Isaiah
dicit.
says

43.9 Ve, qui condunt leges iniquas et scribentes iniustitiam
Woe who make laws unjust and writing injustice
scripserunt, ut opprimerent in iudicio pauperes, et ut
have-written that they-might-oppress in judgment poor and that
essent uidue preda eorum, et pupillos diriperent. hæc
might-be widows prey their and orphans they-might-plunder these

dicit dominus, deus exercituum, et reliqua. Item Isaias
says lord god of-hosts and the-rest Also Isaiah
dicit.
says
Ve, qui descendunt in Egiptum ad auxilium, in equis 43.14
Woe who go-down into Egypt for help in horses
sperantes et habentes fiduciam super quadrigis, quia
hoping and having trust upon chariots because
multe sunt, et super equitibus, quia preualidi nimis, et
many they-are and upon horsemen because strong very and
non sunt confisi super sanctum Israel, et dominum non
not have trusted upon holy-one of-Israel and lord not
exquisierunt. hec dicit dominus, deus exercituum. Item Isaias
have-sought these says lord god of-hosts Also Isaiah
dicit.
says
Lauamini, mundi estote, auferte malum cogitationum 43.20
Wash-yourselves clean be take-away evil of-thoughts
vestrarum ab oculis meis; quiescite agere peruerse,
your from eyes my cease to-do perversely
discite benefacere; querite iudicium, subuenite obpresso,
learn to-do-well seek judgment relieve oppressed
iudicate pupillo, defendite uiduam. uenite et arguite
judge for-orphan defend widow come and reason-with
me, dicit dominus, et reliqua. Incipiunt uerba Hieremiæ
me says lord and the-rest Here-begin words of-Jeremiah
prophetæ.
prophet
Audite uerbum domini, domus Jacob et omnes cognationes 43.26
Hear word of-lord house of-Jacob and all families
domus Israel. hæc dicit dominus: quid inuenerunt patres
of-house of-Israel these says lord what found fathers

uestri in me iniquitatis, quia elongauerunt a me et
your in me of-iniquity that they-went-far from me and
ambulauerunt post uanitatem et uani facti sunt? hæc
walked after vanity and vain made are these
dicit dominus: arguat te malitia tua, et auersio tua
says lord let-rebuke thee wickedness thy and turning-away thy
increpet te; et uide, quia malum et amarum est reliquisse
let-chide thee and see that evil and bitter it-is to-have-forsaken
dominum, deum tuum, et non esse timorem eius apud
lord god thy and not to-be fear of-him with
te.
thee

44.4 Item Hieremias propheta dicit.
Also Jeremiah prophet says

44.5 Conuertimini filii reuertentes, dicit dominus. state super uias
Be-converted sons returning says lord stand upon ways
et uidete et interrogate de semitis antiquis, que sit uia
and see and ask about paths ancient which be way
bona, et ambulate in ea, et inuenietis refrigerium animabus
good and walk in it and ye-will-find refreshment for-souls
uestris.
your

44.9 Item Hieremias dicit.
Also Jeremiah says

44.10 Audite uerbum domini. hec dicit dominus: bonas facite
Hear word of-lord these says lord good make
uias uestras et studia uestra, et habitabo uobiscum,
ways your and pursuits your and I-will-dwell with-you
et reliqua. quoniam, si bene direxeritis uias uestras
and the-rest because if well ye-direct ways your
et studia uestra, si feceritis iudicium inter uirum
and pursuits your if ye-do judgment between man

et proximum eius, aduene et pupillo et uidue non
and neighbor his to-stranger and to-orphan and to-widow not
feceritis calumpniam, nec sanguinem innocentem effuderitis,
ye-do wrong nor blood innocent ye-shed
et post deos alienos non ambulaueritis in malum
and after gods strange not ye-walk to evil
uobismetipsis, habitabo uobiscum in terra, quam dedi patribus
to-yourselves I-will-dwell with-you in land which I-gave to-fathers
uestris, a seculo et usque in seculum, ait dominus
your from age and even to age says lord
omnipotens.
almighty

De uisione Isaie prophetæ. 44.19
About vision of-Isaiah prophet

Fela is on bocum þæs, ðe mæg to bysnan, gyme se, 44.20
Much is in books of-that which may for examples let-heed he
ðe wille, him sylfum to ðearfe. an wæs on geardagum
who will for-him self for benefit one was in former-days
gode wel gecweme, Isaias se witega, þe Judea folce fela
to-god well pleasing Isaiah the prophet who of-Jews to-people much
foresæde, swa swa hit syððan soðlice aeode, and þæt
foretold so as it afterward truly happened and that
mæg to bysne æghwylcere þeode. Isaias se witega geseah
may for example to-each nation Isaiah the prophet saw
on gesyhðe, swa him god uðe, hu þære þeode for
in vision as to-him god granted how the nation for
heora synnum scolde gelimpan. ongan þa singan and ðus
their sins should befall began then sing and thus
secgan: audite, celi, et auribus percipe, terra, quoniam
say hear heavens and with-ears perceive earth because
dominus locutus est. gehyrað nu, he cwæð, heofonwaru
lord spoken has hear now he said heaven-folk

and eorðwaru, hwæt god sylfa sæde swytellicre segene.
and earth-folk what god self said with-clear saying
bearn ic afedde, he cwæð, and up hy arærde, ac hi me
children I fed he said and up them raised but they me
forletan and swyðe ofersawan. hy hyrwdan mid wordan,
forsook and greatly despised they reviled with words
þæt hy sceoldan herigean, and forletan on dædan, þæt hy
what they should praise and forsook in deeds what they
scoldan healdan, and naman heom to ðeawan ælðeodige
should hold and took for-them as customs foreign
gewunan and on bæc hwyrfdan ealle heora wisan, and
usages and on back turned all their ways and
forðam sceal geweorðan, he cwæð, to soðe ic eow secge,
therefore must become he said for true I to-you say
eower eard weste and eac eowre burga mid fyre forbærnde;
your land waste and also your towns with fire burned
ælðeodige men eow sculon hergjan, and, ðonne ge gebiddaþ
foreign men you must harry and when ye pray
and to me clypjað, nelle ic eow gehyran, forðam þe ge
and to me call will-not I you hear because that ye
syndon mid mane afyllede ealles to swyðe and mid unrihte.
are with crime filled all too greatly and with wrong
gyt Isaias furðor sæde, ealswa hit aeode on forsyngodre
yet Isaiah further said just-as it happened in sinful
þeode.
nation

45.14 Be manfullum.
About wicked-ones

45.15 Ve impio in malum et reliqua. wa mânfullan, he
Woe to-impious-one into evil and the-rest woe to-wicked-one he
cwæð, for his misdædan: edlean his weorca eal he
said for his misdeeds reward of-his works all he

sceal habban. min folc is beryped, he cwæð eac, þurh
must have my people is robbed he said also through
gytsjende reaferas; and wræccena reaflac is on heora
greedy robbers and of-wretches plunder is in their
hamum, and wa þæs gestreones þam, ðe his mæst hafað.
homes and woe for-the wealth to-him who of-it most has
gyt Isaias furðor sæde, ealswa hit aeode on forsyngodre
yet Isaiah further said just-as it happened in sinful
ðeode.
nation

Be idelum rencum. 45.21
About vain pomp

Pro eo, quod eleuate sunt filie Sion, et reliqua. for 45.22
For that that lifted-up are daughters of-Zion and the-rest for
ofermettan, he cwæð, and idelan rencan eowra leoda, þe
pride he said and vain pomp of-your people who
spiljað and plegað and rædes ne hedað, god bereafað
sport and play and counsel not heed god strips
and reafjan læteð eowere dohtra heora gyrla and to
and strip lets your daughters their garments and too
oferrancra heafodgewæda, and andfexe weorðaþ ðæra
proud head-dresses and bald become of-those
swyðe manege, þe mid oferrence glengdan hy sylfe.
very many who with pride adorned them selves
gyt Isaias furðor sæde, ealswa hit aeode on forsyngodre
yet Isaiah further said just-as it happened in sinful
þeode.
nation

46.4 Be gitsunge.

About avarice

46.5 Ve, qui coniungitis domum ad domum, et reliqua.

Woe who join house to house and the-rest

wa eow, he cwæð, þe lecgað togædere hamas and

woe to-you he said who lay together homes and

æhta on unriht begytene on æghwilce healfe. wene

possessions in wrong gotten on every side think

ge, þæt ge sylfe wealdan and wunjan swa lange, swa

ye that ye selves rule and dwell so long as

ge willan, on ðam, þe we nu syn? ac soð is, þæt

ye will in that which we now are but true is what

ic secge, ge hit alætað, þonne ge læst wenað. gyt

I say ye it lose when ye least expect yet

Isaias furðor sæde, ealswa hit aeode on forsyngodre

Isaiah further said just-as it happened in sinful

þeode.

nation

46.12 Be oferfylle.

About gluttony

46.13 Ve, qui consurgitis mane ad bibendum, et reliqua. wa

Woe who rise-up early to drinking and the-rest woe

eow, he cwæð, þe lufjað untîdfylla and ær on morgen

to-you he said who love untimely-feasts and early in morning

oferdrenc dreogað and beotlice lætað, þæt ge mare magan,

drunkenness practice and boastfully behave that ye more can

þonne hit gemet sy. hearpe and pipe and mistlic gliggamen

than it measure be harp and pipe and various glee-games

dremað eow on beorsele; and ge godes cræfta nan ðing

delight you in beer-hall and ye of-god crafts no thing

ne gymað, and ðy is folces forfaren ealles to wide

— heed and therefore is of-people perished all too widely

mare, þonne scolde oððe þearf wære, and forðam hit
more than should or need were and therefore it
wearð swa rædleas, þe hit godes beboda forgymde to
became so counsel-less that it of-god commands neglected too
swyðe and wisdomes ne hedde, swa swa hit scolde.
greatly and wisdom not heeded so as it should
gyt Isaias furðor sæde, ealswa hit aeode on forsingodre
yet Isaiah further said just-as it happened in sinful
þeode.
nation

Be swicdome. 46.24
About treachery

Ve, qui sapientes estis coram oculis uestris, et 46.25
Woe who wise are before eyes your and
reliqua. wa eow, he cwæð, þe taljað eow sylfe
the-rest woe to-you he said who count you selves
to ðeodwitan and witan, þæt ge syndan æbere
as nation-sages and know that ye are manifest
mannswican; ge fylstað on unriht oftost wið
traitors ye help in wrong most-often for
sceatte and nellað to rihte, butan man gebicge. gyt
money and will-not to right unless one buy yet
Isaias furðor sæde, ealswa hit aeode on forsyngodre
Isaiah further said just-as it happened in sinful
þeode.
nation

Be unrihtwisnesse. 47.4
About unrighteousness

Ve, qui dicitis bonum malum et malum. wa eow, 47.5
Woe who say good evil and evil woe to-you
he cwæð, þe taljað ungôd to gôde and gôd þing
he said who count not-good as good and good thing

to ŷfele, biter ðing to swête and swête belâþað,
as evil bitter thing as sweet and sweet make-loathsome
hwŷrfað niht to dæge and dægweorc to nihte
turn night to day and day-work to night
and fyligeað eowrum luste ealles to swyðe. gyt
and follow your lust all too greatly yet
Isaias furðor sæde, ealswa hit aeode on forsingodre
Isaiah further said just-as it happened in sinful
þeode.
nation

47.11 Be andgytleste.
About senselessness

47.12 Audite audientes et nolite intellegere, et reliqua. hlystað
Hear hearing and do-not understand and the-rest listen
nu georne, he cwæð, and nytað na ðe mare, locjað
now eagerly he said and know-not — the more look
brade and nan þing gecnawað mid ænigean gerade,
broadly and no thing perceive with any reason
þæs ðe eow þearf sy, nu ge riht nellað habban ne
of-that which to-you need be now ye right will-not have nor
healdan on eowran heortan, swa swa ge scoldan. gyt
hold in your hearts so as ye should yet
Isaias furðor sæde, ealswa hit aeode on forsingodre
Isaiah further said just-as it happened in sinful
þeode.
nation

47.18 Be heardheortnesse.
About hard-heartedness

47.19 Exceca cor populi huius, et reliqua. ablend þisse þeode,
Blind heart of-people this and the-rest blind of-this nation
he cwæð, andgyt mid ealle nu for heora synnum,
he said understanding with all now for their sins

þæt hi râd ne aredjan, oð þæt heora burga weorðan
that they counsel not find until that their towns become
ælæte and weorðan heora eardas swyðe aweste. gyt
deserted and become their lands very wasted yet
Isaias furðor sæde, ealswa hit aeode on forsyngodre
Isaiah further said just-as it happened in sinful
þeode.
nation

Be unlagum. 47.24
About unlaws

Ve, qui condunt leges iniquas, et reliqua. wa þam, 47.25
Woe who make laws unjust and the-rest woe to-him
he cwæð, þe ræreð unriht to rihte and undom
he said who raises wrong as right and unjust-judgment
demeð earmum to hynðe and wudewan and steopcild
judges to-poor for humiliation and widows and orphans
oftost ahwæneð; and forðam he sceal drefan dimne
most-often afflicts and therefore he must trouble dim
and deopne hellewites grund, helpes bedæled. gyt
and deep of-hell-torment bottom help deprived yet
Isaias furðor sæde, ealswa hit aeode on forsyngodre
Isaiah further said just-as it happened in sinful
þeode.
nation

Be ofertruwan. 48.5
About over-trust

Ve, qui descendunt in Egiptum, in equis sperantes, et 48.6
Woe who go-down into Egypt in horses hoping and
reliqua. wa þam, he cwæð, þe ofertruwað mægne and
the-rest woe to-him he said who over-trusts strength and
mænege and on god ne behiht, swa swa he scolde, ne
multitude and in god not hopes so as he should nor

his fultum nafað, swa his þearf wære, ne his earnjan nele,
his help has as his need were nor it earn will
swa swa he beþorfte. ðas ðing gewitegode Isaias propheta
so as he needed these things prophesied Isaiah prophet
be Judean and fela hertoeacan, and eal hit aeode, swa
about Jews and much in-addition and all it happened so
swa he sæde. and eac hit mæg to bysne æghwylcere þeode,
as he said and also it may for example to-each nation
gyme se, ðe wille, his agenre ðearfe. and ongean þas ðing,
let-heed he who will his own need and against these things
þe beforan standað, he lærde þa þeode godcundre lare,
which before stand he taught the nation with-divine teaching
þæt hy scoldan bugan georne to rihte. he cwæð godes
that they should bow eagerly to right he said of-god
wordum eac to us eallum: hec dicit dominus: lauamini,
words also to us all these says lord wash-yourselves
mundi estote, auferte malum cogitationum uestrarum ab
clean be take-away evil of-thoughts your from
oculis meis, et reliqua. ælmihtig god soðlice þus cwæð:
eyes my and the-rest almighty god truly thus said
aðwead eow, ic lære, and clænsjað eow georne and afyrsjað
wash you I teach and cleanse you eagerly and remove
of minre gesyhðe þa ungeðanc eowra heortena. geswicað
from my sight the evil-thoughts of-your hearts cease
eowra misdæda and gewunjað to gôdan dædan. spyrjað æfter
your misdeeds and accustom to good deeds seek after
rihtan lagan and rihtwisan doman. helpað earmum and
right law and righteous judgments help poor and
hæfenleasum; beorgað steopcildum and werjað wudewan and
needy protect orphans and defend widows and
biddað me syððan, cwæð ure drihten, þæs, þe ge willan,
ask me afterward said our lord of-that which ye will

and ic eow getiðige þæs, ðe eow ðearf bið. god us
and I to-you grant of-that which to-you need is god us
gehealde, amen.
let-keep amen

Uerba Hieremiæ prophetæ. 49.1
Words of-Jeremiah prophet

Hieremias se witega mynegode to þearfe godes folc georne 49.2
Jeremiah the prophet admonished for benefit of-god people eagerly
and hit ðus lærde: audite uerbum domini, domus Iacob,
and it thus taught hear word of-lord house of-Jacob
et reliqua. gehyrað, he cwæð, godes word nu ða, Jacobes
and the-rest hear he said of-god word now then of-Jacob
hired and eal Israhela cyn. god acsað eow þises nu and
household and all of-Israel kin god asks you this now and
ðus cwæð to eow eallum: hwæt onfundon eowre yldran
thus said to you all what found your elders
þurh ænig ðing on me, þæs ðe heom ðuhte, þæt ful
through any thing in me of-that which to-them seemed that full
riht nære, nu hy swa swyðe awendan hy fram me and
right not-were now they so greatly turned them from me and
ferdon on unriht and unræde fyligdon and unriht lufedon
went in wrong and folly followed and wrong loved
and unnytte wurdon nu lange him sylfum. ðy ic ðe
and useless became now long to-them selves therefore I to-thee
secge, he cwæð, þæt ðin agen þwyrnes þe sceal geþregean,
say he said that thy own perversity thee must afflict
and ðin frambige þe sceal gederjan. ac beseoh mid gerade
and thy apostasy thee must harm but look with reason
and gecnawað swyðe georne, hu biter þe sceal weorðan,
and perceive very eagerly how bitter to-thee must become
butan þu gecyrre, þæt ðu forlete to lange þinne drihten
unless thou turn that thou forsookest too long thy lord

and næfdest, swa ðu scoldest, ege þines drihtnes. he
and hadst-not as thou shouldest fear of-thy lord he
cwæð sona þæræfter froferlicum wordum þus to us eallum:
said at-once thereafter with-comforting words thus to us all
conuertimini, filii, reuertentes, dicit dominus. eala, leofan
be-converted sons returning says lord O dear
cild, cwæð ure drihten, gecyrrað, ic lære, and wendað hider
children said our lord turn I teach and turn hither
to me, weorðaþ on rihtwege and beseoð to eowrum drihtne,
to me become on right-way and look to your lord
acsjað georne, hu betst sy to farenne, and farað æfter þam
ask eagerly how best be to go and go after the
wege;
way
49.21 þonne wyrðe ge geborgene gyt, gif ge willað, þæt ge ne
then will-be ye saved yet if ye will that ye not
forweorðað. ðus Hieremias lærde þa ðeode, and oft and
perish thus Jeremiah taught the nation and often and
gelome he myngode hy georne. he æt sumum sæle stod
frequently he admonished them eagerly he at a-certain time stood
æt ðam tempelgeate and openlice sæde and ðus feng on
at the temple-gate and openly said and thus began on
spæce: audite uerbum domini. hęc dicit dominus: bonas
speech hear word of-lord this says lord good
facite uias uestras et studia uestra et habitabo uobiscum,
make ways your and pursuits your and I-will-dwell with-you
et reliqua. gehyrað, he cwæð, godes word nu ða and doð,
and the-rest hear he said of-god word now then and do
swa ic lære, godjað georne eowre agene wegas and ealle
as I teach improve eagerly your own ways and all
eowre dæda; lufjað rihtwisnesse and unriht ascunjað. and
your deeds love righteousness and wrong shun and

gyf ge þonne swa doð and rihtlice demað and on unriht
if ye then so do and rightly judge and on wrong
ne tregjað ne earme ne tyrewjað ne unscyldig blod ahwar
not trouble nor poor — harass nor innocent blood anywhere
ne ageotað ne hæðenscipes gymað on ænige wisan eow
— shed nor heathenship heed in any way to-you
sylfum to hearme, þonne weorðe ic mid eow, cwæð ure
selves for harm then will-be I with you said our
drihten, æfre æt ðearfe and eow ne forlæte æfre æt neode.
lord ever at need and you not forsake ever at need
ðus ure drihten cwæð be us eallum. he ure helpe and
thus our lord said about us all he us let-help and
us geunne, þæt we magan and motan his willan aredjan.
to-us let-grant that we can and may his will accomplish
amen.
amen

De septiformi spiritu

VII · ON THE SEVENFOLD SPIRIT

A Latin preface sets the Holy Ghost's seven gifts against seven evil spirits. The gifts are named in Latin and English, wisdom, understanding, counsel, strength of mind, knowledge, piety, and the fear of God, and each is described in the man who has it. Against them the devil sows seven ungifts, from folly to rashness, and, worse still, their counterfeits, which hypocrites wear. Antichrist will be full of such feigning, and those who call deceit prudence and make their lust their law are his forerunners and thralls.

50.10 Spiritus sanctus pro septenaria operatione, Isaia propheta
Spirit holy for sevenfold working Isaiah prophet
testante, septiformis esse creditur in bono; spiritus etiam
witnessing sevenfold to-be is-believed in good spirit also
nequam septiformis designatur. spiritus bonus spiritus
wicked sevenfold is-designated spirit good spirit
sapientie, cui e contrario malus opponitur spiritus
of-wisdom to-which from contrary evil is-opposed spirit
insipientie, alter peior simulatio sapientiæ. spiritus bonus
of-folly other worse pretense of-wisdom spirit good
spiritus intellectus, malus autem spiritus stultitie, alter
spirit of-understanding evil however spirit of-stupidity other
peior simulatio discipline. spiritus bonus spiritus consilii,
worse pretense of-learning spirit good spirit of-counsel
malus autem spiritus inprouidentiæ, alter peior simulatio
evil however spirit of-improvidence other worse pretense
prouidentiæ. spiritus bonus spiritus fortitudinis, cui
of-providence spirit good spirit of-fortitude to-which
opponitur malus aperte ignauie spiritus, alter peior infirmitas
is-opposed evil openly of-cowardice spirit other worse weakness
fallens obumbratione virtutis. spiritus bonus spiritus scientie,
deceiving with-shadow of-virtue spirit good spirit of-knowledge

cui contrarius malus spiritus ignorantie, nequior autem
to-which contrary evil spirit of-ignorance more-wicked however
usurpatio scientie. spiritus bonus spiritus pietatis, malus
usurpation of-knowledge spirit good spirit of-piety evil
uero spiritus impietatis, alter peior false pietatis obtentus.
truly spirit of-impiety other worse of-false piety pretext
spiritus bonus spiritus timoris dei, cui contrarius est
spirit good spirit of-fear of-god to-which contrary is
spiritus temeritatis, alter peior dolus ficte religiositatis.
spirit of-rashness other worse guile of-feigned religiousness

Be ðam seofanfealdan godes gyfan. 51.1
About the sevenfold of-god gifts

Isaias se witega awrât on his witegunge be ðam halgan gaste 51.2
Isaiah the prophet wrote in his prophecy about the holy spirit
and be his .vii. fealdum gifum. þa seofonfealdan gyfa synd
and about his seven fold gifts the sevenfold gifts are
þus genamode: sapientia on leden, þæt is wisdom on englisc;
thus named sapientia in Latin that is wisdom in English
intellectus on leden, andgyt on englisc; consilium on leden,
intellectus in Latin understanding in English consilium in Latin
þæt is rædgeðeht on englisc; fortitudo on leden, modes
that is counsel in English fortitudo in Latin of-mind
strengð on englisc; scientia on leden, god ingehŷd on englisc;
strength in English scientia in Latin good knowledge in English
pietas on leden, arfæstnyss on englisc; timor domini on leden,
pietas in Latin piety in English timor domini in Latin
godes ege on englisc. ðas seofanfealdan gyfa soðlice wæron on
of-god fear in English these sevenfold gifts truly were in
urum drihtne be fullum ðingum, and se halga gast hi todælð
our lord by full things and the holy spirit them distributes
dæghwamlice gyt cristenum mannum, ælcum be his mæðe and
daily yet to-Christian men each by his measure and

be his modes geornfulnesse, ealswa biscopas on biscpunge to
by of-his mind eagerness just-as bishops at confirmation to
gode sylfum wilnjað georne. and witodlice se man hæfð wisdom
god self desire eagerly and certainly the man has wisdom
þurh godes gyfe, þe wislice leofað and symle smeað, hu he
through of-god gift who wisely lives and always considers how he
gode gecweman mæge. and se hæfð god andgyt þurh godes
god please can and he has good understanding through of-god
gyfe, þe hit gewent to his drihtnes willan mid godum weorcum
gift who it turns to of-his lord will with good works
symle. and se hæfð godne rȃd þurh godes gyfe, þe him
always and he has good counsel through of-god gift who for-him
gerædað æfre, hwæt him to donne sy and hwæt to forlætenne.
decides ever what for-him to do be and what to forsake
51.20 and se hæfð modes strencðe ðurh godes gyfe, þe mycel mæg
and he has of-mind strength through of-god gift who much can
forberan and geðoljan and on eallum earfoðnyssum æfre bið
forbear and endure and in all hardships ever is
geðyldig and eft on godum gelimpum ne forlæt his anrædnesse,
patient and again in good fortunes not forsakes his constancy
ac bið ȃȃ gefædd on æghwylce wisan, swa þæt he ne bið ne
but is ever ordered in every way so that he not is either
on gefean to fægen ne on wean to ormod. and se hæfð gôd
in joy too glad nor in woe too despairing and he has good
ingehŷd þurh godes gyfe, þe godnysse and bilewitnysse lufað
knowledge through of-god gift who goodness and simplicity loves
and bið betera wiðinnan, þonne he wiðutan sy geðuht, and can
and is better within than he without be seemed and knows
him gescead betweox soðe and unsoðe. and se hæfð arfæstnysse
for-him distinction between true and untrue and he has piety
þurh godes gyfe, þe arfæst byð and mæðe cann on oðrum
through of-god gift who pious is and respect knows in other

mannum, on his gelicum ge on læssan mannum and nele
men in his equals and in lesser men and will-not
forseon ne gescyndan oðerne ne mid worde ne mid weorce.
despise nor shame another either with word nor with work
and þonne is godes ege seo seofoðe gifu þissera gastlicra gifa,
and then is of-god fear the seventh gift of-these spiritual gifts
and seo gifu is angin ealles wisdomes. and se ðe godes ege
and the gift is beginning of-all wisdom and he who of-god fear
fullice hæfð, ne forlæt he na fela þæs, þe his sawle þearf bið
fully has not forsakes he — much of-that which to-his soul need is
to hæbbenne and to healdenne. and se man, þe bið bedæled
to have and to hold and the man who is deprived
ealra ðissa seofan gifa, nis he na gode wyrð ne to gode
all these seven gifts not-is he — to-god worth nor to god
belimpð, ne he næfre gode ne geþyhð, butan he ær his ende
belongs nor he ever to-god — prospers unless he before his end
geearnige þæt betere and godes willan þurh sum ðing gewyrce.
earn the better and of-god will through some thing work
nu hæfð se yfela gast and se ungesawenlica feond herongean 52.7
now has the evil spirit and the invisible fiend against-this
seofonfealde ungifa, þæt syn unþearfa manegra manna, and
sevenfold evil-gifts that are harms of-many men and
ða syndan wiðerræde mid ealle on ælce wisan þyssum
those are opposed with all in every way to-these
godum godes gyfum, þe we herbeforan ymbe sædan; and
good of-god gifts which we here-before about said and
ða he dælð dæghwamlice þam mannum, þe ungesælice
those he distributes daily to-the men who unhappily
him gehyrsumjað and godes gyfa ne gymað ne godes ege
him obey and of-god gifts not heed nor of-god fear
nabbað ne godes lage healdað, ac fyligeað heora luste and
have nor of-god law hold but follow their lust and

idelum gewille. and þa yfelan ungifa þæs arleasan deofles
vain will and the evil evil-gifts of-the impious devil
syndan þus genamode on ledengereorde: insipientia, þæt
are thus named in Latin-language insipientia that
is unwisdom; stultitia, þæt is stuntnys; inprouidentia, þæt
is unwisdom stultitia that is stupidity inprouidentia that
is receleasnys; ignauia, þæt is wacmodnys; ignorantia, þæt
is recklessness ignauia that is cowardice ignorantia that
is nytennys; impietas, þæt is arleasnys; temeritas, þæt is
is ignorance impietas that is impiety temeritas that is
dyrstignys. ælc riht wisdom is cumen of gode, forðam þe
rashness each right wisdom is come from god because that
god sylf is se soða wisdom, and ælc man bið gesælig and
god self is the true wisdom and each man is happy and
eadig, þe hæfð þæne wisdom, þe of godes agenre gyfe
blessed who has the wisdom which from of-god own gift
cymð, and ðurh þæt his agen lif gelogað mid wisdome. se
comes and through that his own life orders with wisdom the
wisdom is, swa we ær cwædon, þæs halgan gastes gifu; and
wisdom is as we before said of-the holy spirit gift and
deofol sæwð þærtogeanes unwisdom and swicdom and gedeð
devil sows against-it unwisdom and treachery and causes
swa þurh þæt, þæt unsælig man wisdomes ne gymeð ne
so through that that unhappy man wisdom not heeds nor
wislice his lif ne fadað and gyt eac gedeð, þæt forcuðre is,
wisely his life — orders and yet also causes what more-wicked is
þæt he talað þeh hwilum hine sylfne wærne and wisne, and
that he counts though sometimes him self wary and wise and
bið eac for oft swa gehiwod licetere, swylce he wis sy, byð
is also very often so disguised hypocrite as-if he wise be is
þeah smeagende oftor ymbe swicdom, þonne ymbe wisdom.
though considering oftener about treachery than about wisdom

and ongean þam andgyte, þe of godes agenre gyfe cymð, 53.1
and against the understanding which from of-god own gift comes
se deofol sæwð angytleste and eac gedeð, þæt gyt wyrse is,
the devil sows senselessness and also causes what yet worse is
þæt se man þurh licetende hiwunge deð, swylce he andgytful
that the man through hypocritical pretense acts as-if he intelligent
sy, þe lytel can to gerade and to gode on ænige wisan. and
be who little knows to reason and to good in any way and
ongean þam wislican ræde, þe of godes agenre gyfe cymð,
against the wise counsel which from of-god own gift comes
se wiðerræda deofol sæwð receleasnesse and eac gemacað, þæt
the hostile devil sows recklessness and also makes what
gyt wyrse is, þæt se man þurh lease hiwunge deð, swylce
yet worse is that the man through false pretense acts as-if
he rædfæst sy, þe rædes ne gymeð mid ænigum gerade. and
he counsel-firm be who counsel not heeds with any reason and
ongean modstaðolnysse and modes strencðe, þe of godes
against steadfastness and of-mind strength which from of-god
agenre gyfe cymð, se mânfulla deofol sendeð wacmodnesse and
own gift comes the wicked devil sends cowardice and
lyðerne earhscype, swa þæt se man abryð æt ælcere þearfe;
base timidity so that the man fails at each need
and eac, þæt gyt wyrse is, gemacað, þæt se man hywað
and also what yet worse is makes that the man feigns
hwilum hine sylfne þeh mihtine and unforhtne, þe nah on
sometimes him self though mighty and unafraid who has-not in
his heortan ænigne cafscype. and ongean þam ingehyde and
his heart any boldness and against the knowledge and
gearawitolnesse, þe of godes agenre gife cymð, se hetola
readiness which from of-god own gift comes the hostile
deofol sæwð and sendeð nytennesse and, þæt gyt wyrse is,
devil sows and sends ignorance and what yet worse is

gedeð, þæt se man hiwað þeh hine sylfne, swylce he deop
causes that the man feigns though him self as-if he deep
inngehŷd hæbbe, þe nat na mycel gescâd æniges gerades.
knowledge have who knows-not — much distinction of-any reason
53.21 and ongean þa arfæstnysse, þe of godes agenre gyfe cymð,
and against the piety which from of-god own gift comes
deofol sæwð and sendeð arleasnesse and gelærð swa, þæt
devil sows and sends impiety and teaches so that
ungesælig man ne arige ahwar, þær hine to onhagige, ne eac
unhappy man not spare anywhere where him to suits nor also
mæðe ne geseo on his underþeoddum ne on his efengelican;
respect — see in his subjects nor in his equals
and gyt eac gelærð, þæt wyrse is, þæt he ðeah swicollice hiwige,
and yet also teaches what worse is that he though treacherously feign
swylce he arfæstes modes sy, and under þam leaslican hiwe
as-if he of-pious mind be and under the false appearance
swiðost gederige. and ongean þam anfealdan godes ege, þe of
most harm and against the simple of-god fear which from
godes agenre gife cymð, se grimlica deofol lærð dyrstignysse
of-god own gift comes the grim devil teaches rashness
and gebringð recelease men on unstæððignesse wordes and
and brings reckless men into unsteadiness of-word and
weorces and hwilum eac on ðam, þe gyt wyrse is, gemacað,
work and sometimes also in that which yet worse is makes
þæt sume men beoð swa gehiwode liceteras, swylce hy godes
that some men are so disguised hypocrites as-if they of-god
ege habban, and bið eal heora ingeþanc mid fracode afylled.
fear have and is all their thought with vileness filled
54.8 Nis næfre nan wyrse yfel ne gode laðre, þonne þæt
Not-is ever any worse evil nor to-god more-hateful than the
gehiwode yfel, forðam deofol sylf hit gefadað and gehywað to
disguised evil because devil self it arranges and disguises to

þam, þæt þæt ðincð for oft ærest ful god, þe eft wyrð
that that it seems very often first full good which afterward becomes
full yfel and full biter on ende. and to fela manna wyrð þeah
full evil and full bitter at end and too many men becomes though
mid þyllican wrencan þurh deofol forlæred swa, þæt hy eal
with such tricks through devil misled so that they all
oðer specað and oðer hiwjað, oðer hy þencað; and þa beoð
other speak and other feign other they think and those are
rihtliceteras, þe to ðam gewunjað. and mid ðam unwrencan
true-hypocrites who to that accustom and with the evil-tricks
eallan bið huru se earmscapena man, Antecrist, eal afylled.
all will-be especially the wretched man Antichrist all filled
his word and weorc beoð gôde geðuhte unweran mannum, and
his word and work are good seemed to-unwary men and
eal hy beoð yfele and swicole; ac se þeodlicetere hit gehiwað
all they are evil and treacherous but the arch-hypocrite it disguises
þeah swa, þæt læst manna wat, hu he him wið þone
though so that least of-men knows how he himself against the
ðeodfeond gescyldan sceal; forðam ne weorþeð on worulde ænig
arch-fiend shield must because not becomes in world any
wordsnotera ne on wordum getingra ne on heortan wyrsa
word-wiser nor in words more-eloquent nor in heart worse
and lytelice swicolra, þonne he wyrðeþ. and to fela manna
and cunningly more-treacherous than he becomes and too many men
eac is nu on ðissere swicelan worulde, þe ealswa to swyðe
also is now in this treacherous world who just-so too greatly
þurh hiwunge eal oðer specað, oþer hy þencað and lætað
through pretense all other speak other they think and reckon
þæt to wærscype, þæt hy oðre magan swa swicollice pæcan;
that as prudence that they others can so treacherously deceive

55.3 ac eal þæt cymð of deofle, ðeah hy swa ne wenan, and
but all that comes from devil though they so not think and
ægðer hy derjað mid swa geradan dædan ge ærest him
each they harm with so fashioned deeds both first them
sylfum ge syððan to manegan. and swa gerade manswican,
selves and afterward to many and so fashioned traitors
þe on ða wisan swæslice swicjað oftost on unriht and
who in that way pleasantly deceive most-often in wrong and
ðurh þæt derjað for gode and for worulde, þæt syndan
through that harm before god and before world those are
forbodan and Antecristes þrælas, þe his weg rymað, þeah
forerunners and of-Antichrist thralls who his way clear though
hy swa ne wenan. Crist ælmihtig lærde georne soðfæstnysse
they so not think Christ almighty taught eagerly truthfulness
and anfealdnesse, and þæt gehwa synnluste fæste wiðstode;
and simplicity and that each sin-lust firmly withstood
and Antecrist lærð unsoðfæstnysse and swicolnesse, and þæt
and Antichrist teaches untruthfulness and treachery and that
gehwa his luste georne fulgange, and mid swylcan unlaran
each his lust eagerly follow and with such evil-teachings
he forlæreð and forlædeð ealles to manege. and swa doð þa
he misleads and misguides all too many and so do the
þeodlogan eac, þe taljað þæt to wærscype, þæt man cunne
arch-liars also who count that as prudence that one know
and mæge lytelice swicjan and mid unsoðe soð oferswiðan,
and can cunningly deceive and with untruth truth overcome
and lætað eac, þæt man mote to forð æfter luste nytenlice
and reckon also that one may too far after lust beastly
libban, and gyman ne ðurfe na oferlice swyðe þæs, ðe bec
live and heed not need — excessively much that which books
beodað, ne forhæfednesse habban lichamlices lustes, ac cweþað
command nor abstinence have of-bodily lust but say

þæt to worde, þæt se bið on geþance wærast and wisast, se
that as saying that he is in thought wariest and wisest he
ðe oðerne can raðost asmeagean and oftost of unwæran
who another can soonest scheme-against and most-often from unwary
sum ðing geræcan. cweþað eac to worde þa, ðe syndan
some thing get say also as saying those who are
stunte, þæt mycel forhæfednes lytel behealde, ac þæt mete
foolish that great abstinence little avails but that food
wære mannum gescapen to ðam anum, þæt men his scoldan
were for-men created for that alone that men it should
brucan, and wimman eac to hæmede þam, ðe þæs lyste.
enjoy and woman also for intercourse to-him who it lusts
and soð is, þæt ic secge: mid eal swylcan laran Antecrist 56.2
and true is what I say with all such teaching Antichrist
cwemeð and laðlice forlæreð ealles to manege. forðam nis æfre
pleases and hatefully misleads all too many because not-is ever
ænig lagu wyrse on worulde, þonne hwa folgje eallinge his luste
any law worse in world than one follow wholly his lust
and his lust him to lage sylfum gesette. and a swa nyr ende
and his lust for-him as law self set and ever the nearer end
þissere worulde, swa wyrð fyrenlusta and synlicra dæda â ma
of-this world the becomes of-wicked-lusts and of-sinful deeds ever more
and ma mannum gemæne þurh deofles dara and his unlara;
and more to-men common through of-devil harms and his evil-teachings
ac se bið gesælig, se ðe gewarnað huru hine sylfne be ænigum
but he is blessed he who guards at-least him self in any
dæle. god ure helpe. sit nomen domini benedictum et reliqua.
part god us let-help let-be name of-lord blessed and the-rest

Her ongynð be cristendome

X · ON CHRISTENDOM

Christians are named after Christ and must follow his teaching and laws. The Ten Commandments are recited, and the Church is named our spiritual mother, whose robbers Gregory declared accursed. The eight capital sins are set against eight virtues, a long list of prohibitions follows, and each sinner is to turn to the opposite virtue. After a confession of the Trinity, the works of mercy, and the duties of lords, their men, and godparents, the sermon closes with a call to fear doomsday and repent.

65.15 Leofan men, eallum cristenum mannum is mycel þearf, þæt
Dear men to-all Christian men is great need that
hy heora cristendomes gescad witan, and þæt hy heora
they of-their Christendom understanding know and that they their
cristendom rihtlice healdan. be Cristes agenum naman syn
Christendom rightly hold by of-Christ own name are
cristene genamode, forðam Crist is cristenra heafod, and ealle
Christians named because Christ is of-Christians head and all
cristene men syndon to Cristes limum getealde, gyf hy heora
Christian men are as of-Christ limbs counted if they their
cristendom gehealdað mid rihte. lytel fremað þeah cristen
Christendom keep with right little avails though Christian
nama butan cristenum dædum, ac se bið rihtlice cristen, þe
name without Christian deeds but he is rightly Christian who
Cristes larum and his lagum folgað, ealswa se apostol cwæð:
of-Christ teachings and his laws follows just-as the apostle said
qui se dicit in Cristum credere, debet ambulare, sicut et
who himself says in Christ to-believe ought to-walk as also
ipse ambulauit. se þe secge, þæt he on Crist gelyfe, fare se
he walked he who say that he in Christ believe let-go he
þæs rihtweges, þe Crist sylf ferde. and, ðeah hwa cweðe,
the right-way which Christ self went and though one say

þæt he on Crist rihtlice gelyfe, and nele his larum ne his
that he in Christ rightly believe and will-not his teachings nor his
lagum folgjan, he lihð him sylfum; and Crist sylf eac on
laws follow he lies to-him self and Christ self also in
his godspelle swytollice þus cwæð: si diligitis me, mandata
his gospel clearly thus said if ye-love me commands
mea seruate. gyf ge me lufjan, he cwæð, folgjað minum
my keep if ye me love he said follow my
larum. forðam se me ne lufað na, þe nele minum larum
teachings because he me not loves — who will-not my teachings
rihtlice fyligean. nu age we þearfe, þe cristene syndon, þæt
rightly follow now have we need who Christians are that
we georne his larum and his lagum fyligean.
we eagerly his teachings and his laws follow
Leofan men, hit gewearð on geardagum, þæt god sylf spæc 66.9
Dear men it happened in former-days that god self spoke
hludre stefne of Synai munte to Moyse, þam heretogan, and
with-loud voice from Sinai mountain to Moses the general and
to Israhela folce, and ðus cwæþ be him sylfum and be his
to of-Israel people and thus said about him self and about his
agenum lagum: ego sum dominus, deus tuus, et reliqua. ic
own laws I am lord god thy and the-rest I
eom ðin drihten, he cwæð, þe gelædde þe ut of Egyptum.
am thy lord he said who led thee out from Egypt
ne weorða þu fremde godas, ne þu þines drihtnes naman
not worship thou strange gods nor thou of-thy lord name
ne namje on idel. wite, þæt ðu þæne restedæg freolsige
— name in vain know that thou the rest-day keep
georne. weorþa geornlice fæder and modor. ne beo ðu ænig
eagerly honor eagerly father and mother not be thou any
manslaga. ne afyl þe mid forligere. ne sceaþa ðu. ne leoh
manslayer nor defile thee with fornication nor rob thou nor lie

þu. ne gyrn ðu oðres mannes wifes. ne æniges þinges, þe
thou nor desire thou of-other man wife nor any thing which
oðer man age, ne gyrn þu on unriht. ðas tyn beboda god
other man have nor desire thou in wrong these ten commands god
sylf gedihte and awrat and Moyse befæste; and Crist on his
self composed and wrote and to-Moses entrusted and Christ in his
godspelle eft hy geswutelode, and he georne eac lærde,
gospel afterward them revealed and he eagerly also taught
þæt manna gehwilc oðrum beode þæt, þæt he wille, þæt
that of-men each to-other offer that which he wishes that
man him beode. ðæt is rihtlic lagu, and se bið gesælig, se
one to-him offer that is right law and he is blessed he
þe hy gehealdeð. þas beboda and fela hertoeacan we sculon
who them keeps these commands and many in-addition we must
healdan, be þam þe us Cristes bec gelomlice lærað, gif we
hold by that which us of-Christ books frequently teach if we
gode willaþ rihtlice hyran, swa swa us þearf is, and eal þæt
god will rightly obey so as to-us need is and all that
gelæstan, þæt þæt we behetan, þa we fulluht underfengan,
fulfill that which we promised when we baptism received
oððon þa, þe æt fontbæþe ure forespecan wæran.
or those who at font-bath our sponsors were
67.10 Eala, leofan men, us is swyðe mycel þearf, þæt we ofer
O dear men to-us is very great need that we over
ealle oðre þing god huru lufjan and his larum and lagum
all other things god especially love and his teachings and laws
geornlice fyligean and his halgan cyrican syngallice weorðjan.
eagerly follow and his holy church continually honor
ealle we habbað ænne heofonlicne fæder and ane gastlice
all we have one heavenly father and one spiritual
modor, seo is ecclesia genamod, þæt is godes cyrice, and
mother who is ecclesia named that is of-god church and

ða we sculan æfre lufjan and weorðjan and næfre hyre
her we must ever love and honor and never her
derjan wordes ne weorces, ac griðjan hy symle and healdan
harm by-word nor by-work but protect her always and hold
unwemme and a butan glemme. la, hwæt fremað cyrichatan
unstained and ever without blemish o what avails church-haters
cristendom on unnyt; forðam ælc þæra bið godes feond, þe
Christendom in uselessness because each of-those is of-god enemy who
bið godes cyrcena feond, and ðe godes cyrcena riht wanað
is of-god churches enemy and who of-god churches right diminishes
oððe wyrdeð. and egeslice spæc Sanctus Gregorius be ðam
or injures and terribly spoke Saint Gregory about that
þa ða he þus cwæð: si quis ecclesiam dei denudauerit uel
then when he thus said if anyone church of-god strips or
sanctimonia uiolauerit, anathema sit; ad quod respondentes
sanctities violates accursed let-be to which responding
omnes dixerunt, amen. se ðe godes cyrican, he cwæð, rype
all said amen he who of-god church he said rob
oððe reafige oððe halignessa grið brece, â he forwyrðe;
or plunder or of-holinesses peace break ever he let-perish
and Romana witan him andwyrdan sona and anmodlice
and of-Romans counselors him answered at-once and unanimously
cwædon, amen, ealle; þæt bið on englisc, swa hit geweorðe.
said amen all that is in English so it let-be
eala, rihte gedafenað cristenum mannum, þæt hi Crist sylfne
O rightly befits to-Christian men that they Christ self
geefenlæcan georne, þæs ðe hy don magon, and Cristes
imitate eagerly as-far as they do can and of-Christ
cyrican weorðjan and werjan and swa don êac georne, swa
church honor and defend and so do also eagerly as
se halga gast lærð, þæt we don sculon, ðæt is, þæt gehwa
the holy spirit teaches what we do must that is that each

georne unriht forlæte and inwerdre heortan hwyrfe to rihte
eagerly wrong forsake and with-inward heart turn to right
for gode and for worulde. la, hu mæg man eaðost
before god and before world o how can one most-easily
gehwyrfan fram yfele and fram unrihte, butan þæt man deofol
turn from evil and from wrong except that one devil
georne forbuge and his undæda ealle oferhogje and wið his
eagerly shun and his evil-deeds all despise and against his
unlara georнlice scylde and wið þa deoflican eahta leahtras
evil-teachings eagerly shield and against the devilish eight vices
dæges and nihtes warnje symle? ðæt is gitsung and gifernes,
by-day and by-night guard always that is avarice and gluttony
galnes and weamodnys, unrotnys and asolcennys, gylpgeornys
lust and anger sadness and sloth vainglory
and ofermodignys. of ðyson eahta deofles cræftan ealle
and pride from these eight of-devil crafts all
unþeawas up aspringað and syðþan tobrædað ealles to wide.
vices up spring and afterward spread all too widely
68.18 ðonne syndon eahta healice mægnu þurh godes mihte
then are eight high virtues through of-god might
mannum gescyfte; ðæt is rumheortnys and syfernys, clænnes
to-men appointed that is generosity and sobriety purity
and modþwærnes, glædnes and anrædnys, sybgeornes and
and meekness gladness and constancy peaceableness and
eadmodnes. mid þysan mægenan we us sculon werjan and
humility with these virtues we us must defend and
ðurh godes fultum deofol oferwinnan and his unþeawan fæste
through of-god help devil overcome and his vices firmly
wiðstandan. leofan men, ure drihten spæc to Moyse hwilum
withstand dear men our lord spoke to Moses once
and be ðære gitsunge þus cwæð: non concupiscas ullam rem
and about the avarice thus said not covet-thou any thing

proximi tui. ne gyrn ðu on unriht, he cwæð, æniges þinges, þe
of-neighbor thy not desire thou in wrong he said any thing which
oðer man age; and se apostol cwæð: radix omnium malorum
other man have and the apostle said root of-all evils
est cupiditas. gitsung is wyrtruma, he cwæð, æghwylces yfeles.
is cupidity avarice is root he said of-each evil
leofan men, doð, swa ic lære, scyldað wið þa gitsunge æfre
dear men do as I teach shield against the avarice ever
swyðe georne and warnjað eac symle wið gyfernesse georne.
very eagerly and guard also always against gluttony eagerly
ðurh gifernesse Adam forlêt ærest paradisum. and eac ic lære
through gluttony Adam lost first paradise and also I teach
georne manna gehwylcne, þæt ænig ne afŷle mid fulan forligere
eagerly of-men each that any not defile with foul fornication
æfre hine sylfne. ne ænig ne healde yrre on his heortan ealles
ever him self nor any — hold anger in his heart all
to lange. ne ænig ðurh worldhoge forsorgje to swyðe, ac hihte
too long nor any through world-care grieve too greatly but hope
on his drihten. ne æfre ænig man idelnesse lufige ealles to
in his lord nor ever any man idleness love all too
gelome. ne æfre ænig man unnyt lof and idel gylp lufige to
often nor ever any man useless praise and vain boast love too
swyðe. ne æfre ænig man ofermetta lufje, ac æfre hy ascunje;
greatly nor ever any man pride love but ever them shun
and scylde man eac wið mansliht æfre swyðe georne. 69.20
and let-shield one also against manslaughter ever very eagerly
and scylde man wið galnysse and wið æwbryce georne;
and let-shield one against lust and against adultery eagerly
and wið ælc woh gestreon beorge man georne, ac stryne
and against each crooked gain let-guard one eagerly but let-gain
mid rihte. unrihte gemeta and woge gewihta aweorpe man
with right wrong measures and crooked weights let-cast-away one

georne, and æfre ænig man oðrum ne swicje ealles to swyðe.
eagerly and ever any man other not let-deceive all too greatly
ne ænig man oðerne to nearwe ne hæfte ne on unriht ne
nor any man other too narrowly — let-confine nor in wrong —
geþeowige. ne ænig man þurh reaflac oðerne ne rype. ne
let-enslave nor any man through robbery other — let-rob nor
ænig man oðerne on unriht ne fordeme. ne ænig man oðerne
any man other in wrong — let-condemn nor any man other
ne tyrje ne ne tyne ealles to swyðe. ne ænig man hine
— let-vex nor — let-anger all too greatly nor any man him
sylfne mid mane ne forswerje. ne on leasre gewitnesse ænig
self with crime — let-forswear nor in false witness any
man ne stande. ne ænig man ne gewunje, þæt he huxlice
man — let-stand nor any man — let-be-wont that he shamefully
onhisce, ne ðurh hyrwnesse god ne gegremje. ne ænig man
mock nor through blasphemy god — let-anger nor any man
to hlagol sy ne færinga to fægen ne eft ne beo to ormod.
too laughing let-be nor suddenly too glad nor again — let-be too despairing
ne ænig man oþerne bæftan ne tæle ne hyrwe to swyðe.
nor any man other behind — let-blame nor let-revile too greatly
ne ænig man andan ne healde on his heortan ealles to fæste.
nor any man envy — let-hold in his heart all too firmly
ne ænig man oðerne ne hatje to swyðe. ne ænig man ne
nor any man other — let-hate too greatly nor any man —
gewunje, þæt he mid yfelum wordum to wyrjende weorðe.
let-be-wont that he with evil words to cursing become
ne ænig man ne sy to sacfull ne ealles to geflitgeorn.
nor any man — let-be too contentious nor all too quarrelsome
ne ænig man ne lufige druncen to swyðe ne fule oferfylle.
nor any man — let-love drunkenness too greatly nor foul gluttony
ne ænig man myrtenes æfre ne abite ne blodes ne abyrige.
nor any man carrion ever — let-bite nor blood — let-taste

ne ænig man wiccecræft æfre begange. ne ænig man idola
nor any man witchcraft ever let-practice nor any man idols
weorðje æfre. ne ænig man gemanan wið amansode hæbbe.
let-worship ever nor any man fellowship with excommunicated let-have
sunnandæges weorðunge nænig man forgyme. ælc man his
of-Sunday honoring no man let-neglect each man his
teoðunga gelæste mid rihte. freolsa and fæstena healde man
tithes let-pay with right feasts and fasts let-hold one
georne. ðæt man gode behate, ne aleoge man æfre. ne ænig
eagerly what one to-god promise not let-belie one ever nor any
man mid unandettan heafodleahtrum husles ne abyrige, ac
man with unconfessed capital-sins communion — let-taste but
andette and bete, ær he husel ðicge. eac ic lære georne
let-confess and let-amend before he communion receive also I teach eagerly
manna gehwilcne, þæt he his synna andette gelome and mid
of-men each that he his sins confess often and with
dædbote clænsje hine sylfne and bletsunge æt biscope and
penance cleanse him self and blessing from bishop and
mildsunge gyrne; forðam understande, se ðe wille, eal hit
mercy desire therefore let-understand he who will all it
mæg to ðearfe, ealswa þæt godspel cweð: penitentiam agite,
may for benefit just-as the gospel says penance do
adpropinquabit uobis regnum celorum. doð dædbote eowra
will-approach to-you kingdom of-heavens do penance of-your
synna, and eow sona wyrð heofona rices duru geara untyned.
sins and to-you at-once will-be of-heavens kingdom door readily opened
leofan men, on eornost ic lære, cyrrað fram yfele and fram 71.15
dear men in earnest I teach turn from evil and from
unrihte, and doð to gôde a swa leng swa mare. gymað
wrong and do to good ever the longer the more heed
georne godes lage and healdað hy fæste and gelome on
eagerly of-god law and hold it firmly and often in

gearfæce gearwjað eow to husle. eala, leofan men, ne
year-space prepare you for communion O dear men not
latjað na, ne latjað, ac ofstlice efstað and to gode wendað;
delay — nor delay but speedily hasten and to god turn
and se ðe wære gitsjende oðra manna þinga and æhta,
and he who were coveting of-other men things and possessions
weorðe of his agenan rihte begytenan ælmesgyfa georne. se
let-become from his own rightly gotten alms-giver eagerly he
þe wære gifre, weorðe se syfre; and se ðe wære galsere on
who were greedy let-become he sober and he who were lecher in
fulan forligere, weorðe se clænsere his agenre sawle. se þe
foul fornication let-become he cleanser of-his own soul he who
wære weamod, weorðe se geþyldmod. se ðe wære hohmod,
were wrathful let-become he patient he who were anxious
weorðe se glædmod. se ðe wære idelgeorn, weorðe se
let-become he glad he who were idle-eager let-become he
notgeorn. se ðe wære lofgeorn for idelan weorðscype, weorðe
useful-eager he who were praise-eager for vain honor let-become
se carfull, hu he swyþast mæge gecweman his drihtne. se
he careful how he most can please his lord he
ðe wære ofermod, weorðe se eadmod. se ðe wære scaðjende,
who were proud let-become he humble he who were plundering
weorðe se tiligende on rihtlicre tilðe. se ðe wære slapol,
let-become he laboring in rightful labor he who were sleepy
weorðe se ful wacor. and se ðe wære full slaw, weorðe
let-become he full wakeful and he who were full slow let-become
se unslaw to cyrican gelome for agenre þearfe. Se ðe wære
he unslow to church often for own need He who were
leassagol, weorðe se soðsagol. se ðe wære bæcslitol, weorðe
lying let-become he truthful he who were backbiting let-become
se wærsagol. se ðe wære stuntwyrde, weorðe se wiswyrde.
he wary-speaking he who were foolish-speaking let-become he wise-speaking

and se ðe on unriht abysgode hine sylfne, se on halgum 72.18
and he who in wrong busied him self he in holy
gebedum abysgje hine symle. and se ðe wære ungeleafful
prayers let-busy him always and he who were unbelieving
rihtes geleafan, weorðe se geleafful godcundes rihtes. ðus man
of-right faith let-become he faithful of-divine right thus one
sceal ælc unriht mid rihte betan and unweod aweodjan and
must each wrong with right amend and weed weed-out and
god sæd aræran. nu la, leofan men, gelyfað huru georne and
good seed raise now o dear men believe at-least eagerly and
anrædlice beþencað, þæt annes and ðrynnes on godcundnesse
steadfastly consider that oneness and threeness in divinity
an is; ðæt is fæder and sunu and frofergast. ealle þa ðry
one is that is father and son and comfort-spirit all the three
naman befehð an godcund miht, and is untodæled an ece
names embraces one divine might and is undivided one eternal
god, wealdend and wyrhta ealra gesceafta; se is to lufjanne
god ruler and maker of-all creatures he is to love
and to weorðjanne ofer ealle oðre ðing. and riht is, þæt ælc
and to honor over all other things and right is that each
cristen man eac oðerne lufje and healde mid rihte, and þæt
Christian man also other love and hold with right and that
ænig oðrum ne beode, butan þæt he wylle, þæt man him
any to-other not offer but what he wishes that one to-him
beode. ne ænig ne syrwe ne oðrum ne swicje, ac healde
offer nor any — plot nor other — deceive but hold
ælc oðerne mid rihtre getrywðe. ic lære eac georne manna
each other with right loyalty I teach also eagerly of-men
gehwylcne, þæt he godes ege hæbbe æfre on gemynde and
each that he of-god fear have ever in mind and
godes hus symle weorðje and werje and sece gelome him
of-god house always honor and defend and seek often for-him

sylfum to þearfe. sibbe and some lufje man georne and
self for benefit peace and concord let-love one eagerly and
ælc fracodlic facn æfre aweorpe and æghwylcne hæðenscype
each vile deceit ever let-cast-away and each heathenship
wordes and weorces forhogje man æfre. godcundre lare
of-word and of-work let-despise one ever divine teaching
folgje man georne and inweardre heortan clypje man to Criste
let-follow one eagerly and with-inward heart let-call one to Christ
oft and gelome and cyrican gegrete mid leohte and lacum,
often and frequently and church let-visit with light and gifts
swa man oftost mæge. rihte teoðunga gelæste man glædlice,
as one most-often can right tithes let-pay one gladly
and godes sacerdan hlyste man georne and hy for godes
and of-god priests let-listen one eagerly and them for of-god
ege lufige and weorðje, ut dominus dicit: qui uos audit, et
fear let-love and let-honor as lord says who you hears and
reliqua. ælmesgedal dæle man gelome, mete þam ofhingredum,
the-rest alms-dole let-deal one often food to-the hungry
drenc þam ofðyrstum, hushleow gefarenum, wæfels þam
drink to-the thirsty shelter to-travelers clothing to-the
nacedum, frofer þam dreorigan, neosunge þam seocan and
naked comfort to-the sad visiting to-the sick and
byrgenne þam deadan. wydewan and steopcild werje man
burial to-the dead widows and orphans let-defend one
and nerje, and ðearfena gehwylcum helpe man georne.
and let-save and of-needy each let-help one eagerly
domas and dihtas rihte man georne, þæt leod and lagu
judgments and decrees let-right one eagerly that nation and law
trumlice stande. beo manna gehwylc hold and getrywe his
firmly stand let-be of-men each loyal and true to-his
worldhlaforde æfre mid rihte, and beo hlaforda gehwylc milde
world-lord ever with right and let-be of-lords each mild

his mannum and hy næfre ne swence on unriht to swyðe.
to-his men and them never — let-oppress in wrong too greatly
beo manna gehwylc milde on mode and miltsje for godes
let-be of-men each mild in mind and let-have-mercy for of-god
ege, þær he derjan mæge. godfæder his godbearn lufje and
fear where he harm can godfather his godchild let-love and
lære and unrihtes styre. pater noster and credan mymerjan
let-teach and wrong let-restrain pater noster and creed let-learn
þa yldran and tæcan heora gingran mid rihtan geleafan.
the elders and let-teach their younger with right faith
on manna gehwylces mode and muðe soðsagu stande. on
in of-men each mind and mouth truth-telling let-stand in
heortan and on weorcan clænnes gelufige; on geðance and on
heart and in works purity let-love in thought and in
þeawan syfernes gelicje. eac ic lære georne manna gehwylcne,
manners sobriety let-please also I teach eagerly of-men each
þæt he his luste to swyðe ne fulgange, ac mid forhæfednesse
that he his lust too greatly not follow but with abstinence
oft and gelome wylde hine sylfne him sylfum to ðearfe.
often and frequently control him self for-him self for benefit
and doð, swa ic lære, hyran þa gingran georne heora yldran, 74.21
and do as I teach let-obey the younger eagerly their elders
and lufjan and læran þa yldran heora gingran; and ða, þe
and let-love and let-teach the elders their younger and those who
lifes weg lædan cunnan, gebringan on rihtwege þa, ðe ær
of-life way lead can let-bring on right-way those who before
dweledan. and styre man þam stuntum, and hlyste man
erred and let-restrain one the foolish and let-listen one
þam wisan, and afæstnje man symle georne on heortan
the wise and let-fasten one always eagerly in heart
godcunde þearfe; and ealne modes hiht on god sylfne besette
divine need and all of-mind hope on god self let-set

man fæste. ondræde man domdæg and for helle agrîse, and
one firmly let-dread one doomsday and for hell let-shudder and
ecre reste earnje man georne, and æghwylce dæge â manna
eternal rest let-earn one eagerly and each day ever of-men
gehwylc forhtige for synnum and æfre him gehende endedæges
each let-fear for sins and ever to-him near end-day
wene. eala, hwæt se bið on worulde wis and gesælig, þe ðis
let-expect O how he is in world wise and blessed who this
eal geðenceð oft and gelome, and ðe godes beboda georнlice
all considers often and frequently and who of-god commands eagerly
gymeð and on godes mildheortnesse fullice gehyhteð, and se ðe
heeds and in of-god mercy fully hopes and he who
soðe lufe to gode and to mannum gehealdeð mid rihte and mid
true love to god and to men holds with right and with
rihtre dædbote clænsað hine sylfne and ærran gewyrhta georne
right penance cleanses him self and former deeds eagerly
begeomerað; forðam god sylfa behet synfullum mannum, þæt
laments because god self promised to-sinful men that
he wolde miltsjan, gyf hi woldon earnjan, ealswa se witega
he would have-mercy if they would earn just-as the prophet
sang and sæde, þa ða he ðus cwæð: querite dominum, dum
sang and said then when he thus said seek lord while
inueniri potest, et reliqua. item propheta dicit: in quacumque
to-be-found he-can and the-rest also prophet says in whatever
die peccator conuersus fuerit, et reliqua. et dominus in
day sinner converted shall-be and the-rest and lord in
euangelio dicit: gaudium est angelis dei super, et reliqua.
gospel says joy is to-angels of-god over and the-rest
75.21 eala, leofan men, utan nu efstan and ealle ure lifwegas
O dear men let-us now hasten and all our life-ways
georнlice rihtan, and ne latjan na to lange ne ealles to swyðe,
eagerly straighten and not delay — too long nor all too greatly

þe læs þe we forweorðan, þonne we læst wenan; ac utan us
the less that we perish when we least expect but let-us us
sylfe mid godan geþance on worde and on weorce wenjan to
selves with good thought in word and in work accustom to
rihte and geearnjan þa myrhðe mid godes fylste, þe ðam
right and earn the joy with of-god help which for-those
is gegearwod, þe gode wel gehyrað and his lage healdað
is prepared who god well obey and his law hold
þa hwyle, þe hy libbað. a sy ecum gode lof and
the while that they live ever let-be to-eternal god praise and
wyrðmynt in ealra worulda woruld æfre butan ende, amen.
honor in of-all worlds world ever without end amen

Leofan men, understandað swyðe

XII · DEAR MEN, UNDERSTAND

Anyone who acts against Christianity, or teaches another to, is called Antichrist, which is Latin for Christ's adversary; though many will never see Antichrist himself, his limbs are everywhere, false liars who lead many astray. The time seems very near, since the world grows worse from day to day, so every priest must warn the people of his district often, lest they perish through want of teaching and be caught unready; and all must pray God to shield them from that public enemy.

78.7 Leofan men, understandað swyðe georne, þæt ge rihtlice and
Dear men understand very eagerly that ye rightly and
wærlice þæt healdan, þæt eow mæst þearf is to gehealdenne,
warily that hold which to-you most need is to hold
þæt is, rihtne cristendom. forðam ælc þæra, þe ongean
that is right Christendom because each of-those who against
þæt to swyðe deð oððon oðerne ongean þæt læreð, þe his
that too greatly does or other against that teaches which his
cristendome to gebyreð, ælc þæra bið Antecrist genamod.
Christendom to belongs each of-those is Antichrist named
Anticristus is on læden contrarius Cristo, þæt is on englisc,
Anticristus is in Latin contrarius Cristo that is in English
godes wiðersaca. se bið godes wiðersaca, þe godes lage and
of-god adversary he is of-god adversary who of-god law and
lare forlæt and ðurh deofles lare of ðam deð, ðe his
teaching forsakes and through of-devil teaching from that does which his
cristendome to gebyreð, and on synnum hine sylfne to swyðe
Christendom to belongs and in sins him self too greatly
befyleð oððon oðerne man on synna belædeð. and ðeah þæt
defiles or other man into sins leads and though that
sy, þæt fela manna Antecrist sylfne næfre his eagum ne
be that many men Antichrist self never with-his eyes —

geseo, to fela is þeah his lima, þe man wide nu geseon
see too many is though of-his limbs which one widely now see
and ðurh heora yfel gecnawan mæg, ealswa hit on þam
and through their evil perceive can just-as it in the
godspelle geræd is: surgent enim pseudocristi, et reliqua. wide
gospel read is will-rise for false-christs and the-rest widely
hit gewyrð, þæt up arisað lease leogeras and beoð swæslice
it happens that up arise false liars and are pleasantly
swicole, and ða mænigne man amyrrað and on gedwylde
treacherous and they many man mar and into error
gebringað. and swa mycel earfoðnes gewyrð on mænige wisan
bring and so great hardship happens in many ways
gyt wide on worulde, þæs þe bec secgað, þurh deofles
yet widely in world of-that which books say through of-devil
bearn, þe unriht dreogað, swa næfre ær on worulde ne
children who wrong practice as never before in world —
gewearð, forðam þæt mæste yfel cymð to mannum, þonne
happened because the greatest evil comes to men when
Antecrist sylf cymð, þe æfre ær on worulde gewurde.
Antichrist self comes which ever before in world happened
and us þincð, þæt hit sy þam timan swyðe gehende, forðam 79.11
and to-us seems that it be to-the time very near because
þeos woruld is fram dæge to dæge a swa leng swa wyrse.
this world is from day to day ever the longer the worse
nu is mycel neod eac eallum godes bydelum, þæt hy godes
now is great need also to-all of-god heralds that they of-god
folc warnjan gelome wið þone egesan, þe mannum is
people warn often against the terror which to-men is
towerd, þe læs þe hy unwære wurðan aredode and ðonne to
coming the less that they unwary be found and then too
hrædlice ðurh deofol beswicene. ac do sacerda gehwylc on
quickly through devil deceived but let-do of-priests each in

his scriftscire, þæt hit man gehyre oft and gelome, þe læs
his shrift-district that it one hear often and frequently the less
ðe hit geweorðe, þæt þurh larleste godes folc losje. and
that it happen that through lack-of-teaching of-god people perish and
ðeah þæt geweorðe, þæt ure ænig, þe nu leofað, þonne ne
though that happen that of-us any who now lives then not
libbe, þeah we agan þearfe, þæt we godcunde heorda warnjan
live though we have need that we divine flocks warn
nu georne, hu hy þam deofle Antecriste sylfan wærlicast
now eagerly how they the devil Antichrist self most-warily
magan þonne wiðstandan, þonne he his wodscinn widdast
can then withstand when he his madness-phantom most-widely
tobrǽdeð. and utan warnjan us eac swa wið his unlara nu
spreads and let-us guard us also so against his evil-teachings now
swyðe georne and god ælmihtigne georne biddan, þæt he us
very eagerly and god almighty eagerly ask that he us
gescŷlde wið þæne þeodscaðan. god us gescylde wið þæne
shield against the public-enemy god us let-shield against the
egesan, and he us geryme to ðære ecan myrhðe, þe þam
terror and he for-us let-open to the eternal joy which for-those
is gegearwod, þe his willan gewyrcað, ðær is ece bliss and
is prepared who his will work there is eternal bliss and
æfre byð in ealra worulda woruld a butan ende, amen.
ever will-be in of-all worlds world ever without end amen

Secundum Marcum

XIII · ACCORDING TO MARK

Christ foretold tribulation such as never was before the world's end, and Paul told Timothy that in the last days men would be greedy, proud, and treacherous; now iniquity abounds, and love grows cold. More than a thousand years have passed since Christ, and Satan is unbound. Antichrist, the worst child ever born, will reign three and a half years, work false wonders, and persecute the faithful, and Enoch and Elijah will be martyred; for his chosen God will cut his days short and sink him into hell.

Interrogatus Iesus a discipulis de consummatione seculi, dixit 80.12
Asked Jesus by disciples about consummation of-age said
eis: cum uideritis abhominationem desolationis, et reliqua.
to-them when ye-see abomination of-desolation and the-rest
væ pregnantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus. erunt enim
woe to-pregnant and to-nursing in those days will-be for
tribulationes tales, quales non fuerunt ab initio creature,
tribulations such as not were from beginning of-creation
quam condidit deus, usque nunc, neque fient, et reliqua.
which founded god until now nor will-be and the-rest
Leofan men, ures drihtnes apostolas ahsadan hwilum hine 81.1
Dear men of-our lord apostles asked once him
sylfne, ymbe þisre worulde geendunge. ða sæde he heom, þæt
self about of-this world ending then said he to-them that
swilce earfoðnessa and swylce gedrecednessa sculan on worulde
such hardships and such afflictions must in world
ær þam ende geweorðan, swylce næfre ær ne gewurdan ne
before the end happen as never before — happened nor
næfre eft ne geweorðað. and þæt godspel cwæð: wa ðam
ever again — will-happen and the gospel said woe to-the
wifum, þe þonne tymað and on þam earmlican timan heora
women who then bear and in the wretched time their

cild fedað. la, nyde hit sceal eac on worulde for folces
children feed o of-necessity it must also in world for of-people
synnan yfeljan swyðe, forðam nu is se tima, þe Paulus
sins worsen greatly because now is the time which Paul
se apostol gefyrn foresæde. he sæde hwilum þam biscope
the apostle long-ago foretold he said once to-the bishop
Tymothee, þæt on ðam endenyhstan dagum þissere worulde
Timothy that in the last days of-this world
beoð frecenlice tida for manna synnum, and men þonne
are perilous times for of-men sins and men then
lufjað, he cwæð, ealles to swyðe þas swicolan woruld and beoð
love he said all too greatly this treacherous world and are
ofergrædige woruldgestreona and to manege weorðaþ to wlance
over-greedy of-world-wealth and too many become too proud
and ealles to rance and to gylpgeorne, and sume weorþað
and all too haughty and too boastful and some become
egeslice godcundnessa hyrwende and boclare leande and
terribly divine-things reviling and book-learning blaming and
unriht lufjende, and sume weorðað swicole and swæslice ficole
wrong loving and some become treacherous and pleasantly fickle
and butan getrywðum forscyldgode on synnan. and gecnawe
and without loyalties guilty in sins and let-know
se, ðe cunne, nu is se tima, þæt ðeos woruld is gemæncged
he who can now is the time that this world is mingled
mid mænigfealdan mane and mid felafealdan facne, and ðæs
with manifold crime and with manifold deceit and for-that
hit is þe wyrse wide on worulde, ealswa þæt godspel cwæð:
it is the worse widely in world just-as the gospel said
quoniam abundabit iniquitas, refrigescet caritas multorum. ðæt
because will-abound iniquity will-grow-cold love of-many that
is on englisc, forðam þe unriht weaxeð ealles to wide, soð
is in English because that wrong grows all too widely true

lufu colað. ne man god ne lufað, swa swa man scolde, ne
love cools nor one god — loves so as one should nor
manna getrywða to ahte ne standað, ac unriht ricsað wide
of-men loyalties to aught — stand but wrong reigns wide
and side, and tealte getrywða sindon mid mannum, and
and far and unstable loyalties are among men and
þæt is gesyne on mænigfealde wisan, gecnawe se, ðe cunne.
that is visible in manifold ways let-know he who can
eala, eala, ac þa wæs micel blis and bot seo betste mannum 82.14
O O but then was great bliss and remedy the best to-men
towerd, þa Crist com on ðas woruld þurh mennisce gebyrde,
coming when Christ came into this world through human birth
and þæt com us eallan to helpe þam mæstan and to frofre
and that came to-us all for help the greatest and for comfort
þam betstan. and mycel is seo þwyrnes, þe nu is towerd,
the best and great is the perversity which now is coming
gebide ðære yrmðe se, þe hit gebide, þæt Antecrist geboren
let-abide the misery he who it abide that Antichrist born
beo. Crist wæs ealra bearna betst geboren, þe æfre geboren
be Christ was of-all children best born who ever born
wurde, and Antecrist bið ealra þæra bearna wyrst on þas
were and Antichrist will-be of-all the children worst into this
woruld geboren, þe ær oððe æfter æfre gewurde oððe
world born who before or after ever were or
geweorðe. nu sceal hit nyde yfeljan swyðe, forðam þe hit
will-be now must it of-necessity worsen greatly because that it
nealæcð georne his timan, ealswa hit awriten is and gefyrn
approaches eagerly his time just-as it written is and long-ago
wæs gewitegod: post mille annos soluetur Satanas. þæt
was prophesied after thousand years will-be-loosed Satan that
is on englisc, æfter þusend gearum bið Satanas unbunden.
is in English after thousand years will-be Satan unbound

þusend geara and eac ma is nu agan, syððan Crist wæs mid
thousand years and also more is now gone since Christ was among
mannum on menniscan hiwe, and nu syndon Satanases bendas
men in human form and now are of-Satan bonds
swyðe toslopene, and Antecristes tima is wel gehende, and
very loosened and of-Antichrist time is well near and
ðy hit is on worulde a, swa leng, swa wacre. men syndon
therefore it is in world ever the longer the weaker men are
swicole, and woruld is þe wyrse, and þæt us dereð eallum;
treacherous and world is the worse and that us harms all
83.12 and huru hit sceal hefegjan heonanforð þearle rihtwisan
and especially it must grow-heavy henceforth severely righteous
þearfan and ðam unbealafullum. nu ða yfelan and ða swicelan
poor and the innocent now the evil and the treacherous
swa oferlice swyðe brædað on worulde ongean þæt mæste
so excessively greatly spread in world toward the greatest
yfel, þe mannum is towerd; ðæt is se þeodfeond Antecrist
evil which to-men is coming that is the arch-fiend Antichrist
sylfa. eala, mycel wæs seo ehtnes, þe cristene þoledon ju
self O great was the persecution which Christians suffered formerly
ær on worlde oft and gelome þurh wælhreowe manswican
before in world often and frequently through cruel traitors
wide and side, and huru hit sceal heonanforð mænigfealdre
wide and far and especially it must henceforth more-manifold
weorðan, nu deofol sylf his mægnes mot wealdan, and deofles
become now devil self his power may wield and of-devil
bearn swa swiðlice motan cristene bregean. and oft ær wæs
children so greatly may Christians terrify and often before was
mænigfeald ehtnes, næfre þeah þam gelic, þe æfter ðysan gyt
manifold persecution never though to-that like which after this yet
bið. forðam hit wæs oft ær, þæt godes halgan fela wundra
will-be because it was often before that of-god saints many wonders

þurh godes mihta openlice worhtan on gemang þam, þe hy
through of-god powers openly wrought in amid that that they
ehtnesse þoledon, and ðurh þæt mænigne man gebettan. ac
persecution suffered and through that many man bettered but
hit ne bið na swa on Antecristes timan; ne magan þonne
it not will-be — so in of-Antichrist time nor can then
halige men on þam timan ænige tacna openlice wyrcan,
holy men in the time any signs openly work
ac sculan þoljan eal, þæt heom man to deð. ne god þonne
but must suffer all that them one to does nor god then
ane hwile his mihta ne his wundra sylf nele cyðan, swa
one while his powers nor his wonders self will make-known as
he oft ær dyde, ac læt þone deofol Antecrist rabbjan and
he often before did but lets the devil Antichrist rage and
wedan sume hwile and þa, ðe him fylstað. he bið mennisc
rave some while and those who him help he will-be human
man geboren, ac he bið þeah mid deofles gaste eal afylled;
man born but he will-be though with of-devil spirit all filled
and se gesewenlica feond wyrcð þurh deofles cræft fela 84.13
and the visible fiend works through of-devil craft many
wunderlicra tacna and ðurh drycræft mænigfealde gedwimera;
wonderful signs and through sorcery manifold illusions
and feorðehealf gear he ricsað ofer mancynn and mid
and three-and-a-half years he reigns over mankind and with
his scincræftum mæst manna beswicð, þe æfre ær ðurh
his magic-arts most of-men deceives who ever before through
ænig ðing beswicen wurde. and þa, ðe he elles mid his
any thing deceived were and those whom he else with his
lotwrencum bepæcan ne mæg, þa he wile þreatjan and
tricks deceive not can them he will threaten and
ægeslice wyldan and earmlice pinjan on mænigfealde wisan
terribly subdue and wretchedly torture in manifold ways

and neadunga nydan, þæt hy gebugan to his unlaran. he
and forcibly compel that they bow to his evil-teachings he
aginð leogan deoflice swyðe and ætsæcð Cristes and cweð,
begins lie devilishly greatly and denies Christ and says
þæt he sylf sy godes agen bearn, and gebringð on gedwylde
that he self be of-god own child and brings into error
ealles to manege, and god him geðafað þæt for manna
all too many and god him allows that for of-men
gewyrhtum, þæt he sume hwile mot swa wodlice derjan,
deeds that he some while may so madly harm
forðam þe men beoð þurh synna swa swyðe forwyrhte,
because that men are through sins so greatly guilty
þæt deofol mot openlice þonne heora fandjan, hu fela he
that devil may openly then them test how many he
forspanan mæge to ecan forwyrde. and þa ðe swa gesælige
entice can to eternal perdition and those who so blessed
þonne weorþað, þæt hi godes lage healdað on ân swyðe
then become that they of-god law hold on end very
georne and on rihtan geleafan anrædlice þurhwunjan willað,
eagerly and in right faith steadfastly continue will
þa sculon þoljan ehtnesse þa mæstan, þe æfre ær on
they must suffer persecution the greatest which ever before in
worulde ænige men þoledon, and eac mycle maran, þonne æfre
world any men suffered and also much greater than ever
ær ahwar gewurdan oððon æfter þam æfre eft weorðan.
before anywhere happened or after that ever again happen
85.13 ac se bið gesælig, þe þonne ne awâcað, forðam raðe æfter þam
but he is blessed who then not weakens because soon after that
witod him bið towerd þurh godes mihte ece frofer. la, hwylc
certainly to-him is coming through of-god might eternal comfort o what
wunder bið, þeah se mennisca deofol synfullum mote heardlice
wonder is though the human devil sinful may harshly

derjan, þonne god geþafað, þæt he mot on his agenum
harm when god allows that he may on his own
halgum swylc wundor gewyrcan, þæt Enôh and Elîas þurh
saints such wonder work that Enoch and Elijah through
þone þêodfeond gemartrode weorðaþ, þe god sylfa fela hund
the arch-fiend martyred become whom god self many hundred
wintra mid saule and lichaman geheold âr to þam ânan, þæt
winters with soul and body kept before for that one that
hi þonne scoldan mid heora lare folce gebeorgan, þæt hit eal
they then should with their teaching people protect that it all
ne forwurde endemes ætgædere þurh þone deofol, þe ealle men
not perish entirely together through the devil who all men
bregeð and ealle woruld drefeð? nis se man on life, þe mæge
terrifies and all world troubles not-is the man in life who can
oððe cunne swa yfel hit asecgan, swa hit sceal geweorðan on
or know so evil it tell as it must happen in
þam deoflican timan. ne byrhð þonne broðor oðrum hwilan ne
the devilish time not spares then brother other at-times nor
fæder his bearne ne bearn his agenum fæder ne gesibb gesibban
father his child nor child his own father nor kinsman kinsman
þe ma, þe fremdan. and þeodscypas winnað and sacað heom
the more than stranger and nations fight and strive them
betweonan foran to þam timan, þe þis sceal geweorþan. eac
between before to the time that this must happen also
sceal aspringan wide and side sacu and clacu, hol and hete
must spring-up wide and far strife and injury slander and hate
and rypera reaflac, here and hunger, bryne and blodgyte
and of-plunderers robbery army and hunger burning and bloodshed
and styrnlice styrunga, stric and steorfa and fela ungelimpa.
and stern commotions plague and pestilence and many misfortunes

86.12 and mænigfealde tacna beoð wide gesawene on sunnan and
and manifold signs are widely seen in sun and
on monan and on mistlican tunglan; and fela cynna egesan
in moon and in various stars and of-many kinds terrors
geweorþað on eorðan folce to heortgryre and to egeslican
happen on earth to-people for heart-terror and for terrible
fǽre on mænigfealde wisan; and eal hit forwurde, gyf god ne
fear in manifold ways and all it would-perish if god not
gescyrte þæs þeodscaðan lifdagas þe raþor ðurh his mihta. ac
shortened of-the public-enemy life-days the sooner through his powers but
for þæra gebeorge, þe him syn gecorene, and ðe he habban
for of-those protection who to-him are chosen and whom he have
wyle gehealden and geholpen, he fordeð þæne þeodfeond and
will kept and helped he destroys the arch-fiend and
on helle grund þananforð besenceð mid eallum þam gegenge,
into of-hell bottom thenceforth sinks with all the troop
þe him ær fyligde and his unlarum to swyðe gelyfde. ðonne
which him before followed and his evil-teachings too greatly believed then
wurð godes dom rihtlice toscaden; and ða þonne witodlice,
will-be of-god judgment rightly divided and those then certainly
þe nu god lufjað and godes lagum fyligeað and godes lare
who now god love and of-god laws follow and of-god teaching
geornlice hlystað and hy wel healdað and anrædlice þurhwunjað
eagerly listen and it well keep and steadfastly continue
on rihtan geleafan forð oð heora ende, þa scylan habban ece
in right faith forth until their end they must have eternal
edlean on heofonlicre myrhðe mid gode sylfum æfter þam
reward in heavenly joy with god self after the
dome and mid his halgum þananforð æfre, ðær is ece blis
judgment and with his saints thenceforth ever there is eternal bliss
and æfre bið in ealra worulda woruld a butan ende, amen.
and ever will-be in of-all worlds world ever without end amen

Lectio sancti euangelii secundum Matheum

XIV · THE READING OF THE HOLY GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW

Matthew's account of Christ foretelling the temple's destruction is given in Latin and then told in English: false Christs will come, nation will rise against nation, and earthquakes and troubles will be the beginning of sorrows, with persecution under Antichrist. The gospel will be preached through the whole world before the end, whose day no man or angel knows. So men must watch, for at the judgment Christ will show his wounds and his cross and will know how they repaid him and kept their Christianity.

Egressus Iesus de templo ibat; et accesserunt discipuli 87.10
Having-gone-out Jesus from temple went and approached disciples
eius, ut ostenderent ei ædificationem templi. ipse autem
his that they-might-show to-him building of-temple he however
respondens dixit eis: amen, dico uobis, non relinquetur hic
answering said to-them truly I-say to-you not will-be-left here
lapis super lapidem, qui non destruatur. sedente autem eo
stone upon stone which not be-destroyed sitting however him
super montem Oliueti accesserunt ad eum discipuli secreto,
upon mount of-Olives approached to him disciples secretly
dicentes: dic nobis, quando hec erunt, et quod signum
saying tell us when these will-be and what sign
aduentus tui et consummationis seculi? et respondens Iesus
of-coming thy and of-consummation of-age and answering Jesus
dixit eis: uidete, ne quis uos seducat. multi enim uenient in
said to-them see lest anyone you seduce many for will-come in
nomine meo dicentes: ego sum Cristus; et multos seducent.
name my saying I am Christ and many will-seduce
audituri autem estis prelia et oppiniones preliorum. uidete,
about-to-hear however ye-are battles and rumors of-battles see
ne turbemini; oportet enim hec fieri, sed nondum est finis.
lest ye-be-troubled behooves for these to-be but not-yet is end

consurget enim gens in gentem et regnum in regnum,
will-rise for nation against nation and kingdom against kingdom
et erunt pestilentie et fames et terre motus per loca.
and will-be pestilences and famines and of-earth quakes through places
hec autem omnia initia sunt dolorum. tunc tradent uos
these however all beginnings are of-sorrows then will-deliver you
in tribulationem et occident uos, et eritis odio omnibus
into tribulation and will-kill you and ye-will-be in-hatred to-all
gentibus propter nomen meum. et tunc scandalizabuntur
nations for name my and then will-be-offended
multi et inuicem tradent et odio habebunt inuicem. et
many and each-other will-betray and in-hatred will-have each-other and
multi pseudoprophete surgent et seducent multos. et, quoniam
many false-prophets will-rise and will-seduce many and because
habundabit iniquitas, refrigescet caritas multorum; qui autem
will-abound iniquity will-grow-cold love of-many who however
permanserit usque in finem, hîc saluus erit. et predicabitur hôc
shall-persevere even to end he saved will-be and will-be-preached this
euangelium in uniuerso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus;
gospel in whole world for testimony to-all nations
et tunc ueniet consummatio. uerumptamen diem illam et
and then will-come consummation nevertheless day that and
horam nemo scit, neque angeli celorum, nisi pater. quapropter
hour no-one knows nor angels of-heavens except father wherefore
uigilate, quia nescitis, qua hora dominus uester uenturus sit.
watch because ye-know-not which hour lord your about-to-come be

88.15 Leofan men, hit gewearð hwilum on ðære byrig, þe is
Dear men it happened once in the city which is
genamod Hierusalem, þæt ures drihtnes þegnas agunnon
named Jerusalem that of-our lord thanes began
specan wið hine ymbe þæt mære tempelgeweorc, þe þær
speak with him about the famous temple-work which there

geworht wæs gode to wyrðmynte. ða sæde he heom, þæt his
wrought was to-god for honor then said he to-them that of-it
sceolde weorðan æghwylc stan on uferan dagum grundlinga
should become each stone in later days to-the-ground
toworpen; and ða agunnan hi hine eft acsjan dihlice,
cast-down and then began they him again ask secretly
hwænne þæt geweorðan sceolde, and eac be hwylcum tacne
when that happen should and also by what sign
man agytan mihte, hwænne eft his sylfes tocyme towerd
one perceive could when again of-his self coming impending
wurde, and hwænne þisse worulde geendung weorðan scolde.
were and when of-this world ending happen should
ða andwyrde he heom and cwæð, þæt hy ðearfe ahtan, þæt
then answered he them and said that they need had that
hi wære wurdan, þæt hy ænig man to swicollice ne bepæhte
they wary became that them any man too treacherously not deceived
mid leaslicre lare and mid egeslican gylpe; forðam, he
with false teaching and with terrible boast because he
cwæð, þæt mænig wyrð, þe gyt cimeð on uferan tidan and
said that many will-be who yet come in later times and
leaslice leogeð and egeslice gylpeð, namað hine sylfne and
falsely lies and terribly boasts names him self and
hiwað to gôde, swylce hit Crist sy; ac secge, þæt he secge,
feigns as good as-if it Christ be but let-say what he say
he cwæð, ne gelyfe ge him æfre. and he sæde, þæt mycle
he said not believe ye him ever and he said that great
gewin scoldan geweorðan ær ðam ende wide on worulde;
strife should happen before the end widely in world
and lærde þeah, þæt man to wacmod þonne ne wurde;
and taught though that one too faint-hearted then not became

89.7 and cwæð, þæt se ende þonne gyt nære eallunga gehende.
and said that the end then yet not-were wholly near
he sæde eac, þæt þeoda hetelice sceoldan winnan heom
he said also that nations hatefully should fight them
betweonan, and fela eorðstyrunga and earfoðnessa geweorðan
between and many earthquakes and hardships happen
on worulde ær worulde ende. and þæt beoð þa angin,
in world before of-world end and that are the beginnings
he cwæð, þara sarnessa, þe mannum beoð towerd. ðæt bið
he said of-the sorrows which to-men are coming that is
witodlice, þæt he mænde, we witan ful georne, þa sorga and
certainly what he meant we know full well the sorrows and
ða sarnessa, þe on woruld becumað, foran to þam timan,
the pains which on world come before to the time
þe Antecrist wedeð and ealle woruld bregeþ. forðam þonne
that Antichrist rages and all world terrifies because then
wyrð ehtnes grimlic and sorhlic cristenes folces, and æghwar
will-be persecution grim and sorrowful of-Christian people and everywhere
beoð laðe and to andsæte þa, ðe god lufjað. and swicjende
are hateful and to hateful those who god love and deceiving
licceteras þonne arisað and brædað to swyðe and ðurh
hypocrites then arise and spread too greatly and through
unlare forlærað to manege. ac wel þam syððan æfre to
evil-teaching mislead too many but well for-those afterward ever to
worulde, þe þonne ne awâcað on ænige wisan. and an þing ic
world who then not weaken in any way and one thing I
eow secge gyt to gewisse, þæt witod sceal geweorðan godspel
to-you say yet for certain that certainly must be gospel
gecyþed geond ealle woruld ær worulde ende, þæs þe
made-known throughout all world before of-world end of-that which
bec secgað, and syððan wyrð se ende swa raðe, swa þæt god
books say and afterward will-be the end as soon as that god

wile, and swaþeahhwæðere nis se man on eorðan ne se encgel
wills and nevertheless not-is the man on earth nor the angel
on heofonan, þe wite þæne andagan, butan gode sylfum.
in heaven who know the appointed-day except god self
and ðy man sceal wacigean and warnjan symle, þæt man 90.1
and therefore one must watch and beware always that one
geara weorðe huru to ðam dome, weald hwænne he us to
ready be especially for the judgment perhaps when he us to
cyme, we witan mid gewisse, þæt hit þærto nealæcð georne.
come we know with certainty that it thereto approaches eagerly
and on þam dome, þe ealle men to sculan, ure drihten
and at the judgment which all men to must our lord
sylf eowað us sona his blodigan sidan and his þyrlan
self shows to-us at-once his bloody side and his pierced
handa and ða sylfan rode, þe he for ure neode on ahangen
hands and the same rood which he for our need on hanged
wæs, and wile þonne anrædlice witan, hu we him þæt
was and will then steadfastly know how we him that
geleanedan, and hu we urne cristendom gehealden habban.
repaid and how we our Christendom kept have
leofan men, utan beon þe wærran and don, swa us þearf
dear men let-us be the warier and do as to-us need
is, lufjan god ofer ealle oðre þing and his willan wyrcan,
is love god over all other things and his will work
swa we geornost magan, þonne geleanað he hit us, swa us
as we most-eagerly can then repays he it to-us as to-us
leofast bið. him sy lof and wuldor ââ butan ende, amen.
dearest is to-him let-be praise and glory ever without end amen

Secundum Lucam

XV · ACCORDING TO LUKE

Signs in the sun, the moon, and the stars foretell the judgment: as the Flood came for sins, so will fire. Nations rise against nations, and heaven and earth fight against us with storms and failed harvests, because we keep neither God's law nor our tithes and alms. The darkened sun means that God will hide his power in Antichrist's time, the moon that the saints will work no miracles, and the falling stars that hypocrites will fall from the faith. Then come the greatest persecution, the resurrection, and the judgment, where Christ repays each man's deeds.

90.16 Erunt signa in sole et luna et stellis, et reliqua. ðis godspel
Will-be signs in sun and moon and stars and the-rest this gospel
segð and swutelað, þæt fela fortacna sculon geweorðan wide on
says and reveals that many portents must happen widely in
worulde ægðer ge on heofonlicum tunglum ge on eorðlicum
world each both in heavenly stars and in earthly
styrungum, ær ðam þe se dom cume, þe us eallum
commotions before that that the judgment come which to-us all
wyrð gemæne. and witodlice, ealswa flod com hwilum ær for
will-be common and certainly just-as flood came once before for
synnum, swa cymð eac for synnum fŷr ofer mancynn, and
sins so comes also for sins fire over mankind and
ðærto hit nealæcð nu swyðe georne. and ðy is fela yfela
thereto it approaches now very eagerly and therefore is many evils
and mistlicra gelimpa wide mid mannum. and eal hit is for
and various misfortunes widely among men and all it is for
synnum and gyt weorþeð mare, þæs ðe bec secgað, wracu
sins and yet will-be more of-that which books say punishment
and gedrecednes, þonne æfre ær wære ahwar on worulde; þæt
and affliction than ever before were anywhere in world that
bið, þonne Antecrist wedeð and ealle woruld bregeð, and ðærto
will-be when Antichrist rages and all world terrifies and thereto

hit nealæcð nu swyðe georne. and ðy hit is on worulde a,
it approaches now very eagerly and therefore it is in world ever
swa leng, swa wyrse, þæs þe we sylfe gecnawað ful georne;
the longer the worse of-that which we selves perceive full well
and eac is on us sylfum swytol and gesyne, þæt we to wace
and also is in us selves clear and visible that we too weakly
hyrað urum drihtne, and þæt we to ortreowe syndan godes
obey our lord and that we too distrustful are of-god
mihta and his mildheortnesse, and þæt we him oftor swyðor
powers and his mercy and that we him oftener more
abelgað, þonne we beþorftan, and eac betweonan us silfum
anger than we needed and also between us selves
rihte getrywða healdað to wace for gode and for worulde.
right loyalties hold too weakly before god and before world
and ðy us derjað and ðearle dyrfað fela ungelimpa, and 91.17
and therefore us harm and severely afflict many misfortunes and
ælþeodige men and utancumene swyðe us swencað, ealswa
foreign men and outlanders greatly us afflict just-as
Crist on his godspelle swutollice sæde, þæt scolde geweorðan.
Christ in his gospel clearly said that should happen
he cwæð: surget gens contra gentem, et reliqua. upp ræsað
he said will-rise nation against nation and the-rest up rush
þeoda, he cwæð, and wiðerræde weorþað and hetelice winnað
nations he said and hostile become and hatefully fight
and sacað heom betweonan for ðam unrihte, þe to wide
and strive them between for the wrong which too widely
wyrð mid mannum on eorðan. leofan men, clæne wæs
becomes among men on earth dear men clean was
þeos eorðe on hyre frumsceafte, ac we hi habbað syððan
this earth in its creation but we it have afterward
afylede swyðe and mid urum synnum þearle besmitene. and
defiled greatly and with our sins severely polluted and

ure misdæda eac wregeað us gelome, forðam þe we nellað
our misdeeds also accuse us often because that we will-not
godes lage healdan, swa swa we scoldan, ne gode gelæstan
of-god law hold so as we should nor to-god render
þæt, þæt we scoldan, ne we teoðunga syllað, swa swa us
that which we should nor we tithes give so as to-us
gebyrede, ne we ælmessan dælað, swa swa we beðorftan, ac
befitted nor we alms deal so as we needed but
on æghwylce wisan wanjað to swiðe eal, þæt we sceoldan on
in every way diminish too greatly all that we should in
godes est gelæstan. and forðy us eac swencað and ongean
of-god favor render and therefore us also afflict and against
winnað manege gesceafta, ealswa hit awriten is: pugnabit
fight many creatures just-as it written is will-fight
pro deo orbis terrarum contra insensatos homines. ðæt is
for god circle of-lands against senseless men that is
on englisc: eal woruld winneð swyðe for synnum ongean þa
in English all world fights greatly for sins against the
oferhogan, þe gode nellað hyran. seo heofone us winð wið,
despisers who god will-not obey the heaven us fights against
þonne heo us sendeð styrnlice stormas and orf and æceras
when it to-us sends stern storms and cattle and fields
swyðe amyrreð. seo eorðe us winð wið, þonne heo forwyrneð
greatly mars the earth us fights against when it refuses
eorðlices wæstmes and us unweoda to fela asendeð. eac
earthly fruit and to-us weeds too many sends also
hit awriten is, ðæt sunne aþystrað ær worulde ende and
it written is that sun darkens before of-world end and
mona adeorcað and steorran hreosað for manna synnum;
moon grows-dark and stars fall for of-men sins

and ðæt bið, þonne Antecrist wedeð, þæt hit bið gelic þam, 92.22
and that will-be when Antichrist rages that it is like to-that
swylce hit swa sy. hit is gecweden, þæt sunne aðystrað: þæt
as-if it so be it is said that sun darkens that
is, þonne god nele cyðan on Antecristes timan his mægen
is when god will-not make-known in of-Antichrist time his strength
ne his mihta, swa swa he oft ær dyde, ðonne bið gelic þam,
nor his powers so as he often before did then is like to-that
swylce sunne sy aþystrad. and mona, hit cweð, adeorcað: ðæt
as-if sun be darkened and moon it says grows-dark that
is, þæt godes halgan ænige tacna þonne ne wyrcað, swa swa
is that of-god saints any signs then not work so as
hy oft ær dydan. and steorran, hit cweð, hreosað ufene of
they often before did and stars it says fall from-above from
heofonum: ðæt is, þæt licceteras and leaslice cristene hrædlice
heavens that is that hypocrites and falsely Christian quickly
hreosað of rihtan geleafan and to Antecriste geornlice bugað
fall from right faith and to Antichrist eagerly bow
and weorþað his gefylstan eallum heora mihtum. and ðonne
and become his helpers with-all their powers and then
geweorþeð egsa se mæsta, þe æfre ær wære, and ehtnes seo
happens terror the greatest which ever before were and persecution the
mæste wide on worulde. ne byrhð se gesibba þam gesibban þe
greatest widely in world not spares the kinsman the kinsman the
ma, þe þam fremdan. and be ðam egeslican timan Matheus
more than the stranger and about the terrible time Matthew
se godspellere soðlice þus cwæð: in diebus illis erit tribulatio
the evangelist truly thus said in days those will-be tribulation
talis, qualis non fuit ab initio mundi nec postea erit. ðæt
such as not was from beginning of-world nor afterward will-be that

is on englisc, þæt swylc yrmð and earfoðnes bið þonne
is in English that such misery and hardship will-be then
on worulde, swylce æfre ær næs ne eft ne geweorþeð.
in world as ever before not-was nor again — will-happen
93.19 and rađe æfter þam syððan astyred wyrð þurh godcunde mihte
and soon after that afterward stirred will-be through divine might
eal heofonlic mægen and eorðwaru aræred of deaðe to dome.
all heavenly host and earth-folk raised from death to judgment
ðonne mæg gecnawan se, þe ær nolde soðes gelyfan, þæt
then can perceive he who before would-not truth believe that
Crist þurh his mægenþrym þonne geleanað manna gehwylcum
Christ through his majesty then repays of-men each
ærran gewyrhta. wa þam þonne, þe ær geearnode helle wite.
former deeds woe to-him then who before earned of-hell torment
ðær is êce bryne grimme gemencged, and ðær is êce gryre,
there is eternal burning grimly mingled and there is eternal terror
þær is wanung and granung and ãã singal heof, þær is ealra
there is wailing and groaning and ever continual lament there is of-all
yrmða gehwylc and ealra deofla geþring. wa þam, þe þær sceal
miseries each and of-all devils throng woe to-him who there must
wunjan on wite; betere him wære, þæt he man nære æfre
dwell in torment better for-him were that he man not-were ever
geworden, þonne he gewurde. forðam nis se man on life, þe
become than he became because not-is the man in life who
areccan mæge ealle þa yrmða, þe se gebidan sceal, se ðe on
relate can all the miseries which he endure must he who into
þa wita ealles behreoseð; and hit is ealles þe wyrse, þe his
the torments altogether falls and it is all the worse that of-it
ænig ende ne cymð æfre to worulde. eala, leofan men, utan
any end not comes ever to world O dear men let-us
don, swa us þearf is, beorgan us georne wið þæne egesan
do as to-us need is guard us eagerly against the terror

and helpan ure sylfra þa hwile, þe we magan and motan,
and help our selves the while that we can and may
þe læs we forweorðan, þonne we læst wenan. ac utan lufjan
the less we perish when we least expect but let-us love
god ofer ealle oðre þing and his wyllan wyrcan, swa we
god over all other things and his will work as we
geornost magan, þonne geleanað he hit us, swa us leofast
most-eagerly can then repays he it to-us as to-us dearest
bið, þonne we æfre þæs betst beþurfan. him symle sy lof
is when we ever that best need to-him ever let-be praise
and wuldor in ealra worulda woruld, a butan ende, amen.
and glory in of-all worlds world ever without end amen

De temporibus Anticristi

XVI · ON THE TIMES OF ANTICHRIST

Antichrist will be both devil and man, as Christ is God and man, and God permits his reign because sinners deserve the trial and the faithful are cleansed by martyrdom before the judgment. He will sicken men secretly and heal them openly, and bring fire down as if from heaven, as once on Job's possessions. As a warning, the sermon tells how Simon Magus deceived Rome and the emperor with sorcery until Peter commanded the devils bearing him through the air to let him go, and he fell and burst.

94.20 Leofan men, us is mycel þearf, þæt we wære beon
Dear men to-us is great need that we wary be
þæs egeslican timan, þe towerd is. nu bið swyðe raðe
of-the terrible time which coming is now will-be very soon
Antecristes tima, þæs ðe we wenan magan and eac georne
of-Antichrist time of-that which we expect can and also eagerly
witan, and þæt bið se egeslicesta, þe æfre gewearð, syððan
know and that will-be the most-terrible which ever happened since
þeos woruld ærost gescapen wæs. he byð sylf deofol and
this world first created was he will-be self devil and
ðeah mennisc man geboren. Crist is soð god and soð mann,
though human man born Christ is true god and true man
and Antecrist bið soðlice deofol and mann. ðurh Crist com
and Antichrist will-be truly devil and man through Christ came
eallum middanearde help and frofer, and ðurh Antecrist cymð
to-all middle-earth help and comfort and through Antichrist comes
se mæsta gryre and seo mæste earfoðnes, þe æfre ær on
the greatest terror and the greatest hardship which ever before in
worulde geworden wearð; and eall mancynn forwurde forðrihte,
world become was and all mankind would-perish straightway
gif god his dagas ne gescyrte. ac god gescyrt his dagas for
if god his days not shortened but god shortens his days for

ðæra þingan, þe him gecorene syn and he gehealden habban
of-those sake who to-him chosen are and he kept have
wile. and ðeah on þam fæce, þe he bið, he gedeð swa mycel
will and though in the time that he is he does so much
to yfele, swa næfre ær ne gewearð. ælcne mann he wile
of evil as never before — happened each man he will
awendan of rihtan geleafan and of cristendome and bespanan
turn from right faith and from Christendom and entice
to his unlarum, gif he mæg; and god hit geþafað him sume
to his evil-teachings if he can and god it allows to-him some
hwile for twam þingum: an is ærest, þæt men beoð þurh
while for two things one is first that men are through
synna swa forð forworhte, þæt hi beoð þæs wel wyrðe, þæt
sins so far guilty that they are of-that well worthy that
deofol openlice þænne fandige, hwa him fullfyligean wille.
devil openly then test who him fully-follow will
oðer is, þæt god wile, þæt ða, þe swa gesælige beoð, þæt
other is that god wills that those who so blessed are that
hi on rihtan geleafan ðurhwunjað and ðam deofle anrædlice
they in right faith continue and the devil steadfastly
wiðstandað, he wile, þæt þa beon raðe amerede and
withstand he wills that they be quickly refined and
geclænsode of synnum þurh ða myclan ehtnesse and ðurh
cleansed from sins through the great persecution and through
þæne martirdom, ðe hy þonne þoljað. forðam nis nan
the martyrdom which they then suffer because not-is any
man, þæt ne sy synful, and ælc man sceal sâr ðoljan oðþon
man that not be sinful and each man must pain suffer either
her oðþon elleshwær be ðam, þe he þurh synna geearnað;
here or elsewhere by that which he through sins earns

96.4 and ðy bið seo ehtnes þonne godum mannum swa stið,
and therefore will-be the persecution then for-good men so hard
forðam þe hy sculon beon raðe geclænsode and amerode, ær
because that they must be quickly cleansed and refined before
se mycla dom cume. ða ðe wæron forðferede for hund
the great judgment come those who were departed before hundred
gearum oððon gyt firnor, wel þa magan beon nu geclænsode;
years or yet further well they may be now cleansed
we motan nyde þæt stiðre þoljan, gyf we clæne beon
we must of-necessity the harder suffer if we clean be
sceolan, þonne se dôm cymð, nu we þæne fyrst nabbað,
must when the judgment comes now we the time have-not
þe þa hæfdon, þe wiðforan us wæron. beþence gehwa
which they had who before us were let-consider each
hine sylfne be ðam, þe he wille, ne cymð ure æfre ænig
him self by that which he will not comes of-us ever any
to godes rice, ær we beon æfre ælcere synne swa clæne
to of-god kingdom before we be ever of-each sin so clean
amerede, swa æfre ænig gold mæg clænost amerod weorðan.
refined as ever any gold can cleanest refined become
leofan men, god geþafað þam deofle Antecriste, þæt he mot
dear men god allows the devil Antichrist that he may
ehtan godra manna, forðam þe hi sculon, swa ic ær cwæð,
persecute good men because that they must as I before said
ðurh ða ehtnesse beon geclænsode and syððan clæne faran
through the persecution be cleansed and afterward clean go
to heofona rice. þa þonne, þe his leasungum gelyfað and
to of-heavens kingdom those then who his lies believe and
him to gebugað, þam he byrhð her for worulde, and ða he
him to bow them he spares here before world and them he
weorþað her; ac hy sculon raþe æfter ðam ecelice forweorðan
honors here but they must soon after that eternally perish

and ⁊⁊ wunjan syððan mid him on þære sweartan helle
and ever dwell afterward with him in of-the black hell
grunde. se gesawenlica deofol wyrcð fela wundra and segð,
bottom the visible devil works many wonders and says
þæt he god sylfa beo, and mid his gedwimerum mæst ælcne
that he god self be and with his illusions almost each
man beswicð, and þa, þe he elles beswican ne mæg, þa he
man deceives and those whom he else deceive not can them he
wyle neadunga genydan, gyf he mæg, þæt hi godes ætsacan
will forcibly compel if he can that they god deny
and him to gebugan. gyf hi ðonne þæt nellað, þonne
and him to bow if they then that will-not then
sculan hi ehtnessa mycle and eac earmlicne deað geðoljan.
must they persecutions great and also wretched death suffer
eala, gesælig bið þeah se, ðe to þam anræde bið, þæt he 97.5
O blessed is though he who to that steadfast is that he
forðam ne awâcað; ac witodlice þæra bið ealles to lyt, þe
therefore not weakens but certainly of-those will-be all too few whom
he ne beswice, oþðon þurh his searucræftas oðþon ðurh þæne
he not deceive either through his cunning-arts or through the
gryre, þe he on mancynn set. ure drihten Crist gehælde
terror which he on mankind sets our lord Christ healed
fela þæra on life, þe unhale wæron, and se deofol Antecrist
many of-those in life who sick were and the devil Antichrist
gebrocað and geuntrumað þa, ðe ær hale wæron; and he
afflicts and sickens those who before whole were and he
nænne gehælan ne mæg, buton he hine ærest awyrde. ac
none heal — can unless he him first injured but
syððan he þæne mann gebrocod hæfð, syðþan he mæg dôn,
after he the man afflicted has then he can do
swylce he hine gehæle, gyf he geswicð þæs, þe he ær þam
as-if he him heal if he ceases of-that which he before to-the

men to yfele dyde. he bið eal unwrenca full; ðonne beswicð he
man for evil did he is all of-tricks full then deceives he
swyðe fela manna þurh þæt, þæt he gebrocað mænigne man
very many men through that that he afflicts many man
dihlice and gehælð eft ætforan mannum, þær hy on locjað,
secretly and heals again before men where they on look
þonne geseoð hy, hwæt he þonne deð, and nytan nâ, hwæt he
then see they what he then does and know-not — what he
âr dyde. ælc yfel he mæg don and ælc he deð; he deð, þæt
before did each evil he can do and each he does he causes that
fŷr cymð ufene, swylce hit of heofonum cume and he mid
fire comes from-above as-if it from heavens come and he with
þam fela forbærnð, ealswa he hwilum ær Iobes æhta dyde.
that many burns just-as he once before of-Job possessions did
97.23 ac se ðe for þæs fyres ege him to gebihð, he sceal ââ on helle
but he who for of-the fire fear him to bows he must ever in hell
on ecan bryne wunjan. ne can ic ne æfre ænig man oðrum
in eternal burning dwell not can I nor ever any man to-other
asecgan fore ealne þone egsan, þe ðurh þæne deofol on
tell beforehand all the terror which through the devil in
worulde geweorðan sceal. þonne age we mycle þearfe, þæt we
world happen must then have we great need that we
god ælmihtigne georne biddan, þæt he us gescylde wið þæne
god almighty eagerly ask that he us shield against the
egesan and us gestrangje, swa his willa sŷ. and mycle ðearfe
terror and us strengthen as his will be and great need
agan þa, þe þæs timan gebidað, þæt hi wære beon, and þæt
have those who the time await that they wary be and that
hi gemyndige beon þæra þinga, þe deofles menn oft ær
they mindful be of-the things which of-devil men often before
þurh drycræft drugan. fela þinga dydan þa geogeleras on
through sorcery practiced many things did the jugglers in

Egypta lande þurh drycræft ongean þæt, ðe Moyses þurh
of-Egyptians land through sorcery against that which Moses through
godes mihta þær fela wundra worhte. and swa we habbað be
of-god powers there many wonders wrought and so we have about
manegum geræd, ðe gehwar þurh drycræft mid deofles fultume
many read who everywhere through sorcery with of-devil help
menn mistlice dweledan. betere eac, þæt we nu sum to bysne
men variously deceived better also that we now one for example
secgan. ân dêofles man wæs hwilan on Rome, Simon hatte,
say one of-devil man was once in Rome Simon was-called
se geswencte swyðe þearle twegen mære godes ðegnas, þæt
who afflicted very severely two famous of-god thanes that
wæs Sanctus Petrus and Sanctus Paulus. hy bodedon on Rome
was Saint Peter and Saint Paul they preached in Rome
cristendôm ærest, ac se deofles man hy gedrehte and þæt folc
Christendom first but the of-devil man them afflicted and the people
gelette wundorlice swyðe. he sæde, þæt hit eal leasung wære,
hindered wonderfully greatly he said that it all lie were
þæt ða godes þegnas bodedon, and he worhte þurh drycræft
what the of-god thanes preached and he wrought through sorcery
fela wundra, ðær men to locedon. he dyde æt sumum sæle,
many wonders where men to looked he caused at a-certain time
þæt an æren nædre hy styrede, eal swylce heo cucu wære;
that a brazen serpent itself stirred all as-if it alive were
and man hæfde geworht þa on ðam dagum on Rome 98.22
and one had made then in those days in Rome
anlicnessa, and þæt hæþene folc þurh deofles lare weorðedon
images and the heathen people through of-devil teaching worshiped
þa heom for godas; þa he gemacode eac þurh drycræft,
them for-themselves as gods those he made also through sorcery
þæt hy agunnon, swylce hy cwice wæron. ðonne dyde Petrus
that they began as-if they alive were then did Peter

þurh godes mihta betere þing, gehælde mistlice gebrocode
through of-god powers better things healed variously afflicted
men, blinde and deafe and dumbe and mistlice gelewede. and
men blind and deaf and dumb and variously maimed and
þa wearð hit cuð æt nyhstan þam casere, þe þa on þam
then became it known at last to-the emperor who then in those
dagum Romware weold, eal hu hy hit macedon, and mon
days Romans ruled all how they it did and one
herede him ðearle swyðe þæne Symon. leton þa gedwealde
praised to-him exceedingly greatly the Simon reckoned the deluded
men, swylce he se Simon godes sylfes sunu wære, and ða
men as-if he the Simon of-god self son were and then
het æt nyhstan se casere feccan þæne Symon to him;
commanded at last the emperor fetch the Simon to him
and þa ða he him tô com and him ætforan stôd, þa
and then when he him to came and him before stood then
ablende he þurh deofles cræft swa þæs caseres eagan and
blinded he through of-devil craft so of-the emperor eyes and
ðæra, þe him mid wæron, þæt heom ðuhte oðre hwile, þa
of-those who him with were that to-them seemed another while when
hy hine beheoldon, þæt he wære, swylce hit cild wære, þæt
they him beheld that he were as-if it child were that
hy on locedon, oðre hwile eft, swylce he medemre ylde man
they on looked another while again as-if he of-middle age man
wære, and oðre hwile, swylce he eald geðungen man wære;
were and another while as-if he old mature man were
99.15 and swa on mænige wisan he hiwode þurh drycræft fela
and so in many ways he feigned through sorcery many
leasbregda. and þa þa se casere eal swylc geseah, þa wende
false-tricks and then when the emperor all such saw then thought
he, þæt hit godes agen bearn wære; and se deofles man
he that it of-god own child were and the of-devil man

gealp, þæt he eac swa wâre, and þæt folc him to swyðe
boasted that he also so were and the people him too greatly
þæs gelyfde. ða wunnan þa gôdan godes þegnas ongean
that believed then strove the good of-god thanes against
þæt swyðe and sædan, þæt he luge, and hy eac þurh godes
that greatly and said that he lied and they also through of-god
mihta mid manegum godum þingum geswutelodon, þæt hy
powers with many good things revealed that they
riht hæfdon, and þæt hit eal leas wæs, þæt se þeodloga sæde.
right had and that it all false was what the arch-liar said
ða æt nyhstan cwæð se Simon, þæt he gecyðan wolde, þæt
then at last said the Simon that he show would that
he god wære, het þa âræran ænne stepel and sæde, þæt
he god were commanded then raise a tower and said that
he þyder upp stigan wolde and englas hine þær underfon
he thither up climb would and angels him there receive
scoldan and to heofonum ferjan. and ðær eall þæt folc on
should and to heavens carry and there all the people on
lôcode, he stah up to ðam stepele and of ðam stepele hôf
looked he climbed up to the tower and from the tower rose
upp on lyfte, swylce he wolde wið þæs heofones weard. ða
up into air as-if he would toward the heaven -ward then
clypode se casere and cwæð, þæt ða swytol wære, þæt hit eal
called the emperor and said that then clear were that it all
soð wæs, þæt he ær sæde, and þæt hit eal leasung wære,
true was what he before said and that it all lie were
þæt Petrus and Paulus þæt folc mid bregdan. ða abêdan hy
what Peter and Paul the people with deceived then obtained they
uneaðe, þæt man geðyldgode sume hwile, oð man wiste,
with-difficulty that one waited some while until one knew
to hwam se ende gehwurfe, and clypedon þa to gode swyðe
to what the end turned and called then to god very

georne. hwæt, þa Sanctus Petrus beseah rađe æfter þam up
eagerly lo then Saint Peter looked soon after that up
to þam lyfte and clypode hludre stefne and ðus cwæð: ic
to the air and called with-loud voice and thus said I
halsige eow, deofles gastas, þe þæne deofles mann gŷnd þa
adjure you of-devil spirits who the of-devil man through the
lyft ferjað and ðurh þæt menn bepæcað, þæt ge þurh godes
air carry and through that men deceive that ye through of-god
ælmihtiges bebod hine nu ða forlætan, þæt he næfre leng
almighty command him now then let-go that he never longer
mid his mâne menn ne beswice. sona swa he hit gecweden
with his crime men — deceive as-soon as he it said
hæfde, þa forleton hy hine, and he hreas nyđer and feoll,
had then let-go they him and he fell down and fell
þæt he eall tobærst. ða wæs swytol godes miht, þeah he
that he all burst then was clear of-god might though he
þæs deofles gedwyld lange ær þafode. eac we habbað on
of-the devil error long before allowed also we have in
bocum geræd, þæt fela oðra deofles manna wide wæran, þe
books read that many other of-devil men widely were who
godes ðegnas oft þurh deofles cræft swyđe geswencton and
of-god thanes often through of-devil craft greatly afflicted and
folc swyđe gedwealdon, ac hit þincđ us to langsum nu to
people greatly deceived but it seems to-us too long now to
gereccanne. ge magan þeah be þissum anum gecnawan, þa he
relate ye can though by this one perceive when he
ðurh deofol swylcne cræft hæfde ongean swylce godes þegnas,
through devil such craft had against such of-god thanes
swylce wæs Sanctus Petrus and Sanctus Paulus, æthweg hit
as was Saint Peter and Saint Paul somewhat it

bið, þonne se deofol cymð, þe ana cann eall þæt yfel and
will-be when the devil comes who alone knows all the evil and
ealle þa drycræftas, þe æfre ænig man æfre geleornode.
all the sorceries which ever any man ever learned
and eall he hit cyð þonne openlice þurh hine sylfne, 101.3
and all he it shows then openly through him self
þæt he oft ær dyde þurh þa ungesæligan, þe his larum
what he often before did through the unhappy who his teachings
fyligdon. se sylfa deofol, þe on helle is, þæt is se, þe
followed the same devil who in hell is that is he who
þonne wyrð on þam earmsceapenan men Antecriste, and
then will-be in the wretched man Antichrist and
bið soðlice ægðer ge deofol ge man, and he eall mancyn
will-be truly each both devil and man and he all mankind
þonne openlice swyðor gedrecð and gedwelað, þonne hit
then openly more afflicts and deceives than it
æfre ær wurde. we agan þy swyðe mycle þearfe, þæt we
ever before were we have therefore very great need that we
wið swylcne ege wære beon and eac þa warnjan, þe swylc
against such terror wary be and also those warn who such
nyton, swylc towerd is, forðam þe hit is nyr þam timan,
know-not as coming is because that it is nearer the time
þonne ungelærede men gelyfan willan. eac ic secge to soðe,
than unlearned men believe will also I say for true
þæt deofol wyle ælces mannes geðanc, gyf he mæg, swyðe
that devil will of-each man thought if he can greatly
gelettan, þæt he hit na ne understande, þeah hit him man
hinder that he it not — understand though it to-him one
secge, ne hine wið þæt ne warnige and ðurh þæt wyrð
say nor him against that — warn and through that will-be
mæst manna beswicen, þe hy ne beoð swa wære ne swa wel
most of-men deceived that they not are so wary nor so well

gewarnode ær, swa hy beðorfton. la, hwæt is se man on
warned before as they needed o what is the man in
lîfe, buton hine god ælmihtig gehealde, and he ær gewarnod
life unless him god almighty keep and he before warned
þe bet sy, þæt he þonne ðurh deofol beswicen ne wyrðe.
the better be that he then through devil deceived not become
101.21 ac utan warnjan us georne and geearnjan to gode, þæt he
but let-us guard us eagerly and earn from god that he
us gescylde, swa his willa sy. uton habban anrædne geleafan
us shield as his will be let-us have steadfast faith
and fæstræde geþanc to urum drihtne; þonne, þeah hit
and firm thought toward our lord then though it
gebyrige, þæt we þære yrmðe gebidan sculon and on þisum
befall that we the misery endure must and in this
lîfe earfoða adreogan, þeah, gif we ne awacjað, ac þurhwunjað
life hardships endure yet if we not weaken but continue
on rihtan geleafan and ælcne hæðenscipe oferhogjað, god us
in right faith and each heathenship despise god for-us
forsceawað ece reste. on godes naman ic bidde, þæt cristenra
provides eternal rest in of-god name I pray that of-Christian
manna gehwylc hine sylfne georne beþence and geornlice to
men each him self eagerly consider and eagerly to
gode gebuge and fram ælcum hæþenscipe and synnum gecyrre
god bow and from each heathenship and sins turn
and geearnige, þæt he gemanan habban mote on heofona
and earn that he fellowship have may in of-heavens
rice mid þam, þe leofað and rixað a butan ende, amen.
kingdom with him who lives and reigns ever without end amen

Sermo in xl

XVII · A SERMON FOR LENT

Lent is the tithe of the year, appointed for penance. Each Christian must fast until noon, go to church and hear mass daily, give alms before eating, avoid drunkenness, and confess. Open and grievous sinners are put out of the church on Ash Wednesday, as Adam was cut off from the angels' fellowship, and those who have done penance return on the Thursday before Easter, when the bishops read the absolution over them; the custom is not kept here as it should be.

Leofan men, us is swyðe mycel þearf on ælcne timan, þæt 102.10
Dear men to-us is very great need at every time that
we gemyndige beon þæra þinga, þe us for gode to ðearfe
we mindful be of-the things which to-us before god for benefit
magan. ðonne is lenctentid eallum cristenum mannum huru
can then is Lent-time to-all Christian men especially
nedbehefe rihtlice to gehealdenne, forðam nis ænig man on
necessary rightly to keep because not-is any man in
life swa wær, þæt he ofer ealne geares fæc him swa wel wið
life so wary that he over all of-year space himself so well against
deofol gescyldan mæge, swa swa he beðorfte. ðonne is lencten
devil shield can so as he needed then is Lent
us eallum to dædbote gescyft, þæt we geornlice on þam
for-us all for penance appointed that we eagerly in the
fæce þa þing wið god ælmihtigne gebetan, þe we to unrihte
time the things with god almighty amend which we for wrong
oðrum tidum gedoð þurh deofles lare. us gebyreð, þæt
at-other times do through of-devil teaching to-us befits that
we ælces þinges ure teoðunge rihtlice gode betæcan. ðonne
we of-each thing our tithe rightly to-god deliver then
syndan þas dagas getealde for teoðingdagas innan geares
are these days counted as tithing-days within of-year

fæce, and we sculan eac þa teoþunge wyrðlice gode gelæstan,
space and we must also the tithe worthily to-god render
et reliqua. dô þonne cristenra manna gehwylc, ealswa hit
and the-rest let-do then of-Christian men each just-as it
þearf is, healde his fæsten swyðe rihtlice, þæt is, þæt æfre
need is let-keep his fast very rightly that is that ever
ænig cristen man ænige dæge ær nontide naðor ne abyrige
any Christian man on-any day before noon-time neither — taste
ne ætes ne wætes, buton hit for unhæle sy. ac sece gehwa
— food nor drink unless it for sickness be but let-seek each
his cyrican georne mid clænan geðance and dæghwamlice
his church eagerly with clean thought and daily
mæssan gestande and hine to his drihtne georne gebidde.
mass let-attend and himself to his lord eagerly let-pray
103.4 and manna gehwylc on godes est his ælmessan bliðelice
and of-men each in of-god favor his alms gladly
sylle be þam, þe hine onhagje, ær he sylf on dæg metes
let-give by that which him suits before he self on day food
onbite, and ðonne hit tima sy, bruce his goda, swa swa hine
taste and when it time be let-enjoy his goods so as him
wisige se, ðe his scrift sy. and beorge huru manna gehwylc
guide he who his confessor be and let-guard especially of-men each
wið oferdruncen him georne, forðam Crist hit forbead sylf
against drunkenness himself eagerly because Christ it forbade self
on his godspelle; and witodlice, þeah hwa on dæg gefæste ful
in his gospel and certainly though one on day fast full
lange, gyf he syððan hine sylfne gedweleð mid gedrynce and
long if he afterward him self leads-astray with drinking and
mid oferfylle ealles to swyðe, eal him bið þæt fæsten idel
with gluttony all too greatly all to-him is the fast vain
geworden. ac þas tide man sceal mid mycelre forhæfednesse
become but this time one must with great abstinence

healdan, and sceal manna gehwylc hine sylfne georne beðencan
hold and must of-men each him self eagerly consider
and don, swa him þearf is, andettan þa misdæda, þe he
and do as to-him need is confess the misdeeds which he
mid him sylfum wat, and georne betan. hit is nu swyðe
with him self knows and eagerly amend it is now very
gedafenlic tima, þæt we us sylfe georne clænsjan and ðurh
fitting time that we us selves eagerly cleanse and through
soðe andetnesse ure synna us fram aspywan, forðam þurh
true confession our sins us from spew-out because through
þæt we magan mycle þe yð raðe gehælede weorðan, et
that we can much the more-easily quickly healed become and
reliqua. and se ðe openlice befeallen sy þurh deofles scyfe
the-rest and he who openly fallen be through of-devil impulse
on healice misdæde, he eac þæt georne openlice bete.
into grave misdeed he also that eagerly openly let-amend
and sume men syndon eac, þe nyde sculan of cyricgemanan 103.22
and some men are also who of-necessity must from church-fellowship
þas halgan tid ascadene mid rihte weorðan for healican
this holy time separated with right become for grave
synnan, ealswa Adam wearð of engla gemanan, þa ða he
sins just-as Adam was from of-angels fellowship then when he
forworhte þa myclan myrhðe, þe he on wunode, ær ðam
forfeited the great joy which he in dwelt before that
þe he syngode. ne beo þeah æni man ealles to ormod for his
that he sinned not let-be though any man all too despairing for his
misdædan; se is swyðe milde, þe mancyn geworhte and æfter
misdeeds he is very mild who mankind wrought and after
ðam eft gebohte deorweorðum ceape; and he wile miltsjan
that again bought with-precious price and he will have-mercy

and mycle forgyfnesse don forsyngedan mannum, wið þam
and great forgiveness do to-sinful men provided that
þe hi geswican and geornlice betan geomerjendum mode.
that they cease and eagerly amend with-lamenting mind
104.1 Leofan men, Adam wearð of myclum myrhðum, swa we ær
Dear men Adam was from great joys as we before
cwedon, bescofen to hefigum geswincum; and swa sceal eac
said thrust to heavy toils and so must also
of cyrican myrhðe for myclum gewyrhtum se man gebugan
from of-church joy for great deeds the man turn
sume hwile, þe healice agylte on openlicre synne, oð þæt he
some while who gravely sinned in open sin until that he
gebete mid myclum geswince, swa swa him tæce se, ðe him
amend with great toil so as him teach he who him
ræde his godcundan þearfe; and æfre swa he eadmodlicor
counsel his divine need and ever as he more-humbly
þæt deð, swa him god ælmihtig þe raðer gemiltsað.
that does so him god almighty the sooner has-mercy-on
104.9 Leofan men, on wodnesdæg, þe byð caput ieiunii bisceopas
Dear men on Wednesday which is head of-fast bishops
ascadað on manegan stowan ût of cyrican for heora agenan
separate in many places out from church for their own
þearfe þa, ðe healice on openlican synnan hy sylfe forgyltan.
need those who gravely in open sins them selves make-guilty
and eft on ðunresdæg ær eastran hy geinnjað into cyrican
and again on Thursday before Easter they bring-in into church
þa, ðe geornlice þæt lencten heora synna betað, swa swa hym
those who eagerly the Lent their sins amend so as them
man wissað; and ðonne absolutionem bisceopas ofer hy rædað
one directs and then absolution bishops over them read
and for hi þingjað and mid þam heora synna þurh godes
and for them intercede and with that their sins through of-god

mildheortnesse myclum gelyhtað. and þæt is þearflic gewuna, ac
mercy greatly lighten and that is needful custom but
we his ne gymað swa wel, swa we scoldan, on ðisse þeode, and
we it not heed so well as we should in this nation and
hit wære mycel þearf, þæt hit man georne on gewunan hæfde.
it were great need that it one eagerly in custom had

De falsis deis

XVIII · ON THE FALSE GODS

After the Flood and Nimrod's tower the devil led men to worship the sun, the moon, the stars, fire, water, and earth, and then mighty men of old: Saturn of Crete, who destroyed all his children but one; that son, Jove, whom the Danes call Thor, wedded to his sister Juno; Jove's son Mars; and Mercury, the Danes' Odin. The Danes err in making Thor Odin's son, for he is Saturn's; and Jove's daughter Venus lay with her brother. Blessed is he who scorns all this and loves the one God.

104.22 Eala, gefyrn is, þæt ðurh deofol fela þinga misfor, and
O long-ago is that through devil many things went-wrong and
þæt mancynn to swyðe gode mishyrde, and þæt hæðenscype
that mankind too greatly god disobeyed and that heathenship
ealles to wide swyðe gederede and gyt dereð wide. ne ræde
altogether too widely greatly harmed and yet harms widely not read
we þeah ahwar on bocum, þæt man arærde ænig hæðengyld
we however anywhere in books that one raised any heathen-worship
ahwar on worulde on eallum þam fyrste, þe wæs ær Noes
anywhere in world in all the time that was before of-Noah
flode. ac syððan þæt gewearð, þæt Nembroð and ða entas
flood but after that happened that Nimrod and the giants
worhton þone wundorlican stypel æfter Noes flode and him
built the wondrous tower after of-Noah flood and to-them
ða swa fela gereorda gelamp, þæs þe bec secgað, swa
then so many languages befell of-that which books say as
ðæra wyrhtena wæs, þa syððan toferdon hy wide landes, and
of-the builders was then afterward dispersed they widely of-land and
mancyn þa sona swyðe weox, and ða æt nyhstan wurdon
mankind then at-once greatly grew and then at last were
hi bepæhte þurh ðone ealdan deofol, þe Adam ju ær
they deceived through the old devil who Adam formerly before

beswac, swa þæt hi worhton wolice and gedwollice him
deceived so that they made wrongly and heretically for-themselves
hæþene godas and ðone soðan god and heora agenne
heathen gods and the true god and their own
scyppend forsawon, þe hy to mannum gescop and geworhte.
creator despised who them as men created and made
hi namon eac him ða þæt to wisdome þurh deofles
they took also for-themselves then that as wisdom through of-devil
lare, þæt hy wurðedon him for godas þa sunnan and
teaching that they worshiped for-themselves as gods the sun and
ðone monan for heora scinendan beorhtnesse and him lâc
the moon for their shining brightness and to-them offerings
þa æt nyhstan þurh deofles lare offrodon and forleton
then at last through of-devil teaching offered and forsook
heora drihten, þe hy gescop and geworhte. sume men eac
their lord who them created and made some men also
sædan be ðam scinendum steorrum, þæt hi godas wæron,
said about the shining stars that they gods were
and agunnan hy weorðjan georne, and sume hy gelyfdon eac
and began them worship eagerly and some they believed also
on fŷr for his færlicum bryne; sume eac on wæter, and sume
in fire for its sudden burning some also in water and some
hy gelyfdon on ða eorðan, forðan þe heo ealle þing fedeð.
they believed in the earth because that it all things feeds
ac hy mihton georne tocnawan, gif hi cuðon þæt gescead, 105.21
but they might eagerly recognize if they knew the distinction
þæt se is soð god, þe ealle þas ðing gescop us mannum to
that he is true god who all these things created for-us men for
brice and to note for his miclan godnesse, þe he mancynne
use and for benefit for his great goodness which he to-mankind
geuðe. ðas gesceafta eac ealle doð, swa swa him gedihte
granted these creatures also all do so as for-them ordained

heora agen scyppend, and ne magon nan þing don butan ures
their own creator and not can any thing do without of-our
drihtnes þafunge, forðam þe nan oðer scyppend nis, buton
lord consent because that no other creator is except
se âna soða god, þe we on gelyfað, and we hine ænne ofer
the one true god that we in believe and we him alone over
ealle oðre þing lufjað and wurðjaþ mid gewissum geleafan
all other things love and worship with certain faith
cweþende mid muðe and mid modes incundnesse, þæt se
saying with mouth and with of-mind inwardness that he
an is soð god, þe ealle ðing gescop and geworhte. gyt ða
alone is true god who all things created and made yet the
hæþenan noldon beon gehealdene on swa feawum godum,
heathens would-not be content with so few gods
swa hy ær hæfdan, ac fengon to wurðjenne æt nyhstan
as they before had but began to worship at last
mistlice entas and strece woruldmen, þe mihtige wurdan on
various giants and violent worldly-men who mighty became in
woruldafelum and egesfulle wæran þa hwyle, þe hy leofedon,
worldly-powers and terrible were the while that they lived
and heora agenum lustum fullice fulleodan. an man wæs on
and their own lusts fully followed one man was in
geardagum eardjende on þam iglande, þe Creta hatte, se
days-of-yore dwelling on the island which Crete is-called he
wæs Saturnus gehaten, and se wæs swa wælhreow, þæt he
was Saturn called and he was so cruel that he
fordyde his agene bearn ealle butan anum and unfæderlice
destroyed his own children all except one and unfatherly
macode heora lif to lyre sona on geogoðe. he læfde swaþeah
made their life to loss at-once in youth he left nevertheless
uneaðe ænne to life, þeah ðe he fordyde þa broðra elles;
with-difficulty one to life though that he destroyed the brothers otherwise

and se wæs Iouis gehaten, and se wearð hetol feond. he 106.8
and he was Jove called and he became hostile enemy he
aflymde his agene fæder eft of ðam ylcan foresædan
drove-out his own father afterward from the same aforesaid
iglande, þe Creta hatte, and wolde hine forfaran georne,
island which Crete is-called and would him destroy eagerly
gif he mihte. and se Iouis wearð swa swyðe gal, þæt he
if he might and the Jove became so very lustful that he
on his agenre swyster gewifode, seo wæs genamod Iuno, and
on his own sister married she was named Juno and
heo wearð swyðe healic gyden æfter hæðenscype geteald.
she became very high goddess according-to heathenship reckoned
heora twa dohtra wæron Minerua and Uenus. þas mânfullan
their two daughters were Minerva and Venus these wicked
men, þe we ymbe specað, wæron getealde for ða mærostan
people whom we about speak were reckoned as the greatest
godas þa on ðam dagum; and ða hæðenan wurðodon hy
gods then in those days and the heathens worshiped them
swyðe þurh deofles lare; ac se sunu wæs swaþeah swyðor
greatly through of-devil teaching but the son was nevertheless more
on hæðenscype gewurðod, þonne se fæder wære, and he
in heathenship worshiped than the father were and he
is geteald eac arwurðost ealra þæra goda, þe þa hæðenan
is reckoned also most-honored of-all the gods that the heathens
on ðam dagum for godas hæfdon on heora gedwylde. and
in those days as gods had in their error and
he hatte þor oðrum naman betwux sumum þeodum; ðone
he is-called Thor by-other name among some peoples whom
denisca leoda lufjað swyðost and on heora gedwylde weorðjaþ
Danish people love most and in their error worship
georнost. his sunu hatte Mârs, se macode æfre gewinn
most-eagerly his son was-called Mars he made ever strife

and wrohte, and saca and wraca he styrede gelome.
and contention and quarrels and vengeances he stirred often
ðysne yrming æfter his forðsiðe wurðodon þa hæðenan eac
this wretch after his departure worshiped the heathens also
for healicne gôd, and swa oft, swa hy fyrdedon oððe to
as high god and so often as they campaigned or to
gefeohte woldon, þonne offrodon hŷ heora lâc on ær
battle would then offered they their offerings in advance
to weorðunge þissum gedwolgode, and hy gelyfdon, þæt he
to honor to-this false-god and they believed that he
miclum mihte heom fultumjan on gefeohte, forðan þe he
greatly might them help in battle because that he
gefeoht and gewinn lufude on life. sum man eac wæs
fighting and strife loved in life a-certain man also was
gehaten Mercurius on life, se wæs swyðe facenfull and ðeah
called Mercury in life he was very deceitful and yet
full snotorwyrde, swicol on dædum and on leasbregdum;
full clever-spoken treacherous in deeds and in lying-tricks
ðone macedon þa hæðenan be heora getæle eac heom to
him made the heathens by their reckoning also for-themselves as
mæran gode and æt wega gelætum him lâc offrodon oft
famous god and at of-ways crossings to-him offerings offered often
and gelome þurh deofles lare and to heagum beorgum
and frequently through of-devil teaching and to high hills
him brohton oft mistlice loflâc. ðes gedwolgôd wæs
to-him brought often various praise-offerings this false-god was
arwurðe eac betwux eallum hæðenum on þam dagum, and
honored also among all heathens in those days and
he is Oðon gehaten oðrum naman on denisce wisan.
he is Odin called by-other name in Danish manner

nu secgað sume þa denisce men on heora gedwylde, þæt se 107.8
now say some the Danish men in their error that the
Iouis wære, þe hy þor hatað, Mercuries sunu, þe hi Oðon
Jove were whom they Thor call of-Mercury son whom they Odin
namjað. ac hi nabbað na riht, forðan þe we rædað on bocum,
name but they have-not — right because that we read in books
ge on hæþenum, ge on cristenum, þæt se hetula Iouis to
both in heathen and in Christian that the hostile Jove for
soðan is Saturnes sunu. and sum wif hatte Uenus, seo
true is of-Saturn son and a-certain woman was-called Venus she
wæs Ioues dohtor, and seo wæs swa fûl and swa fracod on
was of-Jove daughter and she was so foul and so vile in
galnysse, þæt hyre âgen broðor wið hy gehæmde, þæs þe man
lust that her own brother with her lay of-that which one
sæde, þurh deofles lare; and ða yfelan wurðjað þa hæðenan
said through of-devil teaching and that evil-one worship the heathens
eac for healice fæmnan. manege eac oðre hæþene godas wæron
also as high virgin many also other heathen gods were
mistlice fundene and eac swylce hæþene gydena on swyðlicum
variously devised and also likewise heathen goddesses in great
wyrðmente geond middaneard mancynne to forwyrde; ac þas
honor throughout middle-earth to-mankind to ruin but these
synd þa fyrmestan ðeh þurh hæðenscipe getealde, þeah ðe
are the foremost though through heathenship reckoned though that
hy fûlice leofodon on worulde. and se syrwjenda deofol, þe
they foully lived in world and the scheming devil who
â swicað embe mancyn, gebrohte þa hæðenan men on þam
ever deceives about mankind brought the heathen men into the
healicon gedwylde, þæt hi swa fûle him to godum gecuran,
high error that they so foul for-themselves as gods chose

þe heora fulan lust heom to lage sylfum gesettan and
who their foul lust for-themselves as law themselves set and
on unclænnesse heora lif eal lyfedan þa hwile, ðe hi wæran.
in uncleanness their life all lived the while that they were
107.27 ac se bið gesælig, þe eal swylc oferhogað and ðone soðan
but he is blessed who all such despises and the true
godd lufað and weorðað, þe ealle þing gescop and geworhte.
god loves and worships who all things created and made
an is ælmihtig god on þrym hadum, þæt is fæder and
one is almighty god in three persons that is father and
suna and halig gast; ealle þa ðry naman befehð an
son and holy spirit all the three names comprehends one
godcund miht and îs ân ece god, waldend and wyrhta
divine might and is one eternal god ruler and maker
ealra gesceafta. him symle sy lof and weorðmynt in
of-all creatures to-him ever let-be praise and honor in
ealra worulda woruld a butan ende, amen.
of-all worlds world ever without end amen

Sermo ad populum

XIX · A SERMON TO THE PEOPLE

Every Christian must understand the right faith, and also whence he came, what he is, and what he will become: made of earth, he returns to earth and then to eternal torment or eternal bliss. This life is short and wretched, so all should love God and do his will. We must be merciful, humble, and truthful and keep what our sponsors promised at baptism, to shun the devil and believe; many do not know what that promise means, and its two words, abrenuntio and credo, contain much.

Leofan men, understandað, þæt ærest cristenra manna gehwylc 108.2
Dear men understand that first of-Christian men each
ah ealra þinga mæste ðearfe, þæt he cunne riht ongytan þurh
has of-all things greatest need that he know right perceive through
lare and lage and gelyfan anrædlice on god ælmihtigne,
teaching and law and believe resolutely in god almighty
þe is waldend and wyrhta ealra gesceafta. and syððan is
who is ruler and maker of-all creatures and then is
eac þearf, þæt gehwa understande, hwanan he sylf com, and
also need that each-one understand whence he self came and
hwæt he is, and to hwam he geweorðan sceal. of eorðan
what he is and to what he become must from earth
gewurdan ærest geworhte þa, ðe we ealle of coman, and
were first made those who we all from came and
to eorðan we sculan ealle geweorðan and syððan habban swa
to earth we must all become and afterward have either
êce wite a butan ende, swa ece blisse, swa hwæðer swa
eternal torment ever without end or eternal bliss so whichever so
we on life ær geearnedon. eala, lytel is se fyrst þyses lifes,
we in life before earned O little is the time of-this life
and lyðre is, þæt we lufjað and on wunjað, and for oft hit
and wretched is that we love and in dwell and very often it

wyrð raðost forloren, þonne hit wære leofost gehealden. ac
becomes soonest lost when it were dearest held but
utan don, swa us mycel þearf is, tyljan þæs, ðe us næfre
let-us do as to-us great need is strive-for of-that which to-us never
ne ateorað, lufjan godd eallum mode and eallum mægne and
— fails love god with-all mind and with-all might and
wyrcan georne his willan. his wylla is, þæt we ââ æfter ure
work eagerly his will his will is that we ever after our
agenre þearfe geornlice winnan and þæt geearnjan, þæt we to
own need eagerly strive and that earn that we to
gelaðode syn, þæt is heofona rice, ðæt he hæfð gegearwod
invited be that is of-heavens kingdom which he has prepared
ælcum þæra, þe his willan gewyrcð her on worulde.
for-each of-those who his will works here in world
109.11 utan don êac, swa we þearfe agan, beon mildheorte and
let-us do also as we need have be merciful and
ælmesgeorne and eadmode and soðfæste and unswicole and
alms-eager and humble and truthful and undeceitful and
rihtwise, þæs þe we magan, on eallum ðingum and geðencan,
righteous as-far as we can in all things and consider
hwæt we behetan, þa we fulluht underfengan, oðþon þa, ðe
what we promised when we baptism received or those who
æt fulluhte ure foresprecan wæran; þæt is, þæt we woldan a
at baptism our sponsors were that is that we would ever
god lufjan and on hine gelyfan and his bebodu healdan and
god love and in him believe and his commandments keep and
deofol ascunjan and his unlara georne forbugan; þis man
devil shun and his false-teachings eagerly avoid this one
behæt for ælcne þæra, þe fulluht underfehð. and ðeah þæt
promises for each of-those who baptism receives and though the
cild for geogoðe sprecan ne mage, þonne hit man fullað, his
child for youth speak not can when it one baptizes of-its

freonda forespræc forstent him eal þæt ylce, þe hit sylf spræce.
friends advocacy avails it all that same that it self spoke
is þeah mâ manna, þonne þearf wære, þe þises behates gescad
is however more of-men than need were who of-this promise meaning
ne cunnan. twa word behealdað mycel: abrenuntio and credo.
not know two words contain much I-renounce and I-believe

Leofan men, for ure

XX · FOR THE NEED OF US ALL

Christ came into this life for our need and suffered death, for before him every man, however great, went straight to hell, and the devil had power over all mankind for the deeds of our forefathers. Christ let himself be bound, scourged, hanged on the cross, and pierced through feet and hands with iron nails, and on the third day he rose, showing that he has power over both life and death.

110.8 Leofan men, for ure ealra þearfe Crist com on þis lif and
Dear men for of-us all need Christ came into this life and
for ure neode deað þrowode. ær ðam timan næs ænig
for our need death suffered before that time not-was any
man on worulde swa mære, þæt he on ân ne sceolde to
man in world so great that he at once not must to
helle, swa he heonan ferde, swa forð ahte deofol geweald
hell as he hence went so far had devil power
ealles manncynnes eal for ure yldrena gewyrhtan. ac mycel
of-all mankind all for of-our ancestors deeds but much
geþolode ðurh his mildheortnesse Crist for ure þearfe, þa
endured through his mercy Christ for our need when
he let hine sylfne bindan and swingan and on rode ahôn
he let him self bind and scourge and on cross hang
and him ægðer þurhdrifan mid isenum næglum ge fêt
and for-him each pierce with iron nails both feet
ge handa and swa to deaðe acwellan. ac he geswutelode
and hands and so to death kill but he showed
swaðeah þy ðriddan dæge, þa he of deaðe aras, þæt
nevertheless on-the third day when he from death arose that
he ægðres geweald hæfð ge lifes ge deaþes.
he of-each power has both of-life and of-death

Leofan men, hwa mæg

XXI · THE GREATEST FRIENDSHIP

No one can show a friend greater friendship than to give his own life to save him from death. We would all have perished in eternal death had Christ not suffered for us and bought us with his precious blood from hell's torment, and now any man may earn the kingdom of heaven. We can never repay all he has done and does daily, so nothing we do for God's sake should ever seem too much.

Leofan men, hwa mæg æfre oðrum furðor freondscype 111.4
Dear men who can ever to-another further friendship
gecyðan, þonne he his agen feorh gesylle and ðurh þæt his
show than he his own life give and through that his
freond wið deað ahredde? ealle we scoldan forweorðan ecan
friend from death rescue all we should perish by-eternal
deaðe, nære þæt Crist for us deað þrowode; ac he gebohte
death not-were that Christ for us death suffered but he bought
us þa ealle mid his deorwurðan blode of helle wite, and
us then all with his precious blood from of-hell torment and
hæfð nu þurh his gyfe manna gehwylc, gif he geearnjan
has now through his grace of-men each if he earn
wylle, heofona rice. ðonne ne þince us æfre to mycel, ac
will of-heavens kingdom then not let-seem to-us ever too much but
us mæg ⁊ to lytel, þæt we godes þances to gode gedon,
to-us may ever too little that we of-god thanks to good do
forðam ne cunne we næfre him geleanjan þa ðing ealle, þe
because not can we ever him repay the things all that
he us gedon hæfð and dæghwamlice deð and gyt don wile,
he us done has and daily does and yet do will
þær we betst beðurfan, gyf we sylfe þæs geearnjan wyllað.
where we best need if we ourselves that earn will

Leofan men, utan don

XXII · LET US DO AS WE NEED

We all have one heavenly Father and are brothers through Christianity, so none should wrong another, for the harm returns manifold on the doer. We should keep our Christianity pure, go to church, keep oaths and feasts, and pay God the tithe of all he has lent us, with the old dues. Hell's torments are described, and the murderers, perjurers, adulterers, witches, thieves, and robbers who must go there unless they repent; so let us confess to our confessors and amend while we can.

112.1 Leofan men, utan don, swa us þearf is, beon geornfulle ure
Dear men let-us do as to-us need is be eager our
agenre þearfe, geswican ure synna and forbugan ælc unriht
own need cease our sins and shun each wrong
and gebugan georne to rihte; and utan understandan, þæt
and turn eagerly to right and let-us understand that
nis nan rihtra dom, þonne ure ælc oðrum beode, þæt we
not-is any more-right judgment than of-us each to-another offer that we
willan, þæt man us beode. and utan geþencan, þæt we habbað
will that one us offer and let-us consider that we have
ænne heofonlicne fæder, and þæt we syndan þurh cristendom
one heavenly father and that we are through Christendom
ealle gebroðra; ðy ne misbeode cristenra manna ænig
all brothers therefore not let-wrong of-Christian men any
oðrum ealles to swyðe, forðam eal, þæt ænig man oðrum
to-another altogether too greatly because all that any man to-another
her on unriht to hearme gedeð wordes oððon weorces, eal hit
here in wrong to harm does of-word or of-work all it
sceal eft mænigfealdlice derjan him sylfum, butan he hit
shall afterward manifoldly harm him self unless he it
ær gebete. ac utan gladjan georne god ælmihtigne, habban
before amend but let-us gladden eagerly god almighty have

us soðe sibbe and some gemæne and don â to gôde þæne
for-us true peace and concord in-common and do ever to good the
dæl, þe we magan, and geearnjan us mid þam êce blisse.
part that we can and earn for-us with that eternal bliss
utan gyman, þæt we urne cristendom clænlice gehealdan, and
let-us take-heed that we our Christendom purely hold and
aweorpan ælcne hæðendom and habban rihtne geleafan and
cast-off each heathendom and have right faith and
lufjan cyricsocne dæges and nihtes oft and gelome and libban
love church-going by-day and by-night often and frequently and live
þam life, þe scrift us wisige, and â að and wedd wærlice
the life that confessor us direct and ever oath and pledge carefully
healdan and freolstida and fæstentida rihtlice understandan
hold and feast-times and fast-times rightly observe
and ure ælmessan geornlice dælan and gelæstan bliðum mode
and our alms eagerly deal and pay with-glad mind
gode þa gerihta, þe him to gebyrjan, þæt is se têoða dæl ealra
to-god the dues that him to belong that is the tenth part of-all
þæra ðinga, þe he us on ðysum lænan life to forlæten hæfð,
the things that he us in this loaned life to left has
and ure frumgripan gangendes and weaxendes, and geearnjan
and our first-fruits of-going and of-growing and earn
us mid þam lytlum mycle mare us sylfum to þearfe.
for-us with the little much more for-us selves for benefit
ðonne is þærtoeacan gyt to understandenne, þæt we eac 113.8
then is in-addition yet to understand that we also
eadmodlice eal gelæstan on geargerihtan, þæt ure yldran hwilum
humbly all pay in yearly-dues that our ancestors at-times
ær gode behetan, ðæt is sulhælmessan and rompenegas and
before to-god promised that is plow-alms and Rome-pennies and
cyricsceattas and leohtgescota, and se, ðe þæt deð, þæt ic ymbe
church-scots and light-scots and he who that does that I about

spece, he deð him sylfum mycle ðearfe. and þæt is witodlice ful
speak he does for-him self great benefit and that is certainly full
soð, gelyfe se, ðe wylle, an tima cymð ure æghwylcum, þæt us
true let-believe he who will a time comes of-us to-each that to-us
wære leofre, þonne eal, þæt we on worulde wiðæftan us læfað,
were dearer than all that we in world behind us leave
þær we â worhton þa hwile, þe we mihtan, georne, þæt god
if we ever had-worked the while that we could eagerly what god
licode. ac þænne we sculan habban anfeald lean þæs, þe we
pleased but then we must have single reward of-that which we
on life ær geworhton. wa ðam þonne, þe ær geearnode helle
in life before wrought woe to-him then who before earned of-hell
wite. ðær is ece bryne grimme gemencged, and ðær is ece
torment there is eternal burning grimly mingled and there is eternal
gryre, ðær is êce æce, and ðær is sorgung and sargung and â
terror there is eternal ache and there is sorrowing and lamenting and ever
singal heof, þær is wanung and granung, ðær is yrmða gehwylc
continual wailing there is moaning and groaning there is of-miseries each
and ealra deofla geðring. wa ðam, þe þær sceal wunjan on wîte;
and of-all devils throng woe to-him who there must dwell in torment
betere him wære, þæt he man nære æfre geworden, þonne he
better for-him were that he man not-were ever become than he
gewurde. nis se man on life, þe areccan mæge ealle þa yrmða,
became not-is the man in life who recount can all the miseries
þe se gebidan sceal, se ðe on ða witu ealles behreoseð;
that he endure must he who into the torments altogether falls
114.11 and hit is ealles þe wyrse, þe his ænig ende ne cymð
and it is altogether the worse that of-it any end not comes
æfre to worulde. ðyder sculan manslagan, and ðider sculan
ever to world thither must manslayers and thither must
mânsworan, þyder sculan æwbrecan and ða fulan forlegenan,
perjurers thither must adulterers and the foul fornicators

ðider sculan wiccan and bearnmyrðran, ðider sculan þeofas and
thither must witches and child-murderers thither must thieves and
ðeodscaðan, ryperas and reaferas and, hrædest to secganne,
public-enemies robbers and plunderers and quickest to say
ealle þa mânfullan, þe god gremjað, butan hy geswican
all the wicked who god anger unless they cease
and ðe deoppor gebetan. for godes lufan we biddað manna
and the more-deeply amend for of-god love we pray of-men
gehwylcne, þæt he beþence georne hine sylfne. utan gecyrran
each that he consider eagerly him self let-us turn
georne fram synnum and god biddan inweardre heortan, þæt
eagerly from sins and god ask with-inward heart that
he us gebeorge wið þone egsan. utan forfleon georнlice
he us protect against the terror let-us flee eagerly
mân and morðor and manslihtas, stala and strudunga
crime and murder and manslaughters thefts and robberies
and searacræftas, and utan scyldan wið forliger and wið
and crafty-arts and let-us shield against fornication and against
æghwylce fylðe, and utan lufjan riht georne and ælc unriht
every filth and let-us love right eagerly and each wrong
ascunjan. utan andettan ure synna urum scriftan þa hwile, þe
shun let-us confess our sins to-our confessors the while that
we magan and motan, and betan and a geswican and dôn
we can and may and amend and ever cease and do
to gôde swa mycel, swa we mæst magan; þonne beorge we
to good as much as we most can then protect we
us sylfum wið ece wite and geearnjað us heofona rice.
us selves against eternal torment and earn for-us of-heavens kingdom

Utan gelæstan ælce geare

XXIII · THE CHURCH'S DUES

The dues are set out: plow-alms after Easter, the tithes of young animals at Pentecost and of crops by the equinox or All Saints, the hearth-penny on Peter's day, church-scot at Martinmas, and light-scot three times a year. Sunday runs from Saturday noon to Monday dawn, and the fasts and closed seasons are listed. Soul-scot is paid at the open grave; parents are to be honored, widows and orphans protected, strangers helped, the naked clothed, the hungry fed, the sick visited, and the poor dead buried.

116.1 Utan gelæstan ælce geare ure sulhælmessan fiftene niht on
Let-us pay each year our plow-alms fifteen nights on
ufan eastran and ure geoguðe teoþunge be pentecosten
after Easter and of-our young tithing by Pentecost
and ure eorðwæstma be emnihte oððe huru be ealra
and of-our earth-fruits by equinox or at-least by of-all
halgena mæssan, and seo ælc heorðpening agifen be Petres
saints mass and let-be each hearth-penny given by of-Peter
mæssedæg to ðam biscopstole ælce geare and ciricsceattas
mass-day to the bishop's-see each year and church-scots
to Martinus mæssan and leohtgesceot þreowa on geare:
at of-Martin mass and light-scot three-times in year
ærest healfpeningwurð wexes to candelmæssan and eft on
first halfpenny-worth of-wax at Candlemas and again on
easteræfen and þriddan siðe to ealra halgena mæssan. and
Easter-eve and third time at of-all saints mass and
healde man ælces sunnandæges freolsunge fram sæternesdæges
let-keep one of-each Sunday festival from of-Saturday
none oð monandæges lihtincge and ælcne oðerne mæssedæg,
noon till of-Monday dawn and each other mass-day
swa he beboden beo. sunnandaga cypincge we forbeodað
as it commanded be of-sundays trading we forbid

eac eornostlice and ælc folcgemot, butan hit for mycelre
also earnestly and each folk-moot unless it for great
nydþearfe sy. and þæt man ælc beboden fæsten healde, sy hit
necessity be and that one each commanded fast keep be it
ymbrenfæsten, sy hit lenctenfæsten, sy hit elles oðer fæsten,
ember-fast be it Lent-fast be it else other fast
mid ealre geornfulnesse; and to Scã Marian mæssan ælcere
with all eagerness and at of-Saint Mary mass each
and to ælces apostoles mæssan fæsten, butan Philippi et Jacobi
and at of-each apostle mass fast except of-Philip and of-James
we ne beodað nan fæsten for ðam easterlican freolse; and ælces
we not command any fast for the Easter festival and of-each
frigedæges fæsten, butan hit freols sy. and we forbeodað ordal
Friday fast unless it festival be and we forbid ordeal
and aðas freolsdagum and ymbrendagum and lenctendagum
and oaths on-feast-days and ember-days and Lent-days
and rihtfæstendagum and fram aduentum domini oð octabas
and right-fast-days and from advent of-lord till octave
epiphanie and fram septuagessima oð fiftene niht ofer eastran.
of-epiphany and from septuagesima till fifteen nights after Easter
and beo on þam halgan tidan, eallswa hit riht is, eallum 118.1
and let-be in the holy times just-as it right is for-all
cristenum mannum sib and sôm gemæne, and ælc sacu
Christian men peace and concord in-common and each strife
getwæmed. and eac we lærað, þæt cristenra manna gehwylc
settled and also we teach that of-Christian men each
understande, þæt he æfter forðsiðe butan sawulsceatte ne licge
understand that be after departure without soul-scot not lie
on mynstre, ac gelæste man â þone sawelsceat æt openum
in monastery but let-pay one ever the soul-scot at open
pytte. we biddað for godes lufan, þæt ælc cristen man
pit we pray for of-god love that each Christian man

understande georne his agene þearfe, forðam ealle we scylon
understand eagerly his own need because all we must
ænne timan gebidan, þonne us wære leofre, þonne eall, þæt on
a time await when to-us were dearer than all that in
middanearde is, þær we a worhtan þa hwile, þe we mihton,
middle-earth is if we ever had-worked the while that we could
georne godes willan; ac þonne we scylan habban anfeald lean
eagerly of-god will but then we must have single reward
þæs, þe we on life ær geearnoden. utan beon arfulle fæder
of-that which we in life before earned let-us be respectful to-father
and meder and beon on gebyrge earmum wudewum and
and to-mother and be in protection to-poor widows and
steopcildum and helpan georne earmum mannum, ælþeodigum
orphans and help eagerly poor men foreigners
and utan cymenum. utan hlywan ofcalene and wæfan
and from-without come let-us shelter chilled and clothe
nacode and syllan mete þam gehingredum and drenc þam
naked and give food to-the hungry and drink to-the
ofþyrstum. utan frefrjan ahwænede and hyrtan ormode, alysan
thirsty let-us comfort afflicted and hearten despairing release
gehæfte, gif us to ðam gehagje; and seoce geneosjan and
captives if to-us to that suffice and sick visit and
forðferede þearfan mildheortlice cestjan and syððan bebyrjan.
dead poor mercifully coffin and then bury
se ðe þus deð, he deð him sylfum micle þearfe.
he who thus does he does for-him self great benefit

Utan don eac, swa

XXIV · LOYALTY, BAPTISM, AND PURITY

Everyone must be loyal to his lord, and every lord must hold his men rightly. Each child is to be baptized within thirty nights: a priest whose neglect lets one die unbaptized loses his orders, and negligent kinsmen go into exile or do deep penance at home; godparents must raise their godchildren in the faith. As Christ was born of a pure maiden and we became Christians through pure baptism, we must keep ourselves pure, remembering the day when body and soul part and worldly friends can help no more.

Utan don eac, swa we gyt læran willað; utan beon â 119.12
Let-us do also as we yet teach will let-us be ever
urum hlaforde holde and getreowe and æfre eallum mihtum
to-our lord loyal and true and ever with-all mights
his wurðscipe ræran and his willan wyrcan, forðam eall,
his honor raise and his will work because all
þæt we æfre for rihthlafordhelde doð, eal we hit doð
that we ever for rightful-lord-loyalty do all we it do
us sylfum to mycelre þearfe, forðam ðam bið witodlice
for-us selves to great benefit because to-him is certainly
god hold, þe bið his hlaforde rihtlice hold; and eac ah
god loyal who is to-his lord rightly loyal and also has
hlaforda gehwylc þæs for micle þearfe, þæt he his men
of-lords each that for great need that he his men
rihtlice healde. and we biddað and beodað, þæt godes
rightly hold and we pray and command that of-god
þeowas, þe for urne cynehlaford and for eal cristenfolc
servants who for our royal-lord and for all Christian-folk
þingjan scylan and be godra manna ælmessan libbað, þæt
intercede must and by of-good men alms live that
hy þæs georne earnjan, libban heora lif swa, swa bec
they that eagerly earn live their life so as books

him wisjan, and swa, swa heora ealdras hym tæcan, and
them direct and so as their superiors them teach and
began heora þeowdom georne, þonne magon hy ægþer
practice their service eagerly then can they each
ge hym sylfum wel fremjan ge eallum cristenum folce.
both them selves well benefit and all Christian folk
and we biddað and beodað, þæt ælc cild sy binnan
and we pray and command that each child be within
þrittigum nihtum gefullad; gif hit þonne dead weorðe
thirty nights baptized if it then dead become
butan fulluhte, and hit on preoste gelang sy, þonne ðolige
without baptism and it on priest owing be then let-forfeit
he his hâdes and dædbete georne; gif hit þonne þurh
he his orders and let-atone eagerly if it then through
maga gemeleaste gewyrðe, þonne þolige se, ðe hit on
of-kinsmen negligence happen then let-forfeit be who it on
gelang sy, ælcere eardwununge and wræcnige of earde
owing be each dwelling and let-go-into-exile from land
oððon on earde swiðe deope gebete, swa biscop him
or in land very deeply let-atone as bishop him
tæce. eac we lærað, þæt man ænig ne lǽte unbiscpod to
teach also we teach that one any not let unconfirmed too
lange;
long
120.16 and witan þa, ðe cildes onfôn, þæt heo hit on
and let-know those who child receive that they it into
rihtan geleafan gebringan and on gôdan þeawan and
right faith bring and into good customs and
on þearflican dædan and â forð on hit wisjan
into needful deeds and ever forth on it direct
to ðam, þe gode licige and his sylfes ðearf
to that which god please and of-his self need

sy; þonne beoð heo rihtlice ealswa hy genamode
be then are they rightly just-as they named
beoð, godfæderas, gif hy heora godbearn gode
are godfathers if they their godchildren for-god
gestrynað.
gain
God is ure ealra fæder, and he gecydde þæt þa, þa 121.6
God is of-us all father and he showed that then when
he asende his agen bearn hider, Crist of heofenum,
he sent his own child hither Christ from heavens
and her wearð man geboren þurh þæt clæne mæden,
and here was man born through the pure maiden
Scã Marian, and he for eall mancyn deað þrowade
Saint Mary and he for all mankind death suffered
and us ealle þa þurh his deað alysde of ecan deaðe
and us all then through his death redeemed from eternal death
and us gestrynde to ecum life. ðurh clæne mæden
and us gained for eternal life through pure maiden
Crist wearð geboren, and þurh clæne fulluht we syndon
Christ was born and through pure baptism we are
cristene gewordene; þæt we scylon eac on ealre clænnesse
Christian become that we must also in all purity
healdan, gif we aht gefaran scylan. Crist þrowade for
hold if we aught fare must Christ suffered for
us synleas, þonne mote wê be gewyrhtum fela for urum
us sinless then must we by deserts much for our
synnum þrowjan and þoljan and æt gode geearnjan,
sins suffer and endure and from god earn
þæt he us þurh his micelan mildheortnesse huru wið
that he us through his great mercy at-least from

ecne deað ahredde and us on ðam toweardan life reste
eternal death rescue and us in the coming life rest
geunne.
grant

122.4 Utan dôn, swa us mycel þearf is, habban us â
Let-us do as to-us great need is have for-us ever
on gemynde þone timan, þe us toweard is. ðonne se
in mind the time that to-us coming is when the
earma lichama and seo sawel hi todælað, þonne us
wretched body and the soul themselves part then us
forlætað ealle ure weoruldfreond and nede scylon: ne
forsake all our world-friends and of-necessity must not
magon hy us þonne ænige gôde, ac bið æt gode anum
can they us then any good but is on god alone
gelang eal, hwæt we gefaran scylon. him symle sy
dependent all what we fare must to-him ever let-be
lof and wuldor in ealra worulda woruld â butan ende,
praise and glory in of-all worlds world ever without end
amen.
amen

To folce

XXV · TO THE PEOPLE

A heathen of age must understand baptism and the faith before he is baptized, and those baptized as children must learn them when they can. Every Christian should ponder how the world began, how Christ came, suffered, rose, and ascended, and how he will come to the judgment, show his bloody side, his pierced hands, the crown of thorns, and the cross, and ask how we repaid him and kept our Christianity. So let us hope in God, love him above all, and do his will.

Leofan men, understandað ærest, hu mycel þearf is cristenum 122.12
Dear men understand first how great need is to-Christian
mannum, þæt hy heora fulluhtes gescâd witan, and þæt hy
men that they of-their baptism meaning know and that they
rihtne geleafan cunnan and ðæne fæstrâdlice healdan. forðam
right faith know and it steadfastly hold because
nah ænig man mid rihte to fulljanne hæþenne man, gyf
not-has any man with right to baptize heathen man if
he ylde and andgyt hæfð, þæt he geleornjan mæg, hwæt
he age and understanding has that he learn can what
fulluht mæne, and hwæt riht geleafa sy, ær þam byre, þe he
baptism mean and what right faith be before the time that he
wite eal, hwæt hit behealde; ac syððan he bið fulluhtes wel
know all what it contain but then he is of-baptism well
wyrðe, syððan he mid rihtan geleafan hit wel understandeð.
worthy when he with right faith it well understands
ðonne agan þa micle þearfe, þe on geogoðe gefullode
then have those great need who in youth baptized
weorþað, þæt hi georne leornjan, þæt hy heora fulluhtes
are that they eagerly learn that they of-their baptism
gescad witan, syðþan hy ða ylde and þæt andgyt habbað,
meaning know when they the age and the understanding have

þæt hy leornjan magan. forðam se man, þe ne can þæs
that they learn can because the man who not knows of-that
gescâd, he ne færð naht, butan he geleornige, þæt he cunne
meaning he not fares aught unless he learn that he can
his cristendom witan. ac þæt bið cristenes mannes þearf,
his Christendom know but that is of-Christian man need
þæt he smeage ââ ymbe cristendom georne and acsje georne,
that he ponder ever about Christendom eagerly and ask eagerly
hwæt him sy to donne and hwæt to forganne, and smeage
what for-him be to do and what to forgo and ponder
gelome, hu þeos woruld ærest gewurde, and swa forð, þæt
often how this world first came-about and so forth that
he wite, hu Crist to mannum come, and eal, hwæt he on
he know how Christ to men came and all what he in
life adreah for ure þearfe, and hu he for us deað þrowode,
life endured for our need and how he for us death suffered
and hu he of deaðe aras, and hu he to heofonum astah,
and how he from death arose and how he to heavens ascended
and hu he þanan eft to ðam miclum dome cymð, þe we
and how he thence again to the great judgment comes which we
ealle to sculon. on þam dome witodlice he eowað us his
all to must at the judgment certainly he shows us his
blodjan sidan and his þyrlan handa and ðæne þyrnenan helm
bloody side and his pierced hands and the thorny helm
and ða sylfan rode, þe he for ure neode on ahangen wæs,
and the same cross that he for our need on hanged was
and wile þonne anrædlice witan æt us, hu we him þæt
and will then resolutely know from us how we him that
geleanodon, and hu we urne cristendom gehealden habban.
repaid and how we our Christendom held have

wel þam þonne, þe hyne wel gehealden hæfð, and wa
well to-him then who it well held has and woe
ðam þonne, þe his ær nolde giman, swa swa he sceolde.
to-him then who it before would-not heed so as he should
ac utan don, swa us mycel þearf is, habban æfre fulne hiht on 124.10
but let-us do as to-us great need is have ever full hope in
god ælmihtigne and rihtne geleafan and lufjan hine ofer ealle
god almighty and right faith and love him over all
oþre þincg and his wyllan wyrcan, swa we geornost magon,
other things and his will work as we most-eagerly can
þonne habbað we heofonan rice a buton ænde, amen.
then have we of-heaven kingdom ever without end amen

To eallum folce

XXVII · TO ALL THE PEOPLE

For many years wrongs have reigned in this nation, and it has suffered injury and shame: treachery was stronger than wisdom, kinsman did not protect kinsman, and armies, famine, fire, bloodshed, theft, and bad seasons followed. God's anger sits fiercely on the people, and the nation has been ruined by murders, thefts, betrayals of lords, adulteries, and broken oaths and pledges. Let us cease from wrong and ask God's help.

128.2 Eala leofan men, understandað, þæt soð is, hit wæs nu fela
O dear men understand that true is it was now many
geara, þæt on þisse þeode rixode unrihta fela, and we eac
years that in this nation reigned wrongs many and we also
forðam habbað fela bersta and bismra gebiden, and gif we
therefore have many injuries and insults endured and if we
ænige bote gebidan sculon, þonne mote we þæs to gode
any remedy await shall then must we that from god
earnjan bet, þonne we ær þisum didon. forðam ær þisum
earn better than we before this did because before this
wæs gehwar swicdom swiðra, þonne wisdom, and þuhte
was everywhere treachery stronger than wisdom and seemed
hwilum wisost, se þe wæs swicolast and se þe litelicost
at-times wisest he who was most-deceitful and he who most-cunningly
cuðe leaslice hiwjan unsoð to soðe and undom deman oðrum
could falsely disguise untruth as truth and injustice judge to-another
to hŷnðe. ne bearh nu for oft gesib þam sibban þe ma, þe
to harm not protected now very often kinsman the kinsman the more than
fremdan, ne fæder his bearne ne hwilum bearn his agenum
stranger nor father his child nor at-times child his own
fæder, ne broðor oðrum; ne ure ænig his lif ne fadode, swa
father nor brother another nor of-us any his life — ordered so

swa he scolde. and þi is þisse ðeode fela hearma onsæge. ne
as he should and therefore is this nation many harms assailing not
dohte hit ær þisum inne ne ute, ac wæs here and hungor,
availed it before this within nor without but was army and hunger
bryne and blodgite on gewelhwilcan ende oft and gelome; and
burning and bloodshed in nearly-every region often and frequently and
us stalu and cwalu, hôl and hete and ripera reaflac derede
us theft and slaughter slander and hate and of-robbers plunder harmed
swiðe þearle, and us unwidera for oft weoldon unwæstma.
very severely and us bad-seasons very often caused crop-failures
forþam on þisum earde wæs, swa hit þincan mæg, unrihta fela
because in this land was as it seem may wrongs many
and tealte getriwða æghwar mid mannum. fela syn forsworene
and unstable loyalties everywhere among men many are forsworn
and swiðe forlogene and wed eac abrocene oft and gelome;
and greatly perjured and pledges also broken often and frequently
and þæt is gesyne on þisse þeode, þæt us godes irre hetelice 129.8
and that is evident in this nation that us of-god anger fiercely
on sit, gecnawe, se þe cunne. ac uton don, swa us þearf is,
on sits let-know he who can but let-us do as to-us need is
beon ymbe þa bote, geswican unrihtes and gebugan to rihte,
be about the remedy cease wrong and turn to right
þonne geearnige we, gif we þæt willað, sona godes mildse.
then earn we if we that will at-once of-god mercy
uton helpan ure silfra þa hwile, þe we magon and motan,
let-us help our selves the while that we can and may
þi læs we forwurðan, þonne we læst wenan. la leofan men,
the less we perish when we least expect o dear men
hwæt, we ful georne witan, þæt nu fela geara men na ne
lo we full well know that now many years men not —
rohton for oft, hwæt hi worhton, ac wearð þes ðeodscipe
cared very often what they wrought but became this nation

swiðe forsingod þurh morðdæda and þurh mandæda, þurh
greatly sin-ruined through murders and through crimes through
stala and ðurh strutunga, þurh gitsunge and þurh gifernessa,
thefts and through robberies through greed and through gluttonies
þurh mansilena and þurh fela misdæda, ðurh manslihtas and
through sales-of-men and through many misdeeds through manslaughters and
þurh mægslihtas, þurh hlafordswicas and þurh searocræftas,
through kin-slayings through lord-betrayals and through crafty-arts
þurh swicdomas and þurh undomas, þurh hadbricas and
through treacheries and through injustices through order-breakings and
ðurh æwbricas, þurh siblegera and þurh mistlice forligru.
through adulteries through incests and through various fornications
and eac syn þurh aðbricas and þurh wedbricas forloren
and also are through oath-breakings and through pledge-breakings lost
and forlogen ma, þonne scolde. ac uton geswican georne
and perjured more than should but let-us cease eagerly
unrihtes and wið god þingjan, swa we georнost magon: he
wrong and with god intercede as we most-eagerly can he
us gefilste þurh his mildheortnesse, swa his willa sy, amen.
us let-help through his mercy as his will be amen

Be godcundre warnunge

XXVIII · ON DIVINE WARNING

Let us search the books for what befell those who kept God's law and those who broke it: Wulfstan quotes in Latin God's promise and threat to Moses, then gives part of it in English: if the people keep his commandments, God will send good weather, harvests, peace, and victory over their enemies; if they turn away, poverty, strife, plague, bad harvests, and defeat will follow, their land will be laid waste and their towns burned, and the remnant will mourn their fathers' sins. When they repent, God will remember his promises.

Uton spirjan be bocan georne and gelome, hwæt þa geforan, 130.11
Let-us inquire by books eagerly and often what then experienced
þa ðe god lufedon and godes lage heoldon, and hwæt þa
those who god loved and of-god law held and what then
geforan, ða þe god græmedon and godes lage bræcon, and
experienced those who god angered and of-god law broke and
warnjan ûs be swilcan. god silf gedihte swutele bisene and
warn ourselves by such god self set-down clear example and
þus spræc on geardagum to Moyse þam heretogan: loquere
thus spoke in days-of-yore to Moses the general speak
filiis Israel et dices ad eos: hec dicit dominus: si in
to-sons of-Israel and thou-shalt-say to them these says lord if in
preceptis meis ambulaueritis et mandata mea custodieritis
precepts my ye-walk and commandments my ye-keep
et feceritis ea, dabo uobis pluuiam temporibus suis, et
and ye-do them I-will-give to-you rain in-times its and
terra gignet germen suum, et pomis arbores replebuntur.
earth will-bear shoot its and with-fruits trees will-be-filled
adprehendet messium tritura uindêmiam, et uindemia occupabit
will-reach of-harvests threshing vintage and vintage will-take
sementem; et coḿedetis panem uestrum in saturitate, et
sowing and ye-will-eat bread your in fullness and

absque pauore habitabitis in terra uestra. dabo pacem in
without fear ye-will-dwell in land your I-will-give peace in
finibus uestris; dormietis, et non erit, qui extêrreat. âuferam
borders your ye-will-sleep and not will-be who may-frighten I-will-remove
malas bestias, et gladius non transibit terminos uestros.
evil beasts and sword not will-pass bounds your
persequemini inimicos uestros, et côrruent coram uobis;
ye-will-pursue enemies your and they-will-fall before you
persequentur quinque de uestris centum alienos et centum ex
will-pursue five of yours hundred strangers and hundred of
uobis decem milia; cadent inimici uestri in conspectu uestro
you ten thousands will-fall enemies your in sight your
gladio. respiciam uos et crescere faciam: multiplicabimini,
by-sword I-will-regard you and grow I-will-make ye-will-be-multiplied
et firmabo pactum meum uobiscum. comedetis uetustissima
and I-will-confirm covenant my with-you ye-will-eat oldest
ueterum, et uetera nouis superuenientibus proicietis. ponam
of-old and old with-new coming-on ye-will-cast-out I-will-set
tabernaculum meum in medio uestri, et non abiciet uos
tabernacle my in midst of-you and not will-cast-away you
anima mea. ambulabo inter uos et ero uester deus, uosque
soul my I-will-walk among you and I-will-be your god and-ye
eritis populus meus, dicit dominus omnipotens. et item
will-be people my says lord almighty and likewise
dominus dicit: si autem non audieritis me neque feceritis
lord says if but not ye-hear me nor ye-do
precepta mea, constituam in uos inôpiam, famem et pestem,
precepts my I-will-set on you want hunger and plague
et animam uestram tabescentem faciam, et persequentur
and soul your wasting I-will-make and will-pursue
uos inimici uestri, et fugietis nullo persequente; et ponam
you enemies your and ye-will-flee no-one pursuing and I-will-set

uobis celum fêrreum et terram êream, et erit in uacuum
for-you heaven iron and earth bronze and will-be in vain
uirtus uestra. terra non dabit fructum suum, et arbores
strength your earth not will-give fruit its and trees
agri uestri non dabunt fructus suos. adducam super uos
of-field your not will-give fruits their I-will-bring upon you
gladium, et trademini in manus inimicorum uestrorum;
sword and ye-will-be-delivered into hands of-enemies your
et erit terra uestra deserta et ciuitates uestre destructe.
and will-be land your deserted and cities your destroyed
et, cum deserta fuerit terra propter peccata populi, et
and when deserted will-have-been land because-of sins of-people and
ipsi, qui remanserint, tabescentes pronuntiabunt peccata
they-themselves who will-have-remained wasting will-declare sins
sua et peccata patrum suorum, quoniam despexerunt me et
their and sins of-fathers their because they-despised me and
precepta mea spreuerunt, tunc reuertetur cor incircumcisum
precepts my scorned then will-turn-back heart uncircumcised
eorum, et clamabunt ad me, et memor ero testamenti
their and they-will-cry to me and mindful I-will-be of-covenant
prioris, et terra recîpiet sabbata sua. hec sunt uerba, quæ
former and land will-receive sabbaths its these are words which
misit dominus ad filios Israhel per manum Moysi.
sent lord to sons of-Israel through hand of-Moses
Eala leofan men, be þillican bisenan we us magon warnjan, 132.5
O dear men by such examples we ourselves can warn
gif we swa willað smeagan ure þearfe, swa swa us þearf is.
if we so will consider our need so as to-us need is
and se, þe ne cunne þæt læden understandan, hliste nu on
and he who not can the Latin understand let-listen now in
englisc be suman dæle, hwæt þæt læden cwæde. hec dicit
English in some part what the Latin said these says

dominus: si in preceptis meis ambulaueritis, et reliqua. ure
lord if in precepts my ye-walk and the-rest our
drihten bead Moyse þam heretogan, þæt he folc wissode
lord commanded to-Moses the general that he folk guided
and warnode georne, and him þus sæde: gif ge mine
and warned eagerly and to-them thus said if ye my
beboda, he cwæð, rihtlice healdað, ðonne sænde ic þa
commandments he said rightly hold then send I the
gewideru, þe ealle eowre wæstmas and eorðlice tilþa fullice
weathers that all your fruits and earthly tillages fully
gebetað. and ic welan and wista gife eow genoge, and ge
improve and I wealth and provisions give to-you enough and ye
orsorge wunjað on lande, on griðe and on friðe under mynre
secure dwell in land in sanctuary and in peace under my
munde. and ic eow awerige wið hearma gehwilcne, þæt eow
protection and I you defend against of-harms each that you
bîte ne slîte here ne hunger, ne feonda mægn ahwar ne
bite nor tear army nor hunger nor of-enemies might anywhere —
geswænceð. eac ic siges mihte and mægenstrengðe swa micele
afflicts also I of-victory might and main-strength so much
eow sille, þæt ge eow to gamene feonda afillað oððe
to-you give that ye for-yourselves for sport of-enemies fell or
tofesjað swa fela, swa ge reccað. ic eow wille rædan and swiðe
drive-off as many as ye care I you will counsel and greatly
aræran and freondscipe cyðan mid rihtan getrywðan, wealdan
raise and friendship show with right loyalty cause
eow blisse and micelre lisse, habban eow to þegnan and beon
you bliss and great favor have you as thanes and be
eow for mundboran, gif ge me gehirað, swa swa me licað.
for-you as protector if ye me obey so as to-me pleases

and gif ge þonne fram me hwyrfað eowre heortan and lara 132.25
and if ye then from me turn your hearts and teachings
and laga mine forgimað oððe oferhogjað, þonne sceal eow
and laws my neglect or despise then shall to-you
sona weaxan to hearme wædl and wawa, sacu and wracu, here
at-once grow to harm poverty and woe strife and vengeance army
and hunger; and sculon eowre heortan eargjan swiðe and
and hunger and shall your hearts grow-cowardly greatly and
eowra feonda mægen strangjan þearle, and ge tofesede swiðe
of-your enemies might strengthen severely and ye scattered greatly
afirhte oft litel werod earhlice forbugað. and eow unwæstm
frightened often little troop cowardly flee-from and to-you crop-failure
þurh unweder gelome gelimpeð, and stalu and steorfa swiðe
through bad-weather often befalls and theft and pestilence greatly
gehŷneð, and ge beoð gesealde feondum to gewealde, þa eow
afflicts and ye are given to-enemies into power who you
geyrmað and swiðe geswencað. land hy awestað and burga
impoverish and greatly afflict land they lay-waste and cities
forbærnað and æhta forspillað, and eard hy amirrað. and,
burn and possessions destroy and homeland they ruin and
þonne land wurðeð for sinnum forworden and þæs folces
when land becomes for sins ruined and of-the people
duguð swiðost fordwineð, þonne fehð seo wealaf sorhful and
host most dwindles then begins the remnant sorrowful and
sarigmod geomrigendum môde synna bemænan and sarlice
sad-minded with-mourning mind sins bewail and grievously
sŷfjan, þæt hy and heora yldran me swa gegræmedon, þurh
lament that they and their ancestors me so angered through
þæt hi noldon mine lage healdan, ac me ofersawon on
that they would-not my law hold but me despised in
mænigfealde wisan. and þonne wurð seo heardnes stiðmodre
manifold ways and then becomes the hardness of-stubborn

heortan, þeah hit læt wære, swiðe gehnexad þurh grimlice
heart though it late were greatly softened through grim
stêora and heardlice ðreala, þe ic on þæt mancyn sænde
punishments and hard rebukes that I on the mankind send
for gewyrhtum. and hi þonne clipjað and helpes me biddað
for deeds and they then call and help me ask
and unriht forlætað and to rihte gebugað;
and wrong forsake and to right turn
133.22 and ic eac þonne sona wurðe gemindig ærran behata and
and I also then at-once become mindful of-former promises and
ealra þara þinga, þe ic heora yldran jû ær geuðe; and
of-all the things that I to-their ancestors formerly before granted and
heom ic þonne siððan ræde and ryme, gif hi me willað
to-them I then afterward counsel and make-room if they me will
hiran mid rihte. þæt land ic gefriðige, and þæt folc ic
obey with right the land I protect and the folk I
generige, and blisse and lisse ic sænde on þa þeode, þe me
save and bliss and favor I send on the nation that me
wile lufjan and rihtlice hyran. þis sind þa godes word, þe god
will love and rightly obey these are the of-god words that god
silf gedihte and Moyse befæste, and eal hit mæg to bisene
self set-down and to-Moses entrusted and all it can as example
æghwilcere þeode, gime, se þe wille. god us gehealde, amen.
for-every nation let-heed he who will god us let-keep amen

Sermo de cena domini

XXXII · A SERMON FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

Bishops put open sinners out of the church at the beginning of Lent and bring them back on Maundy Thursday, and Wulfstan explains why: God made Adam holy and placed him in paradise, and when he sinned, God, the bishop of all bishops, drove him out, until Christ brought him into the heavenly church. So bishops drive out the sin-ruined until penance restores them, and a penitent waits outside as one who has angered his lord.

Leofan men, ic wille cyðan eow eallum and þam huru, 153.6
Dear men I will make-known to-you all and to-those especially
þe hit ær nystan, hwanan seo bysn ærest arâs, þæt
who it before knew-not whence the example first arose that
bisceopas ascadað ut of cyrican on foreweardan lenctene
bishops separate out of church at early Lent
þa men, þe mid openan heafodgyltan hy sylfe forgyltað,
the men who with open capital-sins them selves make-guilty
and eft hy æfter geornfulre dædbote into cyrican lædað
and again them after eager penance into church lead
on þam dæge, þe bið cena domini, ealswa todæg is. ure
on the day that is supper of-lord just-as today is our
drihten gescop and geworhte Adâm, þone forman man,
lord created and made Adam the first man
haligne and clænne and synleasne him sylfum to gelicnesse;
holy and pure and sinless to-him self in likeness
and ða sylfan gelicnesse ure drihten eac lærde and fæste
and the same likeness our lord also taught and firmly
bebead, þæt we georne on us sylfum habban and healdan
commanded that we eagerly in us selves have and hold

sculan. he cwæð: ‘estote sancti, quia et ego sanctus
must he said be holy because also I holy
sum.’
am
153.18 Leofan men, we rædað on bocum, þæt for Adames
Dear men we read in books that for of-Adam
godnesse and for his halignesse god hine gelogode on
goodness and for his holiness god him placed in
fruman in paradŷso on ealre myrhðe and on ealre mærðe.
beginning in paradise in all mirth and in all glory
ðær he geseah godes englas and wið spæc, and wið
there he saw of-god angels and with spoke and with
god sylfne he spæc, and næfre he ne swulte ne deað
god self he spoke and never he — would-die nor death
ne þolode ne sâr ne sorge næfre ne gebide, nære
— suffered nor pain nor sorrow ever — experienced not-were
þæt he syngode. ac sona swa he syngode and ðurh
that he sinned but as-soon as he sinned and through
deofles lare breac forbodenes, sona god sylfa, þe is
of-devil teaching partook forbidden at-once god self who is
ealra bisceopa bisceop, anydde ût þone Adam of ðære
of-all bishops bishop drove out the Adam from the
myrhðe, þe he âr on wæs, and he syððan leofode her
mirth that he before in was and he afterward lived here
on worulde sarig and sorhful þa hwile, þe he leofode,
in world sorry and sorrowful the while that he lived
and æfter þam ferde to helle and þær þa syðþan wunode
and after that went to hell and there then afterward dwelt
lange on yrmðe, oð þæt Crist hine þanon þurh his
long in misery until that Christ him thence through his
mildheortnysse of yrmðum brohte, and hine into þære
mercy from miseries brought and him into the

heofonlican cyrican syððan gelædde, þe he a syðþan inne
heavenly church afterward led that he ever afterward within
on wunode mid godes englum and mid his halgum on
in dwelt with of-god angels and with his saints in
êcan wuldre.
eternal glory
Leofan men, bisceopas syndon to þam gesette on þisre 154.11
Dear men bishops are for that appointed in this
worulde, þæt hy georne sculon be Cristes bysene and be
world that they eagerly must by of-Christ example and by
his lare godes folc wenjan to þam, þe heom þearf sy.
his teaching of-god folk accustom to that which for-them need be
and æfter þære bysne, þe god sylf on Adame astealde,
and after the example that god self on Adam established
þe he hine for his halignesse and for his godnesse on
when he him for his holiness and for his goodness in
fruman in paradyso gelogode, æfter þære bysene we laþjað
beginning in paradise placed after the example we invite
and logjað cristene men into godes huse. and we lærað,
and place Christian men into of-god house and we teach
þæt ælc gefullod man sy æfter his fulluhte halig and
that each baptized man be after his baptism holy and
ðurh þæs halgan fulluhtes halignesse þæs wel wyrðe, þæt
through of-the holy baptism holiness of-that well worthy that
he on cyrican oft syððan gewunige and godes lare and
he in church often afterward dwell and of-god teaching and
lage gelome gehyre. and we lærað, þæt gehwa eac þa
law often hear and we teach that each-one also them
swyðe fæste rihtlice healde and hi swyðe georne smeage
very firmly rightly hold and them very eagerly consider
gelome. and gif hwylc man þonne godes lage swa swyðe
often and if any man then of-god law so greatly

abrece, þæt he hine sylfne openlice wið god forwyrce
break that he him self openly against god ruin
mid healicre misdæde, þonne be þære bysene, þe god on
with grievous misdeed then by the example that god on
Adame astealde, þa þa he hine nydde ût of paradîso,
Adam established then when he him drove out of paradise
be ðære bysne we eac nydað ût þa forsyngodan of
by the example we also drive out the sin-ruined from
godes cyrican, oð þæt hi mid eadmodre dædbote hi
of-god church until that they with humble penance them
sylfe geinnjan to þam, þæt we hy þyder in eft lædan
selves restore to that that we them thither in again lead
durran, ealswa we todæg þa don willað, þe þas halgan
dare just-as we today those do will who this holy
tîd geornlice bettan, þæt hy ær bræcon. understande eac
time eagerly amended what they before broke let-understand also
cristenra manna gehwylc, þæt þæt forbod huslganges
of-Christian men each that the prohibition of-communion-going
and înganges into cyrican is eal þearflic þam dædbetan,
and of-entrance into church is all profitable to-the penitent
þe ariht understandan can, þæt he hine sylfne on his
who aright understand can that he him self in his
geðance for his misdædan swyðe þreage and hine sylfne
thought for his misdeeds greatly rebuke and him self
gecnawe swa forworhtne, þæt he þæra ðinga wyrðe ne sy,
know so guilty that he of-the things worthy not be
þe þa men syndon, þe hy sylfe habbað gehealden mid
that those men are who them selves have held with
rihte.
right

and ðeah æfre, swa se man sy swyðor forsingod, swa he 155.7
and yet ever the that man be more sin-ruined the he
geornor and gelomor godes hus sece dæges and nihtes and
more-eagerly and more-often of-god house let-seek by-day and by-night and
cneowige þær ute oft and gelome and clypige to Criste
let-kneel there outside often and frequently and let-call to Christ
geomerjendum mode and talige hine sylfne wið god swa
with-mourning mind and let-reckon him self against god so
forworhtne, þæt he wyrðe ne sŷ, þæt he gân mote into
guilty that he worthy not be that he go may into
godes huse; and æfre, swa he hine sylfne swyðor geeadmed
of-god house and ever the he him self more humbles
on his dædbote, swa byð his dædbot gode andfengre, and
in his penance the is his penance to-god more-acceptable and
godes mildheortnes him micle þe gearwre. and ure ælc
of-god mercy to-him much the readier and of-us each
mæg be woruldlican þingan eac georne gecnawan, þæt,
can by worldly things also eagerly know that
gyf hwa hæfð his hlaforde sare abolgen, ne bið him
if anyone has his lord sorely angered not is for-him
na gebeorhlic, þæt he in him ætforan gâ, ær he gebete.
— safe that he in him before go before he amend
ne huru ne bið na gebeorhlic, þam þe wið god hæfð
nor indeed — is — safe for-him who against god has
forworht hine sylfne ealles to swyðe mid openlicre dæde,
ruined him self altogether too greatly with open deed
þæt he to hrædlice into godes huse æfter þam racige, ac
that he too quickly into of-god house after that hasten but
stande þær ute and bete swyðe georne, swa swa him
let-stand there outside and let-amend very eagerly so as him
man tæce, oð þæt he mid hreowsunge and mid geornfulre
one teach until that he with repentance and with eager

bote geinnige hine sylfne, swa biscop him tæce, into godes
amends restore him self as bishop him teach into of-god
huse;
house
155.25 and ðonne mæg se biscop eac þæs mannes syngrina þurh
and then can the bishop also of-the man sin-snares through
godes þafunge þe swyðor geliðjan, þe þus wile georne mid
of-god consent the more soften who thus will eagerly with
eadmodre heortan helpan him sylfan. eala leofan men, utan
humble heart help him self O dear men let-us
dôn ealle, swa swa us þearf is, utan helpan ure sylfra,
do all so as to-us need is let-us help our selves
and utan anmodlice eallum mode gebugan to Criste and
and let-us unanimously with-all mind turn to Christ and
earnjan his miltse, swa we georнost magon. he is swyðe
earn his mercy as we most-eagerly can he is very
milde and him symle sy lof and wyrðmynt æfre to
mild and to-him ever let-be praise and honor ever to
worulde, amen.
world amen

Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, quando Dani maxime persecuti sunt eos, quod fuit anno millesimo xiiii ab incarnatione domini nostri Jesu Cristi

XXXIII · THE SERMON OF THE WOLF TO THE ENGLISH

The world hastens to its end and grows worse. For years the devil has led the English astray: God's dues are withheld, where heathens dare withhold nothing from their idols, churches stripped, widows forced to marry, and the innocent sold abroad. So come armies, famine, and plague. Edward was betrayed and killed and Æthelred driven out; slaves run to the Vikings, one seaman puts ten to flight, and thanes watch their wives and daughters abused. Only God's anger explains it, and only repentance can bring the remedy.

Leofan men, gecnawað, þæt soð is: ðeos woruld is on ofste, 156.4
Dear men know what true is this world is in haste
and hit nealæcð þam ende, and ðy hit is on worulde
and it approaches the end and therefore it is in world
a, swa leng, swa wyrse, and swa hit sceal nyde ær
ever the longer the worse and so it shall of-necessity before
Antecristes tocyme yfeljan swyðe. understandað eac georne,
of-Antichrist coming grow-evil greatly understand also eagerly
þæt deofol þas þeode nu fela geara dwelode to swyðe,
that devil this nation now many years led-astray too greatly
and þæt lytle getrywða wæron mid mannum, þeah hi wel
and that little loyalties were among men though they well
spæcan, and unrihta to fela ricsode on lande; and næs a
spoke and wrongs too many reigned in land and not-was ever
fela manna, þe hogade ymbe þa bote swa georne, swa man
many men who cared about the remedy as eagerly as one
scolde, ac dæghwamlice man ihte yfel æfter oðrum and unriht
should but daily one added evil after other and wrong
rærde and unlaga manege ealles to wide gynd ealle þas
raised and unlaws many altogether too widely throughout all this

ðeode. and we eac forðam habbað fela byrsta and bysmara
nation and we also therefore have many injuries and insults
gebiden, and gyf we ænige bote gebidan sculan, þonne mote
endured and if we any remedy await shall then must
we þæs to gode earnjan bet, þonne we ær ðison dydon.
we that from god earn better than we before this did
forðam mid miclan earnungan we geearnodon þa yrmða, þe
because with great deserts we earned the miseries that
us on sittað and mid swyðe miclan earnungan we þa bote
us on sit and with very great deserts we the remedy
motan æt gode geræcan, gyf hit sceal heonanforð godjende
must from god obtain if it shall henceforth improving
wurðan. la hwæt, we witan ful georne, þæt to myclan
become o lo we know full well that to great
bryce sceal micel bôt nyde and to miclum bryne wæter
breach shall great remedy of-necessity and to great burning water
unlytel, gif man þæt fyr sceal to ahte acwæncan.
not-little if one the fire shall to aught quench
157.10 and mycel is nydþearf manna gehwylcum, þæt he godes
and great is necessity of-men to-each that he of-god
lage gyme heonanforð georne and godes gerihta mid rihte
law heed henceforth eagerly and of-god dues with right
gelæste. on hæþenum þeodum ne dear man forhealdan lytel
pay among heathen nations not dare one withhold little
ne mycel, þæs þe gelagod is to gedwolgoda weorðunge;
nor much of-that which appointed is for of-false-gods worship
and we forhealdað æghwær godes gerihta ealles to gelome.
and we withhold everywhere of-god dues altogether too often
and ne dear man gewanjan on hæðenum þeodum inne
and not dare one diminish among heathen nations within
ne ute ænig þæra þinga, þe gedwolgodan gebroht bið and
nor without any of-the things that to-false-gods brought is and

to lacum betæht bið; and we habbað godes hûs inne and
as offerings assigned is and we have of-god houses within and
ute clæne berypte. and godes þeowas syndan mæþe and
without clean stripped and of-god servants are respect and
munde gewelhwar bedælde; and gedwolgoda þenan ne dear
protection nearly-everywhere deprived and of-false-gods servants not dare
man misbeodan on ænige wisan mid hæþenum leodum,
one mistreat in any way among heathen peoples
swa swa man godes þeowum nu deð to wide, þær cristene
so as one of-god servants now does too widely where Christians
scoldan godes lage healdan and godes þeowas griðjan.
should of-god law hold and of-god servants protect
Ac soð is, þæt ic secge, þearf is þære bote, forðam godes 158.4
But true is what I say need is of-the remedy because of-god
gerihta wanedan nu lange innan þysse þeode on æghwylcum
dues waned now long within this nation in every
ende, and folclaga wyrsedan ealles to swyðe, and halignessa
region and folk-laws worsened altogether too greatly and sanctuaries
syndon to griðlease wide, and godes hus syndon to clæne
are too unprotected widely and of-god houses are too wholly
berypte ealdra gerihta and innan bestrypte ælcra gerysena,
stripped old dues and within stripped all fittings
and godcunde hadas wæron nu lange swiðe forsawene and
and divine orders were now long greatly despised and
wydewan fornydde on unriht to ceorle and to mænige
widows forced in wrong to husband and too many
foryrmde and earme men beswicene and hreowlice besyrwde
impoverished and poor men deceived and cruelly ensnared
and ut of ðisan earde wide gesealde swyðe unforworhte
and out of this land widely sold very innocent
fremdum to gewealde and cradolcild geþeowode þurh
to-strangers into power and cradle-children enslaved through

wælhreowe unlaga for lytelre þyfðe, and freoriht fornumene
cruel unlaws for little theft and free-rights taken-away
and ðrælriht generwde and ælmesriht gewanode, and hrædest
and slave-rights restricted and alms-rights diminished and quickest
is to cweþenne godes laga laðe and lara forsewene; and
is to say of-god laws hateful and teachings despised and
ðæs we habbað ealle þurh godes yrre bysmor gelome,
of-that we have all through of-god anger shame often
gecnawe, se ðe cunne; and se byrst wyrð gemæne, þeah
let-know he who can and the injury becomes common though
man swa ne wene, ealre þisse þeode, butan god beorge.
one so not think to-all this nation unless god protect
159.5 Forðam hit is on us eallum swutol and gesyne, þæt we
Because it is on us all clear and evident that we
ær þysan oftor bræcan, þonne we bettan, and ðy
before this more-often broke than we amended and therefore
is þisse þeode fela onsæge. ne dohte hit nu lange inne
is to-this nation many assailing not availed it now long within
ne ute, ac wæs here and hunger, bryne and blodgyte on
nor without but was army and hunger burning and bloodshed in
gewelhwylcon ende oft and gelome; and us stalu and cwalu,
nearly-every region often and frequently and us theft and slaughter
stric and steorfa, orfcwealm and uncoðu, hol and hete and
plague and pestilence cattle-murrain and disease slander and hate and
rypera reaflac derede swyðe þearle, and us ungylda swyðe
of-robbers plunder harmed very severely and us excessive-taxes greatly
gedrehton, and us unwedera for oft weoldan unwæstma;
afflicted and us bad-seasons very often caused crop-failures
forðam on þisan earde wæs, swa hit þincan mæg, nu fela
because in this land was as it seem may now many
geara unrihta fela and tealte getrywða æghwær mid mannum.
years wrongs many and unstable loyalties everywhere among men

ne bearh nu for oft gesib gesibban þe ma, þe fremdan,
not protected now very often kinsman kinsman the more than stranger
ne fæder his bearne ne hwilum bearn his agenum fæder
nor father his child nor at-times child his own father
ne broðor oðrum; ne ure ænig his lif ne fadode, swa swa
nor brother another nor of-us any his life — ordered so as
he scolde, ne gehadode regollice ne læwede lahlice; ne ænig
he should nor ordained by-rule nor lay lawfully nor any
wið oþerne getrywlice ne þohte swa rihte, swa he scolde,
toward other loyally — thought as rightly as he should
ac mæst ælc swicode and oðrum derede wordes and dæde.
but almost each deceived and another harmed of-word and deed
and huru unrihtlice mæst ælc oþerne æftan heaweð mid
and indeed unjustly almost each other from-behind hews with
scandlican onscytan, do mâre, gyf he mæge. forðam her syn
shameful attacks let-do more if he can because here are
on lande ungetrywða micle for gode and for worulde, and
in land disloyalties great before god and before world and
eac her syn on earde on mistlice wisan hlafordswican manege.
also here are in land in various ways lord-betrayers many
and ealra mæst hlafordswice se bið on worulde, þæt man his 160.8
and of-all greatest lord-betrayal it is in world that one of-his
hlafordes saule beswice; and ful mycel hlafordswice eac bið
lord soul betray and full great lord-betrayal also is
on worulde, þæt man his hlaford of life forræde oððon of
in world that one his lord from life betray or from
lande lifjendne drife; and ægðer is geworden on þisan earde:
land living drive and both is happened in this land
Eadwerd man forrædde and syððan acwealde and æfter þam
Edward one betrayed and afterward killed and after that
forbærnde, and Æþelred man dræfde ut of his earde. and
burned and Æthelred one drove out of his land and

godsibbas and godbearn to fela man forspilde wide gynd
sponsors and godchildren too many one destroyed widely throughout
þas þeode; and ealles to manege halige stowa wide forwurdan
this nation and altogether too many holy places widely perished
þurh þæt, þe man sume men ær þam gelogode, swa man
through that that one some men before that placed as one
na ne scolde, gif man on godes griðe mæðe witan wolde;
not — should if one on of-god sanctuary respect know would
and cristenes folces to fela man gesealde ut of þysan earde
and of-Christian folk too much one sold out of this land
nu ealle hwile; and eal þæt is gode lað, gelyfe, se ðe wille.
now all while and all that is to-god hateful let-believe he who will
161.6 Eac we witan ful georne, hwær seo yrmð gewearð, þæt fæder
Also we know full well where the misery happened that father
gesealde bearn wið weorðe and bearn his modor and broðor
sold child for price and child his mother and brother
oþerne fremdum to gewealde; and eal þæt syndon micle
another to-strangers into power and all that are great
and egeslice dæda, understande, se ðe wille. and gyt hit is
and terrible deeds let-understand he who will and yet it is
mare and eac mænigfealdre, þæt dereð þysse þeode. mænige
more and also more-manifold that harms this nation many
syndan forsworene and swyðe forlogene, and wed synd
are forsworn and greatly perjured and pledges are
tobrocene oft and gelome, and þæt is gesyne on þisse þeode,
broken often and frequently and that is evident in this nation
þæt us godes yrre hetelice on sit, gecnawe, se ðe cunne.
that us of-god anger fiercely on sits let-know he who can
162.3 And la, hu mæg mare scamu þurh godes yrre mannum
And o how can more shame through of-god anger men
gelimpan, þonne us deð gelome for agenum gewyrhtum?
befall than us does often for own deeds

ðeah þræla hwylc hlaforde æthleape and of cristendome
though of-slaves any from-lord escape and from Christendom
to wicinge weorðe, and hit æfter þam eft geweorðe, þæt
to viking become and it after that again happen that
wæpngewrixl weorðe gemæne þegene and þræle, gyf þræl
weapon-exchange become common to-thane and slave if slave
þæne þegen fullice afylle, licge ægylde ealre his mægðe;
the thane fully fell let-lie unpaid-for to-all his kin
and gyf se þegen þæne þræl, þe he ær ahte, fullice afylle,
and if the thane the slave that he before owned fully fell
gylde þegengylde. ful earhlice laga and scandlice nydgyld
let-pay thane-price full cowardly laws and shameful tributes
þurh godes yrre us syn gemæne, understande, se ðe cunne;
through of-god anger to-us are common let-understand he who can
and fela ungelimpa gelimpð þysse þeode oft and gelome. ne
and many misfortunes befall this nation often and frequently not
dohte hit nu lange inne ne ute, ac wæs here and hete on
availed it now long within nor without but was army and hate in
gewelhwilcum ende oft and gelome, and Engle nu lange eal
nearly-every region often and frequently and English now long all
sigelease and to swyðe geyrgde þurh godes yrre, and flotmen
victoryless and too greatly disheartened through of-god anger and seamen
swa strange þurh godes þafunge, þæt oft on gefeohte an
so strong through of-god consent that often in battle one
feseð tyne and hwilum læs, hwilum mâ eal for urum
drives-off ten and at-times less at-times more all for our
synnum. and oft tyne oððe twelfe ælc æfter oðrum scendað
sins and often ten or twelve each after other disgrace
and tawjað to bysmore þæs þegnes cwenan and hwilum his
and abuse to shame of-the thane wife and at-times his

dohtor oððe nydmagan, þær he on locað, þe læt hine
daughter or kinswoman where he on looks who considers him
sylfne rancne and ricne and genoh godne, ær þæt gewurde.
self proud and powerful and enough good before that happened
163.1 and oft þræl þæne þegen, þe ær wæs his hlaford, cnyt
and often slave the thane who before was his lord binds
swyðe fæste and wyrcð him to þræle þurh godes yrre. wala
very fast and makes him into slave through of-god anger alas
þære yrmðe and wala þære woruldscame, þe nu habbað Engle
of-the misery and alas of-the world-shame that now have English
eal þurh godes yrre. oft twegen sæmen oððe þry hwilum
all through of-god anger often two seamen or three at-times
drifað þa drafe cristenra manna fram sæ̂ to sæ̂ ut ðurh
drive the drove of-Christian men from sea to sea out through
þas þeode gewylede togædere ûs eallum to woruldscame,
this nation crowded together to-us all as world-shame
gyf we on eornost ænige cuðan oððon we woldan ariht
if we in earnest any knew or we would aright
understandan. ac ealne þæne bysmor, þe we oft þoljað, we
understand but all the shame that we often suffer we
gyldað mid weorðscype þam, þe us scendað. we him gyldað
repay with honor to-those who us disgrace we them pay
singallice, and hy us hynað dæghwamlice; hy hergjað and
continually and they us humiliate daily they harry and
heawað, bændað and bismrjað, rypað and reafjað and to scipe
hew bind and mock rob and plunder and to ship
lædað; and la, hwæt is ænig oðer on eallum þam gelimpum
lead and o what is any other in all the events
butan godes yrre ofer þas þeode swytol and gesyne?
except of-god anger over this nation clear and evident

Nis eac nan wundor, þeah us mislimpe, forðam we witan ful 163.16
Not-is also any wonder though us befall-ill because we know full
georne, þæt nu fela geara men na ne rohton for oft, hwæt hy
well that now many years men not — cared very often what they
worhtan wordes oððe dæde, ac wearð þes þeodscype, swa hit
wrought of-word or deed but became this nation as it
þincan mæg, swyðe forsyngod þurh mænigfealde synna and
seem may greatly sin-ruined through manifold sins and
ðurh fela misdæda: ðurh morðdæda and ðurh mândæda, þurh
through many misdeeds through murders and through crimes through
gitsunga and ðurh gifernessa, þurh stala and þurh strudunga,
greeds and through gluttonies through thefts and through robberies
þurh mânsylena and ðurh hæþene unsida, þurh swicdomas
through sales-of-men and through heathen vices through treacheries
and ðurh searacræftas, þurh lahbrycas and ðurh æswicas,
and through crafty-arts through law-breakings and through law-offenses
þurh mægræsas and ðurh manslihtas, þurh hadbrycas and
through kin-assaults and through manslaughters through order-breakings and
ðurh æwbrycas, þurh sibblegeru and ðurh mistlice forligru.
through adulteries through incests and through various fornications
and eac syndan wide, swa we ær cwædan, þurh aðbrycas
and also are widely as we before said through oath-breakings
and ðurh wedbrycas and ðurh mistlice leasunga forloren and
and through pledge-breakings and through various lies lost and
forlogen ma, þonne scolde, and freolsbricas and fæstenbricas
perjured more than should and feast-breakings and fast-breakings
wide geworhte oft and gelome. and eac her syn on
widely wrought often and frequently and also here are in
earde godes wiðersacan and cyrichatan hetole and leodhatan
land of-god apostates and church-haters hostile and people-haters
grimme ealles to manege and oferhogan wide godcundra
grim altogether too many and despisers widely of-divine

rihtlaga and cristenra þeawa and hocorwyrde dysige æghwær
right-laws and of-Christian customs and scornful fools everywhere
on þeode oftost on þa þing, þe swiðost to godes lage
in nation most-often at the things that most to of-god law
gebyrjað mid rihte. and þy is nu geworden wide and side
belong with right and therefore is now become wide and far
to ful yfelan gewunan, þæt menn scamað for gôdan dædan
to full evil custom that men are-ashamed for good deeds
swyðor, þonne for misdædan; forðam to oft man mid hocere
more than for misdeeds because too often one with scorn
gôde dæda hyrweð and godfyrhte lehtreð ealles to swyðe;
good deeds derides and god-fearing reviles altogether too greatly
164.18 and swyðost man tæleð and mid olle gegreteð ealles to
and most one blames and with contempt greets altogether too
gelome þa, ðe riht lufjað and godes ege habbað be ænigum
often those who right love and of-god fear have in any
dæle. and ðurh þæt þe man swa deð, þæt man eal hyrweð, þæt
part and through that that one so does that one all derides what
man scolde herjan, and to forð laþet, þæt man scolde lufjan,
one should praise and too far loathes what one should love
þurh þæt man gebringeð ealles to manege on yfelan geðance
through that one brings altogether too many into evil thought
and on undæde, swa þæt hy ne scamað nâ, þeah hy syngjan
and into misdeed so that they not are-ashamed — though they sin
swyðe and wið god sylfne forwyrcan hi mid ealle, ac for
greatly and against god self ruin themselves with all but for
idelan onscytan hy scamað, þæt hy betan heora misdæda, swa
idle attacks they are-ashamed that they amend their misdeeds so
swa bec tæcan, gelice þam dwæsan, þe for heora prytan lewe
as books teach like the fools who for their pride injury
nellað beorgan, ær hy na ne mâgan, þeah hy eall willan.
not-will guard before they not — can though they all will

Ac la, on godes naman utan dôn, swa us neod is, beorgan 166.1
But o in of-god name let-us do as to-us need is protect
us sylfum, swa we geornost magan, þe læs we ætgædere ealle
us selves as we most-eagerly can the less we together all
forweorðan. and utan don, swa us þearf is, gebugan to rihte
perish and let-us do as to-us need is turn to right
and be suman dæle unriht forlætan and betan swyðe georne,
and in some part wrong forsake and amend very eagerly
þæt we ær bræcan. and utan god lufjan and godes lagum
what we before broke and let-us god love and of-god laws
fyligean and gelæstan swyðe georne þæt, þæt we behetan,
follow and perform very eagerly that which we promised
þa we fulluht underfengan, oððon þa, ðe æt fulluhte
when we baptism received or those who at baptism
ure forespecan wæron. and utan word and weorc rihtlice
our sponsors were and let-us word and work rightly
fadjan and ure ingeðanc clænsjan georne and að and wedd
order and our inner-thought cleanse eagerly and oath and pledge
wærlice healdan and sume getrywða habban us betweonan
carefully hold and some loyalties have us between
butan uncræftan. and utan gelome understandan þone miclan
without deceits and let-us often understand the great
dom, þe we ealle to sculan, and beorhgan us georne wið
judgment that we all to must and protect us eagerly against
þone weallendan bryne hellewites and geearnjan us þa
the surging burning of-hell-torment and earn for-us the
mærða and ða myrhða, þe god hæfð gegearwod þam, ðe
glories and the joys that god has prepared for-those who
his willan on worulde gewyrcað. god ure helpe. amen.
his will in world work god us let-help amen

Sermo Lupi

XXXIV · A SERMON OF THE WOLF

The nation must order its life wisely before God and the world, for it delayed too long in restraining those who sinned most. Those who damage divine teaching and worldly law should be shamed; things are worse because men praised what they should deride. Once a man who stood in crime was disgraced; now the liar who can defend untruth is thought the wiser. We must love those who love God, shun those who anger him until they amend, and consider together what the nation needs.

167.12 Leofan men, utan understandan, ealswa us þearf is, þæt
Dear men let-us understand just-as to-us need is that
we heonanforð fadjan symle ure wisan for gode and for
we henceforth order ever our ways before god and before
worulde wislice and wærlice, and fram unrihte gebugan
world wisely and carefully and from wrong turn
to rihte, forþam hit is swytol and gesyne, þæt man þæs
to right because it is clear and evident that one that
latode ealles to lange and to hwon wylde and woruldlice
delayed altogether too long and too little controlled and worldly
styrde, swa swa man scolde, þam, ðe oftost for gode
restrained so as one should those who most-often before god
syngodon swyþe and scendan þas þeode. ac soð is, þæt
sinned greatly and disgraced this nation but true is what
ic secge, gyme, se ðe wille: þæt mæg on þeode swyðast to
I say let-heed he who will that can in nation most for
steore, þæt man þa onhisce swyðe for worulde and hy
correction that one those scorn greatly before world and them
unweorðige æghwar on lande, þa þe godcunde lare and
dishonor everywhere in land those who divine teaching and
woruldcunde rihtlage wyrdan and scyrdan on ænige wisan;
worldly right-law injure and diminish in any way

and ðurh þæt man sceal gewunjan, þæt man riht healde
and through that one shall become-accustomed that one right hold
and unriht alæte. ac þy hit is þe wyrse wide on earde,
and wrong abandon but therefore it is the worse widely in land
þe man oft herede, þæt man scolde hyrwan, and to forð
that one often praised what one should deride and too far
hyrwde, þæt man scolde herigean, and laþette to swyðe,
derided what one should praise and loathed too greatly
þæt man scolde lufjan. ac hwilum, þa hit god wæs, eal he
what one should love but formerly when it good was all he
wearð to woroldscame, se ðe stod on mane and on misdæde
became to world-shame he who stood in crime and in misdeed
ænige hwile, butan he gewende þe raðor to his drihtne;
any while unless he turned the sooner to his lord
and se ðe wolde leogan oftost on his wordon, ealle hine 168.16
and he who would lie most-often in his words all him
leadan, þa ðe god lufedan. and ða hit wæs on þeode for
loathed those who god loved and then it was in nation before
gode and for worulde wislic and weorðlic, þa man riht
god and before world wise and honorable when one right
lufode and unriht ascunode; ac nu þincð ðe wærra and micele
loved and wrong shunned but now seems the warier and much
þe snotera, se ðe can mid leasungan wæwerdlice werjan, and
the wiser he who can with lies deceitfully defend and
mid unsoðe soð oferswiðan. ac wa him þæs wærscypes and
with untruth truth overpower but woe to-him of-that craftiness and
ealles þæs weorðscypes, butan he geswice. la, riht is, þæt we
of-all that honor unless he cease o right is that we
lufjan þa, ðe god lufjan, and hetelice ascunjan þa, ðe god
love those who god love and fiercely shun those who god
græmjan, and nænne gemanan ær wið þa habban, ær ðam
anger and no fellowship before with those have before that

þe hy gebugan and geornlice betan, and se ðe þæt nelle,
that they turn and eagerly amend and he who that not-will
ehte we his ealle mid woruldlicre steore, þe læs þe we
let-persecute we him all with worldly correction the less that we
habban ænigne gemanan nu heora synna and eft heora
have any fellowship now of-their sins and afterward of-their
wita. ac utan don, swa us þearf is, utan god gladjan
torments but let-us do as to-us need is let-us god gladden
and godes lage healdan and anræde weorðan to gemænelican
and of-god law hold and resolute become for common
þearfan, and gyt hertoeacan geornlice smeagan fela þæs, ðe
need and yet in-addition eagerly consider much of-that which
ræd sy and ealre þeode þearf sy for gode and for worulde.
counsel be and of-all nation need be before god and before world

Be mistlican gelimpan

XXXV · ON VARIOUS CALAMITIES

When calamity strikes (army, famine, fire, bloodshed, bad harvests, murrain, or plague), men should seek the remedy from God alone, go to confession, and do penance as David and the Ninevites did. A three days' fast is to be ordered, with barefoot processions to church with relics, alms at every hearth and plow, masses from every priest, and psalms from all God's servants. Slaves are freed from work for the three days, and those who break the fast pay fixed penalties.

Gyf hit geweorðe, þæt on þeodscype becume healic 169.15
If it happen that on nation come grievous
ungelimp for manna gewyrhtan, here oððon hunger, bryne
misfortune for of-men deeds army or hunger burning
oððon blodgyte, unwæstm oððon unweder, orfcwealm oþðon
or bloodshed crop-failure or bad-weather cattle-murrain or
mancwealm þurh færlice uncoða, þonne sece man þa bote
man-pestilence through sudden diseases then let-seek one the remedy
ââ to gode sylfum. ealra þinga ærest [gâ man to scrifte
ever from god self of-all things first let-go one to confession
and] gebuge man to rihte and unriht forlæte, and ðonne
and let-turn one to right and wrong let-forsake and then
dô man syððan, swa swa Dauid dyde and eac mænig oðer,
let-do one afterward so as David did and also many other
geomerigendum mode clypige man to Criste; and, ealswa
with-mourning mind let-call one to Christ and just-as
Niniuête, [gyf man þæt geræde, gold and glencga alecge man
Ninevites if one that decide gold and ornaments let-lay-aside one
þa hwile, ælce wigwæpna and æghwylce woruldsaca læte man
the while each war-weapons and every world-strifes let one
stille, and] nime man [hæran oððon] wyllen to lice and fæste
still and let-take one haircloth or wool to body and let-fast

swyðe georne. god is swyðe milde. Niniuête wæron forsyngode
very eagerly god is very mild Ninevites were sin-ruined
swyðe, ac hy dydan, swa heom þearf wæs, gewendan to rihte
greatly but they did as to-them need was turned to right
and fengan on fæsten and ðingedan georne geomerigendum
and took to fast and interceded eagerly with-mourning
mode, and þæt mæg to bysne. utan don eac swa, swa oft
mind and that can as example let-us do also so as often
swa þæs neod sy, beode man sona þreora daga fæsten,
as of-that need be let-command one at-once of-three days fast
and sece gehwa his scrift swyðe georne and unscodum fotum
and let-seek each-one his confessor very eagerly and with-unshod feet
georne godes cyrican [dæges and nihtes], and gâ man mid
eagerly of-god church by-day and by-night and let-go one with
reliquium ût and mid letanîan, and sceote man ælmessan,
relics out and with litany and let-contribute one alms
be ðam þe man þonne to þearfe geræde: swa æt heafde
by that which one then for need decide either at head
peninc, swa æt sylh peninc, swa gesyfledne hlaf æt hreocendum
penny or at plow penny or relished loaf at smoking
heorðe, swa elles hwæt, swa witan þonne to ðearfe gerædan,
hearth or else what so councilors then for need decide
[hwilum weaxgescot, hwilum mealtgescot, hwilum ælmesbæð,
at-times wax-scot at-times malt-scot at-times alms-bath
hwilum fotþweal and ælmesgedal and] hwilum be teoþunge,
at-times foot-washing and alms-dole and at-times by tithing
hwilum be mannes efenwihte, hwilum be freotmen, and
at-times by of-man equal-weight at-times by freedmen and
hwilum ân, hwilum oðer witan scylan rædan folce to þearfe.
at-times one at-times other councilors must advise for-folk for need

and sacerda gehwylc dô, swa hit þearf is, on his mæssesangum 171.5
and of-priests each let-do as it need is in his mass-singings
sona swyðe georne clypige to Criste, [to æghwylcre neode man
at-once very eagerly let-call to Christ for every need one
hæfð on cyricbocum mæssan gesette, and tilige man georne
has in church-books masses set and let-strive one eagerly
mid þam and mid halgum gebedum ââ, þonne þearf sŷ; þæt
with them and with holy prayers ever when need be that
is hwene betere, þonne man to wiccan and to wigleran tilunge
is somewhat better than one to witches and to diviners remedy
sêce æt ænigre neode.] and ealle godes þeowas [don, swa hit
seek at any need and all of-god servants let-do as it
neod is,] mid sealmsangum þingjan georne [for ealle þas þeode
need is with psalm-singings let-intercede eagerly for all this nation
and æt ælcum tîdsange aþênedum limum sumne sealm singan
and at each hour-song with-outstretched limbs some psalm let-sing
preces and collecta and georнlice biddan are and miltse ealre
prayers and collects and eagerly let-ask favor and mercy for-all
þysse þeode,] and godes þearfan [myngje man gelome, þæt hy
this nation and of-god poor let-exhort one often that they
eac to Criste clypjan swyðe georne and] anrædlice gebiddan
also to Christ call very eagerly and resolutely pray
for ða, þe heom gôd don, and ælces mannes þeowetlingas
for those who to-them good do and of-each man slaves
[ealle] þa ðry dagas [,þe þæt fæsten aboden sy,] weorces
all the three days that the fast commanded be from-work
beon gefreode wið cyricsocne and wið þam, þe hy þæt fæsten
let-be freed for church-going and for that that they the fast
þe lustlicor gefæsten and wyrcan heom sylfum þæt, þæt hy
the more-gladly fast and work for-them selves that which they

willan [and clypjan to Criste eac swyðe georne]. and gyf
will and call to Christ also very eagerly and if
hi þonne þæt fæsten rihtlice ne gefæstan, þoljan þære hyde.
they then the fast rightly not fast let-forfeit the hide
172.1 and gyf frigman swa fræc sy, þæt he þæt fæsten abrece
and if freeman so bold be that he the fast break
oðþon his ælmessan rihtlice ne gelæste, swa swa hit gelagod
or his alms rightly not pay so as it appointed
sy, gebete þæt swa scire witan geceosan [oððon þus, gyf
be let-amend that as of-shire councilors choose or thus if
hit beon mæge: bonda mid þryttigan penigan, þegen mid
it be may householder with thirty pennies thane with
xxx scillingan. and, swa hwar swa þæt feoh up arise, dæle
thirty shillings and so where so the money up arise let-deal
man on godes est æghwylcne penig], and manna gehwylc
one for of-god favor every penny and of-men each
dæle on godes est georne godes þearfum þæne sylfan mete,
let-deal for of-god favor eagerly of-god to-poor the same food
þe he wolde brucan, gyf him þæt fæsten swa geboden nære.
that he would enjoy if to-him the fast so commanded not-were
and huru is mæst þearf, þæt man fram unrihte gebuge to
and indeed is greatest need that one from wrong turn to
rihte and yfeles geswice and godes lage healde and godcundre
right and evil cease and of-god law hold and divine
lare gyme swyðe georne and rihtlice gelæste eall, þæt man
teaching heed very eagerly and rightly perform all that one
behâte on godes est to dônne. god us gehealde. amen.
promise for of-god favor to do god us let-keep amen

To eallum folce

XXXVI · TO ALL THE PEOPLE

The same ordinance for calamity in another form: a three days' fast on bread, salt, and herbs, processions with relics and holy water, alms at plow and hearth, masses and psalms, and slaves freed from work. Freemen who break the fast pay what the shire-bishop and councilors decide. The warning is Saul's army, defeated because Jonathan unknowingly tasted honey during a fast his father's councilors had proclaimed: one man's guilt brings God's wrath on all the people.

Gif hit gewyrþe, þæt on þeodscipe becume healic ongelimp 172.16
If it happen that on nation come grievous misfortune
for manna gewyrtan, here oþþe huncger, manncwealm oððe
for of-men deeds army or hunger man-pestilence or
orfcwealm, bryne oþþe blodgyte oþþe ungelimplice gewyderu
cattle-murrain burning or bloodshed or unseasonable weathers
oþþe færlic coþa oþþe færlic deaþ, þonne sece man a þa
or sudden disease or sudden death then let-seek one ever the
bote to gode sylfum. ealra þincga ærest gebuge man to rihte
remedy from god self of-all things first let-turn one to right
and ælc unriht forlæte, þonne do man georne, ealswa Dauid
and each wrong let-forsake then let-do one eagerly just-as David
cincg dyde, leornigendum mode fo on dædbote, þa þæt
king did with-learning mind let-take to penance when the
folc agilt hæfde; and ealswa Niniueue, nyman wyllan to lice
folk sinned had and just-as Ninevites let-take wool to body
and fæste swiþe jeorne. god is swiþe milde. Niniuete wæron
and let-fast very eagerly god is very mild Ninevites were
forsingode swiþe, ah hi dydon, swa heom to donne wæs,
sin-ruined greatly but they did as for-them to do was
fæstan þry dagas on ann and þingodan jorne wiþ god, and
fasted three days in one and interceded eagerly with god and

god ælmihtig þa heom eallum gemildsode þurh þæt strange
god almighty then to-them all showed-mercy through the strong
fæstan and be hreowsuncge, þe hi dydon. ute don eac swa,
fast and by repentance that they did let-us do also so
ealswa hi dydon, swa oft swa hit neod sig, ealswa nu is micel
just-as they did so often as it need be just-as now is great
neod ofer eal þysne eard, þonne beode mann sona þreora
need over all this land then let-command one at-once of-three
daga fæsten to berenan hlafe, to sealte and to grenan wyrtan;
days fast on barley bread on salt and on green herbs
and sece gehwa his scrift swiþe jeorne and unsceoddum
and let-seek each-one his confessor very eagerly and with-unshod
fotum georne to godes cyrcan, and ga man mid haligdome
feet eagerly to of-god church and let-go one with relics
ut and mid haligwætere, and sceote man ælmessan, be
out and with holy-water and let-contribute one alms by
þam þe man geræde, swa æt soluh penig, swa sylflende hlaf
that which one decide either at plow penny or relished loaf
æt hreocendum heorþe, swa elles hwæt, swa witan þonne to
at smoking hearth or else what so councilors then for
þearfe and gerædan for ealles folces neode, hwilan be mannes
need and decide for of-all folk need at-times by of-man
teoþuncge, hwilan be mannes efenwihte, hwilan be freodmenn,
tithing at-times by of-man equal-weight at-times by freedmen
hwilan an, hwilan oþer witan sceolan rædan folce to þearfe.
at-times one at-times other councilors must advise for-folk for need
173.19 and mæssepreosta gehwylc do, swa hit micel þearf is, on
and of-mass-priests each let-do as it great need is in
his mæssesancgum clipje to Criste, and ealle godes þeawas
his mass-singings let-call to Christ and all of-god servants
mid sealmsange þingjan jorne, and godes þearfan anrædlice
with psalm-singing let-intercede eagerly and of-god poor resolutely

gebiddan for þam, þe heom god doþ, and þeowlincgas þa
let-pray for those who to-them good do and slaves the
þry dagas ælces weorces beon frige wið þam, þe hig þæt
three days from-each work let-be free for that that they the
fæstan þe lustlicor fæstan, wyrcan heom sylfan þæt, þæt hi
fast the more-gladly fast work for-them selves that which they
willan. and gif hi þonne na þæt fæsten rihtlice ne healdan,
will and if they then not the fast rightly — hold
þonne þoljan hi þære hide. and gif frigman swa fræc
then let-forfeit they the hide and if freeman so bold
sig, þæt þæt fæsten tobrece oþþe his ælmessan rihtlice na
be that the fast break or his alms rightly not
gelæste, swa hit gelagod sig, bete þæt, swa se scirbisceop
pay as it appointed be let-amend that as the shire-bishop
and eal scirwitan rihtlicost deman, swa þæt oðre manega
and all shire-councilors most-rightly judge so that others many
beon gestyrde be þam. and manna gehwilc dæle jorne godes
be restrained by that and of-men each let-deal eagerly of-god
þearfan þone sylfan mete, þe he wolde brucan, gif him þæt
to-poor the same food that he would enjoy if to-him the
fæsten swa geboden nære. and huru is mæst þearf, þæt man
fast so commanded not-were and indeed is greatest need that one
fram unrihte gebuge to rihte, and na sig nan gehadod man
from wrong turn to right and not let-be any ordained man
to þam dyrstig, þæt he æfre life ænigan men þis fæsten
to that bold that he ever allow any man this fast
to abrecenne; and gif hit ænig man deþ, þonne mæig he
to break and if it any man does then may he
wenan him sylfan, þæt him godes grama fullice on becume.
expect for-him self that him of-god anger fully on come

174.9 uton niman us nu ealle bysne be Saule þam cinicge, þe
let-us take for-us now all example by Saul the king whom
god hine sende into anum leodscype, and sceolde eall fordon,
god him sent into a nation and should all destroy
þæt on þam earde wære. þa budon his witan eallan þam
that in that land were then commanded his councilors to-all the
folce þreora daga fæsten, þæt hî sige mostan habban æt
folk of-three days fast that they victory might have from
gode ofor heora feondan. þa nyste na Jônaþas þæs cincges
god over their enemies then knew-not — Jonathan of-the king
sunu, þæt hit swa geboden wæs eallan þam folce, ah abyrigde
son that it so commanded was to-all the folk but tasted
þa on þam lande anes dropan huniges; and þa þurh þysne
then in the land one drop of-honey and then through this
gilt na mihte næfre þæt israhelisce folc habban sige ofer
guilt not might ever the israelite folk have victory over
heora feondan, ah wearþ feala þusenda manna ofslagen of
their enemies but was many thousands men slain of
Saules folce þurh þisne ylcan gilt. nu ma we ealle niman
of-Saul folk through this same guilt now can we all take
swiþe soþe bysne be þysan ylcan and be manegan oþrum
very true example by this same and by many other
þingum, þe men noldan godes beboda healdan, swa swa
things that men would-not of-god commandments hold so as
hi scoldan and swa swa heom geboden wæs fram heora
they should and so as to-them commanded was by their
lareowe, þæt feala þusenda forwyrðaþ oft þurh anes mannes
teacher that many thousands perish often through of-one man
gilt. þonne hit biþ geboden fæstan for ealles folces neode,
guilt when it is commanded fast for of-all folk need
and sum man hit þonne tobrycþ þurh his gifernesse, þonne
and a-certain man it then breaks through his gluttony then

hæfþ eal folc, se scyldiga and se unscyldiga, micele wræþe
has all folk the guilty and the guiltless great wrath
æt gode þurh his ænne gilt, þe he nolde healdan þa
from god through his one guilt that he would-not hold the
þincg, þe heom for folces neode geboden wæs. ah uton we
things that to-them for of-folk need commanded was but let-us we
nu gecyrran to Criste mid inwerdere heortan and heonanforþ
now turn to Christ with inward heart and henceforth
ælces yfeles geswican and rihtlæcan us sylfe on eallan þingan,
each evil cease and correct us selves in all things
þæs þe we don magon, and biddan god ælmihtig, þæt he us
as-far as we do can and ask god almighty that he us
gemiltsige æt eallum urum sennan, and þæt he us ahrædde
have-mercy-on at all our sins and that he us rescue
of þære miclan ancsumnesse, þe we nu on sindon. drihten,
from the great distress that we now in are lord
hlaford Crist, alys us ealle þurh þine micelan mildheortnesse,
lord Christ redeem us all through thy great mercy
and þæt we motan þinne willan gewyrcan, ær we of
and that we may thy will work before we from
þisan life gewitan. halig drihten, gemiltsje us eallan, amen.
this life depart holy lord have-mercy-on us all amen

Lectio secundum Lucam

XXXVII · THE READING ACCORDING TO LUKE

Luke tells how Christ blessed his apostles as bishops before he ascended, and the congregation has just seen a bishop consecrated. Moses consecrated Aaron by God's command, and Christ gave Peter the keys; bishops are Peter's deputies and God's heralds, who must preach his right and forbid wrong or answer for the souls lost, as the prophet warns. Whoever despises God's messengers despises God. Though a priest sin, men must follow his teaching and not his deeds, and all are taught to love God, fear doomsday, and keep the faith.

175.9 Dixit Iesus discipulis suis: ego mittam promissum patris mei
Said Jesus to-disciples his I will-send promise of-father my
in uos; uos autem sedete in ciuitate, quousque induamini
upon you ye but sit in city until ye-be-clothed
uirtute ex alto. eduxit autem eos foras in Bethania et eleuatis
with-power from on-high led but them out into Bethany and with-raised
manibus suis benedixit eis. et factum est, dum benediceret
hands his blessed them and done is while he-blessed
eos, recessit ab eis et ferebatur in celum. et ipsi adorantes
them withdrew from them and was-carried into heaven and they worshiping
regressi sunt in Hierusalem cum gaudio magno; et erant
returned are to Jerusalem with joy great and were
semper in templo laudantes deum et benedicentes dominum.
always in temple praising god and blessing lord

175.17 Be biscophadum.
About bishop-orders

175.18 Leofan men, se halga godspellere Lucas geswutelode on his
Dear men the holy evangelist Luke showed in his
godspelle, hu ure drihten, ær he up to heofenum ferde,
gospel how our lord before he up to heavens went
wið his þegenas spæc, and hu he his apostolas to biscpum
with his thanes spoke and how he his apostles as bishops

gebletsode and mid his ærendum wide hy sende, þæt hi
blessed and with his errands widely them sent that they
rihtne cristendom þanonforð georne bodjan sceoldon and heora
right Christendom thenceforth eagerly preach should and their
æftergengan þæt ylce bebeodan. nu syndan we bisceopas to
successors the same command now are we bishops for
þam sylfan gesette, þæt we bodjan sceolan godes riht georne
the same appointed that we preach must of-god right eagerly
and unriht forbeodan, gyme, se ðe wille. and nu þæt is,
and wrong forbid let-heed he who will and now that is
þæt we habbað on godes naman weorðunge for cristendomes
that we have in of-god name honor for of-Christendom
fyrðrunge bisceop gebletsodne, swa swa ge sylfe swutele
furtherance bishop blessed so as ye selves clearly
gesawon, and eac oferhyrdan þa bletsunge ealle, understode,
saw and also heard the blessing all let-understand
se ðe cuðe, nu wylle we swuteljan þam, þe hit nystan,
he who could now will we show to-those who it knew-not
hu bisceophadas wurdan ærest astealde and be godes dihte
how bishop-orders were first established and by of-god ordinance
mannum gescyfte. Moyses hatte, se ðe on geardagum be
to-men assigned Moses was-called he who in days-of-yore by
godes agenum dihte rihte lage scyfte, and he þa gehalgode
of-god own ordinance right law ordained and he then consecrated
Ââron to bisceope, swa swa god dihte; and of þam cynne
Aaron as bishop so as god ordained and of that kin
æfter þære wisan syððan wurdan manege, oð þæt Crist eft
after the manner afterward were many until that Christ afterward
astealde on oðre wisan, hu bisceophad sceolde of manegan
established in other manner how bishop-order should from many

cynrynan syððan aspringan, swa swa he geswutelade eac, þa
kindreds afterward spring so as he showed also then
ða he gebletsode of his agenum apostolum bisceopas manege.
when he blessed of his own apostles bishops many
176.14 and Petre þæne ealdorscipe he ærest betæhte and hefenware
and to-Peter the authority he first entrusted and of-heaven-dwellers
cæga eac him befæste and het, þæt he heolde and
keys also to-him committed and commanded that he held and
rihtlice weolde be manna gewyrhtum, hwa þærin moste and
rightly controlled by of-men deeds who therein might and
hwa na ne moste. and nu syndan biscopas Petres gespeljan,
who not — might and now are bishops of-Peter deputies
and hi sceolon godes riht geornlice cyðan. ðonne lære we
and they must of-god right eagerly make-known then teach we
georne manna gehwylcne, þæt he hyne sylfne gelome beþence
eagerly of-men each that he him self often consider
and inwerdre heortan lufje his drihten and rihtne cristendom
and with-inward heart love his lord and right Christendom
geornlice healde and godcundan lareowan hyre mid rihte.
eagerly hold and divine teachers obey with right
bisceopas syndon bydelas and godes lage lareowas, and hy
bishops are heralds and of-god law teachers and they
scylon georne oft and gelome clypjan to Criste and for eall
must eagerly often and frequently call to Christ and for all
cristen folc þingjan georne; and hy scylan georne godes riht
Christian folk intercede eagerly and they must eagerly of-god right
bodjan, and æghwylc unriht georne forbeodan; and se ðe
preach and every wrong eagerly forbid and he who
oferhogje, þæt he heom hlyste, hæbbe him gemæne þæt
disdain that he them listen let-have for-him in-common that
wið god sylfne. and gyf bisceopas forgymað, þæt hi synna
with god self and if bishops neglect that they sins

ne styrað ne unriht forbeodað ne godes riht ne cyðað, ac
not restrain nor wrong forbid nor of-god right — make-known but
clumjað mid ceaflum, þær hy sceoldan clypjan, wa heom þære
mumble with jaws where they should cry woe to-them of-the
swigean. be þam spæc se witega and grymlice þus cwæð:
silence about that spoke the prophet and grimly thus said
hæc dicit dominus: si non adnuntiaueris iniquo iniquitatem
these says lord if not thou-announce to-wicked wickedness
suam, sanguinem eius de manu tua requiram. gif þu þam
his blood his from hand thy I-will-require if thou to-the
sinfullan nelt, cwæð ure drihten, synna gestyran and unriht
sinful not-wilt said our lord sins restrain and wrong
forbeodan and þam manfullan his mândæda cyðan, þu scealt
forbid and to-the wicked his crimes make-known thou shalt
þa sawle bitere forgyldan. ðis mæg to heorthoge æghwylcum
the soul bitterly pay-for this can as heart-care to-every
bisceope, beþence hine georne, be þam þe he wille.
bishop let-consider him eagerly by that which he will
and se ðe nele godes bodan hyran mid rihte ne godcundre 177.8
and he who not-will of-god messengers obey with right nor divine
lare gyman, swa he sceolde, he sceal hyran feondan, gif
teaching heed as he should he shall obey enemies if
he nele freondan. forþam se bið godes oferhoga, þe godes
he not-will friends because he is of-god despiser who of-god
bodan oferhogað, ealswa Crist sylf on his godspelle swutelice
messengers despises just-as Christ self in his gospel clearly
sæde, þa þa he þus cwæð: qui uos audit, me audit; et qui
said then when he thus said who you hears me hears and who
uos spernit, me spernit. se ðe eow hyreð, he cwæð, me he
you scorns me scorns he who you hears he said me he
gehyreð; and se ðe forsyhð eow, witod he forsyhð me. and eft
hears and he who despises you certainly he despises me and again

ure drihten on oðre stowe swytollice þus cwæð: quodcumque
our lord in other place clearly thus said whatever
ligaueritis super terram, erit ligatum et in celis. swa hwæt
ye-bind upon earth will-be bound also in heavens so what
swa ge gebindað her ofer eorðan fæstum bealubendum for
so ye bind here over earth with-fast baleful-bonds for
yfelum gewyrhtum, eall hit wyrð on heofenan, swa swa
evil deeds all it becomes in heaven so as
on eorðan mid godes yrre gebunden swiðe fæste, butan ge
on earth with of-god anger bound very fast unless ye
liðjan and þa bendas alynjan. Leofan men, warnjað eow be
loosen and the bonds release Dear men warn yourselves by
swylcan; and uton we ealle don, swa us þearf is, beorgan us
such and let-us we all do as to-us need is protect us
georne wið godes yrre. eala, eala, soð is, þæt ic eow secge,
eagerly against of-god anger O O true is what I to-you say
swær is seo byrðen, þe godes bydel beran mot, gif he nele
heavy is the burden that of-god herald bear must if he not-will
georne unriht forbeodan; forþam, þeh he sylf tæla dô, and
eagerly wrong forbid because though he self well do and
oðer man misdô, þæt him sceal gederjan, gif he nele styran.
other man misdo that him shall harm if he not-will restrain
178.11 and, þeh godes bydel misdô, ne beseo man nâ þærto ealles
and though of-god herald misdo not let-look one — thereto altogether
to swyðe, ac gyme his lare, gif he tæla lære, swa swa Crist
too greatly but let-heed his teaching if he well teach so as Christ
lærde, þæt man don sceolde, þa ða he on his godspelle
taught that one do should then when he in his gospel
swutelice þus cwæð: que autem dicunt, facite; que autem
clearly thus said what but they-say do what but
faciunt, facere nolite. he cwæð: filgeað heora larum and na
they-do to-do do-not he said follow their teachings and not

heora synnum. ne sceal ænig man æfre for sacerdes synnan
their sins not shall any man ever for of-priest sins
hine sylfne forgyman, ac fylge his lare, gif he wel lære.
him self neglect but let-follow his teaching if he well teach
And soð is, þæt ic secge, se ðe for his prydan gode nele 178.19
And true is what I say he who for his pride god not-will
hyran ne godes lage filgean ne godes bodan hlystan, witod
obey nor of-god law follow nor of-god messengers listen certainly
he sceal misfaran. ac don cristene men, swa swa we lærað,
he shall fare-ill but let-do Christian men so as we teach
hyran gode georne and þam godcundan hyrdan, þe æt godes
obey god eagerly and the divine shepherds who at of-god
dome hy forð scylan lædan; and don þa hyrdas eac, swa
judgment them forth must lead and let-do the shepherds also so
swa hit þearf is, clypjan gelome and warnjan georne manna
as it need is call often and warn eagerly of-men
gehwylcne. nu, leofan men, nu we willað læran godes þeowas
each now dear men now we will teach of-god servants
ærest, þæt hy hy sylfe georne beþencan and þurh godes
first that they them selves eagerly consider and through of-god
fultum clænnesse lufjan and gode ælmihtigum eadmodlice
help purity love and god almighty humbly
þeowjan and ealle heora wisan regollice fadjan and bocum
serve and all their ways by-rule order and books
and gebedum geornlice filjan and bodjan and bysnjan godes
and prayers eagerly follow and preach and exemplify of-god
riht georne and for eal cristen folc þingjan gelome. and we
right eagerly and for all Christian folk intercede often and we
wyllað læran manna gehwylcne, þæt he hyne sylfne gelome
will teach of-men each that he him self often
beþence and fram unrihte gebuge to rihte and his inggeþanc
consider and from wrong turn to right and his inner-thought

clænsige georn lice and wurd and weorc fadje mid rihte and
cleanse eagerly and word and work order with right and
að and wedd wærlice healde. and we wyllað læran manna
oath and pledge carefully hold and we will teach of-men
gehwylcne, þæt he godes ege hæbbe symle on gemynde and
each that he of-god fear have ever in mind and
dæges and nihtes forhtige for synnum, domdæg adræde and
by-day and by-night fear for sins doomsday dread and
for helle agryse and æfre him gehende endedæges wene.
for hell shudder and ever to-him near end-day expect
179.17 and we willað læran manna gehwylcne, þæt he oft and gelome
and we will teach of-men each that he often and frequently
hæbbe on gemynde, þæt mæst þearf is mannum to geþencanne
have in mind that greatest need is to-men to consider
georne; þæt is, þæt hy rihtne geleafan anrædlice habban,
eagerly that is that they right faith resolutely have
and þæt hi rihtne cristendom rihtlice healdan; and þæt hy
and that they right Christendom rightly hold and that they
godcundan lareowan georn lice hyran and godes larum and
divine teachers eagerly obey and of-god teachings and
lagum georn lice fylgean; and þæt hy godes cyricean æighwar
laws eagerly follow and that they of-god churches everywhere
georne griðjan and friðjan; and þæt hi godes gerihta æghwylce
eagerly protect and shelter and that they of-god dues each
geare mid rihte gelæstan; and þæt hi godes þeowas symle
year with right pay and that they of-god servants ever
werjan and weorðjan; and þæt hi oðrum mannum unriht ne
defend and honor and that they to-other men wrong not
beodan ealles to swyðe, ac manna gehwylc oðrum beode
offer altogether too greatly but of-men each to-another offer
þæt riht, þæt he wille, þæt man him beode, be þam þe hit
the right that he will that one to-him offer by that which it

mæð sy. and we willað læran manna gehwylcne, þæt he huru
fitting be and we will teach of-men each that he indeed
æfre ænne god lufje, wealdend and wyrhtan eallra gesceafta,
ever one god love ruler and maker of-all creatures
ðam symle sy lof and wyrðmynt æfre to worulde, amen.
to-whom ever let-be praise and honor ever to world amen

Her is git oþer wel god eaca

XXXVIII · YET ANOTHER GOOD ADDITION

The more eagerly Christians seek Christ in every need, the better. Each should confess often, make amends as his confessor directs, cease from wrong, cleanse his heart of hatred, and make good any anger he has caused, then ask God's servants for absolution. He may then go gladly to communion, the best of all medicines for those who earn it, and the more often he prepares himself for it, the better.

180.2 La leof, â is swa betere, swa cristenra manna mâ georn
O dear ever is the better the of-Christian men more more-eagerly
to Criste sece his þearfe æt æghwilcere neode. and do gehwa
to Christ seek his need at every need and let-do each-one
mid his scriftes geþeahte georne on godes est to gode, þæt
with of-his confessor counsel eagerly for of-god favor to good what
he don mæge, and andette his sinna unforwandodlice manna
he do can and let-confess his sins unhesitatingly of-men
gehwilc swiðe gelomlice and bete swiðe georne, swa swa
each very frequently and let-amend very eagerly so as
him man tæce, and ælces unrihtes þurh godes fultum georne
him one teach and each wrong through of-god help eagerly
geswîce, and clænsige his heortan gehwa fram æghwilcum
let-cease and let-cleanse his heart each-one from every
niðgraman and hetelican yrre and, gif he hwam abulge, gebete
enmity and hateful anger and if he anyone angered let-amend
þæt georne and girne to godes þeowum, þæt hy him siððan
that eagerly and let-yearn to of-god servants that they for-him afterward
absolutionem macigan, and þonne mæg he glædlice æfter þam
absolution make and then can he gladly after that
gancgan to husle him silfum to þearfe; and ââ is swa betere
go to communion for-him self for benefit and ever is the better

manna gehwilcum, swa he oftor to ðam gearwige hine silfne,
of-men for-each the he more-often for that prepare him self
forðam þe hit is ealra læcedoma selost, þe æfre gewurde, þam,
because that it is of-all medicines best that ever were for-him
þe þæs geearnjað, þæt he his afon mot him silfum to þearfe.
who that earns that he it receive may for-him self for benefit

Ðis man gerædde, ða se micela here com to lande

XXXIX · DECREED WHEN THE GREAT ARMY CAME

Because we need God's mercy against our enemies, all the people are to fast three days on bread, herbs, and water before Michaelmas, go barefoot to church, confess, and walk in procession with relics. A penny is to be given from every hide and shared out; defaulters pay fixed penalties, and the food not eaten goes to the poor. Every monastery sings its psalter for the three days, each priest says mass for the king and his people, and every monastery adds a daily mass for the present need until things improve.

180.20 Ealle we beþurfan, þæt we geornlice earnjan, þæt we godes
All we need that we eagerly earn that we of-god
miltse and his mildheortnesse habban moton, and þæt we
mercy and his compassion have may and that we
þurh his fultum magon feondum wiðstandan. nu wille we, þæt
through his help can enemies withstand now will we that
eal folc fæste to gemænelicre dædbote þrig dagas be hlafe and
all folk fast for common penance three days on bread and
wirtum and wætere, þæt is on monandæg and on tiwesdæg
herbs and water that is on Monday and on Tuesday
and on wodnesdæg ær Michaeles mæssan. and cume manna
and on Wednesday before of-Michael mass and let-come of-men
gehwilc bærefot to circan buton golde and glæncgum, and ga
each barefoot to church without gold and ornaments and let-go
man to scrifte, and gan ealle ût mid halidome and clipjan
one to confession and let-go all out with relics and let-call
inweardre heortan georne to Criste; and sceote man æt
with-inward heart eagerly to Christ and let-contribute one at
æghwilcre hide pænig oððe pæniges weorð, and bringe man þæt
every hide penny or of-penny worth and let-bring one that
to cirican and siððan on þreo dæle be scriftes and be tunes
to church and afterward in three parts by of-confessor and by of-town

gerefan gewitnesse. and, gif hwa þis ne gelæste, ðonne gebete
reeve witness and if anyone this not perform then let-amend
he þæt, swa swa hit gelagod is: bunda mid .xxx. penigan,
he that so as it appointed is householder with thirty pennies
þræl mid his hide, þegn mid xxx scillingan. and, swa hwar swa
slave with his hide thane with thirty shillings and so where so
þæt feoh up arise, dæle man on godes est æghwilcne pænig;
the money up arise let-deal one for of-god favor every penny
and ealswa þone mete, þe gehwa brucan wolde, gif him þæt
and likewise the food that each-one enjoy would if to-him the
fæsten swa geboden nære, dæle man on godes est georne
fast so commanded not-were let-deal one for of-god favor eagerly
æfter þam fæstene eal þearfigendum mannum and bedridan
after the fast all to-needy men and bedridden
and swa gebrocedum mannum, þe swa fæstan ne magon.
and so afflicted men who so fast not can
and hiredmanna gehwilc sille pænig to ælmessan, oððe his 181.15
and of-household-men each let-give penny as alms or his
hlaford sille for hine, buton he silf hæbbe, and heafodmen
lord let-give for him unless he self have and chief-men
teoðjan, and þeowemen þa ðrig dagas beon weorces gefrêode wið
let-tithe and slaves the three days let-be from-work freed for
ciricsocne and wið ðam, þe hi þæt fæsten þe lustlicor gefæstan.
church-going and for that that they the fast the more-gladly fast
and on æghwilcan mynstre singe eal geferræden ætgædere heora
and in every monastery let-sing all community together their
saltere þa ðry dagas, and ælc mæssepreost mæssige for urne
psalter the three days and each mass-priest let-say-mass for our
hlaford and for ealle his þeode, and þartoeacan mæssige man
lord and for all his people and in-addition let-say-mass one
æghwilce dæge on ælcan minstre ane mæssan sinderlice for ðare
each day in each monastery one mass specially for the

neode, þe us nu on handa stent, oð þæt hit betere wurðe;
need that to-us now at hand stands until that it better become
and æt ælcan tîdsange eal hired aþenedum limum ætforan
and at each hour-song all household with-outstretched limbs before
godes weofode singe þone sealm: domine, quid multiplicati
of-god altar let-sing the psalm lord why multiplied
sunt, and preces and collecta; and ealle gemænelice, gehadode
are and prayers and collects and all in-common ordained
and læwede, bugan to gode georne and geearnjan his mildse.
and lay let-bow to god eagerly and let-earn his mercy
and æghwilce geare heononforð gelæste man godes gerihta huru
and each year henceforth let-pay one of-god dues indeed
rihtlice, wið ðam þe us god ælmihtig gemiltsige and us geunne,
rightly for that that us god almighty have-mercy-on and us grant
þæt we ure fynd ofercuman motan. god ure helpe. amen.
that we our enemies overcome may god us let-help amen

Uerba Ezechiel prophete de pigris aut timidis uel neglegentibus pastoribus

XLI · THE WORDS OF THE PROPHET EZEKIEL

Ezekiel warns God's heralds to declare his word, for a priest who does not rebuke the sinner will pay for his soul. Woe to the shepherds who feed themselves and devour the people's sins: like Isaiah's dumb dogs, they mumble where they should cry out, silenced by fear, love, or worldly shame. No harmer is as evil as the devil, the ravening werewolf against whom bishops and priests must guard God's flock; and the preacher will not keep silent, for a silent herald may expect a hostile reward.

Ezechiel se witega lærð godes bydelas, þæt hi beorgan heom 190.9
Ezekiel the prophet teaches of-god heralds that they protect them
silfum wið godes yrre. he cwæð godes wordum þus to heom
selves against of-god anger he said of-god words thus to them
eallum: hec dicit dominus: audiens ex ore meo sermonem
all these says lord hearing from mouth my word
adnuntiabitis eis ex me, et reliqua. cyð swiðe georne,
ye-shall-announce to-them from me and the-rest make-known very eagerly
he cwæð, godes word wide, þe of gode silfum æror
he said of-god word widely which from god self before
asprungon; and, gif þu sinfullan nelt synna gestîran and
sprang and if thou sinful not-wilt sins restrain and
þam manfullan mândæda cyþan, þu scealt þa sawle bitere
to-the wicked crimes make-known thou shalt the soul bitterly
forgildan. and wa þam hirdum, he cwæð, þe estað heom
pay-for and woe to-the shepherds he said who feast them
silfum, swa heom betst licað, and godcundre heorde ne gimeð
selves as them best pleases and divine flock not heed
to nahte. gehyrað git, hirdas, godes word georne: nu ic silf
to aught hear yet shepherds of-god word eagerly now I self
wille, he cwæð on his dôme, witan æt þam hirdum, hwi hi
will he said at his judgment know from the shepherds why they

mine heorde swa wace begimdon; and a hi sculon ðanonforð
my flock so weakly tended and ever they must thenceforth
wurðscipes þoljan and deore agildan eal, þæt hi forgimdon.
honor forfeit and dearly pay-for all that they neglected
and wa þam hirdum, he cwæð, þe fretað and forswelgað
and woe to-the shepherds he said who devour and swallow
folces sinna. ðæt syndon þa gifran and þa heom geornan,
of-folk sins those are the greedy and the for-themselves eager
þe worldþinga sindon ealles to georne and folce ne bisnjað
who of-world-things are altogether too eager and for-folk not set-example
swa wel, swa hi scoldon, ne rihtlice ne bodjað swa oft,
as well as they should nor rightly — preach as often
swa hi scoldan, ac clummjað mid ceaflum, þar hi scoldan
as they should but mumble with jaws where they should
clipjan. ealswa Issaias se witega hwilum be þam spræc: canes
cry just-as Isaiah the prophet once about that spoke dogs
muti non ualentes latrare; ealswilce he cwæde, þæt gemidlede
mute not able to-bark just-as-if he said that muzzled
hundas ne beorcað to nahte. dumbe beoð þa bydelas and
dogs not bark to aught dumb are the heralds and
to fæste gemidlede, þe for ege oððe lufe oððe ænigre
too fast muzzled who for fear or love or any
worldscame eargjað and wandjað godes riht to sprecanne.
world-shame grow-cowardly and hesitate of-god right to speak
191.6 and wace beoð ða hirdas funden to heorde, þe nellað þa
and weak are the shepherds found for flock who not-will the
heorda, þe hi healdan sculon, huru mid clipunge georne
flocks that they hold must at-least with crying eagerly
bewerjan, gif þar hwilc þeodscaða scaðjan onginneð. nis
defend if there any public-enemy harm begins not-is
nan swa yfel scaða, swa is deofol silf; he bið â ymbe
any so evil harmer as is devil self he is ever about

þæt ân, hu he on manna sawlum mæst gescaðjan mæge.
that one-thing how he on of-men souls most harm can
ðonne motan þa hyrdas beon swiðe wacole and geornlice
then must the shepherds be very watchful and eagerly
clipigende, þe wið þone þeodscaðan folc sculon warjan,
crying who against the public-enemy folk must guard
þæt sindon biscopas and mæssepreostas, þe godcunde heorda
those are bishops and mass-priests who divine flocks
bewarjan and bewerjan sculon mid wislican laran, þæt se
guard and defend must with wise teachings that the
wodfræca werewulf to swiðe ne slite ne to fela ne abite of
madly-greedy werewolf too greatly not tear nor too many — bite of
godcundre heorde. and se þe oferhogige, þæt he heom ne
divine flock and he who disdain that he them not
hliste, hæbbe he him gemæne þæt wið god silfne. sit nomen
listen let-have he for-him in-common that with god self be name
domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum.
of-lord blessed from this now and even to age
Ne dear ic nu for godes ege soðes gesweogjan, ac licige, 191.20
Not dare I now for of-god fear truth keep-silent but let-please
swa hit licige, soð ic wille secgan, gime, se þe wille,
as it please truth I will say let-heed he who will
forðam se bydel, þe forsweogað his hlafordes gewilboda,
because the herald who keeps-silent of-his lord desired-commands
a he mæg him wenan hetelices leanes.
ever he may for-himself expect hostile reward

Larspel and scriftboc

XLVII · SERMON AND PENITENTIAL

The nation is deeply sinful and assailed by army, hunger, fire, and bloodshed, and it lacks counsel and right before God and the world. Wrongs reign, few care for the remedy, and those who would love right for fear of God are called weak and robbed of honor, because treachery is stronger than wisdom. Good fruit seldom grows from evil seed, and nothing will be fully well until the wrongs sown everywhere are weeded out, though if men ceased from their crimes, it would improve at once.

242.23 Leofan men, doð, swa ic eow bidde, gehyrað, þæt soð is.
Dear men do as I you pray hear what true is
understande se, ðe wille, hit is swutol and gesŷne, þæt þes
let-understand he who will it is clear and evident that this
þeodscipe is swiðe forsyngod; and þy is ônsæge oft, næs
nation is greatly sin-ruined and therefore is assailing often not
æne, here and hunger, bryne and blôdgyte, unwæstm and
once army and hunger burning and bloodshed crop-failure and
unweder, stalu and steorfa and fela ungelimpa. ðonne is micel
bad-weather theft and pestilence and many misfortunes then is great
þearf ealre þisse þeode helpes and rædes. forðam to forð heo
need to-all this nation of-help and of-counsel because too far it
is bedæled gyt and gefyrn wæs ræ̂des and rihtes for gode
is deprived yet and long-ago was counsel and right before god
and for worulde. and her unrihta fela rixað on lande, and
and before world and here wrongs many reign in land and
nis a fela manna, þe hogje ymbe þa bote swa georne, swa
not-is ever many men who care about the remedy as eagerly as
man sceolde; ac dæghwamlice man yceð yfel æfter oðrum and
one should but daily one adds evil after other and
unriht ræreð and ælc riht lytleð for gode and for worulde;
wrong raises and each right diminishes before god and before world

and þa man talað wâce, þe woldan for godes ege georne riht
and those one reckons weak who would for of-god fear eagerly right
lufjan, gif hy swa mihton, and þa syndon mæðe and munde
love if they so might and those are respect and protection
bedælde ealles to swiðe, forðam swicdom is swiðra, þonne sy
deprived altogether too greatly because treachery is stronger than be
wisdom, wide geond þas þeode, and swa wæs to lange. eala,
wisdom widely throughout this nation and so was too long O
eala, fela is nu ða fracodra getrywða wide mid mannum.
O many is now then vile loyalties widely among men
ac soð is, þæt ic sæcge, gecnawe se, ðe wylle, seldan cymð 243.16
but true is what I say let-know he who will seldom comes
god wæstm of yfelum sæde, ne wyrð hit æfre ful god ær on
good fruit from evil seed not becomes it ever full good before in
þisse ðeode, ær man aweodige þa unriht and þa manweorc,
this nation before one weed-out the wrongs and the crimes
þe man wide sæwð and gesawen hæfð be æghwylcum ende. ac
that one widely sows and sown has in every region but
wolde man geswîcan þara mândæda, þonne godade hit sona.
would one cease the crimes then improved it at-once

Larspell

L · A SERMON

A sermon of counsel to the king and people: all are to turn to God, obey their lord, and honor the Church's sanctuary. A Christian king must be the people's comfort, stern to criminals and mild to the good, and a throne stands on three pillars, those who pray, those who work, and those who fight. Judges must not pervert the law; clergy must keep their rule and chastity; marriage within six degrees is forbidden; weights and coinage are regulated; and Antichrist is near.

266.2 We secgeað urum cynehlaforde and eallum folce cyðan
We say to-our royal-lord and to-all folk make-known
wyllað: þæt is ærest, þæt we ealle to gode ælmihtigum
will that is first that we all to god almighty
georne gebûgan and his beboda healdan and unrihtes ealle
eagerly turn and his commandments hold and wrong all
geswîcan and to ælcan rihte us sylfe wenjan and wêman and
cease and to each right us selves accustom and persuade and
dôn, swa us þearf is, andettan ure synna and betan georne
do as to-us need is confess our sins and amend eagerly
and þanonforð geswîcan, swa we eornost magon, and ââ
and thenceforth cease as we most-earnestly can and ever
urum hlaforde holdlice and rihtlice hŷran; and þæt godes
our lord loyally and rightly obey and that of-god
circan beon beteran mæðe and munde wyrðe, þonne hig ær
churches be better respect and protection worthy than they before
þysan wæron: þæt is, þæt cyricgrið binnan wâgum and
this were that is that church-sanctuary within walls and
gehalgodes cyninges handgrið stande efen ûnwemme. and
of-consecrated king hand-peace stand equally inviolate and
cristenum cyninge gebyrað on cristenre þeode, þæt he sy,
to-Christian king befits in Christian nation that he be

eallswa riht is, folces frôfer and rihtwîs hyrde ofer cristene
just-as right is of-folk comfort and righteous shepherd over Christian
heorde. and him gebyreð, þæt he eallum mægene cristendôm
flock and to-him befits that he with-all might Christendom
râre and godes cyrcean æghwar fyrðrje and fryðje and godes
raise and of-god church everywhere further and protect and of-god
âre mundje æfre and eall cristen folc sybbje and sehte mid
honor guard ever and all Christian folk reconcile and settle with
rihtre lage, swa he geornost mæge, and þurh ælc þingc
right law as he most-eagerly can and through each thing
rihtwisnesse lufige for gode and for worulde, forþam þurh
righteousness love before god and before world because through
þæt he sceal sylf fyrmest geþeon and his þeodscipe eac
that he shall self foremost prosper and his nation also
swa, þe he riht lufje for gode and for worulde.
so that he right love before god and before world
and him gebyrað, þæt he geornlice fylste þam, þe riht 266.22
and to-him befits that he eagerly help those who right
willan, and â hetelice styre þam, þe þwyres wyllan. he sceal
will and ever fiercely restrain those who perversely will he must
mândæde men þreagean þearle mid woroldlicre steore, and he
criminal men rebuke severely with worldly correction and he
sceal morðwyrhtan, hlafordswican and mânswaran, mannslagan
must murderers lord-betrayers and perjurers manslayers
and mægslagan, cyrichatan and sacerdbanan, hâdbrecan and
and kin-slayers church-haters and priest-slayers order-breakers and
æwbrecan, þeofas and þeodsceaþan, ryperas and reaferas, leogeras
adulterers thieves and public-enemies robbers and plunderers liars
and liceteras, wêdlogan and wærlogan hatjan and hynan and
and hypocrites pledge-breakers and troth-breakers hate and humble and
eallum godes feondum styrnlice wiðstandan. and ægðer he
all of-god enemies sternly withstand and each he

sceal beon mid rihte ge milde ge reðe, milde þam gôdum and
must be with right both mild and stern mild to-the good and
styrne þam yfelum. la, þurh hwæt sceal godes þeowum and
stern to-the evil o through what shall of-god to-servants and
godes þearfum frið and fultum cuman, butan þurh Crist and
of-god to-poor peace and help come except through Christ and
þurh cristenne cyningc? þi he sceal boclarum hlystan swyðe
through Christian king therefore he must book-teachings listen very
georne and godes beboda geornlice healdan and gelôme
eagerly and of-god commandments eagerly hold and often
wið wytan wîsdom smeagean, gif he gode wyle rihtlice hyran.
with councilors wisdom consider if he god will rightly obey
267.9 Ælc riht cynestol stent on þrym stapelum, þe fullice ariht
Each right throne stands on three pillars that fully aright
stent: an is oratores, and oðer is laboratores, and þrydde is
stands one is oratores and other is laboratores and third is
bellatores. oratores syndon gebedmen, þe gode sceolon þeowjan
bellatores oratores are prayer-men who god must serve
dæges and nihtes for þæne cyngc and for ealne þeodscipe
by-day and by-night for the king and for all nation
þingjan georne. laboratores syndon weorcmen, þe tiljan sceolon
intercede eagerly laboratores are workmen who provide must
þæs, þe eall þeodscipe big sceal lybban. bellatores syndon
that which all nation by must live bellatores are
wigmen, þe eard sculon werjan wîglice mid wæpnon. on þysum
warriors who land must defend warlike with weapons on these
þrym stapelum sceal ælc cynestôl standan mid rihte; and,
three pillars must each throne stand with right and
awacyge heora ænig, sona se stôl scylfð; and, fulberste heora
weaken of-them any at-once the throne totters and burst of-them
ænig, þonne hryst se stôl nyðer, and þæt wyrð þære þeode eall
any then falls the throne down and that becomes to-the nation all

to unþearfe. ac stalige man and strangje and trymme hi
to harm but let-establish one and let-strengthen and let-confirm them
georne mid wislicre godes lage and mid rihtlicre woroldlage;
eagerly with wise of-god law and with rightful world-law
þæt wyrð þam þeodscipe to langsuman râde. and soð is, þæt
that becomes to-the nation to lasting benefit and true is what
we secgað, awacyge se cristendom, sona scylfð se cynedom.
we say weaken the Christendom at-once totters the kingdom
And we cyðað eac eorlan and heretogan, dêman and 267.25
And we make-known also to-earls and to-generals to-judges and
gerefan, þæt hig âgan þearfe, þæt hi georne unrihtes geswîcan
to-reeves that they have need that they eagerly wrong cease
and rihtwisnysse lufjan for gode and for worolde and nahwar
and righteousness love before god and before world and nowhere
þurh ûndom for feo ne for freondscipe forgyman heora
through injustice for money nor for friendship neglect their
wisdom, swa þæt hig wendan unriht to rihte oððon undôm
wisdom so that they turn wrong to right or injustice
gedêman earmum to yrmðe; ac þæt hig gehadedum mannum
judge to-poor to misery but that they ordained men
fylstan bet to godes lagum, þonne hig ær þysum dydon.
help better to of-god laws than they before this did
hit wæs nu lange, þæt wæron to wîde godes laga laðe and
it was now long that were too widely of-god laws hateful and
lara forsawne, and woroldlaga syndan innan þysan earde
teachings despised and world-laws are within this land
wraðe forhwyrfde on æghwylcan ende; and þæt is gesyne
grievously perverted in every region and that is evident
wîde and side, þæt man god gremede mid þam unrihte
wide and far that one god angered with the wrong
ealles to lange. bêtan þa nu georne, þa þe þyssere þeode
altogether too long let-amend those now eagerly those who this nation

nu sceolan rǽdan, swa swa god wyle, gif hig gode willan
now must rule so as god wills if they god will
rihtlice cweman and on þam myclan dæge heom sylfum
rightly please and on the great day them selves
gebeorgan bet, þonne þa dydon, þe beforan wæron, þe
protect better than those did who before were who
unriht arærdan to forwyrde heom sylfum. and we eac þæs
wrong raised to ruin for-them selves and we also for-that
habbað fela byrsta and bysmora gebiden, and gif we ænige
have many injuries and insults endured and if we any
bôte gebidan sceolan, þonne mote we þæs to gode earnjan
remedy await shall then must we that from god earn
bet, þonne we ær þysan dydan. forþam ær þysan wæs
better than we before this did because before this was
gehwar swicdom swyðra, þonne wisdom, and þuhte hwilum
everywhere treachery stronger than wisdom and seemed at-times
wisast, se þe wæs swicolost and se þe lytelicost cuðe leaslice
wisest he who was most-deceitful and he who most-cunningly could falsely
hiwjan ûnsoð to soðe and undom dêman oðrum to hynðe.
disguise untruth as truth and injustice judge to-another to harm
268.19 ac wa heom þæs wærscipes and ealles þæs weorðscipes. ne
but woe to-them of-that craftiness and of-all that honor not
dohte hit ær þysan inne ne ute, ac wæs here and hunger,
availed it before this within nor without but was army and hunger
bryne and blodgyte on gewelhwylcan ende oft and gelome; and
burning and bloodshed in nearly-every region often and frequently and
us stalu and cwalu, hôl and hete and rypera reaflac derede
us theft and slaughter slander and hate and of-robbers plunder harmed
swiðe þearle, and eac us unwederu for oft weoldon unwæstma.
very severely and also us bad-seasons very often caused crop-failures
forþam on þison earde wæs and git is, swa hit þincan mæg,
because in this land was and yet is as it seem may

unrihta fela and tealte getrywða æghwar mid mannon. fela syn
wrongs many and unstable loyalties everywhere among men many are
forsworene and swyðe forlogone and wedd eac abrocene oft and
forsworn and greatly perjured and pledges also broken often and
gelome; and þæt is gesyne on þisse þeode, þæt us godes yrre
frequently and that is evident in this nation that us of-god anger
hetelice on sæt, gecnawe, se þe cunne. ac uton don, swa us
fiercely on sat let-know he who can but let-us do as to-us
þearf is, beon ymbe þa bôte, geswican unrihtes and gebugan to
need is be about the remedy cease wrong and turn to
rihte; þonne geearnige we, gif we þæt wyllað, sona godes mildse.
right then earn we if we that will at-once of-god mercy
And riht is eac, þæt godes þeowas, biscopas and abbodas, 269.1
And right is also that of-god servants bishops and abbots
munecas and mynecena, preostas and nunnan, regole fylgean
monks and nuns priests and nuns rule follow
and regollice lybban oððon woruldâre þoljan, and þæt þa,
and by-rule live or world-honor forfeit and that those
þe rihte heora lif lybban, þæt man þa georne fyrðrige
who rightly their life live that one them eagerly further
and wurðige, and þæt þa ûtlagan weorþan, þe to godes
and honor and that those outlaws become who to of-god
rihte gebugan nellan, buton hig to rihte gecirran. ac gebuge
right turn not-will unless they to right turn but let-turn
manna gehwylc georne to rihte and muneca gehwylc into
of-men each eagerly to right and of-monks each into
his mynstre oððe of earde mid ealle gewîte. and riht is,
his monastery or from land with all let-depart and right is
þæt ænige wæpnmen on mynecena beodderne ne etan ne ne
that any males in of-nuns refectory not eat nor —
drincan ne læwede men on muneca, buton hit mid urum
drink nor lay men in of-monks unless it with our

hlaforde sy oððon elles hwylc, þe mâran godes ege habbe,
lord be or else any who greater of-god fear have
þæt hit for his neaweste þe betere beo for gode and for
that it for his presence the better be before god and before
worolde, and hyra regol huru ne sy a ðe awyrdra. and
world and their rule indeed not let-be ever the worse and
preostas and nunnan heora lif rihtan be godes miltse and be
priests and nuns their life let-correct by of-god mercy and by
heora âre. and ealle godes þeowas we biddað and lærað and
their honor and all of-god servants we pray and teach and
huru þinga mæssepreostas, þæt hig gode hŷran and heora
especially of-things mass-priests that they god obey and their
clænnysse healdan and beorgan heom sylfum wið godes yrre
chastity hold and protect them selves against of-god anger
and wið þone weallendan bryne, þe wealleð on helle. full
and against the surging burning that surges in hell full
georne hig witan, þæt hig nâgon mid rihte þurh hæmedþing
well they know that they not-have with right through intercourse
wîfes gemânan, ac hit is þe wyrse, þe sume habbað twâ
of-woman fellowship but it is the worse that some have two
oððe mâ, and sume forlætað, þa hig ær hæfdon, and be
or more and some forsake those they before had and by
lifjendre cwenan eft oðre nimað, swa ænigum cristenum
living wife again other take as for-any Christian
men ne gedafenað to donne ne huru þam gehadedum, þe
man not befits to do nor indeed to-the ordained who
oðrum mannum riht scylan bysnjan and unriht forbeodan.
to-other men right must exemplify and wrong forbid
269.26 nu þinceð heom þis syllic to gehyranne, forþam þe hig
now seems to-them this strange to hear because that they
habbað heora yrmðe swa on gewunan gebroht, swylce hit
have their misery so into custom brought as-if it

nan pleoh ne sy, þæt mæssepreost lybbe his lif, swa swa
no danger — be that mass-priest live his life so as
ceorl. Crist sylf astealde þa clænnysse and his halgan
husband Christ self established the chastity and his holy
apostolas, þe him her on lîfe folgedan, þe wê godes þeowas
apostles who him here in life followed which we of-god servants
healdan scilan. hit geweard æfter Cristes þrowunge and æfter
hold must it happened after of-Christ passion and after
his æriste of deaðe and his upstige to heofenan and
his resurrection from death and his ascent to heaven and
æfter þæra apostola and martyra þrowunga, þæt wearð se
after of-the apostles and martyrs passions that became the
soða geleafa swiðe acôlad þurh deoflice gedwolmen: id est
true faith greatly cooled through devilish heretics that is
Arrianus presbiter et Macedonius episcopus et multi alii.
Arius priest and Macedonius bishop and many others
þa gewearð hit, þæt Constantînus, se mæra casere and se 270.4
then happened it that Constantine the great emperor and the
æðela Scẽ Elena sunu, þære eadigan cwene, feng to rîce
noble of-Saint Helena son of-the blessed queen succeeded to kingdom
on Romana byrig, and he rîces weold ofer ealne middaneard.
in of-Romans city and he kingdom ruled over all middle-earth
þa gegaderode he swyðe mycelne synoð on þære ceastre, þe
then gathered he very great synod in the city which
is Nicêa genamod, for trymminge rihtes geleafan ymbe þa
is Nicaea named for strengthening of-right faith about the
halgan þrynnesse and ymbe Cristes menniscnysse. se forma
holy trinity and about of-Christ humanity the first
sinoð wæs, swa swa we sædon, on Nicêa .ccc. and
synod was so as we said in Nicaea three-hundred and
xviii bisceopa; and se oðer wæs syððan on Constantinopolim
eighteen bishops and the second was afterward in Constantinople

.c.l. bisceopa; and se þridda wæs on Efesum .cc.
hundred-fifty bishops and the third was in Ephesus two-hundred
bisceopa; and se feorða wæs on Calcedonia .dc. bisceopa
bishops and the fourth was in Chalcedon six-hundred bishops
and xxx sacerda: and ealle hig wæron haliges lifes menn.
and thirty priests and all they were of-holy life men
þas feower sinoðas syndon to healdenne, swa swa þa feower
these four synods are to hold so as the four
Cristes bêc. and hig eac gesettan ealle þa þenunge, þe we
of-Christ books and they also established all the service that we
habbað to godes þeowdome: to mæssan and to uhtsange and
have for of-god service for mass and for matins and
to eallum tîdsangum. siððan wæron for oft oðre sinoðas
for all hour-songs afterward were very often other synods
wisra bisceopa wîde on worolde, ac þas wæron þa fyrmestan,
of-wise bishops widely in world but these were the foremost
and ealle hig forbudon æfre ælc wîflâc weofodþênum, þæt
and all they forbade ever each marriage to-altar-servants that
is bisceopum and mæssepreostum. ðencan þa nu, þe to
is to-bishops and to-mass-priests let-consider those now who to
þam þriste syn, þæt hig god oferseoð and swa mæniges
that bold are that they god disregard and so of-many
haliges mannes dom, swa on þyssum sinoðum gesomnode
holy man judgment as in these synods gathered
wæron and gehwar syððan, hwylces leanes hig him
were and everywhere afterward what reward they for-themselves
wenan magon, and eac wênan ne þurfon, ac witod witan,
expect can and also expect not need but certainly know
þæt hig yfel lean habban scylan, buton hig geswican, and
that they evil reward have must unless they cease and

grimlice godes graman þurh þæt, þe hig swa god gremjað,
grimly of-god anger through that that they so god anger
þæt hig heora lif eall libbað on unriht.
that they their life all live in wrong
ac to fela is þæra, þe ær þisan misdydan. and se þe 270.29
but too many is of-those who before this misdid and he who
þæs geswican wille and clænnysse lufjan, habbe he godes
that cease will and chastity love let-have he of-god
miltse and to woruldwurðscipe sy he þegenlage wyrðe.
mercy and for world-honor let-be he thane-law worthy
And riht is, gif hwæt færlices on þeode becymð (beon hit 271.1
And right is if anything sudden on nation comes be it
hereræsas, beon hit færcwealmas, beon hit miswyderu oððon
army-raids be it sudden-plagues be it bad-weathers or
unwæstmas, beo swa hwæt, swa hit beo) sêce man þa bôte
crop-failures be so what so it be let-seek one the remedy
ââ to gode sylfum; and þæt ure hlaford læte asmeagean
ever from god self and that our lord let search-out
be æghwylcum ende Englalandes ealle þa mânfullan, þe
in every region of-England all the wicked who
nellað geswican, and þances oððe unþances hig to rihte
not-will cease and willingly or unwillingly them to right
gebigean oððe mid ealle of earde adrifan.
bend or with all from land drive
And we lærað and biddað and on godes naman beodað, þæt 271.8
And we teach and pray and in of-god name command that
ænig cristen man bynnan syx manna sibfæce æfre ne gewifige
any Christian man within six of-men kinship-degree ever not marry
on his agenum cynne ne on his mæges lafe, þe swa neahsib
in his own kin nor to of-his kinsman widow who so near-related
wære, ne on þæs wifes nydmagan, þe he sylf ær hæfde, ne
were nor to of-the woman kinswoman whom he self before had nor

on his gefæderan; ne on gehalgodre nunnan ne on ælætan
to his godmother nor to consecrated nun nor to divorced-woman
ænig cristen man ne gewifige æfre ne na mâ wifa þonne ân
any Christian man — marry ever nor — more wives than one
hæbbe, ac beo be þære anre þa hwile, þe heo lybbe, se þe
have but let-be by the one the while that she live he who
wylle godes lage giman mid rihte and wið hellebryne beorgan
will of-god law heed with right and against hell-burning protect
his sawle. wa þam, þe woh drifð ealles to lange, buton he
his soul woe to-him who wrong drives altogether too long unless he
geswice. and sy ælc wydewe, þe hig sylfe mid rihte gehealde,
cease and let-be each widow who her self with right keep
on godes griðe and on þæs cynges; and sytte ælc werleas .xii.
in of-god peace and in of-the king and let-sit each husbandless twelve
monað; ceose syððan, þæt heo sylf wylle. and eac we beodað
months let-choose afterward what she self will and also we command
on godes ælmihtiges naman and on ealra his halgena, þæt
in of-god almighty name and in of-all his saints that
nan man swa dyrstig ne sy, þæt on gehadodre nunnan oððe
no man so bold — be that to consecrated nun or
on mynecenan gewifige. and gif hit hwa gedon hæbbe, beo
to nun marry and if it anyone done have let-be
he utlah wið god and amansumad fram eallum cristendome
he outlaw against god and excommunicated from all Christendom
and wið þone cyningc scyldig ealles þæs, þe he age,
and against the king forfeit of-all that which he own
buton he þe raðor geswice and þe deoplicor gebete wið god.
unless he the sooner cease and the more-deeply amend with god

and se þe eard wille rihtlice clænsjan and unriht alecgan 271.27
and he who land will rightly cleanse and wrong put-down
and rihtwisnysse lufjan, þonne môt he georne þyllices styran
and righteousness love then must he eagerly such restrain
and þyllic ascunjan.
and such shun
And þæt man geornlice beo on æghwylcum ende ymbe 271.30
And that one eagerly be in every region about
fryðes bote and ymbe feos bôte: swa ymbe friðes bote,
of-peace remedy and about of-money remedy so about of-peace remedy
swa þam bondan sy selost and þam þeofan sy laðost; and
as for-the householder be best and for-the thief be most-hateful and
swa ymbe feos bote, þæt an mynet gange ofer ealle þas
so about of-money remedy that one coinage go over all this
þeode butan ælcon false; and wôge gemeta and false gewihta
nation without each fraud and crooked measures and false weights
rihte man georne and ælces unrihtes heononforð geswîce.
let-correct one eagerly and each wrong henceforth let-cease
And þæt gehwilc man his teoðunge rihtlice gelæste be 272.6
And that each man his tithe rightly pay by
godes miltse and be þæs cynges and be ealles cristenes
of-god mercy and by of-the king and by of-all Christian
folces and be þære steore, þe Eadgar gelagede. and rômfeoh
folk and by the penalty that Edgar decreed and Rome-money
gelæste man æghwilce geare be Peteres mæssan; and se,
let-pay one each year by of-Peter mass and he
þe þæt ne gelæste, sylle þærtoeacan .xxx. peninga to Rome
who that not pay let-give in-addition thirty pennies to Rome
and gylde þam cynge on Engla lage .cxx. scillinga.
and let-pay to-the king in of-English law hundred-twenty shillings

272.13 And freolsa and fæstena healde man rihtlice; sunnandæges
And festivals and fasts let-keep one rightly of-Sunday
freols fram sæterdæges none oð monandæges lihtinge healde
festival from of-Saturday noon till of-Monday dawn let-keep
man georne, and cypinge and folcgemôt we forbeodað þam
one eagerly and trading and folk-moot we forbid on-the
halgan dæge. and ymbrenfæstena healde man rihte, swa swa
holy day and ember-fasts let-keep one rightly so as
Sc̄s Gregorius Angelcynne sylf hit gedihte. and ealle godes
Saint Gregory for-English-race self it ordained and all of-god
gerihta fyrðrige man georne, ælc riht aræra and unriht afylle,
dues let-further one eagerly each right let-raise and wrong let-fell
þonne wyrð þysse þeode sona god milde. and þæt we ealle
then becomes to-this nation at-once god mild and that we all
gemænelice, gehadede and læwede, anræde weorðan for gode
in-common ordained and lay resolute become before god
and for worolde and habban us gemæne sibbe and some
and before world and have us in-common peace and concord
æfter godes rihte and ælce sace sehtan, swa we eornost
according-to of-god right and each strife settle as we most-earnestly
magon, and ne lætan us deofol dweljan ne twæman, swa swa
can and not let us devil lead-astray nor divide so as
he oft dyde, þonne ure gegaderunga ær þyson wæran. ac uton
he often did when our assemblies before this were but let-us
ealle anrædlice to gode bûgan and hine lufjan and wurðjan
all resolutely to god turn and him love and honor
and urne cristendom rihtlice healdan and urne cynehlaford mid
and our Christendom rightly hold and our royal-lord with
rihtan getrywðan and ælcne hæðendom mid ealle awyrpan. and
right loyalty and each heathendom with all cast-off and
utan geþencean, þæt hit is nyr þisse worulde ende, þonne
let-us consider that it is nearer of-this world end than

hwa gelyfan wylle, and þæs deofles timan Antecristes. ac deofol
anyone believe will and of-the devil time of-Antichrist but devil
dwelað manna geþohtas, þæt hig to lyt þærymbe þenceað.
leads-astray of-men thoughts that they too little thereabout think
and, gelyfe se, þe wylle, we witan to sôðe, þæt hit þærto 273.1
and let-believe he who will we know for true that it thereto
georne genealæcð, forþam þeos worold is sorhful and fram
eagerly approaches because this world is sorrowful and from
dæge to dæge â swa leng, swa wyrse. hwæt, we magon
day to day ever the longer the worse lo we can
geseon, hu læne and hu lyðre þis lif is, hu sârlic and
see how transitory and how wretched this life is how painful and
hu sorhful and hu geswincful and hu teonful, hu tealt
how sorrowful and how toilsome and how injurious how unstable
and hu wrað, hu wiðerweard and hu swicful. heo is þeos
and how wrathful how hostile and how deceitful it is this
woruld on ofstum and on stormum and on adlum and on
world in hastes and in storms and in diseases and in
ûngewyderum, þæt nu ne beoð naht fela manna ætsamne,
bad-weathers that now not are aught many men together
þæt heora sum ne si seoc and samhâl. and, þeah þæt
that of-them one not be sick and half-whole and though that
gelimpe, þæt men sume hwile syn her on worolde, swaþeah
happen that men some while be here in world nevertheless
hig beoð ââ on geswince and mid sorge, forþan þeos woruld
they are ever in toil and with sorrow because this world
nære wyrðe, þæt man to hire lufe hæfde ealles to swiðe.
not-were worthy that one for her love had altogether too greatly
ðy us is mycel þearf, þe to godes bydelum gesette syn,
therefore to-us is great need who as of-god heralds appointed are
þæt we godes folc warnjan gelome wið þone egsan, þe
that we of-god folk warn often against the terror that

mannum is towyrd, þæt is se þeodfeond Anticrist, þe læs
to-men is coming that is the arch-fiend Antichrist the less
þe hig unwære wurðan aredode and þonne to hrædlice þurh
that they unwary become found and then too quickly through
deofol beswicene. la hwæt, is se man on life, buton hine
devil deceived o what is the man in life unless him
god ælmihtig gehealde, and he ær þe bet gewarad sy, þæt
god almighty keep and he before the better warned be that
he þonne þurh deofol beswicen ne wurþe? la, hwylc wundor
he then through devil deceived not become o what wonder
bið, þeh se mennisca deofol synfullum mote heardlice
is though the human devil sinful may harshly
derjan, þonne god geþafað, þæt he mot on his agenum
harm when god permits that he may on his own
halgum swylc wundor gewyrcean, þæt Enoh and Elias þurh
saints such wonder work that Enoch and Elijah through
þone þeodfeond gemartirode weorðað, þe god silfa fela
the arch-fiend martyred become whom god self many
hund wintra mid sawle and mid lichaman geheold ær to
hundred winters with soul and with body kept before for
þam ânan, þæt hig þonne sceoldan mid heora lare folce
that one-thing that they then should with their teaching folk
gebeorgan, þæt hit eall ne forwurde endemes togædere þurh
protect that it all not perish equally together through
þæne deofol, þe ealle men bregeð and ealle worold gedrefeð?
the devil who all men terrifies and all world troubles
nis se man on life, þe mæge oððe cunne swa yfel hit
not-is the man in life who can or know as evil it
asecgan, swa hit sceal gewurðan on þam deoflican timan.
tell as it shall happen in the devilish time
on godes naman we biddað, þæt cristenra manna gehwilc
in of-god name we pray that of-Christian men each

hine sylfne georne beþence and warnige wið þone egsan
him self eagerly consider and warn against the terror
and geornlice to gode gebuge and fram synnum gecirre,
and eagerly to god turn and from sins turn
swa he geornost mæge, and geearnige, þæt he gemânan
as he most-eagerly can and earn that he fellowship
habban môte on hefena rice, þær is êce blis and æfre
have may in of-heavens kingdom where is eternal bliss and ever
bið mid þam, þe leofað and rixað â butan ende. amen.
is with him who lives and reigns ever without end amen

To eallan folke

LI · TO ALL THE PEOPLE

Good laws are to be made so that Christianity stands firm, the king's realm prospers, and the people have peace: one God to love, one faith to hold, one royal lord to serve, and life and land to defend together. Open theft, treason against a lord, and open murder are beyond amends by law, and manslayers, traitors, deserters of their lord, and oath-breakers are hateful to God unless they make amends. A sinner goes to his confessor, then the bishop, the archbishop, and the pope, and beyond them only to God.

274.7 Leofan menn, lagjað gode woroldlagan and lecgað þærtoeacan,
Dear men decree good world-laws and add in-addition
þæt ure cristendom fæste stande, and þæt ures hlafordes
that our Christendom firmly stand and that of-our lord
kinedom up arise, and þæt ealles folces frið wyrðe betere,
kingdom up arise and that of-all folk peace become better
þonne hit git sig. ic hi aginne, endje se, ðe wylle
than it yet be I them begin let-end he who will
oððe bet cunne. rihtlaga is, þæt man oðran gebeode,
or better can right-law is that one to-another offer
þæt he wylle, þæt man him gebeode. þis is seo lagu,
what he will that one to-him offer this is the law
þe we healdan sculan: ærest we sculan ænne god lufjan
that we hold must first we must one god love
and wyrðjan and ælcne oðer oferhogjan; and we sculan
and honor and each other despise and we must
ænne cristendom ealle healdan and ælcne hæðene dom
one Christendom all hold and each heathen practice
mid ealle oferhogjan; and we sculan ealle ænne cynehlaford
with all despise and we must all one royal-lord
rihtlice healdan and lif and land samod ealle wyrjan;
rightly hold and life and land together all defend

and we sculan jornlice riht up aræran and unriht jorne
and we must eagerly right up raise and wrong eagerly
afyllan. þonne wylle we ærest, þæt godes riht forð ga
fell then will we first that of-god right forth go
and woruldriht syððan; and we wyllað, þæt mann frið and
and world-right afterward and we will that one peace and
freondscipe rihtlice healde for gode and for worulde. and,
friendship rightly hold before god and before world and
gif man abrece þæt, þe botwyrðe syg, bete hit jorne.
if one break that which amendable be let-amend it eagerly
open þyfðe and hlafordes searwu and abære morð æfter
open theft and of-lord treachery and manifest murder according-to
woruldlagu is botleas þing. manslagan and manswican
world-law is unamendable thing manslayers and traitors
and þa, þa heora hlaford forlætað, þær him mæst neod
and those who their lord forsake where to-him greatest need
byð on folces neode, and wordlagan and wedlogan beoð
is in of-folk need and word-breakers and pledge-breakers are
ealle gode laðe, buton hi hit gebetan for gode and
all to-god hateful unless they it amend before god and
for worulde. godcunde bote sece man jorne to his
before world divine remedy let-seek one eagerly to his
scrifte;
confessor
and, gif his scrifte ofhagje, sece man to ðam leodbiscope; 275.5
and if for-his confessor be-beyond let-seek one to the diocesan-bishop
and, gif man furðor scule, to þam arcebiscope; and
and if one further must to the archbishop and
syððan to ðam papan, gif me for micelre neode scule;
afterward to the pope if one for great need must
ne cunne we him syððan na furðor tæcan, butan to
not can we him afterward — further direct except to

þam hextan, þæt is, to gode sylfan. and we wyllað, þæt
the highest that is to god self and we will that
æighwær cyricgrið stande and gehalgodes cinges handgrið
everywhere church-sanctuary stand and of-consecrated king hand-peace
efen unwemme. ræde ge nu forð lagan gode fyrðor. ic
equally inviolate counsel ye now forth laws good further I
wolde, gif me to anhagode. halig drihten, gemildsa us
would if to-me for sufficed holy lord have-mercy-on us
eallan.
all

To mæsseprostum

LII · TO MASS-PRIESTS

A priest must lead and teach the flock in his district by preaching and by example, for at God's judgment he must answer for his own deeds and all his people's, and he must not be ashamed to speak the right. If a herdsman must repay a sheep he neglects, what will shepherds who cannot keep God's flock repay at God's judgment? Woe to them, for how can the blind lead the blind; and worst of all is the one who can and will not.

Sacerd scel on his scrifscire wislice and wærlice lædan and 275.15
Priest must in his shrift-district wisely and carefully lead and
læran þa godcunde heorde, þe he heald scel. æiþer he sceal
teach the divine flock that he hold must each he must
ge wel bodjan ge wel bysnjan oþrum mannum, and æiþer
both well preach and well exemplify to-other men and each
he scel æt godes dome gescead agildan ge his sylfes dæda
he must at of-god judgment account render both of-his self deeds
ge ealles þæs folces, þe he to godes handa healdan sceal.
and of-all the folk that he to of-god hand hold must
Þy he na mæig na wandjan, gif he riht deþ, naþor ne
therefore he not can — hesitate if he right does either —
for heanum ne for ricum, þæt he mannum þæt rihtlicost
for lowly nor for mighty that he to-men the most-right
na secge, forþam na þet he naht, forsceame he þæt riht to
not say because not that he aught be-ashamed he the right to
secgenne; and forsugje he hit, biterlice scel hit him wyrþan
say and keep-silent he it bitterly shall it to-him become
forgolden on þam toweardan life. þeh ura hyrda hwylc an
repaid in the coming life though of-our herdsmen any a
scep forjyme, we wyllaþ, þæt he hit forgilde; hwæt gefarað
sheep neglect we will that he it repay what experience

þonne æt godes egeslican dome þa hyrdas, þe na cunnan þa
then at of-god terrible judgment the shepherds who not can the
godcundan heorde healden, þe hig heoldan sceoldan Criste
divine flock hold that they hold should Christ
to handa, ah hi na cunnan naþor þurh larleaste ne lædan
to hand but they not can either through ignorance — lead
ne læran ne leacnjan? mid hwam forgildaþ hi hig þonne,
or teach or heal with what repay they them then
læt we nu? wa heom þonne, þæt hi æfre underfengon þa
let we now woe to-them then that they ever received the
godcunde heorde, þe hi gehealdan sceoldan. hu mæig blid
divine flock that they hold should how can blind
man oþerne lædan, oððe hu mæig ungelæred mann oþerne
man another lead or how can unlearned man another
læran? wa þam, þe godcunde heorde underfehþ and naþær
teach woe to-him who divine flock receives and neither
gehealdan ne can ne hine sylfne ne þa heorde, þe he healdan
hold — can nor him self nor the flock that he hold
scolde to godes handa; and wyrst þam, þe can and nele.
should to of-god hand and worst to-him who can and not-will

To mæssepreostum

LIII · TO MASS-PRIESTS

Many seek the priesthood wrongly, out of greed for worldly wealth, and do not know what they should. Woe to the priests, says the prophet, who devour the people's sins: those who take tithes and payments without warning their people, preaching, setting an example, or interceding for them. A priest who has so sinned must amend or perish, and repay what he takes for the dead with masses, psalms, and alms.

Eala, feala is þara, þe sacerdhades on unriht georna þ 276.16
O many is of-those who priesthood in wrong desire
mæssepreosthades for gitsuncge woroldgescryna and na cunnan
mass-priesthood for greed of-world-treasures and not know
na, þæt hi cunnan sceoldan. be þam spræc se witiga swiþe
— what they know should about those spoke the prophet very
egeslice and þus cwæþ: 'ue sacerdotibus, qui comedunt peccata
terribly and thus said woe to-priests who eat sins
populi.' þæt is on englisc: 'wa þam sacerdum', he cwæþ,
of-people that is in English woe to-the priests he said
'þe fretaþ folces sinna.' þæt sindon þa, þæ na cunnan folce
who devour of-folk sins those are those who not can folk
wiþ sinna gewarnjan and sinna gestyran and nimaþ heora
against sins warn and sins restrain and take their
sceattas to teoþingan and eac on manegum oþrum þingum;
money as tithes and also in many other things
and naþor ne hi mid bodengum wel na læraþ ne mid
and neither — they with preachings well — teach nor with
bisnuncgum wel na tæcaþ ne mid gebeddrædan forþingjaþ. ah
examples well — instruct nor with prayers intercede but
hit is swiþe micel þearf, se þe ær þysum misdyde, þæt he
it is very great need he who before this misdid that he

hit heonanforþ hit georne gebete and rihtlæce hine sylfne, be
it henceforth it eagerly amend and correct him self by
þam þe he wille beon wiþ god geborgen, oþþe he sceal mid
that which he will be with god saved or he shall with
ealle forwyrþan on þam toweardan life. bitere scel hit him
all perish in the coming life bitterly shall it to-him
wyrþan forgolden, þæt he for deadum mann nimþ, buton
become repaid what he for dead man takes unless
he hit mid mæssan and mid sealmsange and mid ælmessan
he it with mass and with psalm-singing and with alms
inlice forgilde. hali drihten gemiltsige us eallan. amen.
inwardly repay holy lord let-have-mercy-on us all amen

De dedicatione eclesiae

LIV · ON THE DEDICATION OF A CHURCH

Solomon, the wisest and greatest of kings, built in Jerusalem the first temple to God, dedicated it with offerings, and prayed that God would help all who pray there; the people went home in joy. So a church is consecrated for prayer, and idle talk and quarrels in it anger God: better keep no vigil than a trifling one. The temple signifies the Church, and each Christian must build himself into a house for the Holy Spirit, loving God and his neighbor.

Leofan men, ic wylle eow nu cyðan ymbe cyricmǽrsunge, 277.10
Dear men I will to-you now make-known about church-dedication
þæt ge þe geornor understandan magan, hu man cyrican
that ye the more-eagerly understand can how one church
weorþjan scyle, þe gode sylfum to lofe and to wurðmynte
honor must which to-god self for praise and for honor
gehalgod bið. on ealddagum wæs ân hus arǽred gode
consecrated is in old-days was a house raised to-god
ælmihtigum to lofe binnan þære byrig Gerusalem, and þæt
almighty for praise within the city Jerusalem and that
arǽrde se mǽra cyning Salomon, Dauides sunu. and se
raised the great king Solomon of-David son and the
Salomon þeah swyðe wel, ealswa him gecynde wæs, and
Solomon throve very well just-as to-him natural was and
ongann sona on his geogoðe god lufjan eallum mægene and
began at-once in his youth god love with-all might and
to gode inwerdre heortan wîsdomes wylnjan, and he eac þæs
from god with-inward heart wisdom desire and he also that
tîða wearð. god ælmihtig him geûðe swa micles wîsdomes,
granted was god almighty to-him granted so much wisdom
þæt æfre ænig ne wearð ær ðam eorðlic man wisra, þonne
that ever any not became before that earthly man wiser than

he wearð, ne ænig eorðlic cyning mærra and mihtigra, þonne
he became nor any earthly king greater and mightier than
he wearð þuruh æghwylcne woroldwelan, swa hit god wolde.
he became through every world-wealth as it god would
and he wes se forma man, þe gode to lofe ærest on eorðan
and he was the first man who to-god for praise first on earth
templgeweorc ârærde. his fæder Dauid cyning hit hæfde
temple-work raised his father David king it had
gemynt âr to dônne, ac he ne geforðede hit nâ, ac hit
intended before to do but he not accomplished it — but it
wearð þurh his sunu Salomon geforðad, ealswa god wolde.
was through his son Solomon accomplished just-as god would
278.1 And þæt wæs þæt mæreste hûs, þe on eorðan geworht wûrde.
And that was the greatest house that on earth wrought were
and þa, þa hit gearo wearð, þa gesomnade se cyng ealle his
and then when it ready became then gathered the king all his
witan to ðære halgunge and hit þa mærlicost gode betæhte,
councilors for the consecration and it then most-gloriously to-god dedicated
þe æfre âr ænig gewurde; and he swyðe micle lâc and
that ever before any happened and he very great offerings and
unlytle ælmessan þær gode betæhte. and eal þæt folc, þe ðerto
not-little alms there to-god gave and all the folk that thereto
gesamnod wæs, þær wæs on mycelre myrhðe and on fulre
gathered was there was in great mirth and in full
gesibsumnesse; and on ðam eahtoðan dæge manna gehwylc
peaceableness and on the eighth day of-men each
hâm ferde mid fulre blisse gode ælmihtigum þancjende þære
home went with full bliss god almighty thanking the
mærðe, þe þurh his fultum þær geforðad wearð. and þa,
glory that through his help there accomplished was and then
þa þæt wæs, þæt se mæra cyning gode and godes folce þæt
when that was that the great king to-god and of-god to-folk the

hûs to gebedhuse betæhte, þa wæs he wilnjende to gode
house as prayer-house dedicated then was he desiring from god
sylfum geornlice and mænigfealdlice, þæt hê þurh his miclan
self eagerly and manifoldly that he through his great
mildheortnesse æghwylcum þæra gemildsode, þe æfre to ðam
mercy to-each of-those showed-mercy who ever to that
on godes naman gebæde, and þæt he æt æghwylcre neode
in of-god name prayed and that he at every need
on helpe wâre ælcum þæra, þe his þearfe þærto sohte.
in help were to-each of-those who his need thereto sought
Ðonne dô wê ealswa, þonne we cyrican halgjað. gode we 278.18
Then do we likewise when we church consecrate to-god we
hy betâcað to ðam þingum, þæt cristene menn þærtô faran
it dedicate for the things that Christian men thereto go
magan and þær heora neoda to gode mânan and synna
can and there their needs to god lament and of-sins
forgifenesse biddan. witodlice ælc þæra, þe cyrican rihtlice
forgiveness ask certainly each of-those who church rightly
secð and mid clânum môde þær to gode clypað and his
seeks and with pure mind there to god calls and his
þearfe wylnað, god gehyrð his bêna. ac man ah micle þearfe
need desires god hears his prayers but one has great need
þeh, þæt hy man swa sêce, swa swa þærto gebyreð: þæt is,
though that it one so seek so as thereto befits that is
þæt hy man sêce mid miclum godes ege and þær geornlice
that it one seek with great of-god fear and there eagerly
to gode clypje and his mildheortnesse bidde. and soðlice swa
to god call and his mercy ask and truly as
oft, swa men cyrican secað, gode englas of heofenum locjað
often as men church seek good angels from heavens look
georne, on hwylce wisan hy man sece, and god sceawað sylf,
eagerly in what manner it one seek and god observes self

mid hwylcum geþâncе þær man tô fare, and hwæt þær man
with what thought there one to go and what there one
dreoge wordes oððe weorces. and se, þe þær þæt deð, þæt
practice of-word or of-work and he who there that does which
his þearfa beoð, se gegladað god; and se, þe þær deð ænig
his needs are he gladdens god and he who there does any
unnyt wordes oððon weorces, he dryhð deofles willan and
uselessness of-word or of-work he performs of-devil will and
abelhð his drihtne swiðor, þonne he beþorfte. ne gebyreð
angers his lord more than he needed not befits
æt cyrican ænig þing to dônne, butan god to herjanne and
at church any thing to do except god to praise and
hine to gebiddanne. wâ þam þonne witodlice, þe cyrican
him to pray-to woe to-those then certainly who church
oftost mid idele secað; þæt syndan þa ungesæligan, þe
most-often with idleness seek those are the unblessed who
ðær fleardjað mid idelre spæ̂ce and hwilum mid idelre dæ̂de.
there trifle with idle speech and at-times with idle deed
ðær man sæcð for oft swyðe ymbe fela þinga;
there one disputes very often greatly about many things
279.9 and þær ne gebyrede, þæt þær ænig man sace gehyrde. and
and there not befitted that there any man strife heard and
þær man wacað ealles to oft swyðor on unnyt, þonne
there one watches altogether too often more in uselessness than
man sceolde; and micle betere is ælcum cristenum men, þæt
one should and much better is for-each Christian man that
he nâne wæccan æt cyrican næbbe, þonne he þær wacyge
he no vigil at church have than he there watch
mid ænigan geflearde. ac se, þe rihtlice his wæccan healdan
with any trifling but he who rightly his vigil hold
wylle, fare þærto mid godes ege and bringe his ælmessan
will let-go thereto with of-god fear and let-bring his alms

and wacje and gebidde hine georne, þonne fremað him seo
and let-watch and let-pray him eagerly then benefits him the
wæcce, forðam heo bið þonne gode licwyrðe. and witodlice
vigil because it is then to-god pleasing and certainly
nah man on ænigne tîman ne dæges ne nihtes æt godes
not-has one at any time nor by-day nor by-night at of-god
hûse unnyt to dônne; gif hit hwâ þonne ær þissum dyde,
house uselessness to do if it anyone then before this did
geswice heonanforð georne, forðam syððan cyrice gehalgod bið
let-cease henceforth eagerly because after church consecrated is
and gode betæht, syððan hy man sceal â weorðlice healdan.
and to-god dedicated afterward it one must ever honorably hold
Leofan men, se eorðlica cyning Salomon getacnað þæne 279.23
Dear men the earthly king Solomon betokens the
heofenlican cyning, þæt is, Crist sylfne; and þæt ân hus,
heavenly king that is Christ self and the one house
þe he arærde gode to lofe of eorðlican antimbre, þæt
that he raised to-god for praise of earthly material that
getacnað þa halgan ęcclesiam, þe Crist getimbrode of
betokens the holy ecclesia which Christ built of
gastlicum ândweorce. and ealle godes cyrican sŷn getealde
spiritual material and all of-god churches are reckoned
æfter gastlicum andgyte to ânre cyrican, and seo is
according-to spiritual sense as one church and it is
ecclesia genamad, forðam eal cristen folc is þurh ânfealdne
ecclesia named because all Christian folk is through single
geleafan geleaful worden, and þurh ænne geleafan ealle we
faith faithful become and through one faith all we
gelyfað on ænne god, þe ealle þing gesceop and geworhte.
believe in one god who all things created and made
and soþ is, þæt ic secge, miclum fremeð se him sylfum, þe
and true is what I say greatly benefits he him self who

gode to lofe cyrcan gegearwað. and ealra getimbra huru is
to-god for praise church prepares and of-all buildings indeed is
gode gecwemast, þæt se man hine sylfne getimbrige to ðam
to-god most-pleasing that the man him self build for the
þingum, þæt he sylf sy gecwême hûs and gode lîcwurðe on
things that he self be pleasing house and to-god pleasing in
to gewunjanne. and of þam tîman ærest, þe se man fulluht
to dwell and from the time first that the man baptism
underfehð, him wunað on se halga gast, gif he hine sylfne
receives him dwells in the holy spirit if he him self
mid rihte gehealt; and, gif he þonne þurh deofles lâre hine
with right keeps and if he then through of-devil teaching him
sylfne wið god forsyngað and leahtras lufað, þonne forlæt se
self against god sins-away and vices loves then forsakes the
halga gast þa onwununge, and þær sona wyrð deofol inne.
holy spirit the dwelling and there at-once becomes devil within
280.10 ðonne is micel þearf, þæt manna gehwylc wið swylc wær
then is great need that of-men each against such wary
sy and his agen hus wel behweorfe; þæt is, þæt gehwa
be and his own house well tend that is that each-one
his heortan geclænsige and mid godum þingum hine sylfne
his heart cleanse and with good things him self
swa geglænge, þæt þær godes gast on him wunjan wille.
so adorn that there of-god spirit in him dwell will
se gegearwað gode licwyrðe hus on him sylfum, se þe
he prepares to-god pleasing house in him self he who
ânrædlice and rihtlice god lufað; and se hine lufað rihtlice,
resolutely and rightly god loves and he him loves rightly
se ðe his bebodu gehealt and simble geornlicest ymbe
he who his commandments keeps and ever most-eagerly about

þæt smeað, hu he gode fyrmest gecweman mæge; and
that considers how he god foremost please can and
witodlice on þam, þe swa deð, god wunað and eardað.
certainly in him who so does god dwells and abides
Leofan men, ða lâc, þe Salomon cyning geofrode gode 280.20
Dear men the offerings that Solomon king offered to-god
æt þære ealdan cyrichalgunge, þa getacnedan þa gastlican
at the old church-consecration those betokened the spiritual
offrunga, þe nû dæghwamlice geoffrode beoð on godes
offerings that now daily offered are in of-god
cyrican, swa swa Crist sylf hit âstealde and gebysnade. eac
church so as Christ self it established and exemplified also
manna gehwylc mæg be his mæðe mid þam lâcum, þe he
of-men each can by his measure with the offerings that he
elles hæfð and þe he þurhteon mæg, gode eaðe gecwêman,
else has and which he achieve can god easily please
forðam ne gewilnað he na maran, þonne þæs mannes mæþa
because not desires he — more than of-the man means
beoð; ac be þam he hy leanað, þe he hy on ðæs mannes
are but by that he them rewards which he them in of-the man
heortan gesceawað, ealswa he hwilum be sumre wudewan
heart observes just-as he once about a-certain widow
spæc: 'amen, dico uobis, quoniam uidua hæc, et reliqua.' hit
spoke amen I-say to-you that widow this and the-rest it
is swyðe rihtlic and swyðe micel nydþearf, þæt ælc cristen
is very right and very great necessity that each Christian
man swyðe gelôme cyrican sêce and þær georne his gebedu
man very often church seek and there eagerly his prayers
gode ælmihtigum to lacum sênde, forðam him beoð þa lâc
to-god almighty as offerings send because to-him are the offerings
swyðe licwyrðe. and þæt mæg huru ælc man þider to lacum
very pleasing and that can indeed each man thither as offerings

bringan. and swiðe micel þearf is eac, þæt cristene men þæne
bring and very great need is also that Christian men the
egesan æfre ne dreogan, þæt hy deofolgyld ahwar weorðjan,
terror ever not commit that they idols anywhere worship
forðam ne fremeð ænig cyricsocn æfre ænigum þera, þe
because not benefits any church-going ever any of-those who
þæt oþer dryhð, butan he geswîce and þe deoppor gebête.
the other practices unless he cease and the more-deeply amend
281.7 Leofan men, ðæt folc, þe to Salomones cyrichalgunge
Dear men the folk that to of-Solomon church-consecration
gesomnod wæs, þær wunode þa hwîle, þe hit þær wæs, on
gathered was there dwelt the while that it there was in
mycelre myrhðe; and þa hy ham ferdan, þa ferdan hy mid
great mirth and when they home went then went they with
fulre blisse and sibbe and sôme and georne gode þancedon
full bliss and peace and concord and eagerly god thanked
ealra þæra mærða and myrhða, þe þær gewordene wurdan.
all the glories and joys that there happened were
and þæt folc getacnode ealle þa cristenan men, þe nû ofer
and the folk betokened all the Christian men who now over
ealne middaneard cyrican sêcað. and, ealswa hy þær on blisse
all middle-earth church seek and just-as they there in bliss
wæron þa hwile, þe hy þær wæron, swa scylan cristene men
were the while that they there were so must Christian men
eac mid bliðre heortan nu cyrican sêcan, forðam, se ðe þider
also with glad heart now church seek because he who thither
mid nîðe oððon mid ænigum graman færð, ne weorðaþ his
with malice or with any anger goes not become his
lac þær gode andfenge ne his gebeda fram gode gehyrede,
offerings there to-god acceptable nor his prayers by god heard
ær he nîð and graman mid ealle alâte. ac se, ðe þyder mid
before he malice and anger with all abandon but he who thither with

clænum mode færð and þær bliðe bið for godcundre þearfe
pure mind goes and there glad is for divine need
and to gode georne þencð and clypað, his bena beoð gode
and to god eagerly thinks and calls his prayers are to-god
gecweme, and he ðæs mæg georne gode þancjan and þe bliðra
pleasing and he that can eagerly god thank and the gladder
mæg mid sibbe and mid some syððan hamwerd eft gewendan.
can with peace and with concord afterward homeward again go
Leofan men, ealle cyrican belimpað to ânre, ealswa we ær 281.25
Dear men all churches belong to one just-as we before
cwædan, forðam ealle cristene men belimpað to Criste ânum,
said because all Christian men belong to Christ alone
and he is heora ealra heafod, and hy synd his lyma. and,
and he is of-them all head and they are his limbs and
þonne se dôm cymð, þonne weorðað ealle men gesomnode
when the judgment comes then become all men gathered
to anum godes dome, and halige men and cristene saula
to one of-god judgment and holy men and Christian souls
weorðað þonne gegæderede to heora heafde anum, þæt is,
become then gathered to their head alone that is
to Criste sylfum, and a syððan wunjað on ecre myrhðe
to Christ self and ever afterward dwell in eternal mirth
mid him on hefenlicre cyrican. dôn we nû eac georne, swa
with him in heavenly church let-do we now also eagerly so
swa ûs þearf is, sêcan we gelome þa cyrican, þe we nu
as to-us need is let-seek we often the church that we now
lichamlice gesecan magan, and geearnjan þurh þæt, þæt we
bodily seek can and let-earn through that that we
cuman motan to þære êcan, þe us behaten is on heofena
come may to the eternal that to-us promised is in of-heavens
rîce. and utan â fulne hiht and fæstrædne geleafan habban
kingdom and let-us ever full hope and steadfast faith have

on urne drihten, forðam ne bið hit naht, beo ðær ænig
in our lord because not is it aught be there any
tweonung. ac an riht geleafa is georne to healdanne, þæt is,
doubt but one right faith is eagerly to hold that is
on ænne soðne godd, þe ealle þing gesceop and geworhte.
in one true god who all things created and made
and an fulluht is eallum cristenum mannum gemæne, and þæt
and one baptism is for-all Christian men common and that
môt ure gehwylc rihtlice healdan, gif we aht gefaran scylan;
must of-us each rightly hold if we aught fare shall
282.11 and se gehealt his fulluht rihtlice, se þe gehealt godes
and he keeps his baptism rightly he who keeps of-god
beboda. ðonne is ærest þæt forme bebod, þæt man
commandments then is first the first commandment that one
lufje god ealmihtigne æfre ofer ealle oðre þing, and syððan is
love god almighty ever over all other things and then is
oðer bebod, þæt gehwa lufige his nihstan, swa swa hine
second commandment that each-one love his neighbor so as him
sylfne; and þæt is, þæt riht cristen mann ne beode ænigum
self and that is that right Christian man not offer to-any
oðrum, bûtan þæt he wille, þæt man him beode. and þæt is
other except what he will that one him offer and that is
swiðe rihtlic and þearflic dôm and gode gecwême; and se,
very right and profitable judgment and to-god pleasing and he
þe þæne dôm gehealdeð, he geearnað him sylfum witodlice
who the judgment keeps he earns for-him self certainly
dôm þæne betstan æt þam, þe on heofenum leofað and
judgment the best from him who in heavens lives and
ricxað in ealra worolda worold a butan ende. amen.
reigns in of-all worlds world ever without end amen

Sermo Lupi

LIX · A SERMON OF THE WOLF

All Christians must follow God's law, and the clergy most of all, since they must preach and set an example. Every Christian must learn the Paternoster and the Creed or be unworthy to stand sponsor, receive communion, or lie in consecrated ground. All must guard against grievous sins, marry outside six degrees of kinship and never a nun, protect churches, pay God's dues, keep feasts and fasts, feed the poor, and spare widows, orphans, and strangers.

Leofan men, doð, swa ic lære, gehyrað, hwæt ic wylle secgan 307.2
Dear men do as I teach hear what I will say
to þearfe, gyme se, ðe cunne, his agenre neode. eallum
for benefit let-heed he who can his own need to-all
cristenum mannum is mycel þearf, þæt hy godes lage fylgean
Christian men is great need that they of-god law follow
and godcundre lare geornlice gyman; and huru gehadodum
and divine teaching eagerly heed and indeed to-ordained
is ealra mæst þearf, forðam þe hy scylan ægðer ge bodjan ge
is of-all greatest need because that they must each both preach and
bysnjan godes riht georne oðrum mannum. nu wylle we læran
exemplify of-god right eagerly to-other men now will we teach
godes þeowas georne, þæt hy hy sylfe wærlice beðencan and
of-god servants eagerly that they them selves carefully consider and
þurh godes fultum clænnesse lufjan and gode ælmihtigum
through of-god help purity love and god almighty
eadmodlice þeowjan and for eall cristen folc þingjan gelome;
humbly serve and for all Christian folk intercede often
and þæt hi bocum and gebedum geornlice fylgean and bodjan
and that they books and prayers eagerly follow and preach
and bysnjan godes riht georne; and þæt hy læran gelome,
and exemplify of-god right eagerly and that they teach often

swa hy geornost magan, þæt gehadode regollice and læwede
as they most-eagerly can that ordained by-rule and lay
lahlice heora lif fadjan to þearfe hym sylfan. and ealle
lawfully their life order for benefit for-them selves and all
cristene men we lærað swyþe georne, þæt hy inwerdre heortan
Christian men we teach very eagerly that they with-inward heart
æfre god lufjan and rihtne cristendom georнlice healdan and
ever god love and right Christendom eagerly hold and
godcundan lareowan georнlice hyran and godes lara and
divine teachers eagerly obey and of-god teachings and
laga smeagean and spirjan oft and gelome hym sylfum
laws consider and inquire-into often and frequently for-them selves
to þearfe. and we lærað, þæt ælc cristen man geleornige
for benefit and we teach that each Christian man learn
huru, þæt he cunne rihtne geleafan ariht understandan,
at-least that he can right faith aright understand
and paternoster and credan, be ðam þe he wylle æfter
and paternoster and creed by that which he will after
forðsiðe mid cristenra gemanan on gehalgedan restan and
departure with of-Christians fellowship in consecrated(-ground) rest and
gebedrædenne habban oððon ær on life husles beon wyrðe,
fellowship-of-prayer have or before in life communion be worthy
forðam he ne byð wel cristen, þe ðæt geleornjan nele, ne
because he not is well Christian who that learn will-not nor
he nah mid rihte oþres mannes to onfonne æt fulluhte ne
he has with right another man to receive at baptism nor
æt biscopes handa, ær he hit geleornige, þæt he wel cunne.
at of-bishop hand before he it learn that he well know
307.28 and we lærað, þæt man wið healice synna and wið deoflice
and we teach that one against grievous sins and against devilish
dæda scylde swyþe georne on æghwylcne timan; and bete
deeds guard very eagerly at every time and let-amend

swyþe georne be his scriftes geðehte, se ðe þurh deofles
very eagerly by of-his confessor counsel he who through of-devil
scyfe on synna befeolle. and we lærað, þæt man wið fulne
impulse into sins fell and we teach that one against foul
gâlscype and wið unrihthæmed and wið æghwylcne æwbrice
lust and against fornication and against every adultery
warnje symble. and we lærað and biddað and on godes naman
guard ever and we teach and pray and in of-god name
beodað, þæt ænig cristen man binnan syx manna sibbfæce
command that any Christian man within six of-men kinship-degree
æfre ne gewifige on his agenum cynne ne on his mæges lafe,
ever not marry in his own kin nor to of-his kinsman widow
þe swa neahsibb wære, ne on his wifes nydmagan, þe he
who so near-related were nor to of-his wife kinswoman whom he
sylf ær ahte, ne on his gefæderan ne on gehalgodre nunnan;
self before had nor to his godmother nor to consecrated nun
ne on ælætan ænig cristen man ne gewifige æfre ne na
nor to divorced-woman any Christian man — marry ever nor —
mâ wifa, þonne ân, hæbbe, ac beo be ðære anre þa hwile,
more wives than one have but let-be by the one the while
þe heo lybbe, se ðe wylle godes lage gyman mid rihte and
that she live he who will of-god law heed with right and
wið hellebryne beorgan his sawle. and we lærað eac georne
against hell-burning protect his soul and we teach also eagerly
manna gehwylcne, þæt he godes ege hæbbe symle on gemynde
of-men each that he of-god fear have ever in mind
and dæges and nihtes forhtige for synnum, domdæg adrædæ
and by-day and by-night fear for sins doomsday dread
and for helle agrise and æfre him gehende endedæges wene.
and for hell shudder and ever to-him near end-day expect

308.17 and we lærað swyþe georne freonda gehwylcne, þæt he fram
and we teach very eagerly of-friends each that he from
synnum georne gecyrre and oðrum mannum unrihtes styre,
sins eagerly turn and other men wrong restrain
and þæt he ofer ealle oðre þing lufige his drihten, and þæt
and that he over all other things love his lord and that
he oft and gelome hæbbe on gemynde, þæt mannum is mæst
he often and frequently have in mind that to-men is greatest
þearf oftost to gemunanne, þæt is, þæt hy rihtne geleafan,
need most-often to remember that is that they right faith
swa we ær cwædan, anrædlice habban on ðone soðan god,
as we before said resolutely have in the true god
þe is waldend and wyrhta ealra gesceafta, and þæt hy rihtne
who is ruler and maker of-all creatures and that they right
cristendom rihtlice healdan; and þæt hy godcundan lareowan
Christendom rightly hold and that they divine teachers
georнlice hyran and godes larum and lagum georнlice fylgean;
eagerly obey and of-god teachings and laws eagerly follow
and þæt hy godes cyrcan æghwær georne griðjan and friðjan
and that they of-god churches everywhere eagerly protect and shelter
and mid leohte and lacum hy gelome gegretan and hy sylfe
and with light and offerings them often visit and them selves
þær georne oft and gelome gebiddan to Criste; and þæt hy
there eagerly often and frequently pray to Christ and that they
godes gerihta æghwylce geare mid rihte gelæstan and freolsa
of-god dues each year with right pay and festivals
and fæstena rihtlice healdan; and þæt hy sunnandaga cypinga
and fasts rightly hold and that they of-Sundays tradings
and folcgemota on þam halgan dæge georne geswican; and
and folk-moots on the holy day eagerly cease and
þæt hi godes þeowas symle werjan and weorðjan; and þæt
that they of-god servants ever defend and honor and that

hy godes þearfan frefrjan and fedan; and þæt hi wydewan
they of-god poor comfort and feed and that they widows
and steopcild to oft ne ahwænan, ac georne hy gladjan;
and orphans too often not afflict but eagerly them gladden
and þæt hi elðeodige menn and feorran cumene ne tyrjan 309.3
and that they foreign men and from-afar come not provoke
ne ne tynan; and þæt hi oðrum mannum unriht ne beodan
nor — vex and that they to-other men wrong not offer
ealles to swyðe, ac manna gehwylc oðrum beode þæt riht,
altogether too greatly but of-men each to-another offer the right
þæt he wylle, þæt man him beode, be ðam þe hit mæð
that he will that one to-him offer by that which it fitting
sy. a sy godes nama ecelice gebletsod and hym symle
be ever let-be of-god name eternally blessed and to-him ever
sy wuldor and weorðmynt æfre to worolde.
let-be glory and honor ever to world

Be hæðendome

LX · ON HEATHENDOM

No Christian may practice heathen rites or worship idols; whoever does must make deep amends, and one who does it too often pays wergild or fine among the English and a fine for breach of law under the Danes' law. Witches, diviners, whores, murderers, and perjurers are to be driven out or destroyed unless they repent. The land holds too many apostates, church-haters, thieves, liars, and traitors, and a kinsman at times shields a kinsman no more than a stranger. The nation must be cleansed to earn God's mercy.

309.11 Nemo cristianorum paganas superstitiones intendat, sed
No-one of-Christians pagan superstitions let-attend-to but
gentilium inquinamenta omnia omnino contemnat. eala, mycel
of-gentiles pollutions all altogether let-despise O great
is nydþearf manna gehwylcum, þæt he wið deofles larswice
is necessity of-men to-each that he against of-devil teaching-deceit
warnige symle, and þæt he hæðenscype georne æfre forbuge,
guard ever and that he heathenship eagerly ever shun
þæs þe he gedon mæge. and, gyf hit geweorðe, þæt cristen
as-far as he do can and if it happen that Christian
man æfre heonanforð ahwar heðendom begange oððon ahwar
man ever henceforth anywhere heathendom practice or anywhere
on lande idola weorðige, gebete þæt deope for gode and
in land idols worship let-amend that deeply before god and
for worolde; and, se ðe to gelome þæt unriht begange,
before world and he who too often the wrong practice
gylde mid Englum swa wer, swa wite, and on Dena
let-pay among English either wergild or fine and in of-Danes
lage lahslite, be ðam þe seo dæd sy. and, gyf wiccean
law law-breach-fine by that which the deed be and if witches
oððe wigelearas, horingas oððe horcwenan, morðwyrhtan
or diviners fornicators or whores murderers

oððe mânsworan innan þysan earde weorðan agytene, fyse
or perjurers within this land be found let-drive
hy man georne ut of þysan earde and clænsige þas
them one eagerly out of this land and let-cleanse this
þeode oððon on earde forfare hy mid ealle, butan hi
nation or in land let-destroy them with all unless they
geswicon and þe deoppor gebetan. and do man, swa hit
cease and the more-deeply amend and let-do one as it
þearf is, manfulra dæda on æghwylcan ende styre man
need is wicked deeds in every region let-restrain one
swyðe. her syndan on earde godcundnessæ wiðersacan and
greatly here are in land of-divinity apostates and
godes lage oferhogan, manslagan and mægslagan, cyrichatan
of-god law despisers manslayers and kin-slayers church-haters
and sacerdbanan, hadbrecan and æwbrecan, myltestran
and priest-slayers order-breakers and adulterers harlots
and bearnmyrðran, þeofas and þeodscaðan, ryperas and
and child-murderers thieves and public-enemies robbers and
reaferas, leogeras and liceteras and leodhatan hetele ealles
plunderers liars and hypocrites and people-haters hostile altogether
to manege, þe ðurh mansylene barjað þas þeode, and
too many who through sale-of-men lay-bare this nation and
wedlogan and wærlogan and lytle getrywða to wide mid
pledge-breakers and troth-breakers and little loyalties too widely among
mannum.
men
and ne byrhð se gesibba hwilan gesibban þe ma, þe 310.6
and not protects the kinsman at-times kinsman the more than
ðam fremdan, ne broðor his breðer oþre hwile ne bearn
the stranger nor brother his brother other while nor child
for oft his fæder ne meder. ne na fela manna ne healt
very often his father nor mother nor — many men — holds

his getrywða swa wel, swa he scolde, for gode and for
his loyalties as well as he should before god and before
worolde. ac do man, swa hit þearf is, gebete hit georne
world but let-do one as it need is let-amend it eagerly
and clænsige þas þeode, gyf man godes miltse geearnjan
and let-cleanse this nation if one of-god mercy earn
wylle.
will

Be cristendome

LXI · ON CHRISTENDOM

Christians are named after Christ, their head, and must pay his dues rightly: the tithe of crops as the plow passes the tenth acre, on the penalty King Edgar decreed; the tithe of young animals by Pentecost and of the earth's fruits by All Saints'; Rome-money by Peter's mass, on pain of thirty pennies to Rome and a hundred and twenty shillings to the king; church-scot at Martinmas; plow-alms after Easter; light-scot at Christmas, Candlemas, and Easter; and soul-scot at the open grave.

A Cristo enim cristiani sunt nominati, Cristus autem 310.14
From Christ for Christians are named Christ but
caput nostrum est, et nos membra eius. Crist is ealra
head our is and we limbs his Christ is of-all
cristenra manna heafod, and ealle cristene men syndon to
Christian men head and all Christian men are as
Cristes limum getealde, gyf hy heora drihtne gecwemað
of-Christ limbs reckoned if they their lord please
mid rihte. and hy scylan swyþe georne cristendom æfre
with right and they must very eagerly Christendom ever
healdan mid rihte and Cristes cyrcan secan gelome heom
hold with right and of-Christ church seek often for-them
sylfum to þearfe and Cristes gerihta rihtlice gelæstan.
selves for benefit and of-Christ dues rightly pay
and þæt îs ân ærest, þæt man geteoðige æghwylce geare
and that is one first that one tithe each year
þæt, þæt god sende þonne on geare folce to þearfe
that which god send then in year for-folk for benefit
on corne and on flexe and on gewelhwylcon wæstme.
in grain and in flax and in nearly-every fruit
and arise seo æcerteoðung a, be ðam þe seo sulh
and let-arise the acre-tithe ever by that which the plow

þone teoðan æcer ær geeode, be godes miltse and be
the tenth acre before went-over by of-god mercy and by
ðæs cynges and be ealles cristenes folces and be ðære
of-the king and by of-all Christian folk and by the
steore, þe Eadgar cyng gelagode. and sy ælcere geogoðe
penalty that Edgar king decreed and let-be of-each young
teoðung gelæst be pentecosten be wite and eorðwæstma
tithing paid by Pentecost on penalty and of-earth-fruits
be ealra halgena mæssan. and romfeoh gelæste man
by of-all saints mass and Rome-money let-pay one
æghwylce geare be Petres mæssan; and, se ðe hit ne
each year by of-Peter mass and he who it not
gelæste, sylle þærtoeacan .xxx. peninga and bringe to
pay let-give in-addition thirty pennies and let-bring to
Rome and gylde þam cynge on Engla lage .cxx.
Rome and let-pay to-the king in of-English law hundred-twenty
scillinga.
shillings
311.4 and cyricsceat gelæste man on Engla lage to Martines
and church-scot let-pay one in of-English law at of-Martin
mæssan; and, se ðe þæt ne gelæste, forgylde hine
mass and he who that not pay let-pay-for it
mid twelffealdan and þam cynge .cxx. scillinga.
with twelvefold and to-the king hundred-twenty shillings
and sulhælmessan gebyrað, þæt man gelæste be wite
and plow-alms befits that one pay on penalty
æghwylce geare, þonne huru .xv. niht beoð agan ofer
each year when at-least fifteen nights are passed after
eastertid. and leohtgescot gelæste man be wite to Cristes
Easter-time and light-scot let-pay one on penalty at of-Christ
mæssan and to candelmæssan and to eastron, do
mass and at Candlemas and at Easter let-do

oftor se, ðe wylle. and saulscat is rihtast, þæt man
more-often he who will and soul-scot is most-right that one
gelæste ⁊ æt openum græfe. and freolsa and fæstena
pay ever at open grave and festivals and fasts
be wite healde man rihtlice. and ealle godes gerihta
on penalty let-keep one rightly and all of-god dues
fyrðrige man georne, ealswa hit þearf is. and, gyf hwa
let-further one eagerly just-as it need is and if anyone
þæt nelle, gewylde man hine to rihte mid woroldlicre
that not-will let-compel one him to right with worldly
steore.
correction

WULFSTAN

The Canons of Edgar

God's servants serve God, pray for all Christians, and are loyal to their lords. A priest brings books, vestments, ink, parchment, and three days' food to the synod, and reports wrongs done him and sinners he cannot bend. Priests settle quarrels among themselves or before the bishop, take no other's scholar, and learn a craft. They baptize within thirty-seven nights and end the worship of wells, trees, and stones; all learn the Paternoster and Creed, and heathen songs and Sunday markets cease.

We lǽrað· þ Godes þeówas beon georn líce Gode þeówigende· 1
We teach that of-God servants be eagerly God serving
ȝ þénigende· ȝ for eal Cristen folc þingigende· ȝ þ
and ministering and for all Christian people interceding and that
hi ealle beon á heora ealdre holde ȝ gehýrsume· ȝ
they all be ever to-their lord loyal and obedient and
ealle ánræde tó gemǽnre þearfe. ȝ þ ælc sí oðrum tó
all resolute for common need and that each be to-other for
fultume ȝ helpe· ge for Gode· ge for worlde· ȝ þ
help and aid both before God and before world and that
hí beon heora worldhláfordum eác holde ȝ getrýwe:·
they be to-their worldly-lords also loyal and true
And we lǽrað· þ ælc wurðige oðerne· ȝ hýran þa gingran 2
And we teach that each honor other and obey the younger
georne heora yldrum· ȝ lúfian ȝ læran þa yldran georne
eagerly their elders and love and teach the elders eagerly
heora gingran:·
their younger

3 And we lǽrað· þ hí to ælcon sinoðe habban ælce geáre·
And we teach that they at each synod have each year
bécc ȝ reáf tó godcundre þénunge· ȝ blǽc ȝ bóc-fel
books and vestment for divine service and ink and book-vellum
to heóra gerǽdnessum· ȝ þreóra daga bi-wiste:·
for their ordinances and of-three days provisions

4 And we lǽrað· þ preosta gehwilc tó sinoðe hæbbe his cleric·
And we teach that of-priests each to synod have his cleric
ȝ gefædne man tó cnihte· ȝ nǽnigne unwítan þe dysig lúfige·
and orderly man as servant and no fool who folly loves
ac fáran ealle mid gefæde ȝ mid Godes Ælmihtiges ege:·
but go all with order and with of-God Almighty fear

5 And we lǽrað· þ ælc preost on sinoðe gecýþe· gif him
And we teach that each priest at synod make-known if him
hwæt derige· ȝ gif him ǽnig man heálíce misbóden hæbbe·
aught harm and if him any man grievously wronged have
ȝ fón hí þonne ealle on· swilce hit heom eallum gedón
and take they then all up as-if it to-them all done
beo· ȝ gefilstan tó· þ hit man gebéte swá biscop getǽce:·
were and help to that it one amend as bishop prescribe

6 And we lǽrað· þ preosta gehwilc on sýnoðe gecýþe
And we teach that of-priests each at synod make-known
gif he on his scrift-scíre ǽnigne man wíte Gode oferhýre·
if he in his shrift-district any man know to-God disobedient
oþþe on heáfoð-leahtrum ýfele befealenne· þe he to bóte
or in capital-sins evilly fallen whom he to amends
gebigan ne mæge· oþþe ne durre for world-áfole:·
bend not can or not dare for world-power

7 And we lǽrað· þ nán sacu þe betweox preostan sí· ne
And we teach that no quarrel which between priests be —
beo gescóten· tó world-manna sóme· ac séman ȝ sibbian
be referred to of-world-men arbitration but reconcile and pacify

heora ágene geféran· oþþe sceótan tó þam biscope· gif man
their own fellows or refer to the bishop if one
þ nýde scule:·
that of-need must
And we lærað· þ ænig preost· silf-willes· ne forlæte þa 8
And we teach that any priest of-self-will not forsake the
circan· þe he tó gebletsod wæs· ac hæbbe him þa to
church which he to consecrated was but have him it as
riht-æwe:·
lawful-wife
And we lærað· þ nán preosta oðrum ne æt-dó· ænig þára 9
And we teach that no of-priests to-other — take-away any of-the
þinga þe him tó-gebirige· ne on his mýnstre· ne on
things which him belong neither in his minster nor in
his scrift-scíre· ne on his gildscipe· ne on ænigum þára
his shrift-district nor in his guildship nor in any of-the
þinga þe him tó-gebirige:·
things which him belong
And we lærað· þ ænig preost ne underfó oþres scolere· 10
And we teach that any priest not receive of-other scholar
buton þæs leáfe þe he ær folgode:·
without his leave whom he before followed
And we lærað· þ preosta gehwilc· tó-éacan láre· leornige 11
And we teach that of-priests each in-addition-to learning learn
hand-cræft georne:·
handicraft eagerly
And we lærað· þ ænig gelæred preost· ne scænde þone 12
And we teach that any learned priest not shame the
sam-læredan· ac gebéte hine· gif he bét cunne:·
half-learned but amend him if he better know

13 And we lǽrað· þ ǽnig forð-bóren preost ne forseo þone
And we teach that any high-born priest not despise the
læs-bórenan· forþam gif man hit áriht ásmeað· þonne sin
less-born because if one it aright examines then are
ealle men ánra gebirda:·
all men of-one birth

14 And we lǽrað· þ preosta gehwilc tilige him rihtlíce· ⁊
And we teach that of-priests each provide for-himself rightly and
ne beo ǽnig mangere mid unrihte· ne gitsigende massere:·
not be any trader with wrong nor covetous merchant

15 And we lǽrað· þ preosta gehwilc fulluhtes tiðige· sona
And we teach that of-priests each baptism grant as-soon
swa man his girne· ⁊ ǽghwar on his scrift-scíre beóde·
as one it desire and everywhere in his shrift-district command
þ ælc cíld sý gefullod binnon ·xxxvii· nihtum· ⁊ þ
that each child be baptized within thirty-seven nights and that
ǽnig man tó lange unbiscopod ne wurðe:·
any man too long unconfirmed not become

16 And we lǽrað· þ preosta gehwilc cristendóm geornlíce
And we teach that of-priests each christianity eagerly
árǽre· ⁊ ælcne hæðendóm mid-ealle ádwæsce· ⁊ forbeóde
raise and each heathendom altogether quench and forbid
wil-weorðunga· ⁊ líc-wiglunga· ⁊ hwata· ⁊ galdra· ⁊
well-worship and necromancy and omens and charms and
man-weorðunga· ⁊ þa gemearr þe man drífð on mislícum
man-worship and the delusions which one practices in various
gewiglungum· ⁊ on frið-splottum· ⁊ on ellenum· ⁊
sorceries and in sanctuary-spots and in elder-trees and
éac on oðrum mislícum tréowum· ⁊ on stánum· ⁊ on
also in other various trees and in stones and in

manegum mislícum gedwimerum þe men ondreogað fela
many various phantoms which men practice much
þæs þe hí ná ne scoldon:·
of-that which they not — should
And we lǽrað· þ ælc cristen man his bearn tó cristendóme 17
And we teach that each Christian man his child to christianity
geornlíce wænige· ⁊ him Pater noster ⁊ Credon tǽce:·
eagerly accustom and him Pater noster and Creed teach
And we lǽrað· þ man geswíce freóls-dagum hæðenra leoða 18
And we teach that one cease on-feast-days heathen songs
⁊ deofles gamena:·
and of-devil games
And we lǽrað· þ man geswíce Sunnan-dæges cýpinge· ⁊ 19
And we teach that one cease of-Sunday marketing and
folc-gemóta:·
folkmoots
And we lǽrað· þ man geswíce higeleásra gewǽda ⁊ 20
And we teach that one cease foolish garments and
dislícra geræda ⁊ bismorlícra efesunga:·
unseemly trappings and shameful hair-cuttings
And we lǽrað· þ man geswíce cifes-gamanna ⁊ lúfige 21
And we teach that one cease concubine-games and love
riht ǽwe:·
right marriage
And we lǽrað· þ ælc man leornige· þ he cunne Pater 22
And we teach that each man learn that he know Pater
noster ⁊ Credon· be þam þe he wille on gehálgodan
noster and Creed by that which he will in hallowed
legere licgan· oþþe husles wurðe beón· forþam he ne
grave lie or of-communion worthy be because he not
bið wel cristen· þe þ geleornian nele· ne he náh mid
is well Christian who that learn will-not nor he has with

rihte oðres mannes tó onfónne æt fulluhte· ne æt biscopes
right another man to receive at baptism nor at of-bishop
handa· seðe þ ne cann· ǽr he hit geleornige:·
hand he-who that not knows before he it learn
23 And we lǽrað· þ fréols-dagum ⁊ riht fæsten-dagum·
And we teach that on-feast-days and on-right fast-days
ǽnig geflit ne beo betweox mannum· ealles tó swiðe:·
any strife not be between men all too greatly

XXIV–XLV · THE CHURCH AND THE MASS

On feast and fast days there are no oaths or ordeals, and a man keeps from his wife. The church serves God alone, with no idle talk or drink, no dog or pig in its yard, and none buried in it but one known to have pleased God. Mass is said only in a consecrated church, save for the sick, on a hallowed altar, from a book, never alone or more than thrice a day, with clean bread, wine, and water. The host is kept clean, no chalice is wooden, no woman nears the altar, and the hours are sung on time.

24 And we lǽrað· þ man fréols-dagum ⁊ fæsten-dagum forgá
And we teach that one on-feast-days and on-fast-days forgo
áðas ⁊ órdéla:·
oaths and ordeals
25 And we lǽrað· þ ælc wer forgá his wíf fréols-tídum ⁊
And we teach that each man forgo his wife at-feast-times and
riht fæsten-tídum:·
at-right fast-times
26 And we lǽrað· þ preostas circan healdan mid ealre
And we teach that priests churches keep with all
árwurðnesse tó godcundre þénunge· ⁊ tó clǽnan þéowdóme·
reverence for divine service and for clean service
⁊ tó nánum oðrum þingum· ne hí þær ǽnig unnit· inne
and for no other things nor they there any useless-thing within

ne on neaweste· ne geþáfian· ne ídele spǽce· ne ídele dǽde· ne
nor in nearness — allow nor idle speech nor idle deed nor
unnit gedrinc· ne æfre ǽnig ídel· ne binnan circ-túne ǽnig
useless drinking nor ever any idle-thing nor within church-yard any
hund ne cume· ne swín þe má· þæs þe man wealdan mæge:·
dog — come nor swine the more as-far as one control can
And we lǽrað· þ man intó circan ǽnig þingc ne logige· 27
And we teach that one into church any thing not lodge
þæs þe þar-tó ungedáfenlíc sí:·
of-that which thereto unbecoming be
And we lǽrað· þ man æt circ-wæccan swíðe gedreoh sí· 28
And we teach that one at church-wakes very sober be
ȝ georne gebidde· ȝ ǽnig gedrinc· ȝ ǽnig unnit þar
and eagerly pray and any drinking and any useless-thing there
ne dreóge:·
not practice
And we lǽrað· þ man innan circan ǽnigne man ne birige· 29
And we teach that one within church any man not bury
búton man wíte þ he on lífe Gode tó þam wel gecwemde·
unless one know that he in life God to that well pleased
þ man þurh þ láte· þ he sí þæs legeres wyrðe:·
that one through that allow that he be of-the grave worthy
And we lǽrað· þ preost on ǽnigum húse ne mæssige· 30
And we teach that priest in any house not say-mass
buton on gehálgodre circan· buton hit sí for hwilces mannes
except in consecrated church unless it be for of-some man
ofer-séocnesse:·
sickness
And we lǽrað· þ preost huru æfre ne mæssige· buton 31
And we teach that priest indeed ever not say-mass except
on-ufan gehálgodon weofode:·
upon hallowed altar

32 And we lǽrað· þ preost æfre ne mæssige buton béc· ac
And we teach that priest ever not say-mass without book but
beo se canon him æt-foran eágum· beseo to· gif he wille·
be the canon him before eyes look to if he will
þý læs þe him misse:·
the less that him err

33 And we lǽrað· þ ælc preost hæbbe corporalem þonne he
And we teach that each priest have corporal when he
mæssige· ȝ subuculam under his alban· ȝ eal mæsse-reáf
says-mass and subucula under his alb and all mass-vestment
wurðlíce behworfen:·
worthily ordered

34 And we lǽrað· þ ælc preost georne tilige· þ he góde ȝ
And we teach that each priest eagerly strive that he good and
huru rihte béc hæbbe:·
indeed right books have

35 And we lǽrað· þ ǽnig mæsse-preost ána ne mæssige· þ
And we teach that any mass-priest alone not say-mass that
he næbbe þone þe him ácweðe:-
he not-have him who him answers

36 And we lǽrað· þ ǽnig unfæstende man husles ne ábirige·
And we teach that any unfasting man communion not taste
buton hit for ofer-seócnesse sí:·
unless it for sickness be

37 And we lǽrað· þ ǽnig preost ánes dæges oftor ne mæssige
And we teach that any priest on-one day oftener not say-mass
þonne þriwa· mæst þára þinga:·
than thrice at-most of-those things

38 And we lǽrað· þ preost hæbbe á geara husl þam
And we teach that priest have ever ready communion for-him
þe þearf sí· ȝ þ georne on clǽnnesse healde· ȝ warige
who need be and that eagerly in cleanness keep and beware

þ hit ná forealdige. gif hit þonne forealden sí· þ his
that it not grow-old if it then grown-old be that it
man brucan ne mæge· þonne forbærne hit man on clǽnum
one eat not can then let-burn it one in clean
fíre· ȝ þa axsan under weofode gebringe· ȝ béte wið
fire and the ashes under altar let-bring and let-amend toward
God georne seþe hit forgímde:·
God eagerly he-who it neglected
And we lǽrað· þ nǽfre preost ne geþristlǽce· þ he 39
And we teach that never priest — presume that he
mæssige· buton he eal hæbbe þ tó husle gebirige· þ
say-mass unless he all have that for communion belongs that
is· clǽne óflete· ȝ clǽne wín· ȝ clǽne wæter. wá þam
is clean wafer and clean wine and clean water woe to-him
þe mæssian onginð· buton he ælc þára hæbbe· ȝ wá
who to-say-mass begins unless he each of-those have and woe
þam þe þær fúl þing tó-déð· forþam he déð þonne gelíce
to-him who there foul thing adds because he does then like
þam þe Iudeas didon· þa hí mængdon eced ȝ geallan
those who Jews did when they mixed vinegar and gall
tó-gædere· ȝ hit siþþan on his bismer Criste gebudon:·
together and it then in his mockery to-Christ offered
And we lǽrað· þ æfre ne gewurðe þ preost mæssige· ȝ 40
And we teach that ever not happen that priest say-mass and
sylf þ husl ne geþicge· ne man gehálgod husl· nǽfre
self the communion not receive nor one hallowed communion ever
eft hálgige:·
again hallow
And we lǽrað· þ ælc calic gegóten beo þe man husl 41
And we teach that each chalice cast be which one communion
on hálgige· ȝ on tréowenum ne hálgige man ǽnig:·
in hallow and in wooden-one not hallow one any

42 And we lǽrað· þ ealle þa þingc þe weofode neáh beon·
And we teach that all the things which to-altar near are
ȝ tó circan gebýrian· beon swiðe clǽnlíce ȝ wurðlíce
and to church belong be very cleanly and worthily
behworfene· ȝ þar ǽnig þingc fúles neáh ne cume· ac
ordered and there any thing of-foul near not come but
gelogige man þone háligdóm swiðe árwurðlíce· ȝ á sí
lodge one the relics very reverently and ever be
býrnende léoht on circan þonne man mæssan singe:·
burning light in church when one mass sings

43 And we lǽrað· þ man ne forgýme ǽnig gehálgod þingc·
And we teach that one not neglect any hallowed thing
ne hálig wæter· ne seált· ne stór· ne hláf· ne ǽnig þingc
neither holy water nor salt nor incense nor bread nor any thing
háliges:·
of-holy

44 And we lǽrað· þ ǽnig wífman neáh weofode ne cume· þa
And we teach that any woman near altar not come the
hwíle þe man mæssige:·
while that one says-mass

45 And we lǽrað· þ man on rihtne tíman tída singe· ȝ
And we teach that one at right time hours sing and
preosta gehwilc þonne his tíd-sang on circan geséce· ȝ þar
of-priests each then his office in church seek and there
mid Godes ege hig georne gebiddan· ȝ for eal folc þingian:·
with of-God fear they eagerly pray and for all people intercede

A priest serves only in his surplice, keeps his tonsure, grows no beard, and keeps feasts and fasts as the others do. Fasts are honored with alms, the young taught crafts, the people preached to each Sunday, and no one eats blood. Priests remind the people of their dues and shun drunkenness, minstrelsy, oaths, too much company of women, false witness, hunting, hawking, and dice. Each shrives, brings communion and unction to the sick, keeps the oils, and reports his prayers for king and bishop.

And we lǽrað· þ mæsse-preosta oþþe mýnster-preosta ǽnig 46
And we teach that of-mass-priests or of-minster-priests any
ne cume binnan circan-dýre· ne binnan weoh-stealle· butón
not come within church-door nor within sanctuary without
his ofer-slipe· ne huru æt þam weofode þ he þær þénige·
his surplice nor indeed at the altar that he there minister
buton þære wǽde:·
without the garment
And we lǽrað· þ ǽnig gehádod man his sceare ne hélige· 47
And we teach that any ordained man his tonsure not hide
ne hine misefesian ne láte· ne his beard ǽnige hwíle
nor himself mis-cut — let nor his beard any while
hæbbe· be þam þe he wille Godes bletsunge habban· ⁊
have by that which he will of-God blessing have and
Sc̄e Petres· ⁊ úre:·
Saint of-Peter and ours
And we lǽrað· þ ealle preostas æt freólsan ⁊ æt fæstenan 48
And we teach that all priests at feasts and at fasts
ánræde beon· ⁊ ealle on áne wísan béodan þ hí folc
of-one-mind be and all in one way command that they people
ne dwelian:·
not mislead

49 And we lærað· þ ælc fæsten beo mid ælmessan gewurðað·
And we teach that each fast be with alms honored
þ is· þ gehwá on Godes est ælmessan georne sýlle·
that is that each in of-God favor alms eagerly give
þonne bið his fæsten Gode þe gecwemre:·
then is his fast to-God the more-pleasing

50 And we lærað· þ preostas on circ-þénungum ealle ándreógan·
And we teach that priests in church-services all agree
ȝ beon efenweorðe on geares fæce on eallum circ-þénungum:·
and be equal in of-year course in all church-services

51 And we lærað· þ preostas geóguðe geornlíce læran· ȝ tó
And we teach that priests youth eagerly teach and to
cræftan teón· þ hí circ-fultum habban:·
crafts draw that they church-help have

52 And we lærað· þ preostas ælce Sunnan-dæge folce bódigan
And we teach that priests each Sunday to-people preach
ȝ áá wel býsnian:·
and ever well set-example

53 And we lærað· þ nán cristen-man blód ne þicge nánes
And we teach that no Christian-man blood — eat of-any
cýnnes:·
kind

54 And we lærað· þ preostas folc mýnegian· þæs þe hí
And we teach that priests people remind of-that which they
Gode dón sculan tó gerihtan· on teoðungum· ȝ on oðrum
to-God do must as dues in tithes and in other
þingum. árest sulh-ælmessan ·xv· niht on-ufan Eastron·
things first plow-alms fifteen nights after Easter
ȝ geóguðe teoðunge be Pentecosten· ȝ eorð-westma be
and of-young tithe by Pentecost and of-earth-fruits by

Omnium Sanctorum· ȝ Rom-feóh be Petres-mæssan· ȝ
of-All Saints and Rome-money by of-Peter-mass and
circ-sceat be Martinus-mæssan:·
church-scot by of-Martin-mass
And we lǽrað· þ preostas swa dǽlan folces ælmessan· þ 55
And we teach that priests so distribute of-people alms that
híg ægðer dón· ge God gegladian· ge folc tó ælmessan
they each do both God gladden and people to alms
gewænian:·
accustom
And we lǽrað· þ preostas sealmas singan þonne hí þa 56
And we teach that priests psalms sing when they the
ælmessan dǽlan· ȝ þa þearfan georne biddan· þ híg for
alms distribute and the poor eagerly ask that they for
þ folc þingian:·
the people intercede
And we lǽrað· þ preostas beorgan wið ofer-druncen· ȝ 57
And we teach that priests guard against drunkenness and
hit georne beleán oðrum mannum:·
it eagerly reprove to-other men
And we lǽrað· þ ǽnig preost ne beo ealu-scóp· ne on 58
And we teach that any priest not be ale-minstrel nor in
ǽnige wísan gliwige mid him-sylfum· oþ[þe mid] oðrum
any way make-merry with him-self or with other
mannum· ac beo swa his háde gebýrað· wís ȝ weorðfull:·
men but be as his order befits wise and worthy
And we lǽrað· þ preostas wið áðas beorgan him 59
And we teach that priests against oaths guard themselves
georne· ȝ híg eác swiðe forbeódan:·
eagerly and them also greatly forbid

60 And we lǽrað· þ ǽnig preost ne lúfige wífmanna neáwiste·
And we teach that any priest not love of-women nearness
ealles tó swíðe· ac lúfige his riht-ǽwe· þ is· his circe:·
all too greatly but love his lawful-wife that is his church
61 And we lǽrað· þ ǽnig preost ne stande on leásre
And we teach that any priest not stand in false
gewitnesse· ne þeófa gewíta beo:·
witness nor of-thieves accomplice be
62 And we lǽrað· þ preost bisǽce órdél ǽfre ne geǽðe:·
And we teach that priest accused ordeal ever not avoid-by-oath
63 And we lǽrað· þ preost wið þegn ne ládige buton
And we teach that priest against thane not clear-himself without
þegnes for-áðe:·
of-thane fore-oath
64 And we lǽrað· þ preost ne beo hunta· ne hafecere· ne
And we teach that priest not be hunter nor hawker nor
tæflere· ac plege on his bócum· swa his háde gebirað:·
dice-player but play on his books as his order befits
65 And we lǽrað· þ ælc preosta scrífe ⁊ dǽdbóte tǽce· þam
And we teach that each of-priests shrive and penance prescribe to-him
þe him andette· ⁊ eác tó bóte filste· ⁊ seóce men huslige·
who him confesses and also to amends help and sick men housel
þonne heom þearf sí· ⁊ hí eác smerige· gif hí þæs gýrnan·
when to-them need be and them also anoint if they of-that desire
⁊ æfter forð-siðe georne behweorfe· ⁊ ne geþafige ǽnig
and after departure eagerly attend and not allow any
unnit æt þam líce· ac hit mid Godes ege wíslíce bebirge:·
useless-thing at the body but it with of-God fear wisely bury
66 And we lǽrað· þ preosta gehwilc ægðer hæbbe· ge
And we teach that of-priests each each have both
fulluht-ele· ge séocum smýrels· ⁊ eác geara sí tó folces
baptism-oil and for-sick ointment and also ready be for of-people

gerihtum· ⁊ cristendóm firðrige georne on æghwilce wísan·
rites and christianity further eagerly in every way
⁊ ægðer dó· ge wel bódige· ge wel býsnige. þonne
and each do both well preach and well set-example then
geleánað him þ Ælmihtig God· swa him leófost bið:·
rewards him that Almighty God as to-him dearest is
And we lǽrað· þ ælc preost wíte tó cýþanne· þonne he 67
And we teach that each priest know to declare when he
crisman fecce· hwæt he on gebédum for cýnge ⁊ biscope
chrism fetches what he in prayers for king and bishop
gedón hæbbe:·
done have

WULFSTAN

The Institutes of Polity

Be heofonlicum cyninge

I · ON THE HEAVENLY KING

Wulfstan begins in the Lord's name: one eternal King rules and made all creation, the true King, glory of kings, and the best of all who ever were or will be; to him be praise, glory, and honor forever.

In nomine Domini. Án is ece Cyning· wealdend ⁊ wyrhta
In name of-Lord One is eternal King ruler and maker
ealra gesceafta. He is on riht Cyning· ⁊ cyninga wuldor·
of-all creatures He is in right King and of-kings glory
⁊ ealra cyninga betst· þe æfre gewurde· oððe geweorðe.
and of-all kings best who ever was or will-be
Him symble sy lóf· ⁊ wuldor· ⁊ ece wyrðmynt· á
To-him ever let-be praise and glory and eternal honor ever
to worulde. Amen:·
to world Amen

Be eorðlicum cyninge

II · ON THE EARTHLY KING

A Christian king is his people's comfort and a just shepherd, raising Christianity, protecting God's church, and reconciling his people by right law, for through righteousness he and his nation prosper. He helps the righteous and restrains the perverse, mild to the good and stern to the evil. A wise king makes a people happy and victorious; he heeds books, keeps God's commands, and takes counsel. One so powerful that he will not keep the law is reported to him, and he subdues him, cleansing his nation.

Cristenum cyninge gebyreð· on cristenre þeode· þ he sy·
To-Christian king befits in Christian people that he be
eal swa hit riht is· folces frófer· ⁊ rihtwís hyrde ofer
all as it right is of-people comfort and righteous shepherd over
cristene heorde· ⁊ him gebyreð þ he eallum mægne
Christian flock and to-him befits that he with-all might
cristendom ræree· ⁊ Godes cyrican æghwar georne fyrðrie ⁊
christianity raise and of-God church everywhere eagerly further and
friðie· ⁊ eall cristen folc sibbie ⁊ sehte· mid rihtre lage·
protect and all Christian people reconcile and settle with right law
swa he geornost mæge· ⁊ þurh ælc þing rihtwísnesse lufie·
as he most-eagerly can and through each thing righteousness love
for Gode ⁊ for worolde· forþam þurh þ he sceall sylf
before God and before world because through that he shall self
fyrmest geþeon· ⁊ his þeodscipe eac swa· þe he riht lufie·
foremost prosper and his nation also so that he right love
for Gode ⁊ for worulde· ⁊ him gebyreð þ he geornlice
before God and before world and to-him befits that he eagerly
fylste þam þe riht willan· ⁊ á hetelice styre þam ðe
help those who right will and ever fiercely restrain those who
þwyres willan. He sceal mán-dæde men þreagan þearle· mid
perversely will He shall crime-doing men chastise severely with

woruldlicre steore· ⁊ he sceal ryperas· ⁊ reaferas· ⁊
worldly punishment and he shall robbers and plunderers and
þas woruld-struderas· hatian ⁊ hynan· ⁊ eallum Godes
these world-despoilers hate and humble and all of-God
feondum styrnlice wiðstandan· ⁊ ægðer he sceal beón mid
enemies sternly withstand and each he shall be with
rihte· ge milde ge reðe· milde þam gódum· ⁊ styre þam
right both mild and fierce mild to-the good and stern to-the
yfelum. Ðæt bið cyninges riht· ⁊ cynelic gewuna· ⁊ þ
evil That is of-king right and kingly custom and that
sceal on þeode swyþost gefremian. La þurh hwæt sceal
shall in people most avail O through what shall
Godes þeowum ⁊ Godes þearfum frið ⁊ fultum cuman·
of-God to-servants and of-God to-poor peace and help come
butan þurh Crist ⁊ þurh cristenne cyning. Ðurh cynincges
except through Christ and through Christian king Through of-king
wisdom folc wyrð gesælig· gesundful· ⁊ sigefæst· ⁊ þy
wisdom people becomes happy prosperous and victorious and therefore
sceal wís cyning cristendom ⁊ cynedom miclian ⁊ mærsian·
shall wise king christianity and kingship magnify and glorify
⁊ á he sceal hæþendom hindrian ⁊ hyrwan. He sceal
and ever he shall heathendom hinder and despise He shall
bóc-lárum hlystan swyþe georne· ⁊ Godes bebóda georнlice
book-teachings listen-to very eagerly and of-God commands eagerly
healdan· ⁊ gelome wið witan wisdom smeagan· gyf he
keep and often with counselors wisdom ponder if he
Gode wile rihtlice hyran. And gif hwa to þam strec sy·
God will rightly obey And if anyone to that powerful be
ahwær on þeode· þ riht nelle healdan· swa swa he sceolde·
anywhere in people that right will-not hold so as he should
ac Godes lage wyrde· oððe folc-lage myrre· þonne cyþe
but of-God law violates or folk-law hinders then let-make-known

hit man þam cyninge· gif man þ nyde scyle· ⁊ he þonne
it one to-the king if one that of-need must and he then
sona ræde embe þa bóte· ⁊ gewylde hine geornlice·
at-once let-counsel about the amends and let-subdue him eagerly
to þam þe his þearf sy· huru unþances· gif he elles ne
to that which of-it need be indeed unwillingly if he else not
mæge· ⁊ do swa him þearf is· clænsige his þeode· for
can and let-do as to-him need is let-cleanse his people before
Gode ⁊ for worulde· gif he Godes mildse geearnian wille:·
God and before world if he of-God mercy earn will

Be cynedome

III · ON KINGSHIP

Eight columns hold up kingship firmly: truth, patience, generosity, good counsel, the awe that corrects the wicked, the furthering of the good, a light tribute, and just judgment, each named in English and in Latin. Seven things befit a righteous king: the fear of God, the love of righteousness, humility before God, firmness against evil, comfort and food for God's poor, protection of God's church, and equal judgment for friend and stranger.

"Eahta sweras syndon þe rihtlicne cynedom trumlice
Eight pillars are which rightful kingship firmly
up-wegað· soðfæstnys· modignes· rúmheortnes· rædfæstnes·
up-bear truth patience generosity counsel-firmness
ueritas· patientia· largitas· persuabilitas· egesfulnes· fyrþringnes·
ueritas patientia largitas persuabilitas awesomeness furtherance
lihtingnes· rihtwísnes· correctio malorum· exaltatio bonorum·
lightening righteousness correctio malorum exaltatio bonorum
leuitas tributi· equitas iudicii· ⁊ seofon þing gedafenað
leuitas tributi equitas iudicii and seven things befit

rihtwisum cyninge· án ærest· þ he swyþe micelne Godes ege
to-righteous king one first that he very great of-God fear
hæbbe· ȝ oðer· þ he æfre rihtwisnesse lufige· ȝ þridde· þ
have and second that he ever righteousness love and third that
he eadmod sy wið Gode· ȝ feorðe· þ he stiðmod sy wið
he humble be toward God and fourth that he firm-minded be toward
yfele· ȝ fifte· þ he Godes þearfum frefrige ȝ fede· ȝ syxte·
evil and fifth that he of-God poor comfort and feed and sixth
þ he Godes cyrcan fyrðrige ȝ friðige· ȝ seofoðe· þ he be
that he of-God church further and protect and seventh that he toward
freondan ȝ be fremdan fadige gelice on rihtlican dome:·"
friends and toward strangers act alike in rightful judgment

Be cyne-stóle

IV · ON THE THRONE

Every throne stands on three pillars: those who pray, who serve God and intercede day and night; those who labor, by whose work the nation lives; and those who fight, who defend the land with weapons. If one of them weakens, the throne totters, and if one breaks, it falls, to the ruin of the people, so they must be strengthened with God's law and right secular law. If Christianity weakens, kingship totters at once, and where unlaws and vices are raised the nation comes to harm; let wrong be put down and God's right raised.

"Ælc riht cyne-stol stent on þrym stapelum· þe fullice ariht
Each right throne stands on three pillars which fully aright
stent· an is oratores· ȝ oðer is laboratores· ȝ þridde is
stands one is oratores and other is laboratores and third is
bellatores. Oratores sindon gebedmen· þe Gode sculan þeowian·
bellatores Oratores are prayer-men who God must serve
ȝ dæges ȝ nihtes for ealne þeodscipe þingian georne.
and by-day and by-night for all nation intercede eagerly

Laboratores sindon weorcmen· þe tilian sculon þæs þe eall
Laboratores are work-men who provide must that which all
þeodscype big sceall libban. Bellatores syndon wigmen· þe eard
nation by shall live Bellatores are war-men who land
sculon werian wiglice mid wæpnum. On þyssum þrym stapelum
must defend warlike with weapons On these three pillars
sceall ælc cyne-stol standan mid rihte· on cristenre þeode· ȝ
shall each throne stand with right in Christian people and
awácie heora ænig· sona se stol scylfð· ȝ fulberste heora
weaken of-them any at-once the throne totters and burst of-them
ænig· þonne hryrð se stol nyðer· ȝ þ wyrð þære þeode eall
any then falls the throne down and that becomes to-the people all
to unþearfe· ac staþelige man· ȝ strangie· ȝ trumme hi
to harm but let-establish one and let-strengthen and let-confirm them
georne· mid wislicre Godes lage· ȝ mid rihtlicre worold-lage·
eagerly with wise of-God law and with rightful world-law
þ wyrð þam þeodscype to langsuman ræde· ȝ soð is þ
that becomes to-the nation to lasting benefit and true is what
ic secge· awácie se cristendóm· sona scylfð se cynedom· ȝ
I say weaken the christianity at-once totters the kingship and
arære man únlaga ahwar on lande· oððe únsida lufige ahwar
raise one unlaws anywhere in land or vices love anywhere
to swiðe· þ cymð þære þeode eall to unþearfe· ac dó man
too greatly that comes to-the people all to harm but let-do one
swa hit þearf is· alecge man únriht· ȝ rære up Godes
as it need is let-lay-down one wrong and let-raise up of-God
riht· þ mæg to þearfe for Gode ȝ for worlde. Amen:·”
right that can for benefit before God and before world Amen

Be ðeod-witan

V · ON THE COUNCILORS OF THE NATION

Kings, bishops, earls, generals, reeves, judges, and the learned in the law must be of one mind and love God's right. Bishops are heralds and teachers of God's law; one who mumbles instead of crying out shares the sinner's guilt, as the prophet warns, and whoever despises God's messengers despises Christ. Men are to follow a bishop's teaching even if he himself sins, and Wulfstan, owning his own faults, will not keep silent about what harms the people.

Cyningan ȝ bisceopan· eorlan ȝ heretogan· gerefan ȝ
To-kings and to-bishops to-earls and to-generals to-reeves and
deman· lar-witan ȝ lah-witan· gedafenað mid rihte· for
to-judges to-learned-counselors and to-law-counselors befits with right before
Gode ȝ for worulde· þ hi ánræde weorðan· ȝ Godes
God and before world that they of-one-mind become and of-God
riht lufian. And bisceopas syndon bydelas ȝ Godes lage
right love And bishops are heralds and of-God law
lareowas· ȝ hi sculan [riht] bodian· ȝ unriht forbeodan· ȝ
teachers and they must right preach and wrong forbid and
seþe oferhogige þ he heom hlyste· hæbbe him gemæne
he-who disdains that he them listen let-have for-himself in-common
þ wið God sylfne· ȝ gif bisceopas forgymað þ hi synna
that with God self and if bishops neglect that they sins
ne styrað· ne unriht forbeódaþ· ne Godes riht ne cyþað· ac
not restrain nor wrong forbid nor of-God right — make-known but
clumiað mid ceaflum þær hi sceoldan clypian· wa heom þære
mumble with jaws where they should call woe to-them of-the
swigean. Be þam spræc se witega· ȝ grimlice þus cwæð·
silence About that spoke the prophet and grimly thus said
Hæc dicit Dominus· Si non adnuntiaueris iniquo iniquitatem
These says Lord If not thou-announce to-wicked iniquity

suam· sanguinem eius de manu tua requiram. Gif þu þam
his blood his from hand thy I-will-require If thou to-the
synfullan nelt· cwæð ure Drihten· synna gestyran· ȝ unriht
sinful wilt-not said our Lord sins restrain and wrong
forbeodan· ȝ þam mánfullan mán-dæda cyðan· þu scealt
forbid and to-the wicked crime-deeds make-known thou shalt
þa sawle bitere forgyldan. Ðis mæg to heort-hoge æghwylcum
the soul bitterly pay-for This may as heart-care to-each
bisceope· beþence hine georne· be þam þe he wylle. And
bishop let-consider himself eagerly by that which he will And
seþe nele Godes bodan hyran mid rihte· ne godcundre
he-who will-not of-God messengers obey with right nor divine
lare gyman swa he sceolde· he sceall hyran feondan· gyf
teaching heed as he should he shall obey enemies if
he nele freondan· forþam se bið Godes oferhoga þe Godes
he will-not friends because he is of-God despiser who of-God
bodan oferhogað· ealswa Crist sylf on his godspelle swytolice
messengers despises just-as Christ self in his gospel clearly
sæde· þa þa he þus cwæð· Qui uos audit me audit· et
said then when he thus said Who you hears me hears and
qui uos spernit me spernit. He cwæð· Seþe eow hyreð mege
who you despises me despises He said He-who you hears me
hyreð· ȝ seþe forhogað eow me he forhogað. Eala swær
hears and he-who despises you me he despises O heavy
is seo byrðen þe Godes bydel beran sceall· gif he nele
is the burden which of-God herald bear must if he will-not
georne unriht forbeodan· forþam þe he sylf tela do· ȝ oðer
eagerly wrong forbid because that he self well do and other
man misdo· þ him sceall gederian· ȝ gif he nele styran·
man misdo that him shall harm and if he will-not restrain
ȝ þeh Godes bydel misdo· ne beseo man na þær-to· ac
and though of-God herald misdo not let-look one — thereto but

gyme his lare· gif he tela lære· swa swa Crist lærde þ
let-heed his teaching if he well teach so as Christ taught what
man don sceolde· þa þa he on his godspelle swutolice
one do should then when he in his gospel clearly
þus cwæð· Que hi dicunt facite· que autem faciunt facere
thus said What they say do what however they-do do
nolite. He cwæð· Fyliað heora larum· ȝ na heora synnum.
do-not He said Follow their teachings and not their sins
Ne sceal ænig man æfre for bisceopes synnum hine sylfne
Not shall any man ever for of-bishop sins him self
forgyman· ac fylige his larum· gif he wel lære. And la
neglect but let-follow his teachings if he well teach And o
leofan men· doð swa ic bidde butan gebelge· hlystað hwæt
dear men do as I pray without anger listen what
ic secge. Ic wat swyðe georne me sylfne forworhtne· wordes
I say I know very well me self forfeited of-word
ȝ dæde· ealles to swyðe· ne dear þeah for Godes ege
and deed all too greatly not dare however for of-God fear
forswygian mid-ealle fela þara þinga þe dereð þisse þeode:·
keep-silent altogether many of-the things which harm this people

De episcopis

VI · ON BISHOPS

Bishops keep to their books and prayers, intercede for all Christians, teach rightly, and forbid wrong without fear of the world. A shepherd is weak who will not defend his flock by crying out, and the devil is the worst destroyer of souls, so bishops and priests must keep the mad werewolf from God's flock. Many make light of books, bishops' teaching, blessings, and curses, though Christ gave his ministers power to bind and forgive; who follows God's teaching earns eternal joy.

"Bisceopas sculan bocum ⁊ gebedum fyligean· ⁊ dæges ⁊
Bishops must books and prayers follow and by-day and
nihtes· oft ⁊ gelome· clypian to Criste· ⁊ for eall cristen
by-night often and frequently call to Christ and for all Christian
folc þingian georne· ⁊ hi sceolan leornian· ⁊ rihtlice
people intercede eagerly and they must learn and rightly
læran· ⁊ ymb folces dæda geornlice smeagan· ⁊ hig
teach and about of-people deeds eagerly ponder and they
scylan bodian ⁊ bysnian georne godcunde þearfe cristenre
must preach and exemplify eagerly divine need of-Christian
þeode· ⁊ ne scylan hyg ænig unriht willes geþafian· ac
people and not must they any wrong willingly allow but
to ælcan rihte geornlice fylstan· hy sculan Godes ege
to each right eagerly help they must of-God fear
habban on gemynde ⁊ ne eargian for woruld-ege ealles
have in mind and not grow-cowardly for world-fear all
to swyðe· ac bodian hy symle Godes riht georne· ⁊
too greatly but let-preach they ever of-God right eagerly and
unriht forbeodan· gyme seðe wille· forþam wace bið se
wrong let-forbid let-heed he-who will because weak is the
hyrde funden to heorde· þe nele þa heorde· þe he
shepherd found for flock who will-not the flock which he

healdan sceal· huru mid clypunge bewerian· butan he elles
hold shall at-least with crying defend unless he else
mæge· gif þær hwylc þeod-sceaða sceaðian onginneð. Nis
can if there some public-enemy harm begins Not-is
nan swa yfel sceaða swa is deofol sylf· he bið áá ymbe
any so evil harmer as is devil self he is ever about
þ an· hu he on manna sawlum mæst gesceaðian mæge·
that one how he in of-men souls most harm can
þonne motan þa hyrdas beon swiðe wacore· ⁊ geornlice
then must the shepherds be very watchful and eagerly
clipiende· þe wið þone þeod-sceaþan folce scylan scyldan.
crying who against the public-enemy people must shield
Ðæt syndon bisceopas ⁊ mæsse-preostas· þe godcunde
That are bishops and mass-priests who divine
heorde gewarian ⁊ bewerian scylan· mid wislican laran·
flock guard and defend must with wise teaching
þ se wod-freca were-wulf to swiðe ne toslite· ne to fela
that the madly-greedy were-wolf too greatly not tear nor too much
ne abite of godcundre heorde· ⁊ seðe oferhogie þ he
— bite of divine flock and he-who disdains that he
heom lyste· hæbbe him gemæne þ wið God sylfne. Eala
them listen let-have for-himself in-common that with God self O
fela is swa-þeali þæra þe hwonlice gymað· ⁊ lyt-hwón
many are nevertheless of-those who little heed and little-whit
reccað embe bóca beboda· oððe bisceopa lara· ⁊ eac
care about of-books commands or of-bishops teachings and also
embe bletsunga oððe unbletsunga leohtlice lætað· ⁊ ná
about blessings or curses lightly reckon and not
understandað· swa swa hy sceoldan· hwæt Crist on his
understand so as they should what Christ in his
godspelle swutollice sæde· þa ða he þus cwæð· Quis uos
gospel clearly said then when he thus said Who you

audit· et reliq· et item· Quodcunque ligaueritis· et cetera·
hears and the-rest and likewise Whatever ye-shall-bind and so-on
et item· Quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis· et
and likewise Whose ye-shall-forgive sins are-forgiven to-them and
cetera. Alibi etiam scriptum est· Quodcunque benedixeritis·
so-on Elsewhere also written is Whatever ye-shall-bless
et cetera. Et psalmista terribiliter loquitur· dicens· Qui
and so-on And psalmist terribly speaks saying Who
noluit benedictionem· prolongabitur ab eo." Swylc is to
would-not blessing shall-be-far from him Such is to
beþencenne· ȝ wið Godes yrre to warnienne symle. Nu
consider and against of-God anger to beware ever Now
lære we eac georne manna gehwylcne· þ he Godes larum
teach we also eagerly of-men each that he of-God teachings
ȝ his lagum fylgie· þonne geearnað he him ece
and his laws follow then earns he for-himself eternal
myrhþe:·
joy

Item

VII · LIKEWISE

Every direction in sacred and secular matters belongs to the bishop. He teaches the clergy their duties, works for concord with the secular judges, arranges exculpation so that no man wrongs another by oath or ordeal, and lets no false measure or weight stand. Priests in their districts are to see that the strong do not wrong the weak, nor a lord his slaves, who are as dear to God as the free; we are all God's slaves, and he will judge us as we judge those under us.

Bisceope gebyreð ælc rihting· ge on godcundan þingan· ge
To-bishop befits each direction both in divine things and
on woruldcundan. He sceall gehadode men ærest gewissian·
in worldly He shall ordained men first guide
þ heora ælc wite hwæt him mid rihte gebyrige to donne·
that of-them each know what to-him with right befits to do
ȝ eac hwæt hy woruld-mannum agan to beodanne. He sceal
and also what they to-worldly-men ought to command He shall
beon symle ymbe some ȝ ymbe sibbe· swa he georнost
be ever about concord and about peace as he most-eagerly
mæg. He sceall georne saca sehtan ȝ frið wyrcan· mid
can He shall eagerly disputes settle and peace make with
þam woruld-deman þe riht lufian. He sceall æt tihtlan
the worldly-judges who right love He shall at accusation
ladunge gedihtan· þ ænig man oðrum ænig woh beodan
clearing arrange that any man to-other any wrong offer
ne mæge· aðor oððe on aþe oððe on ordale. Ne sceall he
not can either or in oath or in ordeal Not shall he
geþafian ænig unriht· ne woh gemet· ne fals gewihte· ac hit
allow any wrong nor false measure nor false weight but it
gebyreð þ be his ræde fare· ȝ be his gewitnesse· æghwylc
befits that by his counsel go and by his witness each

lah-riht· ge burh-riht ge land-riht· ⁊ ælc burh-gemet· ⁊
law-right both borough-right and land-right and each borough-measure and
ælc wæg-pundern· beo be his dihte ge scife swiðe rihte· þe
each weighing-scale be by his direction — adjusted very rightly the
læs ænig man oðrum misbeode· ⁊ þurh þ syngige ealles
less any man other wrong and through that sin all
to swyþe. A he sceal scyldan cristenum mannum wið ælc
too greatly Ever he shall shield Christian men against each
þæra þinga þe synlic bið· ⁊ þy he sceal on æghwæt
of-the things which sinful is and therefore he shall in everything
hine þe swyðor teon· þ he þe geornor wite hu seo heord
himself the more apply that he the more-eagerly know how the flock
fare· þe he to Godes handa gehealdan sceall· þ deofol to
fare which he to of-God hand hold shall that devil too
swyðe þær-on ne sceaþige· ne his falses to fela on-gemang
greatly there-in not harm nor his falsehood too much in-among
ne gesawe. Ne wyrð næfre folces wise wel geræde· ne wið
— sow Not becomes ever of-people condition well counseled nor with
God well geborgen· on þam earde þe man woh-gestreon
God well secured in the land where one wrong-gain
⁊ mæst falses lufað· þy sculan Godes freond ælc unriht
and most falsehood loves therefore must of-God friends each wrong
alecgan· ⁊ riht aræran· ⁊ na geþafian þ ðurh fals·
lay-down and right raise and not allow that through falsehood
⁊ ðurh woh-gestreon· men to swyðe forwyrcean hi sylfe
and through wrong-gain men too greatly ruin them selves
wið þæne riht-wisan God· þe ælc unriht ascunað. Eallum
against the righteous God who each wrong shuns To-all
cristenum mannum gebyreð· þ hi riht lufian· ⁊ unriht
Christian men befits that they right love and wrong
ascunian· ⁊ huru gehadode men scylon á riht ræran·
shun and above-all ordained men must ever right raise

ȝ unriht alecgan· þy sculon bisceopas mid woruld-deman
and wrong lay-down therefore must bishops with worldly-judges
domas dihtan· þ hi ne geþafian· gyf his waldan magan· þ
judgments direct that they not allow if it control can that
ðær ænig unriht up-aspringe. And sacerdum gebyreþ eac on
there any wrong up-spring And to-priests befits also in
heora scrift-scirum þ hi georne to rihte ætbwam fylstan· ȝ
their shrift-districts that they eagerly to right each help and
na geþafian· gif hi hit gebetan magan· þ ænig cristen man
not allow if they it amend can that any Christian man
oðrum derige ealles to swyðe· ne se maga þam unmagan·
to-other harm all too greatly nor the strong to-the weak
ne se hearra þam heanran· ne se scirman his gingran· ne
nor the higher to-the lower nor the shire-man his juniors nor
se hlaford his mannum· ne forðan his nyd-þeowan. Be þæs
the lord his men nor even his slaves By of-the
scriftes dihte ȝ be his sylfes gemete· gebyreð mid rihte
confessor direction and by his own measure befits with right
þ ða nyd-þeowan hlaferdum wyrcan ofer ealle þa scire þe
that the slaves for-lords work over all the district which
he on scrife. And riht is þ ne beo ænig mete-gyrd lengre
he in shrives And right is that not be any measuring-rod longer
þonne oðer· ac be þæs scriftes gemete ealle gescyfte· ȝ ælc
than other but by of-the confessor measure all adjusted and each
gemet on his scrift-scire· ȝ æghwylc gewihte· beo be his
measure in his shrift-district and each weight be by his
dihte· gescyft swiðe rihte· ȝ gif ðær hwæt biswæces sy·
direction adjusted very rightly and if there aught of-deceit be
seme se biscop. Hit bið ælces hlafordes agen þearf· þ he
let-settle the bishop It is of-each lord own need that he
his nyd-þeowum byrge· swa he betst mæge· forðam hi syn
his slaves protect as he best can because they are

Gode efen leofe· ⁊ þa ðe syndon freolse· ⁊ us ealle he
to-God equally dear and those who are free and us all he
gebohte mid gelican weorðe. Ealle we syndon Godes ágene
bought with like price All we are of-God own
nyd-þeowan· ⁊ swa he gedemð ús swa we her demað þam
slaves and as he judges us so we here judge them
þe we on eorðan dom ofer ágan· þy we agan þearfe
whom we on earth judgment over have therefore we have need
þ we þam beorgan þe us scylan hyran· þonne gebide we
that we them protect who us must obey then experience we
þe mare gebeorh æt Godes ágenum dome:·
the more protection at of-God own judgment

Item

VIII · LIKEWISE

A bishop's day's work is his prayers first, then his book-work, reading or correcting, teaching or learning, his church hours at their proper times, the washing of the poor's feet, the giving of his alms, and the directing of work. Good handicrafts befit his household, so that none dwells idle there, and he should often share divine teaching with the people at the assembly.

Bisceopes dæg-weorc. — þ bið mid rihte his gebedu ærest·
Of-bishop day-work that is with right his prayers first
⁊ ðonne his boc-weorc· ræding oððon rihting· lar oððon
and then his book-work reading or correcting teaching or
leornung· ⁊ his cyric-tida on rihtlicne timan· á be þam
learning and his church-hours at proper time ever by the
þingum þe þær-to gebyrige· ⁊ þearfena fot-þweal· ⁊ his
things which there-to befit and of-the-poor foot-washing and his
ælmes-gedal· ⁊ weorc-wisung be þam þe hit neod sy.
alms-giving and work-directing by that which it need be

Eac him gerisað hand-cræftas gode· þ man on his hirede
Also to-him befit hand-crafts good that one in his household
cræftas begange· huru þ þær ænig to idel ne wunige·
crafts practice above-all that there any too idle not dwell
ȝ eac him gerisð wel· þ he on gemote· oft ȝ gelome·
and also to-him befits well that he at assembly often and frequently
godcunde lare dæle þam folce· þe he þonne mid sy:·
divine teaching share to-the people which he then with be

Item

IX · LIKEWISE

Wisdom and prudence befit bishops, and those who follow them should have worthy ways and some special skill. No folly, drunkenness, childish speech, or idle frivolity befits bishops at home, on a journey, or anywhere; wisdom and prudence befit their order, and sobriety those who follow them.

A gerist bisceopum wisdom ȝ wærscype· ȝ þa habban
Ever befits to-bishops wisdom and prudence and those have
weorðlice wisan· þa þe heom fylian· ȝ þ hy sundor-cræfta
worthy ways those who them follow and that they of-special-crafts
sumne eac cunne. Ne geriseð ænig unnytt æfre mid
some also know Not befits any uselessness ever with
bisceopum· ne doll ne dysig· ne to ofer-druncen· ne cildsung
bishops nor folly nor foolishness nor too over-drunkenness nor childishness
on spæce· ne idel gegaf on ænig wisan· ne æt ham· ne on
in speech nor idle levity in any way nor at home nor on
siðe· ne on ænigre stowe· ac wisdom ȝ wærscipe gedafeniað
journey nor in any place but wisdom and prudence befit
heora hade· ȝ gedrihþa gerisaþ þam ðe heom fyliað:·
their order and sobriety befits them who them follow

Incipit de synodo

X · HERE BEGINS ON THE SYNOD

The synod opens with its prayers and a blessing. Bishops are first to seek unanimity among themselves and consider how to raise Christianity and fell heathenism. They warn and defend one another, keep wise counselors and good teaching in their households, and avoid jesting, hounds and hawks, worldly pride, and greed at ordinations. A quarrel goes to their fellows, never to laymen; a curse is laid only by necessity and with all their consent; and what they cannot amend they bear until it is made known to the king.

‘Deus in adjutorium meum intende,’ ter; ‘Gloria Patri;’
God to help my attend three-times Glory to-Father
‘Kyrri eleison;’ ‘Pater noster;’ ‘Et ne nos inducas;’ ‘Adjuva
Lord have-mercy Father our And not us lead Help
nos Deus;’ ‘Adjutorium nostrum;’ ‘Benedicamus Domino;’
us God Help our Let-us-bless to-Lord
‘Benedicite Bened’.’
Bless Bless

Omnipotens Deus suavos clementia benedicat, et sensum
Almighty God his-own-you clemency let-bless and sense
in vobis sapientiæ salutaris infundat; catholice vos fidei
in you of-wisdom saving let-pour catholically you of-faith
documentis enutriat, et in sanctis operibus perseverabiles
teachings let-nourish and in holy works persevering
reddat; gressus vestros ab errore convertat, et viam vobis
let-render steps your from error let-turn and way to-you
pacis et caritatis ostendat, quod ipse prestare dignetur.
of-peace and of-charity let-show which he-himself grant may-deign

Bisceopum gebyreð on sinoþe· ærest þinga þ hi smeagan
To-bishops befits at synod first-of-things that they consider
ymbe anrædnesse ȝ soðe gesibsumnesse· heom betweonan·
about unanimity and true peaceableness them between

ȝ hu hi cristendom magan fyrmest aræran· ȝ hæþendom
and how they christianity can foremost raise and heathenism
swyþost afyllan. ȝ hæbbe ælc bisceop canon-bóc to sinoðe.
most fell and let-have each bishop canon-book to synod
Bisceopum is mycel þearf for Gode ȝ for worulde· þ
To-bishops is great need before God and before world that
hi rihtlice ánræde weorðan· ȝ ealle án lufian· ȝ gif man
they rightly unanimous become and all one love and if one
anum woh beode· betan hit ealle.. Bisceopum gebyrað· þ
to-one wrong offer let-amend it all To-bishops befits that
ælc oðerne warnige· gyf he hwæt be oðrum gehyre· oððe
each other warn if he aught about other hear or
sylf agyte· ȝ ælc oðerne bæftan werige· ȝ nán oðrum his
self perceive and each other behind defend and none to-other his
þearfe ne hele· ac weorðige ælc oþerne wordes ȝ dæde· ȝ
need — hide but honor each other of-word and deed and
beo swa heom to-gebyreð· quasi cor unum et anima una:·
be as them befits as-it-were heart one and soul one
Bisceopum gebyreð· þ symle mid heom faran ȝ mid heom
To-bishops befits that ever with them go and with them
wunian wel geþungene witan· huru sacerdhades· þ hi
dwell well distinguished counselors above-all of-priesthood that they
wið rædan magan· for Gode ȝ for worulde· ȝ þ heora
with counsel can before God and before world and that their
gewitan beon· on æghwylcne timan· weald hwæt heom tide:·
witnesses be at every time in-case what to-them befall
Bisceopum gebyreð· þ æfre sy god lar on heora hiredum·
To-bishops befits that ever be good teaching in their households
ȝ beon þær hi beon· beon á ymbe wisdóm· ȝ æghwylc
and be where they be be ever about wisdom and each
gefleard heom unwyrð lætan:·
folly to-them worthless let

Bisceopum gebyreð· þ hi ne beon to glig-georne· ne
To-bishops befits that they not be too glee-eager nor
hunda ne hafeca hedan to swyðe· ne woruld-wlence· ne
hounds nor hawks heed too greatly nor world-pride nor
idelre rence:·
idle pomp
Bisceopum gebyreð· þ hi ne beon to feoh-georne æt
To-bishops befits that they not be too money-eager at
hadunge· ne æt halgunge· ne æt syn-bote· ne on ænige
ordination nor at consecration nor at sin-penance nor in any
wisan on unriht ne strynan:·
way in wrong — acquire
Bisceopum gebyrað· gyf ænig oðrum abelge· þ man geþyldige
To-bishops befits if any to-other give-offense that one be-patient
oð geferena some· butan heom sylfe geweorðan mæge· ȝ na
until of-colleagues concord unless they selves agree can and not
sceotan na to læwedum mannum· ne ne scendan na hy sylfe:·
appeal — to lay men nor — shame — them selves
Bisceopum gebyrað· gyf hwylcum hwæt eglige swyðe· þe
To-bishops befits if to-any aught ail greatly which
he ne betan ne mæge· cyþe hit his geferum· ȝ
he not amend — can let-make-known it to-his colleagues and
beon syððan ealle georne ymbe þa bote· ȝ na ne geswican
let-be afterward all eagerly about the remedy and not — let-cease
ær hi hit gebetan:·
before they it amend
Bisceopum gebyreð· þ hi æfre on ænine man curs ne
To-bishops befits that they ever on any man curse not
settan· butan hy nyde scylan· gyf hit þonne ænig for
set unless they of-need must if it then any for
micclum gewyrhtum nyde gedo· ȝ man gebugan nelle
great deeds of-need do and one submit will-not

þonne gyt to rihte· þonne cyðe hit man eallum
then yet to right then let-make-known it one to-all
geferum· ȝ hi ealle þonne settan on þ ylce· ȝ him
colleagues and they all then let-set on that same and to-him
þ cyðan· gebuge þonne syððan· ȝ gebete þe deoppor·
that let-make-known let-submit then afterward and let-amend the deeper
gif he Godes miltse ȝ bletsunge recce:·
if he of-God mercy and blessing care-for
Bisceopum gebyrað· þ hi ægðer ge heora agene wisan
To-bishops befits that they each both their own ways
rihtlice fadian· ge ælces hades men to rihte gemyngian:·
rightly order and of-each order men to right remind
Bisceopum gebyrað· þ hi mid geþylde geþolian þ hi
To-bishops befits that they with patience endure what they
sylfe gebetan ne magan· oð þ hit þam cyncge gecyþed
selves amend not can until that it to-the king made-known
weorðe· ȝ bete he syððan Godes æbylhþe þær bisceop
become and let-amend he afterward of-God offense where bishop
ne mæge· gif he Godes willan rihte wylle wyrcean· ȝ his
not can if he of-God will rightly will work and his
agenne cynescipe rihtlice arǽran:·
own kingship rightly raise

Be eorlum

XI · ON EARLS

Earls, generals, secular judges, and reeves must love right before God and the world and never pervert judgment for money or friendship to the harm of the poor. They are to honor and defend the church, cheer widows and orphans, help the poor, protect slaves, and hate thieves and robbers, humbling them unless they cease. Whoever pursues wrong too long, unless he stops, must stir the dim, deep floor of hell's torment, bereft of help; too few understand this, so each is to warn himself and please his Lord with righteous deeds.

"Eorlas· ȝ heretogan· ȝ þas woruld-deman· ȝ eac swa
Earls and generals and these worldly-judges and also so
gerefan· agan nyd-þearfe þ hi riht lufian· for Gode ȝ
reeves have necessity that they right love before God and
for worulde· ȝ nahwar þurh undóm· for feo ne for
before world and nowhere through injustice for money nor for
freondscype· forgyman heora wisdom· swa þ hi wendan
friendship neglect their wisdom so that they turn
unriht to rihte· oððon undóm deman earmum to hynðe· ac
wrong to right or injustice judge to-poor for humiliation but
á hy sculan cyrican· ofer ealle oðre þing· wyrðian ȝ werian·
ever they must church over all other things honor and defend
ȝ wudewan ȝ steop-cild hy sculon retan· ȝ þearfena
and widows and orphans they must cheer and the-poor
helpan· ȝ þeowetlingan beorgan· gif hi Godes willan rihte
help and slaves protect if they of-God will rightly
willað wyrcan· ȝ þeofas ȝ þeod-sceaðan hi scylan hatian·
will work and thieves and public-enemies they must hate
ȝ ryperas ȝ reaferas hi sculan hynan· butan hy geswican·
and robbers and plunderers they must humble unless they cease
ȝ symle hy sculon unriht swyðe ascunian· forþam soð is
and ever they must wrong greatly shun because true is

þ ic secge· gelyfe seþe wille· wa þam þe woh drifð ealles
that I say let-believe he-who will woe to-him who wrong drives all
to lange· butan he geswice· witodlice he sceall drefan dimne
too long unless he cease certainly he shall trouble dim
ȝ deopne hel-wites grund· helpes bedæled. Ac to lyt is
and deep of-hell-torment bottom help deprived But too little is
þara· þe þ understande· swa swa man sceolde· ac God hit
of-those who that understand as as one should but God it
gebete· ac do freonda gehwylc eallswa hit þearf is· warnige
let-amend but let-do of-friends each just-as it need is let-warn
hine georne· ȝ beorge him sylfum· þ he God ne abelge
him eagerly and let-protect him self that he God not offend
ealles to swyðe· ac cweme his Drihtne mid rihtlicre dæde:·"
all too greatly but let-please his Lord with righteous deed

Be gerefan

XII · ON REEVES

Reeves are to work faithfully and gain for their lords rightly, but since Edgar's death there have been more robbers among them than righteous men: those meant to be shepherds of the Christian people rob the guiltless poor, deceive them, raise unlaws, and strip widows. Once wise men were chosen who would not cheat for shame or for fear of God; since then those were sought who could most narrowly cheat and soonest wring money from the innocent, which has greatly angered God. Woe to him who gains most by wrong unless he ceases and makes deeper amends.

Riht is þ gerefan geornlice tylian· ȝ symle heora hlafordan
Right is that reeves eagerly strive and ever for-their lords
strynan mid rihte· ac nu hit is geworden ealles to swyðe· syððan
gain with right but now it is become all too greatly since
Eadgar geendode· swa swa God wolde· þ ma is þæra rypera
Edgar ended as as God willed that more is of-the robbers

þonne rihtwisra· ȝ is earmlic ðing· þ ða syndon ryperas
than righteous and is wretched thing that those are robbers
þe sceoldan beon hyrdas cristenes folces. Hy rypað þa earman
who should be shepherds of-Christian people They rob the poor
butan ælcere scylde· oðre hwile ȝ hynað þa heorde· þe hi
without any guilt other while and oppress the flock which they
sceoldan healdan· ȝ mid yfelan helan earme men beswicað·
should hold and with evil deceits poor men deceive
ȝ unlaga rærað on æghwylce wisan· earmum to hynðe· ȝ
and unlaws raise in every way to-poor for humiliation and
wydewan bestrypað· oft ȝ gelome. Ac hwilum man ceas
widows plunder often and frequently But once one chose
wislice þa men on þeode· folce to hyrdum· þe noldan for
wisely the men in nation to-people for shepherds who would-not for
woruld-sceame· ne ne dorstan for Godes ege· ænig þing swician·
world-shame nor — dared for of-God fear any thing cheat
ne strynan on únriht· ac stryndan mid rihte. ȝ syððan hit
nor acquire in wrong but acquired with right and afterward it
man sohte be þam ealra geornast· þe nearplicast cuðan swician
one sought by them of-all most-eagerly who most-narrowly could cheat
ȝ befician· ȝ mid leasbregdum earmum mannum derian· ȝ
and deceive and with tricks poor men harm and
of únbealafullum raþost feoh geræcan· syððan man gremede
from the-innocent soonest money obtain afterward one angered
God swyðe þearle· oft ȝ gelome· ȝ wa þæs gestreones
God very severely often and frequently and woe of-the gain
þam þe his mæst hafaþ on unriht gestryned· butan he
to-him who of-it most has in wrong acquired unless he
geswice· ȝ ðe deoppor gebete· for Gode ȝ for worulde:·
cease and the deeper amend before God and before world

Be abbodum

XIII · ON ABBOTS

Abbots, and abbesses above all, are to dwell continually in their minsters, ever heed their flocks, set them a good example, and preach rightly, never caring too much about worldly business or idle talk, but busy most with divine needs, as befits abbots and those of the monastic order.

"Riht is þ abbodas· ȝ huru abbadissan· fæste on
Right is that abbots and above-all abbesses firmly in
mynstrum singallice wunian· ȝ georne heora heorda symle
minsters continually dwell and eagerly their flocks ever
begyman· ȝ áá heom wel bysenian· ȝ rihtlice bodian· ȝ
heed and ever them well exemplify and rightly preach and
næfre ymbe woruld-cara· ne idele wryða· ne carian to swyðe·
never about world-cares nor idle words — care too greatly
ne ealles to gelome· ac oftost hi abyrgian mid godcundan
nor all too often but oftenest they busy with divine
neódan· swa gebireð abbodan ȝ munuchades mannum:·"
needs as befits to-abbots and of-monk-order to-men

Be munecum

XIV · ON MONKS

Monks are to turn their hearts to God day and night, live by the rule, separate themselves from worldly business, keep their vows, and despise pride, private property, and idle speech. But some are proud, wandering, and secretly lustful, and some are apostates who have cast off their shepherds and live in the world with their sins. Those once most useful in God's service and book-learning are now most useless, given over to ease, gluttony, chatter, and play, uncorrected by their elders; we must amend it together as best we can.

"Riht is þ munecas· dæges ȝ nihtes· inweardre heortan·
Right is that monks by-day and by-night with-inward heart
á to Gode þencan· ȝ geornlice clypian· ȝ mid eallum
ever to God think and eagerly call and with all
eadmedum regollice libban·" ȝ hy symle asyndrian fram
humility by-rule live and they ever separate from
woruld-bysegan· swa hi geornost magan· ȝ don swa heom
world-business as they most-eagerly can and do as to-them
þearf is· carian æfre hu hi swyðost magan Gode gecweman·
need is care ever how they most can God please
ȝ eall þ gelæstan· þ þ hi behetan· þa hi had
and all that perform that which they promised when they order
underfengon. "fylian heora bocum ȝ gebedum georne·"
received follow their books and prayers eagerly
leornian ȝ læran· swa hi geornost magon· "ȝ æghwylce
learn and teach as they most-eagerly can and every
wlence· ȝ idele rence· ȝ syndrige æhte· ȝ unnytte dæde· ȝ
pride and idle pomp and private property and useless deed and
untid-spæca· forhogian mid-ealle· swa gebyreð munecum." Ac
untimely-speeches despise altogether as befits to-monks But
hit is yfel soð· swa hit þincan mæg· þ sume synd to wlance·
it is evil truth as it seem may that some are too proud

ȝ ealles to rance· ȝ to wid-scriþole· ȝ to unnytte· ȝ
and all too haughty and too wide-wandering and too useless and
ealles to idele ælcere goddæde· ȝ to mán-dæde· on dyrnlican
all too idle of-each good-deed and to wicked-deed in secret
galscype· inne aidlode· ȝ ute awildode. And sume syn
lust within grown-idle and without grown-wild And some are
apóstatan þe sceoldan· gyf hi woldan· wesan Godes cempan·
apostates who should if they would be of-God warriors
innan heora mynstran· þ synd þa þe hyrdas awurpan· ȝ on
within their minsters that are those who shepherds cast-off and in
woruld-þingan wuniað mid synnan. Eall hit fareð yfele ealles
world-things dwell with sins All it fares evilly all
to wide. Swa swyðe hit wyrsað wide mid mannum· þ þæs
too widely So greatly it worsens widely among men that of-the
hades men þe þurh Godes ege hwylum wæron nyttoste· ȝ
order men who through of-God fear once were most-useful and
geswincfulleste· on godcundan þeowdome· ȝ on boc-cræfte·
most-laborious in divine service and in book-craft
þa syndon nu wel forð unnyttaste gewelhwær· ȝ ne swincaþ
they are now well forth most-useless nearly-everywhere and not toil
a swiðe ymbe ænige þearfe· for Gode ne for worulde· ac
ever greatly about any need before God nor before world but
maciað eall be luste· ȝ be eþnesse· ȝ lufiað oferwiste ȝ
do all by pleasure and by ease and love surfeit and
idele blisse· woriað ȝ wandriað· ȝ ealne dæg fleardiað spelliað
idle bliss roam and wander and all day trifle gossip
ȝ spiliað· ȝ nǽnige note dreogað. Ðæt is laðlic lif þ hi
and play and no use perform That is loathsome life that they
swa maciað· eac hit is þe wyrse· þe ealdras hit ne betað· ne
so do also it is the worse that elders it not amend nor
sylfe swa wel farað sume swa hi sceoldan· ac we agan neóde·
selves so well fare some as they should but we have need

þ we hit gebetan· swa we georgost magan· ȝ weorðan
that we it amend as we most-eagerly can and become
ánmode to gemænelicre þearfe· for Gode ȝ for worulde:·
of-one-mind to common need before God and before world

Be mynecenan

XV · ON NUNS

Nuns are to live as befits a minster, as was said of monks, not dallying with worldly men or keeping any private friendship with them, but living always by the rule and separating themselves from worldly business.

"Riht is þ mynecena mynsterlice macian· efne swa we
Right is that nuns in-minster-fashion act even as we
cwædon æror be munecan· ȝ ne towettan woruld-mannum·
said before about monks and not dally with-worldly-men
ne ænige sundor cyððe to heom habban· ealles to
nor any private acquaintance with them have all too
swiðe·" ac á regollice libban· ȝ hi symle asyndrian fram
greatly but ever by-rule live and they ever separate from
woruld-bysegan· swa hi georgost magan:·
world-business as they most-eagerly can

Be preostan ȝ be nunnan

XVI · ON PRIESTS AND ON NUNS

Priests, and nuns as well, are to live by the rule and keep chastity, if they wish either to stay in the minsters or to have honor in the world.

"Riht	is	þ	preostas	ȝ	efen	wel	nunnan	regollice	libban·
Right	*is*	*that*	*priests*	*and*	*equally*	*well*	*nuns*	*by-rule*	*live*
ȝ	clænnysse	healdan·	be	þam	þe	hi	willan	on	mynstran
and	*chastity*	*hold*	*by*	*that*	*which*	*they*	*will*	*in*	*minsters*
gewunian·	oððon	for	worulde	weorðscypes	waldan:"				
dwell	*or*	*before*	*world*	*honor*	*possess*				

Be wudewan

XVII · ON WIDOWS

Widows are to follow the example of Anna, who served in the temple day and night, fasted severely, prayed, called to Christ with a mourning heart, gave alms often, and pleased God in word and deed as far as she could, and now has heavenly joy for her reward. So a good widow is to obey her Lord.

"Riht	is	þ	wydewan	Annan	bysenan	geornlice	fylian·	seo	
Right	*is*	*that*	*widows*	*of-Anna*	*example*	*eagerly*	*follow*	*who*	
wæs	on	temple·	dæges	ȝ	nihtes·	þeowiende	georne·	heo	
was	*in*	*temple*	*by-day*	*and*	*by-night*	*serving*	*eagerly*	*she*	
fæste	swyðe	þearle·	ȝ	gebedum	fyligde·	ȝ	geomriendum		
fasted	*very*	*severely*	*and*	*prayers*	*followed*	*and*	*with-mourning*		
mode	clypode	to	Criste·	ȝ	ælmessan	dælde·	oft	ȝ	gelome·
mind	*called*	*to*	*Christ*	*and*	*alms*	*gave*	*often*	*and*	*frequently*
ȝ	áá	Gode	gecwemde·	þæs	þe	heo	mihte·	wordes	ȝ
and	*ever*	*God*	*pleased*	*as-far*	*as*	*she*	*could*	*of-word*	*and*

dæde· ȝ hæfð nu to edleane heofonlice myrhðe. Swa sceal
deed and has now for reward heavenly mirth So shall
gód wydewe hyran hyre Drihtne:"
good widow obey her Lord

Be Godes ðeowum

XVIII · ON GOD'S SERVANTS

Wulfstan asks his hearers to listen: all Christians need to follow God's law, and the clergy most, since they must both preach and exemplify it. God's servants are to love chastity, serve God humbly, intercede for the people, keep to their books and prayers, and teach the clergy to live by the rule and the laity by the law. When army, famine, plague, or bad weather strikes, they are to seek the remedy from Christ with fasting, church-going, humble prayer, and alms, and be of one heart and soul among themselves; a priest who lives rightly grows in honor.

Leofan men· ic bidde· gehyrað hwæt ic wylle secgan· þurh
Dear men I pray hear what I will say through
Godes gyfe· us eallum to þearfe· gecnawe seþe cunne· ȝ ic
of-God grace to-us all for benefit let-know he-who can and I
bidde eow leofan men· doð swa ic lære· hlystað swyðe georne·
pray you dear men do as I teach listen very eagerly
hwæt ic nu secge. Eallum cristenum mannum is mycel þearf·
what I now say To-all Christian men is great need
þ hi Godes lage fyligean· ȝ godcundre lare geornlice
that they of-God law follow and divine teaching eagerly
gyman· ȝ huru gehadodum is ealra mæst þearf· forðam þe
heed and above-all to-ordained is of-all greatest need because that
hi sceolon ægðer ge bodian ge bysnian Godes riht georne
they must each both preach and exemplify of-God right eagerly
oðrum mannum. Nu wille we læran Godes þeowas georne·
to-other men Now will we teach of-God servants eagerly

þ hi hy sylfe wærlice beþencan· ⁊ ðurh Godes fultum
that they them selves warily consider and through of-God help
clænnysse lufian· ⁊ Gode Ælmihtigum eadmodlice þeowian·
chastity love and God Almighty humbly serve
⁊ for eall cristen folc þingian gelome· ⁊ þ hi bocum ⁊
and for all Christian people intercede often and that they books and
gebedum geornlice fyligean· ⁊ bodian ⁊ bysnian Godes riht
prayers eagerly follow and preach and exemplify of-God right
georne· ⁊ þ hi læran gelome· swa hi geornost magan·
eagerly and that they teach often as they most-eagerly can
þ gehadode menn regollice libban· ⁊ læwede lahlice heora
that ordained men by-rule live and lay lawfully their
lif fadian· to þearfe heom sylfum. And gif hit geweorðe þ
life order for benefit to-them selves And if it happen that
folce mislimpe· þurh here oðþon hunger· þurh stric oððe
to-people ill-befall through army or hunger through plague or
steorfan· þurh unwæstm oððe unweder· þonne rædan hi
dying through crop-failure or bad-weather then let-counsel they
georne· hu man þæs bóte sece to Criste· mid clænlicum
eagerly how one of-that remedy seek to Christ with chaste
fæstenum· ⁊ mid cyric-socnum· ⁊ mid eadmedum benum·
fasts and with church-visits and with humble prayers
⁊ mid ælmes-sylenum. And æfre hi sylfe beon heom
and with alms-givings And ever they selves let-be to-them
geþwære· ⁊ swiðe ánræde· for Gode ⁊ for worulde· swa
agreeing and very unanimous before God and before world as
swa hit awriten is· Quasi cor unum et animam unam
as it written is As-it-were heart one and soul one
habentes. And gyf mæsse-preost his agen lif rihtlice fadige·
having And if mass-priest his own life rightly order
weaxe his wyrðscype· ⁊ gyf he elles do· gebete hit georne:·
let-grow his honor and if he else do let-amend it eagerly

Be sacerdum

XIX · ON PRIESTS

Priests must lead their flocks by word and example and answer at God's judgment for themselves and their people, hesitating for no man's fear or favor. A shepherd who will not cry out against the devil perishes with his flock; a blind man cannot lead the blind. Many seek the priesthood for greed, take tithes but neither teach nor heal, and adorn their wives with what should adorn altars. A priest's exorcism and hallowing are great, and angels attend them. Through the prophet God bids priests cry out like a trumpet; one who is silent answers for the souls lost.

"Sacerdas sculan on heora scrift-scirum wislice ⁊ wærlice
Priests must in their shrift-districts wisely and warily
lædan ⁊ læran þa godcundan heorda þe hi healdan sculan.
lead and teach the divine flocks which they hold must
Ægðer hi sculan ge wel bodian ge wel bysnian" oðrum
Each they must both well preach and well exemplify to-other
mannum· ⁊ ægðer hi scylon æt Godes dome gescead
men and each they must at of-God judgment account
agyldan· ge heora sylfra dæda· ge ealles þæs folces þe
render both of-their own deeds and of-all the people whom
hi to Godes handa healdan sceolan· ⁊ gyf hi aht gedon
they to of-God hand hold must and if they aught do
scylon· ne magon hi wandian· naþer ne for ege ne for lufe
must not can they hesitate either — for fear nor for love
æniges mannes· þ hi riht ne bodian ⁊ unriht forbeodan.
of-any man that they right not preach and wrong forbid
Wac byð se hyrde æt falde nyt· þe nele þa heorde þe he
Weak is the shepherd at fold useless who will-not the flock which he
healdan sceal mid hreame bewerian· butan he elles mæge·
hold shall with outcry defend unless he else can
gyf þær hwylc þeod-sceaþa sceaðian onginneþ. Nys nan swa
if there any public-enemy harm begins Not-is any so

yfel sceaða swa is deofol sylf· he bið áá embe þ án· hu
evil harmer as is devil self he is ever about that one how
he on manna sawlum mæst gesceaþian mæge. Đonne motan
he in of-men souls most harm can Then must
þa hyrdas beon swyðe wacore· ⁊ georne clypiende· þe wið
the shepherds be very watchful and eagerly calling who against
þone þeod-sceaþan gescyldan sculan. Đæt syndon bisceopas ⁊
the public-enemy shield must That are bishops and
mæsse-preostas· þe godcunde heorde gewarian ⁊ bewerian
mass-priests who divine flock guard and defend
sculon mid wislicre láre. Đy he ne mæg wandian· gyf
must with wise teaching Therefore he not can hesitate if
he him sylfum gebeorgan sceall· naþor ne for lufe ne for
he him self protect shall either — for love nor for
ege· þ he mannum þ rihteste ne secge. Ne mæg he
fear that he to-men the rightest not say Not can he
wandian· naðor ne for heanum ne for ricum· forðam ne deð
hesitate either — for lowly nor for mighty because not does
he naht· eargie he oðþon hine forsceamige riht to
he aught should-grow-cowardly he or himself be-ashamed right to
sprecanne. Earme gefæreð he· gif þurh his hnescnysse seo
speak Wretchedly fares he if through his softness the
heord forwurð· þe he healdan sceall· ⁊ he sylf forð mid.
flock perishes which he hold shall and he self forth with
Đeah ure heorda hwylc an sceáp forgyme· we willað þ
Though of-our herdsmen any one sheep neglect we will that
he hit forgylde· ⁊ wæt gefarað þonne æt Godes egeslican
he it repay and what experience then at of-God terrible
dome þa hyrdas þe ne cunnon gehealdan þa godcundan
judgment the shepherds who not know-how hold the divine
heorda· þe Crist mid his agenum life gebohte· ⁊ þe hi
flocks which Christ with his own life bought and which they

healdan sceoldan gif hi cuðan· ac naþor þurh larleaste hine
hold should if they could but neither through ignorance him
cunnon ne lædan· ne læran· ne lacnian hi rihtlice. Mid
can — lead nor teach nor heal they rightly With
hwam wene we forgyldað hi hi þonne. Wa heom þonne
what think we pay-for they them then Woe to-them then
þ hi æfre underfengon þ hi gehealdan ne cuðon. La hu
that they ever received what they hold not could O how
mæg blind man oðerne lædan· hu mæg unlæred déma oðerne
can blind man other lead how can unlearned judge other
læran. Wa þam witodlice· þe godcunde heorde underfehð·
teach Woe to-him certainly who divine flock receives
ȝ naþer gehealdan ne can· ne hine sylfne· ne þa heorde
and neither hold — can nor him self nor the flock
þe he healdan sceolde· ȝ wyrs þam þe can ȝ nele. Eala
which he hold should and worse to-him who can and will-not Alas
eala· fela is þæra þe sacerdhades on unriht gyrnað· swa
alas many is of-those who priesthood in wrong desire as
hit þincan mæg· swyðost for idelum gylpe· ȝ for gitsunge
it seem may most for idle boasting and for avarice
woruld-gestreona· ȝ ne cunnon na þ hy cunnan sceoldan.
of-world-treasures and not know not what they know should
Be þam cwæð se witega· ȝ ðus cwæð· We sacerdotibus·
About that spoke the prophet and thus said Woe to-priests
qui comedunt peccata populi· et rl. Wa þan sacerdum·
who eat sins of-people and the-rest Woe to-the priests
he cwæð· þe fretað ȝ forswelgað folces synna· þ syndon
he said who devour and swallow of-people sins that are
þa ðe nellað· oððe ne cunnon· oððon ne durron folc wið
those who will-not or not know-how or not dare people against
synna gewarnian· ȝ synna gestyran· ac gyrnað þeah heora
sins warn and sins restrain but desire nevertheless their

sceatta on teoþungum· ⁊ on eallum cyric-gerihtum· ⁊ naðor
payments in tithes and in all church-dues and neither
ne hi mid bysnungum wel ne lædað· ne mid bodungum
— they with examples well — lead nor with preachings
wel ne læraþ· ne mid dædbodum wel ne lacniað· ne mid
well — teach nor with penances well — heal nor with
gebedrædenne fore ne þingiað· ac læccað of manna begeatum
prayer for — intercede but seize of of-men gains
loc hwæt hi gefón magan· eallswa gyfre hremnas of holde
look what they seize can just-as greedy ravens of carcass
doð· þær þær hi tomagon. Hit is ealles þe wyrse syððan
do there where they can-get-at It is all the worse since
hy hit ealles habbað· þonne ne ateoð hi hit na swa swa hi
they it all have then not apply they it — as as they
sceoldan· ac glencgað heora wif mid þam þe hi weofoda
should but adorn their wives with that which they altars
sceoldan· ⁊ maciað eall heom sylfum to woruld-wlence· ⁊
should and make all for-them selves to world-pride and
to idelre rence· þ hi Gode sceoldan don to weorðungé·
to idle pomp what they to-God should do for honor
on cyriclicum þingum· oððon on earmra manna hyððum·
in churchly things or in of-poor men relief
oððon on here-numena bygenum· oððon on sumum þingum·
or in of-captives ransoms or in some things
þe mihte to langsumere ðearfe· ægðer ge heom sylfum·
which might to more-lasting need each both to-them selves
ge eac þam þe heom on Godes est heora þing syllað.
and also to-those who to-them in of-God favor their things give
Ðonne is mycel þearf· þ seþe ær ðissum misdyde· þ
Then is great need that he-who before this misdid that
he heonon-forð hit georne gebete. Forþam understande seþe
he henceforth it eagerly amend Because let-understand he-who

cunne· mycel is ȝ mære þ sacerd ah to donne· folce
can great is and glorious what priest ought to do to-people
to þearfe· gif he his Drihtne gecwemð mid rihte:·
for benefit if he his Lord pleases with right
Mycel is seo halsung· ȝ mære is seo halgung þe deofla
Great is the exorcism and glorious is the hallowing which devils
afyrsað· ȝ on fleame gebringað· swa oft swa man fullað·
drives-away and into flight brings as often as one baptizes
oðþon husel halgað· ȝ englas þær hwearfiað· ȝ þa dæda
or communion hallows and angels there move-about and the deeds
beweardiað· ȝ ðurh Godes mihta þam sacerdum fylstað·
guard and through of-God might the priests help
swa oft swa hi Criste þeniað mid rihte· ȝ swa hi doð
as often as they Christ serve with right and so they do
symle swa oft swa hi geornlice inneweardre heortan clypiað
ever as often as they eagerly with-inward heart call
to Criste· ȝ for folces neode þingiað georne· ȝ þi man
to Christ and for of-people need intercede eagerly and therefore one
sceall for Godes ege mæþe on hade gecnawan mid gesceade:·
shall for of-God fear respect in order recognize with discernment
La leof· deope us is beboden· þ we geornlice mynegian
O sir deeply to-us is commanded that we eagerly admonish
ȝ læran scylan· þ manna gehwylc to Gode búge· ȝ fram
and teach must that of-men each to God bow and from
synnum gecyrre. Se cwyde is swyðe egeslic· þe God þurh
sins turn The saying is very terrible which God through
þone witegan be þam cwæð· þe Godes folce riht bodian
the prophet about those spoke who of-God to-people right preach
sculon· þ syndon bisceopas ȝ mæsse-preostas. He cwæð
must that are bishops and mass-priests He said
be þam· Clama necesses quasi tuba· et rl. Clypa hlude
about them Cry cease-not like trumpet and the-rest Cry loudly

ȝ ahefe up þine stemne swa hlude swa byme· ȝ gecyð
and raise up thy voice as loudly as trumpet and make-known
minum folce þ hit fram synnum gecyrre· gyf ðu þonne
to-my people that it from sins turn if thou then
þ ne dest· ac forswugast hit· ȝ nelt folce his þearfe
that not doest but keepest-silent it and wilt-not to-people its need
gecyðan· þonne scealt ðu ealra ðæra sawla on domes-dæg
make-known then shalt thou of-all the souls on doomsday
gescead agyldan· þe þurh þ losiað· þe hi nabbað þa
account render which through that perish that they not-have the
lare ȝ þa mynegunge þe hi beþorftan. Ðes cwyde mæg
teaching and the admonition which they needed This saying may
beon swyðe gemyndelic eallum þam þe to ðam gesette syn·
be very memorable to-all those who to that appointed are
þ hi Godes folce riht bodian sculan· ȝ folc ah eac
that they of-God to-people right preach must and people has also
mycele þearfe· þ hi wære beon þæs cwydes þe þær-æfter
great need that they wary be of-the saying which thereafter
gecweden is. He cwæð se witega æfter þam· Gif ðu folce
said is He said the prophet after that If thou to-people
riht bodast· ȝ ðu hit gebigean ne miht to rihte· þonne
right preachest and thou it bend not canst to right then
gebyrhst ðu þeh þinre agenre sawle· ȝ seþe woh drifð· ȝ
protectest thou though thine own soul and he-who wrong practices and
geswican nele· he sceal habban þæs éce wite· þ is þ
cease will-not he shall have for-that eternal torment that is that
hi þonne sceolan to helle faran· mid sawle ȝ mid lichoman·
they then must to hell go with soul and with body
ȝ mid deofle wunian on helle witum. Wa þam þe þær
and with devil dwell in of-hell torments Woe to-him who there
sceall wunian on witum· him wære betere þ he næfre on
shall dwell in torments to-him were better that he never in

weorulde man ne gewurde þonne he gewurde. Nis se man
world man — became than he became Not-is the man
on life þe areccan mæge ealle þa yrmða þe se gebidan
in life who recount can all the miseries which he endure
sceall· seðe on þa witu ealles behreoseð· ⁊ hit is ealles
shall who into the torments altogether falls and it is all
þe wyrse þe his ænig ende ne cymð næfre to worulde:·
the worse that of-it any end — comes ever to world

Ad sacerdotes

XX · TO PRIESTS

Wulfstan bids the priests love and honor God above all and keep his commandments, love one another and help each other, live henceforth by the rule, attend their churches, keep their hours at the appointed times, and eagerly teach and heal the Christian people.

La leof· understandað eow sylfe· ⁊ lufiað ⁊ weorðiað God
O sirs understand you selves and love and honor God
Ælmihtigne ofer ealle oðre þinc· ⁊ healdað his beboda
Almighty over all other things and hold his commandments
georne. And lufige eower ælc oþerne rihtlice· ⁊ beo ælc oðrum
eagerly And let-love of-you each other rightly and let-be each to-other
on helpe· for Gode ⁊ for worulde. Libbað heonon-forð
in help before God and before world Live henceforth
regollican life· secað eowre cyrican· ⁊ gefyllað eowre tida áá on
with-regular life seek your churches and fulfill your hours ever at
gesetne timan. Lærað cristen folc georne· ⁊ lacniað hit georne:·
appointed time Teach Christian people eagerly and heal it eagerly

Ad sacerdotes

XXI · TO PRIESTS

Priests are to teach right belief and the meaning of baptism: one faith in one true God and one baptism, kept by obeying God's commandments and broken by following the devil, though God forgives the sinner who confesses and ceases. No one can intercede with a lord he has angered, so priests must first please God themselves. Wulfstan asks them, for the love of God and Saint Mary, to remember him in their prayers, come when he calls, and meet once a year for their common need.

Tæcað cristenum mannum· georne ⁊ gelome rihtne geleafan·
Teach Christian men eagerly and often right faith
⁊ þ hi cunnon heora cristendomes ⁊ heora fulluhtes
and that they can of-their Christianity and of-their baptism
gescead witan. An geleafa is on ænne soðe God· ⁊ an
understanding know One faith is in one true God and one
fulluht we habbað þ we sculon rihtlice healdan. Se gehealt
baptism we have which we must rightly hold He holds
his fulluht rihtlice seðe gehealt Godes beboda· ⁊ forbuhð
his baptism rightly who holds of-God commandments and shuns
deofles únlarum· ⁊ se abrecð his fulluht ⁊ forwyrcð hine
of-devil evil-teachings and he breaks his baptism and ruins him
sylfne seþe abrecð Godes bebodu· ⁊ fulfyligð deofles
self who breaks of-God commandments and follows of-devil
unlarum. God Ælmihtig is þeah swa mildheort· þ he
evil-teachings God Almighty is though so merciful that he
wile gemiltsian þam þe fram synnum gecyrð· gyf he
will have-mercy-on him who from sins turns if he
mid inweardre heortan hreowsunge to dædbote gecyrð· ⁊
with of-inward heart repentance to penance turns and
geornlice bet þ he to unrihte gedyde. Synfulles mannes
eagerly amends what he to wrong did Of-sinful man

læcedom is þ he andette ⁊ bete georne· ⁊ æfre geswice.
remedy is that he confess and amend eagerly and ever cease
Utan we don sylfe· swa us mycel þearf is· healdan Godes
Let-us we do selves as to-us great need is hold of-God
bebodu· ⁊ bysnian· ⁊ bodian georne þære heorde þe
commandments and exemplify and preach eagerly to-the flock which
us betæht is. Ðurh þ we sculon oðrum mannum aht
to-us entrusted is Through that we must other men aught
fremian· þe we Gode geornlice heran. Hu mæg ænig man
benefit that we God eagerly obey How can any man
oðrum fremian· oððon to his hlaforde oðrum þingian· gif he
other benefit or to his lord for-other intercede if he
his hlaforde sylf hæfð swiðe abolgen. Hu mage we eác oðrum
his lord self has greatly angered How can we also for-other
mannum to Gode þingian· butan we us beorgan þ we him
men to God intercede unless we us protect that we him
ne abelgan. Ac utan cweman Gode Ælmihtigum mid clænum
not anger But let-us please God Almighty with pure
geþance· ⁊ ægðer ge on wordum· ge on weorcum· ge on
thought and each both in words and in works and in
eallum dædum· dreogan his willan· þonne magon we ægðer·
all deeds perform his will then can we each
ge us sylfum wel fremian· ge eallum cristenum mannum:·
both us selves well benefit and all Christian men
Leofan men· doð swa ic eow· for Godes lufan ⁊ for Sca
Dear men do as I you for of-God love and for Saint
Marian eac· ic bidde· gemunað me on eowre gebedrædenne· ⁊
Mary also I pray remember me in your fellowship-of-prayer and
helpað min· swa ic mycele þearfe ah· ⁊ beoð me gearwe to
help me as I great need have and be to-me ready for
ure gemænan þearfe· swa oft swa ic eow habban wylle. Hit
our common need as often as I you have will It

gebyreð eow þ ge me gearwe beon· swa fyr swa nyr· swa
befits to-you that ye to-me ready be as far as near so
hwæþer ic wille· ⁊ þ ic huru wille· þ we heonan-forð
whichever I will and that I above-all will that we henceforth
ælce geare sume siðe us gesomnian togædere ymbe ure
each year some time us gather together about our
gemænan þearfe. Doð sylfe wel· ⁊ læraþ wel þam þe ge
common need Do selves well and teach well them whom ye
læran sculon· þ hi georne to góde don swa mycel swa hi
teach must that they eagerly to good do as much as they
mæst magan· þonne helpe ge wel þam þe ge lærað· gif hi
most can then help ye well them whom ye teach if they
eowrum larum fyligean willað· ⁊ huru ge gebeorgað eow
your teachings follow will and above-all ye protect you
sylfum. God Ælmihtig helpe ure· ⁊ Sca Maria· ⁊ gefultumie
selves God Almighty let-help us and Saint Mary and let-support
us eallum· þ we ægðer ge us sylfe· ge þa þe we wisian
us all that we each both us selves and those whom we guide
sceolan· swa gewissian motan· swa swa ure ealra þearf sy:·
must so guide may so as of-us all need be

Be læwedum mannum

XXII · ON LAY MEN

The clergy are to teach the laity how to keep marriage. A youth should keep himself until he marries a maiden, have her alone while she lives, and if she dies remain a widower; the apostle allows a second marriage, but the canons deny it the blessing of a first, set penance for it, and forbid a priest to attend the feast. To marry a third time is too much, more often altogether wrong, and the laity are to abstain from their wives on feasts and fasts.

"Riht is þ gehadode men þam læwedum wisian hu hi
Right is that ordained men the lay guide how they
heora æwe rihtlicost sculon healdan. Ðæt bið rihtlic lif þ
their marriage most-rightly must hold That is right life that
cniht þurhwunige on his cnihthade· oð þ he on rihtre
youth remain in his youth until that he in right
mæden-æwe gewifige· ȝ habbe þa syððan· ȝ nænige oðre·
maiden-marriage take-wife and have her afterward and no other
þa hwile þe seo libbe· gif hine þonne forð-sið gebyrige·
the while that she live if him then departure befall
þonne is rihtost þ he þanan-forð wydewa þurhwunige· þeah·
then is most-right that he thenceforth widower remain though
be þæs apostoles leafe· læwede man mot for neode oðre siðe
by of-the apostle leave lay man may for need second time
wifian· ac þa canones forbeodaþ þa bletsunga þær-to· þe to
marry but the canons forbid the blessings there-to which to
frum-wifunge gesette syn· ȝ eac is geset dædbot swylcum
first-marriage appointed are and also is appointed penance to-such
mannum to donne· ȝ preoste is forboden þ he beon ne
men to do and to-priest is forbidden that he be not
mot· on þam wisan þe he ær wæs· æt þam bryd-lacum þær
may in the manner which he before was at the bride-feasts where

man eft wifað· ne þa bletsunge don· þe to frum-wifunge
one again marries nor the blessing do which to first-marriage
gebyrað. Be þam man mæg witan þ hit eallunga riht
befits By that one may know that it altogether right
nis þ wer wifige· oðþon wif ceorlige· oftor þonne æne·
not-is that man marry or woman take-husband oftener than once
ȝ huru hit byð to mænigfeald· gewyrðe hit þriddan siðe·
and indeed it is too manifold happen it third time
ȝ mid-ealle misdon· gewyrðe hit oftor· ȝ þeah læwedum
and altogether misdone happen it oftener and though to-lay
mannum wif sy alyfed· þeah hi agon þearfe· þ hi
men wife be allowed yet they have need that they
understandan hu hit is alyfed. Nagon læwede men freolstidum
understand how it is allowed Not-have lay men on-feast-times
ne fæsten-tidum· þurh hæmed-þing· wifes gemanan· þe ma
nor fast-times through intercourse of-wife fellowship the more
þe heah-hades men þ þing agan ænigum timan:·”
than high-order men that thing have at-any time

Be gehadedum mannum

XXIII · ON ORDAINED MEN

The clergy, who must forbid all unchastity, are bound to chastity themselves, yet some have broken their marriage to the church, and no altar-servant may marry. At Nicaea, where Constantine gathered three hundred and eighteen bishops and the creed was set out, it was ruled that a married bishop, priest, or deacon lose his order, and three later councils confirmed it. A priest's woman is nothing but the devil's snare, and Wulfstan begs the clergy to cease and adorn their churches instead of their wives.

"Gehadedum mannum gebyreð ælc clænes· forþam þe hi
To-ordained men befits each chastity because that they
sculon eallum oðrum mannum ælce unclænesse forbeodan·
must to-all other men each unchastity forbid
ȝ ælce clænesse· gif hi riht doð· hi sculon be heom
and each chastity if they right do they must by them
sylfum geornost gebysnian· þonne is hit swyþe egeslic· þ
selves most-eagerly exemplify then is it very terrible that
þa þe sceoldan eallum cristenum mannum riht bodian·
those who should to-all Christian men right preach
ȝ eac wel bysnian· þ hi syn sume gewordene bysen to
and also well exemplify that they are some become example to
forwyrde swyðor þonne to þearfe· þ syndon þa æw-brecan·
ruin more than to benefit that are the adulterers
þe þurh healicne had ciric-æwe underfengan· ȝ syððan
who through high order church-marriage received and afterward
þ abræcan. Nis nanum weofod-þene alyfed þ he wifian
that broke Not-is to-any altar-servant allowed that he marry
mote· ac is ælcum forboden· nu is þeah þæra ealles to fela
may but is to-each forbidden now is however of-those all too many
þe þone æwbryce wyrcað· ȝ geworht habbað· ac ic bidde·
who the adultery work and wrought have but I pray

for Godes lufan· ȝ eac eornostlice beode· þ man þæs
for of-God love and also earnestly command that one that
geswice. Læwedum men is ælc wif forboden· butan his
cease To-lay man is each woman forbidden except his
riht ǽwe. Gehadode syndon sume swa þurh deofol beswicene
right wife Ordained are some so through devil deceived
þ hi wifiað on únriht· ȝ forwyrcað hi sylfe· þurh þone
that they marry in wrong and ruin them selves through the
æwbryce þe hi on-wuniað· ac ic bidde georne· þ man þæs
adultery which they in-dwell but I pray eagerly that one the
morðes heonon-forð georne geswice. Ciric is sacerdes ǽwe:·”
crime henceforth eagerly cease Church is of-priest wife
Constantinus se mære casere gesamnode swyðe mycelne
Constantine the glorious emperor gathered very great
sinoð on þære ceastre Nícea· for trymmincge rihtes geleafan.
synod in the city Nicaea for confirming of-right faith
On ðam sinoðe wæron ·ccc· ȝ ·xviii· biscopa· of
In the synod were three-hundred and eighteen bishops from
manegum leodscipum gegaderode· ȝ hi þær geswuteloden
many nations gathered and they there declared
rihtne geleafan· ȝ gesettan þa· þæs to swutelunge· þone
right faith and set then of-it for manifestation the
mæssan cwedan· þe man wide singð· ȝ cyric-þenunga
of-mass creed which one widely sings and church-services
heo fægere gedihtan· ȝ mænige oðre þing· ægðer ge be
they fairly arranged and many other things each both about
Godes þeowum ge be Gode sylfum. Hy cwædon þær ealle
of-God servants and about God self They said there all
anrædlice· þ hit riht wære· gif weofod-þen· þ is biscop·
unanimously that it right were if altar-servant that is bishop
oðða mæsse-preost· oðða diacon gewifode· þ he þolode æfre
or mass-priest or deacon married that he forfeited ever

his hades· ȝ amansumod wurde· buton he geswice· ȝ
his order and excommunicated were unless he cease and
ðe deoppor gebete. Feower synoðas wæron gesamnode for
the deeper amend Four synods were gathered for
rihtan geleafan ymbe þa Halgan Ðrynnysse· ȝ ymbe Cristes
right faith about the Holy Trinity and about of-Christ
mennisclicnesse. Se forma wæs on Nícea· ȝ se oðer wæs
humanity The first was in Nicaea and the second was
syððan on Constantinopolim· þær wæron ·cl· biscopa·
afterward in Constantinople where were one-hundred-fifty bishops
se þridda wæs on Effesum· ·cc· biscopa· ȝ se feorða
the third was in Ephesus two-hundred bishops and the fourth
wæs on Calcedonea· fela biscopa ætgædere· ȝ ealle hi
was in Chalcedon many bishops together and all they
wæron anræde æt eallum þam ðingum þe man on fruman
were unanimous in all the things which one at first
on Nícea gesette· ȝ ealle hi forbudon æfre ælc wíflác
in Nicaea established and all they forbade ever each marriage
weofod-þenum. Ðencan ða nu þe to þam ðryste syn· þ
to-altar-servants Let-think they now who to the presumption are that
hi God oferseoð· ȝ swa maniges haliges mannes dom· swa
they God disregard and so of-many holy men judgment as
on þissum sinoðum gesamnode wæron· ȝ gehwær syðþon·
in these synods gathered were and everywhere afterward
hwylces leanes hy hym wenan magon· ȝ eac wenan ne
what reward they for-themselves expect can and also expect not
þurfon· ac gewitod witan· þ hi yfel lean habban sculon· ȝ
need but certainly know that they evil reward have must and
grimlice Godes graman· þurh þ þe hy swa God gremiað·
grimly of-God wrath through that that they so God anger
þ hi eall heora lif libbað on fylðe. Weofod-þenas ic bidde
that they all their life live in filth Altar-servants I pray

þ hi beðencan hi sylfe ȝ geswican ælcere fylðe· ȝ þa
that they consider them selves and cease every filth and those
ðe ær þyssan þone ungewunan hæfdon· þ hi heora wíf
who before this the bad-custom had that they their wives
glengdan swa hi weofoda sceoldan· geswican þæs ungewunan·
adorned as they altars should cease the bad-custom
ȝ glencgan heora cyrican be þam þe hi betst magon·
and adorn their churches by that which they best can
þonne wealdað hy heom sylfum· ægðer ge godcundes rædes·
then control they for-them selves each both divine counsel
ge woruldcundes weorðscypes. Nis preostes cwene ænig
and worldly honor Not-is of-priest woman any
oðer þing butan deofles grin· ȝ seþe mid þam gegrinod
other thing but of-devil snare and he-who with that ensnared
byð forð oð his ende· he byð þurh deofol fæste gefangen·
is forth until his end he is through devil firmly caught
ȝ he eac syðþon mot faran on feonda hand· ȝ forfaran
and he also afterward must go into of-fiends hand and perish
mid-ealle. Ac helpe gehwa georne hys sylfes· þa hwile þe
altogether But let-help each eagerly his self the while that
he mage ȝ mote· ȝ gebuge ælc man fram únrihte· þonne
he can and may and let-turn each man from wrong then
gebyrhð man wið ece wite· ȝ eac seþe þurhwunað
protects one against eternal torment and also he-who perseveres
on gódum dædum forð oð his ende· he þær habban sceal
in good deeds forth until his end he there have shall
éce edlean. Nu eów is soð asæd· understandaþ eów sylfe·
eternal reward Now to-you is truth said understand you selves
be ðam þe ge willan. God eow getrymme to eowre agenre
by that which ye will God you let-strengthen for your own
þearfe· ȝ us ealle gehealde. Swa his wylla sy. Amen:·
benefit and us all let-keep As his will be Amen

Be eallum cristenum mannum

XXIV · ON ALL CHRISTIAN MEN

All Christians are to keep their faith and order their lives by God's law and worldly propriety: first to love one God and hold one faith in him who made and redeemed us. They must keep what they or their godparents promised at baptism, to shun the devil and all his works and to believe in and love one God, which baptism pledges, and angels watch how each man keeps it. Let us keep our oaths and pledges, remember the great judgment, guard ourselves against hell's burning, and earn the joys God has prepared.

"Riht is þ ealle cristene men heora cristendom rihtlice
Right is that all Christian men their christianity rightly
healdan· ⁊ þam life libban þe heom to-gebyrað· æfter
hold and the life live which to-them befits according-to
Godes rihte· ⁊ æfter woruld-gerysenum· ⁊ heora wisan
of-God right and according-to world-proprieties and their ways
ealle be þam þingan geornlice fadian· þe ða wisan þe hy
all by the things eagerly order which the wise who them
wislice ⁊ wærlice wisian cunnon· ⁊ þ is þonne ǽrest·
wisely and warily guide can and that is then first
ræda fyrmest· þ manna gehwylc· ofer ealle oðre þinc·
of-counsels foremost that of-men each over all other things
ænne God lufige· ⁊ ænne geleáfan ánrædlice hæbbe on
one God love and one faith steadfastly have in
þæne· þe us ealle ærest geworhte· ⁊ mid deorwyrðum ceápe
him who us all first made and with precious price
eft us gebohte. And eac we agan þearfe þ we geornlice
again us bought And also we have need that we eagerly
smeagan hu we symble magan Godes agene beboda
consider how we ever can of-God own commandments
rihtlicost healdan· ⁊ eall þ gelæstan þ þ we behetan·
most-rightly hold and all that perform that which we promised

þa we fulluht underfengon· oððon þa ðe æt fulluhte ure
when we baptism received or those who at baptism our
fore-spræcan wæron. Ðæt is þonne ærest· þ þ man behateð
advocates were That is then first that which one promises
þonne man fulluhtes gyrnð· þ man á wile deofol ascunian·
when one baptism desires that one ever will devil shun
ȝ his unlare georne forbúgan· ȝ ealle his unlaga symble
and his false-teaching eagerly avoid and all his unlaws ever
awyrpan· ȝ écelice wiðsacan ealles his gemánan ȝ manisides
cast-off and eternally renounce all his fellowship and many-times
sona þær-æfter· mid rihtan geleafan· soðlice swytelað þ man
at-once there-after with right faith truly declares that one
þananforð áá wile on ænne God æfre gelyfan· ȝ ofer ealle oðre
thenceforth ever will in one God ever believe and over all other
þing hine á lufian· ȝ æfre his larum geornlice fylgean· ȝ
things him ever love and ever his teachings eagerly follow and
his agene beboda rihtlice healdan· ȝ þonne bið þ fulluht
his own commandments rightly hold and then is the baptism
swylce hit wedd sy ealra þæra worda· ȝ ealles þæs behates·
as-if it pledge be of-all the words and of-all the promise
gehealde seþe wille. And soð is þ ic secge· englas beweardiað
let-keep be-who will And true is what I say angels watch
þanan-forð æfre manna gehwylcne· hu he gelæste· æfter his
thenceforth ever of-men each how he performs after his
fulluhte· þ þ man behet ǽr· þa man fulluhtes gyrnde.
baptism that which one promised before when one baptism desired
Utan þy geþencan· oft ȝ gelome· ȝ georne gelæstan þ
Let-us therefore think often and frequently and eagerly perform that
þ we behetan· þa we fulluht underfengan· ealswa us þearf
which we promised when we baptism received just-as to-us need
is· ȝ utan word ȝ weorc rihtlice fadian· ȝ ure in-geþanc
is and let-us word and work rightly order and our inward-thought

clænsian georne· ȝ að ȝ wedd wærlice healdan· ȝ gelome
cleanse eagerly and oath and pledge warily hold and frequently
understandan þone myclan dom· þe we ealle to-scylon·
understand the great judgment which we all must-go-to
ȝ beorgan ús georne wið þone weallendan bryne helle
and protect us eagerly against the surging burning of-hell
wites· ȝ geearnian us þa mærða ȝ þa myrhða· þe God
torment and earn us the glories and the mirths which God
hæfð gegearwod þam þe his willan on worulde gewyrcað:·"
has prepared for-those who his will in world work

Be cyrican

XXV · ON THE CHURCH

Christians are to honor and defend Christ's church, the spiritual mother of all, whose peace within its walls is as inviolable as a consecrated king's. A priest consecrated to a church may not be removed except for a capital crime. Yet churches everywhere are weakly protected, robbed of their dues, and their servants deprived of respect, and whoever harms them is God's enemy, as it is written and as Saint Gregory's anathema declares; all must keep one Christianity and cast off all heathenism.

"Riht is þ cristene men cristendom georne healdan mid
Right is that Christian men christianity eagerly hold with
rihte· ȝ Cristes cyrican æghwær georne weorþian ȝ werian.
right and of-Christ church everywhere eagerly honor and defend
Ealle we habbað ænne heofonlicne fæder· ȝ áne gastlice
All we have one heavenly father and one spiritual
modor· seo is ęcclesia genamod· þ is· Godes cyrce· ȝ
mother who is ecclesia named that is of-God church and
þa we sculon æfre lufian ȝ weorðian. And riht is þ
her we must ever love and honor And right is that

ælc cyrice sy on Godes griðe· ȝ on ealles cristenes
each church be in of-God peace and in of-all Christian
folces· ȝ þ cyric-grið stande æghwær binnan wagum·
people and that church-peace stand everywhere within walls
ȝ gehalgodes cynincges hand-grið efen unwemme· forþam
and of-consecrated king hand-peace equally inviolate because
ælc cyric-grið is Cristes agen grið· ȝ ælc cristen man
each church-peace is of-Christ own peace and each Christian man
ah mycele þearfe þ he on þam griðe mycle mæþe wite·
has great need that he in the peace great respect know
forþam ælces cristenes mannes nyd-þearf is· þ he Godes
because of-each Christian man necessity is that he of-God
cyrican georne lufige ȝ weorþige· ȝ hi gelomlice ȝ
church eagerly love and honor and her frequently and
georнlice sece· him sylfum to þearfe· ȝ huru gehadode
eagerly seek for-him self for benefit and above-all ordained
þær sculon oftost þeowian ȝ þenian· ȝ for eall cristen folc
there must oftenest serve and minister and for all Christian people
þingian georne. Đonne agan weofod-þegnas to smeagenne
intercede eagerly Then ought altar-servants to consider
symble· þ hi huru-þinga heora lif fadian swa swa to
ever that they above-all-things their life order as as to
cyrcan gebyrige mid rihte. Cirice is mid rihte sacerdes
church befits with right Church is with right of-priest
æwe· ȝ seþe to cyrican weorðe gehadod· nage hine
wife and he-who to church becomes ordained not-ought him
ænig man þe Godes lage recce þanon to donne· butan
any man who of-God law cares-for thence to put unless
he hi mid heafod-gylte fullice forwyrce· ȝ þonne sceall
he her with capital-crime fully forfeit and then shall
Cristes scír-gerefa þ witan· ȝ ymbe þ dihtan ȝ deman·
of-Christ shire-reeve that know and about that direct and judge

swa swa béc tæcan. And ne sceolde man æfre cyrican
as as books teach And not should one ever church
derian· ne ænig woh beodan· on ænige wisan· ac nu
harm nor any wrong offer in any way but now
syndon þeah cyrcan wíde ⁊ síde wace gegriðode· ⁊
are nevertheless churches wide and far weakly protected and
yfele geþeowode· ⁊ clæne berypte ealdra gerihta· ⁊ innan
evilly served and wholly robbed old dues and within
bestrypte ælcera gerisena· ⁊ cyric-þénas syndon mæðe ⁊
stripped all fittings and church-servants are respect and
munde gewelhwær bedælde· ⁊ wa þam þe þæs wealt· þeh
protection nearly-everywhere deprived and woe to-him who that controls though
he swá ne wéne· forþam ælc þara byð witodlice Godes
he so not think because each of-those is certainly of-God
sylfes feond· þe byð Godes cyricena feond· ⁊ þe Godes
self enemy who is of-God churches enemy and who of-God
cyricena riht gewanað oððe wyrdeð· ealswa hit awriten is·
churches right diminishes or damages just-as it written is
Inimicus enim Christi efficitur omnis qui ecclesiasticas res
Enemy for of-Christ becomes every who ecclesiastical things
usurpare iniuste conatur· et reliq. And egeslice spræc Sc̄s
usurp unjustly tries and the-rest And terribly spoke Saint
Gregorius be þam eác· þa þa he þus cwæð· Si quis
Gregory about that also then when he thus said If any
ecclesiam Christi denudauerit· uel sanctimonia uiolauerit·
church of-Christ strip or sanctity violate
anaþema sit· ad quod respondentes omnes· dixerunt
anathema let-him-be to which answering all said
Amen. Mycel is neód-þearf manna gehwylcon· þ he wið
Amen Great is necessity of-men to-each that he against
þas þinc beorge him georne· ⁊ æghwylc Godes freond
these things protect him eagerly and each of-God friend

warnige hine symble· þ he Cristes bryde to swyðe ne
let-warn him ever that he of-Christ bride too greatly not
misbeode. Ealle we sculon ænne God lufian ȝ weorðian·
wrong All we must one God love and honor
ȝ ænne cristendóm georne healdan· ȝ ælcne hæþendóm
and one christianity eagerly hold and each heathenism
mid ealre mihte awyrpan:·"
with all might cast-off

WULFSTAN

I Cnut

Cnut, king of England and Denmark, decreed with his councilors at Winchester at midwinter: to love one God, keep one Christianity, and love the king. A slaying within church walls is beyond compensation unless the slayer reaches sanctuary and the king grants him life. A church's peace is paid by its rank, from five pounds at a head minster to thirty shillings at a field-church. Clerics clear themselves by their order; a priest who bears false witness is expelled unless he makes deeper amends.

Ðis is seo gerædnys, þe Cnut ciningc, ealles Englalandes Prol.
This is the ordinance which Cnut king of-all of-England
ciningc ȝ Dena cining mid his witena geþeahte gerædde,
king and of-Danes king with his of-counselors counsel decreed
Gode to lofe ȝ him sylfum to cynescipe ȝ to þearfe; ȝ
to-God for praise and for-him self for royal-dignity and for benefit and
þæt wæs on ðære halgan midewintres tide on Winceastre.
that was at the holy of-midwinter time at Winchester
Ðæt is þonne ærest, þæt hi ofer ealle oþre þingc ænne God 1
That is then first that they over all other things one God
æfre woldan lufian ȝ wurðian ȝ ænne Cristendom anrædlice
ever would love and honor and one Christianity steadfastly
healdan, and Cnut cingc lufian mid rihtan getrywþan.
hold and Cnut king love with right loyalty
And Godes cyrican griðian ȝ friðian ȝ gelomlice secean 2
And of-God churches protect and shelter and frequently seek
saulum to hæle ȝ us sylfum to þearfe.
for-souls for salvation and for-us selves for benefit
Ælc cyrice is mid rihte on Cristes agenan griðe; ȝ ælc 2,1
Each church is with right in of-Christ own protection and each
Cristen man ah mycele þearfe, þæt he on þam griðe mycele
Christian man has much need that he in the protection much

mæðe wite; forðam Godes grið is ealra griða selost to
respect know because of-God protection is of-all protections best to
geearnigenne ȝ geornost to healdenne, ȝ þær nehst cininges.
earn and most-eagerly to hold and there next of-king

2,2 Þonne is swiðe rihtlic, þæt Godes ciricgrið binnon wagum
Then is very right that of-God church-peace within walls
ȝ Cristenes ciningces handgrið stande æfre unwemme; ȝ
and of-Christian of-king hand-peace stand ever inviolate and
se ðe aðor fulbrece, þolige landes ȝ lifes, butan se ciningc
he who either breaks let-forfeit land and life unless the king
gearian wylle.
pardon will

2,3 And gyf æfre ænig mann heonon forð Godes cyricgrið swa
And if ever any man hence forth of-God church-peace so
abrece, þæt he binnon ciricwagum mannslaga weorðe, þonne
breaks that he within church-walls manslayer becomes then
sig þæt botleas, ȝ ehte his ælc þæra þe Godes freond
let-be that bootless and let-persecute him each of-those who of-God friend
sig, butan þæt geweorðe, þæt he þanon ætberste ȝ swa
be unless that happen that he thence escape and so
deope friðsocne gesece, þæt se cyningc him þurh ðæt feores
deep sanctuary seek that the king him through that of-life
geunne, wiþ fulre bote ge wið God ge wið menn.
grant against full amends both toward God and toward men

2,4 And þæt is þonne ærest, þæt he his agenne wer Criste
And that is then first that he his own wergild to-Christ
ȝ þam cyningce gesylle, ȝ mid þam hine sylfne inlagie
and to-the king give and with that him self restore-to-law
to bote.
for amends

ȝ gif hit þonne to bote gegá, ȝ se cyningc þæt 2,5
and if it then to amends comes and the king that
geþafige, þonne bete man þæt cyricgrið into þære cyricean
permit then let-amend one the church-peace into the church
be ciningces fullan mundbryce, ȝ þa my[n]sterclænsunge
by of-king full protection-breach and the church-cleansing
begyte, swa þærto gebyrige, ȝ ægþer ge mægbote ge
let-obtain as thereto befits and each both kin-compensation and
manbote fullice gebete, ȝ wið God huru þingie georne.
man-compensation fully let-amend and to God indeed let-intercede eagerly
And gyf elles be cwicum mannum ciricgrið abrocen sy, 3
And if else by living men church-peace broken be
bete man georne be þam þe seo dæd sy, sy hit þurh
let-amend one eagerly by that which the deed be be it through
feohtlac, si hit þurh reaflac, sig þurh þæt þe hi[t] sy.
fighting be it through robbery be through that which it be
Bete man ærest þone griðbryce into þære cyrican, be þam 3a
Let-amend one first the peace-breach into the church by that
þe seo dæd sy ȝ be þam þe ðære cyricean mæð sy.
which the deed be and by that which of-the church respect be
Ne synd ealle cyricean na gelicre mæðe woruldlice wurðscipes 3,1
Not are all churches — of-like respect worldly of-honor
wyrðe, þeah hig godcundlice habban halsunge gelice.
worthy though they divinely have consecration like
Heafodmynstres griðbryce is æt botwyrþum þingum be 3,2
Of-head-minster peace-breach is in amendable things by
cingces munde, þæt is mid V pundum on Engla lage (ȝ on
of-king protection that is with five pounds in of-English law and in
Centlande æt þam mundbryce V pund þam cingce ȝ þreo
Kent at the protection-breach five pounds to-the king and three
þam arcebiscope), ȝ medemran mynstres mid CXX
to-the archbishop and of-middling minster with hundred-and-twenty

scill', þæt is be cingces wite, ȝ þonne gyt læssan, þær
shillings that is by of-king fine and then yet of-lesser where
lytel þeowdom sig, ȝ legerstow þeah sig, mid LX scill',
little service be and burial-place though be with sixty shillings
and feldcyricean, þær legerstow ne sig, mid XXX scyll'.
and of-field-church where burial-place not be with thirty shillings
4 Eallum Cristenum mannum gebyrað swiðe rihte, þæt hig
To-all Christian men befits very rightly that they
haligdom ȝ hadas ȝ gehalgode Godes hus æfre swiþe
holy-things and orders and hallowed of-God houses ever very
georne griðian ȝ friðian, ȝ þæt hi hada gehwylcne
eagerly protect and shelter and that they of-orders each
weorðian be mæðe.
honor by rank
4,1 Forþam, understande se ðe cunne, mycel is ȝ mære þæt
Therefore let-understand he who can great is and glorious what
sacerd ah to donne folce to þearfe, gif he his Drihtne
priest has to do for-people for benefit if he his Lord
gecwemeð mid rihte.
pleases with right
4,2 Mycel is seo halsung ȝ mære is seo halgung, þe deofla
Great is the exorcism and glorious is the consecration which devils
afyrsað ȝ on fleame gebringeð, swa oft swa man fullað
drives-away and to flight brings as often as one baptizes
oððe husel halgað; ȝ halige englas þær abutan hwearfiað
or communion hallows and holy angels there about hover
ȝ þa dæda beweardiað ȝ þurh Godes mihta þam sacerdon
and the deeds guard and through of-God powers the priests
fylstað, swa oft swa hig Criste ðeniað mid rihte.
help as often as they Christ serve with right

ȝ swa hi doð symle, swa oft swa hig geornlice inweardre 4,3
and so they do ever as often as they eagerly with-inward
heortan clypiað to Criste ȝ for folces neode þingiað
heart call to Christ and for of-people need intercede
georne; ȝ þi man sceal for Godes ege mæðe on hade
eagerly and therefore one shall for of-God fear respect in order
gecnawan mid gesceade.
recognize with discretion
And gyf hit geweorðe, þæt man mid tyhtlan ȝ mid 5
And if it happen that one with accusation and with
uncræftum sacerd belecge, þe regollice libbe, ȝ he hine
wiles priest charge who by-rule lives and he him
sylfne wite þæs clænne, mæssige, gyf he durre, ȝ ladige
self knows of-that clean let-say-mass if he dare and let-clear
on þam husle he ana hine sylfne, æt anfealdre spæce.
on the communion he alone him self at single charge
ȝ æt þryfealdre spæce ladige he, gyf he durre, eac on 5a
and at threefold charge let-clear-himself he if he dare also on
þam husle mid twam his gehádan.
the communion with two of-his fellow-clerics
Gif man deacon tihtlige, þe regollice libbe, anfealdre spæce, 5,1
If one deacon accuses who by-rule lives at-single charge
nime twegen his gehadan ȝ ladige hine mid þam.
let-take two of-his fellow-clerics and let-clear himself with them
ȝ gyf man hine tihtlige þryfealdre spæce, nime VI his 5,1a
and if one him accuses at-threefold charge let-take six of-his
gehadan ȝ ladige hine mid ðam ȝ beo he sylf seofeþa.
fellow-clerics and let-clear himself with them and let-be he self seventh
Gif man folciscne mæssepreost mid tihtlan belecge, ðe 5,2
If one secular mass-priest with accusation charge who
regollif næbbe, ladige hine swa diacon þe regollife libbe.
rule-life not-have let-clear himself as deacon who rule-life lives

5,2a And gyf man freondleasne weofodþen mid tihtlan belecge, þe
And if one friendless altar-servant with accusation charge who
aðfultum næbbe, ga to corsnæde ⁊ þær þonne æt gefare
oath-help not-have let-go to ordeal-morsel and there then at let-fare
þæt þæt God wylle, buton he on husle geladian mote.
that which God will unless he on communion clear-himself may

5,2b And gyf man gehadodne mid fæhþe belecge ⁊ secge,
And if one ordained-man with feud charge and say
þæt he wære dædbana oððe rædbana, ladige mid his
that he were deed-slayer or counsel-slayer let-clear-himself with his
magum, þe fæhðe moton mid beran oððe forebetan.
kinsmen who feud must with bear or compensate

5,2c ⁊ gyf he sig mægleas, ladige mid geferan oððe on
and if he be kinless let-clear-himself with companions or into
fæsten fó, gif he þæt þurfe, ⁊ ga to corsnæde ⁊
fasting let-go if he that need and let-go to ordeal-morsel and
þæræt gefare, swa swa God ræde.
there-at let-fare so as God decide

5,2d And na þearf ænig mynstermunuc ahwær mid rihte
And not needs any minster-monk anywhere with right
fæhðbote biddan ne fæhþbote betan; he gæð of his
feud-compensation ask nor feud-compensation pay he goes from his
mægðlage, þonne he gebyhð to regollage.
kin-law when he submits to rule-law

5,3 And gyf mæssepreost æfre ahwær stande on leasre gewitnesse
And if mass-priest ever anywhere stand in false witness
oððe on mænan aðe oððe þeofa gewita oððe gewyrhta
or in false oath or of-thieves accomplice or helper
beo, þonne sy he aworpen of gehadodra gemanan ⁊
be then let-be he cast-out from of-ordained-men fellowship and
þolige ægþer ge geferscipes ge freondscipes ge æghwylces
let-forfeit each both of-companionship and of-friendship and of-each

weorðscipes, butan he wið God ȝ wið menn þe deoplicor
honor unless he toward God and toward men the more-deeply
gebete, swa bisceop him tæce, ȝ him borh finde, þæt he
amend as bishop him teach and him surety find that he
þanon forð æfre swylces geswice.
thence forth ever such cease
ȝ gyf he ladian wylle, geladige þonne be dæde mæðe, 5,4
and if he clear-himself will let-clear-himself then by of-deed weight
swa mid þryfealdre swa mid anfealdre lade, be ðam þe
either with threefold or with single clearing by that which
seo dæd sy.
the deed be

II · THE CLERGY, MARRIAGE, AND GOD'S DUES

Every order is to keep its own rule, and a priest who keeps chastity is worthy of a thane's rank. No Christian may marry within six degrees, his kinsman's widow, his former wife's near kin, his godmother, a nun, or a divorced woman, nor have more than one wife. God's dues are paid each year: plow-alms after Easter, tithes at Pentecost and All Saints', taken by force if withheld, Rome-money and church-scot under fines, light-scot three times a year, and soul-scot at the open grave. Sundays, feasts, and fasts are kept without market, ordeal, or oath.

And we wyllað, þæt ælces hades menn georne gebugan, ælc 6
And we will that of-each order men eagerly submit each
to þam rihte þe him to gebyrige.
to the right which them to befits
ȝ huruþinga Godes þeowas — bisceopas ȝ abbodas, 6a
and especially of-God servants bishops and abbots
munecas ȝ mynecena, canonicas ȝ nunnan — to rihte
monks and nuns canons and nuns to right

gebugan ⁊ regollice libban ⁊ dæges ⁊ nihtes oft ⁊ gelome
submit and by-rule live and by-day and by-night often and frequently
clypian to Criste ⁊ for eall Cristen folc þingian georne.
call to Christ and for all Christian people intercede eagerly
6,1 ⁊ ealle Godes þeowas we biddað ⁊ lærað ⁊ huruþinga
and all of-God servants we pray and teach and especially
sacerdas, þæt hi Gode hyran ⁊ clænnesse lufian ⁊ beorgan
priests that they God obey and chastity love and protect
heom sylfum wið Godes yrre ⁊ wið ðone weallendan
them selves against of-God anger and against the surging
brýne, þe weallað on helle.
burning which surges in hell
6,2 Fullgeorne hig witan, þæt hig nagon mid rihte þurh
Full-well they know that they not-have with right through
hæmedþingc wifes gemanan.
intercourse of-woman fellowship
6,2a ⁊ se ðe þæs geswican wille ⁊ clænnesse healdan, hæbbe
and he who that cease will and chastity hold let-have
he Godes miltse ⁊ to woruldwurðscipe si he þegenlage
he of-God mercy and for worldly-honor let-be he of-thane-law
wyrðe.
worthy
6,3 And æghwylc Cristen mann eac for his Drihtenes ege
And each Christian man also for his of-Lord fear
unrihthæmed georne forbuge ⁊ godcunde lage rihtlice
unlawful-intercourse eagerly let-shun and divine law rightly
healde.
let-keep
7 And we lærað ⁊ biddað ⁊ on Godes naman beodað, þæt
And we teach and pray and in of-God name command that
ænig Cristen mann binnon VI manna sibfæce on his agenum
any Christian man within six of-men kinship-degree in his own

cynne æfre ne gewifie, ne on his mæges lafe, þe swa neahsib
kin ever not marry nor to his of-kinsman widow who so near-related
wære, ne on þæs wifes nedmagon, þe he sylf ær hæfde;
were nor to of-the wife close-kinswoman whom he self before had
ne on his gefæderan, ne on gehalgodre nunnan, ne on 7,1
nor to his godmother nor to hallowed nun nor to
ælætan ænig Cristen mann æfre ne gewifige;
divorced-woman any Christian man ever — let-marry
ne ænige forligru ahwar ne begange; 7,2
nor any fornication anywhere — let-commit
ne na má wifa þonne án hæbbe, ⁊ þæt beo his beweddode 7,3
nor — more wives than one have and that let-be his betrothed
wif, ⁊ beo be þære anre, þa hwile þe heo libbe (þus
wife and let-be with the one the while that she live thus
scyldon æfre ge), se ðe wyle Godes lage giman mid rihte
should ever ye he who will of-God law heed with right
⁊ wið hellebryne beorhgan his sawle.
and against hell-burning protect his soul
And gelæste mann Godes gerihta æghwylce geare rihtlice 8
And let-pay one of-God dues each year rightly
georne.
eagerly
Þæt is sulhælmesse XV niht ofer Eastran ⁊ geoguþe 8,1
That is plow-alms fifteen nights after Easter and of-young
teoðunge be Pentecosten ⁊ eorðwæstma be Ealra halgena
tithe by Pentecost and of-earth-fruits by of-All saints
mæssan.
mass
⁊ gyf hwa þonne þa teoþunge gelæstan nelle, swa we 8,2
and if anyone then the tithe pay will-not as we
gecweden habbað, þæt is se teoða æcer, ealswa seo sulh hit
said have that is the tenth acre as the plow it

gegá, þonne fare þæs cingces gerefa to ⁊ þæs bisceopes ⁊
goes then let-go of-the king reeve thereto and of-the bishop and
þæs landrican ⁊ þæs mynstres mæssepreost, ⁊ nime unþances
of-the landlord and of-the minster mass-priest and let-take unwillingly
ðone teoðan dæl to þam mynstre, þe hit to gebyrige;
the tenth part to the minster which it to belongs
⁊ tæcan him to þam nigoðan dæle, ⁊ todæle mann þa
and let-assign to-him to the ninth part and let-divide one the
eahta dælas on twa, ⁊ fo se landhlaford to healfum, to
eight parts in two and let-take the landlord to half to
healfum se bisceop, si hit ciningces mann, se hit þegnes.
half the bishop be it of-king man be it of-thane

9 And Romfeoh be Petres mæssan.
And Rome-money by of-Peter mass

9,1 ⁊ se ðe ofer þæne dæg hit healde, agyfe þam bisceope
and he who over the day it keeps let-give to-the bishop
þæne penig ⁊ þærto XXX ⁊ þam cingce CXX
the penny and thereto thirty and to-the king hundred-and-twenty
scyll'.
shillings

10 And cyricsceat to Martines mæssan.
And church-scot at of-Martin mass

10,1 ⁊ se ðe hine ofer þæne dæg healde, agyfe hine þam
and he who it over the day keeps let-give it to-the
bisceope ⁊ forgylde hine XI siðan ⁊ ðam cingce
bishop and let-repay it eleven times and to-the king
CXX scyll'.
hundred-and-twenty shillings

Gyf hwa þonne þegna sig, þe on his boclande cyrican 11
If anyone then of-thanes be who on his bookland church
hæbbe, þe legerstow on sig, gesylle þone þriddan dæl
has on-which burial-place in be let-give the third part
his agenre teoþunge into his cyrican.
of-his own tithe into his church
And gyf hwa cyricean hæbbe, þe legerstow on ne sig, 11,1
And if anyone church has on-which burial-place in not be
do he of ðam nigon dælum his preoste þæt þæt he
let-give he of the nine parts to-his priest that which he
wylle.
will
ȝ gá ælc cyricsceat into þam ealdan mynstre be ælcon 11,2
and let-go each church-scot into the old minster by each
frigan heorðe.
free hearth
And leohtgesceot þriwa on geare: ærest on Easteræfen 12
And light-scot thrice in year first on Easter-eve
healfpenigwurð wexes æt ælcere híde ȝ eft on Ealra
halfpenny-worth of-wax at each hide and again at of-All
halgena mæssan eallswa mycel [ȝ eft to þæm sanctan
saints mass as much and again at of-the saint
Marian clænsunge ealswa].
Mary purification as-much
And sawlsceat is rihtast, þæt man symle gelæste á æt 13
And soul-scot is most-right that one ever pay ever at
openum græfe.
open grave

13,1 And gyf man ænig líc of rihtscriftscire elles hwær lecge,
And if one any body from right-shrift-district else where lay
gelæste man þone sawlsceat swa þeah into þam mynstre,
let-pay one the soul-scot so though into the minster
þe hit to hyrde.
which it to belonged

14 And ealle Godes gerihta fyrðrige man georne, ealswa hit
And all of-God dues let-further one eagerly as it
þearf is.
need is

14,1 And freolsa ⁊ fæstena healde mon rihtlice.
And feasts and fasts let-keep one rightly

14,2 ⁊ healde man ælces Sunnandæges freolsunge fram
and let-keep one of-each Sunday observance from
Sæternesdæges none oð Monandæges lihtingce ⁊ ælcne
of-Saturday noon until of-Monday dawn and each
oðerne mæssedæg, swa he beboden beo.
other mass-day as it commanded be

15 ⁊ Sunnandaga cypingce we forbeodað eac eornostlice ⁊
and of-Sundays marketing we forbid also earnestly and
ælc folcgemot, butan hit for micelre neodþearfe sig.
each folkmoot unless it for great necessity be

15,1 ⁊ huntaðfara ⁊ ealra woruldlicra weorca on þam halgan
and hunting-expeditions and all worldly works on the holy
dæge geswícæ man georne.
day let-cease one eagerly

16 And þæt man ælc beboden fæsten healde, si hit ymbrenfæsten,
And that one each commanded fast keep be it ember-fast
si hit lengctenfæsten, si hit elles oðer fæstæn, mid ealre
be it Lent-fast be it else other fast with all
georn fulnesse.
eagerness

And to sancta Marian mæssan ælcere ȝ to ælces apostoles 16a
And at of-saint Mary mass each and at of-each apostle
mæssan fæste man, butan to Philippi & Iacobi mæssan
mass let-fast one except at of-Philip and of-James mass
we ne beodað nan fæsten, for þam easterlican freolse, ȝ
we not command any fast for the paschal feast and
ælces Frigedæges fæsten, butan hit freols sig.
of-each Friday fast unless it feast be
And na þearf man na fæstan fram Eastran oð Pentecosten, 16,1
And not needs one — fast from Easter until Pentecost
butan hwa gescrifen sig oððe he elles fæstan wylle; eallswa
unless anyone penanced be or he else fast will likewise
of middanwintra oð octabas Epiphanige (þæt is seofen
from midwinter until octaves of-Epiphany that is seven
niht ofer Twelftan mæssedæge).
nights after Twelfth mass-day
And we forbeodað ordal ȝ aðas freolsdagum ȝ ymbrendagum 17
And we forbid ordeal and oaths on-feast-days and on-ember-days
ȝ lengctendagum ȝ rihtfæstendagum ȝ fram Aduentum
and on-Lent-days and on-right-fast-days and from Advent
Domini oð se eahtaþa dæg agán sig ofer Twelftan mæssedæge
of-Lord until the eighth day gone be after Twelfth mass-day
ȝ fram Septuagessima oð XV nihton ofer Eastron.
and from Septuagesima until fifteen nights after Easter
And sancte Eadweardes mæssedæg witan habbað gecoren, 17,1
And of-saint Edward mass-day counselors have chosen
þæt man freolsian sceal ofer eall Englaland (þæt is on þam
that one celebrate shall over all England that is on the
feowerteoðan dæge on Martige, XVIIII.) kl. Aprilis ȝ
fourteenth day in March nineteen kalends of-April and

sancte Dunstanes mæssedæg on XIIII. kl. Iunii (þæt ys
of-saint Dunstan mass-day on fourteen kalends of-June that is
on þam þreotteoðan dæge þe byð on Mæge).
on the thirteenth day which is in May

17,2 And beo þam halgum tidum, ealswa hit riht is, eallum
And let-be at-the holy times as it right is to-all
Cristenum mannum sib ⁊ som gemǽne ⁊ ælc sacu
Christian men peace and concord common and each quarrel
totwæmed.
settled

17,3 ⁊ gyf hwa oðrum sceole borh oððe bote æt woruldlicum
and if anyone to-another must surety or amends in worldly
þingum, gelæste hit him georne ǽr oððe æfter.
things let-pay it him eagerly before or after

III · THE FAITH AND THE SHEPHERDS

Each Christian is to understand his own need before the time when he would rather have done God's will than own the world. Let us confess and cease from sin, do to others as we would have done to us, prepare for communion three times a year, and be loyal to our lord, since God is gracious to him who is loyal to his lord, as each lord must hold his men rightly. Everyone must learn the Paternoster and the Creed or forfeit consecrated burial. Bishops and priests are the shepherds who must guard the flock from the mad werewolf.

18 And we biddað for Godes lufan, þæt ælc Cristen mann
And we pray for of-God love that each Christian man
understande georne his agene þearfe.
understand eagerly his own need

Forþam ealle we sceolon ænne timan gebidan, þonne us 18a
Because all we must a time await when to-us
wære leofre þonne eall þæt on middanearde is, þær we
were dearer than all that in middle-earth is if we
á worhtan þa hwile, þe we mihton, georne Godes willan.
ever had-wrought the while that we could eagerly of-God will
Ác þonne we sceolan habban anfeald lean ðæs þe we 18b
But then we must have single reward of-that which we
on life ær geworhtan; wá þam þonne, þe ær geearnode
in life before wrought woe to-him then who before earned
hellewite!
hell-torment
Ac uton swiðe georne fram synnum gecyrran ⁊ ure ælc his 18,1
But let-us very eagerly from sins turn and of-us each his
mísdæda urum scriftum georнlice andettan ⁊ æfre geswican
misdeeds to-our confessors eagerly confess and ever cease
⁊ georнlice betan.
and eagerly amend
⁊ ure ælc oðrum beode þæt we willon, þæt man us 18,2
and of-us each to-other let-offer what we will that one us
beode: þæt ís rihtlic dóm ⁊ Gode swiðe gecweme; ⁊
offer that is right judgment and to-God very pleasing and
se byð swiðe gesælig, þe þone dom gehylt.
he is very blessed who the judgment holds
Forþam God ælmihtig us ealle geworhte ⁊ eft deopum 18,3
Because God almighty us all wrought and again with-deep
ceape gebohte, þæt is mid his agenum life, þe he for us
price bought that is with his own life which he for us
eallum sealde.
all gave

19 Ac gehwylc Cristen man do, swa him þearf is: gime his
But each Christian man let-do as to-him need is let-heed his
Cristendomes georne ȝ gearwige hine eac to huselgange
Christianity eagerly and let-prepare himself also for communion-going
huru þriwa [on geare gehwa hine sylfne], þe his agene
at-least thrice in year each him self who his own
þearfe wylle understandan, swa swa him þearf sig.
need will understand so as to-him need be

19,1 ȝ word ȝ weorc freonda gehwylc fadige mid rihte, ȝ
and word and work of-friends each let-order with right and
að ȝ wedd wærlice healde.
oath and pledge carefully let-keep

19,2 ȝ æghwylc unriht aweorpe man georne of þysum earde,
and each wrong let-cast-out one eagerly from this land
þæs þe man don mæge,
as-far as one do can

19,3 ȝ lufige Godes riht heonon forð georne wordes ȝ dæde:
and let-love of-God right hence forth eagerly of-word and deed
ðonne wurð us eallum Godes milts þe gearuwre.
then becomes to-us all of-God mercy the readier

20 Uton don eac georne, swa we gyt læran wyllað: utan
Let-us do also eagerly as we yet teach will let-us
beon á urum hlaforde holde ȝ getrywe ȝ æfre eallum
be ever to-our lord loyal and true and ever with-all
mihtum his wurðscipe ræran ȝ his willan gewyrcan.
powers his honor raise and his will work

20,1 Forðam eal þæt we æfre for rihthlafordhelde doð, eall we
Because all that we ever for right-lord-loyalty do all we
hit doð us sylfum to mycelre þearfe; forþam byð witodlice
it do for-us selves for great benefit because is certainly
God hold, þe byð his hlaforde rihtlice hold.
God loyal to-him-who is to-his lord rightly loyal

And eac ah hlaforda gehwylc þæs formycle þearfe, þæt he 20,2
And also has of-lords each of-that very-great need that he
his men rihtlice healde.
his men rightly hold
And ealle Cristene men we lærað swiðe georne, þæt hig 21
And all Christian men we teach very eagerly that they
inweardre heortan æfre God lufian ȝ rihtne Cristendom
with-inward heart ever God love and right Christianity
georнlice healdan ȝ godcundan lareowan georнlice hyran
eagerly hold and divine teachers eagerly obey
ȝ Godes lara ȝ laga smeagan [ȝ spyrian] oft ȝ
and of-God teachings and laws ponder and seek-out often and
gelome, him sylfum to þearfe.
frequently for-them selves for benefit
And we lærað, þæt ælc Cristen man geleornige, þæt he 22
And we teach that each Christian man learn that he
huru cunne rihtne geleafan (ȝ) ariht understandan ȝ Pater
at-least can right faith and aright understand and Pater
noster ȝ Credan geleornian.
noster and Creed learn
Forðam mid þam oþrum sceal ælc Cristen mann hine 22,1
Because with the one shall each Christian man himself
to Gode gebiddan ȝ mid þam oðrum geswutelian rihtne
to God pray and with the other show right
geleafan.
faith
Crist sylf sang Pater noster ærest ȝ þæt gebed his 22,2
Christ self sang Pater noster first and that prayer to-his
leorningccnihtum tæhte.
disciples taught

22,3 And on þam godcundan gebede syn VII gebedu; mid þam
And in the divine prayer are seven prayers with which
se ðe hit inweardlice gesingð, he geærndað to Gode sylfum
he who it inwardly sings he intercedes to God self
ymbe æfre ælce neode, þe man beþearf aðor oððe for
about ever each need which one needs either or for
þysum life oððe for ðam toweardan.
this life or for the to-come

22,4 Ac hu mæg þonne æfre ænig mann hine inweardlice to
But how can then ever any man himself inwardly to
Gode gebiddan, butan he hæbbe inweardlice (soðe lufe ⁊)
God pray unless he have inwardly true love and
rihtne geleafan to Gode?
right faith toward God

22,5 Forþam he nah æfter forðsiðe Cristenra manna gemánan
Because he not-has after departure of-Christian men fellowship
ne on gehalgedan lictune to restene, ne he nah þæs halgan
nor in hallowed churchyard to rest nor he has of-the holy
husles to onfonne her on life.
communion to receive here in life

22,6 Ne he ne byð wel Cristen, þe þæt geleornian nele, ne he nah
Not he — is well Christian who that learn will-not nor he has
mid rihte oðres mannes to onfonne æt fulluhte ne æt bisceopes
with right another man to receive at baptism nor at of-bishop
handa þe ma, ær he hit geleornige, þæt he hit wel cunne.
hand the more before he it learn that he it well know

23 And we lærað, þæt man wið healice synna ⁊ wið
And we teach that one against grave sins and against
deoflice dæda scylde swyþe georne on æghwylcne timan; ⁊
devilish deeds guard very eagerly at every time and

bete swyþe georne be his scriftes geþeahte, se ðe þurh
amend very eagerly by of-his confessor counsel he who through
deofles scyfe on synna befealle.
of-devil impulse into sins falls
And we lærað, þæt man wið fúlne galscipe ȝ wið 24
And we teach that one against foul lechery and against
unrihthæmed ȝ wið æghwylcne æwbryce warnige symle.
unlawful-intercourse and against every adultery beware ever
ȝ we lærað eac georne manna gehwylcne, þæt he Godes 25
and we teach also eagerly of-men each that he of-God
ege hæbbe symle on his gemynde, ȝ dæges ȝ nihtes
fear have ever in his mind and by-day and by-night
forhtige for synnum, Domdæg ondræde ȝ for helle agríse,
fear for sins Doomsday dread and before hell shudder
ȝ æfre him gehende endedæges wene.
and ever to-him near end-day expect
Bisceopas syndan bydelas ȝ Godes lage lareowas, ȝ hi 26
Bishops are heralds and of-God law teachers and they
sceolon bodian ȝ bysnian georne godcunde þearfe, gyme se
shall preach and exemplify eagerly divine need let-heed he
ðe wylle.
who will
Forþam wace byð se hyrde funden to heorde, þe nele þa 26,1
Because weak is the shepherd found for flock who will-not the
heorde, þe he healdan sceal, mid hreame bewerian, butan
flock which he hold shall with shout defend unless
he elles mæge, gyf þær hwylc þeodsceaða sceaðian onginneð.
he else can if there some public-enemy harm begins

26,2 Nis nan swa yfel sceaða, swa is deofol sylf: he byð á
Not-is any so evil harmer as is devil self he is ever
ymbe þæt an, hu he on manna saulum mæst gesceaðian
about that one how he in of-men souls most harm
mæge.
can

26,3 Þonne moton þa hyrdas beon swyðe wacore ⁊ geornlice
Then must the shepherds be very watchful and eagerly
clypigende, þe wið þone þeodsceaðan folce sceolon scyldan:
calling who against the public-enemy for-people must shield
þæt syndan bisceopas ⁊ mæssepreostas, þe godcunde heorda
that are bishops and mass-priests who divine flocks
bewarian ⁊ bewerian sceolon mid wislican laran, þæt se
guard and defend must with wise teaching that the
wodfreca werewulf to swyðe ne slite, ne to fela ne abíte
madly-greedy werewolf too greatly not tear nor too many — bite
of godcundre heorde.
of divine flock

26,4 ⁊ se ðe oferhógie, þæt he Godes bodan hlyste, hæbbe
and he who disdains that he of-God messengers listen let-have
him gemæne þæt wið God sylfne.
for-himself in-common that with God self

WULFSTAN

II Cnut

Cnut's secular ordinance raises right law and weeds out every unlaw, with just and merciful judgment for rich and poor. Christians are not put to death for small offenses or sold into heathendom; witches, murderers, and apostates are driven out, thieves left to perish unless they cease, and the worship of idols, sun, moon, fire, stones, or trees is forbidden. A forger loses his hand. The king's rights in Wessex, Mercia, and the Danelaw are set out, with the hundred, borough, and shire meetings.

Þis is seo woruldcunde gerædnes, þe ic wylle mid minan Prol.
This is the secular ordinance which I will with my
witenan ræde, þæt man healde ofer eall Englaland.
of-counselors counsel that one hold over all England
Ðæt is þonne ærest, þæt ic wylle, þæt man rihte laga 1
That is then first that I will that one right laws
upp aræra ⁊ æghwylce unlaga georne afylle, ⁊ þæt man
up raise and each unlaws eagerly fell and that one
áweodige ⁊ awyrtwalige æghwylc unriht, swa man georнost
weed-out and uproot each wrong as one most-eagerly
mæge, of þysum earde, ⁊ aræra up Godes riht;
can from this land and raise up of-God right
⁊ heonon forð læte manna gehwylcne, ge earmne ge 1,1
and hence forth let of-men each both poor and
eadigne, folcrihtes weorðne, and him man rihte domas deme.
rich of-folk-right worthy and him one right judgments judge
And we lærað, þæt, þeah hwa agylte ⁊ hine sylfne deope 2
And we teach that though anyone sin and him self deeply
forwyrce, þonne gefadige man stéore, swa hit for Gode
forfeit then let-arrange one punishment as it before God
sy gebeorhlic ⁊ for worulde aberendlic.
be safe and before world bearable

2a ȝ geþence swyþe georne se ðe domes geweald áge, hwæs he
and let-consider very eagerly he who of-judgment power has what he
sylf gyrne, þonne he þus cweðe: ‘Et dimitte nobis debita nostra,
self desires when he thus says Et dimitte nobis debita nostra
sicut et nos dimittimus’ (þæt is on Englisc: ‘ȝ forgyf us,
sicut et nos dimittimus that is in English and forgive to-us
Drihten, ure gyltas, swa we forgyfað þam ðe wið us agyltað’).
Lord our sins as we forgive those who against us sin
2,1 And we beodað, þæt man Cristene men for ealles to lytlum
And we command that one Christian men for all too little
huru to deaþe ne forræde; ac elles geræde man friðlice
indeed to death not condemn but else let-decree one peaceably
steora folce to þearfe ȝ ne forspille for lytlum Godes
punishments for-people for benefit and not let-destroy for little of-God
handgeweorc ȝ his agenne ceap, þe he deore gebohte.
handiwork and his own purchase which he dearly bought
3 And we beodað, þæt man Cristene men ealles to swiðe
And we command that one Christian men all too greatly
of earde ne sylle ne on hæðendome huru ne gebringe;
out-of land not sell nor into heathendom indeed — bring
ac beorge man georne, þæt man þa saule ne forfare, þe
but let-guard one eagerly that one the souls not destroy which
Crist mid his agenum life gebohte.
Christ with his own life bought
4 And we beodað, þæt man eard georne clænsian aginne on
And we command that one land eagerly cleanse begin in
æghwylcan ende ȝ mánfulra dæda æghwær geswice.
every region and wicked deeds everywhere cease
4a And gif wiccean oððe wigleras, morðwyrhtan oððe hórcwenan
And if witches or diviners murderers or whores
ahwær on lande wurðan agitene, fyse hig man georne
anywhere in land be found let-drive them one eagerly

ut of þysum earde, oððon on ęarde forfaran hig mid ealle,
out of this land or in land let-perish they with all
butan hig geswican ⁊ þe deoppar gebetan.
unless they cease and the more-deeply amend
And we beodað, þæt wiðersacan ⁊ utlagan Godes ⁊ manna 4,1
And we command that apostates and outlaws of-God and of-men
of eardæ gewitan, butan hig gebugan ⁊ þe geornor
from land depart unless they submit and the more-eagerly
gebetan.
amend
And þeofas ⁊ þeodsceaðan to tíman forweorðan, butan hig 4,2
And thieves and public-enemies in time let-perish unless they
geswican.
cease
And [we] forbeodað eornostlice ælcne hæðenscipe. 5
And we forbid earnestly each heathenship
Hæðenscipe byð, þæt man deofolgyld weorðige, þæt is þæt 5,1
Heathenship is that one idols worship that is that
man weorþige hæðene godas ⁊ sunnan oððe monan, fyr
one worship heathen gods and sun or moon fire
oððe flod, wæterwyllas oððe stanas oððe æniges cynnes
or flood water-wells or stones or of-any kind
wúdutreowa, oððon wiccecræft lufige oððon morðweorc
forest-trees or witchcraft love or murder-work
gefremme on ænige wisan, oððon on blote oððon fyrhte,
perform in any way or in sacrifice or divination
oððon swylcra gedwimera ænig þíngc dreoge.
or of-such delusions any thing practice
Manslagan ⁊ mánswaran, hádbrecan ⁊ æwbrecan gebugan 6
Manslayers and perjurers order-breakers and adulterers let-submit
⁊ gebétan, oððe of cyððe mid synnan gewítan.
and let-amend or from homeland with sins let-depart

7 Licceteras ⁊ leogeras, ryperas ⁊ reaferas Godes graman
Hypocrites and liars robbers and plunderers of-God anger
habban, butan hig geswican ⁊ þe deoppar gebetan.
let-have unless they cease and the more-deeply amend

7,1 ⁊ se ðe eard wylle rihtlice clænsian ⁊ unriht alecgan ⁊
and he who land will rightly cleanse and wrong lay-down and
rihtwisnesse lufian, þonne mot he georne þyllices styran ⁊
righteousness love then must he eagerly such restrain and
þyllic ascunian.
such shun

8 Uton eac ealle ymbe friðes bote ⁊ feos bote smeagan
Let-us also all about of-peace remedy and of-money remedy consider
swyðe geor[n]e: swa embe friðes bote, swa ðam bondan
very eagerly so about of-peace remedy as to-the householder
si selost ⁊ þam þeofan si laþast; and swa embe feos
be best and to-the thief be most-hateful and so about of-money
bote, þæt an mynet gange ofer ealle þas þeode butan ælcan
remedy that one coinage go over all this people without any
false; ⁊ þæt nan man ne forsace.
fraud and that no man — refuse

8,1 And se ðe ofer þis fals wyrce, þolige þæra handa, þe
And he who after this false-coin works let-forfeit the hands which
he þæt fals mid worhte; ⁊ he hi mid nanon þingon
he the false-coin with wrought and he them with no things
ne gebicge, ne mid golde ne mid seolfre.
— let-buy-back nor with gold nor with silver

8,2 And gyf man þonne þæne gerefan teo, þæt he be his leafe
And if one then the reeve accuse that he by his leave
þæt fals worhte, ladige hine mid þryfealdre lade; ⁊
the false-coin wrought let-clear himself with threefold clearing and

gyf seo lad þonne berste, hæbbe þone ylcan dom, þe
if the clearing then fail let-have the same judgment as
se þe þæt fals worhte.
he who the false-coin wrought
And gemeta ⁊ gewihta rihte man georne ⁊ ælces 9
And measures and weights let-correct one eagerly and each
unrihtes heonon forð geswíce.
wrong hence forth let-cease
⁊ burhbota ⁊ bricbota ⁊ scipforðunga aginne man 10
and fortress-repair and bridge-repair and ship-equipment let-begin one
georne, ⁊ fyrdunga eac swa, á þænne þearf si for
eagerly and army-services also so ever when need be for
gemænelicre neode.
common need
And smeage man symle on æghwylce wisan, hu man fyrmest 11
And let-consider one ever in each way how one foremost
mæge ræd aredian þeode to þearfe ⁊ rihtne Cristendom
can counsel devise for-people for benefit and right Christianity
swyðost aræran ⁊ æghwylce unlage geornost afyllan.
most raise and each unlaw most-eagerly fell
Forðam þurh þæt hit sceal on earde godian to ahte, þæt 11,1
Because through that it shall in land improve to aught that
man unriht alecge ⁊ rihtwisnesse lufige for Gode ⁊ for
one wrong lay-down and righteousness love before God and before
worulde. Amen.
world Amen
Ðis syndon þa gerihta, þe se cingc ah ofer ealle men 12
These are the rights which the king has over all men
on Wessexan: þæt is mundbryce ⁊ hamsocne, forsteal ⁊
in Wessex that is protection-breach and home-invasion ambush and

flymena fyrmðe ȝ fyrdwite, butan he hwæne ðe furðor
of-fugitives harboring and army-fine unless he anyone the further
gemæðrian wylle (ȝ he him ðæs weorðscipes geunne).
honor will and he him of-that honor grant
13 ȝ se ðe utlages weorc gewyrce, wealde se cingc þæs friþes.
and he who of-outlaw deed works let-rule the king of-the peace
13,1 And gyf he bocland hæbbe, þæt sy forworht þam cingce
And if he bookland have that let-be forfeited to-the king
to handa, si ðæs mannes man, þe he sig.
into hand be of-the man man whose he be
13,2 And lochwa þone flyman fede oððe feormie, gylde V pund
And whoever the fugitive feed or harbor let-pay five pounds
þam cingce, butan he hine geladige, þæt he hine fleame
to-the king unless he himself clear that he him fugitive
nyste.
knew-not
14 And on Myrcean he ah, eallswa her beforan awriten is,
And in Mercia he has as here before written is
ofer eall men.
over all men
15 And on Dæna lage he ah fihtewita ȝ fyrdwita, gryðbryce
And in of-Danes law he has fighting-fine and army-fine peace-breach
ȝ hamsocne, butan he hwæne ðe furður gemæðrian wylle.
and home-invasion unless he anyone the further honor will
15a And gyf hwa þæne friðleasan man healde oððe flyman
And if anyone the peaceless man keep or fugitive
feormie, bete þæt, swa hit ær lagu wæs.
harbor let-amend that as it before law was
15,1 And se ðe unlage rære oððe undom gedeme heonon
And he who unlaw raises or false-judgment judges hence
forð, for læðde oððe for feohfange, beo se wið þone cingc
forth for hatred or for bribe let-be he toward the king

CXX scyll' scyldig on Engla lage, butan he mid
hundred-and-twenty shillings liable in of-English law unless he with
aðe cyðan durre, þæt he hit na rihtor ne cuþe, ⁊
oath make-known dare that he it not more-rightly — knew and
þolige aa his þegnscipes, butan he hine æt þam cingce
let-forfeit forever his thaneship unless he it from the king
eft gebicge, swa he him geþafian wylle.
again buy as he him allow will
And on Dena lage lahslites scyldig, butan he geladige, 15,1a
And in of-Danes law of-law-breach liable unless he clear-himself
þæt he na bet ne cuðe.
that he not better — knew
And se ðe rihte lage ⁊ rihtne dom forsace, beo se scyldig 15,2
And he who right law and right judgment refuses let-be he liable
wið þone þe hit áge: swa wið cyningc CXX
toward him whose it own as toward king hundred-and-twenty
scyll', swa wið eorl LX scyll', swa wið hundred XXX scyll',
shillings as toward earl sixty shillings as toward hundred thirty shillings
swa wið ælc þæra, gyf hit swa geweorðeþ, on Engla lage.
so toward each of-those if it so happens in of-English law
And se ðe on Dena lage rihte lage wyrde, gylde he lahslit. 15,3
And he who in of-Danes law right law violates let-pay he law-breach
And se þe oþerne mid wó forsecgan wylle, þæt he aðer 16
And he who another with wrong accuse will that he either
oððe feo oððe freme þe wyrse sig, gyf þonne se oðer þæt
or in-money or in-goods the worse be if then the other that
geunsoðian mæge, þæt him man on secgan wolde, sy he
disprove can that him one on say would let-be he
his tungan scyldig, butan he hine mid his were forgylde.
of-his tongue liable unless he himself with his wergild redeem

17 [And ne gesece nan man ðone] cingc, butan he ne mote
And not let-seek any man the king unless he not may
beon nanes rihtes wyrðe innan his hundrede.
be of-any right worthy within his hundred

17,1 And sece man hundredes gemot be wíte, eallswa hit is to
And let-seek one of-hundred meeting by fine as it is to
secenne.
seek

18 ⁊ hæbbe mann þriwa on geare burhgemot ⁊ tuwa
and let-have one thrice in year borough-meeting and twice
scirgemot, butan hit oftor sig.
shire-meeting unless it oftener be

18,1 ⁊ þær beo on þære scire bisceop ⁊ se ealdorman, ⁊
and there let-be in the shire bishop and the ealdorman and
þær ægþer tæcan ge Godes riht ge woruldriht.
there each let-teach both of-God right and world-right

19 And ne níme nán man nane næme ne innan scire ne ut
And not let-take any man any distraint neither within shire nor out
of scire, ær mann hæbbe þriwa on hundrede his rihtes
of shire before one have thrice in hundred his right
gebeden.
asked

19,1 Gif he æt þam þriddan cyrre nan riht næbbe, þonne fare
If he at the third time no right have then let-go
he feorðan siðe to scirgemote, ⁊ seo scir him sette þone
he at-fourth time to shire-meeting and the shire him let-set the
feorðan andagan.
fourth day

19,2 Gyf se þonne berste, nime þonne leafe ægþer ge heonon
If it then fail let-take then leave each both hence
ge þanan, þæt he mote hentan æfter his agenan.
and thence that he may seize after his own

Every free man over twelve is to be in a hundred and a tithing under surety. A trustworthy man clears himself by a simple oath, an untrustworthy one by a triple oath or the ordeal. A man of ill repute convicted at the ordeal pays twofold the first time, then loses his hands or feet, and after that his eyes, nose, ears, and lip. A perjurer on the relics loses his hand or half his wergild. The mightier owes the deeper amends, and the king is kinsman and protector to clerics and strangers.

⅂ we wyllað, þæt ælc freoman beo on hundrede ⅂ 20
and we will that each freeman be in hundred and
on teoðunge gebroht, þe lade wyrðe beon wylle oððon
in tithing brought who clearing worthy be will or
weres wyrðe, gyf hine hwa teon wylle, ofer þæt he byð
of-wergild worthy if him anyone accuse will over that he is
XIIwintre; oððon he ne beo syððan æniges freorihtes wyrðe.
twelve-winters or he not be afterward of-any free-right worthy
Si he heorðfæst, si he folgere, þæt ælc si on hundrede 20a
Be he hearth-fast be he follower that each be in hundred
⅂ on borge gebroht, ⅂ gehealde se borh hine ⅂ gelæde
and in surety brought and let-hold the surety him and let-lead
to ælcan rihte.
to each right
Manig strec man wyle, gyf he mæg ⅂ mot, werian his man, 20,1
Many powerful man will if he can and may defend his man
swa hwæðer swa him þingð, þæt he hine eað awerian mæge,
so whichever so to-him seems that he him easily defend can
swa for frigne swa for þeowne; ac we nellað geðafian þæt unriht.
either for free or for slave but we will-not allow that wrong
Ac we wyllað, þæt ælc man ofer XIIwintre sylle þone að, 21
But we will that each man over twelve-winters give the oath
þæt he nelle þeof beon ne þeofes gewita.
that he will-not thief be nor of-thief accomplice

22 ȝ sy [ælc getrywa man, þe tihtbysig] nære, ȝ naðor
and let-be each trustworthy man who accusation-burdened not-were and neither
ne burste ne að ne ordal, innan hundrede anfealdre lade
— failed nor oath nor ordeal within hundred of-single clearing
wyrðe.
worthy

22,1 And ungetrywan men ceose man anfealdne að on þrim
And for-untrustworthy man let-choose one single oath in three
hundredum, ȝ þryfealdne að, swa wide swa hit to ðære
hundreds and threefold oath as widely as it to the
byrig hyre; oððon ga to þam ordale.
borough belongs or let-go to the ordeal

22,1a And ofgá man anfealde lade mid anfealdan foraðe ȝ
And let-undertake one single clearing with single fore-oath and
þryfealde lade mid þryfealdan foraðe.
threefold clearing with threefold fore-oath

22,2 And gyf þegen hæbbe getrywne man to foraðe for hine,
And if thane have trustworthy man for fore-oath for him
þæt swa sig; gyf he næbbe, ofga sylf his spæce.
that so let-be if he not-have let-undertake self his suit

22,3 ȝ ne beo æfre ænig forað forgyfen.
and not let-be ever any fore-oath remitted

23 ȝ ne beo ænig man æniges teames wyrðe, butan he
and not let-be any man of-any vouching worthy unless he
getrywe witnesse hæbbe, hwanan him come þæt him man
trustworthy witness have whence to-him came that him one
æt befehþ.
from attaches

⁊ gecyðe seo gewitnes þæt on Godes helde ⁊ on hlafordes, 23,1
and let-declare the witness that in of-God favor and in of-lord
þæt heo him on soðre gewitnesse sy, swa heo hit eagum
that it him in true witness be as it it with-eyes
oferseah ⁊ earum oferhyrde, þæt he hit mid rihte begeate.
saw and with-ears heard that he it with right got
⁊ nan man nan þingc ne bigce ofer feower peniwurð, ne 24
and no man any thing — let-buy over four pennyworth neither
libbende ne licgende, butan man hæbbe getrywe gewitnesse
living nor lying unless one have trustworthy witness
feower manna, seo hit binnan byrig, sy hit upp on lande.
of-four men be it within borough be it up in land
⁊ gyf hit man þonne befo, ⁊ he þyllice gewitnesse næbbe, 24,1
and if it one then attach and he such witness not-have
ne beo þær nan team, ac agyfe man þam agenfrigan his
not let-be there any vouching but let-give one to-the owner his
agen ⁊ þæt æftergild, ⁊ þæt wite þam þe hit áge.
own and the replacement and the fine to-him who it owns
⁊ gyf he gewitnesse hæbbe, swa we her beforan cwædon, 24,2
and if he witness have as we here before said
þonne tyme hit man þriwa; æt þam feorðan cyrre agnige
then let-vouch it one thrice at the fourth time let-own
hit oððe agyfe þam þe hit age.
it or let-give to-him who it owns
And us ne þingð na riht, þæt ænig man agnian sceole, 24,3
And to-us not seems — right that any man own should
þær gewitnesse byð, ⁊ man gecnawan cann, þæt þær
where witness is and one know can that there
bregde byð; þæt nan man hit nah to geahnianne raþost
fraud is that no man it has to appropriate soonest
þinga ær syx monðum, æfter ðam þe hit forstolen wæs.
of-things before six months after that that it stolen was

25 And se ðe tyhtbysig sig ⁊ folce ungetrywe ⁊ þas gemot
And he who accusation-burdened be and to-people untrustworthy and these meetings
forbuge þriwa: þonne sceawie man of þam feorðan gemote
shuns thrice then let-appoint one from the fourth meeting
þa ðe him to ridan; ⁊ finde þonne gyt borh, gif he mæge.
those who to-him to ride and let-find then yet surety if he can
25a Gif he þonne ne mage, gewylde man hine, swa hwæðer
If he then not can let-overpower one him so whichever
swa man mæge, swa cucne swa deadne, ⁊ niman eall þæt
so one can either living or dead and let-take all that
he ahte.
he owned
25,1 ⁊ gilde man þam teonde his ceapgild; ⁊ fo se hlaford
and let-pay one to-the accuser his cattle-price and let-take the lord
elles to healfum, to healfum þæt hundred.
else to half to half the hundred
25,2 ⁊ gif aðor oððe mæg oððe fræmde þa ráde forsace, gylde
and if either or kinsman or stranger the riding refuse let-pay
þam cingce CXX scyll'.
to-the king hundred-and-twenty shillings
26 And gesece se æbǽra þeof þæt þæt he gesece, oððe se
And let-seek the manifest thief that which he seek or he
ðe on hlafordsearwe gemet sig, þæt hig næfre feorh ne
who in lord-treachery found be that they never life —
gesecean.
obtain
26,1 ⁊ se ðe ofer þis stalige, gesece þæt he gesece, þæt he
and he who after this steals let-seek that he seek that he
næfre þæt feorh ne gesece æt openre þyfðe.
never the life — obtain at open theft

And se ðe on gemote mid wiðertihtlan hine sylfne oððon 27
And he who at meeting with counter-accusation him self or
his mann werige, hæbbe þæt eall forspecen, ȝ geandwerde
his man defend let-have that all spoken-in-vain and let-answer
ðam oþrum, swa hundrede riht þince.
the other as to-hundred right seem
And þæt nan man nænne man ne underfo na længc þonne 28
And that no man any man — receive — longer than
þreo niht, butan hine se befæste, þe he ær folgade.
three nights unless him he commit whom he before served
And nan man his men fram him ne tæce, ær he clæne 28,1
And no man his man from him — let-dismiss before he clear
sý ælcere spræce, þe he ær beclypod wæs.
be of-every charge which he before accused was
And gyf hwa þeof gemete ȝ hine his þances aweg læte 29
And if anyone thief meet and him of-his will away let
butan hreame, gebete be þæs ðeofes were oððe hine mid
without hue-and-cry let-amend by of-the thief wergild or himself with
fullan aðe geladige, þæt he him nan facn mid nyste.
full oath let-clear that he him no guilt with knew
And gyf hwa hream gehyre ȝ hine forsitte, gylde þæs 29,1
And if anyone hue-and-cry hear and it neglects let-pay of-the
cingces oferhyrnesse oððe hine be fullan geladige.
king disobedience-fine or himself in full let-clear
And gyf hwylc man si swa ungetrywe þam hundrede ȝ swa 30
And if any man be so untrustworthy to-the hundred and so
tihtbysig, ȝ hine þonne þreo men ætgædere teon, ðonne ne
accusation-burdened and him then three men together accuse then not
beo þær nan oðer, butan þæt he gange to ðam þryfealdan ordale.
let-be there any other except that he go to the threefold ordeal

30,1 Gyf se hlaford þonne secge, þæt him naðor ne að ne
If the lord then say that him neither — oath nor
ordal ne burste, syððan þæt gemot wæs on Winceastre,
ordeal — failed since the meeting was at Winchester
nime se hlaford him twegen getrywe men to innon þam
let-take the lord him two trustworthy men to within the
hundrede, ⁊ swerian, þæt him næfre að ne burste ne
hundred and let-swear that him never oath — failed nor
ordal, [ne he] þeofgyld ne gulde, butan he þone gerefan
ordeal nor he theft-payment — paid unless he the reeve
hæbbe, þe ðæs wyrðe sig, þe þæt don mæge.
have who of-that worthy be who that do can

30,2 Gyf se að þonne forðcume, ceose se man, þe þær betihtled
If the oath then succeeds let-choose the man who there accused
syg, swæðer he wylle, swa anfeald ordal swa pundes weorðne
be whichever he will either single ordeal or of-pound worth
að innan þam þrim hundredan, ofer XXX peninga.
oath within the three hundreds over thirty pennies

30,3 And gif heo þone að syllan ne durren, gange he to þam
And if they the oath give not dare let-go he to the
þryfealdan ordale.
threefold ordeal

30,3a ⁊ ofgá man þæt þryfealde ordal þus: nime fife ⁊
and let-undertake one the threefold ordeal thus let-take five and
beo he sylf syxta.
let-be he self sixth

30,3b And gif he þonne fúl weorðe, æt ðam forman cyrre bete ðam
And if he then foul become at the first time let-amend to-the
teonde twygylde ⁊ þam hlaforde his wer, þe his wites wyrðe
accuser double-payment and to-the lord his wergild who of-his fine worthy
sig, ⁊ sette getrywe borgas, þæt he ælces yfeles eft geswice.
be and let-set trustworthy sureties that he each evil afterward cease

And æt þam oðrum cyrre ne si þær nan oðer bót, gif 30,4
And at the second time not let-be there any other amends if
he fúl wurðe, butan þæt man ceorfe him ða handa oððe
he foul become except that one cut him the hands or
þa fet oððe ægþer, be þam ðe seo dæd sig.
the feet or each by that which the deed be
ȝ gif he þonne gyt mare wurc geworht hæbbe, þonne 30,5
and if he then yet more work wrought have then
do man ut his eagan, ȝ ceorfan of his nósu ȝ his
let-put one out his eyes and let-cut off his nose and his
earan ȝ þa uferan lippan oððon hine hættian, swa hwylc
ears and the upper lip or him let-scalp so whichever
þyssa swa man þonne geræde, ða þe ðærto rædan sceolon:
of-these so one then decide those who thereto decide must
swa man mæg styran ȝ eac þære sawle beorgan.
so one can punish and also the soul save
Gif he þonne ut hleape ȝ þæt ordal forbuge, gilde se 30,6
If he then out leaps and the ordeal shuns let-pay the
borh ðam teonde his ceapgyld ȝ þam cingce his wer
surety to-the accuser his cattle-price and to-the king his wergild
oððe þam þe his wites wurðe sig.
or to-him who of-his fine worthy be
And gif man þone hlaford teo, þæt he be his ræde út 30,7
And if one the lord accuse that he by his counsel out
hleope ȝ ær unriht worhte, nime him V getrywe
leaped and before wrong wrought let-take him five trustworthy-men
to ȝ beo him sylf syxta ȝ ladige hine þæs.
to and let-be him self sixth and let-clear himself of-that
Gyf seo lad forðcume, beo he þæs weres wyrðe. 30,8
If the clearing succeeds let-be he of-the wergild worthy

30,9 ȝ gif heo forð ne cume, fo se cingc to þam were. ȝ
and if it forth not come let-take the king to the wergild and
beo se þeof utlah wið eal folc.
let-be the thief outlaw toward all people

31 And hæbbe ælc hlaford his hiredmen on his agenum borge.
And let-have each lord his household-men in his own surety

31a ȝ gif hine man æniges þingces teo, andswarie innan þam
and if him one of-any thing accuse let-answer within the
hundrede, þær he on beclypod beo, swa hit rihtlagu sig.
hundred where he in accused be as it right-law be

31,1 And gyf he betihtlod weorðe ȝ he ut oðhleape, gilde se
And if he accused become and he out escapes let-pay the
hlaford þæs mannes were ðam cingce.
lord of-the man wergild to-the king

31,1a ȝ gyf man þone hlaford teo, þæt he be his ræde ut
and if one the lord accuse that he by his counsel out
hleope, ladige hine mid V þegnum ȝ beo him sylf syxta.
leaped let-clear himself with five thanes and let-be him self sixth

31,2 Gyf him seo lad berste, gylde þam cingce his were; ȝ
If him the clearing fails let-pay to-the king his wergild and
si se man utlah.
let-be the man outlaw

32 And gyf þeowman æt þam ordale fúl weorðe, mearcie man
And if slave at the ordeal foul become let-brand one
hine æt þam forman cyrre.
him at the first time

32,1 ȝ æt þam oðran cyrre ne si þær nan oðer bót butan
and at the second time not let-be there any other amends except
þæt heafod.
the head

And gif hwylc man si, þe eallum folce ungetrywe, fare 33
And if any man be who to-all people untrustworthy let-go
þæs cingces gerefa to, ⁊ gebringan hine under borge,
of-the king reeve thereto and let-bring him under surety
þæt hine man to rihte læde þam ðe him on spræcan.
that him one to right lead to-those who him against spoke
Gif he þone borh næbbe, slea hine man ⁊ on fulan lecge. 33,1
If he the surety not-have let-slay him one and in foul let-lay
And gif hine hwa forene forstande, beon hi begen anes 33,1a
And if him anyone in-front defends let-be they both of-one
rihtes wyrðe.
judgment worthy
And se ðe þis forsitte ⁊ hit geforþian nelle, swa ure ealra 33,2
And he who this neglects and it further will-not as of-us all
cwyde is, sylle þam cingce CXX scill'.
decree is let-give to-the king hundred-and-twenty shillings
And stande betux burgum an lágu æt ladunge. 34
And let-stand between boroughs one law in clearing
And freondleas man oððe feorran cuman swa geswenced 35
And friendless man or from-afar comer so afflicted
weorðe þurh freondleaste, þæt he borh næbbe, æt frymtyhtlan,
become through friendlessness that he surety not-have at first-accusation
þone gebuge he hengenne ⁊ þær gebide, oð ðæt he gá
then let-submit he to-prison and there let-await until that he go
to Godes ordale ⁊ gefare ðær þæt he mæge.
to of-God ordeal and fare there what he can
Witodlice, se ðe freondleasan ⁊ feorran cumenan wyrsan 35,1
Truly he who to-friendless and from-afar come worse
dom demeð þonne his geferan, he dereð him sylfum.
judgment judges than to-his companions he harms him self

36 And gyf hwa mæne að on haligdome swerige, ⁊ he
And if anyone false oath on relics swear and he
oferstæled weorðe, þolige þæra handa oððe healfes weres;
convicted become let-forfeit the hands or half wergild
⁊ þæt sy gemæne hlaforde ⁊ bisceope.
and that let-be common to-lord and bishop

36,1 ⁊ na beo he þanon forð aðes wyrðe, butan he for Gode
and not let-be he thence forth of-oath worthy unless he before God
þe deoppar gebete ⁊ him borh finde, þæt he æfre eft
the more-deeply amend and him surety find that he ever again
swylces geswice.
such cease

37 And gyf hwa on leasre gewitnesse openlice stande ⁊ he
And if anyone in false witness openly stands and he
oferstæled weorðe, ne stande his gewitnes syððan for aht,
convicted become not let-stand his witness afterward for aught
ac gylde þam cingce oððe landrican (þe his socne ahe)
but let-pay to-the king or landlord who his jurisdiction owns
be healsfange.
by neck-ransom

38 Nis on ænigne timan unriht alyfed; ⁊ þeah man sceal
Not-is at any time wrong allowed and though one shall
freolstidan ⁊ fæstentidan ⁊ on freolsstowan geornlicost
feast-times and fast-times and in feast-places most-eagerly
beorgan.
guard

38,1 ⁊ á swa man byð mihtigra oððe maran hádes, swa scæl
and ever the one is mightier or of-greater order the must
he deoppor for Gode ⁊ for worulde unriht gebetan.
he more-deeply before God and before world wrong amend

ȝ godcunde bote sece mann symle georne be boctæcinge, 38,2
and divine amends let-seek one ever eagerly by book-teaching
ȝ woruldcunde bote sece man be woruldlage.
and secular amends let-seek one by world-law
Gyf hwa weofodþen afylle, sy he utlah wið God ȝ 39
If anyone altar-servant kills let-be he outlaw toward God and
wið men, butan he þurh wræcðsið þe deoppor gebete, ȝ
toward men unless he through exile the more-deeply amend and
eac wið ða mægðe; oððe geladige hine mid werlade.
also toward the kin or clear himself with wergild-clearing
ȝ binnon XXX nihton aginne bote ægþer ge wið God 39,1
and within thirty nights let-begin amends each both toward God
ge wið menn be eallum þam þe he age.
and toward men by all that which he owns
Gyf man gehadodne oððe ælþeodigne þurh ænig þingc forræde 40
If one ordained-man or foreigner through any thing wrongs
æt feo oððe æt feore, þonne sceal him cingc beon for mæg
in property or in life then shall to-him king be for kinsman
ȝ for mundboran, butan he elles oðerne (hlaford) hæbbe.
and for protector unless he else other lord have
ȝ bete man þam cingce, swa hit gebyrige, oððe he ða 40,1
and let-amend one to-the king as it befits or he the
dæde wrece swiþe deope.
deed let-avenge very deeply
Cristenan kyningce gebyrað swyðe rihte, þæt he Godes 40,2
To-Christian king befits very rightly that he of-God
æbylgðe wrece swyðe deope, be ðam þe seo dæd si.
offense avenge very deeply by that which the deed be

An altar-servant who kills loses his order and country and goes into exile as the pope sets; whoever binds or beats a cleric makes amends to him, the bishop, and the lord. A condemned man is never denied confession, and none is executed on a Sunday. Work on a feast day, breaking a fast, and breaking Lent are fined. Adultery and incest are paid by degree, rape by wergild, and a wife taken in adultery loses her property, nose, and ears. Plotting against king or lord costs life.

41 Gyf weofedþen manslaga weorðe oððon elles to swyðe mánweorc
If altar-servant manslayer becomes or else too greatly crime
gewyrce, þonne þolige he ægþer ge hades ge eðles ⁊
works then let-forfeit he each both order and homeland and
wræcnige, swa wide swa papa him scrife, ⁊ dædbete georne.
let-go-into-exile as widely as pope him prescribe and let-do-penance eagerly
41,1 ⁊ gyf he ladian wylle, ladige mid þryfealdan.
and if he clear-himself will let-clear-himself with threefold
41,2 ⁊ butan he binnan XXX nihton bote aginne wið God
and unless he within thirty nights amends begin toward God
⁊ wið men, þonne si he utlah.
and toward men then let-be he outlaw
42 Gyf hwa gehadodne man bende oððon beate oððon swyðe
If anyone ordained man binds or beats or greatly
gebysmrige, bete wið hine, swa swa hit riht sy, ⁊
insults let-amend toward him so as it right be and
bisceope weofodbote be hades mæðe ⁊ hlaforde oððe cyningce
to-bishop altar-amends by of-order dignity and to-lord or to-king
be fullan mundbryce; oððe geladige hine mid fulre lade.
by full protection-breach or let-clear himself with full clearing
43 Gyf gehadod man hine forwyrce mid deaðscylde, gewylde hine
If ordained man himself forfeits with capital-crime let-seize him
man ⁊ healde to bisceopes dome, be þam þe seo dæd si.
one and let-keep for of-bishop judgment by that which the deed be

Gif deaðscyldig man scriftspæce gyrne, ne wyrne him man æfre. 44
If death-guilty man confession desires not let-refuse him one ever
�既 gif him hwa wyrne, gebete þæt wið þone cing mid 44,1
and if him anyone refuses let-amend that toward the king with
CXX scyll'; oðþe geladige hine; nime V ꝺ beo
hundred-and-twenty shillings or let-clear himself let-take five and let-be
sylf syxta.
self sixth

Gyf man wealdan mæge, ne dýde man æfre on 45
If one control can not let-put-to-death one ever on
Sunnandæges freolse ænigne forwyrhtne man, butan he fleo
of-Sunday feast any condemned man unless he flees
oððe feohte; ac wylde ꝺ healde, þæt se freolsdæg agan sy.
or fights but let-seize and let-keep until the feast-day passed be
Gyf freoman freolsdæge wyrce, þonne gebete þæt mid his 45,1
If freeman on-feast-day works then let-amend that with his
halsfange, ꝺ huru wið God bete hit georne, swa swa
neck-ransom and indeed toward God let-amend it eagerly so as
man him tæce.
one him prescribe

Þeowman gif wyrce, þolige his hyde oððon hydgyldes, be 45,2
Slave if works let-forfeit his hide or hide-payment by
þam seo dæd sy.
that the deed be

Gyf hlaford his þeowan freolsdæge nyde to weorce, þolige 45,3
If lord his slave on-feast-day compels to work let-forfeit
þæs þeowan; ꝺ beo he syððan folcfrig; ꝺ gylde lahslit
the slave and let-be he afterward folk-free and let-pay law-breach
se hlaford mid Denum, wite mid Englum, be ðam þe
the lord among Danes fine among English by that which
seo dæd sig; oððe hine geladige.
the deed be or himself let-clear

46 Gif frigman riht fæsten abrece, gilde lahslit mid Denum,
If freeman right fast breaks let-pay law-breach among Danes
wite mid Englum, be þam þe seo dæd sy.
fine among English by that which the deed be

46,1 Yfel byð, þæt man rihtfæstentide ær mæle ete, ⁊ gyt
Evil is that one in-right-fast-time before mealtime eat and yet
wyrse, þæt man mid flæscmete hine sylfne afyle.
worse that one with meat him self defile

46,2 Gif hit þeowman gedó, þolige his hyde oððe hydgyldes,
If it slave does let-forfeit his hide or hide-payment
be þam þe seo dæd sy.
by that which the deed be

47 Gif hwa openlice lengctenbryce gewyrce þurh feohtlac oððe
If anyone openly Lent-breach works through fighting or
þurh wiflac [oððe þurh reaflac] oððe þurh ænige healice
through lechery or through robbery or through any grave
misdæda, sy þæt twybete, swa on heahfreolse, be ðam
misdeeds let-be that double-amended as in high-feast by that
þe seo dæd si.
which the deed be

47,1 And gif man ætsace, ladige mid þryfealdre lade.
And if one denies let-clear-himself with threefold clearing

48 Gif hwa mid wige godcundra gerihta forwyrne, gilde lahslit
If anyone with force divine dues withholds let-pay law-breach
mid Denum, fullwite mid Englum; oððe geladige hine:
among Danes full-fine among English or let-clear himself
nime XI ⁊ beo sylf twelfta.
let-take eleven and let-be self twelfth

48,1 Gif he man gewundige, gebete þæt ⁊ gylde fulwite þam
If he man wounds let-amend that and let-pay full-fine to-the
hlaforde; ⁊ æt bisceope þa handa alyse oððe hig alæte.
lord and from bishop the hands let-redeem or them let-lose

Gif he mann afylle, beo he utlah, ȝ his hente mid 48,2
If he man kills let-be he outlaw and him let-pursue with
hearme ælc þæra þe riht wylle.
harm each of-those who right will
Gyf he gewyrce, þæt man hine afylle, þurh þæt þe he ongean 48,3
If he brings-about that one him kills through that that he against
riht geondbyrde, gif man þæt gesoðige, licge ægilde.
right resists if one that proves let-lie without-payment
Gif hwa hadbryce gewyrce, gebete þæt be hades mæðe, swa 49
If anyone order-breach works let-amend that by of-order dignity either
be were swa be wite swa be lahslite swa be ealre are.
by wergild or by fine or by law-breach or by all property
Gif hwa æwbryce gewyrce, gebete þæt, be þam þe seo dæd sy: 50
If anyone adultery commits let-amend that by that which the deed be
[Y]fel æwbryce byð, þæt eawfæst man mid æmtige forlicge, 50,1
Evil adultery is that married man with single-woman fornicates
ȝ mycele wyrse wið oðres æwe oððe wið gehadode.
and much worse with of-another wife or with ordained-woman
Gif hwa sibleger gewyrce, gebete þæt be sibbe mæðe, 51
If anyone incest commits let-amend that by of-kinship degree
swa be were swa be wite swa be ealre æhte:
either by wergild or by fine or by all possession
Ne byð na gelic, þæt man wið swustor gehæme ȝ hit 51,1
Not is — like that one with sister lies and it
wære feorr sibb.
were distant kin
Gif hwa wudewan nydnæme, gebete þæt be were. 52
If anyone widow rapes let-amend that by wergild
Gif hwa mæden nydnæme, gebete þæt be were. 52,1
If anyone maiden rapes let-amend that by wergild

53 Gif be cwicum ceorle wif hi be oðrum were forlicge,
If by living husband woman herself with other man fornicates
ȝ hit open weorðe, geweorðe heo to woruldsceame syððan
and it open becomes let-become she for worldly-shame afterward
hyre sylfre, ȝ hæbbe se rihtwer eall þæt heo ahte;
to-herself self and let-have the lawful-husband all that she owned
ȝ heo þolige nasa ȝ earena.
and she let-forfeit nose and ears

53,1 ȝ gif hit tihtle sig, ȝ lad forberste, bisceop þonne
and if it accusation be and clearing fails bishop then
wealde ȝ stiðlice deme.
let-decide and strictly let-judge

54 Gif wiffæst wer hine forligce be his agenre wylne, þolige
If married man himself fornicates with his own slave-woman let-forfeit
þære ȝ bete for hine sylfne wið God ȝ wið men.
her and let-amend for him self toward God and toward men

54,1 ȝ se ðe hæbbe rihtwif ȝ eac cifese, ne do him nan
and he who has lawful-wife and also concubine not let-do him any
preost nan þæra gerihta, þe man Cristenum men don
priest any of-the rites which one to-Christian man do
sceal, ærþam he geswice ȝ swa deope gebete, swa bisceop
shall before he cease and so deeply amend as bishop
him tæce, ȝ æfre swylces geswice.
him prescribe and ever such cease

55 Ælþeodige men, gif hig heora hæmed rihtan nellan, of
Foreign men if they their marriage rectify will-not from
lande mid heora æhtum ȝ synnan gewitan.
land with their goods and sins let-depart

56 Gif open morð weorðe, þæt man sy amyrred, agyfe man
If open murder becomes that one be killed let-give-up one
þam magum.
to-the kinsmen

ȝ gif hit tihtle sig, ȝ æt lade mistide, deme se bisceop. 56,1
and if it accusation be and in clearing fails let-judge the bishop

Gif hwa ymb ciningc oððe hlaford syrwe, si he his 57
If anyone against king or lord plots let-be he of-his
feores scyldig ȝ ealles þæs ðe he age, butan he ga to
life liable and of-all that which he owns unless he go to
þryfealdan ordale.
threefold ordeal

Gif hwa ciningces borh abrece, gebete þæt mid V pundan. 58
If anyone of-king surety breaks let-amend that with five pounds

[G]if hwa arcebisceopes borh oððe æþelingces abrece, gebete 58,1
If anyone of-archbishop surety or of-prince breaks let-amend
þæt mid þrim pundan.
that with three pounds

Gif hwa leodbisceopes oððe ealdormannes borh abrece, 58,2
If anyone of-diocesan-bishop or of-ealdorman surety breaks
gebete þæt mid II pundan.
let-amend that with two pounds

Gif hwa on ciningces hirede gefeohte, þolige þæs lifes, 59
If anyone in of-king household fights let-forfeit the life
butan se cingc him gearian wylle.
unless the king him pardon will

Housebreaking, arson, open theft, murder, and treason are beyond compensation, and the weak are judged more gently than the strong. Then the relief: the reeves feed the king from his own lands, a man dying intestate owes only his heriot, no widow or maiden is forced to marry, a weapon's owner is clear of another's deed with it, a wife is guilty of stolen goods only under her keys, and a cradled child is no longer held guilty. Cnut closes by calling all to love God and obey their teachers.

60 Gif man æt unlagum man bewæpnige, forgilde hine be
If one in lawlessness man disarms let-compensate him by
halsfange; ⁊ gif hine man gebinde, forgilde be healfan
neck-ransom and if him one binds let-compensate by half
were.
wergild

61 [G]if hwa on fyrde gryðbryce fulwyrce, ðolige lifes oððe
If anyone in army peace-breach commits let-forfeit life or
weregildes.
wergild

61,1 Gif he samwyrce, bete, be þam þe seo dæd sy,
If he half-commits let-amend by that which the deed be
hine.
him

62 Gif hwa hamsocne gewyrce, gebete þæt mid
If anyone home-invasion commits let-amend that with
V pundan þam cingce on Engla lage (⁊ on
five pounds to-the king in of-English law and in
Cent æt hamsocne V þam cingce ⁊ þreo
Kent at home-invasion five to-the king and three
þam arcebisceope), ⁊ Dena lage, swa hit ær
to-the archbishop and of-Danes law as it before
stod.
stood

ȝ gif hine mon þær afylle, licge ǽgilde. 62,1

and if him one there kills let-lie without-payment

Gif hwa reaflac gewyrce, agyfe ȝ forgylde, ȝ beo 63

If anyone robbery commits let-give-back and let-compensate and let-be

his weres scyldig wið þone cingc (oððe wið þone þe

of-his wergild liable toward the king or toward him who

his socne age).

his jurisdiction owns

Husbryce ȝ bærnet ȝ open þyfð ȝ æbǽre morð ȝ 64

House-breaking and arson and open theft and manifest murder and

hlafordswyce æfter woruldlage is botleas.

lord-treachery after world-law is bootless

Gif hwa burhbote oððe brycgbote oððe fyrdfare forsitte, 65

If anyone fortress-repair or bridge-repair or army-service neglects

gebete mid CXX scyll' þam cingce on Engla

let-amend with hundred-and-twenty shillings to-the king in of-English

lage, ȝ on Dena lage swa hit ær stod; oððe

law and in of-Danes law as it before stood or

geladige hine: namie man him XIIII, ȝ begyte

let-clear himself let-name one for-him fourteen and let-obtain

XI.

eleven

To cyricbote sceal eall folc fylstan mid rihte. 65,1

For church-repair shall all people help with right

Gif hwa Godes flyman hæbbe on unriht, agyfe hine to 66

If anyone of-God fugitive have in wrong let-give-up him to

rihte ȝ forgilde þam þe hit gebyrige; ȝ gylde þam

right and let-compensate to-him whom it befits and let-pay to-the

cingce be (his) weregylde.

king by his wergild

66,1 Gif hwa amansodne man oððe utlahne hæbbe
If anyone excommunicated man or outlaw have
ȝ healde, plihte him sylfum ȝ ealre his
and keep let-imperil him self and all his
are.
property

67 And gif hwa wylle georne fram unrihte gecirran eft to
And if anyone will eagerly from wrong turn back to
rihte, miltsige man for Godes ege, swa man best mæge,
right let-have-mercy one for of-God fear as one best can
þam swyþe georne.
him very eagerly

68 ȝ utan don, swa us þearf is, helpan áá þam raþost,
and let-us do as to-us need is help ever him soonest
þe helpes betst behofað; þonne nime we þæs lean, þær
who help best needs then receive we of-that reward where
us leofast byð.
to-us dearest is

68,1 Forðam á man sceal þam unstrangan men for Godes
Because ever one shall the weak man for of-God
lufe ȝ ége liþelicor deman ȝ scrifon þonne þam
love and fear more-gently judge and prescribe than the
strangan;
strong

68,1a forþamðe ne mæg se unmaga þam magan, we witon
because not can the unable as-the able we know
fullgeorne, gelice byrðene ahebban, ne se unhala þam halan
full-well like burden raise nor the unwhole as-the whole
gelice.
like

ȝ þy we sceolon medmian ȝ gesceadlice todælan ylde 68,1b
and therefore we must moderate and discerningly distinguish age
ȝ geogoþe, welan ȝ wædle, freot ȝ þeowet, hæle ȝ
and youth wealth and poverty freedom and slavery health and
unhæle.
unhealth
And ægþer man sceal ge on godcundan scriftan ge on 68,1c
And each one shall both in divine penances and in
woruldcundan doman þas þingc tosceadan.
secular judgments these things distinguish
Eac on mænigre dæde, þonne man byð nydwyrhta, þonne 68,2
Also in many deed when one is compelled-doer then
byð se gebeorges þe bet wyrðe, þe he for neode dyde
is he of-protection the better worthy that he for need did
þæt þæt he dyde.
that which he did
ȝ gyf hwa hwæt ungewealdes gedeð, ne byð þæt eallunga 68,3
and if anyone aught involuntarily does not is that entirely
na gelic, þe hit gewealdes gewurþe.
— like as-if it voluntarily happens
Þis is þonne seo lihtingc, þe ic wylle eallon folce 69
This is then the relief which I will all people
gebeorgan, þe hig ær þyson mid gedrehte wæran ealles
protect which they before this with oppressed were all
to swyðe.
too greatly
Þæt is þonne ærest, þæt ic bebeode eallum minan 69,1
That is then first that I command all my
gerefan, þæt hi on minan agenan me rihtlice tilian
reeves that they on my own me rightly provide
ȝ me mid þam feormian, ȝ þæt him nan man ne
and me with that feed and that them no man —

þearf to feormfultume na þingc syllan, butan he sylf
needs for feorm-help any thing give unless he self
wylle.
will

69,2 ⁊ gif hwa æfter ðam wite crafige, beo he his weres
and if anyone after that fine demand let-be he of-his wergild
scyldig wið þone cingc.
liable toward the king

70 And gif hwa cwydeleas of þysum life gewíte, si hit
And if anyone intestate from this life departs be it
þurh his gymeleaste, si hit þurh færlicne deað, þonne ne
through his negligence be it through sudden death then not
teo se hlaford na mare on his æhta butan his rihtan
let-take the lord — more of his possessions except his right
heregeata.
heriots

70,1 Ac beo be his dihte seo æht gescyft swyðe rihte wife
But let-be by his direction the property distributed very rightly to-wife
⁊ cildum ⁊ nehmagum, ælcum be þære mæðe, þe him
and to-children and to-near-kinsmen each by the degree which them
to gebyrige.
to befits

71 ⁊ beon þa heregeata swa fundene, swa hit mæðlic
and let-be the heriots so fixed as it fitting
si:
be

71a Eorles swa ðærto gebyrige, þæt syndon VIII hors,
Of-earl as thereto befits that are eight horses
IIII gesadelode ⁊ IIII unsadelode, ⁊ IIII helmas
four saddled and four unsaddled and four helmets
⁊ IIII byrnan ⁊ VIII spera ⁊ eallswa fela
and four mail-coats and eight spears and as many

scylda ⁊ IIII swurd ⁊ twa hund mances
shields and four swords and two hundred of-mancuses
goldes.
of-gold
⁊ syððan cingces þegnas, þe him nyhste syndan: IIII 71,1
and afterward of-king thanes who to-him nearest are four
hors, II gesadelode ⁊ II unsadelode, ⁊ II swurd ⁊
horses two saddled and two unsaddled and two swords and
IIII spera ⁊ swa feala scylda ⁊ helm ⁊ byrnan ⁊ L
four spears and as many shields and helmet and mail-coat and fifty
mances goldes.
of-mancuses of-gold
⁊ medemra þegna: hors ⁊ his geræda ⁊ 71,2
and of-middling thanes horse and his trappings and
his wæpn oððe his healsfang on Wessexan;
his weapons or his neck-ransom in Wessex
⁊ on Myrcan II pund ⁊ on Eastenglan II
and in Mercia two pounds and in East-Anglia two
pund.
pounds
And cingces þegnes heregeata inne mid Denum, þe his 71,3
And of-king thane heriot in among Danes who his
socne hæbbe: IIII pund.
jurisdiction has four pounds
⁊ gif he to þam cingce furðor cyððe hæbbe: 71,4
and if he to the king further acquaintance has
II hors, I gesadelod ⁊ oðer unsadelod, ⁊
two horses one saddled and other unsaddled and
swurd ⁊ II spera ⁊ II scyldas ⁊ L mances
sword and two spears and two shields and fifty of-mancuses
goldes.
of-gold

71,5 ⁊ se ðe læsse mage si: II pund.
and he who less able be two pounds

72 ⁊ þær se bonda sæt uncwydd ⁊ unbecrafod,
and where the householder sat unaccused and unclaimed
sitte þæt wif ⁊ þa cild on þam ylcan
let-sit the wife and the children on the same
unbesacen.
undisputed

72,1 And gif se bonda, ær he dead wære, beclypod, þonne
And if the householder before he dead were accused then
andwyrdan þa yrfenuman, swa he sylf sceolde, þeah he lif
let-answer the heirs as he self should though he life
hæfde.
had

73 ⁊ sitte ælc wuduwe werleas XII monað, ceose syððan
and let-sit each widow husbandless twelve months let-choose afterward
þæt heo sylf wylle.
what she self will

73a ⁊ gif heo binnan geares fæce wer geceose, þonne
and if she within of-year space husband chooses then
þolige heo þære morgengyfe ⁊ ealra þæra æhta, þe
let-forfeit she the morning-gift and all the possessions which
heo þurh ærran wer hæfde; ⁊ fon þa nehstan
she through former husband had and let-take the nearest
frynd to ðam landan ⁊ to þan æhtan, þe heo ær
kinsmen to the lands and to the possessions which she before
hæfde.
had

ȝ si he his weres scyldig wið þone cingc 73,1
and let-be he of-his wergild liable toward the king
oððe wið þone, þe he his socne geunnen
or toward him to-whom he his jurisdiction granted
hæbbe.
has
ȝ þeah heo nydnumen weorðe, þolige þæra æhta, butan 73,2
and though she forcibly-taken become let-forfeit the possessions unless
heo fram þam ceorle wylle eft ham ongean ȝ næfre heo
she from the man will again home back and never she
eft his ne weorðe.
again his — become
ȝ na hadige man æfre wudewan to hrædlice. 73,3
and not let-consecrate one ever widow too hastily
And gelæste ælc wuduwe þa heregeatu binnan 73,4
And let-pay each widow the heriots within
XII monðum, butan hyre ær to onhagige,
twelve months unless to-her before to suits
wíteleas.
fine-free
ȝ na nyde man naðer ne wif ne mæden to 74
and not let-force one either — woman nor maiden to
þam, þe hyre sylfre mislicie, ne wið sceatte
that which to-her self displeases nor for money
ne sylle, butan he hwæt agenes ðances gyfan
— let-sell unless he aught of-own accord give
wylle.
will
And ic læte riht, þe[ah] hwa his spere sette to 75
And I count right though anyone his spear set to
oðres mannes huses dura, ȝ he þiderinn ærende
of-other man house door and he therein errand

hæbbe, oððon gif mon oðer wæpne gedreohlice lecgce,
have or if one other weapons peaceably lay
þær hig stille mihtan beon, gif hi moston, ⁊
where they still might be if they might and
hwylc man ðonne þæt wæpn gelæcce ⁊ hwylcne
some man then the weapon seizes and some
hearm þærmid gewyrce, þonne is þæt riht, þæt
harm therewith works then is the right that
se ðe þone hearm geworhte, þæt se þone hearm
he who the harm wrought that he the harm
gebete.
amend

75,1 ⁊ se ðe þæt wæpn áge, hine geladige, gif
and he who the weapon owns himself let-clear if
he durre, þæt hit næfre næs naðer ne his
he dare that it never was either — his
gewill ne his geweald ne his ræd ne his
will nor his control nor his counsel nor his
gewitnes: þonne is þæt Godes riht, þæt he beo
knowledge then is that of-God right that he be
clæne.
clean

75,2 ⁊ wite se oðer, þe þæt weorc geworhte, þæt he hit
and let-guard the other who the work wrought that he it
bete, swa swa lagan tæcean.
amend so as laws teach

76 And gyf hwylc man forstolen þingc ham to his cotan
And if any man stolen thing home to his cottage
bringe ⁊ he arasod wurðe, riht is, þæt he hæbbe þæt
brings and he detected becomes right is that he have what
he æftereode.
he went-after

ȝ butan hit under þæs wifes cæglocan gebroht wære, si 76,1
and unless it under of-the wife key-lock brought were let-be
heo clæne.
she clean
Ac þære cægean heo sceal weardian, þæt is hyre 76,1a
But the keys she shall keep that is her
hordern ȝ hyre cyste ȝ hyre tege: gif hit
storeroom and her chest and her coffer if it
under þyssa ænigum gebroht byð, þonne byð heo
under these any brought is then is she
scyldig.
guilty
ȝ ne mæg nan wif hyre bondan forbeodan, þæt 76,1b
and not can any woman her husband forbid that
he ne mote into his coton gelogian þæt þæt he
he not may into his cottage lodge that which he
wylle.
will
Hit wæs ær þyson, þæt þæt cild, þe læg 76,2
It was before this that the child which lay
on cradele, þeah hit næfre metes ne abite, þæt
in cradle though it never of-food — tasted that
þa gitseras letan efen scyldig ȝ hit gewittig
the misers counted equally guilty as-if it witting
wære.
were
Ac ic hit forbeode heonon forð eornostlice ȝ swylce 76,3
But I it forbid hence forth earnestly and such
manege, þe Gode syndon swyðe laþe.
many which to-God are very hateful

77 ȝ se man, þe ætfleo fram his hlaforde oððe fram
and the man who flees from his lord or from
his geferan for his yrhþe, si hit on scipfyrde,
his comrade for his cowardice be it in ship-army
si hit on landfyrde, þolige ealles þæs þe he
be it in land-army let-forfeit all that which he
age ȝ his agenes feores; ȝ fo se hlaford to
owns and his own life and let-take the lord to
þam æhtan ȝ to his lande, þe he him ær
the possessions and to his land which he to-him before
sealde.
gave

77,1 ȝ gyf he bocland hæbbe, ga þæt þam cingce to
and if he bookland have let-go that to-the king into
handa.
hand

78 And se man, þe on þam fyrdunge ætforan his
And the man who in the campaign before his
hlaforde fealle, si hit innan lande, si hit of
lord falls be it within land be it out-of
lande, beon ða heregeata forgyfene; ȝ fon þa
land let-be the heriots remitted and let-take the
erfenuman to lande ȝ to æhtan ȝ scyftan hit swyðe
heirs to land and to possessions and let-divide it very
rihte.
rightly

79 And se ðe land gewerod hæbbe on scire gewitnesse
And he who land defended has with of-shire witness
(ȝ se nolde oððe ne mihte, þe hit ær ahte),
and he would-not or not could who it before owned
hæbbe unbesacen on dæge ȝ æfter dæge to
let-have undisputed in day and after day to

syllenne ⁊ to gyfenne þam þe him leofost
sell and to give to-him who to-him dearest
si.
be
And ic wylle, þæt ælc man si his huntnoðes wyrðe on 80
And I will that each man be of-his hunting worthy in
wuda ⁊ on felda on his agenan.
wood and in field on his own
⁊ forgá ælc man minne huntnoð, locehwær ic hit gefriðod 80,1
and let-avoid each man my hunting wherever I it protected
wylle habban, be fullan wite.
will have by full fine
And drincelean ⁊ hlafordes rihtgifu stande æfre 81
And drink-reward and of-lord right-gift let-stand ever
unawend.
unchanged
⁊ ic wylle, þæt ælc man si griðes wyrðe to 82
and I will that each man be of-peace worthy to
gemote ⁊ fram gemote, butan he si æbǽre
meeting and from meeting unless he be manifest
þeof.
thief
⁊ se ðe þas laga wyrde, ðe se cingc hæfð 83
and he who these laws violates which the king has
nu ða eallon mannon forgyfen, si he Denisc
now then to-all men granted be he Danish
oððe Englisc, beo he his weres scyldig wið þone
or English let-be he of-his wergild liable toward the
cingc.
king

83,1 ⁊ gif he hit eft wyrde, gylde tuwa his
and if he it again violates let-pay twice his
were.
wergild

83,2 ⁊ gyf he þonne swa dyrstig sig, þæt he hit
and if he then so daring be that he it
þriddan syðe wyrde, þolige ealles þæs þe he
third time violates let-forfeit all that which he
áge.
owns

84 Nu bidde ic georne — ⁊ on Godes naman beode
Now pray I eagerly and in of-God name command
— manna gehwylcne, þæt he inweardre heortan
of-men each that he with-inward heart
gebuge to his Drihtne ⁊ oft ⁊ gelome smeage
turn to his Lord and often and frequently consider
swyðe georne, hwæt him sig to donne ⁊ hwæt to
very eagerly what to-him be to do and what to
forganne.
forgo

84,1 Eallum us is mycel þearf, þæt we God lufian ⁊
To-all us is great need that we God love and
Godes lage fylgean ⁊ godcundan lareowan geornlice
of-God law follow and divine teachers eagerly
hyran.
obey

84,1a Forðam hi sceolon us lædan forð æt þam dome,
Because they must us lead forth at the judgment
þonne God demð manna gehwylcum be ærran
when God judges of-men each by former
gewyrhtan.
deeds

And gesælig byð se hyrde, þe þonne ða heorde into Godes 84,2
And blessed is the shepherd who then the flock into of-God
rice ȝ to heofonlicre myrhþe bliðe mot lædan for ærran
kingdom and to heavenly joy glad may lead for former
gewyrhtan.
deeds
And wel þære heorde, ðe gefolgað þam hyrde, þe hig 84,2a
And well to-the flock that follows the shepherd who them
deoflum ætweneð ȝ Gode hig gestryneð.
from-devils takes and for-God them gains
Utan þonne ealle anmodre heortan georne urum 84,3
Let-us then all with-unanimous heart eagerly our
Drihtne cweman mid rihte ȝ heonon forð symle scyldan
Lord please with right and hence forth ever shield
us georne wið þone hatan bryne, þe wealleð on
us eagerly against the hot burning which surges in
helle.
hell
And don nu eac lareowas ȝ godcunde bydelas, swa swa 84,4
And let-do now also teachers and divine heralds so as
hit riht is ȝ ealra manna þearf is: bodian gelome godcunde
it right is and of-all men need is preach often divine
þearfe.
need
ȝ ælc þe gescead wite, hlyste him georne, ȝ godcunde 84,4a
and each who discernment knows let-listen him eagerly and divine
lare gehwa on geþance healde swyðe fæste, him sylfum
teaching each in mind let-hold very fast for-him self
to þearfe.
for benefit

84,4b ȝ á manna gehwylc to weorðunge his Drihtne
and ever of-men each for honor to-his Lord
do to góde þæt he mæge wordes ȝ dæde
let-do for good what he can of-word and deed
glædlice æfre; þonne byð us eallum Godes milts þe
gladly ever then is to-us all of-God mercy the
gearwur.
readier

84,5 Á sy Godes nama ecélice gebletsod, ȝ lof
Ever let-be of-God name eternally blessed and praise
him ȝ wuldor ȝ wyrðmynt symle æfre to
to-him and glory and honor always ever to
worulde!
world

84,6 God ælmihtig us eallum gemiltsige, swa his (milda)
God almighty us all let-have-mercy-on as his mild
willa sig (ȝ gehealde us æfré on ecnesse! Si hit swa!)
will be and let-keep us ever in eternity Let-be it so
Amen.
Amen