LUITWIN'S EVA UND ADAM

A Study and Edition of the Poem
from Codex Vindobonensis 2980

by

Mary Elizabeth Halford-MacLeod

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

May 1981

Graduation: February 1982
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION TO LUTWIN'S EVA UND ADAM</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. The Study of Lutwin's Eva und Adam</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. The Source</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. The Narrator and his Text</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Text and Illustration</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TEXT AND TRANSLATION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to Text and Translation</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations in the Apparatus</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXT</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSLATION</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to Text and Translation</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPENDIX I. Illustrations from Codex Vindob.2980</strong></td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPENDIX II. Manuscripts of the Vita Adae et Evae</strong></td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIBLIOGRAPHY</strong></td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Exactly a hundred years after the publication of Lutwin's *Eva und Adam* for the first time, this study hopes to revive interest in a work which can be regarded as part of an important European literary tradition: the translation into the vernacular of the Latin apocryphal account of the postlapsarian lives of Adam and Eve. In view of this a translation into English of the Middle High German text has been included, in order to assist in the comparison of the various versions of the legends in the vernacular. In recent years translations have been made of Old Irish and Old French versions but not of any of the Middle High German versions. Of these Lutwin's poem is the most extensive and arguably the most interesting. A late copy of the work is all that has come down to us, but the mid-fifteenth century Codex Vindob.2980 contains twenty-nine illustrations which occupy a virtually unique place within Adam and Eve iconography and need no justification for their inclusion in this study.

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

Part of this study was published last year as volume 303 of the *Göppingen Arbeiten zur Germanistik* under the title of *Illustration and Text in Lutwin's 'Eva und Adam'. Codex Vindob. 2980*. This appears here with some alterations and revisions as Part IV of the Introduction. I am grateful to Professor Ulrich Müller of Salzburg University for both accepting the work in his series and for his ready assistance in preparing all twenty-nine illustrations for publication for the first time. Photocopies of the illustrations have been included in Appendix I for the
convenience of immediate reference but are inevitably inferior in quality to those in the monograph. The list of manuscripts in Appendix II has been accepted for publication by the editors of *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* and will be entitled "The Apocryphal 'Vita Adae et Evae': Some Comments on the Manuscript Tradition."

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

Edinburgh/Stirling

May, 1981

M.E.H.-M.
ABBREVIATIONS

AfdA Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
CCSL Corpus Christianorum, series Latina
Steenbrugge, 1954-.
DVJS Deutsche Vierteljahreschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte
GAG Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik
LCI/F Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie.
LCI/W Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie.
MLR Modern Language Review
PL Patrologiae cursus completus ... series Latina
PMLA Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
RDK Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte
Ed. O. Schmitt. Stuttgart, 1937-.
ZfdA Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum
ZfdPh Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie

Lutwin's Eua und Adam is cited by line-reference to the edition that forms part of this study. In these citations emendations to the text are distinguished by being enclosed in brackets.
INTRODUCTION
TO LUTWIN'S EVA UND ADAM
I. THE STUDY OF LUTWIN’S EVA UND ADAM

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

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

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

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

Meyer made a significant contribution to scholarship in recognizing the importance of the Adam-apocrypha for the Middle Ages and in bringing to light some of the many vernacular versions which testify to their popularity. These legends which tell of the life of the proto-plants after their expulsion from paradise provide details to supplement the brevity of the biblical account and were, along with many other apocryphal writings, held in high esteem. The Latin version of the Christian Adambooks, which are probably of Jewish origin, is the so-called Vita Adae et Evae which is thought to have emerged in the fourth century and is the direct source of most European versions in the vernacular. At least thirty manuscripts containing the Vita Adae et Evae were known to Meyer when he edited it in 1878. Since then other scholars have referred to over twenty more, and in the course of the present
study seventeen further manuscripts have come to light. There must be more. Meyer's edition is a collation of German manuscripts dating from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. Many of the other manuscripts which have been found were written in other countries, and Meyer's classification of his manuscripts has proved to be both limited and a little misleading. It appears necessary, however, in view of later discussion of Lutwin's work to explain Meyer's classification and in so doing to outline the narrative of the Vita Adae et Evae, even though this has been done before.

Meyer's first class contains the basic elements of the legend which are as follows: after their expulsion from paradise Adam and Eve are hungry and search in vain for food. Eve is in despair, and Adam suggests that they both do penance in the hope that God will forgive them. She is to stand in the Tigris for thirty-seven days, while he stands in the Jordan for forty days. At Adam's request the Jordan stops flowing, and the fish help him to pray. After eighteen days Satan goes to Eve in the guise of an angel and persuades her to break off her penance by assuring her that God has forgiven them both. Adam, however, instantly recognizes the devil and demands to know why he persists in persecuting them. Satan explains that when he was the Archangel Lucifer he was ordered to worship the image of God in Man, but, on contemptuously refusing, Satan and his sympathisers were cast out of heaven for seeking to set him up as high as God. Therefore his temptation of Eve was his revenge on Adam. After Adam has completed his penance, Eve is so overcome by shame that she leaves him. As her time comes to give birth to their first child, Eve calls in vain upon God and then upon the sun and the stars to restore Adam to her. The rising sun tells Adam of her plight, and Adam, reunited with her, intercedes on her behalf with God who sends Michael and twelve angels to assist at the birth. Cain is born and immediately brings his mother food. An angel teaches Adam how to till the ground. Abel is born, but Eve's ominous dream and Adam's decision to give the brothers separate duties fail to avert Abel's death at the hands of Cain. Seth is born and is followed by thirty sons and thirty daughters. Adam tells Seth how he was once miraculously transported to paradise and told that he must die, although God also comforted him by promising that Adam's descendants would be allowed
to serve God. Adam lives to be nine hundred and thirty years old and then falls ill and explains to his children how God, at the time of Adam's fall from grace, had said he would inflict seventy maladies upon him. Eve is full of grief and wishes to share his pain. He finally asks her and Seth to go to paradise and beg for the Oil of Mercy. On their way Seth is attacked by the Serpent which only departs when Seth curses it. Mother and son do penance before the gates of paradise, where Michael tells them that their request cannot be granted, but that in five thousand and five hundred years time the Son of God will be baptized in the Jordan and will anoint with the Oil of Mercy all those who believe in him. He will also descend into hell and redeem Adam who is to die six days after Seth's return. They return to Adam with four herbs from paradise, but Adam reproaches Eve for her part in their fall and dies. The sun and moon darken, and Eve and the children mourn. God appears and promises to redeem Adam, who with Abel is buried by the angels with great ceremony. Before Eve dies, she directs her children to record their history on tablets for posterity. She is buried beside Adam and mourned until Michael appears and tells the children not to mourn longer than six days. Seth then makes the tablets.

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

After some deliberation Meyer concludes that Lutwin must have known Class I and III, possibly in a mixed version containing both. Since Meyer is restricted to these manuscripts alone, he sees any divergence on the part of Lutwin as proof of his independence from his sources, a point to which he attaches much importance. Apart from the poet's own discursive passages, Meyer considers the
following passages to be innovations on Lutwin's part: the material from the *Vita Adae et Evae* is preceded by the Genesis account of the Fall; Eve leaves Adam in anger, because he prefers paradise to their love; the Genesis account of Cain and Abel follows Eve's dream; Eve's grief is emphasized in her laments over Adam; Michael's admonition on mourning is given earlier; and Seth journeys twice to paradise.

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

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

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

Zieht man von Liutwings leistung ab was er diesen seinen vorbildern verdankte und was er seinen lateinischen quellen entnahm, so bleibt in der tat nur ein armseliges rest Übrig.

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

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

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

... jener wählt den Passionsstoff, zu seiner Bearbeitung aber eine Quelle, die seine epischen Elemente zerstört und exegetische Kleinlichkeiten vollständig überwuchern lässt; dieser wählt ebenfalls einen geistlichen, aber
For over twenty years *Eva und Adam* was largely ignored, until A.C. Dunstan's studies on the English versions of the *Vita Adae et Evae* led him to compare the work with a number of English manuscripts of the Latin text collated and edited by J.H. Mozley. Dunstan was able to show instances where Lutwin departs from Meyer's texts in details which are, however, present in Mozley's, and that the naming of Adam, the description of the four rivers of paradise, the Biblical account of the Fall and of the Cain and Abel story are also included in other vernacular versions. Dunstan's thesis is that in the Middle Ages originality was not to be expected of the poet who was reworking religious themes from Latin sources and that "deliberate alteration should be our last hypothesis, not our first." He concludes that Lutwin's source was not one of Meyer's texts and that Lutwin probably followed his source closely.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Since the *Vita Adae et Evae* and not the Bible is its chief source, *Eva und Adam* has received little attention in studies on Genesis poetry. B. Murdoch's *The Fall of Man in the Early Middle High German Biblical Epic* deals only with works earlier than Lutwin. J. M. Evans' *Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition*
not only ignores this work but makes little of the German contribution to the tradition in the Middle Ages. One unpublished dissertation of 1954 devotes some attention to this area: "Der Adam-und Eva-Stoff in der deutschen Literatur" by G. Miksch gives in little more than a hundred pages a survey that includes the Adambooks, the major biblical epics, and various other treatments (including Haydn's oratorio, The Creation) of the Adam and Eve story. It is surprising, therefore, to find in the chapter on the Middle Ages that, having dealt with a number of Early Middle High German works in thirteen pages, Miksch then devotes ten pages to Lutwin. However, she does little more than summarize what had already been written, especially Eis' work on Lutwin's origins, view of the world, and sources; Eis is quoted extensively without mention of Dunstan's second paper. Miksch also recounts the story with the curious error that the Serpent bites Seth in the foot and not the cheek, a detail which both Dunstan and Eis had discussed. Miksch concludes that although opinions may differ on the value of Lutwin's poem, it is the first independent account of the lives of Adam and Eve:

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

Adam and Eve are the first in a long line of penitent sinners whose histories were of interest to the Middle Ages. Adam's completion of his penance in the Jordan prefigures not only the second Adam's baptism there but also the endurance of countless other saints who in undergoing impossible hardships prove that there is hope for fallen mankind. The Vita Adae et Evae can be said to illustrate the Christian reading of Genesis, although it takes a less severely misogynistic view of Eve than the Church Fathers often did. Even though, unlike Adam, she falls a second time, she is consistently portrayed as being fully aware of her wrong-doing and truly penitent. She also proves to be an exemplary wife and mother. The legends appear to have enjoyed great popularity in the German speaking countries. B. Murdoch's article "Das deutsche Adambuch und die Adamslegenden des Mittelalters" describes five other German versions of the Vita as well
Two related versions describe the river penance and the birth of Cain: one belonging to the thirteenth century is included by F. von der Hagen in his Gesammtabenteuer; the other which is slightly shorter and probably of a later date is found in some of the manuscripts of Rudolf von Ems' Weltchronik. There is a prose version containing the penance and other episodes including the deaths of the protoplasts in a fifteenth century manuscript which H. Vollmer published with the corresponding parts of a thirteenth century metrical version upon which it is based. Also important is Hans Folz' prose translation of the Vita, a working copy for his poetic version which ends with the legend of the Holy Rood. To these may be added the condensed version of the penance and the second temptation found in the sixteenth century Obergrunder Weihnachtsspiel, a further witness to the legend's enduring popularity.

B. Murdoch introduces Lutwin's poem with the words: Es geht wieder um ein originales Werk, das sich in Betonung, Motivierung und Darstellungsweise zeigt, nicht in Einzelheiten des Stoffes. and this would appear to be the most appropriate way of describing the treatment of a theme as popular and familiar as that of the Vita Adae et Evae. While comparing the German versions Murdoch draws particular attention to Lutwin's bold characterization of Eve to which he returns in a more recent article entitled "Eve's Anger: Literary Secularisation in Lutwin's Adam und Eva". Here Murdoch concedes that under closer scrutiny Lutwin's misogynistic views are less apparent than has been thought, and Eve emerges as a rather more positive figure than is customary. Murdoch also draws attention to Lutwin's literary awareness, for example, his conscious use of literary topoi which, he concludes, along with his "playful treatment of the parting as a lovers' quarrel ... represents a clear secularisation" of the legend. This is the first major study of Lutwin that suggests that there is anything of literary interest in the work.

Little notice has been taken of those parts of the poem which do not have the Vita as their source. A. Brieger discusses Lutwin's account of the Cain and Abel story, especially Abel's prefiguration of Christ, but disapproves of Lutwin's equating Abel's sacrifice
with the custom of tithe-giving:\footnote{52}

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

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

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

1. The text was published as vol. 153 of the publications of the Stuttgart Litterarischer Verein (Tübingen, 1881).


4. "Kirenlese 47", *AfDa* 15 (1872), 265. The comment is cited and rejected in several later studies.


8. See B. Murdoch above and the works by the same author referred to in notes 42 and 46 below.


15. "Deutsche Poesie vom Ende des XIII. bis in den Beginn des XVI.
Jahrhunderts" in: Geschichte der Stadt Wien (Vienna, 1907), III, part 1, p.9.

16. Ibid.


18. "The Middle High German 'Adam und Eva' by Lutwin and the Latin 'Vita Adae et Evae'", MLR 24 (1929), 192.


20. Ibid., pp.59-63.

21. Ibid., p.64.


24. Der Verfluchte und der Erwählte (Opladen, 1976), p.44.


26. Die geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters (Berlin, 1888), II, p.44.


In the forthcoming revised edition (s.v. "Lutwin"), however, B.Murdoch comments more positively upon the poem. I am
indebted to him for making this material available to me before publication.


44. Published by H.Fischer, "Die Busse Adams und Evas", Germania 22 (1877), 316-41.


47. See A.Peter, Volksthumliches aus Österreich-Schlesien I (Troppau, 1865), pp.375-78.


49. In his introduction and notes on the *Saltair na Rann* (see note 7 above) Murdoch refers to Lutwin's misogyny on a number of occasions.

51. Brief reference is made to Lutwin by J. Schwietering in Die Demutsformel Mittelhochdeutscher Dichter (Berlin, 1921) and by W. Fechter in Lateinische Dichtkunst und deutsches Mittelalter (Berlin, 1964).


56. Only Goedeke (see note 3 above) refers to the poem as Eva und Adam, although he no longer does so in his second edition that came after the publication of the poem.
II. THE SOURCE

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

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

The modern editorial history of the *Vita Adae et Evae* begins with W. Meyer, who was the first to recognize the importance of the Latin legend in the Middle Ages. The legend, or rather accretion of legends, is of Jewish origin and extends the biblical account of Adam and Eve by relating their lives after their expulsion from paradise. 1 Meyer also made an important contribution to the study of medieval literature as a whole by drawing attention to a number of vernacular versions of the legend which have a more or less common source. 2 While assisting in the cataloguing of the Latin manuscripts in the Munich National Library, Meyer found over twenty MSS dating from the 10th to 15th centuries containing matter relating to Adam and Eve under a number of different headings. In 1878 he edited some of these MSS under the title of "*Vita Adae et Evae*" in the publications of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (philos.-philol.Klasse 14/111, 185-250). In his extensive introduction to the text Meyer refers to twenty of the Munich MSS and mentions in foot-notes five Austrian MSS, one in Graz and four in Vienna. 3 As an appendix he also published a 9th century MS which is in Paris.

There have since been two further editions of significance. 4 In 1929 John Mozley published an edition based on MSS written in England under the title of "*Vita Adae*" in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (30, 121-149). The introduction refers to fourteen MSS dating from the 13th to 15th centuries. In 1935 Gerhard Eis
edited a text, the "Vita Adam et Evaet", in his collection of 
Beiträge zur mittelhochdeutschen Legende und Mystik (pp.241-55)
which he based on two 13th century Austrian MSS.

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

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

This passage has been quoted at length, because Meyer's classification has frequently been cited, although a number of not necessarily justified assumptions have come to be made about it. Mozley refers to Class I as representing the "earliest form" and to the two passages in Class II as "interpolations." Meyer's system does not, however, admit questions of textual precedence.

Class I contains the earliest Munich MSS (10th to 12th centuries), but Meyer based his edition on this, chiefly because it provided "einen fästen und lesbaren Text". He does concede the likelihood of this class also having a number of omissions:

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

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

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

Mozley's edition has proved useful for the study of the vernacular versions of the legend, because he was able to show a number of instances where the English MSS diverge from those
of Meyer. Moreover, there are other passages: the formation of 
Adam out of eight elements; his naming after the four cardinal 
points; the place of his formation. These passages are to be 
found on their own, but they appear in the majority of Mozley's 
MSS which he designates the "Arundel" class.6 Eis' text contains 
little in the way of additional material but is a reminder that 
variant readings are to be expected in any MS version of the 
legend.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(LA 18)

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

Nieman lebete so unmöte
Er müste sich erbarmen
Über Eua, die vil armen,
Der von ir fliessen die trehen sehe.

(2829-32)

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

Bearing in mind Lutwin's regard for his source and at the same time his readiness to clarify or modify what he found there, we may turn to his treatment of the concluding episode of his poem. Meyer's belief that Lutwin knew a Class III version of the Vita rests mainly on the fact that Lutwin introduces the theme of the
Holy Rood at a corresponding point in his poem. The legend of the Holy Rood appears to have been very popular in the Middle Ages. It tells the history of the wood that was used at the Crucifixion and is found in numerous versions. Its inclusion in the *Vita* appears to have been comparatively late and is the most obvious example of the Christianization of these originally Jewish legends. As Adam lies dying he sends Eve and Seth to paradise to fetch the Oil of Mercy. This he is refused, but in an early borrowing from the *Gospel of Nicodemus* the angel promises that Christ will come and anoint all those who believe in him. In Class III there is the following addition: as Seth and Eve leave paradise, the angel gives them a branch with three leaves from the tree of knowledge. Seth drops the branch into the Jordan while crossing but retrieves it at Adam's request. Adam rejoices when he sees the branch, and it is planted on his grave. The branch grows into a great tree which is later found by Solomon's huntsmen. Solomon has the tree placed in his temple, and when the Queen of Sheba sees it, she prophesies that it will bring about the downfall of the Jews. The tree is then thrown into the probatica piscina, but at the time of the Crucifixion it floats to the surface and is used for the cross.

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

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

It is possible that Lutwin's source did in fact contain an
ancient Jewish legend that sought to establish a link between the
lost paradise and the new world after the Flood. For this possi-
bility we may refer to E.C. Quinn's thesis "that there existed
earlier forms of the Seth legend in which Seth went to paradise and returned with a twig, probably from the tree of life.\textsuperscript{14} Quinn refers to a Jewish legend preserved in the \textit{Gali Razia} (a cabbalistic work written in 1552) in which Adam sends Seth to paradise to ask for God's mercy. The angel gives Seth a branch from the tree of life and tells him that when it bears its first fruits God's mercy will be granted and the gates of heaven opened. Seth plants the branch, and later Moses cuts his staff from it.\textsuperscript{15} The Moses legend offers an analogy with the Noah legend in Lutwin's narrative. First there is the question of the true nature of the olive-branch which the angel brings Seth. There can be little doubt that it is a branch from the tree of life, the tree from which Adam was debarred as a result of eating from the tree of knowledge:

\begin{quote}
Dovon gebent dem böm hüt,
Umb den es ist also gewant:
Wer daran leget sin hant
Und einer frühte musset,
Das leben in begüsset,
So das er ewiglichen lebet.
(753-58)
\end{quote}

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

\begin{quote}
Do er wol mag berüren
Den boum der barmhertzikeit,
Von dem des lebens süßikeit
One allen gebresten flüsset.
(2645-48)
\end{quote}

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

The angel's prophecy that the first fruits of the tree will be a sign of God's mercy towards Adam is more readily assimilated into the Holy Rood legend. This motif is not present in Meyer's Class III but is there in two other German versions of the \textit{Vita} which include elements from the other legend. In both cases
the branch is indisputably from the tree of knowledge and in the fuller prose version edited by H. Vollmer the reference is brief: "wen das zwy wirt frucht tragen, so wirt dein vater erst gesunt!" H. Fischer's edition of "Die Busse Adams und Evas" from some of the MSS of Rudolf von Ems's Weltchronik refers to two MSS which contain the Sethite narrative in another form that does not correspond with Meyer's Class III. Here a son is given a branch from the tree of knowledge and told that if his father is to recover from his illness, "ein wurcz muz an disem reis sten." The son then ponders on how this may best be achieved:

\[\text{ez must in der erden sten}\
\text{daz es wurczelt vnd grunet}\
\text{sam andrew grune zwei tunt ...}\]

as does Seth in Ewa und Adam:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wir sullent pflantzen wol den zwy} \\
\text{Und jme fuhte machen by} \\
\text{Nach der lieben engels sage,} \\
\text{Das er schier fruht trage,} \\
\text{Das unser vatter schier erste ...} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(2714-18)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Und darzu sol der selbe zwy} \\
\text{Wahassen, das der sunden fry} \\
\text{Gottes lamp daran ersturbe} \\
\text{Und das leben uns erwurbe} \\
\text{Mit sinem reinem tode.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(2734-38)

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

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

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

Also su von disem höltzelein
Gefallen sint in den dot,
Also wurt alle jre not
An disem holtze verendet.

(3760-63)

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

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

(3769-75)

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

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

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

(3906-09)

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

Wanne, als ich vor han geseit,
Die zwige beide kunfftig waren,
Was des todes was verfaren,
Das (das) von den zwiigen beiden
Von dem tode wurde gescheiden.
Sus lassent wir die zwige his.

(3919-24)

Despite the emphasis, the treatment of the Holy Rood legend is
somewhat perfunctory. The narrator dismisses it altogether with the words:

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

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

In conclusion we may consider the number of occasions in which the narrator refers to a written source. On the subject of the Creation he refers to Genesis I-II four times (78f., 209f., 211-15, 3049f.); Cain and Abel are both named with reference to Genesis IV (1832f., 1904f.); and there are two references to Genesis VIII on the subject of Noah and the Flood (3809-14, 3851-53). The narrator therefore invokes Genesis every time he introduces material from that source. In all there are five direct references to the unnamed Latin source that he was following: the first is during the naming of Adam after the four parts of the world (148); the second confirms that Adam was nine hundred years old when he spoke to Seth (2137-41), and in connection with this we are later told that "nach sage" Adam lived on another thirty years (2279-84); the third reference is to nature's mourning of Adam's death which lasted six days and six nights (3057-59); the fourth reference confirms the recovery of nature to its former joyfulness (3497-99), and linked with these last two references are the verifications of the eclipse of the sun, moon, and stars (2975-78, 3476-79); the final reference occurs as the archangels, Michael and Gabriel, are named who assist at the burial of Adam and Abel (3210-12). These references to a written source confirm names and numbers, and apart from the first they all appear in the latter part of the work. There are two further
references to the written word, but their sources cannot be traced. As the narrator expounds the necessity of the Fall, he refers to "die buch" (2896), but more arresting, perhaps, is the statement, that in Noah's day the sacred apple-branch was the only relic in existence:

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

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

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

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

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

It has been suggested that medieval poets were given to referring to a written source or vowing that they were telling the truth precisely at the point where they were being innovative themselves. Convention may have required some poets to resort to such elaborate concealment, but this does not appear to be the case with Lutwin, who, when he departs from what we may suppose to be his source, says nothing. For instance, when he names Adam, he
refers to a source for the derivation of the name which is present in many versions of the *Vita Adae et Evae*. Lutwin also provides not one but two etymologies for Eve’s name without a reference for either, and neither is included in any of the known versions of the *Vita*. Similarly there is no reference to a source when Eve leaves Adam out of anger before the birth of Cain. In a religious work we must expect insistence upon the telling of the truth and fidelity to the source and that such literary secularization as there is offers some variation in the presentation of facts but seldom seeks to alter them outright.

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

1. For a convenient introduction to the general history of the Adam-apocrypha, see the translation of Latin and Greek texts by L.S.A. Wells in R.H. Charles' Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford, 1913) II, 123-33. In spite of the difficulties of separating the various strands of development in the Adam-apocrypha, it goes beyond the scope of this introduction to include references to the Greek Apocalypsis Mosis or related texts in other languages, although once again it is difficult to make clear distinctions; see references to Saltair na Rann below, n.2.

2. Further vernacular versions not noted by Meyer which can in fact throw great light on the history of the Latin text include the Old Irish Saltair na Rann (The Old Irish Adam and Eve Story, ed., trans., and annotated by D. Greene, F. Kelly, and B. Murdoch, Dublin, 1976). Vol. II refers to texts in German and Breton not mentioned by Meyer, and there are also Italian materials (pp. 25-31).

3. Meyer does not refer to all the Munich MSS which appear to contain the Vita Adae et Evae (=VA), see Munich 22-26 in the MS list. In "Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christi", also in the publications of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (philos.-philol. Klasse 16/II, Munich, 1882), Meyer refers to another previously unmentioned MS which precedes a Holy Rood legend (=Munich 20). The equally important legend of the Holy Rood became linked with the Vita (as Meyer's Class III) in a comparatively short version. It is little more than a digression. In its independent form the legend appears in numerous MSS.

4. Leaving aside partial editions of the Latin texts which predate Meyer, we may note that Latin texts have been published by L. Katona, "Vita Adae et Evae", in the Magyar tudományos akadémia, köt. 18, sz. 10, Budapest, 1904 (texts covered by Meyer), and by C. Horstmann, "Nachträge zu den Legenden 10", Archiv 79 (1887), 459-70 (covered by Mozley). Katona printed from an incunable, Horstmann from an Oxford MS (=Oxford 3). Dr. Murdoch has asked me to point out that this MS is referred
to in error as being in the British Museum in his commentary on Saltair na Rann, II, 19, n.21. S. Harrison Thomson published the preface of the MS in the Huntington Library (see San Marino, California in the list) in "A Fifth Recension of the Latin 'Vita Adae et Eve'", Studi Medieviali N.S.6 (1933), 271-78. The preface contains the fall of Lucifer and the canonical story of Adam and Eve and may be related to that of the MS in Brussels.

5. "Vita Adae", p.121.


8. Stegmüller lists, for example, the Greek texts first, but in his notation of the Latin versions he includes two texts of Holy Rood legend amongst the VA material.

9. This is also true of two MSS in Lincoln Cathedral Library with equally misleading titles which Dr. Murdoch refers to in "Das deutsche Adambuch und die Adamlegenden des Mittelalters" in Deutsche Literatur des späten Mittelalters ed. W. Harms and L.P. Johnson (Berlin, 1975), pp.209-24, n.11.


13. Meyer's eight Munich MSS which form Class III are all of the 15th century, none are of the 12th century as E.C. Quinn states
in *The Quest Of Seth for the Oil of Life* (Chicago, 1962) on p.88. However, the 13th century metrical version that is partially included in Vollmer's *Das deutsche Adambuch* (Hamburg, 1908) corresponds with Meyer's Class III.


17. "Die Busse Adams und Evas", *Germania* 22 (1877), 340, l.60. Fischer did not edit the Seth episode.


III. THE NARRATOR AND HIS TEXT

A. Stylistic influences

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

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

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

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

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

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

Verbally the two passages are similar, but they do indicate an important distinction between the two authors. We are told specifically that this is Wirnt's first work, while Lutwin
apologizes for the fact that he is not better known. Wirnt may well not be telling the truth (the rhyme is convenient, and audiences may be more sympathetic to beginners), even though this major work is all that has come down to us. Lutwin, on the other hand, makes it clear that although his name is little known, it is known and could have been better known. However, the references by both poets to misfortune and personal failings must be regarded as literary fiction rather than as historical fact, especially in the literary context of the prologue, where the narrator addresses his audience with all due formality.

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

\[ \text{ob ich mit minem munde} \]
\[ \text{mohte swaere stunde} \]
\[ \text{den liuten senfte machen,} \]
\[ \text{und von solhen sachen} \]
\[ \text{daz guot ze hoeren waere.} \]

(126-130)

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

\[ \text{Nü wer mag der welse mynne} \]
\[ \text{Verdienen und gottes grös?} \]
\[ \text{Der zweyer eins er tön müs;} \]
\[ \text{Sich der welse mynne (bewegen)} \]
\[ \text{Und gottes dienestes mit trüwen pflegen,} \]
\[ \text{Oder mit der welse sich betragen} \]
\[ \text{Und gottes dienst wider sagen,} \]
\[ \text{Wann niemen mag zwein heren wol} \]
\[ \text{Dienen nach des nützes zol.} \]
\[ \text{Jedoch der mir volgen wil,} \]
\[ \text{Der sol gar der welse spil} \]
\[ \text{Lassen usz einer aht} \]
\[ \text{Und von aller einer maht} \]
\[ \text{Dienen dem vil süßen Crist.} \]

(40-53)

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

\[ \text{der welse ze minnen} \]
\[ \text{ambient erz sînen sînnen:} \]
\[ \text{ir gruboz wil er gewinnen.} \]

(142-44)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Obe ich rette nach kindes sitte,} \\
\text{Erzöge ich do iht gütes mit,} \\
\text{Obe mir got fügete das,} \\
\text{So sol man mir dancken bas} \\
\text{Dann eine kunstenrichen man,} \\
\text{Der meister ist und dihten kan,} \\
\text{Der hat sin me dann ich getan.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(121-27)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ich enkan nit vil gesmiren} \\
\text{noch die wort gezieren;} \\
\text{ich wil die rede wieren} \\
\text{âne allez florieren.} \\
\text{Geblömet rede seit der grâl,} \\
\text{her Iwein und her Parzivâl,} \\
\text{und wie gewarp zô Cornewâl} \\
\text{Brangône, Isôt, Tristan, Rewâl,} \\
\text{Und wie die klâre Blanzeflûr} \\
\text{bestricket in der minne snûr} \\
\text{mit Tristande durch amûr} \\
\text{heim zô Parmente fûr.} \\
\text{Solcher rede ich niht enger.} \\
\text{Wer sich dan nit wil kûren her,} \\
\text{der vindet doch wol sinen wer;} \\
\text{der see vor sich dirre und der.} \\
\end{align*}
\]
The unknown author of *Die Erlösung* employs a formidable array of decorative rhetorical devices throughout the poem despite the gravity of its subject. Lutwin was also schooled in the arts and narrative skills practised by poets. His work, he informs us, is "Mit rymen wol berichtet" (58), and he probably copied Wirnt in using three rhyming lines to mark the end of a paragraph or speech. Stylistically Lutwin was certainly deeply influenced by Wirnt, but as far as his handling of his theme is concerned Lutwin probably owes more to Konrad von Heimesfurt.

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

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

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

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

Die heilige schrift was wilent e
ebreisch in der alten e.
do wart si so gemeret,
ze kriechen verkeret,
dar nach in latine braht.
do wart des sit also bedaht
von den die tihten kunden,
swaz si solher maere funden
von misselichen oder von waren
diu da guot ze sagenne waren,
das si diu en tiusche tihten
und ze solhem sinne rihten
daz sie ein jeglich man
der doch der buoche niht enkan
wol ze rehte vernimt
und im ze hoeren baz gezimt.
der selben han ich einez,
daz suezer nie deheinez
von menschen geschriben wart,
von unser vrouwen hinvart,
wie und wa si belief,
wer da was und wer ditz schreip.
(45-66)

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

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

Min maere hat ein ende,
sint daz ich han vol braht
der rede, der ich hat' gedahht.
Daz maere heizet Adams klage.
Ob ich nu allez solde sagen,
daz er uf der erden leit,
daz waer'ein michel arbeit,
und diuhte lihte idoch ze lank.
(414-21)
Lutwin has no such qualms about his tale being too long. His is the fullest version of the legend known in German. With one exception he follows closely the various episodes that have come to be known as the *Vita Adae et Evae*.

B. Narrative Structure

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

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

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

PART III

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

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

In Part I we might expect the narrator to inform us of his intentions other than the fact that he has chosen a religious topic, but this he does not do explicitly. There are, however,
two occasions where an attentive listener or reader might have been alerted. The first comes after the Devil has been introduced and castigated:

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. Style and Personality of the Narrator

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

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

The feeling of infinite superiority, the disdain with which the angel of light dismisses the earth-made man, is skilfully conveyed in these well-matched antithetical phrases.
The theme of mankind's base beginnings is one that the narrator has already dealt with in Part I. After God has cursed Adam, the narrator launches into a homiletic excursus which is based on the memento mori theme (thus linking with the narrative where God has told Adam that he will die):

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

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

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

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

Nü sage, mensche, du füles asz,
Was gütes von dir kommen möge,
Das zu reinikeit döge?
(686-88)

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

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

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

Wanckel erbet die fröwen an
Von Eua, die sicherste began

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

es ist auch noch ein Übel wip
wirser danne dehein man,
waz ir dar näch künte sich.

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

Su wündent nit was wanckel wer,
Ob in nit dicke offenbere
Euen wanckel wurde geseit.

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

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

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

Es ist ein witter underlas
Zwischent den bösen und gütan,
Den valschen und rein gemün.
Die bösen haben valschen müt,
Die reinen sint vor valsche behüt.
Den reinen sol man gütes yehen,
Alles güt müs in geschehen.

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

Wer in gütes nit gunne,
Der müsse von in gescheiden sin.
Aber ich armer Lutwin
Sencke darzu myn synne,
Das ich in (wünschende) bin
Den reinen maniges gütes,
Die unverhowendes mütes
Sint gegen den valschen mannin.

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

Possibly the most revealing passage about Lutwin is the excursus in which he defends Eve after Adam has reproached her (2885-2919). In Part III the narrator intervenes far less frequently than in the rest of the work. This is doubtless because his source gives him less scope, the main subject now being Adam’s mortal suffering. In the midst of this Lutwin chooses to portray the more personal
suffering of Eve, which he first justifies by exonerating her almost completely. The o felix culpa—excursus (2885-2919) may not be very sophisticated in terms of theological thought, but the notion is arresting enough in this particular context, where it allows the narrator in his depiction of Eve's grief to indulge his liking for rhetorical description and expression.

D. The Presentation of Adam and Eve

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

We may consider first the manner in which Lutwin portrays Adam and Eve in his biblical account of their story. Adam is introduced and named after the four cardinal points (128-153). This naming is first found in the Book of the Secrets of Enoch and in the Sibylline Books. Along with the formation of his body from eight parts it became an episode in the Vita, although
its position appears not to have been fixed, and it is not always included. 12 In its most elaborate form God sends the four archangels to the four earth-stars, and each brings back the first letter of their names: Anatole, Dysis, Arctos, and Mesembrion. Lutwin mentions only the names, and his explanation is brief: "Der welte teil sint vier" (145), as is his comment: "Den möhte er wol sunder han" (153). The naming of Eve does not appear in any of the known versions of the Vita, and Lutwin appears to have supplied this etymology himself. There was a well established tradition concerning the interpretation of Eve's name which was based on Jerome's "Eva calamitas aut vae vel vita" 13 and on the traiectio of _eva_ into _eve_, Gabriel's greeting to Mary. 14 The latter became a highly popular topos both in Latin and vernacular Marian literature, where the behaviour of the second Eve is contrasted at length with that of the first. 15 Lutwin uses an etymology that is less familiar and to be found in the writings of Richard of St. Laurent (fl.1245) 16:

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

Lutwin gives a slightly abbreviated version of this interpretation:

'Eu' in krieschem sprichet: 'göt';
'A' in latin betötet: 'an'.
Der den nammen prüfen kan,
So sprichet: 'Eua one göt'.
Nach anders man in bedöten döt:
Eua kriesch in latin verkeret
Sprichet: '(ach). Ich bin geleret,
Der erbet su zö rehte an,
Wanne Eua götes uns verban.

(247-55)

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

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

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

In the Vita a comparatively sympathetic view is taken of Eve. She illustrates quite closely the mulier from mollie etymology found in Isidore's Etymologiae XI, ii, 18 and elsewhere in that her physical weakness and her yielding nature are stressed rather than a malevolent disposition as such, a view that was also adopted by the author of the Anglo-Saxon Genesis B. In the Vita Eve is the first to voice her hunger, and Adam assigns her a penance that is slightly shorter than his own. Halfway through her penance the Devil tempts her with the promise that she and Adam will be returned to paradise, and believing him she falls a second time. Rejected by God it is only when Adam intercedes on her behalf that angels are sent to assist her at the birth of Cain, and when on the way to paradise the Devil taunts her, only her son can drive him away. Eve's vulnerability is stressed, but she is consistently portrayed as being meek and penitent and fully conscious of her guilt. Eve begs Adam to kill her so that he may be saved (an ignorant though
well-meaning request) as it was she who sinned, and after she has been deceived a second time, she leaves him out of feelings of shame. Her love for Adam is never in doubt up to the moment of his death, and just before she dies she acquires some dignity, when she warns her children of the future destruction of the world by fire and water. Eve is then buried beside Adam to share in his final redemption. This view of Eve is quite different from those expressed in some Jewish haggadah, where Eve’s motives for tempting Adam are attributed to jealousy or disrespect. In the Vita Eve is portrayed as being weak, both physically and intellectually, but her intentions are never wicked, and she is truly penitent.

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

Got weis wol, wanne ir
Das obes essen begynnent,
Das ir uch zü hant vereynnent
An allen gütten dingen.
Wie mächte uch mysselingen
Von disem clainen böymalin?
Was kreftte mag daran gesin,
Dovon ir fröide verliesent
Und den tot dovon kiesent?
Das ist ein kintlicher won.

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

Als schieere wurt geton,
Das ir das obes rüret,
Zü hant wurt uch entpfüret
This emphasis upon the protoplasts’ stupidity and inexperience is striking and reduces their culpability to a significant extent. The most they can be accused of wanting to do is improve themselves, while the more common view of both exegetes and poets imputes pride, arrogance, and vainglory amongst other sins to their simple act of disobedience.

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

Daz buoch uns von im seit,
das Adam vil tiuwer kleit
und auch sin wip Eva,
daz sölcher jämer aldå
sìt noch & wart vernomen, ...
(1119-23)

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

sam mir söl und lfp,
west ich daz für ein wärheit,
swem ez waer liëp oder leit,
ich waer dar zuo alsô klucô,
daz ich des obzs aez genuoc.
(810-14)

Eve is promised the "Öbristen krön" (821), and, speedily convinced of the truth she wants to believe, she eats the fruit. Eve then seeks out Adam who immediately recognizes the probable consequences of her deed. His objections are brushed aside however:
Eve's pride and ambition are stressed as is her lack of respect for Adam:

Adam, dō bist ein vorhtic man,
dā von maht dō niht ēre hān.
des muost dō haben mīnēn haz.
(873-75)

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

wir mūzen beidiu līden scham.
nō gip mir her den apfel rōt.
(894f.)

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

dō erder scham wart gewar,
dō brach er ōz dem kopf daz hār,
wan er schrei mit grimme
mit vil lōter stimme:
'ōwō mir armen diser nōt,
ich hān den bitterlichen tōt
gerūerst an mit mīner hant.
Evā, ich bin von dir genschant, ...
(903-10)

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

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

Die waren altam die kint
One schamme und sünden eine,
Falsches fry und so reine,
Mit schöne und mit wisheit, ...
(268-71)

However, here the purity, beauty, and wisdom of the pair in paradise is as yet untried. The Serpent mocks Eve with her inexperience
rather than inciting her to rebel against God, and she believes him in her naIvety:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dixitque Adam: Mulier quam dedisti mihi sociam dedit mihi de ligno, et comedi.
Et dixit Dominus Deus ad mulierem: Quare hoc fecisti?
Quae respondit: Serpens decepit me, et comedi.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Instead of insisting that the Serpent deceived her, she admits
that on his advice she deceived herself. Eve's admission of
guilt is highly unusual in this context and shows Lutwin as
desirous of portraying Eve as sympathetically as possible.

Lutwin may have known Enikel's Weltchronik and was certainly
familiar with the more traditional and sterner view of Eve, from
which he took the etymology of her name. His portrayal of her,
however, appears to be influenced by the way she is presented in
the Vita: guilty but penitent nevertheless.

In the Vita Adam is presented as possessing an intellect far
superior to that of Eve: when she invites him to kill her, he
refuses to do so on the grounds that they were created as one
flesh, and it is he who suggests undertaking a penance and directs
Eve in what she is to do. The Devil fails to tempt Adam a second
time, and having completed his penance Adam once more enjoys God's
favour. At Adam's request God sends angels to assist Eve at the
birth of Cain, and an angel shows him how to till the ground.

Before his death Adam is promised eventual redemption, and God
himself is present at his burial. In the Vita the fallen Adam is
restored not to paradise but to something of his former dignity:
he remains the Lord of Creation whom nature (such as the fish in
the Jordan) obeys and whose death it mourns. Lutwin endorses this
positive view of Adam from the very first in his description of
Adam immediately after the Expulsion:

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

This is another borrowing from Wigalois (1207-12) where it des-
cribes Gawan, Wigalois' father, who having left his wife cannot
return to her, because he has left with her the magic girdle that
secures re-entry to her land. Lutwin has been criticized for his
borrowings from other poets and his comment on the above passage,
"Das ist myn rate, dem volge ich" (839), has given offence, be-
cause it appears to appropriate the lines. However, the narra-
tor is chiefly concerned with expressing approval of the resource-
fulness which enables Adam to set about making shelter for himself
in a strange new world, as it does Gawan to return to Arthur's court
and to continue his life there. Like Adam, Gawan is excluded from the place where he most wants to be, but an analogy between their situations may not be pushed too far. In Adam's case it is a question of survival at the basic level of human need, and at this point the narrator stresses Adam's resourcefulness rather than his integrity as such.

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

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

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

Der zadel fuogte in hungers nöt.
sine heten kaese, vleisch noch pröt,
si liizen zenstören sîn.
(184,7-9)

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

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

By adding up the number of days in which they have gone without food, the narrator draws attention to the fact that he is following his source assiduously, but at the same time he cannot refrain from using the facts as proof that they were starving and ready to eat anything. And again he commends Adam's presence of mind:
Er døtt als der byderman:
Wann er es nit verbessern kan,
Do duncket in ein rat,
Was er zu niessende hatt,
Als es imme an die not gat.

(951-55)

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

Er wonde der selbe böse geist,
Alles ubels volleist,
Das er mit syme valschen liegen
Solte Adam betriegen
Als er Euam hatte getan.

(1272-76)

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

Doch was so wise Adam,
Wie doch der Tüfle were schon
(Verkeret) in engels person,
Das er sin glichesheit,
Sin triegen und valscheit
Zu stunde wol erkant, ...

(1276-82)

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

In this episode where Lutwin can be seen to be at his most independent in the handling of his source, the secularization of the same becomes noticeably pronounced. At the same time, however,
this secularization is of a peculiarly literary nature. On emerging from the river Adam is seized by a desire for Eve which is couched in the conventional terms of the Minne tradition:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Here Eve speaks of Minne with the emphasis on the heart as the seat of emotion and then bewails the fact that they did not discover their "hertzen liebe" (1539) sooner, since it has done them
so much good. In her enthusiasm she concludes with the assertion:

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

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

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

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

Doch mûs ich dem paradis iehen
Vur alle schône und wunne
(1555f.)

the speech develops into a rhetorical diatribe against the over­praising of Minne:

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

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

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

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

32:
si sahen beide ein ander an,
da generten si sich van;
der wucher, den daz ouge bar,
daz was ir zweier lipnar;
sin azen niht dar inne
wan muot unde minne.
(16815-20)

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

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

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

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

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

"Mit zorne sü dannen schiet,
Als ir tumber müt riet,
Und ging mit leide und yle
Me dannen tusent myle.
(1615-18)
Adam's silence is now more convincing, for it is clear that Eve gave him little time to raise any objections. Nor does he remain unmoved by her departure:

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

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

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

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

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

Zu der büssé wart ir gach.
Das was durch das ungemach,
Das su von hunger kumber leit,
Wanne jr erste frossikeit,  
Dye hatt erzählget vor  
Uns der unselden spor,  
Die hing ir noch ein teil an.  
(1014-20)

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

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

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

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

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

(Su) was mit leide vaste dort.  
Jr hertze was belangen (vort)  
Nach der mynne sü sich sent,  
Der sü Adam het gewent.  
(1638-41)
As her time to give birth approaches, the narrator concentrates upon Eve's state of mind. First she turns to God for mercy, but it is in vain, and finding herself ignored she reproaches him:

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

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

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

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

One of the notable features of the *Vita* is the way in which Adam and Eve are shown to be isolated in a completely new and featureless world. Thus they never go anywhere specific, because there is nowhere. There are only directions to follow, and these are given by the rising and setting sun. Eve now addresses the sun, because although she is in the west the sun will be seen by Adam when it rises in the east. This links with the tradition
that Adam was the first astrologer, although Lutwin does not appear to have known this (1738ff.). Throughout the Vita the forces of nature are allied to the protoplasts, and Eve turns to the sun, because she knows that Adam alone can help her:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Von irem hertzen wart (gestort)
Was ir leides ie geschach,
Do su ir liebes kint onsach.
Su nam es mit gelust
Und drucket es an ir brust,
So das sin hertze krachte sere.
(1820-25)
The second part of *Eva und Adam* ends on an optimistic, even cheerful note with the angels acting as God's intermediaries and partially relieving the protoplasts of the curses laid upon them. Adam has succeeded in exonerating himself in the eyes of God, and the angel tells Eve that he has been sent to her on Adam's behalf:

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

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

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

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

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

Nieman lebet so unmüte
Er müste sich erbarmen
Über Eue, die vil armen,
Der von ir flissen die trehen sehe.

(2829-32)

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

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

(2885-96)

The unfortunate consequences of the fall are thus justified and outweighed by the fortunate, namely God's inestimable mercy to mankind as revealed in the Incarnation and yearly recalled in the words of the Exsultet: "o felix culpa, quae talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem". With this interpretation Lutwin takes the Christianization of the Vita a stage further and justifies his portrayal of Eve as not being entirely "one gut" and deserving of sympathy. Her laments after Adam's death (2993-3012) and his funeral (3319-69) are not, however, merely to provoke sympathy. In the latter it is especially clear that Lutwin is also using this display of Eve's grief for literary effect. The speech is
full of rhetorical devices such as exclamations (variations of
"Ach, mich vil armes wip" occur in 3319, 3341, 3348, 3357),
questions, and exhortations. We are reminded of Enite's lament
in Hartmann's Erec, a well-known display piece of feminine grief. Like Enite, Eve reasons that she should die with her husband and chides God for his lack of mercy towards her:

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

(3342-47)

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

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

(3360f.)

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

Dem nu geschiht hertzeleit
Und das leit wurt so geleit,
Das leidiclich ein hertzeleit
Mit leide das ander treit,
So das leit nach leide geschiht
Und doch ein leit das ander niht
Mit leide mag veryagen,
Des hertze müsz schiele verzagen
An frölichen sachen.

(3383-91)

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

Ernwet ist (ir) alles leit
Mit ungeföger bitterkeit,
Wanne er do begraben (lag)
Der yr naht und manig dag
Mit liebe hatte vertriben hien.

(3423-27)

It will be noted that the second enumeration of her sorrows is an intensification of the first, but again it is her grief for Adam that predominates. Eve lies on Adam's grave for six days, neither
eating nor drinking, until the angel appears and orders her and Seth to cease their mourning. Nature returns to its former state, but Eve remains unconscious and close to death. Towards midday Eve recovers sufficiently to be able to speak. In the *Vita* she addresses only her children before dying, but Lutwin makes her first deliver an encomium on behalf of Adam (3520-46). The calm resignation of this speech is in marked contrast with the frenzy of the previous laments as she extols Adam's virtues and welcomes her own death:

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

(3539-42)

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

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

(3036-49)

and we are reminded that Adam was lord over the animal kingdom (Genesis 1:26) which implicitly justifies its mourning of him.
Lutwin does not, however, draw a parallel between Adam and Christ the king of all Creation. Nor does Lutwin comment directly on the typological link between Eve and Mary, although Mary is duly hailed after Eve's fall:

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

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

1. AfdA 8 (1882), 223ff.


4. Goedeke refers to the poem as Eva und Adam in the first edition of the Grundriss (see note 3 of Part I of this Introduction) but not in the second edition which appeared after the publication of the poem.

5. ed.F.Pfeiffer, AfdA 8 (1851), 156-200.

6. AfdA 8 (1882), 226f.

7. Gesammtabenteuer (Tübingen/Stuttgart, 1850), I, 5-16.

8. See Eis, Beiträgen, pp.40-51.


10. F.Maurer, "Der Topos von dem 'Minnesklaven'", DVJS 27 (1953), 182-206.


13. In the Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum (CCSL 72), p.65. For the lengths to which this interpretation could be taken see Peter Comestor (PL 198, 1071) who claims that every newborn infant wails part of Eve's name.

15. A. Salzer, Die Sinnbilder und Beiwopte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur (Linz, 1893). The section on Eve is on pp.476-487.

16. Ibid., p.486f.


18. Evans gives a clear description of the Priestly and Jahwist accounts on pp.9-25.

19. For the exegetical tradition of Eve's guilt see Murdoch, The Fall of Man, pp.39-95.


21. Isidore, PL 82,47. In Genesis B (ed. O. Behaghel, Tübingen, 1965) the poet stresses Eve's weaker nature (1.590f., p.224 and 1.649f., p.226) but makes her act in good faith (1.708f., p.228).


23. Genesis II:4-5.


25. Enikel's Weltchronik was edited and introduced by Philipp Strauch (Hannover and Leipzig, 1900), see also the entries in VL II (1936), 575-80 by B. Schmeidler and VL V (1955), 445 by Hannemann. Little study has been made of Enikel: the most recent focuses on his other work, the Fürstenbuch, see U. Liebertz-Grün, "Bürger, Fürsten, Dienstherren, Ritter und Frauen. Gesellschafts- und Geschichtsbild in Jans Enikel's 'Fürstenbuch'", Euphorion 74 (1980), 77-94.


27. See Murdoch, The Fall of Man, pp.130-39.

28. ed. V. Dollmayr (Halle/S, 1932), 1.793.

29. See Steinmeyer, p.224 n.1.


31. Murdoch draws attention to this secularization in "Eve's Anger", see Part I, n.25 of this Introduction.


34. Ibid., p.267f.
36. G. Bauer remarks that the tradition does not appear to have been wide-spread in the Middle Ages as Lutwin does not mention it in Sternkunde und Sterndeutung der Deutschen in 9.-14. Jahrhundert unter Ausschluss der reinen Fachwissenschaft (Berlin, 1937), p.110.
37. In Ein deutsches Adambuch (ed. H. Vollmer) the narrator stresses Eve's ignorance of her condition: "ir was wee vnd west doch der geschicht nicht das sy wär swanger" (p. 14, 10).
38. It is this episode that is included in some of the Historienbibel, see vol. I of Merzdorf's edition, p.120f.
42. In the Obergrunder Weihnachtsspiel the scene of the penance and Eve's second temptation is immediately followed by the Annunciation.
43. The incestuous nature of the relationship between Adam and Eve is played upon by Hartmann in Gregorius. Hartmann's knowledge of the Adam-legends adds an extra dimension to the understanding of this work, see B. Murdoch, "Hartmann's 'Gregorius' and the Quest of Life", New German Studies 6 (1978), pp.79-100.
44. For the importance of the context of such borrowings from other poets, see "diu wip sint alliu níht also: 'Aristoteles und Phyllis' and the Reception of Gottfried's 'Tristan'" by A. Deighton, New German Studies 6 (1978), 137-150.
IV. TEXT AND ILLUSTRATION

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

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

Other than in the Lutwin manuscript there appear to be only two recognized representations of the river-penance. On the West Portal of St. Theobald's at Thann (near Colmar, now in France) a late fourteenth century cycle includes Adam and Eve standing together in the water. Eve is also shown holding Cain with an angel on either side of her. There is also one miniature illustrating a German prose version of the *Vita Adae et Evae* in Codex 8 in scrinio (after 1458), which is in the University Library at Hamburg. This also has both the protoplasts standing together up to their necks in a river but includes the Devil, disguised as an angel, standing on the bank. Although no cyclic representations of the legends of Adam and Eve have survived to prove an independent existence, the legends appear to have influenced the earliest canon-
ical Genesis iconography to some extent. The seventh century Ashburnham Pentateuch depicts Adam and Eve, clothed in skins, standing inside a hut before passing on to show Eve with the children; the four Carolingian Bibles of the School of Tours may also reflect the legends in their Genesis frontispieces. In Germany on the bronze doors of St. Michael's at Hildesheim (which were made in 1015 at the instigation of Bishop Bernward) an angel brings tools to Adam, and in the Abbey Church at Andlau (in Lower Alsace) the sculptures of a mid-twelfth century cycle have the couple sitting under a tree and bewailing their fate immediately after their Expulsion. However, these examples represent only minor additions to an iconographic tradition which was otherwise firmly based on the first three chapters of Genesis. The remaining fragments of the earliest surviving illustrated Bible, the Greek fifth century Cotton Genesis, as well as related iconographic recensions of the later twelfth century, such as the Millstattüer Genesis in Klagenfurt or the Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad of Landsberg, show that the earliest Bibles were illustrated very fully indeed. A certain amount of freedom of choice in the selection of incidents to be portrayed becomes characteristic of later Adam and Eve iconography. Examples which have survived or been documented range from full cycles to one representative scene of the Adam and Eve story.

The three most important canonical scenes are the Creation, Fall, and Expulsion; the other scenes are entirely dependent on these. Together they form the iconographic cycle, but as independent scenes they have each acquired an individual significance. Of great importance are the medium and the context in which the subject is portrayed, as both affect the choice of scene (or scenes) and the expansion or contraction of the cycle. The creation of Eve out of Adam's side often represents the Creation of Man, because it shows with economy both protoplasts at once as well as furnishing a typological parallel for the birth of the Church out of the wounded side of Christ. The Fall itself, the major representative scene of the story, is frequently portrayed in isolation as the sole representation of human culpability or as the typological counterpart of the First Temptation of Christ in the wilderness. In cyclic represent-
ations the events leading up to the fall are sometimes included. The Andlau sculptures show the protoplasts being led into paradise and being warned not to eat of the tree of knowledge by the Creator. Eve is sometimes shown alone with the Serpent, before she is seen tempting Adam. The iconographic pattern of the Serpent coiled around the tree and the protoplasts standing on either side of it is of great antiquity and very often the simple, decorative, and, above all, decent addition of fig-leaves expands this scene to include its immediate consequences. A less familiar example of this is the fourth century silver vase which was part of the treasure found on Traprain Law in Scotland. Here the Serpent is directing its guile at Eve as both she and Adam reach for the fruit with one hand and simultaneously cover their nakedness with the other. The third important scene, the Expulsion, is often preceded in cyclic representations by the Creator addressing the guilty couple, but only the San Marco mosaics in Venice show him clothing them as well. In the four Touronian Bibles they are still clothed at the Expulsion, but this is not found in later representations. As an independent scene, the Expulsion is often linked iconographically with the Annunciation, where Mary, the second Eve, learns of her role which proves to be that of assisting mankind in opening the gates of paradise once closed to them. The scene which usually completes the Adam-and-Eve cycle shows the protoplasts enduring the curses laid upon them by their Creator: they are clothed and Adam is working the ground, while Eve is either spinning or nursing a child.

In many ways it is surprising that the canonical scenes of the Creation, Fall, and Expulsion were not combined with their counterparts in the apocryphal legends to form an expanded version of the Adam-and-Eve cycle, for there are a number of peculiarly iconographic details to be found in the legends. The creation of the protoplasts might well be paralleled by their deaths, the isolation of Adam before Eve's creation contrasted with her isolation after his death. Eve's being tempted by the Serpent/Satan obviously parallels her second temptation in the Tigris by Satan again in disguise. Adam, the Lord of Creation, surrounded by animals in paradise, is
also surrounded by animals as he prays in the Jordan. The expulsion of Adam and Eve by the angel with the flaming sword counterbalances Seth's and Eve's acts of penance at the gates of paradise. The theological significance of the tree through which man both fell and was redeemed proved a potent iconographic symbol but it is rarely found in the context of these legends. The labours of the protoplasts remain. Here is perhaps the key to understanding why the legends never enjoyed iconographic popularity. Compared with the canonical account of Adam and Eve the legends are straightforward, positive, and full of optimism. In particular the harsh labours imposed on the hapless protoplasts by their vengeful Creator are alleviated: Adam is shown how to cultivate the earth successfully, and Eve, after a pregnancy made terrifying by her loneliness and ignorance, is finally granted angelic aid at the birth of her first child. From then on Adam and Eve constantly enjoy the favour of God and the assistance of his angels. Even their deaths are ameliorated by the promise of eventual Redemption. In Christian iconography, however, the Adam-and-Eve cycle or representative scenes from it occupy an important position at the beginning of the Heilsgeschichte, the history of mankind's Redemption as it is traced through the Bible. Within this theological and iconographic framework the towering figures of Christ (the second Adam) and Mary (the second Eve) bring salvation to mankind of which Adam and Eve remain the defenceless, suffering, and sinful representatives.

8. Codex Vindobonensis 2980

The mid-fifteenth century manuscript which contains Lutwin's Eva und Adam shows signs of being a hurried copy, which is not uncharacteristic of the period. The manuscript is written on paper in a neat Bastarda by a single hand and contains a number of orthographic errors. The twenty-nine pictures precede (in eighteen instances) and follow (in eleven) the passages which they illustrate. According to the capitals each illustration is placed before a new paragraph, but with reference to the text this is not true of [4], [11], [15], and [23]. The illustrations
occupy approximately half a page (the size of the manuscript corresponds roughly to modern A5) averaging twenty lines and are unframed. They are more or less within the limits set by the copyist but frequently extend into the margins. The prose rubrics for [1] to [16] and [18] to [20] are written by the same hand, and since the rubrics are of some importance, it seems probable that those of the remaining ten illustrations were deliberately omitted. In [8], [12], [18], and [19] the rubrics are placed at the foot of the preceding page rather than above the illustration, and in [12] and [19] the copyist has forgotten to leave a space and continued to write a couplet before remembering, stopping, leaving a space, repeating the couplet, and finally continuing. An unsuccessful attempt to erase the extra lines has been made in both cases. The indications are that he was anxious to fit the work onto as few pages as possible as quickly as possible. Fifty-four pages contain half of the poem and spaces for eighteen illustrations, while the rest of the work and spaces for eleven illustrations occupy fifty-two pages. In the first half of the poem the copyist was forced to leave out the rubric of [17], a rather full illustration, and it would appear that in the second half he was encouraged to omit the rubrics of the final nine illustrations, thereby leaving the illustrator more space and saving two pages. The copyist and the illustrator were clearly working from an already illustrated manuscript, since the illustrator was able to continue undeterred. Although it cannot be ascertained when the illustrations were introduced (and the possibility of the poem's having been illustrated at the time of its composition should not be ruled out altogether), it is possible that once they were introduced more than one copy may have been made. The survival of a single manuscript does not necessarily constitute proof of a work's unpopularity. 30

Colour-washed pen-drawings came to be a popular method of illustration during the later Middle Ages, but as their purpose was that of illustration rather than decoration, there has been a tendency in the past to ignore or dismiss them as being of little value. 31 The illustrations in the Lutwin manuscript are not exceptional even though their subject
appears to be; it is not, however, the purpose of this thesis to evaluate them in aesthetic terms but rather in their function as illustrations of a given text. It is nevertheless necessary to give some indication first of the general style of the pictures.

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

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

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

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

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

There are never more than five figures in an illustration
with the exception of [17] which has a minor addition in the shape
of the newly born Cain. Thus in [17] four angels represent the
twelve in the text (1768), and in [20] two angels represent many
thousands (2178). Of the thirty sons (plus Seth) and thirty
daughters (2116-19; for 2931, see Meyer's comment) the former
are represented by two in [21], [25], and [27] and four in [28],
and in each case Seth is probably one of them; the latter are
represented by one in [21] and two in [28]. In [29] Noah's family
is represented by one son. On the whole scenery is kept to a
minimum: a tree is enough to indicate that the action is taking
place out of doors, and a large object like a bed or a sarcophagus
is not placed in any kind of surrounding at all. Lack of space
clearly dictates the depiction of what is essential to the under-
standing of the scene, and, indeed, to be understood the majority
of these illustrations are dependent on the rubrics and, above all,
upon the text. The illustrator was aware of his own limitations
and those of the medium, but within this scope there remained to
him the opportunity of exercising a considerable and by no means
unimportant freedom of choice. Our artist worked quickly but
nevertheless skilfully.

C. The twenty-nine illustrations: description and context

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

[1] The Creation of Heaven and Earth
Folio 3v. 123 x 88 mm.
Rubric: Wie gott von ersten hymelrich und ertrich beschuff

The Creator is represented as a man in a brown robe with
long, fair hair and beard and a crossed nimbus. He is blessing
the world which is represented in a circle by water and land with
trees and houses on it. This in turn is surrounded by another circle which represents the cosmos.

Placed before 103 and illustrates 103-109.

Source: Genesis I.

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

[2] The Creation of Adam
Folio 5r. 128 x 95 mm.
Rubric: Wie gott Adam den ersten menschen beschu[ff]

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

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

Source: Genesis II:7

Folio 8r. 137 x 97 mm.
Rubric: Wie got Euam wez Adam beschuff

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

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

Source: Genesis II:21-22

[4] Adam and Eve are led into Paradise by the Creator
Folio 8v. 142 x 99 mm.
Rubric: Wie got Adam und Eu in das paradisz furte

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

Placed before 277 and perhaps expands 266-271:

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

[5] The Temptation and Fall of Adam and Eve
Folio 13v. 130 x 120 mm.
Rubric: Wie Adam und Eua von dem slangen betrogen wurdent und sű das gebott gottes uberingent

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

Placed before 464 and illustrates 464-482.
Source: Genesis III:1-6

The apparent simplicity of the symmetry of this scene is deceptive: it combines both the moments of the Temptation (the Serpent offering the fruit to Eve) and the Fall (Eve offering the fruit to Adam). Adam's curiosity about the Serpent is an interesting feature.
Adam and Eve hide as they are addressed by the Creator

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

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

Placed before 534 and illustrates 534-536.

Source: Genesis III:8-13

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

Adam dort verborgen lag
Under der boom este.
Er truwe nit, das gott weste
Die sunde, die er hatte getan.
Zwore das was ein tumber wan,
Wann gott erkante die wercke ee,
Das der will volle ges ...
(520-26)

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

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

The Expulsion of Adam and Eve

Rubric: Wie Adam und Eua us dem paradise getrieben wurdent von
dem engel

The walls of paradise are now crenellated. An angel with green and brown wings is holding up a sword as he drives out the protoplasts. Adam is clearly resisting expulsion with a firmly implanted right foot. Both are looking back at paradise and are completely naked.
Placed before 732 after a sermon-like excursus on the memento mori theme (649-731) but illustrates 818-823.

Source: Genesis III:24

The iconographic tradition concerning this episode is less flexible than others: an angel rather than the Creator expels the protoplasts who are naked except for their fig-leaves. 49

This nakedness does not accord with the Biblical account where they are clothed in skins by the Creator (Gen:III:21) nor here in 734-748 and 811. 50

[8] The Labours of Adam and Eve
Folio 23v. 142 x 128 mm.
Rubric: Wie Adam hacken und Eua spynnen mustent, umb das su das gebott gottes ubergangen hettent.

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

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

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

[9] Adam and Eve deliberate
Folio 24v. 127 x 100 mm.
Rubric: Wie Adam und Eua zu rate wurdent, wie su büßen woltent

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

Placed before 870 and illustrates 965-1010.

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

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

[10] Eve's Penance in the Tigris
Folio 28v. 136 x 87 mm.
Rubric: Wie Eva in dem wasser Tygris stunt und ir sunde büssen wolte
Eve is naked and standing up to her waist in the Tigris with arms outstretched. In front of her three groups of circles break up the blue and white horizontal lines, which represent water, as though they were waves.
Placed before 1012 and illustrates 1021-27, 1058-60.
Source: Vita Adae et Evae VII:
Et ambulavit Eva ad Tigris flumen et fecit sicut dixit ei Adam.
According to both source and text (1000, 1026, 1035) the protoplasts stood up to their necks in the water. The illustrator evidently felt it was more important to be able to differentiate the figures clearly.

Folio 29v. 137 x 84 mm.
Rubric: Wie Adam in dem Jordan sin sunde büssete, und wie die wische im dar zu hulffent in
Adam is naked and standing up to his waist in the Jordan.
with hands folded in prayer. In front of him in the water are the heads of four fishes with open mouths.

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

Source: Vita Adae et Evae VII-VIII:

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

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

[12] The Second Temptation and Fall of Eve

Folio 31r. 138 x 94 mm.

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

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

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

Source: Vita Adae et Evae IX-X:

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

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

Pröffent nit ir clores vele
Noch ir goltvarwes hor,
Jr hende noch ir helse clor,
Jr mündelin noch ir ougbrawen,
Sunder ir sollent (schouwen),
Wo ir vindent ein wip,
Die mit küsche zier iren lip
Und sye tugentliche gesitt,
Do jr sint behalten myt.
(1185-93)

Folio 36v. 140 x 92 mm.
Rubric: Wie der tufel Euam betrogen und usz der bösse gefüret
hette und wie er Adam auch wolte betrogen haben
The Devil (his identity now betrayed by his cloven feet)
is seen leading Eve towards Adam, who remains in the water
with his hands raised as though in exclamation. 54
Placed before 1311 and illustrates 1264-1298.
The Devil's intention to tempt Adam is not stated specifically
in the Vita Adae et Evae X:
cum autem vidisset eam Adam et diabolum cum ea, exclamavit
cum fletu dicens: o Eva, o Eva, ubi est opus penitentiae
tuae ? quomodo iterum seducta es ab adversario nostro, ...
The illustration, therefore, follows the rubric and elaborates
on 1272-1284:
Er wonde der selbe böse geist,
Alles ubels volleist,
Das er mit syme valschen liegen
Solte Adam betriegen
Als er Euen hette getan.
Doch was so wise Adam,
Wie doch der tüfel ware schön
(Verkeret) in engels person,
Das er sin (glichtenheit),
Sin triegen und valscheit
Zu stunde wol erkant,
Do er Euen by der hant
Furte gein dem wasser her.

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

[14] And Adam knew Eve ...
Folio 43r. 94 x 79 mm.
Rubric: Wie Adam und Eva gar lieplich miteinander lebeten und
wie Eva ires ersten kindes swanger wart
Adam is shown embracing Eve.
Placed before 1548 and illustrates 1511-1525.
In the cycles of the Cotton recension Adam and Eve are shown
in their marriage-bed, because they were regarded as the founders of the institution of marriage. This is not, however, the purpose of our picture, which like the text is at this point more concerned with the discovery of physical love:

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

[15] Adam and Eve part
Folio 45r. 140 x 83 mm.
Rubric: Wie Adam und Eua sich Schiedent und me danne tusent mylen von einander gingen

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

Placed before 1615 and illustrates 1615-29:

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

Lutwin's best known adaptation of his Latin source is here, where Eve, instead of leaving Adam out of feelings of shame (Vita Adae et Evae XVIII), departs in anger, because Adam insists on valuing that which they have lost, paradise, more highly than that which they have just found, their love.
[16] Eve prays to the Sun
Folio 48r. 145 x 106 (including rubric) mm.
Rubric: Wie Eua die sunne anbat und sich Æbel gehup umb iren man und bat sø das sø yme iren kumber clagete

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

Placed before 1735 and illustrates 1711-34.
Source: Vita Adae et Evae XIX-XX:

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

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

[17] Eve admires her first-born Son
Folio 49v. 144 x 107 mm.

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

Placed before 1788 and illustrates 1790-1802.
Source: Vita Adae et Evae XX-XXI:

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

Meyer's Class III version of the Vita Adae et Evae has in addition that Eve ignorans et admirans asks Adam to kill the child lest it harm them. This is not present in our text, but both she and Adam are filled with wonder by the event.57

The sculptures at Thann which depict the Penance after the Expulsion also show Eve, accompanied by two angels, nursing Cain.
Here Cain's hair and alert expression indicate that the illustrator had the immediate actions of this infant prodigy in mind who in the poem addresses his mother thus:

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

[18] An Angel teaches Adam to cultivate the land
Folio 52v. 145 x 109 mm.
Rubric: Wie ein engel Adam lerte zu acker faren

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

Placed before 1880 and illustrates 1856-1866.
Source: Vita Adae et Evae XXII:

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

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

[19] Cain murders Abel
Folio 56v. 139 x 116 mm.
Rubric: Wie Caym seinen bruder Abel zu tode erslög

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

Placed before 2025a and illustrates 2008.
Source: Genesis IV:8
Adam is brought before the Creator in Paradise

Folio 61v. 144 x 95 mm.

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

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

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

Ich bot mich zu den süßen
Unsers heren süßen
Uff die erde nider.
Die engel höben wider
Mich von der erde enbor.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae XXV-XXVI:

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

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

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

Folio 64v. 145 x 99 mm.

No rubric.

Adam is lying in bed, his head and shoulders are visible above the brown cover and are resting on a large white cushion. He is looking at Seth. Eve is stationed behind him and is wearing a blue dress with a white veil covering her hair. She appears to be smoothing down the sheets. Seth, the dominant figure, is wearing a green tunic and hat. Next to him stands another son, similarly clad, and behind them both a daughter in a grey dress.
Placed before 2338 and illustrates 2291, 2327-37 and possibly 2373-81, 2387-2452.

Source: *Vita Adae et Evae* XXX-XXXVI:

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

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

Folio 69r. 147 x 92 mm.

No rubric.

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

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

Source: *Vita Adae et Evae* XXXVII-XXXIX:

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

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

Folio 73v. 139 x 104 mm.

No rubric.

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

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

Sant Mychahel der werde,
Des paradieses pflegere,
Erschön in offenbere;
Und der selbe wandels fry
Fürt eines olyboumes zwy
Grüne in siner hant.

and 2692-2709.

Source: Vita Adae et Evae XLIII:

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

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

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

Folio 77r. 144 x 85 mm.

No rubric.

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

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

Die dirtc clage, die su het,
(Wer kan das vollesagen
Das jemerliche clagen ?)
Das was umb iren lieben man,
Der lag und sich nit versan
Von grymes siechtümes not,
Wann er lag an dem dot.
Dis was ir meiste clage.
Lutwin describes Eve's feelings of guilt and grief in the rhetorical manner but emphasizes in particular her deep love for Adam.

Source: *Vita Adae et Evae* XLIV:

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

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

Folio 82r. 144 x 119 mm.

No rubric.

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

Placed before 3013 and illustrates 2983-3012.

Source: *Vita Adae et Evae* XLVI:

et cum esset Seth amplexans corpus patris sui lugens desuper et Eva cum esset respiciens in terram intexas manus super caput eius habens et caput super genua imponens et omnes filii eius flatus amariissimis lacerissent.

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

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

[26] **Adam is mourned by Eve and Seth**

Folio 89v. 144 x 96 mm.

No rubric.
The sarcophagus is now closed, and behind on the left Eve is leaning over it with tears falling from her eyes. She is wearing a grey skirt and a brown top. Seth, dressed as before, stands on the right also weeping.

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

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

[27] Eve addresses her Children from her Death-Bed
Folio 94v. 138 x 109 mm.
No rubric.

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

Placed before 3500 and illustrates (3500)3510-3611.
Source: Vita Adae et Evae XLIX:

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

[28] The Sons of Adam discuss the Miraculous Tree which has grown out of their Parents' Grave
Folio 98v. 145 x 102 mm.
No rubric.

The branch, now resembling a small cruciform tree, is growing out of the middle of a closed sarcophagus. On the left a bearded man in a grey robe and a brown cowl is pointing at the tree. On the right another bearded man is in discussion with two younger men.
Placed before 3657 and illustrates 3629-3696. Despite references in the text to the branch being placed at Adam's head (2698ff., 2780ff., 3233-36, 3263-65, 3629-31) and in his grave, there is no sign of it in [25] and [26]. The man in the cowl is probably Seth, who after the others have left, remains behind to pray for his parents (3707-14).

[29] Noah sends out the Dove
Folio 104v. 144 x 100 mm.
No rubric.

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

Placed before 3872 and illustrates 3866-3871.
Source: Genesis VIII:10

D. Text and Illustration

The first eight illustrations constitute the traditional Adam-and-Eve cycle, beginning with the creation of the world and leading through the events which result in the protoplasts having to labour in it. Although the pictures correspond in general, the relationship to the text at one point is far from close: the transition from the Biblical to the apocryphal account is apparently ignored in [8] where the protoplasts are shown toiling. As this scene usually forms the conclusion of the canonical cycle, it is out of place here, because the poem goes on to describe Adam's and Eve's vain search for the food of paradise and their decision to do penance. Other details indicate that the illustrator was following an iconographic model rather than the text at this point. The rubric of [4] (as of [8]) is not derived from the text, but this transitional scene (between the Creation and Fall) of the protoplasts being led into paradise by the Creator was probably present in the illustrator's model. The nakedness of the protoplasts in [7] is also at odds with the text, which gives the usual interpretation of the clothing as an
act of divine mercy (734-747), but is again a feature of the traditional iconography.62

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

Those pictures which illustrate the life of Adam and Eve after their Expulsion are certainly the more interesting in that they reflect the written work. The illustrator is, after all, aiming to clarify the poem for the reader, but it lies within his judgement (and that of the rubricator if they are not one and the same) to decide where clarification is necessary. In this case the illustrator appears to have been chiefly concerned with keeping the main thread of the episodes concerning Adam and Eve intact, and there is nothing to illustrate such digressions as the Devil's narrative of his Fall (1327-1489; Vita Adae et Evae XII-XVI). Where there are illustrations, they follow the text closely, as do [10] to [13] which depict the Penance and second Temptation of the protoplasts. Both the sculptures at Thann and the Hamburg miniature (see note 8 below) condense these events by showing Adam and Eve standing together in the water with the Devil standing on the bank in the latter case. In the Lutwin manuscript Eve is first shown alone in an
undulating Tigris [10], an imaginative touch on the part of the illustrator, and Adam is then seen with the fish in a static Jordan [11]. Their separation is in fact crucial to the story, because it enables the Devil to approach the credulous Eve first in his attempt to recapitulate the events of the first Fall [12], and where the Bible is vague on the matter of Adam's exact whereabouts during the Temptation, the Vita Adae et Eva is precise. Thus Adam's victory over the Devil is emphasized here as it is in the poem where it is explained that the Devil wanted to tempt Adam as well but was confounded by his superior wisdom. Illustration [13] shows Eve being led by the false angel, while Adam remains in the water clearly resisting the temptation to fall with Eve a second time. The well-known topos of Adam's wisdom (but nevertheless an addition to the Vita Adae et Eva at this point) was obviously considered by the illustrator to be an important factor in the understanding of this major episode and deserving of emphasis.

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

The illustrator was not above diverging from the text where it suited him, and his treatment of the Sethite legend is of special interest. Lutwin's version of the legends indicates that there were separate traditions concerning which of the two trees of paradise was used for the Cross. The narrator, however, is emphatic on this point: Seth is given an olive-branch from the
tree of life on his first journey to paradise which then supplies Noah's dove with a branch in the final episode of the poem, but on a second journey, undertaken after Adam's death, he is given a branch from the tree of knowledge with the half-eaten apple still hanging rather improbably from it. Understandably perhaps, the illustrator has simplified the story by showing the first journey only with Seth receiving a branch without the apple from the tree of knowledge in [23]. Unfortunately, it is in this episode that the rubrics are discontinued, and it is impossible to tell exactly how this readjustment was phrased, although the illustrations remain clear.

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

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

Su floug von der arche zu hant,
Und floug do sü den oleyboum fant
Grünen nach alsam ein grasz,
Der do vor gestecket was
Adam's children, failing to understand Michael's ambiguous message to Seth which the narrator explains in 2721-2760, lose faith in the miraculous tree when it fails to bear fruit both literally and immediately. They depart, and, because Seth himself is still at a loss, he makes the second journey to paradise and receives not only the apple-branch but also a degree of enlightenment from the angel. Noah, Seth's most honoured descendant, finally understands not only, Lutwin insists, that peace will be restored but that the wood of the olive-tree as well as that of the apple-tree are to be instrumental in redeeming mankind:

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

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

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

1. The poem was published by Konrad Hofmann and Wilhelm Meyer as vol. 153 of the publications of the Stuttgart Literarischer Verein (Tübingen, 1881). Line references, however, are to the edition included in the present study of the poem. Where the poem is cited emendations are given in brackets. The illustrations which form the subject of this study are numbered according to the sequence in which they appear in the MS. The numbers are given throughout in square brackets.


7. Ibid., col. 145, pl. 13.

8. See H. Vollmer, Ein deutsches Adambuch (Hamburg, 1908), pl. 1 which is dismissed with a brief description in the footnote on p. 50.


10. The former is illustrated in Herbert L. Kessler, The Illustrated Bibles from Tours (Princeton, 1977). In his second chapter, "Hic homo formatur" pp. 13-35, Kessler gives passages of the VA as the source of some of the details in the frontispieces, but indicates that his research is by no means conclusive.

11. See Ernst Guldan, Eva und Maria. Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv, (Graz and Cologne, 1966), pls. 3-5, with discussion of the importance of Hildesheim as an artistic centre on p. 13ff.; Reygers, RDK, I, pl. 11 for the Andlau sculpture.


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


17. For examples see The Creation from the German Bible of Johann Reinhard of Grünningen printed at Strasbourg, 1485 (Edinburgh University Lib. Inc. ii.) or that of the Lübeck Bible of Steffen Arndes of 1494, see Reygers, RDK, I, 145f., pl.16.
19. See Murdoch, The Recapitulated Fall, pp.149-69.
20. See Reygers, RDK, I, 137f., pl. 10.
22. The vase is described by Alexander O. Curle, The Treasure of Traprain (Glasgow, 1923), pp.13-19, pl. V, fig. 2.
26. The fact that the legends are "Apocryphal" does not mean that in practice they were considered to be unsuitable material for the artist or writer. Indeed translations and literary adaptations of the legends abound throughout the Middle Ages. See Achim Masser's introductory chapter to Bibel, Apokryphen und Legenden (Berlin, 1969) for valuable general discussion of this point.
27. See notes 40 and 60 below.
28. The MS is described by Hermann Menhardt, Verzeichnis der altdutschen literarischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Berlin, 1961), II, 721.


33. Encouragement and incentive for the primarily literary student to enter the province of the art historian is provided by D.J.A. Ross' study in comparative iconography: *Illustrated Alexander-Books in Germany and the Netherlands* (Cambridge, 1971). As will also be apparent Hella Frühmorgen-Voss proves an invaluable guide in her *Studien zur illustrierten Millstätter Genesis*.


In PL CXCVIII, col. 1072 and see Murdoch, *Irish Adam and Eve Story*, p. 81f.

For a slightly later example see Albert Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke* (Leipzig, 1924-39), XIV, pl. 115/573: *The Fall* from the *Bothe-Sachsechronik* by Peter Schöffler, 1492.

For a slightly later example see Theodor Ehrenstein, *Das Alte Testament in der Graphik* (Vienna, 1936), chapter II, pl. 4: *The Fall* from *Der selen wurczgart*, a woodcut printed by Dinkmut in Ulm, 1483.


In the first of Jan Veldener's sixty-four wood-cuts of 1484, an old but not yet ailing Adam is seen telling Seth to go to paradise to fetch the Oil of Mercy for him, in the second Seth receives instead seeds from the tree of life from the angel, and in the third he plants these in the mouth of the dead Adam. Although these pictures may have been derived from the VA originally, they have been totally lifted out of its context, and only Seth, Adam, and the seeds which will grow into three trees and eventually combine as the wood of the Cross are of importance. For the wood-cuts see pls. 77-85 in Roger Cook, *The Tree of Life* (London, 1974).

For a 14th century example see M. R. James, *Illustrations of the Book of Genesis* (Oxford, 1921), where on fol. 1a and 1b the six days of Creation are shown by two similar circles.
but with the Creator seated on top of them; see also
thirteenth century in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York/
London, 1927), where on fol. 1a and 1b the second to the sixth
days of the Creation are each shown by the Creator holding a
circle in a similar manner to [1]. See also J. van der Meulen,
O. Holl and others, LCI/F, IV, "Schöpfer, Schöpfung", 99-123
and Réau, *Iconographie*, II/i, 65-76.

43. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 49; Reygers, RDK, I, 131-33; Réau,
*Iconographie*, II/i, 71.

44. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 51-54; Reygers, RDK, I, 134-36; Réau,
*Iconographie*, II/i, 75.

45. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 49; Reygers, RDK, I, 134; Aurenhammer,
LCI/W, I, 39f.

46. Compare with the Lübeck Bible of Steffen Arndes, ed. M.J.Frie-
langer (Munich, 1923), pl.1: The Fall, where Adam is holding
the apple but studiously avoids Eve's gaze. Our text indicates
that both were under the tree at the time of the Temptation
(398-414) and does nothing to suggest that Adam had doubts of
any kind (180-82). For this common telescoping of events see
Schade, LCI/F, I, 54-62; Reygers, RDK, I, 138f.; Aurenhammer,

47. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 62-65; Reygers, RDK, I, 138f.; Aurenham-

48. See W. Braunfels, LCI/F, II, "Gott, Gottvater", 166-70; Réau,
*Iconographie*, II/i, 3-29.

49. See O. Holl and others, LCI/F, I, "Engel", 626-42; Réau, *Icon-
ographie*, II/i, 30-55; K.A. Wirth, RDK, V, 341-555.

50. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 65-67; Reygers, RDK, I, 139f.; Réau,
*Iconographie*, II/i, 89-91.

51. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 67f.; Reygers, RDK, I, 140-42;

52. While the Ashburnham Pentateuch has them clothed in skins and
standing inside a wooden hut, a wood-cut of 1480 illustrating
Hans Foltz's poetic version of the VA (see B. Murdoch, *Hans Foltz
and the Adam-Legende* (Amsterdam, 1977), p.133 for a description)
shows them naked and seated under a hut with a roof of foliage
outside the gate of paradise. Adam's fringed tunic is similar
to those worn by the protoplasts at the Expulsion in the 12th century Byzantine mosaics of the Real Cappella Palatina in Palermo (see Ehrenstein, Das Alte Testament, chapter II, pls. 27 and 28).

53. For the two other known German representations of the Penance see notes 7 and 8 above. The sculptures at Thann also depict the heads of four fishes in the river with the protoplasts. In addition see Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 91 who describes a miniature in the 15th century Livre des Merveilles (Paris BN, mss. fr. 95 and 1837) which shows Adam and Eve holding hands but standing only up to their waists in a lake in Ceylon said to have been formed by their tears; see F. de Mély, "Nos premiers parents dans l'art. Adam, Eve, Lilith" in: Mélanges Hulin de Loo, ed. P. Bergmans (Brussels and Paris, 1931), pp. 116-22, pl. 3: Adam et Eve dans le lac de Colombo. On the Penance see Schade, LCI/F, I, 50; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 91 and 94. None of these examples show them standing on a stone, although in the Baptism in the Jordan the second Adam, Christ, is sometimes depicted thus. See Friedrich Ohly, Der Verfluchte und der Erwählte (Opladen, 1976), pp. 43-56.

54. In the Hamburg miniature the Devil's disguise is betrayed not only by cloven feet but also by a dark face and large ears. See Murdoch, The Recapitulated Fall, pp. 162-64, for further instances of the Devil in disguise.


56. For discussion of Lutwin's adaptation of this episode see Brian Murdoch, "Eve's Anger: Literary Secularization in Lutwin's 'Adam und Eva'", Archiv 215 (1978), 256-71 and Part III of this Introduction.

57. See Murdoch, "Adambuch", for comparison of Lutwin's treatment of the motif with that of Folz on p. 221f.

58. For the iconography of Cain and Abel see O. Holl and others, LCI/F, I, "Abel und Kain", 5-10; Reygers, RDK, I, "Abel und Kain", 17-27; Aurenhammer, LCI/W, "Abel", 8-11; Réau, Icon-
ographie, II/i, 96-99. Abel's tonsure would appear to be unusual. The text relates that his death at his brother's hands prefigures that of Christ by the Jews (2018-24), a theological commonplace, and both Abel, the shepherd and prototypical priest, and Melchisedech, the priest-king (see G. Seib, LCI/F, III, "Melchisedech", 241f.), appear in their sacerdotal roles in iconography, which is also alluded to in vernacular literature; see Auguste Brieger, Kain und Abel in der deutschen Dichtung (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), p.10f. The illustrator may have had this connection in mind as well as a respect for the clergy.

59. Compare with the 14th century cycle on the S. E. door of the Church of the Holy Cross in Schwäbisch Gmünd, where Adam is lying on the ground tended by Eve, while behind him Seth is seen asking the angel (but not receiving if the name of the church is taken into account) the Oil of Mercy which is contained in a goblet. See Courtauld Institute Illustration Archives, ed. P. Lasko, Archive 3: Medieval Architecture and Sculpture in Europe, III, Germany: Baden-Wurttemberg (1) ed. A. Tomlinson (London, 1977), pl.3/3/128.

60. See Schade, LCI/F, I, 69f.; Reygers, RDK, I, 144f.; O. Erich, RDK, I, "Adam-Christus", 157-60; Aurenhammer, LCI/w, I, 41f.; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 98-101. The text makes little of where Adam was actually buried although the tradition that the Crucifixion took place on Golgotha, the place of the (i.e. Adam's) skull, was of great importance iconographically. The legend of the Holy Rood is but a variation on a major theme, since the wood from the tree which grows out of Adam's grave is eventually used for the Cross. An interesting combination is to be found in the early 15th century Hours of Catherine of Cleves, ed. J. Plummer (New York, 1966), pl.82, where a tree, at the foot of which is a skull, is growing out of a grave-slab, and in the lower border Abraham is about to sacrifice Isaac, a scene which frequently prefigures the Crucifixion, as it does on the Verdun Altar (see Floridus Röhrig, Der Verduner Altar (Vienna, 1955), pl.26 1/9). See also Murdoch, Irish Adam and Eve Story II, 146f. for further discussion.
61. See H. Hohl, LCI/F, I, "Archa Noe", 178-80; R. Daut, O. Holl and others LCI/F, IV, "Noe (Noah)", 611-20; Réau, Iconographie, II/i, 104-10. In a 14th century MS Noah and his family are shown standing inside a chest with a raised coped lid and a large lock on the front; see M. R. James' description of the facsimile of the Paris BN MS Lat. 9584: Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Oxford, 1926), esp. p.13f.

62. Canonical iconography is indeed at variance with the supposition to be found in exegetical writings that the proplasts were in fact clothed while in paradise but lost these garments as a result of the Fall. See B. Murdoch, The Fall of Man in the Early Middle High German Biblical Epic (Göppingen, 1972), pp.106-18.

63. For the intellectual reputations of the proplasts see B. Murdoch, The Fall of Man, pp.39-58.

64. It should be noted that Lutwin never refers to the tree of life by name.

65. Lutwin's treatment of the Holy Rood legend has been regarded in the past as an inconsistent fusion of the version found in the VA with what came to be an independent and more extensive version (as depicted in the sixty-four Veldener wood-cuts), the Kreuzlegende. See Part II.8 of this Introduction for further discussion.

66. 3013-3304 are to be found in Helmut de Boor, Die deutsche Literatur. Texte und Zeugnisse (Munich, 1965), Mittelalter I/i, 203-07.

67. This is no iconographic peculiarity, however, see note 61 above.

68. Of the twenty-nine illustrations only [1], [19], [23], [28], and [29] exclude both Adam and Eve.
TEXT AND TRANSLATION
Lutwin's poem was published by Konrad Hofmann and Wilhelm Meyer as volume 153 of the publications of the Literarischer Verein in Stuttgart in 1881. Meyer's "Textkritik von Lutwins Adam und Eva" was published the previous year in the Münchener Sitzungsberichte and states the editors' aims at some length on p.601:

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

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

Questions of textual edition have been raised and resolved in a variety of ways in recent years. Given the basic extremes of a completely diplomatic transcription (or indeed low-cost facsimile publication), which can well have the major disadvantage of placing the entire critical onus upon the reader, and at the other extreme a text that can amount to a reconstruction, a critical decision has to be made. The problem is at once ameliorated and aggravated in the case of a unique manuscript. Solutions have varied: the Litterae series of facsimiles presents one, as does B. Murdoch's edition of
Hans Folz's Adam-legends which endeavours to present the unique MS (which in this case would be unsuitable for facsimile) in an accessible fashion. D. Neuschäfer's edition of the *Anegenge* compromises by presenting both a diplomatic and a parallel reading text, the latter in normalised form. The provision of a critical edition is somewhat different when more than one manuscript is extant. G. Baesecke's *Oswald* and other similar texts draw on several manuscripts in the desire to reach a putative original version. Such versions are, however, invariably putative, although sometimes it is expedient to aim for such a reconstruction as E. Kiepe-Willms has decided to do in her recent work on *Muskatblut*.

Lutwin's *Eva und Adam* survives in a manuscript which is patently later than the time of its composition. The text is, therefore, potentially in need of emendation, but the present edition retains virtually all the idiosyncracies and mistakes present in the manuscript, leaving the reader to make up his own mind on individual points, which with a unique manuscript he is entitled to do. Punctuation has been supplied for the sake of readability and capitalization has been regulated (where it has been added, it is underlined), and a few of the letters have been normalised. Otherwise this is an essentially diplomatic edition, where assistance in understanding the text is to be found in the apparatus, notes, and translation. A Latin text of the *Vita Adae et Evae* has not been included. Meyer added his own edition of the *Vita* in the apparatus which led to a certain amount of study of Lutwin's source. It now seems clear that Lutwin's exact source will never be known, and any further study would have to take into account a number of Latin MSS that are at present unedited (see Appendix II). Far from ignoring the work of Hofmann and Meyer the present edition notes all their emendations in the apparatus as H and M. Tacit emendations in that edition have been noted here as HM, and references are made also to emendations by de Boor (DB), Haupt (Hpt), Sprenger (Spr), and Steinmeyer (St). Suggestions by the present editor are undesignated. Emendations, however plausible, remain hypothetical, which is why they have not been placed within the text itself. The translation has, of course, drawn upon the emendations, and in some cases words have been added (in brackets) for the sake of clarification.
The decision to add a translation may require some justification. Lutwin's work is part of a wide tradition, and as such demands comparison not only with other German works but with works on the same theme in other languages. In recent years at least two parallel versions from other languages have appeared in text and translation editions, the Irish Adam and Eve story in the *Saltair na Rann* and the later French compilation entitled *The Penitence of Adam* in the Andrius MS. The translation may also serve as a commentary on the textual readings.

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

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

- **i:** the dot of the i can appear as an extended circumflex, as a macron, or as an acute accent; but as these signs cannot be interpreted as having any proper diacritic function, they are rendered as a dot.

- **j:** is sometimes interchangeable with i but has been retained as it stands.

- **o:** may appear with an umlaut, and this has been retained even where vowel modification does not seem appropriate.

- **u/v:** there seems to be no consistent use of the two forms either depending upon position or upon function: for the most part
(and always in medial or final position) v is employed for the vowel or the consonant; initially either v (rather more frequently) or u may be employed. The present text adapts this to modern conventions of consonantal or vocalic use.

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

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

s: is used here for both the s, which appears initially and medially, and the final s. ŭ is shown as ss.

The somewhat erratic use of nasal bars to indicate doubling of n or ò has been resolved and indicated in the text by underlining.

The state of flux of the various graphemic forms employed in this period is best illustrated by the case of namme where consonantal doubling is used to indicate a preceding short vowel (as in wann or vernommen) which, however, has not survived as NHG form.

MS Vindob.2980 is described by H. Menhardt in the Verzeichnis der altddeutschen literarischen Hss. der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek II, 721. The text is written on 106 folios in one hand in a reasonably neat Bastarda of the mid-fifteenth century. The corrections and the rubrics, which appear to have been written with a finer pen, are also by the same hand. There is no punctuation, but paragraphs are indicated by capitals of two or more lines in depth that have been drawn by the rubricator (for whom there is usually an indicator in the margin) and are sometimes embellished with flowers. The letters ì, ï, and ë sometimes have small unidentifiable creatures attached to them, and the ñ of 1.732 is a carefully drawn fish complete with scales and fins. The rubricator has also added a short vertical stroke to the majuscule with which every line begins, thus forming a margin of descending red strokes on every page. There are between 19 and 21 lines on each page where there is no illustration. New paragraphs, which are indicated by red majuscules of more than one line in depth, are shown by indentation of the line in the edition. The sign / marks the end of a folio recto or verso.
NOTES


ABBREVIATIONS IN THE APPARATUS

DB Emendations by Helmut de Boor in Die deutsche Literatur. Texte und Zeugnisse. Mittelalter I/i (Munich, 1965), pp.203-07.

Hpt Emendations by Moritz Haupt in "Ährenlesse (47)", ZfdA 15 (1872), 265.


HM Unattributed emendations in the edition of Adam und Eva noted above.

M Emendations by Wilhelm Meyer in the edition of Adam und Eva noted above.

Spr Emendations by R. Sprenger in "Lutwins Adam und Eva", Literatur Blatt 3 (1882), 259.

St Emendations by Elias Steinmeyer in "Lutwins Adam und Eva", AfdA 8 (1882), 222-30.


Emendations by the present editor are undesignated.
Wer die Wahrheit gerne mynn
Und sich guten dinge versyn
Der müszt der besten eine s[in]
Und lebet nit jn gouches schin,
Als nü leider maniger dut,
Den man siht durch kranckens müt
Jn unsteter fürte louffen.
Wer könne mich do gerouffen
Do mir gewühls nie hör?
Nü sehent Üff und nement war,
Obe die rede gelogen sie:
Wem tumbe sitten wonent by,
Was mich der selbe geleret,
Und jchs mit willen an in geret,
Das were gar ein verdorben ding,
Und müste auchone widerwing
Der selben einer wesen,
Die man so gefüge siht wesen
Das böste von dem besten dört,
Und gedencke werdent wort,/ 
Das sagen uns die wisen.
Nü lossent wir der toren fürten risen,
Der die meiste menge ist völ,
Hin do sū zu rehte ligen sol,
Und volgen wyser lere,
Das frisstet lip, güt, und ere,
Und flissen uns darzū,
Wie unser jegelicher getū
Nach dem, do man des besten giht,
Und den, man doch darunter siht,
Leben nach gottes lere.
Dem volgen wir, wann das ist der,
Dem got die selde hat gegeben
Und dort das ewige leben.
Das ist wol und reht geton,
Es ist der welte ein selig man.
Wer nach gottes leben wil,
Der müßt auch der welte spil
Lassen, als ich mich versynne.
Nü wer mag der welte mynne
Verdienen und gottes grüs ?/
Der zweyer eins er tün müs;
Sich der welte mynne pflegen
Und gottes dienstes mit trüwen pflege[n],
Oder mit der welte sich betragen
Und gottes dienst wider sagen,
Wann nieman mag zwein heren wol
Dienen nach des nützes zol.
Jedoch der mir volgen wil,
Der sol gar der welte spil
Lassen usz seiner aht
Und von aller seiner maht
Dienen dem vil süßen Christ.
Wünschent alle zu dirre frist,
Wer dis höre oder lese,
Das ymme got genedig wese,
Der dis büch hat gedihtet,
Mit ryman wol berihtet.
Er ist Lutwin genant.
Sin namen ist lutzel jeman erkant,
Das machet sin grosz unheil
Und sin krancker synne ein teil,

32 der: ere H; der St. 33 die: hie ? M; hie St.
43 pflegen: bewegen H. 44 pflege: pflegen H.
51 Lassen: Lossen HM. 59 Lutwin: poet's name underlined in red. In the margin: Authoris Nomen Lutwin (later hand). 60 MS: erkant: inserted Σ.
Das er nit bas erkant ist.
NÜ bittent got, den richen Crist,
Das er durch alle sine gütte
Sende in unser gemüte,
Das wir verdienen hie
Die fröide, die kein ore nie
Gehöret, nach ouge gesach,
Nach nie münd Üsz gesprach,
Das sü möge glichen dar.
Jo wene ich, do sint düsent jar
Kurtzer danne ein halber tag.
Den fröiden sich nit glichen mag,
Die er den bereit hat,
Der jn one myssetat
Minnet und die sünde lat.

DO verendet was die zit,
Als es an der schriftt lit,
Und die Jorjal was ergangen,
Die gotheit begunde verlangen
Mit yr nachvolgerynne,
Das was die güte und mynne/
Und och die barmhertzikeit,
Die lebetent in der eynikeit
Vor der welte one angenge,
Und do das dühte zü lenge
Die gotheit, wann sie eine vertrosz,
Den güten und den mynnelosz
Und die barmhertzikeit gehörre
Gobent darzü jre sture,
Das sich got neigte
Und sin gewalt erzögete.
Gegen wem solt er sich neigen
Oder wem solt er erzeigen
Sinen ewigen gewalt,
Der was und ist unerzalt,
Do niht was und nieman lebete,
Aber er one tougen swebete,
Unsegelich in der gotheit
Mit der ewen ewikeit,
Als uns sagt die worheit ?/

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

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

rubric if Illus.[1]: Fol. 3v. 103 NÜ: N of 2-line depth, red.
105 ewigen: erzeigen or neigen M. 110 ich: ichs HM.
112 Fol. 4r. 113 Den: Dem H. 114 Nie das: Wie des H.
116 erzeigen: erzoiget H. 120 gü: gu[t] H.
Erzähle ich do iht gütes mit,
Obe mir got fügete das,
So sol man mir dancken bas
Dann eine kunstenrichen man,
Der meister ist und dihten kan,
Der hat sin me dann ich getan.
DO got, der gnoden hort,
Beschüff alleine mit dem wort
Hymel, erde, und ir zier
Nach der süssen mynne gir,
Mahte er als ymme gezam
Das paradis so wunesam.
Das heisset wol der wunnegart,
Wanne so schöners nie nit wart,
Das sich ymme glichen müge,
Nach zü sprechen darzü tüge
Von menschlichem synne.
Einen man sat er darynne
Gewircket mit siner hant,
Der wart Adam ganant
Von vier büchstaben.
Wovon der namme wart erhaben
Das wil ich bescheiden schier.
Der welte teil sint vier,
Als ich han vernommen ee:
Das erste teil Anathole,
Des mahtent uns die büch gewis,
Das dirte teil Arthos,
Das vierde heisset Mensembrios.
Sus wart der selbe man/
Zusammene geleit Adam,
Den möchte er wol sunder han.

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

Als ich erfunden han,
Us dem paradise ran
Zü fühnten baum und gras
Und alles das darynne was
Zü güter mosz ein wasser grosz,
Das jn vierteil darnach flosz,/ 155
Die nach jren flus hant,
Als es mir ist bekant.
Das eine ist Phison genant
Das umbflusset ein lant,
Das ist geheissen Eyulat.
Das beste golt das jeman hat,
Das ist in dem lande do.
Das golt von Arabie
Und ouch das von Kaukazas,
Das ie das beste golt was,
Das ist doby kupper var,
Also ist erwelet gar
Das golt von Eyulat.
Das selbe lant ouch wunder hat
Von edelm gesteine,
Das findet man so gemeine
In dem selben lande do
Me danne anderswo.
Als ich uch sage, das kompt dovon,/ 154
Das das wasser Phizon
Usz dem paradise pflösset. 180

153 MS: möchte. 154 Als: A of 2-line depth, red. 160 Fol. 5v. 168 H emends Kankazas to Kaukazas, MS reads Kaukazas. 179 Fol. 6r.
Das selbe lant das genüsset
Das vil mancher richeit,
Dovon des landes wërdikeit
Vor aller der welte ist geseit.

Das ander wasser ist genant
Geon und ist der Mören lant
Mit syme flüssse umbegat.
Die welt manig wunder hat.
Vur ein wunder prüfe ich das,
Wolt ir hören, ich sage uch, was,
Das die Mören alzu mole
Sint swartz als ein kol.
Wovon das ist, das sage ich uwe:
Das kummet nüwen von hüwe,
Das sie vor hitze hant kein frist
Und das lant so hoch ist,
Das es der sunnen so nohe lit,/
Das su hörent zü aller zit
Die sunne des morgens uffgon,
Als su iren schin hebet an
Mit eime suse in der wise,
Als hymel und erde zü sammen rise.
Das kumet von der hitzen schin.
Deste heisser müs das lant sin,
Sit der heissen sunnen stral
In dem lande gent zü tal.
Dovon sint die selben lute
Alle swartz an der hütte.
Was touget me dovon geseit
Nach der büche worheit ?
Das dirte wasser Tygris,
Also uns *Genesis*
Das büch kundet sunder wan.
Das flüsset, als ich gelesen han,
Gegen der Assirien lant.
Das vierde ist Euprates genant,
Ein wasser luter als ein zin,
Als ich von rehte bewiset bin.
Der wasser rede ein ende habe.
Das paradis ist urhab
Diser wasser alle vier.
Als es ist gekundet mir,
Also han ich bescheiden das.
Wer nü bescheide die wasser bas,
Das losz ich varen one has.
DO got nü sin beschöffede sach,
Die geviel ymme wol, und sprach:
"Das eine wesen nit sanffte töt,
Dovon ist es nit güt,
Das der man alleine blibe.
Wir sullent machen von syme libe
Ein menschen, der sin glich sy
Und der yme blibe by."
Do dis also ergie,
Einen süßen sloff er lie
In Adam, den geschaffen man./
Ein Rip brach er yme lise dan,
Darus ein wip er worhte,
Die auch durch sine vorhte
Dete und lies,
Was er tün und lassen hies.
Dye wart Eva genant.
Jr namme wart uns sit erkant
Nach mangen unsern leiden.

217 Fol. 7r. 221 alle: aller H. 224 a deletion before nü.
226 DO: D of 2-line depth, red. 237 Fol. 7v. 239 cf.
2202 H. 240 lies: diese H. 241 hies: hiese H.
242 Dye: final letter added in red.
Den wil ich uch bescheiden,
Was er bezeichnen töt:
'Eu' in krieschem sprichet 'güet',
'A' in latin betütet 'an',
Der den nammen prüfen kan,
So sprichet 'Eua one güet'.
Nach anders man in bedüten döt:
Eua kriesch in latin verkeret
Sprichet 'an'. Ich bin geleret,
Der erbet su zü rehte an,
Wanne Eua gütes uns verban.
SÜ hat uns leit gemeret,/ 250
Und manig selde verkeret
Mit ungehorsam,
Dovon der erste val bekam,
Der menschlich kunne über sich nam. 260

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

DO alles das beschaff en was,
Des der tügende adamas,
Got unser here, gedoht,
NÜ was mit ziere och vollebroht
Das paradis so wunnesam,
Do das wip und Adam/
Von gotte in gesetzet sint.
Die weren alsam die kint
One schamme und sünden eine,
Falsches fry und so reine,
Mit schöne und mit wiszheit,
Die got hatte an sü geleit

253 Sprichet an ich bin geleret: Sprichet 'ach'. Ich bin
geleret St. 257 Fol. 8r. 260 Der: Den M; über sich nam:
Überkam (?) M, St disagrees. 263 Got unser here, hat gedoht (?),
cf.305, 421 M. 264 was mit ziere: mit inserted. 267 Fol. 8v.
Mit unmeszlichen genaden
Und überflüssig geladen,
Das es ist unsegelič.
Das ist wor, das was billich,
Sit sü wurckete gottes hant

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

Syt sü wickete gottes hant,
Dem alles werck ist erkant,
Es sin werde beginnen:
Der sternen, mon, und sunnen,
Vinsternis, lieht, alle element,
Abgründe, und firmament
Mit den worten werden hies
Und die wasser nit enlies
_Fliessen uber jr rehten zil._
Dis was siner genoden spil
Und sins gewaltes kraft.
O wol der süssen meisterschaft,
Die von nicht alle ding
Gewircket hat one widerwing,
Und one aller mosse lere.
Was touget dovon zü sagen mere?
Wann das wip und der man,
Die ich vor benant han,
An allen tugenden weren volkomen/
Das wart in leider sit benommen
Mit der ersten mysetat,
Die an uns gewiset stat,
Als der sunden angenge bat.
_Nu was das paradis gegeben,
Das darynne solten leben
Adam und Eua sunden on,
Und das in were underton
Zü fröiden aller der slahte,
Das got darynne het gedan
t
One eynen boun er jn verbot:
"Wellent ir nit den ewigen dot
Entpfohen", sprach die gotheit,
"So lont uch wesen leit
Zü nützen des bounes fruht.
Obe ir die tobeliche suht
Wellent uber sin zü liden,
So sülent ir gar vermyden/
Den wücher den der boun git.
Wann werlich zü welicher zit
Jr das obes beginnet essen,
Zü hant duncket uch vergessen
Die schamme aller der gnaden,
Die ich uff uch han geladen."
Wer noch wiser lere döt,
Das ist sele und libe güt.
Dovon hörent alle gliche
Beide arm und riche
Disse hertzenswere clage:
Wir alten ie von tag zü tage
Mit ungluckes stüre
Und sint doch leider hure
Lutzel wiser danne fernt.
Affenfur ist nieman wert,
Wanne imme selber, als ich wene.
Wer zimbern wil und dremen
Von fülem holtze güte mas,
Der sliffe sin ysen bas/
Und lo mich danne sehen,
Wes ymme die wissen yehen,
Und wie die was sin gestalt,
Das sü weder warm oder kalt,
Doch sol der gast wesen frü.
Ich gewanne nie so güte rü,
Do keme ein ungewitter noch.
Aller erst horent ein ungemach,
Das ich uch nie kunden wil,
Sit ich der worheit mit enhil.
Die rede ist der worheit zil.

NOch der gotheit gebiet
Den boum man in beschiet.
Enmitzen in dem paradise,
Stunt der boum zu prise,
Schön und wol florieret
Von öpffeln schöne gezieret,
Die woren zü dem anblick schöne.
Den selben boum ich kröne/
Für alle, die ie ouge gesach.
Und do dis alsus geschach,
Das got den rücken kerte dar,
Der tüfel nam des rehte war,
Das ymme die state werden möhte,
Als es sin valschen reten döhte,
Der niemer niht war geseit,
Der güte und der worheit
Und alles rehtes ein unreht,
Der alles menschlich gesleht
ZU allen bösen dingten Übet,
Das böszheit Übertrübet
Liehten schin und cloren lust,
Der dieff jn der hellen gruft
Behüset ist durch übermüt,
Der stetlichlich alles güt
ZÜ Übele verkeret
Und das güte selten meret.
Selten wor und sprich ich das:
Wenne allen nydt und has/
Hat von ymme angenge.
Der welte breite und ir lange
Von sinen schulden bevangen stat.
An ymme ist aller der rat,
Der sich ZÜ übele pfliihtet,
Das das reht anvihtet.
Der vil leide Sathanas,
Wanne er verstossen was
Von dem hymelrich,
Do er got eben gliche
Wolte setzen sinen stül,
Dovon er in der helle pfül
Durch sin hochfart viel.
ZÜ tal in der helle giel
Wart ymme hus geben,
Und das der mensche solte leben
Jn gnoden, das was sin nydt,
Als er hat erzögiet sit,
Dem reht trüg er ie widerstrit.
Dö er rehte erkos die wilse,
Und sich die engel mit yle
Zu hymele begunden heben,
Die do zü hüte wurden geben
Dem schönen paradise,
In einer slangen wise
Hüp er sich in des boumes este,
Wanne er darunter weste
Adam und Eua sunder hüt.
Er det als nach der valsche düt,
Der sich liebet domit,
Das er mit dienstes sit
Den lüten sich erzögiet
Und doch domit feiget
Den, der nach symme rote düt.
Alles ubels ein ubele brut,
Der töfel ungehüre,
Mit der lugen stüre
Begunde er also losen
One truwe mit Eua kosen,
Mit dem zagel umbevaren
Und dem glich geoaren,/
Als er jr götes gunde.
An der selben stunde
Sprach er: "Eua, sage mir,
Warumbe sint verbotten dir
Die boum und ir fruht von got?"
Sü sprach: "das ist sin gebot,
Das wir aller bōme slaht,
Dar er hie jnne hat gedahnt,
Zü essende stüllent pflegen
Und das eine uns verwegen,
Des niessen uns den tot git.
Wanne an der selben zit,
Obe wir sin obes begynnenn essen,
Zü hant duncket uns vergessen
Die schamme aller gnaden,
Die got uff uns het geladen.
Der wurden wir veryrret gar
Von dem tode, das ist war.
Nach symme rate ich gerne var."

DER tüfel sprach: "Das ist niht.
Ich weis wol, was davon geschiht./
Jr kiesent dovon nit den dot
Nach keinre slahte not,
Obe ir des bömes essent
Und ir nit vergessent
Diser liehten ougen weide.
Uch mag davon nit zü leide
Beschehen, das gloubent mir.
Got weis wol, wanne ir
Das obes essen begynnent,
Das ir uch zü hant versynnent
An allen güten dingen.
Wie möchte uch mysselingen
Von disem kleinen böymelin ?
Was kreffte mag daran gesin,
Dovon ir fröide verliesent
Und den tot dovon kiesent ?
Das ist ein kintlicher won.
Als schiere wurt geton,
Das ir das obes rüret,
Zü hant wurt uch entpfüret
Der blinde und der dumbe sitt,/ 
Do jr sint gefangen myt.

425 cf. 315 H. 433 DER: D of 2-line depth, red.
435 Fol. 13r; JR: J of 3-line depth, red, with animal decoration. 437 bömes: boumes HM. 450 tot: letter o blowned out and rewritten in red. 456 Fol. 13v.
Darzu wurt uch sunder wan
Manig synne uffgetan
Und offen uwer ougen
Zu wissende manig tougen,
Die vor uch verholen sint,
Und sint nyme als die kint
One kunst und an synnen blint."

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

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

464 Fol. 14r; Eua: E of 2-line depth, red. 484 Fol. 14v.
Din koste kunde matten
Ein gar gewunnen spil,
Das menschlich kunne uff das zil
Gezogen hette, das es were
Gewunnen und unschedelichen were.
Do kam du, Eua, sunder güt,
Do das spile was unbehüt,
Und dete leider einen schach,
Dovon leit und ungemach
Aller welte ist geschehen.
Din ougen kunden rehte spehen,
Wanne das spile zü matte were.
Owe dirre grossen swere,
Das aller dirre ungemach
Nüßent von einem bisse geschach.
Der were verlossen bas.
Das lossent wir one hassz,
Wenne su sin wenig genosz,
Die uns broht der sunden klosz,
Dovon sint wir selden blosz.
DO der appfel gessen wart
In des paradieses gart
Von Eua und Adamen,
Die sich müßtent schammen,
Und do in dis leit geschach
Jr yetweders des loubes brach
Von eins vygebömes aste
Und bundent das vil vaste
Zü deckende fur jr scham,
Wanne su die scham so sere ankam,
Das su sich bergen begunden.
Nu was es an den stunden,
Als sich endet mittag.

490 das es were: das es iemer mere St.
505 Fol. 15r.
507 D0: D of 2-line depth, red.
Adam dört verborgen lag
Under der boüm este.
Er truwete nit, das gott weste
Die sünde, die er hette getan.
Zwore das was ein tumber wan,
Wann gott erkante die wercke ee,
Das der wille volle gee.
Vor gotte kan niht
Verholen sin, was geschicht
Offenbare oder tougen,
Es sehent sin göttlichen ougen.
Er hatte dovor lange gesehen
Was Adam solte beschehen.
Das leit höre ich die worheit jehen.

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

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

524 cf.3668 H. 525 Fol. 15v. 534 Fol. 16r; Göt: S of
3-line depth, red, with floral decoration.
"Herre, das wip, das du mir
Gebe zu einer gesellynne,
Die wart der äppfel susse ynne.
Der asz su und gap ochu mir,
Der nosz ochu ich, die schulde ist ir,
Min schulde ist kleine daran."

"Warumbe hastu das getan?"
Sprach er zu dem wibe do.

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

Gott in zorne sich enzunde,
Wanne an der selben stunde
Der slangen flücken er began.
Er sprach: "Sit du den rate hast getan,
Dovon leit geschen mag
Der welte, so bis fur disen tag
Verteilt und verflüchtet gar
Under aller wurme schar,
Den ich natürlich leben/
Uff erden han gegeben.
Die ginge uffgeriht ee,
Du müst aller yemerme
Gon nach mins willen glüst
Uff der erden mit der crust.
Ouch müstü one wende
Essen erden bitze an din ende,
Domitte will ich dich letzen.

555 Fol. 16v. 559 also: letter 1 inserted. 567 Gott: G of 2-line depth, red, with floral decoration; cf. 1449 H.
576 Fol. 17r. 577 Die: Du M. 578 aller: aber (?) H. 580 crust: brust H.
Vyentschaft will ich setzen
Zwüschent dir und dem wibe,
Du yemer hessig blibe,
So das su dich an dir reche
Und din houbt zerbreche.
So sult och du jr
Slahen mit diner eyter zungen gir.
Den flüch habe ich iemer me von yr."

Der slangen was geflüchet so,
Gegen dem wibe kerte gott do
Mit zornes grymme und sprach:
"Hertzzeleit und ungemach/
Wyll ich dir yemer meren.
Du sult kint geberen
Mit hertze sweren wehen.
Myt leide in ungemach
Von maniger slahte sach
Wurt dir not gekundet.
Sit du hast gesundet,
So sol dins libes fruht
Mit vil grosser sünden suht
Von dem manne empfohen sich.
Ouch sol der man uber dich
Gehöhet sin und geheret.
So wursten dicke verseret
Von mannes gewalte,
So das er din walte
Und dich habe in siner pflege.
Disen flüch habe allewege
Sit du mit sunden überlast
Min gebot übergangen hast.
Nu sige die selde dins libes gast."

586 Du: Du ir M. 587 dich: sich H. 589 du jr: du die
fersen yr H. 590 mit diner eyter: mit eyter H. 591 habe
ich iemer me von yr: habe iemer me von mir H. 593 DER:
D of 2-line depth, red. 596 Fol. 17v. 598 There is clearly
a line missing after 598, H suggests: Din leben sol ergen
cf. 1762. 608 wursten: wurstu H.
ADam lag noch dörter verborgen/
In vorhten und jn sorgen.
Jm seite wol sin swerer müt,
Als er mir selber dicke döt,
Das ymme maniger slachte swere
Von den sünden kunfftig were.
Untze er do an der stunde
Zu ime sprechen begunde
Zornigklichen in gryme:
"Sit du des wibes stymme
Gevolget hast und nit mir
Und nach der froszheit gir
Der frühte hast genommen dan,
Die dich nit gefrommen kan
Und die ich dir verbot ee,
So müs konnte erdie yemer me
Jn dinen nammen verflüchtet sin.
Mit sweysz soltu die spise din
Uff der erden beiagen,
Mit arbeit dich betragen.
Du müst vil vaste buwen
Die erde mit der höwen,/ 
Sitze das es kommet uff die zit
Das dir der tot ein ende git,
So müstu wider werden
Zu eschen und zu erden,
Wanne du nit anders bist
Danne erde und myst.
Zu erden müstu kommen,
Dovon müstu genommen.
Des mag dich nit übertragen
Das obes, du müst in leide betagen
Und din spise in sweisz beiagen."

616 ADam: A of 2-line depth, red. 617 Fol. 18r; Jn: J of 4-line depth, red, with animal decoration. 638 Fol. 18v.
641 zu erden: deleted letter between the words.
Lieber mensche, bedencke das,
Wer du bist und was
Das kranckes angenge sy.
Warumbe wonet dir fröide by,
Sit du von erden bist genommen
Und müst zu erden widerkommen,
Du weist nit wannen oder wie?
Disser sünden slagh ergie,
Do euch den appfel asz/
Und Adam was jr gemasz
Und der sünden volleist,
Als jm riet der böser geist,
Dem walscher rate wonet by.
Nü mercke, mensche, ob ich sy
Swacher danne die erde ist,
Do du von geboren byst
Mit vil swachem werde.
Noch bistu swacher dann die erde,
Spreche ich, socher jo gar vil,
Als ich dir bescheiden will.
Die erde gebirt jerliche
Manige fruht nerliche,
Dovon sich alles das ernert,
Dem das leben ist bescheret,
Lüte, vogel, zam und wilt,
Die erde des nit bewilt.
SU gebirt wucher alle ior
Mit manigem velde grunevar,
Su git liehte ougenweide
Mit blümen in maniger heyde/
Die nach fröiden sint gestalt,
Darzü git su grünen walt.

649 Lieber: L of 2-line depth. 650 Fol. 19r; cf. 2888 H.
Dis alles von erden kommet.
Was alle creaturen frommet,
Das gebirt die fruhtberende erde.
Su git auch in liehtem werde
Böm, blüte, loup, und grasz.
Nö sage, mensche, du füles asz,
Was gütes von dir kommen möge,
Das zu reinigkeit döge?
Des kan ich nit wissen.
Und het sich ye geflissen

Der wise Katho,
Ovidus und Plato,
Die kundent rehte nie erspehen,
Was von dir gütes möge geschehen
Jeman, wanne dir alleine.
Jn der wyse ich das meyne,
Das du nach dem wollust
Dem liebe wol und sanffte tust
Und kannst das ahsz mester,
Das doch wurt zum lesten
Den wurmen in der erden beschert.
Als der lip wurt verheret
Des sele mit des todes krafft.
Gedencke, mensche, an die geschafft,
Das ist erde und leyme,
Donach von naturen weine.
Von leymen der lip erkicket wurt,
Der lip danne aber birt
Und wurt zu leymen als ee.
Ach leit dir, mensche, und we.
Warumbe bistu gütes mütes,
Eren, libes, und gütes,
Sit erde ist din anevang
Noch swacher dann krang?

693 MS: rehtek. 700 Fol. 20r. 703 Des: Der M.
704 die: din M. 706 weine: sweime H. 708 aber birt:
abebirt M.
Gedenke an din kranckes leben,
Do der selen ist mit vergeben,
Ob du dem libe volgest stete,
Der git dir miserete,
Dovon die sele wurt fröidenbar.
Nu nemment der welte tüsent jar,
Das ist ein vil kurtze zyt,
So dir der tot ein ende git;
So ist dir in der wise wie,
as ob du lieben tag nie
Jn der welte gewynne.
Der welte fröide und wunne
Jst zwar anders niht,
Als man tegelichen siht,
Dann valsche und untruwen vil.
Das ist nü der welte spil,
Dovon treit su der sorgen vil.

rubric of Illus.[7]: Wie Adam und Euua us dem paradise getrieben wurdent von dem engel

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

720 nemment; nim (?) M. 721 Fol. 20v. 725 gewynne: gewunne H. 732 Fol. 21r; JCh: J of 6-line depth, red, decorated with a fish complete with fins and scales. 735 Wurt: Wart HM. 738 wullin: vellin (?) H. 741 Nodelen: Nodeln HM.
Dovon müst su duncken güt
Das selbe unreht gewant,
Das gott andett mit siner hant
Dem man und dem wybe
Zu decken ir schamme an irem liebe.
Und do sū gekleidet waren,
Got sprach zu der engel scharen:
"Nu sehent, Adam worden ist
Als unser einer in kurtzer frist /
Wyssende ubel und güt.
Dovon gebent dem bōm hüt,
Umb den es ist also gewant:
Wer daran leget sin hant
Und siner frühte nusset,
Das leben in begüset,
So das er ewigklichen lebet.
Adam das unhoch hebet,
Er esse des bōmes und lebet stet.
Ob man dem bōm nit hōte dett,
So neme er sin, das weisz ich wol."
Eya, gott, der tugent vol,
Hette ich des bōmes einen zwy,
Das ich vor dem tode fry
Jemerme one ende waren,
Das were mir ein süsse mere,
Und were vor truwen wol genesen.
So wolte ich hie wesen
One tōtliche swere,
Die wile und die welte were,/ 
Und danne nach der welte leben
Myt dir, here, zū hymel sweben.
Das mag leider nū nit sin,
Doch bitte ich die gnade din,
Das du myn gerüchest hūten
Vor des ewigen todes wuten,

752 Fol. 21v; quire indicator. 763 der: du (?) 765 vor dem: blotted d. 768 truwen: touwen H. 772 Fol. 22r.
Und gerüechst der selen geben
Nach dem libe das ewige leben
In dem frone hymelriche,
Das fröide ist unglieh.
Was fröide do zu hymel sy,
Die ist vor menschen sinnen fry,
Das sü nieman geprüffen kunde.
Hey, was fröiden und wunne
Lyt an gottes anschowe.
Do auch der engel frowe,
Die müter und maget ist,
Nebent irem sune, dem süussen Crist,
In der hohen pfaltze swebet,
Do su ewiglichen lebet.
Do su wilent kunfftig sach/
Und von dem heiligen geiste sprach
Der heilige wyssage David.
Er sprach also: "Astitit
Regina a dextris tuis."
Domi tte möchte er uns gewysz,
Das es die selbe kunigin ist,
Die one menschlichen list
Jst mit zepter und mit won
Erhöhet in dem höhsten thron:
Su müter brüt, der sun wurt.
Jr schöne wol die hymel zirt.
Jr schöne ist wol lobes wert,
Der aller engel fröide gert
Und auch der erwelte schar.
Jn den fröiden tüsent jor
Sint noch kurtzer danne die frist,
Die jn dirre wile vergangen ist.
Zu den hülffe uns, heren Jhesu Crist.
Adam wart beikit,
Als ich vor han geseit,
Do müste er jn leider wise
Rumen das paradise
Und vil vaste buwen mit pflügen,
Mit scharen und mit höwen
Die erde, do er von was kommen,
Und als ich rehte han vernommen;/
Eyn angel wart gesetzt dar
Mit einem swerte fürwar
Dem paradise zü höte.
Adam mit der sunden glüte
Darusz verstossen wart zu hant.
Domitte das paradisz verswant
Sihtcliche vor jren ougen,
Als es noch in gottes tougen
Beslossen ist jemer mere,
So das dohin nieman kere,
Der mit sunden ist bevangen.
Adam mühte belangen
Nach so süsser ougenweyde,
Die er verlosz mit grossem leide,
Doch dett er als ein wyse man,
Der sich des wol enthalten kan,
Des er nit gehaben mag.
Wer ye güter witzen pflag,
Der habe och den selben sitt,
Do fristet er sin ere mit.
Das ist myn rate, dem volge ich./
Adam domitte bewarte sich
Und machte von holtze ein hüttelin,
Do er und das wip sin
Abe dem wetter underlegen
Und rüwe darunder pflegen.
Darunder logent sů suben tage
Myt jomer und grosse klage,
Bitze das su hungern began.
"Adam, here, lieber man,"
Sprach das wip, "ich bin nohe tot,"
Sprach Eua, "von hungers not
Zwinget sere die kreffte myn.
Dovon tů mir kreffte schin,
Bringe etwas, das wir essen.
Ob gott hat vergessen
Des zornes, den er zu uns hatt,
Und setzet uns wider an die statt,
Von dannen wir vertiben sin,
So were uns gnade schin,
Als uns gnade ist gewest e."
Darnach wurt uns niemer we
Von hunger noch von leide,
Ob wir die süssen weide
An der stunden gewynnen.
Adam, mit dynnen synnen
Solt darnoch werben,
Das wir nit verderben.
Frunt und lieber herze myn,
Nů lo dirs empfolhen sin,
Als ich getrüwe den truwen din."

840 Fol. 24r. 845 Darunter: Darunter HM. 846 grosse:
grosser H. 850 von: wan H. 852 kreffte: helffe M.
860 Fol. 24v. 864 dynnen: dynen H. 865 Solt: Soltu H.
867 herze: herre HM.
rubric of Illus.[9]: Wie Adam und Eua zu rate wurdent wie su büssen woltent

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

870 Fol. 25r; DO: D of 2-line depth, red. 877 MS: envangt. 880 betoret: becores H. 890 Fol. 25v.
ADam als ein byderman
Sprach: "Die rede soltu lan.
Din müt sye verwahssen.
Wie möhte ich gelossen
Myn hant zu ubel an ein wip ?
Du bist myn fleysche und lip.
Dovon were es ungehört,
Ob du von mir wurdest ermort.
Der erden soltu abegen.
Wir söllent süchen und gen,
Bitze uff die selige zyt,
Das uns gott ein spise git,/
Do der lip wurt von ernert.
Sit uns nit anders ist beschert,
Wir söllent beilagen die lipnar."
Eua sprach: "Wie gerne ich var."
Nit lenger su sich sumeten,
Das hüttelin su rumeten
Und gingent miteinander dan
In velde und manigen vinstern tan
Und fundent doch nit der spyse,
Die su in dem paradise
Dovor hettent gehabet.
Susz gingent su ungeladet
Bis an den nunde morgen
Mit leide und mit sorgen
Und fundent doch anders niht
Wann krut wurtze, das was ein wiht
Zu niessen menschlichem leben.
Adam sprach: "Das hatt gegeben
Got zu weyde dem wilden tier.

899 ADam: 'A of 2-line depth, red. 901 verwahssen: verwasen H.
907 Der erden: Der rede H. 911 Fol. 26r; ernert: second r
inserted. 922 ungeladet: ungelabet M. 923 So: Do (?) M.
926 krut: krut und M.
Mir aber und auch dir/
Was in dem paradise
Geben engelsche spose,
Der wir leider nü nit haben."
Hiermit Adam begunden graben
Der wurtze usz der erden do
Und asz und gab auch Eva so
Zu niessen wurtze und grasz,
Das vil wenig gegerwet wasz.
Wann ich wene, in were türe
Hafen, kessel, und fure,
Brot, pfeffer, und saltz,
Oley, milch, und smaltz,
Das was in alles türe.
Der hunger gab darzu sin sture,
Das su das krutel dühte güt,
Wanne su mit swerem müt
Gangen werent one essen,
Als ich die zala han gemessen,
Drig und zwentzig tage/
Dovon nach senender klage.
Er dett als der byderman:
Wann er es nit verbessern kan,
Do duncket in ein rat,
Was er zu niessende hatt,
Als es imme an die not gat.
Adam und Eva nit vermeit
Manig hertzeliches leit
Dovon nu die ouyen überlieffen,
Manigen süfftzen tieffen
Noment es uff von hertzen

931 Fol. 26v. 934 begunden: begunde H. 937 wurtze und grasz: wurtze und grass H. 949 MS: Drig. 950 Fol. 27r; Dovon: Dovor M. 956 ADam: A of 2-line depth, red. 958 nu: in H. 960 es: sü H.
Umb des jomers smertzen,
Den su littent von gottes zorn
Und das su hettent verlorn
Des libes und der selen weid.
Adam sprach: "Wir sülletent beid
Klagen höte disen tag,
Bitze gott verkeret sinen slag,
Den er uff uns hatt geleet,
So das sin barmhertzigheit/
Uns noch gerüche geben
Ein spise, dovon unser leben
Ein teill sich gebessern möge
Und zu des libes krefftten töge.
Disse spise ist ein wiht,
Su hörent zu dem libe niht,
Dovon wir klagen müsset
Und von gnaden bussen."
Su sprach: "Büssen, was ist das?
Das soltu mich bescheiden basz,
Ob wir es erliden mögen,
Das wir uff uns legen
Ein arbeit, die zu swere sy
Und gottes güte doch doby
Mit erhöret unser bett
Und zürne aber, als er e dett.
Dovon, Adam, sage mir,
Was wiltu nemen zu büsse dir?
Durch das ich gesundet han,
Du hast daran nit missetan,/ 
Dye büsse sol ich alleine han."
ADam sprach: "Du bist ein wip
Und hast darzu ein krancken lip,
Wann menschliche blöde töt dir we.
Dovon will ich der büsse me
Besten nach gottes hulden,
Die du niht maht gedulden.
Ich wil vasten viertzig tage
Und wil so lange mit senender klage
Zu büsse in dem Jordan
Bitze na mynen halsz stan,
Domitte gottes zorn stillen,
So soltu nach mynen willen
Duch büssen, als ich dir sage,
Vasten vierunddrissig tage
Und die wile ston dort
In dem wasser sunder wort,
Bitze ob der reine süsse gotte
Ere daran sin gebotte/
Und setze uns wider an die stat,
Dovon er uns vertriben hatt,
Das kam von diner missetat."

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

Dye büsse nit lenger wart gespart,
Eua hüb sich an die vart.
Zu der büsse wart ir gach.
Das was durch das ungemach,
Das su von hunger kumber leit,/ Wanne jr erste frossikelt,
Dye hatt erzüget vor
Uns der unselden spor,
Die hing ir noch ein teil an.
Domitte hüp su sich dan
Und gie, do sü ein wasser vant.
Das was Ieygris genant.
Darin stunt su uff einen stein,
Ouch stunt su do allein,
Das jr bitze uff das halbe bein
Jr das kalte wasser gie.
Nu lossent wir su büssen hie,
Got gebe, das su gebusse wol.
NÜ wil ich sagen, als ich sol,
Von der büsse, die Adam
Zu gewynnen gottes hulde nam.
Er hüp sich an die büsse dan,
Do er vant den Jordan,
Und stunt bitze an den halsz darjn.
In leide kerte er seinen synn,
Er rüff mit klegelicher stymme/
Und mit jomers gryme:
"Ach, Jordan, ich sage dir,
Du solt helffen klagen mir.
Samene was in dir swebe
Und natürlichen lebe,
Vysch und was swymendes sy,
Dar sü mir stont klagende by,
Und klagent nit über sich,
Sunder klagen über mich,
Wann sü nit habent missetan
Sunder ich gesundet han."

1025 M suggests deletion of this line. 1026 halbe bein: halsbein M. 1027 Ir: Ie (?) H. 1038 Fol. 29v. 1044 Dar: Das H.
rubric of Illus.[11]: Wie Adam in dem Jordan sin sunde büssete und wie die vische im darzu hulffent vsw.

DO er die wort volsprach,
Zu hant er die vische umb sich sach
Stille ston und nit fliessen.
Jren flusse, iren leich su liessen
Die viertzig tage vollygkliche
Und geberten dem gliche,
Sam in leit umb in were,
Und klagetent sin swere
Der do stunt gnaden lere.
Eua stunt zu büsse dort
In dem wasser one wort
Vasten mit senender klage
Bitze an den ahtsten tage.
Do hüp sich dar der Sathanas,
Dem das ye leit was,
Was zü güte geschehen möhte,
Als einem falschen rote döhte.
Er hatt verkeret sin grüwelich bilde
In eins liehten engels bilde
Und ging, do er su weinen sach
In dem wasser, und sprach:
"Eua, warumbe weinestu ?
Du solt nit furbas clagen nü,
Wanne gott din büs zernommen hat.
Ich sol dich wider an die statt
Bringen in dirre frist,
Von dannen du vertriben bist,
Und wurt dir wol aber als e.
Du solt nu nit büssen me,
Das habent wir engel got erbetten.
Du solt harusz der büsse tretten,
Darumbe bin ich har gesant."

Hiemitte reichte er jr die hant
Und halff ir usz dem wasser dan
Für das wasser uff den plan.
Do viel sü nyder uff das lant.
Er hüp su uff mit der hant.
Der lip ir von froste was
Aller grün als ein grasz,
Des su doch harte wol genaszh.

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

Elcher man sprichet nü
Ob ein wip mysetu

Illus.[12]

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

1089 Fol.31r; an attempt has been made to erase this and the following line. 1089a Welcher: W of 2-line depth, red.
1092 volcke: volge H. 1094 Fol. 31v.
Und gewynnet doch leit dovon,
Des su ee was ungewon.
Wanckel erbet die fröwen an
Von Eua, die sin erste began,
Do su wider die gehorsam
Das verbotten obsz nam
Und wider Adams gebiet,
Als ir der tufel riet,
So gohes usz der büsse tratt.
Su wonde, er dete ir güten rat,
Dovon su gloubte und hort
Sinen rate und sinen wort,
Daran ir leider myssegie./
Und hette su davor ye
Vernommen solche swere,
Als dovon kunfftig were,
So hette su es lihte so bewart,
Das es ir were uff die vart
Nit kommen also krefftiglich.
Dovon die fröwen mynnecklich
Habent noch den selben sitt:
Ob ein man in redet myt,
Das su ire oren bietent dar
Und nemment irs rates war,
Do nit wann valsches usz gat,
So wenent su, der sedlen rat
Werde in do zūm besten,
Und ahten nit den gebresten,
Der dovon kommen mag.
Der wanckels müte von ersten pflag,
Das was Eua, dovon ich
Den fröwen unstete gich.

1101 gewynnet: gewynne M. 1102 Des: Das HM. 1106 obsz: obs HM. 1109 cf. 1309 M. 1112 sinen: sinem H. 1114 Fol. 32r. 1125 cf. 1262 H.
Su wüstent nit was wanckel wer,
Ob in nit dicke offenbere/
Euen wanckel wurde geseit.
Das ist wor, su verge basz verseit,
Wanne das su volget mere
Der bösen danne der güt'n lere.
Doch, werden und reine wip,
Tragent in zühten myner lip
Mit küsche und stetikeit.
Der tugent krantzte die kusche treit.
Dovon sollent ir varen lossen
Die valschen man verwahssen,
Die mit frundes munden
Geren zu allen stunden,
Wie su letzen uwer ere
Und uch fügen hertzen swere
Mit maniger süssen valscheit.
Owe maniger valscher eit
Wurt umb uwere ere gesworn,
Do die valscheit als ein dorn
Begeret zu letzen uwere ere.
Was sol ich sagen mere ?
Wanne welches wip ir werdikeit,
Jr lop und ir reinikeit,
Jr ere und schöne iugent,
Jr gewissen und ir tugent,
Jr zuht, ir scham und ir lone,
Und ir küsche crone
Verschwachet durch einen valschen man,
Zvore das ist nit reht getan.
Die nö an eren wolle genesen,
Ob su mannes nit mag entwesen,
Die kyese einen steten man,
Ob su den yergent vinden kan,
Der one valsche getruwe sy.
Ist aber valsche den trüwen by,
So wurt der man niemer güt.
Dovon wendent uwer müt,
Reine wip, one reine man
Und ziehent uch von den bösen dan.
Nyt bessers ich geraten kan.

Ir wendent man alle gliche,
Vernemmert mich tugentliche,
Einen demütigen rat,
Der von kindes hertzen gat,
Jn frowen hulden hebent an.
Und rate uch das, ir werden man,
Nydent trüwelose wip,
Die ere, sele, und lip
Bringe dicke in myssetat,
So das niemer wurde rat
Beyde libes und der sele.
Prüffent nit ir ciores vele,
Noch ir goltvar wes hor,
Jr hende noch ir helse clor,
Jr mündelin, noch ir ougbrawen,
Sunder ir sollent spehen,
Wo ir vindent ein wip,
Die mit kösche zier iren lip
Und sye tugentliche gesitt,
Do jr sint behalten myt.
Ob uwer einer sölle nemmen
Ein wip, die ime solle gezemmen,
So fragent nit wo das güt sy./
Ob ir armüt wonet by,
Hatt su danne reinen müt,
Den nemment fur grosz güt.
In wurdent dicke ungemüt
Dovon nemment reinen müt
Von der wibe grosses güt.
Aber des sitten pfligt man niht,
Als man tegelichen siht,
Man nymet güt fur ere.
Wer das güt über mere
Nymet, der hatt krancken müt,
Und das ist nit güt,
Wann es die lüte zu nötten treit.
Das lange zu hüffen ist geleit
Nach der hordere list,
Das zergat in kurzzer frist.
Er manglel des gluckes rat,
Der von erbe nit eren hatt.
Von einem güte geschicht das,
Zwor er were hie nyden bas,
Do er viel in einen myst,/ Als jmme angeboren ist.
Dovon, ir man wol gemüt,
Mynnt ere fur das güt
Von fremdent uch von wiben hin,
Den zu valsche stet ir synne.
Volgentiren liepkosen niht,
Das zu untruwe hatt pfliiht.
Brufent zu eine bildenerer:

1197 Fol. 34r. 1200 In: Ir M. 1201 M suggests the deletion of this line for being a compound of 1196 and 1197. 1202 grosses grossem M. 1206 über: aber St. 1207 Nymet: Minnet (?) M. 1208 cf. notes. 1216 bas: red line over g; das (?) H. 1218 Fol. 34v. 1221 Von: Und M. 1223 iren: irem M.
Mange hohe hertze swere,
Die von wiben ist bekummen.
Als ir ee habent vernommen,
Wie Adam ungehorsam
Den val von syne wyde nam.
Samson het starcken lip,
Doch valte in Dalida, sin wip.
Salomons wyszheit
Verswant von wyben, als man seit.
Welicher uwer hatt nü den synn,
Der one schaden kumme von in,
Den wonent grosse synne by. /
Reine wip sint valsches fry,
Von den bösen sprich ich das.
Es ist ein witter underlas
Zwischent den bösen und güten,
Den valschen und rein gemüten.
Die bösen haben valschen müt,
Die reinen sint vor valsche behüt.
Den reinen sol man gütes yehen,
Alles güt müs in geschehen.
Des gan ich den reinen wol
Alles gütes, als ich billich sol.
Die do sint one myssewende,
Su habent unbewollen hende,
Der welte fröide und wunne.
Wer in gütes nit gunne,
Der müsse von in gescheiden sin.
Aber ich armer Lutwin
Sencke darzu myn synne,
Das ich in wünschen bin
Den reinen maniges gütes,/

1232 dalida: Dalila H. 1237 den: dem M. 1238 Fol. 35r.
1239 sprich: i inserted. 1256 wünschen: wünschende H.
Die unverhowendes mötes
Sint gegen den valschen mannen.
Reine wip sint verbannen
Vor der truwelosen rat,
Do nit dann valsch uszgat,
Wanne ir hertzte nit reines hat.

NÜ wil ich wider griffen an,
Do ichs vor gelossen han.
Als ich dovor han geseit,
Der tőfel in engels cleit
furte Euam by der hant,
Do su Adam vant
Mit hertzelichem ruwen stan
Zu bösse in dem Jordan.
Er wonde der selbe bös geist,
Alles ubels volleist,
Das er mit syme valschen liegen
Solte Adam betriegen
Als er Euam hatte getan.

Doch was so wise Adam,
Wie doch der tőfel were schön/
Verkerent jn engels person,
Das er sin glichsheit,
Sin trie gen und valscheit
Zu stunde wol erkant,
Do er Eu en by der hant
Furte gein dem wasser her.
Was sol ich sagen mer?

Do su Adam komen so nohen,
Das su einander wol sohen,
Zu hant Adam mit gryrne schrey:

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

rubric of Illus.[13]: Wie der tufel betrogen und usz der büsse
gefüret hette und wie er Adam auch wolte betrogen haben.

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

1299 Fol. 36v. 1305 cf.3505 H. 1309 cf.1109 H.
1311 Fol. 37r; Adam: A of 2-line depth, red; Jordan: r inserted
Jagest nach mit diner valscheit
Und buwest uns arbeit
Mit diner ungetruwen lere?
Haben wir dir fröide oder ere
Benommen ie an keiner stat,
Das uns din heszlich rat
Ist so vigent in den dot?
Wir liden one schulde not.
Wir haben dir leides mit geton.
Das soltu uns geniessen lon."
Der tufel so hinwider sprach:
"Hertzeleit und ungemach
Wil ich dir jemer fügen."
Mych mag nit genügen,
Was ich dir leides bringen mag,
Wann du bist myner fröiden slag.
Ich bin durch dich verstoßen
Von den engeln myn genossen,
Von des hohen hymels løfft
Zu tal in der erden grufft.
Des ist nu die schulde din."
Adam sprach: "Wie mag das sin,
Das du von mynen schulden
Und von gottes hulden
Siest von dem hymel verstoßen
Mit andern dinen genossen,
Sit ich nit by dir was
Jn dem hymelschen palas
Nach mir nit erdencken kan,
Das ich dir leides han getan,
Dovon du myr gebest die schulde,
Das du des werden gottes hulde
Hast verlorn und die fröide,"

1318 buwest: bruwest, cf. 2542, 3735 St and Spr.
1330 Fo. 37v. 1340 Und von: Wit von (?) M.
Dye du hettest an siner beschöide,  
So din schöne sin schöne ansach?"  
Der tufel do sin ungemach  
Besuffezete und beweinte,  
Do er mit bescheinte,  
Das in dannach jomerte dar  
Zu hymel zu der engel schar,  
Von dannen er verstossen wart  
Nüwent durch sin hochfart.  
Das beclagete er ie so.  
Zu Adam sprach er aber do:  
"Adam, nü höre mych.  
Jch wil bas bewisen dich,  
Wie ich von den schulden din  
Verloren han die hulden sin,  
Der mir gliche schöne gap.  
Jch meine got den hymel hab,  
Der mich von hymel sties herabe.  
DO got der unervorhte  
Dich in dem parise geworhte/  
Und dir nach siner gotheit  
Gap eine sin forme cleit  
Und das leben mit der sele,  
Min geselle, der engel Mychahele,  
Furte dich zu der engel schar.  
Do nam got diner forme war.  
Die geviel jmme an dir verre bas  
Danne an ymme selber, wisse das.  
Do er sin bilde an dir sach,  
Mit grosser liebe er zu dir sprach:  
"Mir glich, Adam, nü sich.  
Jch han nach mir gebildet dich.
Und dich geformet schöne
Nach glicher persone.
Dovon du mir wol behagest,
Wann du dir gotheit zeichen tragest." 1385
Do der rede wart geswigen,
Die engel dir zu füssen nigen
Und boten an din menscheit
Durch das bilde der gotheit.
Mychahel hup den keine val,/
Darnach die engel uberal,
Zu eren din forme cleit
Durch die liebe der gotheit,
Das got hette gebotten
By Michahel sinen botten. 1390
Und dis also geschach
Mychahel der engel zu mir sprach:
"Geselle, du solt nach unsern sitten
Den menschen eren und bitten,
Der gebildet ist nach got. 1400
Das ist myn rot und myn gebot,
Der mych und dich beschaffen hat."
Ich sprach: "Das were ein arge gedat,
Das ich den solt betten an,
Der sich mir nit glichen kan
An höhe und an wurdickeit,
Die ich vor in bin angeleit.
Er ist gemah von erde,
So bin ich hoch und werde
Nach gottes bilde beschaffen vor./
Ich bin über der engel chor
Gehöhet sunder menschen list,
Er ist nüwent erde und myst.
Ich bin schöne, er ist swar.
Er ist drübe, ich bin clar.
Er ist vinster, ich bin lieht.
Niemer das von mir beschiht,
Das ich knuwe fur in
Vur den ich gehöhet bin.
Zwor das ist billich.
Er ist mir niemer glich
An tugende nach wärdeikeit.
Das er mir dienstes sie bereit."
Das hörten etliche engel do,
Die volgeten mir ie so
Und begunden sich zu mir scharen,
Wann su des selben mütes waren
Das su sich mit mir satten wider,
Das wir nit knuwen nider,
Dich zu bitten nach zu eren./
Mychahel sprach: "Du solt bekere
Zu güten dingen dinen müt.
Din gedencke sint nit güt.
Du solt den menschen betten an
Und dinen übermüt lan.
Anders got erzurnet sich."
Zu Mychael sprach aber ich:
"Was kan mir geschaden das,
Obe got zu mir sinen has
Keret? Des wurt wol rat.
Ich nyme mir die höhste stat
In dem hohen hymelrich
Und setze eebenglich
Dem höhsten got mynen tron.

1423 Das: Des M. 1426 a deleted letter before begunden.
1431 Fol. 40r. 1432 cf.1941 H. 1436 H omitted ll.1436-1439
bymistake in his line count.
Jo vorht ich lutzel gottes dron
Und bin als er zu hymel fron."
DO ich die wort vollesprach,
Nü hören zu, was geschach.
Got in zorne enzunte sich/
Mine bystonde und mich
Warff er zu hant herabe
Von der hymelschen habe
Jn das apgrunde zü tal.
Sus moment wir glichen val
Herabe von des hymels lust
Zu tal in der hellen grust,
Do wir ieser müsset sin,
Do sternen nach sunnen schin,
Der mon nach der liehte tag
Niemer hin geluhten mag.
Unser not mit ende wirt,
Jemerme one ende su swirt.
Duch wil ich dir sagen,
Jch was also schön vortagen
Und hette so grosse clorheit
Über der engel wîrdikeit,
Das ich so liehte was gefar,
Das die nûn chöre gar/
Noment von der schöne myn
Allesamment cloren schin
Und des liehtes uberglast.
Der schöne bin ich leider gast
Und ist myn engelsch bilde
Unkeret engestlich wilde
Mit freszlicher ungestalt.
Adam, alsus bin ich gevalt
Herabe durch dine menscheit,
Dovon das ich widerstreit
Und ich dich nit eren wolt
Mit myn engeln als ich solte.
Sus bistu myner fröiden slag.
Ich rich mich so ich beste mag,
Das ich dir füge ungemach,
Als dir ee von mir geschach,
Das ich mit nyde fügete das,
Das Eua den appfel as,
Dovon su das paradisz verlos,
Als ich das hymelrich verkos,
Sus sint wir beide trübelos."

Der tüfel do der rede gesweig.
Adam suftzende zu himel neig.
Er sprach: "Schöppfer, süsser got,
Es ist alles in dime gebot,
Was himel und erde beslossen hat,
Nach der barmünge rat
Tribe den bösen geist von mir,
Dér mich färmdet von dir.
Gip mir die fröide und die stat,
Die er zu hymel verloren hat.
Das bitte ich, here, erhöre mich
Durch din güt, das eret dich."

Der tüfel mit der rede swant,
Eua versan sich zu hant,
Das su uff dem lande lag.
Adam siner büsse pflag
Mit röwen und sender clage/

1489 trübelos: truwelos (?) M, erbelos (?) St, froidelos (?), cf
notes. 1490 DER: D of 2-line depth, red. 1492 schöppfer:
schöpfer HM. 1497 färmdet: färmdet M. 1501 cf.1655 H.
1502 swant: verswant St. 1504 Das: Da H.
Volliclich die viertzig tage.
Und do die büsse ende genam,
Adam us dem wasser kam,
Do er in hatte gebüset.
Eua wart von ymme gegrüset
Mit vil lieplichen dingen.
Jn begunde sere zwingen
Die mynne und ir meisterschaft.
Su kam in an mit solicher crafft,
Das er des nit erwenden kunde.
Er müste begynnen an der stunde
Mit Eua seltzammer gedat,
Als nach menschlich nature hat,
Dovon ir kusche wart.
Mit liebe ochu swanger wart
Eins kindes an der stat,
Als ir beyde lip hat.
Su hetten sin ee nit getan,
Jn geschach beiden liep daran.
Eua zu Adam sprach:/
"Eya, frunt und here myn,
DU bist mir in das hertzen schrin
Gevallen so krefticlichen,
Das ich das nit mag wichen,
Min hertze lige by dir begraben.
Sich hat ein nuwe liebe erhaben
Zwuschent uns beyden,
Die nieman mag gescheiden,
Es du dann got, der es alles mag.
Mich ruwet, das so manig tag
Zwuschent uns ergangen ist,

1507 Fol. 42r. 1520 Davon: Davon HM; wart: verwart M.
1523 beyde lip hat: beyder liep bat H. 1527 Fol. 42v.
1528 des hertzens schrin; das hertzen schrin H.
1535 a deleted letter before Es; der es: der M. 1536 manig: inserted i.
Das wir nit vor langer frist
Die hertzen liebe höben an,
Sit su so wol hat getan. 1540
Das ruwet mich und ist mir leit.
Ouch sie furwar dir geseit,
Das ich liep prise
Vur das schone paradise.
Das soltu glüben mir,/ 1545
Das machet der grossen liebe gir,
Die ich, here, han zu dir."

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

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

1546 Fol. 43r. 1548 Adam: A of 2-line depth, red.
1554 Fol. 43v. 1555 paradis: pardis H.
Der mynne und liebe mit dir,
Wie wol sie aber liebet mir,
Und wil dir sagen, wo won.
Ich was hungers ungewon,
Durste, widermüt, und leit,
Ungemach und arbeit,
Das was mir alles unerkant;/
Bis ich es hie uszbevant.
Mich übertrügt das paradis
Maniger nöte in süßer wis,
Des die mynne nit endütt.
Nu lo mich keren mynnen müt,
So das ich diner mynne pflege
Und din liebe mich dozū wege,
Das ich dich mynnen müs,
Dovon hungers büsz.
Durstet mich von mynne ee,
So durstet mich nach mynne me.
Bin ich vor mude und lasz,
So bin ich darnach müder basz.
Wanne ich zu der mynne go
So ist mir wol, und darno
Bin ich aber fröiden losz.
Sit ich das paradis verkos,
Gewanne ich nie lieben tag,
Wanne sich nit glichen mag
Dem gnodenrichen paradis./
Syn fröide, sin schöne ich prise
Vur alles, das ie wort gesprach,
Nach kein ouge ie gesch,
Das kan sich ymme glichen niht.

1568 wo won: wovon H. 1570 Durste: Dürsten H, St disagrees.
1573 Fol. 44r. 1577 mynnen: mynen M. 1581 Dovon wirt mir
nit hungers büsz H. 1582 von: vor M. 1593 Fol. 44v.
Was mir leides hie geschiht,
Des was ich ungewon dort.
Dovon der mynne lopwort
Behagent mir nit umb ein hor.
Ich bin nü gar selden bar
Und leidig nach wo ich var."

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

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

Mit zorne sü dannen schiet,
Als ir tumber müt riet,
Und ging mit leide und yle
Me danne tusent myle.
Das was verre genüg./
Ein kint su under ire brüsten trüg,
Des sü von Adam bekam.
Adam ouch vor leide nam
Einen langen verren gang,
Des in ouch sin müt twang.
Er ging bis an die stat,
Do die sunne uffgat.
Eya, süsser got und here,
Wo koment zwey liebe ie so verre
Von einander als sü beide?
Obe ich nü bas bescheide,
Das duncket mich vur niht.
Doch eins zu tün mir geschiht,
Als mir sein myn gedinge,
Das ich sü zusammen wider dringe.

Got gebe, das mir wol gelinge.
   Nü lassen wir Adam hie
Und sagen, wie es Eua gie.
So was mit leide vaste dort.
Jr hertze was belangen mort/
Nach der mynne sü sich sent,
Der sü Adam het gewent.
Sus was ir fröide zerbrochen
Mit leide viertzig wuchen.

Darnach kam ir die stunde,
Das sü not zwingen begunde,
Des sü von dem kinde pflag,
Das under irem hertzen lag,
Wanne do sü sin genesen solte,
Als got und das reht wolte.

Do wart ir gryme von hertzen we,
Gegen got sü hymel su schre
Mit hertze weinen und sprach:
"Got, allergüte ein obetach,
Erbarme dich, here, über mich
Durch din güT, das eret dich.

Hilff mir, got, diner genode,

1630 nü: sü M. 1634 zu ... dringe: sü ... bringe H.
1638 So: sü H. 1639 mort: vort H. 1640 Fol. 46r.
1643 wuchen: wochen H. 1652 hertze: final letter deleted.
1655 cf. 1501 H.
Wann myn hertze ist uberladen
Mit hertzlicher clage
Von dem kumber, den ich trage.
Gedencke an mich, din hantgetat,
Wann myn leit nit trostes hat
Anders, here, wanne dych.
Lieber here, erhöre mich,
Das myn kumber mylte sich."
Eua also in dem ellende
Bot zu hymel ir hende
Und clagete got jr hertzeleit,
Das er durch sine barmhertzikeit
Jr swer verkeren geruchte.
Was su das mit bete súchte,
Das was gemolet an ein want,
Wann gottes güte vor jr verswant.
Was su leit oder rüffete
Oder ye von hertzen guffete,
Des was su leider unerhort.
Sus was ir fröide gar zerstort
Von hertzen ungemaech.
Zu hymel su do aber sprach:
"Eya, werder got, wie tüstu so ?/
Von dinen gnaden was ich fro.
Mir hat din gotheit geben
ZÜ wünschen ein reines leben.
Das bin ich nÜ beroubet,
Min froide ist betoubet
Mit bitterlicher clage
Von der swere, die ich trage.
Eya, paradis, wer ich in dir,

1661 Föl. 46v. 1665 Eua: E of 2-line depth, red. 1670 das:
des M. 1673 leit: bat M. 1677 hertzen: hertzelichem M.
1680 Föl. 47r. 1682 Zu wünschen: Ze wünsche H. 1683 das:
des H 1687 paradis: pards H.
Das myn weinen wurde mir
Geringert nach zu einer stunde.
Das mir von Adams munde
Vor geseit ist, das ist wor,
Jch was güter synne bar,
Do ich die mynne lobete mer
Danne das paradis so her,
Wann mir nie leit von dir beschach.
Das ich der mynne lobes yach,
Das was gar ein törlich ding.
Got, der welte umbering,
Gewaltig und schöppfere,
Gerüche senfft en myne swere,/ 1700
Wanne du je der beste were.
NÜ was hie geclaget genüg.
Von der swere die su trüg
Hup su die lenden mit beider hant.
Adam was das unerkant,
Do er dort ostern lag
Und su grosser swere pflag.
Nu nohet es gein einer naht
Jn irem leide su gedacht
Ostern an Adam hin.
Su sprach: "Das ich mit leide bin,
Wer kundet das Adam dort ?
Vernement myn clage wort,
Jch bitte uch, sternen und sunne,
Durch die ziere und wunne,
Die got an uch geleit hat,
Als schiere ir morne an uwer stat
Ostern kummet an uwern schin,
Das ir Adam, dem heren myn, 1720
Allen mynnen kumber clagent
Und jmme des nit verdagent;/
Das ich so grosse swere dol.
Mir wurde bas, das weis ich wol,
Obe ich Adam nach gesehe,
Was ioch mir darnach beschehe.

Liebe sunne, nū tu so wol,
Sit du bist clores liehtes völ,
Sage dem lieben man myn,
Das ich lide von hertzen pin,
Das ich wene das var von ymme.
Liebe sunne, mich vernyme,
Wanne ich nit anders botten han,
Bring mir in zit den selben man,
Der mich hie eynig hat verlan."

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

Eua die naht mit leide lag. 1735
Des morgens do den liehten tag
Nach jrem sitte die sunne erluhte,
Jch weis nit, was Adam dūhte,
Das er zu jmme selber sprach:
"Eua clage und ungemach 1740
Jst von westen kummen mir.
Jch vorhte, das der slange mit ir
Strit als su vor het getan."
Mit der rede gie er von dan
Und kam do er Euen vant.
Do su in sach, su sprach zu hant:
"Here, Adam, lieber man,
Sit ich dich gesehen han,
So ist ein teil gesenfftet mir."
Er sprach: "Eua, was wirret dir?"
Su sprach: "Das mir leides wirret
Und mich aller fröiden irret,
Das wene ich, das kummet von dir.
Eins ist gewahssen in mir,
Das git mir we iemer mere
Und zabelt in der mossen sere,
Als es von mir gerne were.
Sich, Adam, das sint myn swere.
Dovon bitte got fur mich,
Das er mir helffe durch dich
Und losse mich von mym wein,
Von dem myn leben müsz zergen,
Es ensie got, der es wende."
Adam bot zu hymel sin hende
Und bat got leit verkeren
Und sin lop an ymme meren.
E das er die wort gesprach,
Zwölff engel er by ymme sach,
Die hette got dargesant.
Sehs Eua zur rehten hant
Stunden, und sehs zur lincken sitten.
Der zwölffer einer zu den zitten
Sprach: "Eua, got hat und dir gesant.
Er hat Adams truwe erkant,
Sit er von angenge her/
Nyt vant an ymme kranckes mer,
Wanne das er einest dime rat
Volget, und nach der myssetat
Nam er ymme büsse und leistet die.
Was du hast selden hie,
Die wurt dir von gotte getan
Durch Adam, den guten man.
Dovon, Eua, bereite dich
Zu der geburt. Nu habe mich
Zu helfen und myn gesellen hie,
Wann uns dir zu helfen lie
Got der den sinen halff ie."

Illus.[17]

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

1788 Fol. 50r; DO: D of 2-line depth, red. 1789 hören: hörent, cf.1448 H. 1802 ich: das ich H.
Das kint sumete sich lenger niht,
Do es von der müter kam,
Einen louff es yme nam/
Snelliclich zu walde
Und broht siner müter balde
Wurtzeln an dem armelin.
Es sprach: "Liebe müter myn,
Nym das laub und nusz auch der,
Die brahte ich von dem walde her.
Jch weis das wol, du bist krang.
Des dich manig stos betwang,
Des ich dir gein hertzen pflag,
Do ich in dinem liebe lag,
E ich kam her an den tag."

Eua die rede gerne hort.
Von irem hertzen wart gesport,
Was ir leides ie geschach,
Do su ir liebes kint ansach.
Su nam es mit gelust
Und drucket es an ir brust,
So das sin hertze krachte sere.
Die engel goben ir die lere,/ 
Wie su kint ziehen solte.
Die engel goben ir die lere
Und wie su kint ziehen solte.
Die engel, als es got wolte,
Höbent sich zu hymel wyder,
Die durch Adam kommen hernider
Zu helffe ruwen worren gesant.
Das kint wart Cayn genant,
Als uns die schrifft döt bekant.
Adam got genode seit,
Das er sin hertzeleit gros
Also lieplich hette verkeret
Und sin fräide sus gemeret
Mit Cayn, sinem sün.
Er begunde ymme gute lere dün,
Als vatter sinem kinde düt.
Er sprach: "Du solt wesen früt,
Lieber sun, zu güten dingen,
So mag dir niemer mysselingen.
Trage got diensthafften müt./
Das böse lasz und tů das güt.
By dem soltu wesen zu aller zit.
Flüchen, schelten, has, und nit
Lo vor des hertzen tür.
Diene got, der selden spur.
Mide die sunde, das rot ich dir.
Minnen got, der hymel zir,
Lieber sün, das volge du mir."
Adam wart sins sunnes fro.
Sin hertze steig in fröiden ho,
Wanne er liebe an yme sach.
Zu einer zit das geschach,
Ein engel wart von hymel gesant,
Der Adam det bekant
Der erden wucher und ir art.
Die gnode wart nit lenger gespart.
Er lerte in büwen und segen,
Den wylden somen abemegen
Und in werffen mit der hant/
Uff den umbgeworffen sant,

1834
So keme er hundert val herwider.
Das volget er und det es sider.
Ouch lerte er in, als got wolte,
Wie er das vihe zemen solte,
Das ymme helffe solte geben
Zu buwen und zu allem leben,
Zu gewant und zu spise.
Das volget er wann er was wise.
Er lerte in wurcken alles das,
Was menschen synne ie genas,
Darzu hat er bereiten müt,
Wanne er was rein und gut
Und was einer der wisesten man,
Der mannes synne ie gewan.
Hiemit hüp sich der engel dan.

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

Cayn mit Adams lere
Wüche in eime jor mere,
Danne ein anders in zwein tüt.
Ouch gap ymme got der solden müt,
Das er rette alle worte glich.
Zwör das was wunderlich,
Ob ein kint nit jores alt
Mit rede und wercken were so balt/
Als Cayn das kynt was.
Wanne do sin mütter sin genas,
Als ich do gesprochen han,
Do lieff es als ein alt man
Und brohte der mütter sin
Von cleinem crüte ein spiselin,
Do su sich solte laben mit
Nach der kintbetterin sit.
Was touget dovon me zu sagen?
Wir sambilent der rede hie getagen
Und lossen Cayn wahssen hie
Und sagen, wie es ergie
Eua, der müter sin.
Die gebar ein ander kindelin,
Einen sün zu rehtem zil,
Den ich auch nennen wil,
Der Abel wart genant,
Als uns Genesis döt bekant.
Dem gap got in siner jugent
Wisheit und gantze tugent/
Des wunschet er mit selikeit,
Ouch was sin müt darzü bereit.
Do er wart zu einem man
Und sich guter dinge versan,
Das er got sin oppfer gap
Von aller siner hap
Die er mohte geleisten.
Das rüch in got geisten
Der reine herzten mynnet hie.
By sinen tagen er nie verlie,
Er gap durch der selen heil
Von sime Güte das zehende teil
Und det das mit so reinem müt,
Das es got nam vor güt.
Aber des pflag Cayn niht.
Der gap, des oppfer was ein wiht,
Als ich uch bescheiden wil.

1895 cf.292. 1903 auch: uch, cf.2106 H. 1908 Fol. 53v;
Des: Den St; wunschet er: wunsch het H. 1913 einer: einer HM.
1915 Das rüch: Des ruchte H. 1916 hie: ie M. 1923 Der gap:
Des H.
Do es kam uff das zil,  
Das er wart zu einem man  
Und er got oppfern began,  
Das det er Myt valscheit,  
Das es got nit beheit  
Und mit so valschen müt,  
Als das valsche hertze düt,  
Das es got was widerzeme.  
Abels oppfer was geneme,  
Wanne er es mit reinem müt bot,  
Sin hertze het gantzer truwen lot.  
Das trög ym Caym grossen hasz  
Und doch glich umb das,  
Das got Abels oppfer nam  
Und dem sinen was so gram.  
Er gedohte jn sinem mütte  
Gedencke waren nit güt.  
Wie er, als ymme der tüfel riet,  
Abel von syme leben schiet,  
Durch das er was reht und güt  
Und trug got dienshafften müt,  
Als der rehte reine düt.  

Do Kayn dage und naht/  
Jn sime hertzen gedhaft,  
Wie er Abel zu ubel geleit,  
Das mit solicher würdikeit  
Got sin oppfer von ymme nam,  
Eins nahtes der herre Adam  
Durch sloff an sine bette lag  
By Eua und gemaches pflag.  
Do begunde Eua wuffen,
Usz dem sloffe sere röffen.
Su claget und weint,
Als su domitte bescheint,
Das jr vil swere troumt.
Adam sich nit sumt.
Usz dem sloffe er su wackete,
So das su sere erschracke.
Er fragete su, was su meint,
Das su so sere weint,
Was ir getroymet were.
Su sprach: "Got der schöppfere,
Der gebe es uns zu güte./
Jch han Mit swerem müte
Einen herten troum gesehen
Des ich dir, here, veryehen.
Got der gebe mirs zu güte.
Mir troynte, wie Abels blüte
Cayn hette jn siner hant."
Adams hertze erschrack zu hant.
"Owe," sprach er, "diser not.
Cayn sleht Abel dot.
Das kan nieman underfaren.
Doch eine wil süllen wirs bewaren,
Wir sullent su von eine scheiden,
Das sich zwüschen in beiden
Kein has müge erheben.
Wir sülleon Cain das ampt geben,
Das er sie ein human,
Und sülleen Abel schaffen dan,
Das er des vihes pfleger sie.
Sus werdent su villihte fry
Hertzen leides beide./

1970 veryehen: wil veryehen M. 1971 Got der gebe:
inserted der.
Doch ist mir von hertzen leide,
Wann mir seit myn swerer müt,
Das mir vil unsanffte düt.
Got der füge mirs zu güt."
    Der sloff Adam nam die clage.
Des morgens do dem tage
Die sunne luhte nach jrem sitte,
Cayn rette Abeln mytte:
"Abel, brüder myn,
Wir süllent uff das velt," sprach Cayn,
"Und schowen die arbeit."
Des was Abel zu hant bereit,
Wann er was einfaltig und güt.
Er wuste nit das so gemüt
Cayn sin brüder were.
Owe der leiden swere.
Do sü kommen an das velt,
Cayn ungetruwes gelt
Gap Abel, dem brüder sin.
Wie möhte grosser unrüwe sin ?
Er slüg Abeln zu dot.
Owe der mortlichen not.
Cayn, was hastu getan ?
Du hast einen getruwen man,
Der welte vierteil, erslagen.
Güte lüte, nü helffent clagen
Abeln den rehten man,
Der nie schult daran gewan,
Das Cayn got was widerzam
Und jmme sin oppfer was genam.
Domit vorbezeichnet ist
Unser here Jhesu Crist,
Den die ungetruwe diet

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

rubric of Illus.[19]: Wie Caym seinen bruder Abel zu tode erslög

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

Illus.[19]

Do Abel nu erslagen wart,
Cayn sich nit lenger spart,
Er begrüp in und gie von dan
Also ein trübeloser man.
Und do er von dem morde schiet,
Got sin reine gute riet,
Das ymme das wort was ungemach./
Usz dem wolcken su do sprach:
"Cayn, wo ist der bruder Din ?"
Er sprach: "Lieber here myn,
Jch weis nit wo myn brüder ist.
Jch mag ouch nit zu aller frist
Jmme volgen und hüten nach."
Unser here aber sprach:
"Cayn, was hastu getan
An Abeln, dem güten man,
Den du one schulde hast erslagen ?
Sin blüt høre ich clagen,
Usz der erden bitten mich
Rache gerihtes über dich.
Von der sunden müstü werden
Gar verflüchtet uff der erden,
Die iren munt geöffent hat
Und one alle mysssetat
Dins brüder blüt enpfie.
Von diner hant das ergie,
Mordylichen an dirre frist. / 
Darumbe die welt verflüchet ist
In dinem buwe ewiclich.
Also das su glich,
Was su früht und wüchers git,
Und als es kumet an die zit,
Das du su sölft buwen
Mit pflügen und howen,
So wehasset dir anders niht,
Dir zu leide das geschih,
Nuwent disteln und dorn.
Die selde hastu verlorn,
Die du hast gehabett ee.
Jrre varen iemer me
Müstu und flughtig wesen,
Mit nöten uff erden genesen.
Das man harnach begynnet lesen."
Cayn was des flüches unfro.
Zu unserm heren sprach er do:
"Here, myner schult ist mer
Danne antlos ger.
Du nymest mir hütte din gemein,/
Das ich verflüchet sie alleine
Under menschlichem geslehte.

Ich bin gefallen in dein ehre,
Dovon müß ich irre wahren
Und flüchtig sin by mynem jaren.
So welliche mich vinden,
Das su nit erwinden,
Man tu den selben gerich
Über myn leben und döte mich,
Den ich an mynem bruder rach."
Unser here do aber sprach:
"Cayn, das gescheint niht.
Wir dich vindet oder siht,
Der richet nit den brüder din.
Du müst sus verflüchtet sin
Und mit unselde leben."
Hiemit begunde sich haben
Caym, der mörder, von dan
Als ein genodenloser man
Und wonet osten uff der erde
Flüchtig in swachem werde,
Eins hin, das ander her,
Nach der gotheit flüches ger,
Der uff in geladen was her.
Hie lossen wir Cayn irre waren.
Wir süllent es nit lenger sparn.
Abel lag leider dort erslagen,
Den vil sere begunde clagen
Adam und Eva von hertzen
Umb des todes smertzen,
Den er one schult heit erlitten.
Darnach nit lange wart gebitten.
Eva gebar den dirten sun,
Des namme ich uch kunt tün:
Der wart geheissen Sed.
Eua zu Adam ret:
"Here, lieber myn Adam,
Einen sun lobesam
Man ich dir getragen
Vor Abeln den erslagenen,
Den Kayn sin brüder slüg."
NO ist es hie geseit genüg./
Adam und Eua gewunnen kint,
Darnach su gezalet sint
Drissig döhter und drissig tegen,
Uff drü und sehtzig sint gegeben
Die kint alle ungezalt.
Der some wart so manigvalt
Bewiget und geseget
Und Öff die erde gespreget
So wite, das von in kam
Aller menschlicher stam.
Sus wurdent su gemenet sere.
Nach Adams lere
Ein bettewusz su in mahten,
Darynne su gedachten
Gegen got ir myssedat.
Dys was Adams rat,
Der usz ymme selben nie getrat.
ADam bewisete sin kint,
Die imme von hertzen waren gemyn, 
So er aller besten kunde
Mit wercken und munde,/
Wanne er was ein wise man.
Darnach gie in der alter an
Wanne er sin genüg het.

2112 erslagenen: erslagen H. 2115 Fol. 59r. 2118 sint
gegeben: sü stegen (sich belaufen) ? M. 2121 Bewiget:
Gewiget HM; geseget: gesegnet H, St disagrees. 2122 gespreget:
gesprengnet H, St disagrees. 2132 ADam: A of 2-line depth, red.
2136 Fol. 59v. 2137 cf.2279 H.
Als es do geschriben stet,
So het er wol nühundert jor,
Als ich gelesen han fur wor.
Zu einer zit das geschach
Zu Sed syme sune er sprach:
"Sed, lieber sun, höre mich,
Los kunden und bewisen dich,
Wass mir myn tage ist geschehen,
Das ich nie menschen han veryehen.
Do got yme zorne sin
Mich und die mütter din
Usz dem paradise treip
Und uns leider nit beleip
Der engelschen gnaden,
Die er uff uns hat geladen,
Eins tages es so kam
Das ich mir ein gebette nam/
Umb myne sunde zu got,
Do kam zu mir syn bot
Michahel mit eime wagen.
Den sach ich nieman tragen,
Sin reder weren furin
Und gobent also liehten schin,
Das es zu sagen erschricket myn synn.
Domiitte zucket er mich hin
Balde und vil lise
Jn das schöne paradise,
Von dem mich durch myssetat
Unser here vertriben hat.
Do sach ich mit eigen witzen
Unsern heren schöne sitzen.
Des schöne gap so schönes liht
Das sich ymme kan glichen niht.

2148 yme: in, cf.567. 2156 Fol. 60r.
Das luhte als die welt brunne,
Sternen, mon, und sunne,
Und aller hymelscher schin
Möht ymme nit glich sin./
Ouch sach ich by den ziten
Zu der rehten und lincken siten
Engel manig tusent schar.
Die weren alle so glich gefar,
Das es myn hertze nit kan ergrunden
Nach mit dem munde gekunden,
Was ich do fröiden sach.
Das ich dir sage, das geschach.
Ich bot mich zu den süßen
Unsers heren füssen
Uff die erde nider.
Die engel hüben wider
Mich von der erde enbor.
Sus stunt ich insern heren vor,
Dem do dienet der engel kor.

DO ich so stunt und er mich sach
Zörnlich er zu mir sprach:
"Adam, wie hastu gefaren ?
Nieman mag dich bewarn.
Du müst des todes sterben
Und an dem libe verderben,
Wanne du mich versmahet hast
Und mit sundigem überlast
Gevolget hast dinem wibe,
Die von dinem libe
Ich brach darumbe und worhte,
Das su durch din vorhte
Dete und liesse,
Was du lossen hiesse.
Der hastu vor mich
Gevolget, das weis ich.
Dovon bistu gestört
Von diser engel kören,
Von diser ougenweide."
Do ich das horte, mir was leide.
Jch viel nieder vor den werden
Hin uff die erden,
Jch süchete gnade und sprach:
"Got, der genoden obetach,
Almehtig und der hymel zier,
Rüch genedig wesen mir,
Zöige mir dine almehtige krafft,
Mit los verderben din geschafft,/ Wann du mich, here, hast gemachet.
Wie ich mich han geswachet
Mit myner sunden myssetat,
Doch friste mich, din hantgedat,
Und lo mich, here, scheiden niht
Von diner schönen angesiht
Und dinem antlitze,
Das zu fröiden ist so nütze.
Scheide mich nit von dinen gnaden,
Uff den du hast geladen
Maniger tugent überlast,
Den du erzögen hast,
Wie ich diente der sunden last."

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

2230 erzöigen: erzogen (nutristi) M.
DEs antwort unser here mir,  
Ich sage, lieber sun, dir.  
Er sprach: "Adam, armer man,  
Du hast zu sere myssetan.  
Sage, wie sint din tage gestalt?  
Du ware ee jung, näm bistu alt  
Mit maniger slahte unheil,  
Das dir füget der sünden teil.  
Du hast verstandigen müt  
Zu wissende ubel und güt.  
Was kan dich gehelffen das?  
Ich wene, dir were vere bas  
Und werestu verliben,  
Dannen du bist vertriben,  
In dem paradise gast,  
Do dir nihtes jnne gebrast.  
Des du näm müst wesen gast."  
Der rede wart ich harte fro.  
Zu unserm heren sprach ich do:  
"Du bist ewig, starcker got.  
Rein und süsse ist din gebot./  
Du bist der ewige morgenstern,  
Der hohe und der tieffe lucern.  
Mit dime worte beschaffen ist,  
Was swymmet, get, und ist,  
Das müßt auch dir zü eren leben,  
Wann du in leben hast gegeben.  
Su leben dich, als billich ist,  
Wanne du ir aller schöppfer bist.  
Got, here, ein bürnen metten liht,  
Trip mich nit von der angesiht,  
Der sich mag glichen niht."
Do die rede verendet was,
Von vorhte ich kume genas.
Domit das paradis verswant.
Der engel nam mich by der hant
Und satte mich wider an die stat,
Dovon er mich gezucket hat.
Er floch dohin und lie mich hie.
Ich han es gesee syder nie.
Lieber sun, das sint die taugen,
Die mir got sunder laugen /
Gekundet und erzögiet hat
Nach siner grossen güte rat,
Der die sinen nit verlat."

Adam seit syme sune nit me.
Als ich han gesprochen ee.
Der alter in müwen began,
Wann er was ein alter man,
Doch nach sage, und nach rede,
Die er syme sune dede,
Lebet er drissig jor doch
Mit güten witzen dannach.
Und donach den selben joren
Begunde in sere sworen,
Wanne jmme kunfftig was der dot,
Das wuste er wol. Von der not
Kam in so grymmen siechtüm an,
Das er sich kume versan.
An sinem bette er stetes lag,
"We und we" er schrigen pflag,
Wann in des todes gewalt brach. /
Jn syme leide er do sprach:
"Eua trute, liebes wip,
Du bist myn fleisch und lip,
Wann du von mir genommen bist.
Es ist nü kummen an die frist,
Das ich sterben müs und sol.
Eua liep, nü tu so wol,
Sammene alle myne kint,
Die von dir geboren sind,
Das su kummen har zu mir,
Das ich kunde in und dir
Den bittern smertzen,
Den ich lide in hertzen
Und an dem libe uberal
Von dem houbet hin zu tal."
Nit lenger summete su die vart,
Wenn es ir leit von hertzen wart.
Su ging mit clage zu hant,
Do su die kint alle vant.
Su seite ymme leidige mere,/ 2305
Das jr vatter siech ware
Und von wetage lege
Und nit wann schrigens pflege.
Domiitte summete su sich niht.
Su koment fur sine angesiht
Jn das bethus, do er schre
Nyt wanne " owe und we".
Von grossem siechtUm det er das.
Do er su sach, do wurden nas
Von fröiden die ougen sin,
Wie in twang des todes pin.
Er sach sie mit jomer an
Als ein dotsiecher man.
Su sprachen: "Vatter, was ist das,
Das du ligest also las
In dem bette und trurig bist 
Oder was sint wir an dirre frist 
Gesamenet also gohes her ?"
Adam sprach: "Ich bin ser, 
Das ich von nöten ligen müsz. 
Usz dem houbet bitze in den füs/z/ 
Jst mir bitterlichen we. 
Dovon mag ich nit liden me, 
Got sie, der mir by beste."

Illus.[21]

Dye kint wurdent gar unfro.
Su sprochent zu Adam do:
"Here, we, was ist das ?
Das soltu uns bescheiden bas./
Uns ist we unerkant,
Wir werden sin dan bas ermant."
Domitte der rede wart geswigen.
Jr houbet vor leide nider sigen,
Umb iren vatter das geschach.
Sed, sin lieber sun, do sprach:
"Herre, vatter, als ich mich
Versynne, so senestu dich
Nach des süßen obes spise,
Des du in dem paradise
Hast bekort zu einer zit,
Des an dir truren git.
Dovon han ich iht won,
Das soltu mich wissen lon,
Das ich gen one qual,
Beide berg und tal,
Bis an das paradises tor,
Do wil ich danne ligen von
Und esche uff das houbet legen
Und nit dann bete und clage pflegen,
Bis das got erhöret mych/
Und geruchet erbarmen sich
Über die grosse quale din
Und rüchet den engel sin
Senden usz dem paradise,
Der mir bringet der spise,
Nach der sich sent das hertze din.
Herre, vil lieber vatter myn,
Myr seit myn gedinge,
Das ich des obes bringe.
Got gebe, das mir gelinge."

Adam sprach: "Viel liebs kint,
Als liep du mir bist genynt,
Got weis wol, das ich mich
Myt sene, als du versynnest dich,
Nach des paradises fruht,
Sunder ein ungehure suht
Und grosz smertzen mich swinget."

Dis döhte wunderlich die kint,
Was smertzen were.
Su sprochen: "Offen uns die mere,
Vatter, was smertze sy;/
Sit dir smertze wonet by,
Das wir uns rihten darnach."

Adam mit clage aber sprach:
"NÜ hörent, myn lieben kint,
Was smertzen und we sint
Und siechtums anevang.

2359 von: vor H. 2363 Fol. 65v. 2370 cf. 1633ff.
2373 Adam: A of 2-line depth, red. 2374 genynt: gemynnt H.
2376 Myt: Nyt HM. 2379 swinget: swint H. 2384 Fol. 66r.
Do git sin güte darzü zwang,
Das er, süßer und güter,
Mich beschöff und uwer müter
Und uns engelsche spise
Gap in dem paradise,
Nüwen ein büm er uns verbot.
Er sprach: "Ir kiesener den dot,
Obe ir das obes essent,
Zu hant ir vergessent
Mit maniger slahte leide
Diser augenweide."
Darzu gap uns der güte
Zwene engel zu hüte,
Die uns hüte solten geben.
Do sich die begunden zu haben/
Zü hymel zu einer bette zit,
Do kam des rehten widerstrit,
Der tufel ungehure,
Mit urkunde und mit sture,
Mit nidiclicher valscheit,
Das ich sit dicke han gecleit,
Domitte er Eeam betrog.
Mit liebekosen er ir loug,
Er riet das su des bümes esse,
Darumbe su nit vergesse
Der englschen augenweide.
Ach, uns allen zu leide,
Nach des bösen geistes aht
Als su das obes an der stat,
Ouch volgete ich ir myssetat.

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

2422 myssetat: myssetan H. 2426 Fol. 67r.
2447 Fol. 67v. 2448 ichs: inserted c. 2449 müsz: mus HM.
Adam so sere geclaget,
Euen und den kinden gesaget
Den bitterlichen smertzen,
Den er leit in hertzen
Und in Eua weinen sacht,
Do weinte och su und sprach:
"Here got, der tugende last,
Wann du uns beschaffen hast
Dir zu lobe und zu eren,
Rüch genediclich verkeren
Adams smertzen, den er duldet,
Den ich eine han verschuldet,
Und sende in har an mynem lip,
Wann ich unselig wip
Die sünde von erste han getan./
Ich solt eine den smertzen han,
Das were zwar billich.
Adam, here mynneclich,
Teile myt mir den smertzen,
Den du clagest von hertzen.
Gip in me dann halbes mir,
Das einteiil werde senffter dir
Der smertze, den ich dich höre yehen."
"Eua, das mag nit geschehen.
Sunder tu, das ich dich bitte,
Do du mir wol senfftest mit.
Nym mynen sün Sed zu dir,
Der ist der liebeste mir,
Der ist gütt und wise,
Und get züüm paradise
Und lit dovor mit sender clage
Beyde naht und dage
Mit bete uff der erde,
Das es schin werde,
Das uch sie von hertzen leit,
Umb myn bittere arbeit /
Besprengen mit esche uwer houbet,
Das uch gentzlich werde gloubet,
Das ir do genoden gert.
Was got obe er an mir mert
Sin lop und rüchet sich erbarmen
Über mich vil siechen armen
Und sendet nach der gire myn
By den süßen engeln sin
Das bômes siner barmhertzikeit,
Von dem des lebens süssikeit
Flüssset zu aller zit.
Obe man uch des ein wenig git
Von dem wunnegarten dan,
Das ir mich vil süßen man
Bestrichent und besalbent mit,
Das ich nach dem alten sitte
Geraste ein wile nach der qual,
Die ich lide von houbet zu tal
Bis in die füsse.
Werder got, nü büsse/
Mir myn swere in kurtzer frist,
Wann myn dot und myn genyst,
Herre, an dir alleine lit.
Hilff, here, das ist zit.
Verzich mir myne myssedat,
Frise den do beschaffent hat
Dine süsse göttliche hant,
Und rüch lösen myne bant,
Die mich sere zwingent.
Und nit wann we bringent,
Dovon myn leben endet sich.
Ach lieber got, erbarme dich
Durch din erbermde über mich."

Illus.[22]

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

2522 Fol. 69v; quire indicator. 2529 H corrects engeslischer to engestlicher, the MS reads engestlicher. 2535 Das kam von: Das von M; schos: schuss (?), stoz (?) M. 2542 Fol. 70r; buwen: bruwen H. 2543 kragheit: karkheit H, kuonheit.
Der tūfel antwort an der stat:
"Eua, in han dirs ee,
Jst nit unser trugenheit
Gegen menschlichem kunne,
Von der wir der hymel wunne
Sint behert und beroubet?
Oder wie distu betoubet?
Mahtu nit uff dinem kragen
Dinen sun von hynnen tragen,
Den ich do gebissen han?
Du hettest doch maht daran,
Das du ehse des bömes fruht,
Von der du lidest soliche züht,
Der ich ein aller meist
Reter was und volleist,
Als du wil wol selber weist."

Sed kam zu synnen wider./
Er lag nit lenger nider,
Ouch versweis er nit das,
Er sprach: "Vare in gottes has
Von uns, tufelicher geist,
Aller lügen volleist,
Verflüchter vigent der worheit,
Ursprung der valscheit,
Der die ersten lügen begie.
Flüch die gottes balde hie,
Das gebüt ich dir an gottes stat,
Der uns nach ymme gebildet hat,
Als in sine güte twang und bat."

"Der tufel sprach: "Ich vare von dir,
Als du hast gebotten mir."

Hiemitte er von ymme verswart.
Sed wart gesunt zu hant.
Er hup sich, do er sich versan,
Mit Euen seiner mütter dan
Vor des paradises tor
Und logent do mit bette vor,
Myt clage, und Mit andaht,
Und doten in aller aht,
Als in Adam hat vor geseit.
Umb das oley der barmhertzikeit
Baten su mit willen,
Domit su wolten stillen
Adams smertzen und sin leit,
Das in twang mit bitterkeit.
Und do su also logen
In ir andaht clagen
Gestrecket beide uff der erde,
Sant Mychahel der werde,
Des paradises pflegere,
Erschein in offenbere
Und der selbe wandels fry
Fürt eins olyboumes zwy
Grüne in siner hant.
Er sprach: "Ich bin hargesant,
Sed, gottes man, das ich dir sage,
Das du dich mossest diner clage
Und der williclichen bete,
Die du hast hie zu stete,
Umb das oley der barmhertzikeit.
Vur wore sie das dir geseit,
Du solt darnach nit synnen,
Du maht sin nit gewynnen,
Bis das nach der zit, das ist wor,
Wann funff dusent zwy hundert jor

2584 Fol. 71r. 2593 clagen: und ir clagen M.
2605 Fol. 71v. 2610 Bis das: Bis H.
Ende habent, und dannen darnach
Kunet des hymels obetach
Herabe uff das ertrich,
Ein kunig gar so mynneclich,
Gottes sun Jhesu Crist,
Der ie was und jemer ist.
Der wurt in dem Jordan
Gedoiffet, das ist one won,
Zu wessen menschlich geslehte
Von der angebornen ehte,
Die din müter und Adam
Mit jr ungehorsam
Brahten uff die erde weid,
Dem funfftigen kunne zu leide,
Ouch wil der selbe gottes sün,
Als ich dir hie kunt tün,
One allen widerstrit,
Als nü kumpt die selige zit,
Salben mit der süssikeit
Des oleys siner barmhertzikeit
Uber alle die seligen kint,
Die darzu erwelet sint.
Die müessen ochu sin erkorn
Und an der stunde geboren
Von wasser und vom heiligen geist.
Die zwey gebent allermeist
Sture zu demussen leben,
Das dem getoifften wurdt gegeben
Von dem gottes fur herabe.
So wil der selbe hymel habe
Dinen vatter gar gesunt
Machen und in an der stunt
Jn das paradis füren,
Do er wol mag beröten/
Den baum der barmhertzikeit,
Von dem des lebens süßikeit
One alle gebresten flüsset.
Der fruht er danne müsset
Völlichich über alle jor.
Ouch wurzt mit jÿm der selen schar
Gefüret jn das paradis here,
Das su lebent jemer mere
Mit fröiden one alle sere."

Sed zu dem engel sprach:
"Was mir leides ie geschach,
Das wil sich nü nuwen.
Mich müszt von hertzen röwen,
Sol myn vatter so manig jor
Ligen sich und fröiden bar,
Als du mir fur die worheit,
Lieber engel, hast geseit.
Das were ein jemerliche not.
Jo were jymme besser den dot,
Danne solicher smertze, der in jymme swert
Und des auch nit one wirt/
Jn funff dusent zwy hundert joren.
One wie sol ich geboren,
Sol er also manige stunde
Ligen sich und ungesunde ?
Das machet myn fröide mat.
Lieber engel, gip mir rat,
Oba ich darzu tőge,
Das ich erwenden müge
Mines vatter arbeit."
Der engel sprach: "Dir sie geseit,
Von hüte an dem sehsten tage
So endet sich Adams clage,
Die er an dem libe hat,
Umb die sele es anders stat,
Die müsz zur helle sin gevangen
Bitze die jorzal ist zergangen.

Illus.[23]

Als ich dir han gesaget,
Wanne der sehste tag betaget,
So sol din vatter sterben
Und an dem libe verderben.
Din augen dannen wunder sehent
Von grossen zeichen, die geschehent
An hymmel und an ertrich,
Die begynnent clagen clegelich
Dins vatter do clagen./
Ouch wil ich dir sagen,
Wanne er ist begrabent,
So soltu zu einee zeichen haben
Disen grünen oley zwyge,
Das dir ein zeichen sige
Dins vatter urstende.
Den stecke du mit der hende
ZU' dins vatter houbet,
Das uns wurt gloubet
Mir und dir die worheit,
Wann als der zwig fruht treit,
Das gloube den worten myn,
So erstot der vatter din
Von dem tode an der stunt

2678 H emends endes to endet, the MS reads endet. 2682 MS: gßeizte; rubric of Illus.[23]: Fol. 73v. 2683 Als: A of 2-line depth, red. 2686 cf.2196 H. 2690 clagen clegelich: clegelich H. 2691 do: dot H. 2692 Fol. 74r. 2694 einee: einee HM. 2696 cf.3266.
Und ist danne ewiclich gesunt
Und wurt siech niemer mere."  
Domiitte der engel here
Gap ymme den zwig in die hant.
Vor iren ougen er verswant
Und fur, danne er was gesant.
Sed was des zwiges fro./
ZU einer müter sprach er do:
"Wir sullent pflantzen wol den zwy
Und jme fuhte machen by
Nach der lieben engels sage,
Das er schier fruht trage,
Das unser vatter schier erste
Und er danne niemer me
An dem libe wurt ungesunt."
Ach lieber got, wie gar unkunt
Sed und Eua, den zwein luten,
Was des engels beduten.
Wann als er in hatte gesiet,
Als balde der zwig wucher treit,
So hat ein ende Adams pin,
Das meinde er in dem synne sin,
Wann die zit ende hette,
Als er in vor seite,
So kemme uff die erde herabe
Der reine süsse hymel habe,
Und neme an sich die menscheit
Durch vertiben unser leit,/  
Und darzü sol der selbe zwy
Wahssen, das der sunden fry
Gottes lamp daran ersturbe
Und das leben uns erwurbe
Mit sinem reinem tode.

2710 cf.3784 H. 2713 Fol. 74v. 2729 seite: rette H. 2734 Fol. 75r.
So wurde von aller not
Adams sele erlost
Und solt mit götlichem trost
Maniger sele zu troste kummen.
Sed die worheit het vernommen,
Die yme der engel hette geseit,
Und doch nit nach der worheit,
Wann yme was der won by,
Wenne des oleybômes zwy
Nach einer art trüge früh,
So solte von dötllicher süht
Sin vatter Adam erston.
Das was ein kintlicher won,
Wann es der engel anders niht
Meinte, als die worheit giht,
Als ich do vor han geseit,
Nuwen das die menscheit
Got an sich nemen wolte
Und do mit lösen solte
Adam, sint hantgeschafft,
Und alle, die der krafft
Hette gemachet zagehafft.

Wir süllent die rede nit lenger sparn.
Eua und Æd, die do warn
Zu dem paradise gesant,
Su huben sich von danne zu hant
Und kommen zu Adam wider,
Dem über alle sin gelider
Wîl wirser was danne ee,
Er schrey nit dann "we und we".
Su sagten yme die mere,
Wie jn erschinnen were
Ein engel und hatte in geseit,
Das das oley der barmhertzikeit
Nieman gewynnen kunde,
Bis uff die selige stunde,
Das der gottes sün keme,
Dem es allein zu geben gezeme.
Doch zügieten sie jmme das risz
Das usz dem paradis
By dem engel was gesant.
Das wart gestecket zu hant
Zu Adams houbeten sin,
Dem verkeret was syn synn
Zu leide, von we das geschach.
Myt jomer zu Euam sprach:
"Ach Eu, was hasstu geton,
Das hast mich, vil armen man,
Und alles unser nachgeslehte
Gesetzet in gottes ehte ?
Ich weis wol harnach geschiht,
Des mir myn gewissen giht,
Uber alle der welte kint,
Die nach uns kunfftig sint,
Die begynnent och verflüchen/
Und über uns roche süchen
Von dem zornigen got,
Wider der süßen gebot
Wir ein urkunde
Sint gewesen aller sunde.
Die harnach begynnent sprechen:
"Here got, du solt rechen,
Das Eu und unser vatter Adam
Mit unser ungehorsam
Uns so manivaltige leit
Habent broht in arbeit,
Des uns niemer ende wirt.
2805
Die erde uns mit nöten birt,
Do unser lip wurt von ernert.
Maniger tugende sint wir verkert,
Die wir williclichen solten haben.
Von Euen het sich das erhaben,
2810
Die die öppfel kunde veressen,
Dovon uns hat besessen/
Maniger slahte arbeit,
Die die sunde uff ir treit."
2815
Dis wurt got vil dicke gecleit."
Er müste sich erarmen über Éua, die vil armen, der von ir fliessen die trehen sehe, ir dotent drige smertzen we, die su jemerlichen cleit. zum ersten claget su das leit, das su noch des tufels rot und von ir selbes myssedot mit hertzeclichem leide von der schönen eugenweide des paradises were vertriben, und ir nit was bliben keinerley genoden/ wann kumber und schaden. dis was das erste leit. das ander was das su cleit, das su verdienent hette den yttewis der nach stete, das man jemer sagt do mere, das su ein vinderin were sunden und arbeit, domitte sich nő betreit die welt, als man tegelich siht. die welt pfligt anders niht, nuwent sunde und arbeit. kumber, schaden, und hertzeleit hat die welt bessessen, das kam von dem essen, das Éua unser müter det. die dirte clage, die su het, (wer kan das vollesagen das jemerliche clagen ?)
Das was umb iren lieben man,/
Der lag und sich nit versun
Von grymes siechtümes not,
Wann er lag an dem dot.
Dess was ir meiste clage.
Sü sprach: "We disem tage,
Das ich den ie gelebet.
Min selde erste von mir strebet,
Sit ich mynem lieben man
Leider nit gehelffen kan,
Der so jemeliche quilt.
Minen lip es nit bevilt,
Obe es gottes wille were,
Das ich vor ijn litte die swere.
Die sunde frumete alleine ich,
Dovon were billich,
Das ich den smertzen eine litte.
Lieber got, sit ich dich bitte,
Sende den smertzen an myn lip."
Sus quelt sich das arme wip
Mit driger hande leit,/ Das su hertziclichen cleit
Mit des weinens bitterkeit.

Wellich mensche Eue flüchet
Und darumbe roche süchet,
Das su den appfel as
Und Adam was ir gemas,
Der sundet sere daran,
Wann, als ich mich versten kan,
Got verhangete darumbe der sunde,
Das su were er urkunde
Siner grossen barmhertzikeit,
Und das er die mensheit

2863 Fol. 7òv. 2876 cf. 891f. 2883 Fol. 79r.
2885 Wellich: W of 2-line depth, red. 2892 were er: were H.
Wolte nemen an sich,
Als die buch bewisen mich.
Obe nü nieman sünde dete,
Was were dann, das do bette
Unsern heren zu erbarmen sich?
Es ist gar wönlich,
Got alle Welt beslossen hat
Under den sünden myssedat,
Darumbe das su sich erkennen
Und in erbermyg nennen,
Von dem die erbarmikeit flüsset,
Der manig sunder genüsset,
Und glouben one valschen list,
Das sin erbermde merer ist,
Dann aller Welt myssedat.
Wer ist, der synne hat,
Der gottes erbermde müge gesagen?
Der müsz an worten gar versagen.
Der sternen menge, des meres gries
Sich nach lihter zelen lies,
Danne gottes barmhertzikeit,
Die zu entpfohen ist bereit
Den sunder, als schier er ir gert
Mit ruwen, so wurt er gewert,
So su an yme wurt gemert.
NÜ griffen wir wider an
Die rede, do ichs gelossen han.
Adam lag mit smertzen nach
Und lebete kume iedoch,
Und als der engel hatte gesaget,
Do der sehste tag betaget,
Er wüste wol die zit,
Das er des tages one strit
Des todes sterben solt,
Und als es gott wolt.
Eua und sine kint,
Der lxij gezalet sinit,
Die stunden do mit grosser clage.
Und do es nohete mittem tag.
Adam der halbe dote man
Blickete die kint mit jomer an.
Er clagete mit grossem leiden,
Das er sich solte scheidnen.
Den eins selbes smertzen,
Den er leit von hertzen.
Er sprach: "Lieben kindelin,
Verendet sint die tage myn.
Ich bin, als ich han gezalt,
Nuwen hundert und drissig jor alt.
No bitte ich, lieben kint, als ich
Sterbe, so begrabent mich
Ostern gegen der sunnen schin."
Hieimtte er die hende sin
Gegen got zu hymel bot.
Jmme brach der gryme dot,
So er jemerlichen schrey:
"Hertze", sprach er, "brich enzwey,
Das ich sterbe an dirre frist,
Wanne myn leben unnütze ist.
Dovon, got vatter myn,
Dü dinre gnaden schin,
Wis mir nit also hert
Zu mynre hineferte,
Sit du bist alleine güt.
Gerüche die engelsche hüt

2929 Und als: Als M. 2931 lxij; lxi, cf.2118 H.
2934 halbe dote: halbdote H. 2938 Den sine: Von sin H.
2943 Fol. 80v. 2952 sterbe: corrected ʽr. 
Minre armen selen schaffen,
Die du, here, hast beschaffen.
Die hastu geben mir,
Die habe ouch hien wider dir,
Und gerüche, here, ir geleite sin
In das hymelriche din
Vur din lieplich antlitz,
Das zu fröiden ist so nütze."
Domitte die sprache er geleite
Mit jemerlicher bitterkeite,
So das man horte brachen
Sin hertze als ein ture krachen,
Wanne er was ein starcker man.
Darnach er suftzen began,
Als er den geist lie.
Zu hant der sunnen schin zergie,
Der mon und die sternen clor
Burgent ir schöne, das ist wor,
Bitze an den subenden tag.
Der hymel und sine ziere erschrack.
Grosser ertbidemen wart
Von Adams hinefart,
Der do leider do lag./
Die clage nieman vollesagen mag,
Die Eua und die kint begingent.
Mit grosser jomer umbefingen
Seth und das arme wip
Adam der doten lip.
Do wart offte geschruwen "we".
Darzu das arme wip schre,
Do su weinende lag
Uff Adam und pflag
Niht wann bitterliche clage.

2960 brachen: brechen H, krachen St.
2970 ture krachen: düre rechen H, dürren spachen St.
2980 ertbidemen: ertbidem H. 2982 do: dot H.
2983 Fol. 81v; quire indicator. 2987 der: den H.
2990 weinende: inserted en.
Sie rief lüte: "We disem tage,
Der mir hüte zu leide erluhte.
Niht yemerliche mich duhte,
Obe ich, lieber herre myn,
Solte mit dir dot syn,
Wann ich han dir verlorn han,
Was ich fröiden ye gewan.
Du ware ye myn höhster hort und trost,
Der mich offte von kumber loste.
Wer sol nü, here, drosten mich,
Sit ich han verlorn dich ?/
Du ware so güt und reine,
Das ich dich billich weine.
Din tot git mir sterben,
Min hertze müszer verderben
Von leide jemer mere.
Ich weis niht, war ich kere,
Sit du mir, here, bist gelegen,
"Des müs ich verkiesen das leben
Und furbas niht wann jamers pflegen."

Illus.[25]

Ich wene nieman lebet so wiser,
So junger nach so gryser,
Der enfollen konne gedencken
Die wort und die clage sencken,
Die Eua hette und die kint.
Alle die nu lebeding sinit
Möhtent nit vollesagen
Das jemerliche clagen,
Das die dohter und die knehte hatten.

2998 han: an H. 3000 delete ye (?) H. 3004 Fol. 82r.
3010 mir: min (?) M. 3011 Des müs ich verkiesen das leben:
Muss ich des lebens mich bewegen, cf.413, 423 H. 3013 Fol. 82v;
Ich: I of 2-line depth, red. 3015 gedencken: ze dencken (?),
in sin gedencken (?) M.
Das war ir reht, su billich deten.
Su clagetent jn billich,
Den hymel und ertrich
Und was jn vestenununge hat beslossen
Mit gemeinem rat das got hat gegossen,
Clagetent mit bitterkeit
Sin dot was in allen leit.
Das scheine an dem mone wol,
Mone und sternen werent völ
Leides durch Adams dot.
Ouch clagetent in, als got gebot,/ 
Der erwücher und alle ir art,
Die ie von got geschaffen wart.
Die boume falwen begunden,
Die ursprunge von den brunnen,
Die faste zu tale flussen,
Jre treffte su nit genüssen.
SÜ müstent gar stille stan
Und clageten den doten man.
Den vischen det jn dem see
Adams dot we.
Die vogel fielen uberal
Von den lufften herabe zu tale.
Die wilden diere und die zammen
Clagetent den heren Adammen.
Mit clegelichem syt.
Do erzögeten su mit,
Das er jr here were gewesen,
Wanne wir für wore lesen,
Das er trachen und lewen gebot
Und andern tieren, das sie durch not
Müsstent wücken und pflüge ziehen/
Und durfftent des niht entpfiehen,
Su müsstent alle gehorsam,
Die er in gebot, tün Adam.
Sus wart die jemerliche clage
Gemein nach der būch sagen
Sehs tage und sehs tage.
    Als ich vorgesprochen han,
Nu lag Adam, der dote man,
Jn dem bette huse das er het
Gebuwen. Eua und Seth,
Sin lieber sūn und sin vip,
Hettent der toten lip
Mit armen beslossen.
Su hettent jn begossen
Mit der zeher unden.
Nu sehent wo an den stunden
Got, unser here, kam dar
Mit aller engelschen schar,
Domit die reine sele.
Der engel furste sante Mychahele
Jn sine engelsche gewant/
Myt der selen stunt zu hant
Zu Adams houbet hin.
Er sprach: "Was sol der sin
Dir und dem armen wibe,
Das es lit uff dime libe
Mit unzymelicher clage ?

3054 Fol. 83v. 3058 sagen: sage H. 3059 Sehs tage und:
Sehs nehte und H. 3060 Als: A of 2-line depth, red.
3065 der: den H. 3072 Domit die reine sele: Da kam auch
mit der reiner sele DB. 3074 sine engelsche: einem engelschen
St, DB. 3075 Fol. 84r. 3079 dime: sime H.
Stant uff, als ich dir sage,
Abe dem toten licham
Und besihe was mit Adam
Unser here habe gedaht,
Mit der gotheit ist vollebroht,
Dem zü tün ist nit zu vil,
Das er sich erbarmen wil
Über sine hantgetat,
Adam, den er gewircket hat
Nach einer gotheit gestalt,
Durch den der tufel wart gevalt
Im die wise manigvalt."

Do su den engel vernommen,
Su stunden uff von Adammen,
Setzt und das arme wip
Und rumeten den doten lip./
Sü stundent uff hoher bas,
Von weinen worent ir ougen nas,
Wanne leider vor in tot lag,
Der ir ee mit truwen pflag
Manigen tag und manig jor.
Hiemit alle der engel schar
Mit unserm herren got
Hübent alle ir lop.
Jr styme lute herklungen
Mit schalle sungen
Su alle alsus:
"Benedictus domynus,
Gelobet siest du, here und got,
Geendet ist din gebot.
Dir zymmet wol lop und ere
Von angenge und jemer mere.
Du hymel ziere, du sunnen glast,
Wis gelobet, das du hast

3085 ist vollebroht: vollebroht M. 3097 Fol. 84v.
3103 got: goto M. 3104 lop: note M. 3105 herklungen: erklungen H.
Mit dinre barmunge rat
Herlöset dine hantgetat
Und dirre welte arbeit./
Des sie dir lop und ere geseit
Vor und nü und ewiclichen."
NÜ sohent schinberlichen
Eva und ir sün Seht,
Was got mit Adam det.
Er wart seiner güte ermant.
Er leit sine götliche hant
Uff das houbet. Adams sele
Er entpfalch su sant Òychahele.
Er sprach: "Es sol din ampt sin
Von dem gewalt myn,
Das du aller lute geist,
Die du in rehtem leben weist
Leitest zu hymelriche.
Aber nÜ gemeinliche
Müßz alles menschlich geslehte
wesen jn myner ehte,
Es wol oder ubel tu,
Es müßz der helle kommen zu.
Als auch disse sele hie,
Die mich nach müte nie,
One zu der ersten mysssetat./
Das mag ochu nit wenzen rat,
Su müsse von dem zorne myn
Mit andern selen zu helle sin,
Bis an die lesten zit,
Als ich den dot über strit.
So wurde der zorn hiengeleit
Zwüschtent myner gotheit
Und menschlichem kunne.
So kume ich mit grosser wunne
Und mit göttlicher crafte
Und zerbrich die helle hafft.
Die mynen willen hant begangen,
Die löse ich mit gewaltes hant
Von der vorhellen bant.
Doch zu vörderst und allermeist
Wil ich lösen disen geist,
Adam, myn hantgetat,
Und wil ymme geben stat
By mir jn dem höchsten throne,
Wann ich in nach mynre persone
Mit mynre hant gewircket han./
Des wil ich jn geniessen lan.
Als verendet wurt die zit,
So wurt one allen widerstrit
Syne fröide gemeret
Und sine swere verkeret
Jn wunne, der nit ende wurt.
Die wunne der nit ende wurt.
Die wunne mynre fröide birt,
Die er mit mir haben sol.
Der eren gan ich ymme wol.
Zu der zit das geschiht,
Als mich Adam zu helle siht.
Als lange ist myn erbarmekeit
Durch der lute boszheit
Verborgen under der gotheit."

Do die also verendet wart,
Nu wart nit lenger gespart:
Die arme sele wart gegeben
Der helle, das su solte leben
Jn der winster bis an die frist,

3150 a line is missing and M suggests: Do die selen sint befangen. 3161 Fol. 86r. 3167 mynre: myne M. 3175 Do: D of 2-line depth, red.
Als davor geschrieben ist,
Wenn der zorne wurde hingeleit/
Zwischen der gotheit
Und menschlicher art.
Owe der jemerlichen vart.
Die arme Adams sele
Vant den getruwen Abel
Gefangen in der helle bant,
Den sines brüder hant
Slüg one alle schulde.
Wie er ein ubel gulde
Aller gerehtikeit were,
Doch müste er liden swere
In der vorhelle stat.
Owe der clagehafften gedat,
Von der gefrummet wart,
Das man von menschlicher art
Güte selige lute waren
Und müsten jn die wise faren,
Das su jnne zu büsse bitten,
Bis der dot wurde überstritten,
Do er an dem crutze starp,/  
Der jr Losunge erwarp,
Dovon der helle furste verdarp.

Der rede su geswigen hie.

Unser here schin lie,
Wie liep er Adam het.
Sine gnade und sine güte er det
Wölliche an yme do.
Mit zwein engeln schöff er so,
Das eine was sante Mychahel,
Der ander engel hies Gabriel,
Als wir lesen fur wor,
Das su balde brahten dar
Zwey snewisse rehte cleit
Mit engelscher hant bereit.
Do wurdent nach der doten sitte
Der here Adam gedecket mitte
Und der rehtikeit hort,
Abel, der uff dem velde dort
Manig jare was dot gelegen,
Dem sunne, wint, nach der regen
Nie geschadet umb ein har./
Er was unverfulet gar
Bliben und one alle mole.
An ymme schein niergent ein hole,
Als nü an andern doten licham.
Er wart mit Adam
Begraben zu dem grabe.
Got, der süsse hymel habe,
Volget nach den lichem
Mit scharen wunneclichen.
Das grüne oleyboumes risz,
Das usz dem paradis
By dem engel was gesant,
Das trüg ein engel in der hant
Bis do das grap was bereit,
Daryn wart Adam geleit
Und sin lieber sun Abel.
Der engel furste sante Mychahel
Und alle engelsche schar
Datent in ir rehte gar
Nach todes fleischlicher art.
Von luten nie gesehen wart/

3214 sne wisse: snewise H; rehte cleit: rekleit DB.
3223 Fol. B7v. 3225 hole: according to M the rhyme requires 
hale so he suggests vale (= value, valheit), St disagrees.
3230 lichen: lichen HM. 3236 bis do das: inserted do.
3242 todes fleischlicher: tode fleischliche H,5pr disagrees.
Die in so hohem werde
Bestatent wurdent zu der erde,
Als die zwene man hie.
Die erde die licham enpfie.
Mit wunneclicher schonheit
Wurdent su do hingeleit
Von den engelschen geisten.
Sus kundent su leisten
Das dugentliche gebot,
Das in unser here got
Gebot zu leisten. An der stet
Sant Michael sprach zu seht
Und zu Euen: "Ir sül lent sehen,
Mercken, und vil ange sphehen,
wie die liche hie
Begangen ist, das ir sie
Dünt uvern dotten auch."
Manig edeler süser rouch
Wart do gesmecket.
Der oley zwig wart gestecket,
Als ich bewiset bin,
Zu Adams houbeten hin,
Das es ein urkunde were,
Wenn es wurde fruhtbere,
Das dann Adam erlost wurde
Von der vinstern helle burde,
Do er jnne was gefangen.
Nu die begrebende ist begangen
Mit engelscher wirdikeit.

3244 Fol. 88r. 3245 Bestatent: Bestatet HM; wurdent: wurde M, Spr disagrees. 3247 licham: lichen. 3253 unser: first two letters inserted. 3257 ange sphehen: angespehen HM, ange sphehen St. 3259 ir sie: ir's ie (?) M, DB. St disagrees. 3265 Fol. 88v; houbeten: houbete, cf. 2781, 3076 H. 3266 after Das the word were deleted in red with four red dots below. 3267 cf. 2696 es: er (?) H.
Got, aller engel heiligkeit,
Schöff das sich die himmel neigeten,
Die ieren dienst erzüigeten,
Su entpfingent jn dar
Mit einer egelschen schar,
Wanne er jr ziermacher was.
Der selben hymel palas
Gip uns, here, durch dine gnade,
Do keiner slahte schade
Nach gebreste risent inne,
Durch die güte und durch die mynne,
Die gegen Adam hielt;/
Do du ymme die götliche hant beziert,
Und in von der hellen erlost.
Do kome du zu troste
Dinre reinen hantgetat
Durch die sunde und durch den rat,
Domitte der zorn wart hingeleit
Zwischen dinre gotheit
Und den sunderen.
Ruche uns von den swern
Lösen aller myssetat
Nach diner barmunge rat.
La uns, here, des geniessen,
Das sich hie besliessen
Dine starcke götheit
Jn unsere swachen forme cleit.
Gedencke an dinre mynne crafft
Das wir von den sunden hafft.
Dovon lere uns ruwe pflegen
Und wise uns abe der sunden wegen
Durch dinre siten blütes regen./

3284 Die gegen Adam hielt: Der du gegen Adam wielt H.
3285 Fol. 89r; Do du ymme die götliche hant beziert: O in din
götliche hant behielt H. 3289 sunde: sune M. 3297 hie: lie M
3301 von den: vremden M, vermieden BB, vonen or vonen der St.
Illus.[26]

Die herre nu bestetet sint.
Mit leide schiet von dannen die kint,
Beide dohter und degen,
Die müßent grosses jamers pflegen.
Dannach bliben by dem grabe
Mit jemerlicher habe
Eua und Seth ir sun.
Su begundent in der masse tün,
Also den hertzzeleit beschiht./
Jr jamer halff su lenger niht.
Von leide su zu der erden vielen.
Us der beider ougen vielen
Die heissen trehen als ein bach.
Eua do mit jomer sprach:
"Ach, mich vil armes wip.
Was sol mir leben und lip,
Sit du,here und lieber man,
Mich hunder dir hast gelan
Hie in disem jamertal ?
Ach, solte ich haben die wale
Von gotte unserm heren,
Was möhte mir dann geweren,
Das ich sterben solte mit dir ?
So were wol geschehen mir.
Wir werent ie mit libe jn ein synn,
Jn gantzer truwen schin
Zwüschenent uns beiden,
So ist der dot unbescheiden,
Der dich eine hat ermört./
Ach herre, mynre selden hort,
Jch solte mit dir dot wesen.
One dich kan ich nit genesen.
Min trost, myn friode, myn selikeit
Ist mit dir zu grabe geleit.
An dir ist dot, vil lieber man,
Was ich eren ie gewan.
Owe, ach mir vil armen.
Jch wene, vil lutzel erbarmen
Dem hohen got von hymelrich,
Aller gnaden ist nit gleich,
Sit du, liber here Adam,
Von mynre ungehorsam
Bist gefallen in den dot.
Owe, ach, und we der not,
Das ich mich des onen müsz,
Der mir je det sorgen büsz,
Der mich truwen het gewent,
Nach dem sich myn hertze sent./
Ach bitter tot, du büsse hie,
Was du date mit leides ye.
Fure mich die selbe vart,
Dine crafft nit lenger werde gespart.
Ach mir vil armen wibe.
Brich von mynem libe
Mine sele mit bitterkeit.
Owe, dot, du bist verzert.
Schühest du ein armes wip?
Zwor ich han so blöden lip,
Das du mich bringest dohin
Von dannen ich bekommen bin,

334 Fol. 90v; herre: corrected second r. 3335 froiden: frőide H. 3344 Aller: Dem aller St. 3349 onen = anen H. 3353 Fol. 91r. 3357 Ach: An H. 3360 verzert: verzeit H.
Das ich wurde zu eschen und zu erden
Nach mynre clage gerde.
Eyn, tufel, an dirre frist
Wanne myn leben und myn genyst
An mynym herren erstorben ist."

Der nü reines hertze habe,
Der clage die grosse ungehabe,
Die Eua by dem grabe het.
Ir sün, der getruwe Seth,
Bat, su wol gehaben sich.
Duch claget er also clegelich,
Das es nieman kunde gesagen.
Man hörte den sufittzen die trehe iagen
Uff von des hertzen grunt.
Min synne, myn zunge, nach myn munt
Zu rehte nit betuten mag,
Das jamer das das wip pflag
Mit clage bitze an den sehsten tag.

Dem nu geschiht hertzeleit
Und das leit wurt so geleit,
Das leidiclich ein hertzeleit
Mit leide das ander treit,
So das leit nach leide geschiht
Und doch ein leit das ander niht
Mit leide mag veryagen,
Des hertze müsz sciere verzagen
An frölichen sachen.
Wenne mit des hertzen krachen
Aller leidest ye geschach,
Das leit und das ungemach
Kan sich nit glichen here
Zu dem hertzeclichen sere,
Das Euen ist beschaffen hie.
Ein leit was, das übergie
Unsers heren erste gebiet.
Das ander leit, das su schiet
Usz dem schönen paradise.
Das dirte, das su trügwise
Wider Adams rat
So gahes usz der büsse trat.
Das vierde, das getrüwe hort,
Abel ir sun, wart ermort,
Der Kayn sin bruder slug.
Jr was leides genüg
An disen leiden gescheen.
Doch hatte su einteil veryehen
Den manigfaltigen ungemach,
Der jegeliches durchbrach
Besonders jr hertze./
Der selbe grosse smertze
Was ir ein teil entsliffen.
Nu het su aber begriffen
Alles des leides dach,
Das jr zu leide ie geschach.
Ey, wie do ein hertzeleit
Mit leide das ander treit,
Und das ytlich leit doch
Bleip an sinem vollen nach.
Ernuwet ist ymme alles leit
Mit ungefüger bitterkeit,
Wanne er do begraben wart,
Der yr naht und manig dag
Mit liebe hatte vertrieben hien.

3398 das: das sü M. 3405 getrüwe: der truwe H. 3407 Der:
Den H. 3410 veryehen: versehen (?) M. 3414 Fol. 92v.
3418 leide: leiden H. 3423 ymme: ir M. 3425 wart: lag St.
Zu solicher clage ist myn synn
Zu konig, das ich su sage gar.
Mere eins weis ich fur war:
Der bitterlichen smertze
Ersuchete gar ir hertze
Und alle ire glide darzu,/ 3430
Das su nit möhnte nũ
Gehaben keinre slahte wort.
Sus lag su vil nohe dot dort 3435
Bis an den selben morgen hie,
Das jr lip nie enpfie
Weder trang nach essen.
Also hette su bessessen
Des todes bitter geschiht.
Nu summet sich ein engel niht, 3440
Dovon hymel wart gesant.
By dem grabe er vant
Die arme Eua ligen nach
Und Seth jren lieben sũh jedoch,
Dem och von leide sin hertze brach.
Zu in beiden er do sprach:
Höre, Seth und armes wip,
Jr stöllent keinen doten lyp 3450
Nyt clagen uber sehs tage.
Der subende tag, als ich uch sage,
Jst ein zeichen ane wende/
Der kunfftigen urstende,
So unser here wil erstan,
Nach leide fröide eren daran. 3455
Do got der welte umbring
Beschaffen hat und alle ding,
Jn sehs tagen das ergie,
Den subenden tag er gevie
Zu rasten von dem wercke sin.

3429 konig: krang H. 3434 Fol. 93r. 3437 selben: sehsten, cf.3382, 3476 M; hie: ie M. 3443 Dovon: Der von H.
3454 Fol. 93; quire indicator. 3456 eren daran: und eren han M.
Dovon folgnet der lere myn,
Von got rot ich uch das,
Jr süllent mit clagen furbas
Die toden nuwent sehs tage
Und doch mit menschlicher clage."
Der engel mit der rede verswant.
Der kunde komment einteil zu hant
Zu dem grabe, do jr mütter lag
Und grosser ungehabe pflag.
Zu leit kerte sich ir synn.
Su brahten zu herberge hin/
Su und jren bruder Seth.
Jr jomer jn wil we tet,
Ernuwet was ir aller clage.
Dis was an dem sechsten tage.
Nach was es vinster, das ist war,
Uber alles ertrich gar
Sit von Adams dot
Befangen was mit sender not,
Was der hymel hatte bedaht.
Mit leide gie hin die naht.
Des morgens an dem subenden tage
Het ein ende die gemeine clage.
Die sunne von hymel her zu tal
Erluhte die welt uberal.
Die wasser wider engüssen,
Die vische wider flussen
Nach jr art als ee.
Die vogel trurten nit me,
Su übetent wider jren gesang.
Die tiere, die ee die winstere twang,
Lieffent nach jrem müte
Zu walde und wo su dühnte güt.

3466 menschlicher: maeslicher M. 3468 Der kunde koment:
Der künde kom H. 3473 Fol. 94r. 3481 bedaht: b corrected
out of a q. 3493 Fol. 94v; Lieffent: L is decorated with an
animal. 3494 Ms: gütl
Die böyme und die blümelin

Frowetent sich der sunnen schin.

Und als wir an der geschriift lesen,
Was ee trurig was gewesen,
Das was an truren genesen.

Illus.[27]

Wie die liehte sunne den tag

Eruluhte als su ee pflag,
Des frowet sich alles ertrich.
Eua aber jemerlich
Lag dort in amahnten.
Der liehte tag wart jr nahten,
Weder su gehört nach gesach.
Der tot su bitterlichen brach,
Wanne su, als got wolte,
Des tages sterben solte.
Die kint komment alle dar
Und moment ires smertzen war.
Do su nu gesammtet waren,
Man sach su clegelich geboren
Umb jr müter, die do lag
Und grosser unkrefften pflag.
Dis was der kinde clage.

Do es nohtete mettem tage,
Eua sich do wunder versan,
Die rede ouch su wider gewan:
"Owe, lieber herre Adam,"/
Sprach su, "Din vil süsser nam
Müsse von gotte gesegent sin.
Nach dem libe die sele myn
Müsse dinen dot uff ir tragen
Und ewiclich mit leide clagen.
Owe, Adam myneclich,
Den tugenden wart nie glich,
Die du mir oftte hast erzöget.
Der dot hat geneiget
An dir aller bester man,
Der mannes nammen je gewan.
Ach here, mynes hertzen drüt,
Din güte, stille, und uberlut
Kunde mich lieplich truwen.
Mich müsz jemer ruwen,
Das ich so lange gelebet nach dir.
Das ist nu verlihen mir,
Das ich hute sterben sol.
Den tot ich williclichen dol,
Durch das myn sele nach gesehe
Dine reine sele und ir veryehe/
Der leit, die ir gescheen sint.
Su werent hie gliche gemynt,
So süllent su ouch haben glich billich
Jn jenner welt, was jn geschiht.
Myne arme sele, nu sume dich niht."

Do die rede het ein ende,
Zu hymel reichete su ir hende.
Die kint su vor ir sach.
Mit clageston zu in su sprach:
"Liebene kint, nu hörennt mich.
Erfüllet ist die zit, das ich
Hute sterben sol und müsz.
Von mynem tode ist nit ein füsz.
Min hertze myt sere ist Überladen.
Besonders von gottes gnaden

Bin ich des todes gewert,
Des ich von hertzen han begert.
Dovon vernement das ich uch kunde:
Von der angebornen sünde
Under uwerme kumber uffstat/
Als unmenschliche mysssetat,
Das got durch die boszheit
Uwer vil verderben lat
Zu aller slahte beschafft
Mit des wassers gûsse krafft.
Uwer vier manne und vier wip
Genesent und behaltent iren lip.
Der some so wite danne burt,
Das von in erquicket wurt
Ein Welt mehtig und grosz.
So wurt manig ruch blosz,
Do ee walt ist gestanden,
Das wurt gerûtet mit den handen,
Die wilde erbuwen und gezamt.
Wenn die welt wurt gesamt
An ir tugende aller beste,
So kummet dann zu laste
Unsers herren gerihtes tag,
Daran sich nit verhelen mag.
Als mir seit der geist myn,
So kommet ein regen furin/
Und brennet lute und ertrich.
So wurt eben und glich
Beide berge und tal.
Das geschiht über alle.
Vurbas ist mir zu wissen niht,
Was ergat und geschiht.
Das ist in gottes tougen.
Lieben kint, sunder lougen
Han ich uch darumbe gesaget,
Das ir sorge darzu tragt
Und hütent uch vor böser dat.
Das ist myn bete und myn rat,
Der rat mir von hertzen gat.

Lieben kint, nu bitte ich mere,
Dunt mir mütterliche ere,
Bestatent mynen lichnam
Zu mynen lieben heren Adam,
Das myne sitte rüre die sinen
Und sin reiner lip den mynen.
So hant jr mir wol getan;/
Wanne ich mit ymme müsz erstan
An der junigesten zit,
Als got der welte ende git.

Domitte wil ich uwer leben
In unsers heren schirme ergeben,
Das er uwer müsse pflegen
Mit sinem göttlichen segen,
Wanne ich nu sterben müsz.
Der tot düt mir sorgen büsz."
Hiemitte su von bete gie,
Su viel an jre baren knie
Und reichet jre hende hin zu got.
Su lobet sine gnade und sin gebot
Mit hertzen und mit munde,
So su aller beste kunde.
Domitte die sele von jr schiet.
Nach unsers heren gebiet
Müste su och zu helle faren,
Do su Adammen und erbaren
Abeln in der vinster vant./
Die kint noment zu hant
Jre mütter und begyngent jr
Begrebede mit grosser zier
Und mit grossen hochziten.
Su wart zu Adam sitten
Mit grosser eren begraben.
Als wir ee gedoht haben,
Das grüne oleybômes zwy
Stecket nach das dem grabe by.
Schöne grünen das began,
Ouch sprungent löiber daran.
Do das Adams kint ersohen,
Under in selber su yohen:
"Got wil unser hertzeleit,
Also uns der engel hat geseit,
Verkeren jn kurtzer frist,
Sit der zwig bekommen ist,
Daran stat unser zuversiht.
Wann man den böm tragen siht
Nach siner art etliche fruht,/ So sol von dötlicher suht
Unser vatter Adam erstan.
Dovon sullent wir sin flis han
Mit gütem gezuge alle frist.
Fruhte und feisten myst
Sullent wir yme genüg geben,
Sit unsers vatter leben
Sin wucher wider bringet.
Wol dem tage, so erspringet
Das wucher, das uns heil burt,
Dovo wol gesunt wurt
Unser lieber vatter Adam.
Das ist ein seliger sam
Von got uns zu selden gesant."

Illus.[28]

Von dem grabe schiedent su do.
In irer clage worent su fro,
Das der lichnam grünen begunde,
Der von unlanger stunde
Was gepflantzet dar.
Su moment sin offte war.
Su pflogen sin mit sorgen.
Es wart nie kein morgen,
Su gientent zu dem boume
Und hettent sin goume,
Obe iht wüchers wuhsse daran.
Das was ein dumberlicher wan.
Wanne er wühs also,
Do er wart schöne und ho
Und auch mit loube also dicke,
Das regen nach der sunnen blicke
Dardurch niemer möchte kommen.
Jch han von bömen nie vernommen,
Der so schöne zu sehende were.
Obe ein do riser/
Under dem böme were gesessen,
Zu hant wer er genesen
Aller siner swere.
So gar was er fröidenbere.
Er stunt mit loube, das ist wor,

Ungefalwet durch das jor  
Beide summer und winter.  
Riffe und schne der schat jmme niemer  
Als er andern böymen döt.  
Er was hart wol gemüt  
Von Adams kinden,  
Doch mächtent su nie finden  
Keiner slahte fruht daran,  
Wie schöne er were getan,  
Das su alle morgen gingent dar  
Durch des wuchs schowen gingen.  
Do su die geng niht versingen,  
Und er nit wuchers wolte tragen,  
Do begundent sie verzagen  
An jrem vatter und sin leben./  
Su begunden sich dannen heben  
Und deiltent sich zu hant  
Verre und wite in die lant,  
Einer hin, der andrer her.  
Do wurdent su gemeret sere,  
Also das von jrem sam  
Ein welt gross und mehtig kam.  
Su komment niemer wider dar.  
Su hettent nu verwartet gar.  
Sus stunt der boum wahssens bar.  
MÖ die kint schieden dan,  
Seht als ein güt man  
Jn dem bette hüse bleip,  
Do er sine zit vertreip.  
Mit giessenden augen

3684 niemer: ninder H. 3686 gemüt: gehut H. 3691 M suggests a line such as "SÜ trugen sin vil sorgen" before 3691 and that in 3691 gingent dar should be deleted. 3692 wuchs: wuchers M. 3693 versingen: verfingen H. 3696 sin: sim H. 3697 Fol. 100r. 3700 cf. 2094 H. 3706 wahssens: wuchers H. 3707 Nu: N of 2-line depth, red.
Begunde er clagen tougen
Sins lieben vatter dot
Und siner muter todesnot.
In sinem müt er gedeh,
Das er mit willen sit vollebrohte./
Er wolte dar versuchen,
Obe got nach wolte rüchen,
Jmme usz dem paradise geben,
Dovon sins vatter leben
Sich wider uffrihten begunde.
Er hup sich an stunde
Gegen dem paradise hin.
Der heilige engel Cherubin
Erschein ymme uff dem wege,
Dem das paradises pflege
Von unserm herren gegeben was.
Ein zwig grune alsam ein grasz
Furst er in siner hende,
Gesant von gottes genende,
Do hing der halbe appfel an
Do £ua hette gebissen van
Vor manigem jare das halbe teil,
Dovon der welte unheil
Gebuwet wart und ungemach.
Zu Seht do der engel sprach:/
"Sage mir, Seth, was du süchest."
"Herre, anders nit, wann was du rüchest
Mir geben etlichen rat.
Min ding mir kumberlichen stat,
Des ich wene, also du wol weist,
Umb mynen vatter aller meist,
Der do lit dot nach,
Und myne muter yedoch.
Die sint nu beide verfaren,  
Die mich soltent bewaren  
Und besynnen guter synne.  
Dovon durch gottes mynne  
Gip mir helffe und rat,  
Als ich dich zu einre stunde bat."

Cherubin der engel sprach:  
"Diner mütter ungemach,  
Din leit, und dines vatter dot  
Gar, und aller welte not  
Jet bekommen von disem rise,/  
Do in dem paradise  
Din mütter beis den appfel dan.  
Von dem holtze sol erstan  
Der vatter und die mütter din.  
Also su von disem höiltzelin  
Gefallen sint in den dot,  
Also wurt alle jre not  
An disem holtze verendet.  
Das ist dir gesndet  
Nach dinre truwen ger  
Usz dem paradise her.  
Du solt es haben in dinre hut  
Mit vil heiligem müte,  
Und habe auch in dinre hüte pflege  
Den oleyboum alle wege,  
Der dort florierent stat,  
Do din vatter sin grap hat.  
Von disen holtzen beiden  
Wurt erlost von allen leiden  
Eua und din vatter Adam,/  
Die durch ir ungehorsam  
Habent erlitten manige not  
Und nu zu leste den dot,

3756 Fol. 101v. 3769 dinre hüte pflege: dinre pflege H. 3771 florierent: florieret H. 3776 Fol. 102r.
Und als sie gewesen sind
Eigen und des todes kint,
Also werdent su nach fry." 
Demitte gap er yme das zwy.
Mit dem appfel in dye hant.
Von sinen ougen er do verswant
Der heilige engel Cherubin.
Seht ging mit fröden hin
In das bethusz dann.
Als ein güter man
Het er den zwig in einer hüt
One falsche mit reinem müt.
Dovor er degeliche det
Umb sine sunde sin gebet.
Und darnach güter lute mere
Hettent es in grosser ere./
Wer ye was der beste,
Den man in truwen wuste,
Dem wart durch sin heiliges leben
Der zwig in sine hüt geben,
Wanne, als die geschriift giht,
Uff der erde was anders niht
In der zit das heiltüm were,
Nüwen der zwig heiligbere.
Sus kam es zu maniger hant
Bis sich sin underwant
Noee darnach überlang,
Das in sin reines hertzte twang.
Mit grosser wurde er sin pflag
Manig jor und manig tag,
Bitze es kam uff die zit,
Als es geschriiben sit,

--- 243 ---

Das got alle die welt verdet,
Wanne su zu vil gesundet het,
Mit des wassers sintflüt,
Als die geschrißt erkennen dut./
Do die wolcken so sere gusse
Und alle wassers zusammen flusse,
Das es wart gameret so,
Das es seeshundert clofftern ho
Uff die höhesten berge gie,
Die got het beschaffen ye,
Und aller menschliche geselehte
Starp jn gottes ehete.
Und do Noee, der güte man,
Als er sich von gotte versan,
Jn der arche genas
Und was by jmme darjnne was,
Der vorgenant Appfel zwy
Was jmme in der arche by.
Sus wart der ungefüge wage
Völlicliche wol viertzig taga.
Darnach gestunt das wasser so,
Das es nit wuhs furbas ho,
Und sich Noee des versan/
Das das wasser mynren began.
Er sante usz einen rappen,
Den wolte er zu botten haben.
Er sante jn usz uff den wan,
Obe er nit state möhte han,
Das er zu rüge sehsse nider,
Das er dannne keme wider,
Und brehte ymme das urkunde,

3815 Fol. 103r; gusse: gussen H. 3816 flusse: flussen H.
3821 aller: alles H. 3829 wage: wag H. 3830 tag: tag H.
3834 Fol. 103v. 3835 rappen: raben H. 3839 sehsse: sesse H.
Obe des grossen wassers unde
Sich yergent wolte mynren nach.

Der rappen floch umbe iedoch
Und viel uff eins doten asz,
Wanne er gar hungerig was.

Uff dem asz er gesas
Bitze er ymme genüg gasz,
Domitte er von dem wasser starp.

Die botschaft er nit hinwider warp.

Und darnach, nach der büche sage,
Noee an dem andern tag

Sante usz eine düben,

Der wolt er bas getruwen.

Su floug zu einem fenster usz so zu hant

Und do su niergent stat vantz,
Do su were gesessen nyder,
Do kerte su gegen der arche wider

Und floug zu dem venster jn,
Uff den won und durch den synn,

Das su die worheit rehte wurbe

Und von dem wage nit verdurbe.

Do begunde der gerich

Und das wasser mynren sich,

Und dis also geschach,

Darnach an dem subenden tag

Darnach der gute Noee

Sante die tube aber als ee

Zu wissen die mere,

Obe der wog gefallen were,

Der jn buwet leides mere./

Illus.[29]
Die tube, als ir gebotten wart,
Sumete nit lenger die vart,
Su floug von der arche zu hant,
Und floug do su den oleyboum fant
Grünen nach alsam ein grasz,
Der do vor gestecket was
Dort zu Adams grabe,
Als ich vor gesaget habe,
Die tube uff dem böme sasz,
Und fliegen was su müde und nasz,
Ein lutzel su daruff ruwet.
Als ein frumme botte düget,
Su wolte ein wortzeichen han.
Der wog faste vallen began,
Jre botschaft su sich gerne fleis.
Abe dem oleyboum su beis
Ein zwig mit irme snebelin,
Das daran wurde schin,
Das got fride wolte han,
Und siden grossen zorn lan
Gegen der welte über ale.
Su floug sunder one qual
Mit dem zwige wider hin
Gegen der arche zum venster jn.
Den friden su mit dem zwige broht,
Den got zu haben hette gedahnt
Mit aller der welte bis an das ende.
Noee reichte beide sine hendel/
Und enpfeng von dem dubelin
Den zwig usz dem snebelin.
Domitte floug su wider dan,
Do su fryde wolte han
Jr snabelweide, alsamme
Als ein visch der fry ist von dem hamme.
Noee der mere wol verstunt,
Als die wisen alle dünt,
Das mit dem zwige heilbrehte bare
Gottes fride gekundet were,
Und es were ein urkunde,
Das der grossen sintflüt unde
Von gotte solte haben ende.
Das reichet er eine hende
Mit bete gegen dem hymelrich.
Den zwig behielt er ewiclich,
Als einer heiligkeit gezam.
Des appfels zwig er darzu nam
Und hette es jn grosser wirdikeit,
Wanne, als ich vor han geseit,
Die zwige beide kunftig waren,
Was des todes was verfahren,
Das was von den zugingen beiden
Von dem tode wurde gescheiden.
Sus lassent wir die zwige hie.

Do die sintflüt ergie
Und verlieff Oberal,
Die arche gestunt jn eine tale.
Noee und sine geselleschafft
Wurdent also berhaff,
Das von irem würcher und von irem sam

Ein welt starck und mehtig kam,
Die nach hute welt ist.
Wie unser herre Jhesum Crist
An dem zwige die martel leit,
Das wurdt von mir nu nit geseit.

Hie ist der rede nit mere.
Got helffe uns zu sinen gnoden
One alle swere. Amen amen.
Hie hat Eua und Adam ein ende.
He who cherishes the truth and dwells in his mind upon good matters must be one of the best (of men) and does not live like a fool in the way that, regrettably, many a man now does whom we see in his folly pursuing a crooked path. Who can pluck hair from me, where it has never grown? Attend now and observe whether these words are lies: truly, it would be a waste of time if a man with foolish habits were to teach me, and I were to take his words gladly to heart, for without consideration I would become one of those people whom we see so often reading the worst instead of the best that there is (to choose from), and wise men tell us that thoughts become words. Let us now leave those fools of which most crowds are full to make their own way to the place to which they are rightly destined, and follow wiser teaching, for that preserves body, possessions and honour, and strive that every one of us emulates the man of whom the best is said and whom we see amongst us, living according to the teaching of God. Let us follow him, for he is the man on whom God has bestowed his grace here and eternal life there. That is right and proper for blessed is such a man on earth. He who wants to live according to God's will must refrain from worldly pleasures, as I understand, for who can earn the love and favour of both the world and God? He must do one of two things: either reject worldly love and trust in dedicating himself to God's service or be at ease with the world and reject God's service, for no man can serve two masters effectively. He who wants to follow me, however, must give up worldly pleasures altogether and serve the sweet Christ with all his strength. May all who at this time hear or read this (book) desire that God may be gracious to the author, who devised its rhymes well and is called Lutwin. Nobody has heard of him. His great misfortune and partly his own weakness of spirit have brought it about that he is not better known. Let us now pray to God, the bountiful Christ, that he in his goodness will so inspire us that we will earn here (in this life) that joy of which the ear has never heard, nor the eye
seen, nor the tongue ever told in adequate terms. I believe that there a thousand years are shorter than half a day. The joys are beyond compare which he has prepared for the man who without having transgressed loves him and refrains from sin.

When, according to the Bible, the time was fulfilled and a number of years had passed, the godhead along with its companions Goodness, Love, and Mercy, who had all lived in unity before the world was created and (were) without beginning, desired (change), because the godhead considered that it had existed long enough (in isolation) and it was weary of being alone, and Goodness and Love, who had nobody to love, and sweet Mercy agreed that God should so far incline himself as to reveal his power. To whom should he incline himself? To whom should he reveal his eternal power, which was and is incalculable, since there was nothing and nobody was alive, although he moved without secrecy, the inexpressible godhead of the eternity of ages, as the truth relates?

Now that God deemed that the time had come for our salvation and that he should reveal himself, in accordance with what Goodness and his own virtue required, he created heaven and earth and that which both adorn. It is beyond my weak powers to describe each thing in detail according to its merit, as my heart desires. I readily accept my duty, however, here to reveal my intention that, if I but know how, I have hopes of completing this work in such a way that wise men may yet deem it good. Even if I speak like a child, were I to achieve anything good (in doing so) by the grace of God, then men would have more cause to thank me, rather than one skilled in the art, a master who can write poetry and has had more experience than myself.

When God, the epitome of grace, created by word alone heaven and earth and their adornment, as sweet Love desired it, he made, as it seemed most fit, the marvel that is paradise. It is rightly called the garden of delights, for there has never been anything more beautiful that could be compared with
it, nor are human faculties capable of describing it. Inside it he placed a man created by his hand, who was called Adam, (his name) being the sum of four letters. Where the name originated I shall now explain. The world is divided into four parts, as I have always understood. The first part is called Anathole, the second is Dysis, according to the book, the third is called Arthos and the fourth Mensembrios. Thus brought together they (the initial letters) spell Adam, by which he alone was known.

According to my researches, there flowed out of paradise a large (amount of) water in good measure to nourish trees and grass and all that they support. Thereafter it was divided and continued as four separate rivers, as I understand it. One is called Phison and flows through a land which is known as Eyulat. The best gold to be had comes from that same land. The gold of Arabia and that of the Kaukazas too, which were always considered (to have) the best gold, is copper-coloured in comparison, so distinguished is the gold of Eyulat. This same land also has marvellous precious stones, which are found more commonly there in that land than anywhere else. As I told you, this is because the water of the Phison flows out of paradise. The same land enjoys many other riches, which is why it has a prestige above all other lands.

The other water is called Geon, and with its streams it encircles the land of the Moors. The world has many marvels. I know of a marvel, and if you will listen, I will tell you what it is, namely that the Moors are always as black as coal. Why this should be I will tell you: it is because they have no respite from the heat, and the land is so high and lies so close to the sun that every day they hear the sun rise in the morning. It raises its beams with a humming noise as though heaven and earth were coming together. That is caused by the glare of the heat. The land must be that much hotter, since the rays of the hot sun in that land penetrate (even) the valleys. Because of this these people all have black skins.
What is the point of further comment when the truth is to be found in the Bible? The third water is the Tigris as the book Genesis tells us in truth. It flows, as I have read, towards the land of the Assyrians. The fourth is the Euphrates, a water which is clearer than pure metal, as I am correctly informed. This discourse on the rivers must come to an end. Paradise is the source of all four waters. As it was related to me, so have I described it. He who can describe the rivers better is welcome to do so.

Now when God saw his creation, it pleased him well and he said: "It is not good for that one creature, it is not right that the man should remain alone. We shall make from his body a human being who will be just like him and be his companion." As he spoke he caused Adam, the created man, to fall into a sweet sleep and then from him gently broke a rib out of which he fashioned a woman, who in awe of Adam was to do or refrain from doing whatever Adam told her to do, or not to do. She was called Eve (Eua). Her name was later to become well known to us through many of our sufferings. I shall describe to you what it means: Eu in Greek means "good" but a in Latin means "without", so for the man who can interpret the name, it means: Eve, she who is without good. There is yet another way of interpreting her name: Eve in Greek when translated into Latin means "alas". I am told that she rightly inherited her name, for Eve banished us from all that is good. It was she who increased our suffering and nullified much joy through disobedience, which was the cause of the first fall, and her legacy to the human race.

When all had been created that our Lord God in his adamantine virtue had planned, then paradise with all its delights was also complete in all its glory, and in it God placed the woman and Adam. They were like children without shame nor a single sin, free of falsehood and so pure in the beauty and wisdom with which God had endowed them in his immeasurable grace, that it is impossible to describe (the
virtues) he overgenerously heaped upon them. This is true, that was how it was. For they were created by the hand of God, whose work was acknowledged before it was begun: with a word he created the stars, the moon and the sun, darkness and light, all the elements, the deep and the firmament and caused the waters to flow their proper course. Such was his grace and the strength of his power. O blessed be that sweet mastery, which without the weight of onerous learning effortlessly created everything out of nothing. Why say more? For the woman and the man, whom I named earlier on, were perfect in all virtue. Since then, unfortunately, (that state) was taken from them, because of their first transgression, which is constantly brought to our notice as being the origin of sin.

Paradise was now given to Adam and Eve who had never sinned so that they could live there, and for their enjoyment all the different things that God had created were subject to them. One tree alone he forbade them: "If you do not want to earn eternal death," spoke the godhead, "then do not enjoy the fruit of this Tree. If you want to survive mortal disease, then you must avoid completely the fruit which the Tree bears. For, truly, the moment that you eat the fruit, it will instantly seem to you as though you had forgotten the modesty (which accompanied the) grace that I heaped upon you." He who abides by wise teaching benefits both body and soul. Therefore listen all of you, whether you be rich or poor, to this complaint which weighs heavily upon the heart: daily we get older with misfortune's assistance, and we are, regrettably, little wiser this year than we were before. I suppose a monkey's fur is of no use to anybody except the monkey itself. If a carpenter wants to trim a good length from rotten wood, then he had better have a sharp saw, and then I would like to hear what wise men tell him and see how water may be produced so that it is neither warm nor cold, and yet the guest may rejoice. I never achieve a really good rest without a thunderstorm coming. But first of all listen to a misfortune that I will relate to you, for I do
not withhold the truth. The object of this discourse is the truth.

In accordance with God's decree the Tree was pointed out to them. In the middle of paradise it stood for all to marvel at, a handsome tree, decked with lovely blossom and beautiful apples that were fair to behold. This same Tree I crown above all that were ever seen. And at the very moment that God turned his back, the Devil took the opportunity to make the place his own in accordance with his false practices. He (it is) who has never spoken the truth and is the enemy of all that is good and true and just, who urges on the entire human race in all evil practices, whose wickedness bedims bright radiance and pure joy, who because of his pride is housed deep down in the abyss of hell and constantly turns all that is good to evil and seldom increases that which is good. See now why I say all this: he is the origin of all envy and hate. The whole breadth and length of the world is held captive because of him. In him is all counsel that encourages wrong-doing and militates against good. Most loathed Satan was cast out of heaven when he wanted to set his throne next to that of God, and because of this arrogance he fell into the pit of hell. Down below within the jaws of hell a home was given to him and, because mankind was to live in grace, the Devil was full of envy, as he has since proved himself to be, for he always protests against that which is right.

When he had chosen the right moment and the angels who were provided to guard fair paradise had swiftly risen up to heaven, the Devil, in the guise of a serpent, lifted himself into the branches of the Tree, for he knew that Adam and Eve were under it without their guardians. He did what false men still do, who delight in pretending that they are being of service to people and yet destroy those who follow their counsel. The evil offspring of all that is evil, the terrible Devil, assisted by his lies, quite shamelessly and faithlessly proceeded to cajole Eve, flourishing his tail and making other
gestures as though he meant her no harm. At the same time he asked: "Tell me, Eve, why has God forbidden you the Tree and its fruit?" She replied: "It is his command that we should accustom ourselves to eating of all the trees that he has created, but one is forbidden to us, because the tasting of it would be death. For the moment we start eating its fruit, we shall instantly seem to forget the modesty (that accompanied) the grace that God heaped upon us. Death would utterly confound us, that is true. I gladly follow his advice."

The Devil spoke: "That is wrong. I know what will happen to you. You will not be choosing death nor any other calamity, if you eat of the Tree and do not forget this glorious feast for the eyes. Believe me, nothing harmful can come of it. God knows that when you eat the fruit you will at once think on all that is good. What can this tiny little tree do to harm you? What powers can it possibly have that will make you lose your happiness and earn your deaths? That is a childish idea. As soon as you touch the fruit, you will be instantly freed of these blind and foolish habits which trap you now. Without a doubt many of your senses will be opened to you as well, as will be your eyes, to know many secrets which were previously kept hidden from you, and then you will no longer be like children, artless and blind to sense."

Eve was pleased by what he said. She thought it would be as he had told her. Sadly she was duped by her folly. With that he coiled himself into the branches, that epitome of all that is false, and broke off an apple. He said: "Eve, take the fruit, it is good to eat. Its power will immediately rid you of your stupidity." He offered her the apple. It was ripe and looked good to eat. Longingly she gazed at it and began to turn it this way and that in her hands. With that she bit into it and gave the other part to Adam, which he instantly ate.

Alas (that there should have been) so unlucky a bond between them (i.e. Adam and Eve) and so many curses. Eve, could you not have filled your belly with something else? Your sense of
taste succeeded in checkmating a game that (otherwise) might well have been won, for the human race could have made a move by which the game would have been won and no longer a danger to the human race. Then you came along, Eve, who are without good, when the game was unguarded, and unfortunately made a move that brought suffering and misfortune to all the world. You should have been able to see that the game would lead to checkmate. Alas that so crushing a burden and so much misfortune should be the consequence of a mere bite. She should have refrained from it. But let that be and let us not hate her, for she had little joy of it, who brought the burden of sin upon us and stripped us of our joy.

When in the garden of paradise Eve and Adam had eaten the apple, they were bound to feel shame, and when this misfortune befell them, each one tore the leaves from a branch of a fig-tree and tied them on securely in order to cover up their shame; in fact they were so overcome by shame that they hid themselves as well. The hour that ends the after-noon had come. Adam lay there in hiding under the branches of the Tree. He did not suspect that God knew of the sin that he had committed. That was indeed a foolish delusion, for God always has knowledge of intended actions. Nothing can be concealed from God; whatever happens, whether openly or secretly, is seen by his divine eye. He had long foreseen what would befall Adam. Truth tells us this sad story.

God, the origin of all that is good, in whose hand the circumference of the world is enclosed and whose power is incalculable and manifold, came (to the spot) in paradise where Adam lay and behaved as though he did not know that Adam was there. He called out aloud and spoke thus: "Adam, where are you? Show yourself to me." "Lord, I am ashamed of myself in front of you, for I am so naked." God said: "How could you have learnt what shame is, unless you have failed to keep away from the Tree that I forbade you?" "Lord, the woman whom you gave me as a companion, it was she who became aware
of the succulence of the apple. She ate it and gave me some, which I also tasted, but the fault is hers; in comparison my fault is not so great." "Why did you do that?", God then asked the woman. "Lord, the serpent advised me to taste the fruit of the Tree so that I should enjoy many things, and in accordance with the serpent's counsel I ate the apple immediately. I thought I was doing right. But unhappily I was deceived by my own folly, for I have been disobedient."

God was enflamed by rage and immediately cursed the serpent. He said: "Since you gave the counsel through which the world will suffer, be from this day forward outcast and utterly accursed amongst all reptiles to whom I gave a natural life on earth. Until now you walked upright, but now for evermore you must all crawl on the ground on your bellies as my will desires it. You must also eat earth continuously until your end; with this I shall humiliate you. Enmity shall I place between you and the woman; may you always remain hateful to her, so that she may revenge herself on you and crush your head. You are also to strike at her heel with your flickering and poisonous tongue. Thus you are for ever cursed by me."

Having cursed the serpent, God then turned to the woman in awful wrath and said: "I will increase your heart-ache and unhappiness for evermore. You will give birth to children amid heartfelt agony. With sorrow and suffering you will learn of misfortune in many different ways. Since it was you who sinned, the fruit of your womb will be conceived in great sin from the man. The man is also to be raised and honoured above you. You will often suffer from man's strength by means of which he will rule you and have you in his keeping. Be thus accursed for evermore, since you defied my command in sinful excess. May your body now know no happiness."

Adam still lay there in hiding full of fear and sorrow. His heavy spirits told him, as they often do me, that all kinds of troubles were to be his in the future. And immediately God in his fury spoke angrily to him: "Since you heeded the
woman's voice and not mine, and out of gluttonous greed then
took the fruit which can do you no good and which I forbade
you before, the earth must be accursed for ever in your name.
You will have to work and forage for your food with the sweat
(of your brow). You will have to subjugate and cultivate the
earth until the time comes when you will die and be but ashes
and dust, for you are nothing more than earth and dung. You
must return to the earth from which you were taken. The fruit
cannot save you from this: you must pass your days in suffering
and forage for your food with the sweat (of your brow)."

Dearly beloved, remember now who you are and the nature
of your humble beginnings. Why are you happy when you were
taken from the earth and must return to it, you know not when
or how? Thus sin struck as Eve ate the apple, and Adam proved
to be her equal by compounding her sin. He was prompted by
the evil spirit who always gives false counsel. Take heed,
mankind, and mark whether there be anything that is frailer
than the earth which bore you with so little dignity. You are
frailer than the earth, I say to you, frailer by far, as I will
prove. Every year the earth brings forth many nourishing fruits
which sustain all to whom life has been given, (whether they be)
men, birds, tame animals or wild beasts. The earth does not
begrudge them this. Every year she brings forth her bounty
amid many a green field. On many a heath she creates out of
flowers a radiant feast for the eyes, which bring joy, as do her
green woods. The earth provides all this, and that which all
creatures need is brought forth by the fecund earth. She also
gives us the glory of trees, blossom, foliage, and grass. Now
tell me, mankind, you rotten carcass, what good ever comes of
you that might equal such purity? I know of nothing. Long
ago wise Cato, Ovid, and Plato all tried (to find) something,
yet they could never discover that you were of benefit to any-
body other than yourself alone. This is what I mean: in your
voluptuousness you treat your body gently and well and even
fatten up your carcass, which in the end is given to earth-
worms. As the body is destroyed, so too the soul by the power of death. Consider, mankind, your constitution which is of earth and lime and natural fluids. The body is quickened by lime, but when the body dissolves, it becomes the lime that it was before. O woe to you, mankind, and alas. Why are you in such high spirits, (enjoying) your honours, physical well-being, and possessions when your beginnings are but of earth, which is even frailer than frail? Remember your puny existence and that your soul is lost if you constantly pursue the (pleasures of the) body, because it can only misguide you and cause misery to your soul. Take a thousand years of our world and (you will find) that it is a very short time once death has made an end of you, for it will seem as though you never experienced a happy day in the world. The joys and raptures of the world are, as we daily see, nothing but false delusions. That is the way of the world, and because of it there is much suffering.

I will once more take up my tale where I left it. After their disobedience the woman and Adam were clothed with two garments by God. The tunics were made of skins. Nothing could have been more uncomfortable, for I imagine that they would have liked needles, scissors, thread, and thimbles. They were obliged to think well of the unsuitable garments which God gave them with his own hands, so that the man and the woman could conceal their shameful bodies. When they were clothed God spoke to the angelic host: "Now see how Adam has become as one of us in a short space of time, knowing both evil and good. Because of this you must guard the Tree whose property is such that whoever lays hands on it and tastes its fruit is suffused by life, so that he lives for evermore. Adam would be elevated too high if he were to eat of the Tree and live eternally. I know well that he would help himself if the Tree were left unguarded." Ah me, o virtuous God, had I but one branch of that Tree, I could be free of death for evermore, and that would be sweet tale indeed, to be free
of all struggle with death. I should like to be a while in the world without being weighed down by death, so that after my life in this world I could float to heaven with you, Lord. Unhappily that cannot be now, but I beg you to be gracious and protect me from the terrors of eternal death and to take care of my soul and once it is released to give it eternal life in blessed heaven where joys are unmatched. The joys that exist in heaven are beyond the experience of mankind and cannot be expressed. What joy, what bliss there is in the vision of God. That angelic woman who is both mother and maid is there seated beside her son, sweet Christ, in that lofty region where she lives eternally. That is how the holy prophet David foresaw her, when he spoke through the Holy Spirit saying: "Astitit regina a dextris tuis." Thus he assured us that it is the same queen who, without human intervention, was raised to the highest throne with sceptre and crown, she who is the mother and bride and consort of her son. Her beauty truly adorns the heavens. Her beauty is worthy of praise, for it is the joy of all angels as well as of the multitudes of the chosen. Where there are joys such as these a thousand years are shorter than the time which has just passed. Help us to (know) such joys, Lord Jesus Christ.

Once Adam had been clothed, as I related earlier, he had to leave paradise in sadness and cultivate with hoes and shears the earth from which he came. As I rightly understand it, an angel with a fiery sword was placed before paradise in order to guard it. Adam, with his sin upon him, was cast out at once. With that, paradise vanished before their eyes and remains to this day concealed for evermore as a divine mystery, so that nobody can go there who is ensnared by sin. Adam might yearn for so sweet a feast for the eyes as that which he left behind with great sorrow, but he behaved like a sensible man who is well able to do without that which he may not have. May he who has any good sense at all be of the same frame of mind, for then he will preserve this honour. That is my advice, and I
follow it myself. Adam thus took care of himself and made a small wooden hut wherein he and his wife could shelter from the weather and take their rest. They lay in it for seven days in sorrow (expressed in) great lamentation, until they began to get hungry. "Adam, lord, my dear husband," said the woman, "I am nearly dead, for hunger-pains are sapping my strength. Therefore help me and bring us something to eat. Perhaps God has forgotten his anger towards us and will return us to the place from where we are banished and so reveal his grace to us as he was used to do. We would never suffer from hunger or sorrow again, if we could obtain that sweet food at once. Adam, with your wits you must strive for this, so that we shall not perish. My friend, dear heart, let (what I have said) recommend itself to you, as I trust your loyalty."

By the time Eve had finished talking, Adam was eager to depart. In sorrow he made himself ready to go. The journey was not worth the effort, for he went seven days and covered all the land in order not to overlook anything. And when he did not find the same sweet food which had once been theirs in paradise, he hurried back to the place where he had left Eve and brought her the bad news of how he had gone in vain. Both were cast down by this. Eve said to Adam: "I wish to God that I were dead, since you are suffering such hardship. By right I should endure it by myself. All this is my fault, because I did wrong. Adam, friend and dear husband, if you want to, then kill me. Perhaps God will then have mercy and return you to the place from which he has banished us. Your fault is all my misdoing."

Adam replied like a sensible man: "You must stop talking like that. You must be going out of your mind. How can I lay hands on a woman in such a terrible way? You are my flesh and blood. It would be unheard of if I were to murder you. Do not talk of it again. We must go and look until that happy hour when God will give us food with which to nourish our bodies. Since there is nothing else left for us to do, we shall have to
forage for food." Eve replied: "I will gladly go with you." They did not delay but left the little hut and together went into fields and many a forest of dark pines, but still they could not find the food that they had had before in paradise. Thus they went unrefreshed until the ninth morning with much sorrow and suffering and found only weeds and roots as something to nurture human life. Adam said: "God gave these as fodder to wild beasts. Myself, however, and you as well he gave angelic food while we were in paradise, which sadly we no longer have." With that Adam started to dig up the roots out of the earth, and these he ate and also gave Eve to eat, so that she could taste the roots and grass which had not been cooked at all. I imagine they would have appreciated the following items: a hearth, a cooking-pot, a fire, bread, pepper, salt, oil, milk, and lard; all these they would have prized. Their hunger ensured that the roots tasted good, for with heavy hearts they had gone without sustenance, according to my calculations, for twenty-three days with heart-felt complaining. Adam behaved like a sensible man, for, being unable to improve his lot, a plan occurred to him which ensured that he had something edible to meet his desperate need.

Adam and Eve were not spared much heartache, and this caused their eyes to overflow (with tears) and deep sighs to well up from their hearts, for they suffered agonies of grief, because they (had caused) God's wrath and had lost both bodily and spiritual nourishment. Adam said: "Today we must both lament until God reverses the blow that he has dealt us and in his mercy grants us a source of food that will improve our lot and restore our bodily strength. The food we have is not fit for our bodies, and on this account we must lament and do penance (in order to win his) grace." "Penance? What is that?" she asked, "you must describe it to me so that we may avoid undertaking anything that would be too difficult, thereby causing God in his goodness to ignore our prayers and be as enraged as he was before. Therefore, Adam, tell me what act of penance
you plan to undertake? Seeing that it was I who sinned and you who did nothing wrong, I alone should do penance."

Adam replied: "You are a woman, and your body is weak, for human frailty causes you to suffer. Because of this I shall endure the penance longer in God's mercy than you will be able to suffer it. I will fast for forty days, and so long with heartfelt complaint shall I do penance in the Jordan. By standing up to my neck in it I shall assuage God's wrath. It is my wish that you should also do penance as I tell you. You are to fast for thirty-four days, and during that time you are to stand in the water without saying a word until our pure, sweet God honours his command and restores us to that place from which he banished us. That was because of your wrongdoing."

No time was lost in starting the penance, and Eve made ready to depart. She was eager to do her penance. That was due to the discomfort she suffered from being hungry, for the greed, which on the first occasion brought about our misfortunes, clung partly to her still. So she left and went until she found a river. It was called the Tigris. She stood in it upon a stone all alone, and the cold water reached up to her neck. We shall now leave her to do her penance and pray to God that she may do it well. I will now tell you, as I must, of the penance that Adam undertook in order to win God's mercy. He also set off to do his penance and when he found the Jordan stood in it up to his neck. He was overcome by sorrow and called out in plaintive tones and bitter suffering: "Oh, Jordan, I say to you that you must help me in my lamentations. Together with all that moves in you and lives a natural life, fish or anything that swims, you must stand by me and mourn. They are not to mourn for themselves but for me, for they have done nothing wrong, but I have sinned."

When he had spoken he straightaway saw the fishes round him; they remained still and did not swim. For the full forty days they abandoned their rivers and ponds and behaved..."
as though they were sorry for him and bewailed the hard fate of him who stood there deprived of (God's) grace.

Eve stood in the water for eighteen days doing her penance without a word (to anybody) while fasting with pitiful lamentation. Then Satan roused himself, for he was sorry to see anything good being achieved, for that was not in accordance with his false counsel. He had transformed his horrible appearance into that of an angel of light and, on seeing her weeping in the water, said: "Eve, why are you crying? Now you must no longer lament, for God has taken heed of your penance. This very hour I am to bring you back to the place from which you were banished, and all will be well with you as it was before. You no longer have to do penance, for we angels have requested this of God. You are to leave off your penance which is why I have been sent here." With that the Devil offered her his hand and then helped her out of the water and onto the bank. There she fell to the ground. He raised her with his hand. Because of the icy waters her frozen body was as green as grass, and she only just recovered from this.

Whoever now says, when a woman does wrong, that it is because of her frail nature uses an argument that is unlikely to meet my approval. For although the woman erred whom God himself created, there is no reason for every woman who commits a tiny error to believe that she will merely be reminded of Eve's ways and to hope that in imitating her she will be the one to succeed, for she will merely achieve a misery that was previously unknown to her. Women have inherited inconstancy from Eve, who first revealed it when she disobediently took the forbidden fruit and then, contrary to Adam's instructions and counselled by the Devil, gave up her penance all too hastily. She thought he was giving her good advice which was why she listened to his words and believed in his counsel, which unfortunately proved to be her undoing. And had she ever experienced the misfortunes that were to be hers in the future, she would probably not have given in so hastily. Lovely ladies are still in the habit of
doing this: when a man talks to them, they listen attentively and heed counsel that contains nothing but falsehood, and believe that this counsel will be to their advantage and pay no heed to the consequences that may come of it. Eve was the first to have a vacillating nature, and because of this I maintain that ladies are inconstant. They would not, however, know about vacillation themselves, if they were not so frequently told about Eve's vacillating behaviour. That is true; it would be better if Eve were not mentioned, since ladies more often follow a bad rather than a good example. And yet, you women who are worthy and pure, honour yourselves and be modest and constant. Modesty is rewarded by the crown of virtue. You must leave be those false and damnable men, who with sweet falsehoods (uttered) by false mouths desire at all hours to injure your honour and cause you much heartache. Alas, how many false oaths have been sworn for the sake of your external esteem, for falsehood like a thorn desires only to pierce that esteem. What more is there to say? When a woman's worthiness, her praise and her purity, her honour and lovely youthfulness, her conscience and her virtue, her breeding, her modesty and her reward, not to mention her crown of virginity have been compromised by a faithless man, that is wrong indeed. Those who want to retain their honour but cannot be without a man must see to it that they choose a constant man, if they can find such a hero, who is true and not false. But if he is both false and true, he will not turn out well. Therefore devote your minds, virtuous women, to virtuous men and turn (your thoughts) from wicked ones. I can give you no better advice than that.

All you worthy men listen to me patiently and accept the humble advice which comes from a child-like heart and concerns the courting of ladies. I advise you, worthy men, to avoid faithless women who often bring honour, soul, and body into jeopardy, so that body and soul are no longer in harmony. Do not be swayed by their flawless complexions, their golden-
coloured hair, their hands, their lovely throats, their little mouths, not even by their eye-brows; rather you should seek where you can find a woman who adorns her body with modesty and is virtuous in her ways, for with her you will come to no harm. If one of you would take a wife that suits you, then do not enquire as to whether she is wealthy. If she is poor but in possession of a pure mind, then take that instead of a large property. A wife's large property often causes worry, so take a pure mind. But that is not the custom nowadays, as we daily see, for it is wealth rather than honour that is sought. He who esteems wealth above all else has a sick mind, and that is bad, for it drives people to extremes. That which is hoarded for long, in the manner of a miser, melts away fast. He who has not inherited a sense of honour is seated uncomfortably upon Fortune's wheel. Wealth can cause a man, whoever he may be, to fall into the mire that is his birthright. Therefore, you who are virtuous men, love honour rather than wealth and be estranged from women who are false (in spirit). Do not heed their love-making, for it is bound to be lacking in fidelity. Prove this to yourselves (by remembering) those occasions of great suffering of the heart which have been caused by women.

As you have already heard, Adam's disobedience was brought about by his wife. Samson had a powerful body, but he was brought low by Delilah, his wife. Solomon's wisdom deserted him where women were concerned, so it is said. Any of you who have the sense to escape from them unscathed must certainly have your wits about you. Pure women are free of falsehood; I am talking only about the bad ones. There is a wide gulf between the bad and the good, the false and the pure. Bad women have false natures while pure ones are shielded from falsehood. Pure women should be spoken well of, for only good can come to them. I gladly wish them all that is good, as doubtless I should. Those who have never done anything wrong may grasp the joys and pleasures of the world. Anybody who does not wish them well should not be in their company. But I, poor Lutwin, am
directing all my efforts towards wishing those pure women well who are steadfastly opposed to faithless men. Pure women are debarred from the counsel given by faithless men, which contains nothing but falsehood because of the impurity of their hearts.

I shall now once more take up the tale where I left off. As I have already said, the Devil in angel's clothing led Eve by the hand (to the place) where she found Adam, who with heartfelt contrition was standing in the Jordan as a penance. The same wicked spirit, the sum of all that is evil, thought that with his false lies he could betray Adam as he had Eve. Adam, however, was so wise, that despite the Devil having been transformed so beautifully into an angel, he recognized his dissimulation, his treachery, and his falsehood at once when he led Eve by the hand towards the water (i.e., the Jordan). What more should I say? When she had come near enough to Adam for them to be able to see each other clearly, Adam at once shouted angrily: "Woe to you, Eve, for you will cry woe for evermore. Why did you break off your penance now? How were you deceived a second time by him who lied to you before, the Devil, our adversary, who with his deception took from us the garden of delights and the spiritual joys of paradise, that feast for the eyes?" When Eve had rightly understood that she had thus been deceived by loathsome Satan, who had already brought grief upon her, she fell to the ground, bereft of all her strength. The bright sun was as night to her, so that she neither listened nor spoke because of the sorrow that overwhelmed her for having broken off her penance so hastily on the advice of the Devil. That was her second misdeed.

From the Jordan Adam shouted angrily at the Devil: "Alas, you evil spirit, originator of our suffering, what is our guilt concerning you, that you pursue Eve and myself too with your falsehood and cause us trouble with your faithless advice? Have we ever deprived you of joy or honour that your hateful advice should be so deadly and inimical to us? We are suffering
through no fault of our own. We have done nothing to make you suffer. Be fair to us." The Devil answered him thus: "I shall always cause you heartache and unhappiness. Whatever suffering I can bring you will not suffice me, for you are the ruin of my happiness. I was banished because of you from the angels, my companions, from the aether of high heaven down to the bottom of earth's abyss. Now that is your fault." Adam spoke: "How can this be, that through fault of mine you were banished from God's grace and from heaven with others who were your companions, when I was not with you in that heavenly palace, nor can I recall doing you (the) harm of which you accuse me, namely that you have lost the grace of our almighty God, and the joy that you had in his sight when your beauty beheld his?" The Devil then sighed and wept at his unhappiness and made it plain that he was full of longing for heaven and the angelic host from which he had been banished because of his arrogance alone. Thus he has always mourned his loss. But to Adam he said: "Adam, now listen to me. I shall inform you correctly as to how through fault of yours I lost his grace who gave me equal beauty. I mean God who dwells in heaven and who cast me out of it.

"When almighty God created you in paradise and clothed you alone in his divine image and gave life to your soul, my companion, the angel Michael, led you before the angelic host. God then took heed of your appearance. Know that it pleased him much more in you than in himself. When he saw his image in you, he spoke most lovingly to you: 'See, Adam, you are like me. I have formed you in my image and fashioned your beauty after my very person. Therefore you please me, for you bear the sign of the godhead.' When he had finished speaking, the angels bowed down at your feet and worshipped mankind (for being in) the image of God. Michael knelt first followed by all the angels in honour of the image presented by your person through the love of the godhead, as God had ordained through Michael, his messenger. When this had taken place the

ll. 1324 - 1396
angel Michael said to me: 'Friend, you must do as we do and
honour and adore man, who was created in the image of God.
That is my advice and his command, who created both me and you.'
I replied: 'That would be a foolish act, if I were to worship
one who cannot bear comparison with me in the superiority and
worthiness which have been bestowed on me rather than him.
He is made of earth, but I am of superior and nobler (stuff)
and was created in God's image before Adam was. I was elevated
above the angelic choir without human intervention, while he
is nothing but earth and dung. I am fair, he is dark. He is
dull, I shine bright. He is darkness, I am light. It shall
never come to pass that I shall kneel before him above whom
I am raised. That is only proper. He can never equal me in
virtue nor in nobility. He should be ready to serve me.' A
number of angels heard me who have followed me ever since and
began to flock to me then, for they were of the same mind as
myself and were against kneeling down and adoring and honour-
ing you. Michael said: 'You must think better of it. Your
thoughts are not good. You must worship the man and leave off
this arrogance. Otherwise God will be enraged.' But I replied
to Michael: 'How can it harm me if God turns his hate on me?
It can be avoided. I will ascend into high heaven and exalt
my throne above that of the highest God. Indeed I little fear
God's threats and am as honoured as he is in heaven.'

"Now listen to what happened when I finished speaking
these words. God, inflamed by rage, at once cast my companions
and myself out of heaven and down into the abyss. Thus we all
fell from the aether down into the caverns of hell, where we
must remain for evermore and where neither stars nor the light
of the sun, nor the moon, nor the bright day ever shine. Our
suffering will have no end, for evermore it will torment us.
I will also tell you that in days gone by I was so beautiful
and so radiant (that I outshone) the glory of the angels, and
because I (shone so) brightly all nine choirs took from my
beauty their bright radiance and their pure brilliance.

ll. 1396 - 1471
Unfortunately my beauty has been taken from me, and my angelic form has been transformed into a terrifying hideousness of foul aspect. Adam, thus have I fallen through you, in that I rebelled and would not honour you with my angels as I ought to have done. That is why you are the destroyer of all my joy. I avenge myself as best I can in bringing misfortune upon you, as I have already done, for out of envy I brought it about that Eve ate the apple whereby she lost paradise as I lost heaven, so that (now) we are both discomforted."

The Devil was silent once he had spoken. Adam, sighing, turned to heaven. He prayed: "Creator, sweet God, everything that heaven and earth contain is under your command; in your mercy drive from me this evil spirit who alienates me from you. Give me the joy and the status which he lost in heaven. This I ask of you, Lord, grant me this through your goodness and in your honour." After these words the Devil vanished, and Eve recovered her senses (and realized) that she was lying on the ground. Adam continued his penance with sorrow and heartfelt complaining for the full forty days. And when the penance had been completed, Adam came out of the water in which he had done his penance. Eve was greeted by Adam with many loving words. Love had begun to master him and (finally) rendered him, such was the power with which it stormed (his heart), unable to resist. He was at once forced to perform a strange act with Eve, which is, however, in accordance with human nature whereby her virginity was lost. There and then she also conceived a child, as the love of both demanded it. They had never done it before, and both derived much happiness from it. Eve said to Adam: "Ah, my friend and lord, you have RAIDed the shrine of my heart so completely that I can only surrender; may my heart be buried with yours. A new love has sprung up between us which nobody can sever, unless it be God who can do anything. It grieves me that so many days have passed between us and that we did not practise love long ago, since it has done us so much good. It grieves me and makes me sad. Truly I say to you that
I prize love above fair paradise. You must believe me. It is
the desire of the great love, my lord, which I bear for you."

Adam then replied: "It does me good, and I am glad that
I am so dear to you. My heart and mind are so lodged with
yours that you will always be dear to me. Your love has brought
this about. Yet I must proclaim paradise to be above all
beauty and bliss, for it cannot be compared with that which
the day reveals and the sun illuminates, which is why I think
you are mad to praise love more highly than paradise. Yes, if
I had a branch from glorious paradise, I should no longer
practise our love, even though I enjoy it, and I shall tell
you why it is. I was unaccustomed to hunger, thirst, depression,
sorrow, suffering, and exertion. These were all unknown to me,
until I found out about them here. Paradise spared me many
troubles in a kindly manner which is not the way of love.
Let me now change my mind and make love to you as your love
urges me to do. Hunger is the penance that comes of needing
to love you. If I was thirsty before making love, then I was
even thirstier afterwards. If I was tired and lethargic before-
hand, then afterwards I was all the more so. All is well with
me when I want to make love, but afterwards I am bereft of all
joy. Since I lost paradise, I have not had a single happy
day, for nothing can be compared with them. There I was unac-
accustomed to the sufferings that are visited upon me here.
Therefore praise of love is not worth a jot to me. I am bereft
of all bliss and suffer wherever I go."

This speech distressed Eve. Angrily she said to Adam:
"Dear Adam, since we do not agree with each other, I will go
in misery into the western part of the world, where the sun
sets, since my body knows no blessings because of my sins both
here and there and because words of love do nothing but dis-
please you." With that she made her farewell. She then left
in anger, prompted by a foolish impulse, and in sorrow and
haste walked more than a thousand miles. That was far indeed.
She carried a child under her heart, which she had conceived

ll. 1542 – 1621
of Adam. Full of sorrow Adam too went on a long walk. An impulse also forced him to it. He went as far as the place where the sun rises. Alas, sweet Lord and God, when have two lovers ever been as far from one another as these two? To describe it any better seems impossible to me. Yet there remains one more thing for me to do, as my resolve bids me, which is to bring them together again. God grant that I may succeed well in doing so.

We will leave Adam here now and relate how things were with Eve. She nearly died of her sufferings. Her heart was (full of) fearful desires, for she longed for the love to which Adam had accustomed her. Thus was her joy shattered by sorrow for forty weeks. And then came the hour in which the pains began to oppress her, which she received from the child that lay under her heart, for she was to give birth to it as God wished and the law (of nature required). She was in terrible pain and screamed to God in heaven amid heartfelt weeping saying: "Oh God, protector of all that is good, have mercy, Lord, upon me in your goodness and in your honour. Help me, God, in your grace, for my heart cannot endure this heart-rending complaint which is due to the sorrow that I bear. Remember me, created by your own hand, for there is no comfort for my suffering, unless, Lord, (it is) you. Dear Lord, hear me, so that my suffering may be eased." Eve then lifted her hands to heaven in her suffering and lamented to God her heartfelt pain, so that in his mercy he might consider reversing her misfortune. But what she sought in prayer was like writing on a wall, for God's goodness was not for her. Sadly her cries of sorrow and the sighs from her heart went unheard. Thus was her joy shattered by the anguish in her heart. To heaven she then again spoke: "What is this, almighty God, why are you acting like this? Your grace made me happy. Your godhead bestowed on me a perfect and pure existence. I have now been robbed of this, and my joy has been numbed by my bitter complaining caused by the burden that I bear. Ah paradise, if
if I were in you my tears would cease at once. What Adam foretold was true. I was out of my mind when I praised love more highly than glorious paradise, for you never caused me sorrow. My praise of love was indeed foolish nonsense. Oh, God and Creator, who encompasses the mighty world, think of me and soothe my pain, for you were always the best."

That was enough complaining. The burden that she carried made her support her belly with her hand. Adam, who was in the east, was unaware of the great pain that she suffered. Now it so happened that one night in her suffering she thought of Adam's being in the east. She said: "Who will tell Adam there of my suffering? Hear my complaint, I beg you, stars and sun, and for the sake of the beauty and joy that God gave you, may you tomorrow, the moment you come to the place in the east where you shine, bewail all my sufferings to Adam, my lord, and do not keep secret from him how great my sorrows are. I should feel better, I know well, if I could only see Adam, whatever were to happen afterwards. Dear sun, be now so good, since you are all pure light, and tell my dear husband that I am suffering anguish in my heart which, I think, is his doing. Dear sun, listen to me, for I have no other messenger, bring me soon the man who abandoned me here all on my own."

That night Eve lay in pain. Next morning when the sun had lit up bright day in its usual fashion, I do not know what Adam was thinking that made him say to himself: "Eve's complaint and unhappiness have come from the west to me. I fear that the serpent has made trouble for her again as it did before." With these words he went and came to where he found Eve. When she saw him she at once said: "Lord, Adam, dear husband, seeing you has partly eased (my pain)." He said: "Eve, what is hurting you?" She said: "That which is causing me pain and dispels all joy has come from you, I think. Something has grown inside me which hurts me all the time and wriggles about as though it would like to be out of me. Look, Adam, these are my troubles. Therefore ask God on my behalf to help
me through you and deliver me from my pains which will destroy me, unless it is God who averts that." Adam raised his hands to heaven and asked God to end (her) suffering and so increase his praise. He had hardly spoken when he saw twelve angels which God had sent. Six stood to Eve's right and six to her left side. One of the twelve than spoke: "Eve, God has sent us to you. He has recognized Adam's loyalty, for from the first he found no more weakness in him other than having followed your advice, and after that misdeed he undertook a penance and carried it out. The happiness that you have had here was granted to you by God on behalf of Adam, that good man. Therefore, Eve, prepare yourself to give birth. You now have me and my companions to help you, for God sent us to you, who always helps his own." The angel having said this, now listen to what happened. Eve immediately gave birth to a child. When she became clearly conscious of it and beheld it, she exclaimed in great wonder: "Ah help me, lord, help. How did this happen that in some wonderful way I have carried under my heart and with much pain a human being like myself? It is a great marvel, I do declare, and above all that I have ever seen." Adam agreed for he thought it was a marvellous thing. The child did not waste time, for when he had been born he ran quickly to the wood and soon brought back in his little arms some herbs for his mother. He said: "Dear mother, take this plant which I have brought you from the wood and eat it. I know very well that you are ill. I used to inflict many blows at your heart as I lay in your womb, before I emerged (into the light of) day."

Eve heard these words with joy. Whatever had caused her pain was now driven from her heart as she looked upon her dear child. With delight she took him and hugged him to her breast so that he gasped for breath. The angels taught her how to care for the child. They then, as God wished, returned to heaven from whence they had come at Adam's (request) in order to help Eve. The child was called Cain as the Bible tells us.
Adam thanked God for so sweetly commuting his unhappiness and increasing his joy through Cain, his son. As is customary the father gave his son good advice. He said: "You must be conscious, dear son, of all that is good, and then you shall never fail. Be ready to serve God. Refrain from doing evil and do good. You must follow that (precept) at all times. Do not permit cursing, swearing, hate, and envy entry to your heart. Serve God, and you are on the right track. I advise you to avoid sin. Love God, the splendour of heaven, dear son, and obey me in all this."

Adam rejoiced in his son. His heart leapt high with joy, for he beheld him with love. At that time it so happened that an angel was sent from heaven who acquainted Adam with the fruits of the earth in all their various species. Grace was no longer withheld. He taught him to farm and sow seeds, how to increase the wild seeds by throwing them by hand onto the tilled earth so that they would grow a hundredfold. This he did then and for ever after. He also taught him, as God wished, how to tame animals, so that they might help him farm and live by providing garments and food. Adam followed (this advice), for he was wise. (The angel) taught him how to apply all that has ever been conceived by the human mind. For this he had a ready mind, for he was pure and good and one of the wisest men that there have ever been. The angel then departed from him.

With Adam’s teaching Cain grew in one year more than any other child does in two years. God also gave him the good fortune of complete faculty of speech. It was indeed wonderful that a child, that was not even a year old should be as forward in word and deed as was Cain. As I have already told you, after his mother had given birth to him, he ran like a grown-up man and brought her a small portion of little plants so that she could be healed, as is the custom of women after child-birth. What is the point of saying anything more about it? Let us finish here and permit Cain to grow up and relate how things were with Eve, his mother. She bore another little child at
the appointed hour, a son, whom I shall also name: he was called Abel, as Genesis informs us. God bestowed upon him in his youth wisdom and complete virtue, the very prize of blessedness. His nature prepared him to be so, that, when he had reached manhood, his thoughts being on good things, he (decided) to sacrifice to God (the best) that he could afford out of all his possessions. God, who always loves pure hearts, must have inspired him. As long as he lived, he never failed and gave, in order to save his soul, a tenth of his goods and did so with so pure a spirit that God took it gladly. But this was not what Cain did. His offering, his sacrifice was such as I shall describe to you. When the time had come and he had reached manhood, he sacrificed to God, but he did so with falseness, which did not please God, and with so insincere a spirit, as is the way of a heart that is false, that it was unpleasing to God. Abel's sacrifice was accepted because he offered it with a pure spirit, his heart being tried and true. Cain bore Abel great hatred, because God accepted Abel's sacrifice but was so outraged by his own. In his heart Cain had thoughts which were not good. (Such as) how he, as the Devil advised him, should dispose of Abel's life, merely because he was upright and good and bore God a humble spirit, as do upright and pure men.

As Cain pondered by day and night on how he could persuade Abel to evil so that God would accept his own sacrifice with honour, Lord Adam lay asleep one night in his bed with Eve and took his ease. Then Eve started to call for help, calling out aloud in her sleep. She moaned and wept, and it was clear that her dream troubled her deeply. Adam did not waste time. He woke her out of her sleep which startled her greatly. He asked her what she meant by crying so much (and about) what she had been dreaming. She said: "God the Creator, may he have pity on us. My spirit is heavy, for I have had a terrible dream about which, lord, I shall you. May God have pity on me. I dreamt that Cain had Abel's blood upon his hands." Adam was
at once deeply shocked. "Alas," he cried, "what horror! Cain will kill Abel. Nobody can prevent that. No, yet there is one way in which we can guard against it: we must part them from each other so that no hatred may rise up between them. We must appoint Cain to be a farmer and Abel to guard the animals. Perhaps then both will be spared deep grief. And yet I grieve in my heart, for my heavy spirit tells me that there will be much unhappiness. May God have pity on me."

Thus complaining, he slept again. Next morning when the sun had illuminated the day as it was wont to do, Cain spoke to Abel: "Abel, my brother, let us go out to the field," said Cain, "and see to the work." Abel was immediately prepared to do so, for he was naive and good. He did not know the nature of his brother Cain's feelings. Alas, how heavy a sorrow. When they had come to the field, Cain repaid his brother Abel most disloyally. Could anything be more disloyal? He beat Abel to death. Alas, such mortal agony. Cain, what have you done? You have murdered a virtuous man, a quarter (of the population of the) earth. Good people, now help me mourn Abel, that virtuous man, for it was no fault of his that Cain's sacrifice was rejected by God while his was deemed acceptable. Thus Abel prefigures our Lord Jesus Christ, whom, though guiltless, the fickle mob condemned to death, so that he shed his innocent blood. Then the Devil's power was evident, which since has triumphed over many souls.

Once Abel had been murdered, Cain did not linger, but buried him and went from there, a wicked man. And when he had left the (place of the) murder, God in his pure goodness was angered by the murder and spoke thus from out of the clouds: "Cain, where is your brother?" He said: "My dear Lord, I do not know where my brother is. I cannot be following and guarding him the whole time." But our Lord said: "Cain, what have you done to Abel, that good man, whom you have murdered although he was guiltless? I hear his blood complaining to me from out of the ground and begging me for a just revenge on
you. Because of your sins you must be utterly accursed upon this earth which has opened its mouth and received the innocent blood of your brother. This murder was committed by your hand. Therefore the ground shall be eternally accursed in your (labour) to till it. That applies to all the fruit and riches that it supplies, and when the time comes for you to till it with plough and hoe, to make you suffer, nothing will grow for you except thistles and thorns. You have lost all the bliss that you had before. For evermore you must be a fugitive and a vagabond and suffer calamities upon earth. This will be remembered hereafter."

Cain was cast down by this curse. He then said to our Lord: "Lord, my guilt (demands) more than remission (of my sin). Today you have withdrawn your presence from me, so that I alone am accursed amongst mankind. You have banished me so that I must be a fugitive and a vagabond all the years (of my life). Whoever finds me may well not refrain from judging my life in the same way that I did my brother's and so kill me." But our Lord said: "Cain, that will not happen. He who finds or sees you will not avenge your brother. Your life will thus be accursed and wretched." With that Cain, the murderer, went from there, a man without grace, a dishonoured fugitive, and lived in the east in one place after the other, in accordance with the divine curse which had been laid upon him.

Here let us leave Cain to wander. We must no longer delay. Sadly, Abel lay murdered there, whom Adam and Eve mourned deeply within their hearts for the mortal agony that he, though guiltless, had suffered. After that there was no cause to wait. Eve bore their third son, whose name I shall tell you: he was called Seth. Eve said to Adam: "Lord, my dear Adam, I have born you a noble son (who will replace) our murdered Abel, who was killed by his brother Cain." Enough has now been said. Adam and Eve had (more) children, numbering thirty daughters and thirty sons, so that altogether there were sixty-three children. Their seed was increased manifold and was so blessed and scattered so far over the earth, that from it came the entire

11. 2044 - 2124
human race. Thus they were greatly multiplied. In accordance with Adam's instructions they made him an oratory, wherein they contemplated their misdeeds before God. This was Adam's advice, and he never stopped practising it himself. Adam taught his children, whom he dearly loved in his heart, as best he could by word and deed, for he was a wise man. In time his age began to affect him, for he was very old. As it is written, he was no less than nine hundred years old, which is the truth as I have read it. One day he spoke to his son, Seth:

"Seth, dear son, listen to me, let me tell you and acquaint you with something that happened to me in my time about which I have never told anybody. After God in his anger had driven myself and your mother out of paradise and, sadly, nothing more remained to us of that angelic grace which he had bestowed upon us, it came about that one day, as I was praying to God for my sins, there came to me his messenger, Michael, with a chariot. I saw that nobody was inside it and that its wheels were of fire and gave so bright a light, that to talk of it affrights my senses. In it he translated me swiftly and silently to fair paradise, from whence our Lord had driven me because of my transgression. There I saw with my own eyes our Lord seated most beautifully. This beauty gave so beauteous a light that nothing may be compared with it. It shone like the fountain of the world, and the stars, the moon, the sun, and all the heavenly radiance could not compare with it. At the same time I saw to his left side and to his right a host of many thousands of angels. They were all of the same brilliance, so that my heart cannot reveal nor my tongue tell the joys that I saw there. What I tell you did take place. I cast myself down upon the ground at the feet of our sweet Lord. The angels raised me up again from the ground. Thus I stood before our Lord, whom the angelic choir serves.

"As I stood and he beheld me, he spoke angrily to me:

'Adam, what have you done? Nobody can save you. You must die the death, and your body must be destroyed, for you have scorned me and with the burden of sin upon you followed your
wife, whom I took from your body and fashioned in order that through fear of you she would do or refrain from doing whatever you told her to do or not to do. You followed her rather than me, that I know. Because of this you have been driven from the angelic choir and from this feast for the eyes.' I was sad when I heard this. I fell down upon the ground before the worthy one; I sought grace and said: 'God the protector of all grace, almighty one and heaven's adornment, be gracious to me, reveal to me your almighty power, and do not let your creation perish, for it was you, Lord, who made me. Even though I have demeaned myself by my sinful misdeed, yet spare me, your creation, and do not let me, Lord, be deprived of (the sight of) your beautiful countenance and your presence which brings so much joy. Deny me not your grace upon which so many of your virtues rest and which you revealed when I subjected myself to the burden of sin.'

"I shall tell you, dear son, the answer that our Lord gave to me. He said: 'Adam, poor man, you have sinned too greatly. Tell me, how do your days pass? You were once young, now you are old (and have suffered) all kinds of misfortunes as a consequence of your sin. You have the understanding to distinguish evil from good. How can that help you? I think it would have been better for you, if you had stayed there from where you were banished, in the glory of paradise, where you lacked nothing but where you must now be a stranger.' These words made me extremely glad. I then spoke to our Lord: 'You are eternal, mighty God. Your command is sweet and true. You are the eternal morning star, the light of the heavens and the deep. By your word was created whatever swims, walks, or crawls, which must live in your honour since you gave it life. They praise you, as is right, for you are the Creator of them all. God, Lord, blazing morning light, do not drive me from your presence, for nothing can compare with it.'

"When I had finished, I scarcely recovered from the terror (I felt). With that paradise vanished. The angel took me by the
hand and set me back on the spot whence he had snatched me up. He flew away and left me here. Since then I have never spoken of it. Dear son, those are the secrets which, without deceit, God proclaimed and revealed to me, according to his great goodness, who never abandons his own."

Adam said no more to his son than what I have related. His age was starting to trouble him, for he was an old man. Nevertheless it is said that for thirty years after the talk he had had with his son he lived on in sound mind. Thereafter the years began to weigh heavily on him, for his death was imminent, as he knew well. The agony brought on by a dreadful sickness made him almost unconscious. He lay on his bed the whole time and would cry "Alas, alas," for the power of death had broken him. In his sorrow he said: "Beloved Eve, dear wife, you are my flesh and blood, for you were taken from me. The time has now come that I must die. Dear Eve, be now so good and gather together all my children that are born of you, that they may come here to me so that I can tell them and you about the bitter pains that I am suffering in my heart and all over my body from head to toe." She made no delay setting off, for she felt deeply sorry for him. Immediately she went in mourning to where all the children were. She told them the unhappy news that their father was ill and prostrated by his suffering and did nothing but cry out. With that they made no delay. They came before him in the oratory, where he cried only "Alas, alas." This he did because of his great suffering. But when he saw them, his eyes grew wet with (tears of) joy, despite the torments of death. He looked on them with great longing as a dying man. They said: "Father, what is this? Why are you lying so exhausted here in bed, and why are you so sad? And why are we gathered here at this hour in such haste?"

Adam said: "I am suffering and am forced to lie. From head to foot I am suffering agonies. I will not endure it any longer, may God stand by me." The children were very sad. They then said to Adam: "Lord, what is suffering? You must describe it
to us. We who do not know what suffering is shall then be better informed." With that they were silent. Their heads were sunk in sorrow because of their father. Seth, his dear son, then spoke: "Lord, father, as I understand it, you are longing for the nourishment of that sweet fruit, which you used to eat in paradise, the thought of which is making you sad. I only suspect this, so you must tell me, and then I shall go without hindrance across mountains and valleys up to the gate of paradise, before which I shall then lie with ashes sprinkled upon my head and do nothing but pray and lament, until God hears me and has pity for your great torments and allows his angel to send from paradise the food which he has brought me and for which you long in your heart. Lord, my dearest father, my hope tells me that I shall bring (you) the fruit. God grant that I may be successful."

Adam said: "Dearest child, as much as I love you, God knows well that I am not longing, as you think, for the fruit of paradise, but that a dreadful disease and great agonies oppress me." The children were amazed and (curious to know) what suffering was. They said: "Tell us, Father, what pain is, since you are in pain, so that we know what to do." Adam with a groan again spoke: "Now listen, my dear children, and learn what pain and suffering are and the cause of this malady. When goodness compelled God, the sweet and good one, to create me and your mother and to give us angelic food in paradise, only one tree was forbidden to us. He said: 'You will choose death, if you eat of that fruit, for you will at once forget amid all kinds of sufferings this feast for the eyes.' In his goodness he further gave us two angels to guard us, who were to give us protection. As they ascended to heaven at the hour of prayer, there came the adversary of what is right, the terrible Devil, and with misleading persuasion and false envy, which since then I have often lamented, he betrayed Eve. He lied with sweet words and advised her to eat from the Tree so that she would not forget that angelic feast for the eyes. Alas,
to the misfortune of us all, heeding the evil spirit's counsel she ate the fruit at once, and I too followed her in her misdeed.

"When our suffering had come to pass, God spoke angrily to us: 'You have done great wrong in taking the fruit which I forbade you. You will have to endure all kinds of misfortunes because of this sin, since you would not refrain from (eating the) fruit that has done you little good. I will lay upon you seventy maladies which will plague you from head to foot. I shall seldom spare you, and without pity from me you will suffer in all your limbs sickness and torment, not in one (place) but everywhere, as will all those who succeed you.'

"That is the curse and the birth-right which God, on account of our misdeed, meted out to us, to our sorrow, and which I was the first to inherit. Alas, that eating (should have brought such) wretchedness, and accursed be the food that brings me in so mean a fashion so much pain that I cannot fully describe it. I must grieve because of my misfortunes which are great, for I, wretched man, have no respite from my pains, which will make an end of my life."

When Adam had lamented so bitterly and told Eve and the children of the bitter pains that he suffered in his heart, and Eve had seen him weep, she too wept and said: "Lord God of virtue, since you created us in order to praise and honour you, be gracious and ease Adam's sufferings, which he endures and I alone deserve, and visit them upon my body, since it was I, wretched woman, who committed the sin in the first place. I alone should suffer the pains, that would be just. Adam, dearest lord, share with me the pain that causes you to lament from your heart. Give more than half of it to me so that part of the pain that I heard you describe, will be eased." "Eve, that cannot be. Instead do as I ask, for thereby you will ease me. Take my son Seth with you, for he is dearest to me; he is good and wise, and go to paradise and lie before it on the ground with heartfelt lamentation, and pray both night and day, so that it is apparent that your hearts are full of suffering.

11. 2416 - 2487
because of my bitter agony. Scatter ashes on your heads so that you will convince them that you are seeking grace. Perhaps God will increase his honour through me and have mercy upon me, sick man that I am, and send me what I desire by his sweet angel from the Tree of his Mercy from which the sweetness of Life flows at all times. Perhaps you will be given a little (of this) from the garden of delights so that with it you may annoint and dress my sick (body) and, according to old usage, I can rest a while from the torments that I suffer from head to foot. Honoured God, now free me from my suffering soon, for my death and my recovery, Lord, depend upon you alone. Help me, Lord, for it is time. Forgive me my misdeed, spare him who was created by your sweet hand divine, and grant me freedom from these bands, which constrict me and bring nothing but suffering and will end my life. Ah dear God, have mercy on me in your mercy for me."

Eve and Seth were prepared (to go), for Adam's plight brought anguish to their hearts. They immediately rose, as he had asked them, and departed from his presence. The Devil made no delay. He rose up in their path, a frightening object, for he was disguised as a serpent. As they drew closer to him the same demonic serpent bit Seth's cheek, and so deep was the bite caused by the serpent's attack that Seth fell to the ground, but he (later) recovered his senses. Meanwhile, Eve addressed the serpent: "Alas, accursed spirit, how many times and for how much longer will you cause us suffering? Who gave you the audacity that you dare touch my son, who bears both the sign and image of God?" The Devil immediately replied: "Eve, as I have already told you, is not our deception of the human race due to the fact that through it the joys of heaven were destroyed and taken from us? Are your senses so dull? Should you not make haste and carry your son from here, whom I have bitten? You had the strength to eat of the Tree for which you are suffering such punishment, and it was I who counselled and supported you, as you yourself well know."
Seth came to his senses. He no longer lay on the ground and was silent. He said: "Leave us, and may God's hatred be upon you, devilish spirit, begetter of all lies, accursed adversary of the truth, originator of falsehood, teller of the first lies. Flee from the image of God here, this I command of you on behalf of God, who created us in his likeness, as his goodness required and demanded it of him."

The Devil said: "I will leave you as you have commanded me." With that he vanished. Seth recovered immediately. He rose restored and went with Eve, his mother, to the gates of paradise before which they prostrated themselves in prayer, lamentation, and repentance and did everything that Adam had told them. They begged for the Oil of Mercy with all their might, whereby they wished to relieve Adam's suffering and sorrow which oppressed him so bitterly. And as they lay there in sorrowful supplication, both prostrated upon the ground, worthy Saint Michael, the guardian of paradise, appeared to them (in person), and he who is without fault bore a green olive-branch in his hand. He said: "I have been sent here, Seth, man of God, in order to tell you that you must moderate your complaining and the petitions of your prayer that you now make here for the Oil of Mercy. In truth, it must be said that you ought no longer to contemplate it, for you shall never gain it until the time, that is true, when five thousand and two hundred years have passed, after which the Lord of heaven will descend upon earth, a most loving king, Jesus Christ, the son of God, who ever was and ever is. He will be baptized in the Jordan, that is true, in order to wash the human race clean of its inherited state, which your mother and Adam through their disobedience both brought upon the world to the sorrow of future generations. The same Son of God will, as I make known to you, without opposition, when that blissful time comes, anoint all those blessed children who have been chosen with the sweetness of the Oil of his Mercy. They must be chosen and born again through water and the Holy
Spirit. These two things are the clearest divine path to the blessed life which will be given to him who has been baptized. Thus will the Lord of Heaven restore your father to health and once more lead him to paradise, where he will be permitted to touch the Tree of Mercy from which the sweetness of life freely flows. He will then taste the fruit to the full for ever. A host of souls will also be led into glorious paradise, so that they can live eternally without any pain."

Seth said to the angel: "Whatever misfortune befell me is now renewed. I must grieve in my heart, if my father is to lie sick and joyless for so many years, as you, dear angel, have told me is the truth. That would be a calamitous fate. Death would be preferable for him to the agony that he suffers and from which he will not be relieved for five thousand and two hundred years. Alas, how can I bear it, if he is to lie sick and ailing for so long? That destroys all my happiness. Dear angel, tell me if there is anything I can do in order to avert my father's ordeal." The angel replied: "You are permitted to know that six days from today Adam's complaint on account of his body will be ended, but not concerning his soul, which must be imprisoned in hell until the time is fulfilled."

"As I have told you, when the sixth day dawns your father is to die, and his body is to perish. Your eyes will then see the marvels and great portents that shall take place in heaven and on earth, as they most grievously lament your father's death. I will also tell you that when he is buried you are to have this green olive-branch as a symbol of your father's redemption. You must plant it by hand at your father's head, so that the truth that you and I (share) may be believed, for when the branch bears fruit, believe these words of mine, your father will rise again from the dead and will then be cured eternally and never sicken again." With that the glorious angel put the branch in his hand. He vanished before their eyes and went whence he had been sent.

Seth rejoiced over the branch. He then spoke to his mother:
"We must plant this branch carefully and water it in accordance with the dear angel's tidings, so that it will soon bear fruit and our father will be resurrected. Then he will never again be ill." Ah, dear God, how uncomprehending were Seth and Eve, those two people, as to what the angel meant. When he told them that as soon as the branch bore fruit Adam's punishment would be at an end, he meant it in the sense that when time had passed, as he had already told them, the pure sweet Lord of Heaven would descend to earth and take on human flesh and drive away our sorrow. For this that branch must grow, so that the immaculate Lamb of God might die upon it and win life for us with his pure death. Thus Adam's soul would be redeemed from all suffering, and many souls would receive divine comfort. Seth had heard the words that the angel had spoken to him but had not grasped the truth, for he was under the delusion that when, according to its nature, the branch of the olive-tree had borne fruit, his father Adam would recover from his mortal illness. That was a childish idea, for the angel meant, as the truth proves and as I said before, only that God wished to assume human flesh, thereby redeeming Adam, his creation, and all those whom the powers of hell had defeated.

We must no longer hold up the story. Eve and Seth, who had been sent to paradise, immediately set off and returned to Adam, the (pain) in whose limbs was much worse than before, so that he cried only "Alas, alas." They told him the story of how an angel had appeared to them and told them that nobody could obtain the Oil of Mercy until the blessed hour when the Son of God would come, who alone was entitled to dispense it. They also showed him the branch which had been sent from paradise by the angel. It was immediately placed near Adam's head, whose mind, however, had turned to sorrow because of his sufferings. In anguish he spoke to Eve: "Ah, Eve, what have you done to put me, wretched man, and all our descendants in God's displeasure? I know well what will happen hereafter, for my conscience tells me that all over the world the children who

11.2715 - 2791
will succeed us will begin to curse you and seek revenge on us from the wrathful God whose sweet command we opposed, which made us the originators of all sin. In the future they will say: 'Lord God, you must avenge (us) for Eve and our father, Adam, who through their disobedience have brought many sorrows and trials upon us which will never end. The earth bears us with difficulty and must nourish our bodies. We are deprived of many blessings which we would gladly have. This was brought about by Eve who succumbed in eating the apple, whereby all kinds of troubles were brought upon us which sin forced upon her.' This complaint will often be made to God."

When Eve heard this, the little joy that was there was driven from her heart. No woman's mouth ever uttered such heartfelt contrition. The pain was fresh, for there immediately welled up from the bottom of her heart a torrent of never-ending tears, as she dwelt upon her misfortune in being the originator and cause of all the sinfulness in the world. This weighed heavily upon her spirit. There is nobody so unfeeling that would not pity Eve, that poor woman, on seeing the tears flowing from her (eyes). There were three sorrows which caused her pain and which she lamented piteously. First she lamented the misfortune that because of the devil's counsel and her own misdeed she had with heartfelt suffering been driven from paradise, that beautiful feast for the eyes, and that no grace had remained to her, nothing but sorrow and misfortune. That was her first sorrow. The second that she lamented was that she had earned the ensuing reproach, namely that it would always be said of her that she was the originator of sin and misfortune which the world now endures, as can be seen daily. The world practises nothing but sin and misdeeds. Sorrow, destruction, and heartfelt grief have taken over the world, and that was the result of our mother Eve's eating (of the apple). The third cause of her grief — who can adequately express such moving lamentation? — was occasioned by her beloved husband, who lay unconscious in the grip of unrelenting agonies, for he lay at death's (door).
This gave her the most cause to grieve. She said: "Alas, that I should have ever lived to see the this day. My happiness is only now abandoning me, since, unhappily, I cannot help my dear husband, who is suffering so wretchedly. It would not be too much for my body, if it were God's will, that I rather than he should suffer pain. Dear God, since I ask it of you, inflict these pains upon my body." Thus the poor woman tortured herself with her three sorrows which she lamented from her heart with bitter tears.

Whoever curses Eve and seeks revenge, because she ate the apple and Adam did the same, is committing a sin himself, for, as I understand it, God permitted sin (to enter the world), so that it would bear witness to his great mercy and because he wished to take on human flesh, as the Bible informs me. If none were to sin, who would there then be that would pray to God for mercy? It is well known that God condemned the whole world through one sinful act, so that people would recognize and call upon his mercy, from whom mercy flows, which many a sinner has enjoyed, and faithfully believe that his mercy outweighs all the sins of the world. Who is there capable of describing God's mercy? He would be at a loss for words. It would be easier to count the number of stars or the grains of sand in the sea than to estimate the mercy of God, who is ready to receive the sinner the moment he seeks mercy in contrition. Mercy will be granted, so that it may increase.

We shall now resume the story where we left off. Adam still lay in pain, barely alive, and, as the angel had said, when the sixth day dawned, he knew that the time (had come) and that without reprieve he would die the death that day, as God wished. Eve and his children, who numbered sixty-one in all, stood there, and great was their lamentation. And as it approached midday, Adam, that half-dead man, looked sadly at the children. He mourned with great sorrow that he must leave them because of that pain that he suffered in his heart. He said: "Dear children, my days are finished. I am, according to my reckoning,
nine hundred and thirty years old. I ask you now, dear children, that when I die, you bury me facing the east and the light of the sun." With that he lifted up his hands to God in heaven. Grim death broke him, so that he exclaimed piteously: "Ah, heart," he said, "break in twain, so that I may die at this moment, for my life is of no use to me. Therefore, God my father, be gracious to me and do not be too stern as I die, since you alone are good. Grant that angelic protection may be given to my poor soul, which you, Lord, created. You gave it to me, and now it is yours again to grant, Lord, that it may be led into your heavenly kingdom and into your dear presence which is so necessary to happiness." His words were accompanied by a sad bitterness, and his heart was heard cracking like dry tinder, for he was a strong man. After that he sighed as he surrendered up his spirit. Immediately the sunshine disappeared, and it is true that the moon and the bright stars concealed their beauty until the seventh day. Heaven and that which adorns it was troubled. Great earthquakes were caused by Adam's death, who, sadly, lay there dead. Nobody can fully describe the lament which Eve and the children began. In great distress Seth and the poor woman embraced Adam's corpse. "Alas" was uttered many times. The poor woman moaned as she lay on top of Adam in tears and did nothing but lament bitterly. She cried out aloud: "Alas the day which today dawned on my sorrow! It would not seem calamitous to me, if I, Adam, my dear lord, were to be dead with you, for I have lost in you all the joy that I ever knew. You were always my most valued treasure and comfort, for you often freed me from sorrow. Who is now to comfort me, Adam my lord, now that I have lost you? You were so good and pure that I weep for you with just cause. Your death will be death to me. My heart must be destroyed by anguish for evermore. I know not where to turn, since you, Adam my lord, have been vanquished, wherefore I must disregard life and from now on do nothing but mourn."

I expect there is nobody alive who is so wise, whether
he be young or old, that could fully imagine the words and lamentations which Eve and the children uttered. All who are now alive cannot fully describe the piteous lamentations to which the daughters and sons gave voice. It was their right to do so. They justly mourned him as did heaven and earth and that which they contained in the firmament, which God had formed with every means (in his power); they mourned him bitterly, for his death brought sorrow to them all. The light of the sun, the moon, and the stars was dimmed with sorrow because of Adam's death. As God ordained, the riches of the earth and all its species which had been created by God also mourned him. The trees began to wither, and the sources of the springs which flowed into the valleys no longer enjoyed their powers. They had to remain still and mourn the dead man. The fishes in the sea were saddened by Adam's death. Everywhere the birds fell down (from the skies). Both wild and tame animals mourned Lord Adam in some piteous way. Thus they proved that he had indeed been their lord, for we read that he had in command dragons and lions and other animals who were bound to work and pull ploughs and were not allowed to escape, for they all had to do obediently what Adam commanded. Thus continued the mournful lamentations, according to the books, for six nights and six days.

As I said before Adam, the dead man, now lay in the oratory that he had built. Eve and Seth, his dear son and his wife, had been embracing the corpse. They had shed quantities of tears over him. Now behold how at that hour our Lord God appeared with the angelic host and the pure souls. The prince of angels, Saint Michael, in his angelic robes and (accompanied by) the souls at once took up position by Adam's head. He spoke: "What is the meaning of this? Why is that poor woman lying on the body in unseemly lamentation? Stand up, as I tell you, (and leave) the corpse and see what our Lord proposes for Adam, he who perfects the godhead and for whom nothing is too much. God will have mercy on his creation, on Adam, whom he created
in his own image, (the image) through which the Devil was often defeated."

When they heard the angel, Seth and the poor woman stood up and left the corpse. They stood on a hill, and their eyes were wet with tears, for, unhappily, before them lay dead he who had cared for them loyally many days and years. Thereupon the entire angelic host (that accompanied) our Lord God burst into praise of him. Their voices carried far, and resoundingly they sang: "Benedictus dominus, praises be to you, Lord God, for your command has been fulfilled. All praise and honour are due to you from the beginning and for evermore. You who are the ornament of heaven, the radiance of the sun, are praised, because in your mercy you have released your creation from the struggles of this world. For this you shall be praised and honoured now and for ever." Eve and her son Seth now saw clearly what God in his goodness did with Adam. He laid his divine hand upon Adam's head. His soul he entrusted to Saint Michael saying: "It will be your office, empowered by me, to conduct to heaven the spirits of all those whom you know to have led a good life. But now for the most part the entire human race must be banished from me, whether it conducts itself well or badly, it must be consigned to hell. As must also this soul here, which never defied me, apart from (committing) the first misdeed. It may not be spared, for my wrath (decrees) that it must be in hell with other souls, until the final hour when I shall overcome death. Then the enmity of my godhead towards the human race shall be dispelled. I shall come in great joy, and with my divine power I shall break open the confines of hell. Those who have carried out my will I shall set free with my powerful hand from the chains of purgatory. But first and foremost I shall set free this spirit, Adam, my creation, and will place him beside me on the highest throne, for I fashioned him with my own hand in my own image. That he will be permitted to enjoy. When the time is fulfilled his joys will be increased without fail and his sadness will be
transformed into bliss and have no end. This bliss will increase my joy that he is to share with me. These honours I shall be glad to bestow on him. This will happen the moment Adam sees me in hell. Up until then my mercy shall be concealed within the godhead because of the evil ways of mankind."

When God had finished speaking, there was no more delay. The poor soul was dispatched to hell, where it was to languish in the gloom until the time, as has already been described, when the enmity of the godhead towards the human race shall be dispelled. Alas, for so sorrowful a journey. Poor Adam's soul found that of loyal Abel imprisoned in hell, who though guiltless had been slain by his brother's hand. Even though he had been the epitome of righteousness, he still had to suffer hardship in purgatory. Alas for the lamentable deed which brought it about that members of the human race could be good and honest and still have to make the journey and wait in penance until death is vanquished, when he will die on the cross and win their freedom, thereby destroying the prince of hell.

Listen carefully to what happens here. Our Lord God made plain how much he loved Adam. His grace and goodness were fully bestowed upon him then. He prevailed upon two angels, the one was Saint Michael, the other angel was called Gabriel, as we read the truth, to bring immediately two snow-white shrouds which had been prepared by the hands of angels. As is customary amongst the dead, Lord Adam was covered with one as was Abel, that paragon of virtue, who had lain dead on the field there for many years and whom neither sun, wind, nor rain had ever harmed in the least. He had remained uncorrupted and without a blemish. He was in no way disfigured as other corpses would have been. He was buried with Adam in the grave. God, the sweet prince of heaven, followed the corpses with the marvellous throng. The green branch of the olive-tree which had been sent from paradise by the angel, was carried in the hand of an angel until the grave was ready, wherein Adam was laid and his dear son Abel. The prince of angels, Saint Michael,
and the angelic host did all that befitted a human funeral. No mortals were ever seen to have been laid in earth with such high honour as were these two men here. The earth received the corpses. With miraculous beauty they were laid to rest by the angelic spirits. Thus they carried out the honourable duty which our Lord God had commanded them to perform. Saint Michael immediately addressed Seth and Eve: "You must watch, note, and closely observe how the corpses have been treated, so that you do likewise to your dead." Many noble and sweet varieties of incense could be distinguished. The olive-branch was planted, as I am informed, near Adam's head, so that it would be a symbol, when it bore fruit, of Adam's redemption from the depths of murky hell, where he was imprisoned. Now the funeral had been completed with angelic honour. God, whom the angels adore, caused the heavens to bow down in homage to him, and thus they received him with his angelic host, for he was their Creator. Give us, Lord, in you grace, the same heavenly palace, where no injury of any sort nor malady may intrude, for the sake of your goodness and the love which you bore Adam, when your divine hand protected him and freed him from hell. Then you came to comfort your creation which had been purified by repentance and deprivation, so that the enmity of your godhead towards sinners was dispelled. Grant that in your mercy we may be delivered from the burden of all misdeeds. May we, Lord, rejoice that your powerful godhead assumed the guise of our weak frame. Remember the power of your love and that we are imprisoned by sin. Therefore teach us to practise repentance and deliver us from the ways of sin for the sake of the blood that gushed from your side.

The lords (Adam and Abel) are now buried. The children departed in sorrow, both daughters and sons, bearing the burden of grief. Eve and her son, Seth, remained behind by the grave with their sorrowful lamentations. They began to do in ample measure whatever the sorrow in their hearts dictated. Their grief could no longer be assuaged, and in anguish they fell to
the ground. Hot tears welled up in the eyes of both and flowed like a stream. In her grief Eve exclaimed: "Alas, wretched woman that I am! What are life and health to me, now that you, my lord and beloved husband, have left me here behind you in this vale of suffering? Ah, could I but have a choice (granted me by) our Lord God, what would then prevent me from dying with you? That would be the best thing that could happen to me. We were always of one flesh, and complete devotion was ever apparent between us, so that death is indiscriminate in killing only you. Ah, Adam, my lord, my dearest treasure, I should be dead with you. I cannot survive without you. My comfort; my joys, my bliss are all buried in the grave with you. With you has died, dearest husband, whatever honour I had. Alas, how wretched I am! I believe that the high God of heaven has very little mercy (for us), and grace is unequally (bestowed), for you, dear Adam, my lord, have been ensnared by death because of my disobedience. Alas, alack, what wretched fate that I must be deprived of him who always allayed my fears, who taught me loyalty, and for whom my heart longs. Ah, bitter death, repent you now of what you have made me suffer. Lead me on the same journey and spare your powers no longer. Ah, wretched woman that I am! May my soul burst in bitterness out of my body. Alas, death, you are a coward. Are you afraid of a poor woman? My body is so weak that you could reduce me to what I originated from, mere ashes and earth, which is what I long for in my grief. Ah, devil, (take me) now, for life and well-being have ended with Adam, my lord."

He who has a pure heart should now grieve for the great sorrow that Eve suffered at the grave. Her son, loyal Seth, told her to take care of herself. He also lamented so piteously that it is beyond description. Their sighs could be heard from the bottom of their hearts (rivalling) their tears. Neither my imagination nor my tongue can rightly tell the sorrow that that woman suffered and lamented until the sixth day.

Whoever now experiences sorrow in his heart and suffers
sorrow in such a way that, sorrowfully, one heart's sorrow pursues the next in sorrow, so that there is sorrow upon sorrow, and yet the one sorrow may not drive out the other, his heart must indeed balk at joyful things. The sorrow and suffering of one whose heart has been broken by all the sorrow that ever was still can not be compared with the heartfelt pain that Eve suffered here. The first sorrow was that she had disobeyed our Lord's first command; the second that she had left fair paradise; the third that, deceived and against Adam's counsel, she had abandoned her penance so hastily; the fourth that her son, Abel, that paragon of loyalty, had been murdered by his brother, Cain. There was enough suffering for her in these sorrows. Yet only a part of her many different sufferings have been mentioned, each of which pierced her heart. That great sorrow had partly released its hold on her. But now all that had ever caused her grief seized her in its entirety. Alas, how one heartfelt sorrow sorrowfully pursued the other, and each sorrow remained complete. Renewed was all her sorrow with unrelenting bitterness, for he was buried with whom she had passed many nights and days of love. My powers are too weak to describe fully such lamentation. But one thing I know to be true, which is that bitter suffering overcame her heart and all her limbs as well, so that she was unable to utter a word. Thus she lay almost dead until the sixth morning and partook of neither drink nor food. She was possessed by bitter thoughts of death. An angel sent from heaven made no delay. He found poor Eve still lying by the grave and Seth, her dear son, as well, whose heart was also breaking with sorrow. To both of them he said: "Hear me, Seth, and you, poor woman, you are not to mourn a corpse for more than six days. As I tell you, the seventh day is without a doubt a symbol of the future Resurrection when our Lord will rise (from the dead) and after sorrow enjoy happiness and honour. When God created the whole world and everything in it, he did so in six days, and on the seventh day it was his pleasure to rest from
his work. Therefore follow my teaching, for it is that of God. You must not mourn your dead for longer than six days, and your lamentation should be restrained." The angel vanished with these words. Some of the children immediately came to the grave where their mother lay suffering great misery. Her mind had turned to sorrow. They brought her and their brother Seth home. Her grief distressed them all and their lamentation was renewed. This was on the sixth day. All over the earth it was still dark, that is true, for owing to Adam's death the rulers of the heavens were in mourning. The night passed in sorrow. On the morning of the seventh day there was an end to the general mourning. From the heavens the sun shone down upon the world. Water flowed once more and the fishes swam as they were wont to do. The birds no longer mourned and again practised their song. The animals, inhibited by the darkness, now ran as they were used to the woods or wherever they pleased. The trees and the little flowers rejoiced in the sunshine. And, as we read, whatever had been unhappy was now freed from its sorrow.

As the bright sun lit up the day, as it was accustomed to do, everything on earth rejoiced. All but Eve who, sadly, lay there unconscious. The bright day was as night to her for she could neither hear nor see. Death tormented her bitterly for she was to die that day as God wished. The children all came to her and took heed of her pains. When they were gathered together it was apparent how concerned they were for their mother, who lay there in a very weak state. The children grieved over this. As it approached midday Eve recovered her senses and was able to speak: "Alas, Adam, my dear lord," she said, "your sweet name should be blessed by God. When I am dead my soul should bear the burden of your death and mourn in sorrow for ever. Alas, beloved Adam, there was no equal to the virtues which were often apparent to me in you. Death has vanquished in you the best of men, whosoever deserved the name of man. Ah, Adam, my lord, dear heart, your goodness, stillness, and perfection I could trust in love. I shall always

ll. 3461 – 3535
regret that I lived for so long after you. Now it is decreed
that I am to die today. I shall suffer death willingly, for
then my soul will again see your pure soul and will be able to
tell you of the sorrows which it endured. Here they loved each
other, so may they be treated equally whatever happens in the
next world. Now, my poor soul, make no delay."

When she had finished speaking, she raised her hands to
heaven. She saw her children before her. In a sorrowful voice
she addressed them: "Dear children, listen now to me. The
hour is come, and today I shall and must die. My death is close
at hand. My heart is overladen with sorrow. With the especial
grace of God I am being permitted to die, which is what I long
for in my heart. Therefore listen to what I tell you: because
of the inherited sinfulness your race will rise up and commit
inhuman atrocities, and because of this sinfulness God will
everywhere destroy with the power of water all the species that
he created. Only four men and four women will survive and
remain alive. Their seed will be scattered so far that from
it will spring a great, a mighty race. Many changes of scene
will be evident, where once there was forest hands will clear it,
the wilderness will be cultivated and mastered. When the world
has been united in all its best virtues, there will come at
last our Lord's Judgement Day, from which nothing can be con­
cealed. As my spirit tells me, there will be a rain of fire
that will consume mankind and earth. Both mountains and valleys
will be levelled out. That will happen everywhere. Indeed it
is not for me to know what will take place. That is a mystery
of God. Dear children, in truth I have told you this, so that
you will take care and beware of doing evil deeds. That is my
prayer and my counsel which springs from my heart.

"Dear children, now I ask something more of you, namely
that you honour your mother and bury my corpse with that of
Adam, my dear lord, so that my side touches his and his pure
body mine. Then you will have done well for me, for at the
Last Judgement when God destroys the world, I shall be resurrected
with him. Therefore I entrust your lives to our Lord's protection, that he may protect you with his divine blessing, for I must now die. Death will relieve me of my cares." With that she left her bed and, falling upon her bare knees, reached out her hands to God. She praised his grace and his commands with heart and voice as best she could. With that her spirit left her. In accordance with our Lord's will she had to go to hell, where she found Adam and her child, Abel, in the darkness. The children immediately took up their mother and proceeded to bury her with great ceremony and festivities. She was buried at Adam's side with great honour. As we have mentioned before, the green branch of the olive-tree had been planted at the grave. It was flourishing beautifully and leaves appeared upon it. When Adam's children saw this they said to each other: "God will end the sorrow in our hearts shortly, as the angel told us, for the branch flourishes upon which our future hopes depend. When the tree bears fruit according to its nature, our father Adam will recover from his mortal illness. Therefore we must take pains to see that it is always well cared for. We must give it enough damp, rich manure, since its fruit will restore our father to life. Blessed be the day on which it brings forth its fruit, for we shall be saved and our dear father Adam will be redeemed. This is a blessed seed which has come from God for our happiness."

They then departed from the grave. Amidst their lamentation they were glad that the tree was flourishing which had only recently been planted there. They often studied it. They tended it carefully. Not a morning passed without their going to the tree in order to inspect whether there was any fruit on it. That was a foolish action. The tree grew so that it was fair and tall, and its foliage was so thick that neither rain nor the rays of the sun could penetrate it. I have never heard of a tree that was so beautiful to behold. If one in death's despair were seated under the tree, he would at once forget all his woes. It brought so much joy. It stood, it is true,
with foliage that never rotted throughout the year, neither in summer nor in winter. Frost and snow never harmed it as it does other trees. It was much loved by Adam's children, yet they could never find any fruit upon it, despite its being so beautiful, as, every morning they hunted through its leaves. Since they gained nothing from their expeditions and it would not bear any fruit, they despaired of their father and his life. They departed and at once spread themselves far and wide throughout the land, one here and the other there. They multiplied in numbers, so that from their seed a great and mighty world arose. They never returned. They had waited in vain. Thus the tree stood without food.

The children had gone, but Seth like a good man stayed in the oratory, where he bided his time. With tears streaming down his face he silently mourned his dear father's death and the anguish that it had caused his mother. He pondered on what he was next to undertake so determinedly. He wanted to try (to see) if God would have mercy and give him something from paradise that would bring his father back to life. He rose at once and went towards paradise. The holy angel Cherubin appeared to him on his way there, to whom the custodianship of paradise had been given by our Lord. In his hand he bore a branch that was as green as grass and had been sent directly from God, and from it hung half the apple from which, many years before, Eve had bitten the other half, thereby bringing suffering and misfortune to the world. The angel spoke to Seth: "Tell me, Seth, what you seek." "Lord, nothing but that you may be so good as to give me some advice. I find myself in unhappy circumstances, which I expect you already know, and must weep above all for my father who still lies there dead and my mother as well. They are now both gone who were to take care of me and teach me the right way. Therefore, for the love of God, help and advise me, as I asked you once before." The angel Cherubin replied: "Your mother's grief, your sorrow, even your father's death, and the misfortunes of all the world originated from this
branch, when in paradise your mother bit into this apple.
Your father and mother are to be redeemed by this wood. Just
as this small piece of wood brought about their deaths, so all
their misfortune will have its end on this same wood. It has
been sent to you from paradise (in answer to) your loyal
wishes. You are to have it in your keeping with much reverence,
and you are also to take care of the olive-tree at all times
which flourishes on the sight of your father's grave. Eve and
your father Adam, who because of their disobedience have suffer-
ed many misfortunes and now at last death, will be redeemed from
their sorrow by these two trees. Inasmuch as they are (now) but
slaves and the children of death, so they will hereafter be free."
With that he put the branch with the apple in his hand. The
holy angel Cherubim then vanished before his eyes. Seth returned
joyfully to the oratory. Being a good man he took care of the
branch without falsehood and with a pure spirit. Daily he said
his prayers for his sins before it. Thereafter many good people
honoured it highly. Whoever was the best man and known to be
true had the branch consigned to his care because of his holy
way of life, for, as the book says, there was at that time on
earth nothing sacred except the branch that would bring about
salvation. Thus it passed into a number of hands until it came
to Noah, who had it a long time as his heart was so pure. He
cared for it with great honour for many years and days, until the
time came, as it is written, when God destroyed the whole world
with a flood of water, because it had sinned too greatly, as the
Bible tells us. As the clouds poured forth so much (water) and
all the waters flowed together, there was such an increase that
(the flood) rose six hundred cubits up to the highest mountains
that God had once created, and the entire human race died in
God's wrath. Noah, however, that good man ever mindful of God,
survived in the ark with everybody that was with him, and he had
the aforementioned apple-branch with him in the ark. Thus the
unruly waves wrought havoc for fully forty days. Thereafter the
water stood still and did not rise any further, and Noah noticed
that the water had begun to drop. He sent out a raven to be
his messenger. He sent it out in the hope that if it was
unable to find anywhere to perch and rest, it would return
and bring him news of whether the waves of the deep were
receding anywhere. The raven flew around and fell upon a corpse,
for it was very hungry. It sat on the corpse and ate until it
was sated, whereupon it drowned. It never returned with any
news. After that, as the Bible tells us, on another day Noah
sent out a dove in which he had more trust. It flew out of
the window at once, and as it could not find anywhere to alight,
it flew back to the ark and in at the window with the purpose
of showing that it had gleaned the truth without perishing in
the waves. Both (God's) wrath and the waters began to abate,
and when this happened, seven days later, worthy Noah sent out
the dove, as he had before, to discover whether the waters had
receded which had caused so much suffering.

The dove, as it was bidden, made no delay and flew at once
from the ark, and when it had found the olive-tree, which was
still as green as grass and which had been planted on Adam's
grave, as I have already related, the dove perched on the tree,
for it was weary and damp from flying, and rested a little upon
it. Like any loyal messenger it wanted to have a token. The
waters were falling swiftly, and it carried out its duties
happily. With its small beak it picked off a branch from the
olive-tree, so that it would be apparent that God now sought
peace and his great wrath upon the whole world was spent. With­
out mishap it flew with the branch back to the ark and in at the
window. With the branch it brought the peace that God intended
for the world up to the very end. Noah held out both hands
and received the branch from the dove's tiny beak. Then the
dove flew away, for it wanted freedom and food, just like a fish
that has been freed from the hook. Noah understood the
significance full well, as do all wise men, namely that this
sacred branch proclaims the peace of God and that it was a
sign that God would put an end to the waves of the flood. For
this he raised his hands to heaven in prayer. He kept the branch ever after as befitted its sanctity. He also took the apple-branch and held it in great honour, for, as I said before, both branches had a part to play in the future. Whosoever had been enslaved by death would, through both branches, be released from death. Thus we here leave (off discussion of) the branches. When the flood had subsided and (its waters) had flowed away everywhere, the ark came to rest in a valley. Noah and his company were so fertile that from their seed and fruit came a world that is strong and mighty and is still the world today. I shall not now relate the manner in which our Lord Jesus Christ suffered tortures on the tree. Here the discourse is ended. May God help us to his honour without undue difficulty. Amen. Amen. This is the end of (the story of) Eve and Adam.
NOTES TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION

25-34
St compares these lines with the following from the prologue of Wirnt von Gravenberg’s Wigalois:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{der volge guoter l\text{"o}re} & \ldots \quad 22 \\
\text{unde vil\text{"o}e sich dar zuo} & \quad 24 \\
\text{wie er n\text{"a}ch den getuo} & \quad 25 \\
\text{den diu werlt des besten giht,} & \\
\text{und die man doch dar under siht} & \\
\text{n\text{"a}ch gotes l\text{"o}ne dienen hie;} & \\
\text{den volge wir, wan daz sint die} & \\
\text{den got hie saelde h\text{"a}t gegeben} & \quad 30 \\
\text{und dort ein \text{"o}wiclichez leben.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

This passage supports Steinmeyer’s reading of 1.32f.

57-62
St compares these lines with the following from the prologue of Wigalois:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{der ditze h\text{"a}t getihtet,} & \quad 138 \\
\text{mit r\text{"o}men wol berihtet,} & \\
\text{wan ditz ist s\text{"i}n \text{"o}rstez werc.} & \quad 140 \\
\text{er heizet Wirnt von Gr\text{"a}venberc.} & \\
\text{daz machet m\text{"i}n gr\text{"o}z unheil} & \quad 62 \\
\text{und m\text{"i}n boeser sin ein teil.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

67-71
St compares these lines with the following from Wigalois, which are part of a prayer on behalf of the forty ladies mourning for Roaz:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{und gip daz wir verdienen hie} & \quad 8086 \\
\text{die vreude, die dhein \text{"o}re nie} & \\
\text{geh\text{"o}rte noch nie ouge ersach,} & \\
\text{noch nie munt d\text{"a} von gesprach} & \\
\text{daz sich iht gell\text{"o}e der.} & \quad 8090 \\
\end{align*}
\]

It should be noted that these "inexpressibility" topoi were frequently employed in describing heavenly delights.

82-85
The three companions are attributes of God, see Anegenge 11.187-93,
Die guten und die mynnelosz: for these must surely be the subjects of "Gobent darzÜ jre sture" (91).

M suggests "erzeigen" or "neigen" in place of "ewigen". In this context "erzeigen" appears the more appropriate.

See Konrad von Heimesfurt's formulation of the humility topos (also coupled with the hope to succeed in his undertaking) in the prologue of Mariä Himmelfahrt:

swie kranc ich aber an sinnen si,
doch wont mir ein gedinge bi,
daz got des armen willen hât
fûr eines rîchen argen tât.

St compares these with the following lines from the prologue of Wigalois:

daz ich mînen willen hie
gerne erzeicte -- wesse ich wie --
daz ez die wîsen dôhte guot. ...
des sprîch ich nach kindes sit.
erziuge ich hie iht guotes mit,
ob mîn geist gevîeget daz,
des sol mîn mir danken baz
dan einem sinne rîchen man,
der meister ist und sprechen kan;
der hât des mîr dan ich getân.

This etymology is to be found in Richard of St.Laurent (fl.1245), see A. Salzer, Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur (Linz, 1893), p.486f.

St: "die zweite deutung des namens Eva ist unverständlich, und mit Hofmanns frage in der note 'd.h. Ave begehre' weisz ich nichts anzufangen. erwägenswert scheint mir ein vorschlag, den Strauch mir mitzuteilen die freundlichkeit hatte: er ändert an v.253 in ach und nimmt eine interpretation des wordes Eva
durch lat. heu ah an. " H takes this interpretation of the name to be an interpretation of Ave, and notes Lat. avere "desire". This seems unhelpful as St points out. Strauch's emendation of "an" to "ach" leads us to the other anagram of Eva which is Lat. vae, an exclamation of distress. Jerome interprets the name as "Eva calamitas aut vae vel vita" in De interpretatione hebr. nominorum (CCSL 72), p.65. In support of this see 11.485-505.

304
M's specification at this point seems unnecessary.

336-338
These lines are obscure and St's emendations and his reference to Spervogel's motto (Minnesangs Frühling 27,6) offer little assistance. The passage (329-40) comprises what can only be described as an odd assortment of proverbial expressions.

380-385
St compares these with the following lines from Wigalois:

und der den vålant verstiez
von dem himelriche
durch daz er im geliche
wolde setzen sînen stuol --
er warf in in der helle pfuol.

This is a stock description of the Devil who here is said to be the accomplice of the wicked Roaz. The passage is based on Isaiah XIV:12-15.

534-537
See Konrad von Heimesfurt's Mariä Himmelfahrt:

here, alwaltender Krist,
in diner hant beslozen ist
dirre welte umberinc ...

738
wüllin: H suggests "vellin" which, indeed, the context demands: the passage stresses that the garments were "unreht" (i.e. unsuitable) and that Adam and Eve were without practical tools (11.740-43) with which they might have improved them. The
Bible describes the garments as *tunicae pelliceae* (Genesis III:21).

**792-801**
St compares these lines with the following from the *Maria Himmelfahrt*:

> Dā soltu kūneginne stān
> in dem oberisten trōne
> mit zepter und mit krōne,
> dā dīch der herre Dāvit
> kūnftic sach vor maneger zīt,
> alsō noch stōt geschrīben dā
> 'astitit regina
> a dexteris tuīs.'
> dā mite tuot er uns gewi
> daz duz diū kūneginne bist.

**833-838**
St compares these lines with the following from *Wigalois* (with the foot-note: die darauf folgende zeile Das ist myn rate, dem volge ich zeigt, wie ungeniert Liutwin seines vorgängers sentenzen sich zu eigen machte):

> dō tēter als der biderbe man,
> der sich des wol getroesten kan
> swēs er niht gehaben mac.
> swer ie guoter sinne pflac,
> der habe ouch noch denselben sit
> da vṛstèt er sin ëre mit.

Some of the *Wigalois* MSS read "biderman" rather than "biderbe man". These lines refer to Gawan who cannot return to his wife because he cannot enter her land without the magic girdle.

**951-955**
St compares these lines with the following from *Wigalois*:

> doch tātēns als der biderbe man:
> swenne erz niht gebezzern kan,
> så dunket ez in ein rāt
> swaz er danna hāt,
> als ez im an die nōt gāt.

*Wigalois* and his companions prepare to spend the night in the forēst.

**1126**
der selden rat: as this adjective does not seem to fit the context, the possibility of an error for "selben" must be considered.
... su verre basz verseit: "su" may be singular and refer to Eve or plural and refer to "Even wankel" in the preceding line. I have translated "su" as being in the singular (and specifically as Eve), because it agrees better with the following line.

Wanne das su volget mere: I agree with M that "volget" should read as "volgent", as the subject of this generalization is clearly the same as that of ll.1133-35.

Und das nit güt: the judgement of H, who claims that this line is incomplete and makes the passage incomprehensible, is difficult to accept, for where Lutwin is emphatic he is often brief. The meaning of the passage is clear enough.

Adam ... Samson ... Solomon: all three are common exmapla of men whom women have caused to suffer.

A.C.Dunstan in " The Middle High German 'Adam und Eva' by Lutwin and the Latin 'Vita Adae et Evae'", p.198f., cites the Gospel of Bartholomew as the source of these passages:

Et ego vidi quod factus esset de limo terre et dixi:
De igne et aqua sum et prius formatus sum. Ego non adoro lutum terre. ... Non irascitur mihi dominus sed ponam meum thronum adversum thronum eius.

He points out certain similarities: erde und myst = de limo terre, lutum terre; clar = de aqua; licht = de igne. The ideas echo Isaiah XIV: 12-15.

trübelos: the correction of this word though necessary appears too arbitrary and in translating it I have followed the context without being specific. See also 1.2028.
mynne: H's emendation illustrates how cautiously editors should proceed. There is no reason why Eve should not refer to "mynne wort" (words of love), for Adam has only just referred to "mynne lopwort" (praise of love) with contempt in 1.1599.

St compares these and 1.2373f. with the following lines from *Wigalois*:

```
mir seit daz min gedinge
daz ich in wider brings;
got gebe, daz mir gelinge.
```

Here *Wigalois* is taking leave of his mother and promising to return with his father.

St compares these lines with the following from *Wigalois*:

```
herre got, wie tuostu sô ?
von dînen gnâden was ich vrô;
mir hêt zer werite ein sûßez leben
dîn reiniu gotheit gegeben;
des bin ich nô beroubet;
mîn freude die ist betoubet ...
```

Beleare is bewailing the fate of her husband, Moral von Joraphas, who has been seized by a dragon. He is not in fact dead and they are later reunited when *Wigalois* kills the dragon.

Heroes who were infant prodigies are a mythical and literary common-place with Hercules, Alexander, and Siegfried amongst the best-known. Lutwin seems less interested in this "wunder" than in that of the pregnancy itself, cf. ll.1751-58, 1814-18.

brüder myn: M suggests "lieber bruder myn" which appears unnecessary in the context but smoothes the metre.
lxij: Meyer corrects this to lxi. According to 1.2118 there were sixty-three children in all, and at this point Abel is dead and Cain has been banished.

3125-3131
See Christ's words to Mary in the Mariä Himmelfahrt:

ich bevilhe dîne sôle 483
der engel fürsten Michahêle:
der beleitet si mit der himel scharn;
dâ von sô muoz si wol gevarn.

3145-3147 and 3180-3183
See Simon Peter's prayer in the Mariä Himmelfahrt:

dô wart der zorn hin geleit 835
zwischen uns unt dîner gothêt,
den mit ir ungehôrsam
unser mouter Evâ und Adam
an uns mit erbe brâhten,
dô si dîn gebôt versmâhten
durch des alten vindes rât,
den sît dîn werk erwûrget hêt ... 

3211
Gabriel: VA 48 names Uriel. It is, of course, impossible to establish what was in Lutwin's actual source.

3219-3226

nu enlac doch dîu gehiure 512
niht einem tôtên gelich,
as bî unser zît ein lîch
gerêwet unde gestrecket,
dîu lihte unsêze smeket.
... 522
von ir reinem lîbe gie
ein alsô sêzer wâz,
er waer wol iemer ungâz
unt voll aller swære genesen,
der in solhem smacke solte wesen.
Der rede wart ich harte fro: as God has said nothing to justify Adam's joy, it would appear that there is an omission of some kind. In the Vita God replies: quoniam fururantur dies tui factus es diligens scietiam, propter hoc non tolletur de semine tuo usque in seculum ad ministrandum mihi. (VA 27).

cf. 11.1636-38.

Das ich nach dem alten sitte: it is an anomaly that Adam should be talking of an established custom, namely the sacrament of the Last Rites, when he is the first to die a natural death. However, at his burial it is stressed that this is a new rite which the children have to be taught, c.f. 1.3255ff. At this point there is no direct mention of the Oil of Mercy, although the verbs "flußset" and "bestrichen und besalbent" suggest it. The Oil is first referred to in 1.2587.

Wer gap dir die krangheit: in the Vita Eve says: bestia malédicta, quomodo non timuisti mittere te ad imaginem dei, sed ausus es pugnare cum ea? (VA 37). Therefore the reading of "kuonheit" for "krangheit" is a possibility.

A clear statement of the Adam/Christ typology.

Compare with Gabriel's words to Mary in the Maria Himmelfahrt:

Er hätt dir, vrouwe, her gesant
disen balmen unt diz wize gewant.
der wuohs im paradiss.
mit dem selben riße
kündet er dir den wären vride ...

2249
2370-2372
2504
2543
2616ff.
2694-2697
St compares these lines with the following from the Mariä Himmelfahrt:

swem nu herzeleit geschicht
und in des leides anders niht
wan leit mit leide ergetzet,
sû leit solch leit setzet
daz leides niemer ende wirt,
swâ leit mit herzeleide swirt,
swem aller leidest ie beschach,
des leit unt des ungemach
gelîchet sich unnâch her zuo, ...

St also sees a resemblance between 1.163f. above and 1.1464f. of Lutwin:

Unser not nit ende wirt.
Jemerme one ende sô swirt.

At this point it proved extremely difficult to render Lutwin's rhetorical intentions into English prose.

St compares these two lines with the following from the Mariä Himmelfahrt:

des tôt ir durch ir herze brach
und ersochte ir diu lit sô gar.

See the description of the branch of palm in the Mariä Himmelfahrt:

der balme vil bezeichenlich was,
der schein noch grüener danne ein gras
oder iht daz gelpfe grüene hât,
ich meine, swenne òf gât
der morgenstern vor tage fruo.
APPENDIX I.
Illustrations from Codex Vindob.2980
Das ist keinerlei Empfindung.
Als ich erstanden bin
Als dem paradise an
Für frischen baum und gras
Und alles das darum war
Fü güter moß ein wasser groß
Das in viertheil darthad floß

Und machte solche würdigung
Mit ungefährsam
Denn der erste mal bekam
Der menschliche bümme über sich
Wie got Ernan vor Adam bestand

Vollständiges bephant war
Des der tugende adamas
For unser here gedocht
Nun wäre sich auch vollbracht
Das pandie so ummaßamt
So das war und adam
Der Gott in gesetztes Wort
Durch göttliche Kraft und Macht
Den physischen und phantastischen
Phantasten und so seine
Dit göttliche und mit Macht
Die gesetzte an für gelegt
Und über flüssig geladen
Das es ist ungültig
Das ist vor das was sichtlich
Dit für verdiente göttliche
Die göttliche und an in das paradise
Sie taucht in den Jordan ein und wird von der Engländerin geführt. Sie wird mit Wasser und Öl getauft.

Die Seele geht in den Himmel.
Das ich so grosse Smere solo
hihe wurde das das reise ich wol
Bleich adam nach gesehe
was noch wie darin bittere
liebe summe mit in so prol
Bildes lust der lustes soll
Sagen dem lichen man onzy
Das ich lide von herten sin
Das ich war das war von sume
liebe summe mich vorzime
kam ich mit anders kennen
Brung mir in mit der selten man
Der mich kine cimigit verlan
wie era die summe anhat und sich ubes schlip
und vire man und das fii summe irer
sumber fra geste d

Nicht mant an jene frantsen mer
Wanne das er einst sume rat
Uofget und nach der misisrat
Pamer jene luiffen und fesper de
was dir haft selden hier
Die peunt die von jotte getan
Durch adam den gien man
Dounen ena bereit sich
zii der geburt mi habe mich
zu helffe und man gefelsen hier
Man mus die zu helffe luz
Boder der men halff ir
O abel ni erflagen wart
Lag in sich mit lenger sport
Es begrop sin und gie von dan
Als ein trelselser man
Und so er von dem modde shiert
Dat sin reine gute reist
Dat zme das wort was ungemaed
Man du mich herehaft gemacht
wie ich mich han gesacht
mit meiner sunden wessetat
Doch feiste mich Dir hant gotat
und so michere schcheiden niht
von einer phonen angefeht
und diemt antliche
Das zu feiden ist so müthe
Scheide mich mit von dien quaden
Off den du hast geladen
trünger tugent überlaß
Den du erzeigen hast
wie ist dune der sunden haß
wie adam in eine swin magen overjüpt
und vor got der deren in das paradis
gefiert war

Ist mir hiuselchen auc
So von mag ich nit sidere me
För se der mir bi besta

Das fünt wurdent gar am fro
Su spruchent sin adam do
here noes was itDas
Das füll uns bescheiden has
mit mën swere in buerger friest
man mën der berge gens herre an die alten hüt
süß herre das ist mit
verzich mit mëne myssdat
frisse den 20 bestahsen hat
Die mëne göttliche haut
und ruch lösen myne hant
Die mëne göttliche haut
und ruch lösen myne hant
von mën leben endet sich
ach lieber got erbarne dich
Durch din erbarnde über mën

Pe ich die han gefangen
muine der sechste tag bettaget
so sol din vatter sterben
und andem lebe przederen
ein augen deine wunder schont
von großen zeichen die geschehen
in histor und an erreich
die begynment ragen degelich
Dins vatter do sagen
Manigl deha aertet
Die die fünde upp im tre."n
Die wart got vil diu gedaekt.

Und die rede erhoerte
von nem heren was getrost
lustel freide die Herren,
wie anhert von winen gelas
so herzetliche ruine
die fiertet der war meurer
lemanne fah an der Jihnt.
Die Hände zu festen, mit
bei aller Schicht von damen die Fest
Reise der Richtung gegen
Die müßten, großes anzüglich pflegen
Damit bleiben bis dem grade
Mit gerichteter Habe
Brud und lehre sie
Ein beginnen in der mass so
Also den harten leit gestrickt.
APPENDIX II.
MANUSCRIPTS OF THE VITA ADOAE ET EVAE
In the list of manuscripts containing the *Vita Adae et Evae* the major editions are referred to as MEYER, MOZLEY, and EIS. Sigla and page numbers are provided as appropriate. Reference is made to STEGMÖLLER by which is meant the relevant sections of the *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi* volumes I and VIII with reference numbers. Meyer's classes are retained and noted for convenience in spite of the problems described above in Part II A of the Introduction. I have been able to verify only those MSS in English libraries. MSS which I have listed but not seen are marked with an asterisk. The five Munich MSS (22-26) are not marked thus as they were catalogued by Meyer though never referred to by him. The MSS are arranged alphabetically by place and are numbered and listed chronologically where more than one MS is found at a given location.

**ABERYSTWYTH**
The National Library of Wales MS 335A (Hengwrt 239)
14th century.
fol.131-40: De Adam et Eva.
According to the explicit supplied by the librarian, this probably belongs to Mozley's "Arundel" class.

**ADMONT**
Stiftsbibliothek MS 25
13th century. parchment. 272 fols.
fol.270-272v: De electione Adam.
= EIS A

**BRUSSELS**
Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er MS IV f.15
mid 15th century. paper. 12 fols. Written in Germany.
fol.1-11v: Post casum luciferi qui superbia inflatus ...
CAMBRIDGE 1
Corpus Christi College MS 275
15th century. parchment. 239 fols.
fol.9-14: Vita protoplasti Adae et Evae uxoris ejus.
= MOZLEY P; STEGMÖLLER 74,7.1.

CAMBRIDGE 2
St John's College MS 176
15th century. parchment. 74 fols.
fol.67-74: Poenitentia Adae.
= MOZLEY J; STEGMÖLLER 74,7.1.

CHICAGO*
Newberry Library MS Ry 6
11th/12th century. 228 fols. Written in Southern Germany.
fol.224r-228v: Vita Adae et Evae.

COPENHAGEN
Königliche Bibliothek, Ny Kgl. Saml. MS 123
15th century. paper. 349 fols.
fol.47v-49v: De Ada et Eva.
= STEGMÖLLER 74,3

DONAUESCHINGEN*
Hofbibliothek MS 449
15th century. paper. 39 fols.
fol.1-5r: Vita Adae et Eva.
DUBLIN
Trinity College MS 509
15th century. parchment.
Historia Adae et Evae.
No signum in Mozley but akin to MOZLEY D + Q; STEGMÖLLER 74, 7.1.

GRAZ
Universitätsbibliothek MS 904 (38/)
15th century. paper. 355 fols.
fol. 164-169v: Liber apocrifus de vita Ade et Eve.
Anton Kern, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz (Vienna, 1956), II, 120.
= Class II. Meyer notes this as MS 33/3 on p. 210n; STEGMÖLLER 74, 10.

LONDON 1
British Library MS Arundel 326
13th/14th century. parchment. 134 fols.
fol. 42-50: De expulsione Ade et Eve de Paradiso.
= MOZLEY A; STEGMÖLLER 74,7.1.

LONDON 2
British Library MS Royal 8 F XVI
14th century. parchment. 65 fols.
fol. 55-59: Vita Ade et Eve uxoris eius.
= MOZLEY R; STEGMÖLLER 74,7.1.
LONDON 3
British Library MS Harley 495
14th century. parchment. 58 fols.
ofol.43-50: Tractatus Fabulosus de Lapsu et Poenitentia Adami et
Euae.
R. Nares, A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British
Museum (London, 1808), I, 330
= MOZLEY D; STEGMOLLER 74,7.1.

LONDON 4
British Library MS Harley 526
14th century. parchment. 77 fols.
ofol.68-77: Vita Proto-plasti nostri Ade, et Eve uxoris sue, 
fabulosissima.
R. Nares, A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British
Museum (London, 1908), I, 341.
= MOZLEY C; STEGMOLLER 74,7.1.

LONDON 5
Lambeth Palace Library MS 352
14th century.
ofol.1-4: Vita prothoplausti nostri Ade et Eue uxoris eius.
M. L. R. James and C. Jenkins, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manu-
scripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace (Cambridge, 1932), III,
467.
= MOZLEY L; STEGMOLLER 74,7.

LONDON 6
British Library MS Harley 275
15th century. paper. 160 fols.
ofol.153-158v: De Penitencia Ade et Eve, quando expulsi essent 
de Paradiso.
R. Nares, A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British
Museum (London, 1808), I, 103.
= MOZLEY E; STEGMOLLER 74,7.1.
LONDON 7
British Library MS Harley 2432
15th century. parchment. 174 fols.
fol.1-10: Adami et Evae vitae.
= MOZLEY F; STEGMÖLLER 74,7.1.

LONDON 8
British Library MS Sloane 289
15th century. parchment. 195 fols.
fol.70v-79v: Vita protoplasti Adami et Evae.
No signum given by Mozley but a close copy of MOZLEY A;
STEGMÖLLER 74,7.1.
fol.70v-73v contain the Holy Rood legend.

LONDON 9
Inner Temple Library MS Petyt 538 Vol.36
15th century. paper. 346 fols.
fol.140-48: Vita Prothoplastic nostri Ade et Eve uxoris sue.
Belongs to Mozley's "Arundel" class.

LUND
Medeltid MS 30
fol.144-153: De Adam et Eve
= STEGMÖLLER 74,6.1.
MUNICH 1
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 17740 (St.Mang.10)
10th and 11th century. parchment. 113 fols.
Catalogue Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 119.
= MEYER S (Class I); STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 2
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 18525b (Teg.525b)
10th century. parchment. 95 fols.
fol.89-95: De poenitentia Aedae et Euae.
Catalogue Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 170.
= MEYER T (Class I); STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 3
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 19112 (Teg.1111)
12th century. parchment. 178 fols.
fol.156-162: Historia Adami et Evae post expulsionem ex paradiso.
Catalogue Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 232.
= MEYER M (Class I); STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 4
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 21534 (Weihenst.34)
12th century. parchment. 164 fols.
fol.101: Secunda temptatio Adam et Eve. (VA 1-15)
Catalogue Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis
(Munich, 1881), IV, pt.IV, 4.
= MEYER (21) Class II

MUNICH 5
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 17151 (Scheftl.151)
12th century. parchment. 177 fols.
fol.177: Historia de Adam et Eva.
Catalogue Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 83.
= MEYER (17) Class II; STEGMÖLLER 74,6
MUNICH 6
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 4350 (Aug.S.Ulr.50)
14th century. paper. 92 fols.
fol.28-29: De Vita Adam et Euae. (VA 1-29)
*Catalogue Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*
= MEYER (43) Class II

MUNICH 7
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 2778 (Ald.248)
15th century. paper. 368 fols.
fol.227: De Creatione Adam et Eva, eorum lapsu, poena et penitentia.
*Catalogue Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*
Class III

MUNICH 8
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 2778 (Ald.248)
15th century. paper. 368 fols.
fol.264: De Creatione Adam et Eva, eorum lapsu, poena et penitentia.
*Catalogue Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*
= MEYER (2) Class III; STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 9
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 2800 (Ald.270)
15th century. paper. 387 fols.
fol.240-250: Formula de creatione Adae et Evae et eorum lapsu et pena.
*Catalogue Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*
Class III

MUNICH 10
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 4756 (Bened.256)
15th century. paper. 206 fols.
fol.192-200: Sermo de penitentia Adae et Euae.
*Catalogue Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*
(2nd ed. Munich, 1894), III, pt. II, 239.
= MEYER (4) Class III; STEGMÖLLER 74,10
MUNICH 11
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 5604 (Diess. 104)
15th century. paper. 298 fols.
fol. 156-159: Vita Adae et Evae transgressio.
Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis
(Munich, 1873), III, pt. III, 27.
Class I; STEGMÖLLER 74, 10

MUNICH 12
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 5865 (Ebersb. 65)
15th century. paper. 498 fols.
fol. 342-345: De expulsione Adam et Evae de paradiso.
Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis
(Munich, 1873), III, pt. III, 48.
= MEYER (5) Class II; STEGMÖLLER 74, 6

MUNICH 13
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 5976 (Ebersb. 176)
15th century. paper. 187 fols.
fol. 82: Electula seu formula de creatione, lapsu, pana et penitentia
Adae et Evae.
Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis
(Munich, 1873), III, pt. III, 61.
Class III

MUNICH 14
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 7685 (Ind. 285)
15th century. paper. 215 fols.
fol. 122-126: Penitentia primorum parentum Adae et Evae.
Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis
(Munich, 1873), III, pt. III, 187.
Class I; STEGMÖLLER 74, 10

MUNICH 15
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 9022 (Mon. Frana. 322)
15th century. paper. 371 fols.
fol. 311-317: De penitentia Adae et Evae.
Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis
(Munich, 1874), IV, pt. I, 76.
= MEYER (9) Class II; STEGMÖLLER 74, 6
MUNICH 16
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 11740 (Polling.440)
15th century. paper. 312 fols.
fol.291-297: Vita Adae et Euae.
_Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis_
(Munich, 1876), IV, pt.II, 35.
Class I; STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 17
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 11796 (Polling.496)
15th century. paper. 173 fols.
fol.152-155: Gesta de Adam et Eua et de expulsione eorum.
_Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis_
(Munich, 1876), IV, pt.II, 40.
Class I; STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 18
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 15610 (Rot.110)
15th century. paper. 245 fols.
fol.165-168: Historia de Adam et Eva.
_Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis_
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 23.
= MEYER (15) Class III; STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 19
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 18406 (Teg.406)
15th century. paper. 283 fols.
fol.95-98: De penitentia Ade et Eue.
_Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis_
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 161.
= MEYER (18) Class III; STEGMÖLLER 74,10

MUNICH 20
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 26630
15th century. paper. 354 fols.
fol.351-353: De penitentia Ade et Eue.
fol.354: Historia de ligno S.Crucis.
_Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis_
(Munich, 1881), IV, pt.IV, 196.
UNICH 21
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 3866
5th century. paper.
ol.194-199: Historia Adae et Evae, capitulis XII.
preceded by Genesis I-III and includes biblical material relating to
 Cain and Abel.

*Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*
(Munich, 1866), VI, 397.
MEYER (3) Class II; STEGMÖLLER 74,6

UNICH 22
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 11601 (Polling.301)
14th century. 250 fols.
ol.87-88: Historia de Adam et de Eue.

*Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*
(Munich, 1876), IV, pt.II, 30.

UNICH 23
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 16472 (S.Zen.72)
14th century. 205 fols.
ol.165-173: Penitentia Adae et Evae et generatio filiorum suorum.

*Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*
(Munich, 1878), IV, pt.III, 69.

UNICH 24
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 17668 (Semansh.68)
5th century. 379 fols.
ol.77-83: De expulsione Adae et Evae.

*Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*

UNICH 25
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 18597 (Teg.597)
5th century. 347 fols.
ol.273: Electula seu formula de creatione Ade et Eue et de eorum
apsu et eorum pena et penitentia.

*Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*
(Munich 1881), IV, pt.III, 187.
JAMUR
Bibliothèque du Musée Archéologique MS 162
15th century. paper. 221 fols.
fol. 128r-131r: De poenitentia Adae.
Paul Faider, Catalogue des Manuscrits Conservés dans la Bibliothèque
du Musée Archéologique de Namur (Grembloux/Belgique, 1934), p.240.
= STEGMÖLLER 74,6.1.

OXFORD 1
Bodleian Library MS 3462 (MS Selden Supra 74)
13th century. parchment.
Falconer Madan and H.H.E.Craster, Summary Catalogue of Western
Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (rpt. Oxford, 1922), II,
Belongs to Mozley's "Arundel" class.

OXFORD 2
Balliol College MS 228
14th/15th century.
fol. 203-206v: Quidam tractatus Ade et Eve primorum parentum.
A.B.Mynors, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford
= MOZLEY B; STEGMÖLLER 74,7.1.

OXFORD 3
Queens College MS 213
15th century. parchment. 50 fols.
fol. 1-8: Vita prothoplausti Adae.
I.O.Coxe, Catalogus Codicum MSS in Collegiis Aulisque Hodie adservantur
= MOZLEY Q; STEGMÖLLER 74,7.1.
PARIS 1
Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat.5327
9th century. parchment.
fol.83-87: Vita Adae et Eveae.
Catalogue Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae (Paris, 1744),
= MEYER P Class IV; STEGMOLLER 74,10

PARIS 2*
Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat.590
14th/15th century. parchment and paper. 193 fols.
fol.163-168: Liber de vita Adae et Eveae.
Ph. Lauer, Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue General des Manuscripts

PRAGUE 1*
Universita Karlava Biblioteca MS 789 [V.A.7(Y.III.2.n.7.)]
14th century. 212 fols.
fol.196r-200r: Vita Adae et Eveae annexe historia de ligno crucis.
J. Truholář, Catalogue Codicum Manu Scriptorum Latinorum qui in C.R.
Bibliotheca Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservat (Prague,
1906), I, 325.

PRAGUE 2*
Universita Karlava Biblioteca MS 1914 [X.E.13.(Y.III.4.n.48.)]
14th century. 229 fols.
fol.85v-88v: "Liber de Adam, qualiter vixit, quando fuit ejectus de
paradiso" sequiter "de formacione Ade et de nomine eius".
J. Truholář, Catalogue Codicum Manu Scriptorum Latinorum qui in C.R.
Bibliothecae Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservat (Prague,
1906), II, 77.

PRAGUE 3*
Universita Karlava Biblioteca MS 2619 [XIV.G.II.]
14th/15th century. 152 fols.
fol.132r-137v: Vita Adae et Eveae in exilio.
J. Truholář, Catalogue Codicum Manu Scriptorum Latinorum qui in C.R.
Bibliothecae Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservat (Prague,
1906), II, 332.
PRAGUE 4

Universita Karlava Biblioteka MS 2032 [XI.C.8.]
15th century. 307 fols.
fol.206v-209r: Vita Adae et Evas expulsorum de paradiso.

ROUEN*

Bibliothèque de Rouen MS 1426 (U.65)
14th century. parchment. 245 fols.
fol.245: De penitentia Ade post peccatum.

SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA
H.E. Huntington Library MS HM 1342
fol.4r-14v: Vita Adae, third recension.
S. de Ricci and W.J. Wilson, Census of medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the United States and in Canada (New York, 1935-37, 1940), I, 106.
= STEGMÜLLER 74,6.2

SCHLÄGL 1
Stiftsbibliothek MS 156. Cpl. [818]. 145.
15th century. paper. 414 fols.
fol.405v-409v: De poenitentia Adae.
Vielhaber, Catalogus Codicum Plagensium (Cpl) manuscriptorum (Linz, 1918), p.264.
STEDEMÜLLER 74,2

SCHLÄGL 2*
Stiftsbibliothek MS 198. Cpl. [820]. 126.
5th century. paper. 251 fols.
ol.1-4v: Liber de poenitentia Adae.
Vielhaber, Catalogus Codicum Plagensium (Cpl) manuscriptorum (Linz, 1918), p.314.
ne cataloguers refer to Vienna 1.
ST. GALL*
Stiftsbibliothek MS 927
15th century. paper.
G. Scherrer, Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von
St. Gallen (Halle, 1875), p.348.

STRINGNÅS
Domkyrkobiblioteket Q.16 (Op.1)
15th century.
fol.5r-9r: De Adam et Eva.
H. Aminson, Bibliotheca Templi Cathedralis Strengnesensis. Supplementum
(Stockholm, 1863), p.III.
= STEGMÖLLER 74,2

STUTTGART*
Württembergische Landesbibliothek MS HB XII 20
late 14th century. paper.
fol.132ra-134vb: De Adam et Eva.
M. S. Buhl and L. Kurras, Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Hofbibliothek
The cataloguers refer to Munich 23.

VALENCIENNES*
Bibliothèque de Valenciennes MS 168 (160)
late 13th century. parchment. 242 fols.
fol.241: Legende d'Adam et Eve. (latin)
Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France
(Paris, 1894), XXV, 260.

VIENNA 1
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. Vindob.1628 [Rec.2015.a]
mid 14th century.
fol.95r-98r: De vita Adae et Evae expulsorum e paradiso.
Tabulae Codicum manu scriptorum prater graecos et orientales in
Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum (Vienna, 1864), I, 265.
Class III (Meyer, p.210n.)
VIENNA 2
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod.Vindob.1629 [Rec.3129 ]
mid 14th century.
fol.98v-101v: Poenitentiale Adae et Evae et de vita et morte eorumdem.
Tabulae Codicum manu scriptorum . . . in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum (Vienna, 1864), I, 265.
Class II (Meyer, p.210n.)

VIENNA 3
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod.Vindob.1355 [Lunael.Q.114]
14th/15th century.
fol.92r-97v: De expulsione Ade et Eve de paradiso.
Tabulae Codicum manu scriptorum . . . in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum (Vienna, 1864), I, 227.
Class II (Meyer, p.210n.)

VIENNA 4
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod.Vindob.2809 [Rec.3006] 3
15th century. paper.
fol.308v-310v: Historia apocrypha latina Adae et Evae post peccatum.
Class II (Meyer, p.210n.)

WERTHEIM
Ev.Kirchenbibliothek MS 726
De Adam et Eva.
= STEGMÜLLER 74,5

WINCHESTER
Cathedral Library MS VII
13th century. parchment. 116 fols.
fol.109v-112r: De expulsione Ade de paradiso.
= MOZLEY W; STEGMÜLLER 74,7.1.
OLFENBÖTTEL 1
erzog-August Bibliothek MS 450 (Helmst.415)
5th century.
ol.1-4: Historia mystica Adami et Eve.
(Stegmüller der Herzog-August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. I Die Helmstedter
handschriften 1 (Wolfenbüttel, 1884; rpt. Frankfurt, 1963), 324f.
: Stegmüller 74,4

OLFENBÖTTEL 2*
erzog-August Bibliothek MS 3329 (29.7.Aug.)
15th century.
ol.189-192v: Liber de penitentia Ade. Fabulosa narratio eorum, quae
Adamo et Evae post expulsionem e paradiso accidisse feruntur.
(Stegmüller der Herzog-August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. VII Die Augusteischen
handschriften 4 (Wolfenbüttel, 1900; rpt. Frankfurt, 1966), 347.

ZWETTL
Stiftsbibliothek MS 13
13th century. parchment. 234 fols.
fol.221v-223: Adam et Eva quando expulsi sunt ex paradiso.
(Kenia Bernardina . . . Pars secunda. Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der
Cistercienser-Stifte (Vienna, 1891), I, 306.
= Eis Z
TEXTS


SECONDARY WORKS


Bartsch, K. "Lutwin". *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliographie* 19 (1884), 21.


Deighton, A. "diu wip sint alliu niht also: 'Aristoteles und Phyllis' and the Reception of Gottfried's 'Tristan'". *New German Studies* 6 (1978), 137-150.


Dunstan, A.C. "The Middle High German 'Adam und Eva' by Lutwin and the Latin 'Vita Adae et Evae'". *MLR* 24 (1929), 191-99.


Goedeke, K. Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung I. Berlin, 1884.


"The Apocryphal 'Vita Adae et Evae': Some Comments on the Manuscript Tradition". Neophilologische Mitteilungen, in press.


Harrison Thomson, S. "A Fifth Recension of the Latin 'Vita Ade et Eve'". Studi Medievali N.S.6 (1933), 271-78.

Haupt, M. "Hörenlese (47)". ZfdA 15 (1872), 265.


Horstmann, C. "Nachträge zu den Legenden 10". Archiv 79 (1887), 459-70.


Katona, L. "Vita Adae et Evae". Magyar tudományos akadémia köt.18, sz.10 (1904).

Kelle, J. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von der ältesten Zeit bis zum dreizehnten Jahrhundert II. 1896.


**Lexikon des Mittelalters.** Munich and Zurich, 1978-.


"Der Topos von den 'Minnesklaven'. Zur Geschichte einer thematischen Gemeinschaft zwischen bildender Kunst und Dichtung im Mittelalter". *DVJS* 27 (1953), 182-206.


Miksch, G. "Der Adam und Evavstoff in der deutschen Literatur". Diss. Vienna, 1954.


The Fall of Man in the Early Middle High German Epic. The 'Wiener Genesis', the 'Vorauer Genesis' and the 'Anegenge'. GAG 58. Göppingen, 1972.


"Genesis and Pseudo-Genesis in Late Medieval German Poetry". Medium Aevum 45 (1976), 70-78.


"Hartmann's Gregorius and the Quest of Life". New German Studies 6 (1978), 79-100.


"Adam und Eva" ("Adams Klage"). In VL I (1977), 45-47.
- 355 -

Murdoch, B.O. "Adambuch (Prosa)". In VL I (1977), 61f. ___ "Lutwin". VL in press.


Sprenger, R. "Lutwins Adam und Eva". Literatur Blatt 3 (1882), 259.


Steinmeyer, E. "Lutwins Adam und Eva". AfDA 8 (1882), 222-30.


Wright, J. Historical German Grammar. Oxford, 1907.