

17 St James the Just and the Jews of Jerusalem

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 34, ff. 37rb11–38va24 (c. 1350).

Parallel text: B UUB C 528, ff. 40v29–42r14 (1400–50); C SRA E 8900, pp. 155:4–157:9 (1450–70).

Original text: **LegAur** 448–51.

Editions: A *FsvLeg* I 194–98; *FsvLeg* PAW II 263–70.

Edition (A SKB A 34)

- Sanctus ieronimus scriuar
af / huar han gik þa þræng
3 des folk coma nær hans klæþa
fald ¶ egisippus vis mæstare som
var nær appostolorum tima /
6 skriuar sua af hanom ¶ jacobus
af allom ræt uis callaþar : / tok
viþar at rapa ok styra ierusalem
9 kirkiu / ok haldar æn uiþ aldar fra
vars hærra daghum / ok tel var
ra dagha / hælagnar af moþor
12 liue ¶ han drak aldre vin ælla no
kon druken dryk / ok aldre at han
kiot mat / ok aldre com harkni
15 uar ælla sax iui hans howþ /
aldre oleum viþ hans licama
ælla linklæþe / ok aldre com han
18 ·i· lōgh ælla ·i· bastouo / tel þæs haf

2 af] aff hanom at B; þa] ~ B. 2–3 þrængdes] cuperent *LegAur*. 3 folk] folkit at B, folk til at C; coma] koma [\\handom/] B. 3–4 klæþa fald ¶] klæðhom C. 5 nær] nær j C; appostolorum] aplorum B. 6 sua ... hanom] sicut in hystoriis ecclesiasticis legitur et Ieronimus in libro de uiris illustribus attestatur *LegAur*; jacobus] frater domini Iacobus *LegAur*. 8 ierusalem] ierusalem[s] A, j iherusalem B. 9 kirkiu] Possibly kirkio A, cristendom oc kirkiom / C. 9–12 ok ... liue ¶] ~ C. 13 ok] ~ B. 15 ælla sax] ~ *LegAur*. 17 ælla linklæþe] oc aldre linklæðhe C, ~ *LegAur*; ok] ~ B. 18 ælla ... bastouo] sindone, id est ueste linea, semper indutus *LegAur*.

- þe han ·a· knæ fallet ·i· sinom bñnom /
 at þolika varo hans knæskali som
 21 hans hæla / þy callaðo mæn han
 rætuisan ok folks faþer ok lanz
 værn / hanom enom af allom appos
 24 tolis var louat af iuþa væghna /
 in ganga ·i· guz mñnstar : þær
 ensamen iuþa biscopar ær inlo
 27 uat / taa þæt heter *sancta sanctorum*
 Han sigs haua saght fyrsto
 mæssø æpte varn hærra
 30 sialuan / þy at alle apostoli læto
 hanom þæn heþar for hans hæl
 gho lifnaþ ¶ Huarñ dagh æpte
 33 varn hærra / vigþo alle apposto
 li varns hærra licama / ok nō
 to sialue ok gauo cristno folke /
 36 æn fyrsto hōghtiþes mæssa / meþ
 ærkebiscops ælla paua bonað /
 sagþe iacobus ·i· ierusalem / ok petrus
 39 ·i· antiochia / ok marcus euan
 gelista ·i· alexandria ¶ ok for þy
 hete þera þrigia staþa bisco
 42 par / heþars namne patriar
 che / han gōmde mōdoms ren
 liue æ mæn han lifþe / sua som

20 þolika] ut callos in genibus sicut *LegAur.* 21 hæla /] yliar C; þy] Pro hac incessabili et summa iustitia *LegAur.* 22 folks faþer] fadher folk{sins} B, almoghans fadher / C; lanz] lanz{ins/ B, land C. 22–23 folks ... værn] abba, quod est interpretatum munimentum populi et iustitia *LegAur.* 24–25 af ... ganga] inganga A judha vægna B, a judha wægna inganga C. 25 guz] iudha C. 26 biscopar] ærkebiscoppe B. 26–27 inlouat] inlowande C. 27 taa] |taa| B, ~ C, D. 32 ¶ Huarñ] ¶ Hwan B, huar C, etiam antequam esset episcopus ordinatus, cum ante eius ordinationem in actibus dicatur *LegAur.* 33 alle] ~ C. 34 varns hærra] gudz B. 36 æn] ~ C; mæssa /] mæssø B, mæssa ther sagdhis j iherusalem C. 37 ærkebiscops] biscops C; ælla ... bonað /] ælla paua {bonath} B, bonadhe ellir pawa C. 38 ·i· ierusalem] ~ C. 39 ok] ~ B. 39–40 euangelista] ~ C. 41 hete] kallas B, heta C; þrigia] ~ C. 41–42 staþa biscopar] biscoppe stadga with markings for transposition B, stadha C. 42 heþars] hedhers stædher a C. 43 han] ~ C; mōdoms] iumfrvdoms B. 43–44 renliue] ren{lek} B, |ren|liue C. 44 æ ... lifþe /] ~ C; sua] swa at sanctus iacobus / C. 44–45 sua ... scriuar] sicut testatur Ieronimus in libro contra Iouinianum *LegAur.*

- 45 *sanctus ieronimus scriuar : ok*
þæn tima var hærra var dō
þar / þa suor sanctus iacobus sik aldre
- 48 *æta ælla drika fōr / æn var hær*
ra stoþe up af dōþ : ok paska dagh
teþes hanom var hærra meþ
- 51 *flerom / ok baþ sætia borþ ok*
vighia þær sin hælgha licama / ok
gaf iacobo ok sagþe sua æt nu
- 54 *iacobe / þy at iugfruna son ær up*
af dōþa staden
Niiunda are hans biscoþs dō
- 57 *mes / þær alle apostoli varo*
saman comne vm pasca i ierusalem / ok
iacobus spurþe huat naþom ælla
- 60 *iartigne / guþ hafþe giort meþ þøm /*
þa lysto appostoli guz iartigne
for folkeno / huar af þy lande han
- 63 *hafþe prædicat ok varit / alle baþe*
iacobus ok þe alle / þe siax dagha : siæt
ta daghen þa iacobus stoþ høght
- 66 *iui folkeno / ok prædicaþe for cai*
pha iuþa biscoþe / ok flerom iu
þom / ok andre appostoli varo nær /

45 *sanctus*] ~ *B, C*; *ok*] *ok*] [*þæn*] *A*, at *C*. 45–47 *ok ... dōþar*] In parasceue autem mortuo domino, sicut dicit Iosephus et Ieronimus in libro de uiris illustribus *LegAur*. 47 *sanctus*] ~ *B*. 48 *æta*] \vilia/ *æta B*; *ælla drika*] ~ *LegAur*. 50 *hanom ... hærra*] {*var herra*} *hanom B*; *meþ*] *meþ*] [*þan|gin*] *A*, *medh B*, oc *androm C*. 51 *baþ*] *bōdh B*; *sætia*] *sætia*] \thre/ *A*. 52 *vighia*] *wig{dhe} B*; *þær*] ~ *B*; *hælgha*] \vel/sighnadha *B*. 52–53 *ok ... iacobo*] Deinde panem accipiens benedixit et dedit Iacobo iusto *LegAur*. 53 *nu*] *nw /min kære brodher* *B*. 54 *þy at*] *nw ær B*. 54–55 *son ... staden*] *son standen vp aff dōdha B*, *som ær nw standin op aff dōdha C*. 56 *Niiunda*] *Sjunda B, C*, *Septimo LegAur*. 56–57 *hans ... dōmes*] / *ther han biscoþer wardh C*. 57–58 *þær ... comne*] *tha komo alle apostoli saman C*. 58 *vm ... ierusalem*] *j iherusalem vm pascha : B*, *i iherusalem C*. 58–59 *ok ... spurþe*] *Tha spordhe iacobus C*. 59 *ælla*] *ok B*. 60 *þøm*] / *þøm*] / *A*, *them : B, C*. 61 *appostoli guz*] *gudz apostoli C*; *iartigne*] *nadh[e] ok jærtekne / B*, *iærteknom C*. 63 *prædicat ... varit*] / *warit j ok predika{dhe} B*, *warit oc predicath j C*. 63–64 *alle ... dagha :*] *{alle} badhe iacobus oc swa the {andre apostoli} {siw dagha} om kring B, ~ C*. 64–65 *siætta*] *si[a>æ]tta A*, *siunde B*, *Siætta C*. 64 *siax dagha*] *septem diebus LegAur*. 65 *høght*] *høght oppe B*, *høgxt C*. 67 *ok flerom*] *oc androm flerom B*, *medh flerom C*. 68 *nær*] / *oc nær C*.

- 69 ok folket villde þa gærna taka
viþ cristendom / com en galin iu
þe diæfla fuldar ok øpte ¶ æþla
- 72 mæn israel slakt / lætin eigh jllgær
niga mæn ok cloca coclara / gøra
iþar af guþa / ok lop vpp þar iacobus
- 75 stoþ ok castaþe viþ iorþ ok brøt ¶
hans ben / ok haltaþe mæn han lifþe /
: ok com sua dighart bangh af enom
- 78 galnom iuþa / at flæste iuþa wrþo
galne / som þær før varo / ok vildo
tørua tel dōþ meþ stenom alla ap
- 81 postolos / þætta timde a · siætta are
siþan var hærra for tel himna
I þrætiugunda are *sancti iacobi*
- 84 biscops dōme / siþan iuþa sagho
at þe gato ængte men paulo giort /
þy at han appellerape tel kunugen
- 87 vndan þera dom / þa vændo þe al
æmne at hæmna jui *sanctum iacobum* /
som þa var ensamen *apostolus i ierusalem* /
- 90 : ok sua scriuar egisippus / iuþa como
meþ gyru rape tel iacobum / ok sag
þo sua / vi biþiom þik at þu løs þe

69 taka] alt taka B. 70–71 en ... fuldar] quidam *LegAur.* 71 øpte ¶] ropadhe C. 72 israel slakt /] *israel's slækt* : B, C. 72–73 jllgærniga] {jll}gærniga] A, forgærninga B, C. 72–74 lætin ... guþa] Cur ab istis magis uos decipi permittitis? *LegAur.* 73 ok] {oc} B; cloca] ~ B, C. 74 af guþa] galna C. 75 castaþe] kastadhe han nidher B, kastadhe han C; brøt ¶] brøt synder B. 75–76 ok brøt ... ben] ~ *LegAur.* 76 ok] swa at han B, C; haltaþe] haltadhe sidhan B; mæn] æ mædhan B, C. 77 dighart] mykit B. 78 galnom iuþa] ~ B. 79 som ... varo /] oc witløse aff honum / C; þær] the B. 80–81 tørua ... appostolos /] kasta oc thørfwa hælgha apostolos medh stenom : B, stena j hæl alla apostolos C. 81 a ... are] vij arom B, septimo anno *LegAur.* 82 for] for vp B. 83 I] A B; þrætiugunda] þr[a>æ]tiugunda A. 83–84 I ... siþan] Tha iacobus haffde warith xxx aar oc C. 84 dōme] dōmis B. 85 paulo giort /] paulo \apostolo/ giort with *markings for transposition*, B. 86 kunugen] keysarin B, cesarem ... et Romam missus fuisse *LegAur.* 87 vændo] tænkto C. 88 æmne] æmpne / haua C; hæmna] hæmpnas C; jui] [i>]jui A. 89 appostolus] ~ C. 90 ok ... egisippus] sicut predictus Egesippus apostolorum contemporaneus refert, secundum quod in hystoriis ecclesiasticis inuenitur *LegAur.* iuþa] ath iudha C. 90–91 como ... rape] medh giordho raadhe komo B, komo medh giordho radhe C.

- 93 villo folk ær ·i· comit / þy at baþe
vi ok alt folket bærom þik vitne /
at þu æst som þu hete baþe ræt
- 96 tar ok rætuis / ok alle viliom vi
lyþa þino raþe ¶ þe leddo han tel
guz mōnstar ok satto han hōgt
- 99 a mæstara stol ok øpto hōght
ok sagþo ¶ Manna rætuisaste som
ui ærum alle skyldoghe at lyþa /
- 102 folket far alt vilt siþan ihesus
var corsfæstar / sigh os af hanom
þina sannind ¶ jacobus suarar
- 105 iæm hōght som þe spurþo ¶ huat
skal iak iþar annat svara af
guz syny / vtan han sitar hōght ii
- 108 himnom ·a· hōghoro hans hōgh
sta valz ¶ cristne mæn glados
ok hørþo þæt gærna ¶ Juþa ok
- 111 hælzt þe fōrsto / ok þe visasto /
læto sik þæt dighart angra /
at þe læto sik tel hans vitne /
- 114 giorþo sik rad fara vp tel hans /
ok casta viþ iorþ sua at huat
ben ma brista / ¶ at jngen dyrues at
- 117 tala sua mer ·a· þem stole / ok
øpto alle iam skyt som enom

93 folk] folkit B, som folk C; comit /] komit [aff ihesu] B, komith C; baþe] ~ C. 94 alt folket] alder almoghen C; bærom] b[a>æ]rom A; vitne /] thæs vitne B. 95 baþe] ~ B. 98 hōgt] hōgast B. 99 a ... stol] super pinnam templi *LegAur*; øpto] ropadho C. 100 som] ther C. 104 suarar] swarade C. 105 iæm] i[a>æ]m A. 105–07 huat ... syny] Quid me interrogatis de filio hominis? *LegAur*. 107 guz syny] gudz syni Ok som frimmæ [barne] : B; han] at han B; hōght] hōghist B. 108 hans] [hand > jar] B, hand C. 108–09 hōghsta] hōg{xsta} B. 109 valz] walz : [thædhan komande at dōma werlena] B; ¶] uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos *LegAur*; cristne] Cris[ne] B. 110–11 Juþa ... visasto] pharisei autem et scribe *LegAur*. 111 fōrsto ... visasto /] fōrsto oc visasto : B, wisasta oc fōrsto C. 112 þæt] ~ B. 114 giorþo] Ok giordho B, C; rad] ra/d\ A; fara vp] vp fara B, at fara op C. 115 casta] kasta \han/ nidher B, kastadho han C. 116 ma brista / ¶] bruste B, monde brista · C; jngen] \ngen/ A, han C; dyrues] [skulde] dirfwis til B, dirffdis C. 117 tala sua] swa tala C; mer] me\er B, ~ C. 118 øpto] ropadho C; alle ... som] iæmskøt alle som B, alle C. 118–19 enom munne ·/] \medh/ enom munne : B, enne rōsth C.

- munne · / hør · hør · rætuis maþar
 120 far vildar : ok foro tel hans
 up som han stoþ ok castaþo
 viþ iorþ / ok tōruþo han mæþ
 123 stenom / ok øpto dræpum iacob
 rætuisan / eigh at eno gato han
 dræpit vtan giorþo ey han vreþan /
 126 þa baþ han bæzt for þøm hanom
 giorþe værst : ok sagþe · min
 hærra forlat þøm / þy at þe uita
 129 eigh huat þe gōra ¶ En goþar
 iuþa præstar rætuis ok af
 rætuisom vt comin / ræþas
 132 gud / han hørþe hans orþ ok øp
 te / vændom atar at casta ræt
 uisan man / som æn biþar for os
 135 som illa gōrum uiþ han / þa lop
 en iuþe meþ enne klæþa stang /
 ok slo sunder houoþet iacobi /
 138 sua at vt lop hænnen ok do · i · sama
 staþ ok stund / fyra ara ok fæm
 tighi æpte vars hærra dōþ ¶ fol

119 hør · hør ·] Høør C. 120–21 foro ... up] foro vp til hans B, foro alle eno radhe fram til iacobum C. 121 som ... stoþ] oc stando han C. 121–23 ok ... stenom /] ~ C. 122 han] \han/ B. 123 øpto] ropadho C; dræpum] dræpin B, Draghum C, Lapidemus *LegAur*; iacob] iacobum B. 124 rætuisan /] rætuisan man / B, rætuisa at allom gathom C; eigh ... han] et at enesto [at the] [at the] gato ey han B, Tho gotho the han ey C. 125 dræpit] draghit C; vtan ... vreþan] sed conuersus et super genua procumbens *LegAur*; giorþo ey] giorþo \ey/ A, ey giort B, giordo C; vreþan /] vreþan /] A. 126 þa] Oc C; þøm] them : som B, thom som C. 127 værst :] værst [vidh :] B. 128 þy at] thet C. 129–31 En ... comin] En goþar iuþa præstar rætuis ok af [-] rætuisom [æt] vt comin A, En iudha prester godher ok rætuis : oc aff rætuisom vt komin \aff/ Rechab slækt : B, En godher iudha prester rætwiis oc aff ræthwisom wtkomin C, unus ex sacerdotibus de filiis Rechab *LegAur*. 131–32 ræþas gud /] ræþas [...] | {gud} / A, \aff/ Rechab slækt : B, ~ C. 132 han] ~ B; hørþe ... ok] ~ C. 132–33 øpte /] øpte aat andrum judhum : B, ropadhe C. 133 casta] thørfua oc kasta B. 134 som] ther C. 136 enne ... stang /] enne klædha stan[d>g] B, eth spiwit C. 137 houoþet iacobi /] hofwodh iacobi : B, sancti iacobi howodh / C. 138 vt] \vt/ A; lop] fløt B. 138–149 ok ... i ierusalem] Hec Egesippus. Talique martyrio migravit ad dominum sub Nerone qui cepit anno domini LVII, sepultus ibidem prope templum. Cum autem populus uellet eius mortem uindicare et malefactores capere ac punire, protinus aufugerunt *LegAur*. 139 staþ ... stund /] \stad oc/ stund : B, stund C. 139–40 fyra ... dōþ ¶] Wars herra are :liiij: B, liiij a arom epter gudz pino C.

- 141 ket vilde hænna hans dōþ / æn
 iuþa rymdo vndan þem / þy sin
 ne / tel guþ gaf harþare hæmd
 144 iuþom / som iosephus scriuar /
 ok finnaz ma frammer ·i· þæsse
 bok meþ guz naþom : þær ves
 147 pasiani dagha ok dygþe scri
 uas ¶ Cristet folk iorþaþe iaco
 bum viþ guz mōnstar / i ierusalem

Translation

St Jerome writes that wherever he [i.e., James] went, people thronged to come near to the hem of his garment. Hegesippus [the Nazarene], a wise master who lived close to the time of the apostles, writes about him thus: “James, called the Just by all, assumed responsibility for advising and administering the Church of Jerusalem and kept it going from the time of Our Lord until our time. [He was] holy from his mother’s womb. He never drank wine or any strong drink, and he never ate meat, and a razor or scissors never came near his head, never anointing oil on his body or a linen garment, and he never went into a washroom or a bathroom. He had fallen to his knees during his prayers so much that his kneecaps were like his heels. For this reason, people called him the Just and father of the people and stronghold of the country. He alone of all the apostles was allowed on behalf of the Jews to enter God’s Temple where only the Jewish bishop is permitted to enter, so it is called *sancta sanctorum* [holy of holies].

He is said to have celebrated the first mass after Our Lord himself because all the apostles allowed him that honour in recognition of this holy life. Every day emulating Our Lord all the apostles consecrated Our Lord’s body [i.e., the sacramental bread] and ate it themselves and gave it to Christian people, but James celebrated the first ceremonial mass in episcopal or pontifical vestments in Jerusalem, Peter in Antioch, and Mark the Evangelist in Alexandria. And for this reason, the bishops of these three cities are honourably called Patriarchs. He always kept a life of chastity for as long as he lived, as St Jerome writes.

141 æn] oc C. 142 iuþa] judh[e>A] B; þem] ~ B. 143 tel] til at B; gaf] gaff them C. 144 iuþom ... scriuar /] judhum Swa som iosephus scrifwar : B, som scriffuas C. 145 finnaz] finna/z\ A; frammer] fræmmer meer C. 146–48 vespasiani ... scriuas ¶] vespasianj keysara dagha ok dygdhe scrifwas B, som scriuas aff wæspasiano C. 148–49 iacobum] sanctum iacobum B. 149 viþ] j C.

And when Our Lord had died, St James swore never to eat or drink again until Our Lord rose from the dead and on Easter Day Our Lord appeared to him and several others and ordered the table to be laid and his holy body [i.e., the sacramental bread] be consecrated, and he gave some to James and said thus: "Eat now, James, because the Son of the Virgin has risen from the dead!"

In the ninth¹ year of his episcopate when all the apostles had gathered on Easter Day in Jerusalem, James asked what mercy or miracle God had done through them, so the apostles gave an account of God's miracles for the people, each from the country where he had been preaching and been, all of them both James and all the others for six days. On the sixth day, when James was standing high above the people and preaching before Caiaphas, the Jews' bishop, and several Jews and the apostles were close by and the time was at hand when the people were willing to be baptized, a mad Jew full of demons arrived and shouted, "Noble men of the tribe of Israel, don't let wrongdoers and sly sorcerers turn you from God!" And he ran up to where James was standing and threw [him] to the ground and broke his leg and [James] limped for the rest of his life. And there was such a great calamity caused by one mad Jew that most of the other Jews who were already there turned mad and wanted to stone all the apostles to death. This happened in the sixth year after Our Lord rose to heaven.

In the thirtieth year of St James's episcopate, the Jews then saw that they could not do anything about Paul because he appealed to the king [to escape] from their judgement, so they turned all their attempts at revenge onto St James who was then the only apostle in Jerusalem. And so writes Hegesippus: the Jews came to James with a pre-planned counsel and said thus: "We ask you to put an end to the error that the people have entered into, because both we and all the people bore witness that you are as you are called, righteous and just, and we all want to obey your counsel." They led him to God's Temple and seated him up high on a teacher's chair and shouted loudly and said, "Most righteous of men whom we all are guilty of obeying, the people went completely astray after Jesus was crucified. Tell us your truth about him!" James answers² just as loudly as they asked, "What else shall I answer you about God's son other than he is seated high in heaven on the right-hand side of the highest power?"

The Christians rejoiced and listened gladly. The Jews, particularly the foremost and the wisest, greatly regretted that they allowed his testimony, plotted to go up to him and throw him to the ground so that each of his bones might break, that no-one dare speak like this again on that chair. And immediately they all

1 A mistake for seventh; cf. other OSw. manuscripts "sjunda" and *LegAur* "septimo."

2 The sudden change in tense is found in the OSw.: "suarar."

shouted as if with one mouth, “Listen here! Listen here! The righteous man has erred!” And they went up to where he was standing and threw him to the ground and stoned him and shouted, “Let’s kill James the Just!” Yet not only could they not kill him, but they could also not even make him angry. And he prayed for those who had treated him the worst and said, “My Lord, forgive them for they know not what they do!” [Cf. Luke 23:34]

A good priest of the Jews, just and from just ancestors, feared God. He heard his [i. e., James’s] words and shouted, “Stop attacking the righteous man who is even praying for us who are mistreating him!” Then a Jew ran with a fuller’s pole³ and smashed James’s head so that his brain flowed out and he died in the same city and moment 52 years after Our Lord’s death.

The people wanted to avenge his death, but the Jews escaped them, until God dealt the Jews an even harder revenge, as Jerome writes, and can be found at the beginning of this book with God’s mercy where the days and deeds of Vespasian are written about.

The Christians buried James beside the Temple in Jerusalem.

³ See vol. 1, p. 472n64.