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Lydgate's

Temple of Glas.

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

J. SCHICK, PH.D.

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DEDICATED
TO
PROFESSOR JULIUS ZUPITZA.

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PREFACE.

THE arrangement of the Introduction will, I hope, allow me to dispense with much explanation by way of preface. It will be seen at once that, with the exception of some preliminary remarks in Chapter I, the first half of the Introduction, as far as Chapter IV, is devoted to a description of the various MSS. and Prints of the *Temple of Glas*, and the critical discussion of the text. The second half contains investigations with respect to the metre, the language, the authorship, the date, the sources, and the style of the poem. Chapter XI gives a synopsis of Lydgate's principal works, and attempts to draw up a programme for further investigations of the monk's productions; Chapter XII says a few words about the Appendices.

But with respect to one or two points an explanation may be due. It may perhaps be thought that some questions might have been more fully entered into, others less. I might have given a complete grammar of the *Temple of Glas*, and, in particular, a full and detailed synopsis of the whole sound-system; I might also have added, in the Chapter on metrics, a full analysis of all the minor metrical phenomena of the poem. But I have refrained from doing so, principally because I thought the instances in which Lydgate differs from his great master Chaucer in points of language and metre, had better be collected systematically in special treatises, which would deal exhaustively with the monk's peculiarities on these points. Thus I have contented myself with setting forth the principal characteristics of Lydgate's metrical system, and entering carefully into certain vexed questions of language, the elucidation of which was necessary for the construction of the text.

On the other hand I must perhaps apologize for having gone somewhat beyond my immediate task in the working out of the later chapters of the Introduction. So many inadequate or erroneous

ideas having gained ground with respect to Lydgate, I was tempted to overstep the boundaries of my immediate province, and to endeavour to elucidate certain questions which have an indirect bearing only on our subject. This I have been led to do particularly in the eighth Chapter, on Chronology, and in the survey of Lydgate's works, in Chapter XI. If, in the assignment of some of the dates, there has of necessity been a certain amount of guesswork, yet I hope on the other hand to have given some reliable data which will enable us to gain a better insight into the sequence, and to gauge more accurately the extent of the monk's productions. Special researches into certain of Lydgate's works may prove more than one of my conjectural dates to be wrong; but no one will be more glad than myself if some of the dates can be made out *for certain*, even were they to prove my conjectures in those cases to be erroneous.

The notes are meant to answer a double purpose: first, to illustrate the usage of words and idioms in the poem by comparison with contemporary writings, whilst showing to what extent Lydgate was influenced by ideas current at the time. Secondly, I have collected in them a great many stock-phrases of Lydgate's with numerous quotations, which, with the monk's peculiarities of metre and language, will, I hope, do good service in the discussion of the genuineness of doubtful works. Of critical notes there are but few, as this side of the question has been dealt with at great length in Chapters II—IV.

If Chapter III, and in particular some of the lists of mistakes in the MSS., seem of undue length, it must not be forgotten that we have to do with Chaucer-MSS.; and thus it seemed to me desirable to derive as much information from our present text as it could afford us, towards establishing the respective value of some of these MSS. with more certainty. From this point of view, a list, for instance, like that in Chapter III, § 2, of the numerous mistakes in MS. G, will tell its own story without further comment.

In conclusion, the agreeable task devolves upon me of expressing my sincere thanks for much kind help which I have received in my work. In the first place, I have gratefully to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to the Duke of Devonshire and the Marquis of Bath, for their courtesy in placing two valuable copies of the poem at my disposal. In the same way I would also tender my hearty thanks to the Principal Librarian and the Trustees of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, for the most kindly accorded loan of the print in their Library. Canon Jackson I must thank for having so courteously

enlightened me on several points connected with the Longleat MS. Further, I am indebted to Mr. Peskett, of Magdalene College, Cambridge, for giving me access to the Pepys-MS. For the use of the other old copies of the text I must thank the authorities of the British Museum, the Bodleian and the Cambridge University Library; for personal help of various kinds I have especially to thank Dr. Bullen, Mr. Graves, Mr. Bickley, and Dr. Macray. To Mr. Jenkinson and Mr. Gordon Duff I am much indebted for information with respect to Caxton's and Wynken de Worde's prints, as also to Prof. Tietjen, of the Berlin University, for some astronomical calculations. To Professor Skeat I would acknowledge my indebtedness, not only for the help derived from his many valuable works connected with this period of English literature, but also for much personal kindness in the matter. It goes without saying that I am greatly indebted to Dr. Furnivall's publications; but I beg also to express my acknowledgment of many a valuable hint which I have received from him in the course of my work. Last, but not least, I have to thank the scholar of whose teaching and influence this edition is a direct outcome—Professor Julius Zupitza.

J. SCHICK.

Berlin, January 1891.

INTRODUCTION.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

OF all Chaucer's successors in the field of English Poetry, none has been more prolific than John Lydgate, Benedictine monk of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. Nor has any one enjoyed a greater popularity in his day, a popularity which, even more than a century after his death, had not yet died out. 'Daun John' was certainly considered the greatest poet amongst his contemporaries.¹ None less than the Victor of Agincourt and Duke Humphrey of Gloucester have been his patrons, and in compliance with their commands, his two or three most lengthy works were produced. The Earl of Salisbury, King Henry VI., and the Earl of Warwick—father-in-law of the proud "setter-up and plucker-down of kings"—were also among those who commanded the monk's pen. The great number of MSS. still extant, some exquisitely illuminated, and many a ponderous folio and curious quarto from the press of the earliest English printers, still testify, in the most tangible manner, to his past popularity. Many of his less comprehensive poems were not unfrequently assigned a position of honour beside those of his admired and revered master Chaucer,² and the voice of his contemporaries proclaimed that Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate formed the poetical triumvirate of the period.

Naturally, in the present day, our opinion of the poetical value of the monk's long-winded larger productions must differ widely from the verdict of the 15th and 16th centuries; but even in more recent times, poets and critics of such prominent position as Thomas

¹ This opinion is particularly strongly expressed by Bale: "omnium sui temporis in Anglia poetarum, absit invidia dicto, facile primus floruit." *Catalogus* 1557, p. 586.

² And, *vice versa*, two of Chaucer's poems—namely, *Truth* and *Fortune*—are contained amongst *The proverbs of Lydgate*, printed by Wynken de Worde; see J. P. Collier, *Bibliographical Account* (1865), I. 501; Lowndes, ed. Bohn III. 1419 (inaccurate); *Bibliotheca Heberiana* IV. 178; Brunet III. 1249.

Gray, Warton, and ten Brink have passed an indulgent, nay even a friendly judgment upon his poetical efforts.

But whatever the æsthetic value of Lydgate's productions may be, they afford a rich hunting-ground to the Chaucer-scholar, the archaeologist, and the student of language or early typography. His works constitute, by their number and extensiveness, important documents of the English language in the first half of the 15th century, with notable differences from the language of Chaucer, both as regards phonology and vocabulary. Furthermore, they form a vast storehouse of mediæval lore, many of the most popular sources of the knowledge of the Middle Ages being, in a greater or lesser degree, incorporated in them; and as they are mainly translations or compilations made evidently for the best-educated of his nation, they furnish ample illustration of what was then considered as the highest literary culture. It is from this standpoint that an active energy has of late years been displayed in the editing, or in the careful investigation of some of Lydgate's works. In some cases, indeed, it was but a felicitous chance which brought our monk to the fore; thus his *Guy of Warwick* was published by Prof. Zupitza, in the first instance, certainly, as presenting one of the various treatments of this story; and when Dr. Horstmann had some of his legends printed, it was merely because they were legends. C. E. Taine also, and Hill-Cust, in their Lydgate-publications, did not make the study of Lydgate their primary object, the first having evidently religious aims in view, the two latter endeavouring to trace the sources used by Bunyan for the *Pilgrim's Progress*. But with these exceptions, the publications in question all have a direct bearing on Lydgate alone. There is, to mention the editions first, the well-known one of his *Minor Poems*, by Halliwell, for the Percy Society—of somewhat older date;—then, an edition of his *Æsop* has been brought out by Sauerstein in *Anglia IX.* (the Prolegomena forming a Leipzig Inaugural Dissertation), and several minor pieces, some of doubtful authenticity, are to be found in various books or periodicals. But, before all, it is Dr. Erdmann's forthcoming edition of the *Story of Thebes*, for the E. E. T. S., to which all students of this period of English literature must look forward with interest. For this poem is one of the triad of works usually associated with Lydgate's name, and a critical edition of it from the MSS. would settle many points of language and of versification, which latter has been especially censured in this poem.

The greatest merit, however, in furthering the study of Lydgate seems to me to be due to Prof. Zupitza. Not only has he himself edited *Guy of Warwick*, published an important notice concerning Lydgate's life, and is now bringing out the interesting story *de duobus mercatoribus*; but it was he also who first drew Dr. Koeppe's attention to the then "*brach liegende Lydgate-Forschung*." Through Zupitza's suggestions, strengthened by those of Prof. Breymann, Koeppe was instigated to write his two admirable treatises on the sources of the *Story of Thebes* and the *Falls of Princes*, two most valuable and thorough contributions to the Lydgate-literature, reflecting—the latter especially—great credit on the extensive and varied learning of their author. It is, similarly, through Zupitza's influence that Dr. Borsdorf is preparing for us an edition of the *Court of Sapience*, not one of Lydgate's least interesting works; and if the present edition of his *Temple of Glas* should be found to contribute, in a slight degree, to a better knowledge of Lydgate, the merit, again, would be due to Prof. Zupitza.

This poem suggested itself as being particularly suitable for a republication. For the *Temple of Glas* was, without doubt, one of Lydgate's most popular works,¹ a fact amply certified by the numerous MSS. in which it always occurs with and amongst poems of Chaucer, and the successive prints by Caxton, Wynken de Worde, Pynson, and Berthelet, the second of whom printed it not less than three times in the course of a few years. In modern times, especial attention has been drawn to it by Warton, and high praise bestowed upon it. "The pathos of this poem, which is indeed exquisite, chiefly consists in invention of incidents, and the contrivance of the story, which cannot conveniently be developed in this place: and it will be impossible to give any idea of it's essential excellence by exhibiting detached parts." So the passage stands in Warton, in the first edition, page 418, a passage which would render superfluous any excessive praise to which I might be led away through the proverbial zeal of an editor for his own ware. In consequence of this high commendation by Warton, the poem has not unfrequently been noticed, and its intrinsic value dwelt upon—in most cases, I am afraid, upon the authority of Warton alone, as the poem was not easily accessible. Such a decided popularity for more than a century might be quite

¹ In spite of an assertion to the contrary by Blades (*Caxton* II. 59), who seems to have had difficulty in finding copies of it other than the prints by Caxton and Wynken de Worde, and MS. Add. 16165 in the British Museum.

sufficient to induce the analyst of literary currents to look with some interest upon a re-edition of the poem, even if the verdict passed upon its poetical value, when measured by an absolute standard, should be: "Very small, almost nil." For if nothing else, we must at least find a good illustration of the taste prevalent for more than a century, in a poem which found eager readers in the days of Henry Bolingbroke, and the time when Agincourt was fought, as well as through all the turmoil of the Wars of the Roses; which was among the first deemed worthy by Caxton of being printed, and which was still highly applauded immediately before the dawn of a new era. If, then, the interest in the "*bryght temple of glasse*," as Stephen Hawes, in 1506, called the poem, faded away before productions of another stamp, it will only the better help to set off the glory of the morning that was destined to follow the dullest period of English literature.

But, even apart from these considerations, there were several questions which would invitingly challenge solution from the editor. First, the point of authorship presented itself. For, although Warton's criticism did great honour to the poem, this honour was not reflected upon the true author, as Warton had curiously assigned it to Stephen Hawes. This error had, by many, been copied for a whole century, and had, combined with typographical disputes, given rise to some entangled discussions. These difficulties will, I hope, once and for all be done away with by the investigations in chapter VII.

The point of authorship once settled, other questions confront us which demand a solution. Up to a quite recent date the opinion has prevailed amongst scholars that Lydgate's metre is exceedingly irregular, jerky, and halting. The question of his treatment of the final *e*—a question closely interwoven with the preceding—has also been a vexed one, and was difficult to decide from the materials available. Fortunately, not less than thirteen texts of the *Temple of Glas* have been found, thus forming sufficient material for a critical construction of the text, which cannot now, I think, differ much from the original. This preliminary criticism of the text furnishes us, on the one hand, with a firm basis on which to stand while grappling with the above questions; on the other hand, I hope, it will further our knowledge of a number of Chaucer-MSS., both with respect to their individual value, and the relations they bear one to another.

To conclude, a glance at its contents and the progress of its story, will show that our poem is, in its general framework, its *motifs*, and

the whole range of its ideas, in no small degree dependent upon the Chaucerian Muse, and thus bears a not uninteresting testimony to the wide influence of Chaucer upon the literature of his country. If I add that, in several respects, the *Temple of Glas* bears a decided family-likeness to the *Kingis Quair*, and that King James was probably not uninfluenced by Lydgate's poem, the latter may perhaps appear to deserve greater interest than one might be inclined to bestow on a poem of Lydgate's, when bearing in mind certain criticisms on him.

I have above alluded to the circumstance that our poem was, in deference to Warton's judgment, more praised than actually read. The best-known account of it is probably the one in Hazlitt's re-edition of *Warton*, which is especially calculated to give an inadequate conception of it. For on p. 61 of the third volume of this work, the introduction to the poem is alone taken notice of, and, in fact, the whole passage would rather impress the reader with the idea that the introduction constitutes the entire poem. It will not, therefore, be amiss, if, in a few words, we sketch its contents, the less as this will at once indicate the position of the poem with respect to other works of the same school. The story may thus be briefly told :

Heavy-hearted and oppressed by sorrow, the author lies down to sleep one December night and finds himself, according to the favourite *dream-motif* of that day, before a temple of glass, which stands in a wilderness, on a craggy rock, frozen like ice (1—20). Dazzled by the brilliancy of the sun-light reflected from the temple, he is unable to distinguish his surroundings, until clouds gather before the sun, and he discovers, after long search, a "wicket" affording access into the building (20—39). He enters, and there finds depicted on the interior walls of the circular temple, the figures of many celebrated lovers, taken from classic antiquity and mediæval saga, portrayed in various attitudes with "billes" in their hands, petitioning Venus to mitigate their woes (39—54). Next follows an enumeration of the various lovers (55—142), with a list of their complaints (143—246). Last of all the dreamer perceives a lady, the very pattern of all beauty and excellence, an angelic creature, who, in loveliness and virtues, surpasses all others of her sex, and "illumines" the whole temple by "her high presence" (247—314). She, too, like the rest, presents Venus with a "bille" of the sorrows of her love (315—320), which she then begins to pour forth (321—369). After hearing her complaint that she is separated from her lover, Venus consoles her, pro-

mising her union with her knight (370—453), for which the lady returns thanks (454—502). The goddess then throws down to her branches of hawthorn, admonishing her to keep them sacred, as a symbol of constant love (503—530).

Whilst dreaming thus, the poet finds himself, on a sudden, amongst a great multitude, who are bringing sacrifices to Venus in her temple (531—544). He leaves the crowd, and perceives a knight wandering alone, who, oppressed with the sorrows of love, holds a long soliloquy, and finally resolves to lay his trouble before the goddess (545—700). This being accomplished (701—847), Venus consoles him in like manner to the lady, and sends him forthwith to his beloved, to whom he is boldly to disburden his mind (848—931). With a heavy heart the knight goes on his way (932—969), and makes confession of his love to the lady (970—1039), who colours red “as the ruddy rose,” and bashfully assents to his suit, in obedience to the will of Venus as her sovereign lady and mistress (1040—1102). The lovers now humbly present themselves before the goddess, who unites them with many admonitions (1103—1298), upon which all present praise Venus, and petition her to keep the lovers thus united by everlasting bonds (1298—1319). This prayer being granted (1320—1333), the whole temple resounds with a “Ballade” of praise to the goddess, sung by all true lovers present (1334—1361). These sounds awake the poet, who, saddened at finding the beautiful vision has faded, resolves to make a “litol tretise” in praise of women, until he finds leisure to “expound his fore-said vision” (1362—1392). The envoy, addressed to his lady, concludes the poem (1393—1403).

It may be well to note here that the two MSS. G and S, which differ from the rest in having various interpolations, have, at the end, from l. 1380 onward, a most tedious, drawled-out addition of above 600 lines, containing the *Complaynt* of a lover who is separated from his lady, added most likely by reason of the unclear purport of the last twenty-five lines of the poem. This is given as Appendix I in the present edition.

CHAPTER II.

TITLE OF THE POEM.—DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS. AND PRINTS.

BEFORE we proceed to give an account of the various MSS. and Prints, it may be well, at the very outset, to settle the title of the

poem, with regard to which some doubts may remain after the perusal of the note in *Warton-Hazlitt*, III, 61. The matter is, in reality, very simple. All the texts of the poem give "The Temple of Glas" as the title, except MSS. F and B, where the poem in title, colophon and headlines, is called "The Temple of Bras."¹ Now chapter III, § 5, will show that F and B have many peculiarities in common which point to their being derived from one and the same original. We may therefore take it for granted that the error comes from their common source. I think we may even assign a reason for this error. It is not at all unlikely that the scribe of the MS. in question hit upon this wrong title because it seems to have been in use as another title for Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*.² A comparison of line 231 of this poem furnishes the key to the occurrence of such a title for it;³ for Lydgate's poem it is entirely unwarrantable, as in the decisive line 16 all texts, F and B not excepted, speak alike of a "temple of glas."

For the further title: *The dreeme of a Trewe lover*, etc., in MS. S, see below, under 6, p. xxiii.

As we have said above, numerous texts of the *Temple of Glas* have come down to us. I have altogether come across seven MSS. and six Prints; one of the latter, however, is only a fragment. They are as follows:

A. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

1. T = Tanner 346.

Bodleian, Oxford. See **Skeat**, *Chaucer's Minor Poems*, p. xlii; *Legend of Good Women*, p. xli. On vellum; date 1400—1420. The poems contained in this MS. are in various handwritings, that of the *Temple of Glas* being one of the earliest; in fact, Dr. Macray tells me that it dates back, as nearly as possible, to the year 1400. Our poem begins on folio 76 a, and ends on 97 a. The title runs: *The tempil of Glas*; at the end stands: *Explicit*. Some of the capitals are ornamented, and illuminated in red and blue. The index at the

¹ In F, it is true, the word *Bras* has been, by a later hand, corrected to *Glas*, twice in the title (in one case Stowe's hand is discernible), and once in the colophon, also by Stowe.

² It occurs in the colophon of Caxton's Print in the University Library, Cambridge (A. B. 8. 48. 6), and in the fragment of it in the British Museum (C. 40. l. 1); cf. **Blades**, *Caxton*, II, 61; **Warton-Hazlitt**, III, 61, note 1; **Tanner**, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 491; **Furnivall**, *Trial-Forwards*, p. 116; *Catalogue of the Caxton Exhibition*, No. 37.

³ It is curious to notice that in this passage just F should read *glas* (as accordingly Morris has it).

beginning, in recent handwriting, has the item: *The Tempil of Glass, f[ecit] Steph. Hawes. r[ide] Pits.* This MS. is, with G, the oldest, and is altogether the best of them all. It has therefore been taken as the basis of the present edition, in which every deviation from it has been duly marked by brackets or asterisks.—For a description of the way in which T has been reproduced in this edition, see chapter IV.

Lines 96, 154, 216, 320 are omitted in T, as also in those MSS. which are most nearly related to it (F, B, P).

Some of its most conspicuous orthographical and phonetic peculiarities are the following:

The scribe often writes *w* alone for the usual *ew* in words like *nwe*, *trwe*, *rwe*, *knwe*, *hwe*; also in *swe*, 352 (but *sue*, 1180), *eschwe* 450 (but *eschew* 1181); always *shew(e)*, 206, 305, 319, 916. This seems to indicate that the scribe of our MS. pronounced the vowel of the first group above also as a monophthong.—*ov* is often written instead of *ow*; so we find *nov*, *hov*, *ꝛov*, *morov*, *folov*, *sorov*; *lovli*; *sparovis* 541; *avove* 771. A confusion of *w* and *v* appears further in *woid* (= *vowed*) 741 and 1128; *nvfangilnes* 1243; *showe* (= *shove*) 534. Between vowels *w* has sometimes been dropped, for instance in: *waloing* 12; *sorois* 967; *foloip* 416.—Letters not rarely stuck fast in the scribe's pen; for instance several times, the *i* or *y* in *-li*: *goodl* 1000; *womanl* 1020; *mekel* 1105.—Instead of *she* we find *sho* 72, 666; we have *bein* = *ben* 136, and *sein* = *seen* 935. In certain endings the scribe of T has a predilection for putting *i* instead of *e*; he writes for instance: *Rauysshid* 16, *foundid* 18, *entrid* 39, *callid* 219, *wikkid* 153; *billis* 50, *hestis* 59, *oþis* 59, *tungis* 153, *þingis* 167; *manis* 402; *rekin* 91; *werin* 152; *oþir* 3, *vndir* 9, *aftir* 47, *wondir* 48, *tendir* 210; *telliþ* 110, *berip* 173; *nedis* 232; *tempil* 92, etc.—*i* in this MS. is often kept where other MSS. put *y* (for instance in the syllable *-li*); it presents, in this respect, a contrast especially to F, see **Skeat**, *M. P.*, p. xl; *Legend*, p. xli.

Although some of the above-mentioned peculiarities recall the northern dialect, yet they are perhaps not sufficient proof that the scribe was a Northcountryman.

2. F = *Fairfax* 16.

Bodleian, Oxford. See **Skeat**, *M. P.*, p. xl; *Legend*, p. xl; **Warton-Hazlitt** III, 61 Note. On vellum; date about 1440—1450 (on the first page is the date 1450). In the MS. missing lines have

been filled in and other corrections supplied in various places in a small, neat handwriting. This is doubtless the hand of John Stowe,¹ the historian, as is shown by MSS. like Harl. 367, Tamer 464 (transcripts from Leland),² and Addit. 29729, a Lydgate-MS. copied by Stowe, according to his own words, from Shirley. *The Temple of Glas* extends in F from fol. 63 *a* to 82 *b*; the title, however, is here given as *The temple of Bras*, but *Bras* has later been twice corrected to *Glas*, once, above, by Stowe and, below, by another hand. Colophon: *Explicit the temple of Bras*; here *Bras* has only once, by Stowe, been corrected into *glas*. The running title is: *The temple of Bras* (see beginning of this chapter). In the table of contents at the beginning stands: *The Temple off Glasse*, by the side of which Stowe wrote *lydgate* (see chapter VII). At the commencement of this valuable Chaucer-MS. is written in Fairfax's hand: "Note y^t Joseph Holland³ hath another of these Manuscripts," and at the end of *The Temple of Glas* in Stowe's hand: "Here lackethe .6.⁴ leves that are in Josephe Hollands boke." As, however, the poem is complete in the MS., this remark must either refer to some poem which stood between *The Temple of Glas* and the following *Legend of Good Women* in Holland's MS., and which was not given in F; or else the writer of this remark had before him, in "Hollands boke," a copy belonging to group **A**, with the *Complaynt* at the end, which appeared to him to be wanting in F. For ll. 96, 154, 216, 320, gaps were originally left in the MS.; of these the one for l. 320 has been filled in by Stowe, the three remaining ones by another hand; the line supplied for 96 being re-corrected by Stowe. Towards the end of the poem, ll. 1375 and 1385 are omitted. Further, there are found in the margin numerous crosses indicating mistakes, probably also put in by Stowe. The lines almost invariably begin with small letters.

¹ Max Lange, *Untersuchungen über Chaucer's Boker of the Duchesse*, p. 1, is wrong in supposing that ll. 31—96 of that poem have been filled in by Stowe, the writing in question being in a later Jacobean hand (Dr. Macray).

² This was pointed out to me by Dr. Macray.

³ Joseph Holland, the Devonshire Antiquary; several articles of his, dated 1598—1601, are to be found in Thomas Hearne's *Collection of Curious Discourses*, Oxford 1720, and in Sir John Doddridge's *Opinions of sundry learned Antiquaries touching the antiquity of the High-Court of Parliament in England*, London 1658. See Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, 2nd ed., London 1721, vol. I, col. 521 (§ 605).

⁴ According to this, *Warton-Hazlitt*, III, 61 Note, is to be corrected.

3. *B* = Bodley 638.

Bodleian, Oxford. See **Skeat**, *M. P.*, p. xli; *Legend*, p. xli; **Warton-Hazlitt** III, 61. **Furnivall**, *Odd Texts*, p. 67 and 213. Paper with vellum quire-covers, 4°, about 1470—1480. *The Temple of Glas* begins on fol. 16*b*, and ends on 38*a*. The title is: *The Temple of Bras*; the running title the same; the colophon: *Explicit The Temple of Bras*. See under 2, and at the beginning of this chapter. The lines begin as a rule with capitals. Ll. 701—714 have been tampered with by another hand; hence they exhibit a number of arbitrary interlineations which again are now partly erased. *B* is very nearly allied to *F*, the two going back to a common source.

Ll. 96, 154, 216, 320, 1385 are omitted.—Two amusing notes have been written in the margin by a later reader. The speeches in the poem seem to have been too long for his taste—for which we could not blame him. At all events, he became impatient at not being able to make out who the speakers were; for, at the end of one speech (after l. 847), he put: “*h^c vsque nescio quis*”; and at the beginning of another (l. 970): “who in all godly pity maye be.”

4. *P* = Pepys 2006.

Magdalene College, Cambridge. See **Skeat**, *M. P.*, p. lxxvii; *Legend of Good Women*, xl; **Todd**, *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer*, p. 116; **Furnivall**, *Supplementary Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, p. 27; *Odd Texts*, p. 265. Paper, about 1450. *The Temple of Glas* extends from page 17 to 52. The title has been supplied in a small, later hand as *Temple of glas*; the colophon is: *Explicit*. Our poem is written in two handwritings, the first including ll. 1—1098; the second beginning at the top of page 45, and extending to the end. The compiler of the Index seems to have thought that the poem was one of Chaucer's, like others contained in the MS.

The following lines are omitted: 154, 290, 346, 532, 552—555, 616, 818, 955—957, 1027.—Ll. 147, 148; 1330, 1331, and 207, 208 are transposed; in the last instance, the mistake has been indicated by two crosses in the margin. Ll. 124, 432: 96, 216, 320 differ entirely from those of the other texts; the three latter must have been omitted in the common original of T. P. F. B, and were most likely

supplied in their present form on the way from this original to P (see chapter III, § 10).

Many dialectal peculiarities occur in the part written by the first scribe :

ā for ō : behalden 34, knawe 261, know 430, ovr(e) thrawe 608, 647, aweñ 938, knawe 1002.—u, ou, ow for o : suthe 43, goudly 56, lowke 230, rowte 307, sowne 392, shuke 524, gowd 684, 906, 977, 985, lulinesse 288, vnfoulde 360 [dulfull 52] ; ovr, owre (over) 608, 647.—Vice versâ, o for ou : flores 540.—

Orthography *quh* for *wh* : quhen 116, 119, 421 (qwhen 610), Quhame 314, quhat 567, swmquhyle 655.—*quh* for *h* : quhow 100, 117, etc., quho 599.—*wh* for *h* : who (= how) 17, 58, 63, 65, 67, etc. ; wher (= were) 46, 47, 92, 143.—*h* for *wh* : how (= who) 297, hoo 615.—*wh* for *w* : whete (= wite) 728 ; *w* for *wh* : wan 4.—*h* prefixed wrongly : hus 110, hws 1081.—*w* in the function of a vowel : lwfys 86, lwfith 157, lwfit 163, lwfe 212, 213 etc., Wpon 89, vertwe 297, 306, dwle 407, trwe 453, abwfe 466, swndry 609, etc., etc.—*w* for *v* : grewous 1, Rawishid 16, wisage 56, dissawyt 58, growe 109, Inwie 114, lowes 125, enwie 147, lower 149, etc., etc., (very numerous cases).—Vice versâ, *v* for *w* : vexit 69, vas 129, vitte 463, vaxeñ 508, vittes 831, vyttis 1029.—We find also *ey* for *e* : feyr 10, deyr 219, beyn 323, seyn 506, apeyre 581, greyn 617 ; *ay* for *a* : naymly 229, laydy 468.—Vice versâ : twene 354, chene 355, presith 403, dispared 651, etc.—warde (= word) 360.—The MS. has also often -ir, -id (or -it), -is, in unaccentuated syllables.

These peculiarities leave no doubt that the first part was written by a northern scribe. There are moreover, besides the above-mentioned omission of fourteen whole lines, no end of careless mistakes in this portion of the MS., dittographies, omissions of words, syllables and letters, and other nondescript faults, in many cases presenting perfect nonsense. None of our MSS. have been so carelessly written as this particular part of P.

The latter portion of the poem, written by a second scribe, is not only almost entirely free from these northern forms, but it is altogether more correctly and carefully transcribed.

5. *G* = *Gy*. 4. 27.

University Library, Cambridge. See Skeat, *M. P.*, xliii (the passage quoted on p. xlv forms ll. 701—704 of *The Temple of Gilas*, not a continuation of it) and *Legend of Good Women*, p.

xxxviii. On vellum; date about 1430? This MS. contains a well-known text of the *Canterbury Tales*, and is remarkable as having a different version of the Prologue of the *Legend of Good Women* (one of Bradshaw's favourite MSS., see **Prothero**, *A Memoir of Henry Bradshaw*, p. 357). With respect to the Temple of Glas also, it has a distinctive feature, in being, with S, the only MS. which contains the appendix named the "**Compleynt**." The "**Temple of Glas**" proper extends from fol. 458 *a* to 476 *b* (ending here with l. 1379); after that follows the *Compleynt*, which stops short at l. 563, at the bottom of fol. 482 *b*, the next leaf being cut out. Another leaf (= 513 according to the new pagination of the MS.) is wanting between fol. 479 and 480 (of the old pagination); thus, ll. 255—330 of the *Compleynt* are missing in G. The title stands already at the foot of fol. 457 *b*: *Here begynyth the temple of Glas*. Ll. 531—596 are wanting, not, however, in consequence of a missing leaf.

The Catalogue of the MSS. in the University Library wrongly splits up our poem into two parts (III, 173, 174):

19. *The Temple of Glass* (fol. 458 *a*).
20. *Supplicatio Amantis* (fol. 467).

But compare the Corrigenda (V, 598): "This copy differs from the printed editions, by having much more at the end. The last page is here wanting, but a complete copy of this recension, in the handwriting of John Shirley, is in the British Museum, Add. MS. 16165." The compiler of the Index of G apparently believed the poem to be Chaucer's, for he has, on fol. 488 *b* (the last leaf but one) at the foot, the remark: "The Temple of glasse and supplicatio Amantis not in the prynted booke."

MS. G is, with T, the oldest of our texts. It represents with S (and, in part of the poem, with F and B) another version of the text, exhibiting, in the body of the poem also, various interpolations, which will be discussed in chapters III and IV. Its peculiarities of spelling, etc., can be studied in the *Compleynt*, for which it has been taken as the basis.

6. *S* = *Additional MS.* 16165.

British Museum. This is one of the MSS. of **John Shirley**, a gentleman who spent a considerable part of his time in copying poems of Chaucer and Lydgate. The MS. is on paper, folio; date about 1450. See **Skeat**, *M. P.*, xlv. Our poem extends from fol.

206 *b* to 241 *b*, and has been almost entirely copied by Shirley himself; but ll. 119—134 and 391—439 have been written by other hands. At the end of the *Regula sacerdotalis*, which precedes our poem, is written in the MS.: “Et ensy fine vn petit abstracte appellez regula sacerdotalis et comence vne soyngne / moult plesaunt fait a la request dun amoureux par Lidegate · Le Moygne de Bury.” The running title is: *The dreeme of a trewe lover*; this, however, is not always uniformly the same, inasmuch as *trewe* is sometimes omitted, or *a* has been replaced by *þe*, or is altogether left out, etc. On folio 207 *a* stands in addition to this headline: “made by daum John of *þe tempull of glasse þat shall nerst folowe þe hous of fame*” (the words in italics supplied later); similarly, there is a later addition to the running title on fol. 212 *a*: *rabble þe Temple of glasse by Lydegate*. See further chapter VII.—The colophon runs (on fol. 241 *b*): “Here endiþe þe Dreeme and þe compleynt of þe desyrous seruant in loue and filowng begynneþe þe compleint of Anelyda,” etc.

As has been intimated above, this is the only other MS., which, besides G, contains the *Compleynt*. Where, therefore, the first MS. is defective, the text of S is given in Appendix I, namely, in ll. 255—330, and from 563 to end.

Folios 228—230 do not follow in correct sequence. It seems that fol. 228 *b* was, through an oversight, left blank; Shirley turned from fol. 228 *a* immediately to 230 *a*, and then to 230 *b*; on the blank side of 228 *b* he then wrote the continuation of 230 *b*. Folio 229 ought to stand before 228 (perhaps a mistake in binding?). The scribe himself draws attention to the right sequence of the pages.

Besides the many striking mistakes which S has in common with G, discussed in chapter III, S has omitted ll. 261—264 and 507; totally changed 594 and 618, and the latter halves of 1358, 1359, to make the rhyme suit l. 1356; in the interpolated stanza 3 *b*, line 4 is omitted, and a new one introduced; in place of ll. 741 and 742 one single line appears; two lines (the first = line 91) have been interpolated between ll. 28 and 29, and, before 736, line 727 has been, by mistake, repeated.

In the *Compleynt* ll. 157—176 are omitted in S; ll. 364, 378, 412, 474 are totally different from G, and lines 380 and 422 differ slightly. Compare also the lines 206, 207 in the two MSS.

Shirley's peculiarities of orthography are well known from Dr. Furnivall's publications¹: his *e*- for *y*- (the prefix to the past parti-

¹ Compare particularly *Old Texts*, p. 78.

ciple), as in: echaced 31, eblent 32, Eslawe 95, Ewounded 113, Eturned 116, Eentred 201, etc.; his *-eþe*, *-iþe* (3rd ps. sgl.): abydeþe, floureþe, bereþe, telliþe, sitteþe; his predilection for *ff*s: efft, alofft, sofft, wyff, stryff; his *eo* and *oe*; his invariable svarabhakti-vowel in *harome*; his *uw* in *truwe*, *huwe*, *eschuwe*, etc.; his pleonastic writing of *next*, etc.—He also often has the Scandinavian *þeyre*.—His reading *sounle of bras* (instead of *stede of bras*) in l. 142 does not reflect great credit upon his knowledge of Chaucer, nor does his reading *Physyphouee* (for *Tisiphouee*), in l. 958, say much for his classical scholarship. What with all the above-stated omissions and interpolations, and a whole legion of alterations which he introduced on his own hook, his MS. is one of our worst copies.¹

7. L = *Longleat* 258.

In the possession of the Marquis of Bath. On paper and vellum; 4°; date about 1460—1470. See **Furnivall**, Supplementary Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer's *Minor Poems*, p. 143; *Odd Texts*, p. 251; Reports of the Commission for Historical MSS., third Report, Appendix, p. 188, at the bottom, and 189 at the top. Curiously enough, in the last-mentioned passage the *Temple of Glas* is not given in the contents of that MS. in which it really stands—namely, MS. No. 258, the Chaucer-MS. containing the *Parlement of Foules*, etc.—; but after the description of this MS. in the *Reports*, on p. 189, a further MS., *The Temple of Glasse*, on paper, of the 15th century, is mentioned. Canon Jackson, to whom I am much indebted for his information about this MS., tells me that this latter does not exist as a separate copy; he thinks that the *Temple of Glas*, which, in reality, stands first in MS. 258, has, in the table of its contents, as given in the *Reports*, been wrongly put at the end of the table as a separate “folio” of the 15th century. *The Temple of Glasse*, mentioned in the *Historical Commission Reports* on p. 188, in the middle of second column, is *Chaucer's Dreme*, or, as the poem has been better called, *The Isle of Ladies*; see **Thynne's Animalversions**, printed by Dr. Furnivall, p. 30; **Skeat**, *M. P.*, xxxii; **Koerting**, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Englischen Litte-*

¹ Shirley also wrote “poetry” himself. By an enormous jump, we come down from Chaucer to Lydgate; a little lower than Lydgate's poorest verses ranks the *Complaynt*, and with another decided step we descend from the *Complaynt* to Shirley's productions. See specimens of them in chapters VII. and VIII.

ratur, p. 157, note 1. This MS. is of the 16th century (about 1550), and has the number 256.

As we have just mentioned, *The Temple of Glas* stands, in L, at the beginning, from fol. 1 a to 32 a. The title is: *The Temple of Glas*; the colophon: *here endith the Temple of Glas*. On fol. 32 a were originally only the last two lines and the colophon; later on, Sir John Thynne wrote on the same page a poem by Rycharde Hattfeld; comp. Add. MS. 17492, fol. 18 b, where the same poem is to be found.¹ Ll. 211 and 212 are transposed; ll. 96, 609, 610, and 901 are omitted; the latter, however, has been filled in by a later hand, as well as the headings before 321 and 531, and the running title: *The temple of Glas*; various corrections also, as in ll. 426, 816, 818, 833, 844, have been supplied by the same hand.—In the table of contents our poem appears as “*Templum vitreum*.”

The text of MS. L forms an interesting link between the recension of the Prints and of MSS. T. P. F. B; it must stand in close relation to the MS. which we may suppose Caxton to have used.—It has few peculiarities of spelling or phonetics; it writes *vale* for *fade* (508); *abought* for *about*; *grugging*, etc. (with *gg*), and invariably *dul* (= *did*, O.E. *dyde*). The Scandinavian forms *thair*, *them* (or *theim*) are of frequent occurrence.

Another MS., not now known, once in the possession of the Paston family, is spoken of in the *Paston Letters*, in one dated the 17th of February, 1471-72 (see chapter VII). *The Temple of Glas* seems also to have been contained in a MS. of Joseph Holland's; see above, under § 2 of this chapter. Moreover, the criticism of the known texts, in chapter III, points to the former existence of a considerable number of MSS. now lost sight of.

B. THE PRINTS.

8. C = Caxton's Print.

University Library, Cambridge, marked AB. 8. 48. 5. Unique.² 4°, without date, place, name of printer, signatures or catchwords. The type used (No. 2) shows that this is one of Caxton's oldest Prints, and belongs to about the year 1478. It contains thirty-four

¹ This I was able to ascertain through the kind help of Mr. Bickley, of the British Museum. The poem is about to be published, from the Addit. MS., in Dr. E. Flügel's *Lesebuch*.

² Of all the six prints known to me, I have, of each, seen but one copy. See, however, Lowndes, the copies mentioned by whom I could not always trace to their present possessors.

leaves, a—c⁸ d¹⁰; folio a₁, probably blank, is missing. The poem begins on a₂ recto, and ends on d₁₀ recto. The full page comprises twenty-three lines. The title is given at the top of a₂ recto : + The temple of glas + ; the colophon on d₁₀ recto : + Explicit the temple of glas + .

See Conyers **Middleton**, *A Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England*, 1735, p. 29; **John Lewis**, *Life of Caxton*, 1737, p. 104; **Ames**, *Typographical Antiquities*, 1749, p. 60; **Herbert I**, 79; **Dibdin I**, 306; **Panzer**, *Annales Typographici*, 1795, III, 561, No. 67; **Ritson**, *Bibliographia Poetica*, under No. 10 of the Lydgate-list; **Robert Watt**, *Bibliotheca Britannica I*, 207 c; Catalogue of the Caxton Exhibition, No. 34; and, particularly **Blades**, *Caxton*, 1863, vol. II, 59, No. 19.

The Cambridge copy seems once to have formed part of a volume of collections, belonging to Bishop John More of Ely (died 1714; see his portrait forming the frontispiece to vol. II of Dibdin), who procured it through John Bagford; see **Blades II**, 51; **Hazlitt**, *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, III, 24; *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Part IV, 134; **Hartshorne**, *The Book Rarities in the University of Cambridge*, 1829, p. 135.—The various component parts of this volume have since been separated again. The other prints are all descended from Caxton's, as will be shown in chapter III.

9. W = Wynken de Worde's first Print.

British Museum, King's Collection. It forms the third piece in a volume marked C. 13. a. 21, the two preceding it being the *Story of Thebes* and the *Assemblée de dyens*. See the description of the whole volume in **Hazlitt**, *Hand-Book to the Popular, Poetical and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain*, p. 358, No. 3; comp. also **Ward**, *Catalogue of the Romances in the British Museum*, I, 88.

The print is in 4°, containing a—c⁸ d⁴ = 28 leaves, with 28 lines on a full page. The Catalogue of the British Museum gives 1500 (?) as the probable date; but Mr. Gordon Duff tells me that it must be somewhat earlier, perhaps 1498. This print has signatures, as have also the following ones; in Pynson's print this is not visible, as the bottom of the pages has been cut off.—The print has no separate title-page; the title is given at the top of a₁ recto: ¶ Here begynneth the Temple of glas; immediately below the poem begins, and ends on fol. d₄ recto, in the middle, with the colophon: ¶ Explicit the Temple of glas. Underneath there are the: ¶ *Duodecim abusiuones*, in Latin, followed on d₄ verso, by two English stanzas in rhyme royal (printed in Appendix II.). Below these is Wynken de Worde's device, No. 1 (= Caxton's small device, having his initials in black on a white

ground, with black floral scrolls, *without* W. de Worde's name underneath); see **Herbert**, table between I. 116 and 117, left corner at the bottom; **Dibdin**, No. 1 of Wynken's devices.

This first print by Wynken de Worde was followed by two others (W₂ and w, described in the two ensuing paragraphs) which have often been confused with each other and with Caxton's print,¹ so that many mistakes in connection with them are found in bibliographical and typographical works.

See **Ames** (1749), p. 86; **Herbert** I. 194, 195; **Dibdin** II. 303—305; **M. Denis' Supplement to Maittaire** (1789), No. 5992, vol. II. 673; **Panzer** III. 561, No. 67; **Ritson, Bibliographia Poetica**, p. 68; **Watt** I. 475 c; **Lowndes** ed. *Bohn* III. 1419; **L. Hain, Repertorium Bibliographicum**, No. 15364, vol. II., pars II., 397; *Bibliotheca Westiana*, No. 1684; *Bibliotheca Heberiana*² (1834), part IV. p. 134. Our print W is probably also the one meant by **Herbert**, vol. I. p. 79 (bottom) and 80 (top); Mason-Heber's copy must have been very similar to the one in the Brit. Museum, if not of the very same impression.

The text of W is derived from C; see chapter III.

10. W₂ = Wynken de Worde's second Print.

Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. 4°; a—d⁴ in eights = 28 leaves, with 28 lines on full page. No separate title-page; title at the top of a₁ recto: ¶ Here begynnmyth y^e temple of Glas. Below it, the poem begins, and ends on d₁ recto; the colophon is: ¶ Explicit the Temple of glas. Immediately below follow the: ¶ *Duodecim abusiones*, in Latin and English; they end at the bottom of d₁ recto. On d₁ verso stands Wynken de Worde's device alone, No. 4 as given in **Dibdin**. The sign ¶ stands before every line throughout the whole poem. Folio b₇ and b₆ are bound in wrong order in the Edinburgh copy.

My attention was drawn to this print by Mr. Gordon Duff, who also told me that the date of it is about 1500.—This second print by Wynken de Worde is derived from his first one, as the evidence of the text shows.

See Catalogue of the Advocates' Library VI, 490, where this print is ascribed to Stephen Hawes.

11. w = Wynken de Worde's third Print.

In the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. This copy once belonged to the Duke of Roxburghe and, still earlier, to Dr. Farmer,

¹ The confusion of W with C arose from W having Caxton's device at the end. But Wynken at first used Caxton's own device, and the type furnishes decisive evidence that W was not printed by Caxton.

² For Heber and his bibliomania see *Allibone's Dictionary*; also *Breyman's* edition of *Marlowe's Doctor Faustus*, p. x.

the well-known Shakspeare-scholar and Librarian to the University of Cambridge. See Catalogue of the Library at **Chatsworth**, 1879, IV. 152 and IV. 340; *Bibliotheca Heberiana* IV. 134.—The print contains $a^8 \cdot b^8 \cdot c^6 \cdot d^4 = 26$ leaves in 4°, with 31 lines to the full page. This print has a separate title-page: on folio a_1 recto stands: ¶ Here begynneth the temple of Glas. Underneath is a woodcut formed of three blocks, representing in the middle a tree, to the right a lady, to the left a gentleman, as it would seem in a courting attitude. Two blank scrolls are respectively over their heads.

On folio a_1 verso the poem begins, and ends at the bottom of d_3 verso. On folio d_4 recto are the *Duodecim abusiones* in Latin, with the two stanzas in English. At the bottom of d_4 recto is the following colophon: ¶ Here endeth the temple of Glas Enprynted in Lodon in Flete strete in the sygne of the sonne. by Wynkyn de Worde. On d_4 verso there is a large woodcut formed of four blocks; the two composing the border representing ornamental scrollwork of floral design, the upper enclosed block depicting the Virgin and Child standing in a cloister (or chapel?), the lower being Wynken de Worde's device No. 2 in Dibdin (Caxton's initials in white on black ground, with white floral ornamentation, and underneath the name of Wynkyn de Worde in smaller black letters on a white ground); see also **Herbert**, table between I. 116 and 117, right corner at the bottom.

Mr. Jenkinson, the Librarian to the University of Cambridge, tells me that the above-mentioned woodcut shows the date of our print to be not long after 1500. w is derived from W₂, the second print by Wynken.

See **Brunet**, *Manuel du Libraire*, 1862, III. 1250; **Lowndes**, ed. *Bohn* III. 1419; *Bibliotheca Farmeriana*, p. 296, Lot 6451; **Dibdin** II. 304, Note †.

Herbert, p. 1778 (quoted by **Dibdin** II. 305), speaks of a print by Wynken de Worde with his device No. 5 as being in the Cambridge University Library, where, however, its existence could not be traced. Most likely **Herbert** meant the print described in this paragraph, as it was formerly in the possession of Dr. Farmer, once Librarian to the University.¹ The statements in **Ames**, **Herbert**, and **Dibdin**, with respect to Caxton's and Wynken's prints, are anything but clear or accurate.²

¹ The colophon of w and of the print referred to by **Herbert** are the same.

² I believe **Ames** (I, 86) and **Herbert** (I, 80 and 194) mean Wynken's first print W; later on, **Herbert** saw w also and took some notes from it which were

12. p = Pynson's Print.

Fragments in the Bodleian, Oxford. A print by Pynson is mentioned in **Ritson**, *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 69 (top); but I should not have been able to trace it, had not Dr. E. Fluegel discovered four leaves of this print among the Douce-Fragments (No. 38) in the Bodleian. The leaves are in 4o, and are in a mutilated condition, owing principally to the bottom of the pages having been cut off. They have been put together in wrong sequence; leaf 1, recto, contains ll. 1327—1349, verso 1355—1379; leaf 2, recto, 1103—1126, verso 1131—1154; leaf 3, recto, 1159—1180, verso 1187—1208; leaf 4, recto, 1385—1403. Underneath is the colophon:

[Explicit]¹ the Temple of glas.

[Emprynt] ed by . Rycharde Pynson.

On the last page stands Pynson's large device No. V in Dibdin. The *Duodecim abusiones* are not given in p. As the signatures have been cut off, we cannot say how many sheets or pages this print contained. As, however, the top-lines of the four leaves left of it coincide, by a curious chance, with those of b, we may, perhaps, infer that p had twenty-six leaves like b (and w).—The text of p is taken from W, the first print by Wynken. From this reason, we may perhaps conclude that p was printed sometime between 1498 and 1500.

made use of by Dibdin. Dibdin's account (II, 303)—unless, indeed, there is a fourth print by Wynken—is a shockingly confused medley of W and w. The title stands nowhere as Dibdin has it; by the alteration of the capital letters, as given by Dibdin, we might get W or w (not W2). The colophon annexed to this title is taken from w; its orthography is faulty, and it represents here the second part only of the full colophon in w. The beginning of the *Temple of Glas* is given from W, very faultily. The second colophon, introduced after these lines, is that of W or W2 (one capital wrong). The Latin part of the *Duodecim abusiones* is from W, with one slight mistake. Then Dibdin tells us that the two English stanzas stand on the last page; this applies only to W. But nevertheless, in the form in which they stand in Dibdin, these two stanzas are taken from w (Dibdin apparently following MS. notes of Herbert's); still many words are as in W (for instance, *yough* in l. 18). Then follows the *beginning* of the colophon in w; then a controversy with respect to Dr. Farmer's copy (w) and that of Mason (W), etc.—every line only adding to the bewilderment of the reader.

Had the historians of Typography been accurate in trifles, matters would have been very simple; the accurate rendering of the title alone—or of the first two words of the poem alone—would have been enough to distinguish all the four prints C, W, W2, w.

¹ The brackets show what I have filled in myself, the paper here being torn away.

13. *b* = *Berthelet's Print*.

Bodleian, Oxford; marked S. Selden d. 45 (22). The print contains a⁴ b⁶ c⁴ d⁶ e⁶ = twenty-six leaves in 40, with thirty-one lines to the full page. Folio a₁ is devoted to the title and woodcuts, the title being on a₁ recto: ¶ This boke called the Temple of glasse / is in many places amended / and late diligently imprinted.—Underneath it stands a woodcut, representing Fortune on her wheel, blindfolded, bearing an unfurled sail in her hand, surrounded by kings and knights. On a₁ verso there is another woodcut, showing trees and flowers enclosed by a paling, in the midst of which stands a knight courting a lady.—The poem begins on a₂ recto, and ends on e₆ recto, in the middle; after it follow the: ¶ *Duodecim abusiones*, ending on e₆ verso; below them is the colophon: ¶ Thus endeth the temple of Glasse. Emprinted at London in Fletestrete / in the house of Thomas Berthelet / nere to the Cundite / at the sygne of Luerece. Cum priuilegio.

The text of *b* is taken from *w*, Wynken de Worde's last print. It was from this print by Berthelet that Warton made his extracts (comprising ll. 14—41; 44—85; 137—142),¹ and these, again, served as basis for the German translation of ll. 55—66 and 75—81 in Alex. Buchner's *Geschichte der Englischen Poesie* I, 56.

See on this print **Warton-Hazlitt** III, 61; **Ritson**, *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 69 (top); **Herbert** I, 463; **Dibdin** III, 348; *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, part IV, p. 134.

CHAPTER III.

GENEALOGY OF THE ORIGINAL TEXTS.

I. GROUP A.

§ 1. *Coincidences in MSS. G and S.*

It will be seen by a cursory glance that the two MSS. G and S exhibit common characteristics which point to a close relation between them. In both, the end of the poem, from line 1380—1403, is wanting, and, in its place, appears an exceedingly prosy appendix of over 600 lines, the "Compleynt," which was, I suppose, added in the two MSS. in consequence of the ambiguous expression of the last twenty-five lines of the poem, which seemed to leave

¹ Some of Warton's readings are taken from the MSS.; some are conjectural. I need hardly add that the latter are all wrong.

scope for some such addition. Moreover, in both MSS. the five stanzas 3—7 (ll. 335—369) have been replaced by four others; line 510, and in connection with it, 513 and 514, have been altered, to bring in the name "Margarete" for the Lady (cf. also Compl. 395 etc.); similarly, in ll. 309 and 310 the motto of the lady has been changed (cf. also line 530); in l. 299, the colours of the lady's garment are given differently, most likely because our redactor did not consider the green colour, token of inconstancy, appropriate here. Another deliberate change has been made with the pronouns *þou*, *þe*, *þin* (altered to *þe*, *þow*, *þowr* in ll. 889, 1152; 883, 888; 854); and here the alteration can be easily detected as such, because in several instances the old pronoun has been either left (cf. ll. 852, 859 etc., 927 etc., 1151, 1156 etc.), or altogether omitted, or otherwise changed (cf. ll. 910, 926, 1172). The subjoined list gives the principal minor instances in which G and S agree in opposition to all other MSS.

Line 1. *constreint*] *compleynt* G. S. 9. *Hadde hid* *only in* G. S. 19. a] *om.*
 51. *compleint*] *compleyntes*. 60. *she was*] *was she*. 66. *þein*] *sorwe*. 79.
hadde for Tristram al] *for Trystram sufferede in*. 81. *him]* *hyre* G. *hir* S. 89.
walles depeint] *wal depeinted*. 93. *lusti fresshe]* *fresshe lusty*. 96. *sawe I]*
I sawe S. *I say* G. 112. *hov]* *of*. 139. &] *and ek*. 161. *ne]* *in*. 200.
in] *In here* G. *in hir* S. 215. *oft]* *soore*. 220. *was to him]* *to hym* was.
 230. *he do]* *men do*. 241. *for]* *thorowe*. 251. *which]* *the whiche*. 269. *so]*
or. 271. *brȳter]* *is bryghtere*. 321. *of]* *to*. 328. *ful]* *cler*. 331. *her]* *om.*
 370. *þo]* *as*. 407. *sorowis dul]* *sorwe dwelle*. 418. *ful]* *om.* 457. *plainli]*
only. 470. *That]* *What*. 511. *þei do]* *it doth*.¹ 632. *hou]* *þow*. 637. *and*
me] *om.* 697. *ful]* *alle*. 763. *noþing can]* *can no thyng*. 767. *wot]* *wot*
that. 770. *she]* *ye*.—*vnto in to*.—*hir]* *youre*. 778. *ener was]* *was*. 781.
That was] *Was*. 785. *To]* *And*. 801. *lowli]* *lowe*. 808. *grace]* *your grace*.
 812. *helth]* *helpe*. 817. *and]* *that*. 818. *1st me]* *om.* 819. *not long]* *no-*
while. 827. *mater]* *preyer*. 831. *fiue]* *myne fyve*. 833. *And]* *To*. 835. *O]*
om. 840. *þe me whilom]* *whillom þe me*. 844. *bi]* *wip*. 854. *þin]* *your*.—*I wil*
anon] *anon I wil*. 873. *For]* *But*. 883. *þe]* *þow*. 888. *þe]* *þow*. 889. *þou*
menyst] *þe mene*. 905. *noþing]* *for no thyng*. 910. *þe]* *om.* 921. *if]* *om.*—
herte] *crys*. 922. *wilte]* *lyst*. 928. *on þe]* *of the may*. 939. *he]* *hym*. 958.
 I] *And*. 1007. *lowli]* *low*. 1010. *shal so]* *so shal*. 1028. *deuyse]* *to devise*.
 1031. *me of]* *of your*. 1039. I] *he*. 1040. *trwe]* *so trewe*. 1056. *vnto]* *to*.
 1081. *Riȳt]* *Lych*.—*vs]* *bothe vs*. 1082. *þe]* *om.* 1111. *þe]* *they*. 1152. *þou]*
ye. 1164. *And]* *But*. 1170. *and]* *om.* 1172. *neuer for]* *for no*.—*þe]* *neuer*.
 1180. *biseli þou]* *besye the to*. 1192. *in]* *at*. 1206. *no]* *om.* 1212. *haue]*
om. 1239. *On]* *In*. 1270. *shal þe knot]* *the knot shal*. 1284. *haue Venus]*
Venus haue. 1309. *his]* *besy*. 1328. *oure presyence]* *here presyence* G. *hir*
heghe presyence S. 1330. *hir]* *fynal*. 1331. *prudence]* *prouidence*. 1356.
þe done appere] *the sume apperyth*.

To these instances must be added all the common readings of F. B. G. S (see § 3), and the list of the coincidences of G and S might still be considerably augmented by adding all those of a more trifling character, and those which, though slightly differing, yet

¹ The long break here is accounted for by ll. 531—596 being omitted in G.

indicate a common source (see, for instance, ll. 21, 47, 151, 229, 515, 693, 826, 834, 938, 1076, 1141, 1143, 1337, 1368, 1377, and especially 870, 1305).

§ 2. *Differences between G and S.*

Notwithstanding the many cases in which MSS. G and S coincide, as set forth in § 1, they still cannot either of them have been derived from the other. For

a. G cannot be derived from S; since G is some twenty or thirty years older, and, moreover, S has a host of its own individual faults. But

β. neither is S derived from G; for ll. 531—596 are missing in G, whilst they are found in S; and the two MSS. further differ in the following passages, where S has, as a rule, the right reading:

63. falsed] Ifalsid. 65. hov] how that. 82. hou] of. 90. honged] hangyn. 95. I-slain] Slawe. 105. hurt] hit.—þurgh] for. 118. lone of þe] the love of. 133. lowli] only. 138. with] that. 141. hou] *om.* 147. þei] there. 171. hap] hadde. 183. lust of loues] lustis. 197. ful] wol.—soune] swoun. 201. Vrented] Irenderede. 206. of] in. 217. þat] *om.* 219. hir] hym. 241. &] or. 244. hindred] hemered. 252. dop hir] so thorough. 254. clerenes] clennesse. 260. al] alle the. 263. þe] *om.* 265. Forto] ffor forto. 269. aunge-like] agreable. 274. replenysshid] replevisshes. 287. bounte] fente. 290. or] *om.* 295. 3rd of] &. 299. and] & In. 325. Causer] Cause. 328. sterre] sterrys.—persant] passant.—*Stanza* 3 c, l. 6. þey] I.—370. þe] that. 383. hap] han. 395. storme] strein. 428. him] hem. 458. atones] attrevyns. 484. to] *om.* 488. to 3ow hole I] hol I to 3ow. 505. þat] that it. 509. she hap] I have. 515. kene] lene. 526. drede] degre. 529. from] for. 607. it] *om.* 608. possid] pressid. 615. for] but. 620. werre] werrys. 640. solein] sodeynly.—forto] to. 642. or] &. 644. And] *om.* 649. sonerein] sodeyn. 669. with hope I am] I am with hope. 707. here] þe S. *om.* G. 722. hoolli] only. 725. ones] only. 761. to] of. 762. if] *om.* 775. shal not] ne shal. 776. 1st ne] nor. 777. to] *om.* G. 788. þa] *om.* 798. nov on] vp on. 813. me hurte] myn herte. 818. so-coure] sature. 829. life lust] lust lyf. 831. of] with. 853. obey] tobeye. 872. of hir in no] in nomaner. 874. of] at. 892. biforne] to forn. 898. menyng] mevyng. 914. Fulli] fullyche. 921. to] vnto. 926. þi] this. 935. covtenaunce] gouvernaunce. 941. on] in. 956. as] *om.* 1052. noþing hir] hir noþing myght. 1069. bi] at. 1077. 1st In] And in. 1078. on] of. 1093. list þis mater] this mat^r lest. 1125. Hou] How þat. 1135. nov] *om.* G (+ Prints). 1147. &] & at. 1150. hede] good hede. 1163. wheþer þei] wherso thow. 1174. euer] ay. 1177. myrþ] mercy. 1183. shal some] some shal. 1185. þe] *om.* 1190. vertue] beaute (+ B). 1200. may] ne may. 1225. so] *om.* 1229. be bonde of] ben bounde &. 1230. which] the wheche. 1231. goddis] knottys. 1246. giuen] gymyn. 1248. assautes] assayis G.—or] nor. 1260. peyne wo] wo peyne.—&] *om.* 1273. bounte] beute. 1274. hert] hete. 1294. be þe hope] bothe ben. 1311. ay dide] dede ay ek. 1317. hool of hem þe loue] ho the love of hem. 1318. in] wyt. 1324. of] by. 1329. þurn] in. 1338. in] with. 1358. plesant] per-aunt.

It is therefore evidently impossible that S should be derived from G. Hence we conclude that G and S go back to a common original, which we may denote by (GS).

§ 3. Group F B G S.

For a certain portion of the poem, the readings of the MSS. F and B, which, as will be shown in § 5, go back to a common original (F B), are the same as those of G and S. First, between ll. 453 and 454, a new stanza is interpolated in all four MSS.; similarly between ll. 495 and 496 three more stanzas appear. Ll. 504—507 have evidently been tampered with by the scribe or redactor of the common original; the change of *grene* to *rede* in 504, which entailed a change of the corresponding rhymes in 506 and 507, reminds us of the scribe's dislike to the green colour in l. 299. Again, the motto of the Lady has been changed in l. 530 in all four MSS. (cf. l. 310). Moreover, there are not few cases of minor importance, in which the four MSS. F. B. G. S have the same reading, in opposition to all other MSS.; these are given in the subjoined list:

75. was] was also F. B. G. S. 429. maner] wyse. 483. loneþ me] I love (+ b). 488. wil] al. 504. braunchis] Roses.—grene] rede. 509. kepe] folowe. 529. in] to (+ b). 597. gif] gynne.—I wot] y wys. 609. a sondri] sturdy. 614. wil] shal. 635. within] with.—þouzt] owne þouzt. 636. ladi Venus] Venus lady. 649. nov] and now. 684. 1st so] to. 691. And] And me. 696. an] the. 703. contre] contrees. 706. In] Wipin. 709. o ladi myn] lady and. 711. 2nd to] om. 723. sorow] sore. 733. grace] a grace. 749. saue] but. 752. wil be] ben. 762. And] So. 781. hem] hym F. G. him B. S. 877. dilacioun *only* in F. B. G. S. 934. in] as in. 955. þei] om. 988. ne] nor. 990. to] for to.—me to] vnto. 995. anone] in oone. 997. euer] om. 1008. ben] om. 1029. And] Ryght.—as my] my.—con] may (+ P). 1149. to] for to (+ S). 1258. þouzt] aboght (Ibought P).

The following coincidences in three of the MSS. in question would seem also to be derived from the original (F B G S) common to all four:

582. stremes] Percyng F. B. S; and possibly 577. in] which in F. B. wight in S (ll. 531—596 missing in G). 674. hane] had F. B. S (corrected in G?).

Group F. G. S appears in l. 701. sorow] sorowful F. G. S; and l. 721. and shape] to shape.

Group F. B. G (in which instances S would have altered the reading of the original) appears in lines: 610. overdrawe] to me dawe F. B. G. slake lawe S. 618. vnto] to F. B. G (S having altered the whole line). 668. paynis] harmes F. B. G. 700. Heading Supplicacio amantis F. B. G (S translates this into English). 725. ne] om. F. B. G. 954. Help] Helpynge F. B. G. Helpen S. 973. shul] shuld F. B. G. 1009. began] gan F. B. G.

It is, however, easy to see that these coincidences, in all four MSS., cover only a certain part of the poem. Thus, the substitution of four new stanzas for the five stanzas 3—7 (ll. 335—369) is only found in MSS. G and S; the change of the motto is, in all four MSS., found only in line 530, not in line 310. And, a point of still greater weight, the end of the poem does not, in F and B, follow the

version represented by G and S: lines 1380—1403 are found in their proper place, and the *Compleynt* does not appear in F and B.

A close examination of the above list will show that the minor coincidences occur in continuous sequence, only from l. 429—1029. The isolated coincidence in l. 75 must be a mere chance, as the above-mentioned interpolations, etc., between l. 75 and 429 are not to be found in F and B, and, I think, the same may fairly be supposed with regard to the coincidences in ll. 1149 and 1258, the former one, especially, being of a very trifling character: in fact, it can hardly be counted here, as it occurs also in MS. L.

From all this we conclude, that from l. 429 (or a little before) to l. 1029 (or a little after) the common original (F B) of F and B follows the version represented throughout the whole poem by G and S.

§ 4. *Differences between (F B) and (G S).*

It is now incumbent upon us to determine the exact kind of relation existing between these two groups of MSS. § 1 will have sufficiently shown that G and S, throughout the poem, form one group derived from an original (G S): § 5, as has already been anticipated, will show the same thing to be true of F and B with respect to an original (F B). Now the question arises whether either of these two groups could have been derived from the other. This question will be settled at once by a comparison of the two lists of coincidences, of G and S on the one hand, in § 1, and of F and B on the other, in § 5. There are, between ll. 429—1029, in both lists, such numerous and characteristic readings in each of the groups, that, at a glance, the supposition of one group being derived from the other must be given up. The only satisfactory solution, therefore, is that (F B) and (G S) come from an original (F B G S) = **A** common to all four.

We have thus proved the existence of a group **A** of manuscripts, represented, in general, by the MSS. G and S throughout the poem, and by MSS. F and B, in a certain part of it (ll. 429—1029). Whether this part was wanting in the original used by the scribe of (F B), so that he had to recur to another copy, or whether the MS. (F B), or one of its ancestors, was written by several scribes, one of whom had been given two or three quaternions of the second version as his copy—must remain a matter of conjecture.

II. MSS. T F B P.

§ 5. Coincidences in F and B.

THAT these two MSS. follow one another very closely is already well known from Chaucer's Minor Poems. For the *Book of the Duchesse* see Lange, *Untersuchungen über Chaucer's B. of the D.*, pp. 7—10; Koch, *Anglia* IV, *Anzeiger*, p. 95. Skeat, *M. P.*, pp. lviii and xli. For the *Parl. of Foules* see Furnivall, *Trial Forewords*, p. 53; Koch, *Anglia* IV, *Anzeiger*, p. 97; Skeat, p. lxi. For the *Hous of Fame* see Willert, *Ueber das Hous of Fame*, 1883. For the *Legend of Good Women*, see Skeat's edition, p. xli. See also Dr. Furnivall's reproductions of Chaucer-MSS., in several places.

The same holds good for the *Temple of Glas*. For the two MSS. F and B deviate in the following instances from the remaining texts: In both l. 1385 is wanting. Both have the same title: *The Temple of Bras*; the same colophon, the same headings before lines 321, 370, 461, 531, 701, 848, 932, 970, and the same rubrics after 847 and 931, and at the side of 696. Minor points of agreement are:

84. for-wrynked] for wrynkeled F. for wrinkelid B. 193. These] The F. B. 221. so] sone. 242. 2nd he] om. 436. him] om. 437. him] om. 452. pingis] thinge.—*Stanza 19 a, l. 1.* so sore to yow] to yow so sore.—170. her] her.—*Stanza 25 c, l. 7.* Iayis Pyis] pyes Iayes.—506. even] evere F. euer B. 570. subieccioun] obieccion. 571. bicomie] be bounde. 577. in] which in. 586. at] in. 606. now] new F. nyw B. 619. can] om. 627. dar] ne dar. 636. whom] to whom.—sou3t] thought. 650. Nou] om. 651. were] where. 653. not] om. 662. it] om. 666. noþing] noght. 684. 2nd so] to. 696. into] in. 715. heuens] heuynesh F. heuenyssh B. 722. al] om. 738. Whiles] while. 746. eke] al. 751. Of] and. 758. A] om. 793. þe] thys. 882. Ne] He. 1152. þat] thys that. 1166. ay] eke.—*Cf. also 568.* nou am] an now F. I am now B.

To these coincidences in F and B are to be added all the common readings of the four MSS. F. B. G. S, s. § 3; of T. P. F. B, s. § 9; of T. F. B, s. § 10, and of T. P. F. B. L, s. § 13.

§ 6. Differences between F and B.

But there are also considerable differences between F and B, which show that neither of them can have been derived from the other. The individual mistakes of F, in which B has preserved the right reading, are the following:

Line 1375 is wanting in F; one rubric in B, at the side of l. 454, which may come from the original, is not found in F (on the other hand, five rubrics in F, one after l. 502, the other four at the side of 1040; 1104—1106; 1110 and 1271 respectively, are not to be found in B).—Minor points:

16. spirit] scripture F. 58. deceyued] descended. 103. prison] *om.* 209. þær] they altered to them. 239. his] this his. 259. &] *om.* 282. heiz] *om.* 284. forto] to. 300. al] *om.* 337. And] a. 374. al] of (+ b). 412. And] As. 442. he] ye. 476. vnto] and to. 486. to] in. 501. Me] and. 557. 1st Of] and. 560. -al] *om.* 572. come] kan. 605. were] was. 618. is] yt. 621. gete] grete. 688. sip] such. 735. restreyne] refreyne (+ L. G.). 754. ground] growed. 768. wil] wolde. 853. obey] weye. 922. þou] then. 957. allas] but allas. 987. I-persid] y presed. 1109. dessener] disserue. 1216. his] thys. 1232. 1st &] of. 1280. toke] take. 1308. Orpheus] or Phebus. 1340. riȝt] *om.* 1347. forto] made to. 1390. þe] *om.* 1396. to] *om.* 1397. And] I. 1402. þæt] the.

The foregoing list proves, I think, conclusively that B cannot be derived from F; for it is impossible to believe that B in all the afore-mentioned cases could have, of itself, found the true reading again.

But, on the other hand, it is even more impossible that F should in any way be a direct descendant from B. For F is older, and, apart from this proof, a long list of individual mistakes in B might be drawn up, which do not appear in F. We hence conclude that F and B, throughout the whole poem, go back to a common original (F B).

§ 7. Common Readings of MSS. T and P.

Although very different as to age, and even more as to quality, MSS. T and P must stand in some close connection with each other. For they have, in common, a number of very characteristic mistakes, which could scarcely have been committed twice over by different scribes. They are the following:

323. hauteyn] ha doten T. hadot-en P. 439. Wherso] Whepir T. P (so also in W and the Prints dependent on it). 465. his lygh request] *om.* T. P. 478. Sip ye] Wip þe. —appes] haue peas. 677. to be hold] bihold T. be holden P (+ be holde G. S.). 733. wold] wil T. wulle P. 872. Demen] Semen. 877. dilacioun] dillusioun. 935. seen] sein T. seyn P. 1000. er] *om.* 1044. ran] it ran T. P (+ W. W2. w. b). 1316. Be] We.

I would especially point to the common readings of T and P in the above list, in ll. 323, 465, 478 (two instances), 677 (this mistake was also made by G and S, most likely independently from T and P), 872, 877, 1044, 1346. To this list must be added all the coincidences of the groups T. P. F. B (s. § 9), T. P. F. B. L (s. § 13), and T. P. L (s. § 14).

§ 8. Relation of MS. P to T.

The way which first occurs to one of accounting for these remarkable coincidences in T and P is doubtless the supposition that P is a direct descendant from T, a supposition suggesting itself the more

readily from the circumstance that P is a MS. of considerably later date than T, exhibiting no end of omissions and mistakes characteristic of a continuous corruption of the text through several generations of MSS. But the following list of individual mistakes in T, not shared by P, will prove that this supposition cannot hold good.

133. lowli did] did lowli T. 192. So soote] To sute. 201. Yentred] Yrendred T (+ L. G). 380. offence] defence. 456. had] haj. 502. of] to. 563. by] in. 587. hir] him. 608. possid] passid. 664. myself] myselfef. 673. purgh] pouz. 705. oft] of. 706. Elicon] eleccion. 821. 2nd l] om. 939. pouz] put T (+ S). 983. to] om. 1057. behest] hest. 1188. herte myne] hertes mynd. 1280. toke] eke. 1289. That] And.—and] þow. 1293. of] to. 1297. shall] om.

As therefore the hypothesis of one MS. being derived from the other must be given up, the above-mentioned singular coincidences in T and P seem to point to the following conclusion :

T and P are both derived from a common original (T P), s. diagram on page xli ; but as P is some fifty years later than T and greatly corrupted, one or more connecting links have probably stood between P and (T P). This will be further corroborated by the arguments in §§ 9, 10, 13, 14.

§ 9. Group T P F B.

The readings of all these four MSS. agree, in opposition to the others, in the following instances :

154. om.—96, 216 and 320 seem also to have been originally omitted ; in their stead, to make up the couplet, P, or, more likely, a scribe between P and (T P) supplied, in each case, another line out of his own head. 338. is] om. 412. þis] þus. 1082. list] om. 1098. relesen] plesen T. F. B. recover P. The common original of the four MSS. seems to have read *plesen*, for which mistake P, or a scribe between (P T) and P, attempted a correction ; but he did not hit on the true original reading *relesen*, but only its synonym *recover*.—1222. þere] here. 1333. Reading *tyne* for *contune* in the original of T P F B altered by B ?

To this list are, of course, to be added all the common readings of the group T. P. F. B. L (s. § 13).

There is, in this list, a conspicuous gap in the coincidences of T. P. F. B. between ll. 412 and 1082. This agrees very well with, and is accounted for by, our statement above that, from ll. 429 – 1029 (about), the readings of (F B) follow group A.

Now, the groups (T P) and (F B) are evidently not derived from one another, as the list of the coincidences common to each particular group alone (in §§ 5 and 7) will show. We conclude, therefore, that the two groups (T P) and (F B) go back to a common original (T P F B).

§ 10. MSS. T F B.

The characteristic coincidences of these three MSS. are the following :

119. a] *om.* T. F. B. 160. in] *on.* 408. her] *om.* 518. for] *om.* 857. be behynd] behind. 1045. femynyte T. F. B. pure femynite P. 1098. relesen] plesen. 1113. as hit is] at his. 1257. in] *om.* 1291. For] Forþe.

If our arrangement of the MSS. T. P. F. B., arrived at by the discussions in the preceding paragraphs, and shown in the diagram on page xli, be correct, it would naturally be expected that all the mistakes made by the common original of T. P. F. B. would propagate themselves equally into the four MSS. Mistakes made by the scribe of (F B) we should expect to find in F and B, mistakes of (T P) in T and P alike. So the above list of mistakes common to (F B) and T only, without P, would seem, at first sight, to testify against the correctness of the above arrangement. But only at first sight; for I think it is not too bold to suppose that the original (T P F B) had all the above readings now only found in T. F. B.; that from there they crept into T. F. B., whilst on the way from (T P) to P a scribe supplied the respective corrections. For these mistakes, characteristic though they be of the close connection between F. B. T., were nevertheless easy to correct; in certain cases, as for instance, ll. 119, 408, 1113, 1257, they quite challenged a correction; the common readings of the three in l. 518 and 857 must be a mere chance, as in this part of the poem F and B follow group **A**; line 1098 has been discussed in § 9; the remaining coincidences in ll. 160, 1045, 1113, 1291 are of quite a trifling character.

Further proofs that between (T P) and P some more careful scribe had tried to correct certain conspicuous mistakes, are afforded by the readings of P in lines 18, 1189 (s. § 13, end); 463, 494 (s. § 14, end), and by the substitution of new lines, in P, for the missing ones, 96, 216, 320.¹ The gap in ll. 96 and 97 was characteristically filled in. The scribe of (T P F B) had, after copying the first *sare I* in l. 96, evidently caught sight of the second *sare I* in l. 97, and thus omitted two half-lines. This patched-up line was thus left standing in P, with the slight alteration of *þis* to *thus*, and a new line was added to make up the couplet.

If we thus consider the common readings of T. F. B., given in

¹ Stowe must have, in some way, got hold of two of the new lines in question, as his substitutions in the corresponding places in F coincide with those of P (in ll. 96 and 320).

this paragraph, adding all those of T, F, B, P in § 9, and of T, P, F, B, L in § 13, it becomes apparent that, on the one hand, there exists a near connection between T, F, B, a connection well known from the text-criticism of Chaucer's *Minor Poems*. But, on the other hand, the above discussion will, I hope, have sufficiently shown that our theory of a close relation of T to P, advanced in § 8 and established on the basis of very remarkable coincidences in T and P, is not upset by some readings common to (F B) and T only.

III. MS. L A LINK BETWEEN PRINTS AND MSS. T P F B.

§ 11. *Coincidences of L and the Prints.*

THE Prints of the *Temple of Glas* all go back to the first one, printed by Caxton about 1478. We shall attempt to show in this §, that MS. L stands in close relation to the MS. which, we may fairly be allowed to suppose, Caxton had as his copy. The subjoined list gives the readings common to MS. L and to the Prints.

2. 2nd for] *om.* L. Pr. 10. sore] *colde.* 16. in] into (+ S). 154. or] or any. 180. sore] *so.* 191. 2nd þat] *om.* (+ S). 233. efter *peraventure]* *per-* *amuter* after *he.* 276. so] *om.* (+ S). 284. of] of her (+ P). 310. and] of. 311. þis] was L. was so Pr. 320. this] *om.* 331. woful] woful *hertes.* 345. witte &] out of. 362. þat *clouid]* In the colder L. the colder Pr. 377. þe] thy (+ P). 384. 3^e] ye *ben.* 397. awakiþ] waketh. 411. ende and fine] *fyne* and *ende.* 517. 2nd for] *om.* 576. whiles þat] while. 602. soris] *sorowes* (+ S). 614. ouershake] *overslake* (+ S). 618. is] hit is. 625. enen] *euer.* 658. would] *wol* L. wil Pr. 666. þen] *Whan.* 678. For] *And.* 799. þan] *than* of. 843. bi] with. 877. dilacioun] *dissolucion.* 975. &] and of. 1019. þis] *the.* 1045. femyny[ni]te] *verray femynyte.* 1047. gan] *began.* 1096. it] *om.* 1120. makel] *forged* (+ G). 1128. hafe *vowid]* *vowed* *hath.* 1138. for] *his.* 1164. *champortie]* *them party.* 1233. 3ou *dide]* *did* you (+ P). 1248. Ne] *Ner* L. *Nor* Pr. 1249. men may no] *no man may.* 1265. plein] *playnly* (+ S). 1272? off] *om.* (+ T!). 1290. myrþe] *myrthes* (+ G). 1363? Which] *With* (+ T!). 1367. so] *om.*

A common feature of MS. L and the Prints is also the frequent introduction of the Scandinavian forms *their*, *them* (*theim*) for the *her* (*hir*) and *hem* of the other texts.

§ 12. *Relation between L and the Original of the Prints.*

In spite of the coincidences enumerated in § 11, L cannot have been the original of the Prints, as it has a great number of individual mistakes which are not shared by the Prints. A complete list of the mistakes of L alone might be easily drawn up from the various readings given at the bottom of the pages in the text; as they are too many to be enumerated separately, it may be as well to point out a few conclusive instances. Lines 96, 609, and 610 are missed out.

For line 901 a gap was left by the original writer of the MS., which was filled in by a later hand. Lines 211 and 212 are transposed. A few conspicuous mistakes of minor importance in L are the following :

14. oppresse] *expresse* L. 176. Tresou] *tresouas*. 198. bi] with *gret*. 238. forþ] *sory*. 271. *sonnyssh*] *goodly*. 426. douteþ] *daughter*. 515. dures] *distresse*. 539. þer were with blood] *there that blede*. 540. flourer] *om.* 703. contre] *Court*. 747. Hir trowth hir faiþ] *Hire faith hire trouthe*. 900. viage] *message*. 1094. take] *om.* 1252. euer is] *is neuer*. 1364. oute] *om.*

Much less can we suppose that L can have been copied from one of the Prints; for, besides L being probably older than the oldest of them, the Prints represent quite a distinct group by themselves, with a host of deviations from all other texts. We must, therefore, conclude that L and the original of the Prints (the MS. used by Caxton), come from a common original (L. Pr.). Line 901 proves, perhaps, that another MS. must have stood between L and (L. Pr.).

§ 13. Group T P F B L.

To find the relation in which the original (L. Pr.) of L and the Prints must have stood to the other texts, we will begin with the coincidences of L with (T P F B). They are the following :

78. *2nd al only* in T. P. F. B. L. 81. him. 96 (?) *om.* 175. of] in. 605. cauþ] *leauþ*. 1004. *distres*. 1057. *2nd of*. 1191. þenk] *þenk þut*. 1402. face] *hir face*.

We see again, that, with the exception of two instances, namely, ll. 605 and 1004, no coincidences of this group are to be found in the middle of the poem; for, as we have seen, from l. 429 to l. 1029 (F B) follows group A. We are, I think, fairly entitled to add the few coincidences in T. L. F. B to the above list :

18. *liklynesse*] *liknesse* T. F. B. L. 1189. *þyue hir*] *hir þyue*. 1230. *is knytt*] *þe knytt* T. F. B. L. *om.* P.

In the first two cases P seems to have corrections, introduced on the way from (T P) to P.

§ 14. Coincidences in T P L.

For that part of the poem in which F and B follow the first group A, the legitimate representative of group T. P. F. B. L would be T. P. L, with F. B missing. We find, accordingly, the following common readings in T. P. L :

495. *2nd to*] *om.* T. P. L. 497. ful] *hole*. 534. *croude*] *bronte*. 638. *am*] *I am*. 655. *hold*] *hold*. 676. *al*] *om.* 703. *al*] *om.* 843. *flaumed*] *baymed*. 872 (?) *Demem*] *Semen* T. P. Scyen L.

Near the beginning and end the two coincidences appear :

123. Amen] al men (*corrupted line*). 1283. þrifi] tristi T. tristy L. P.

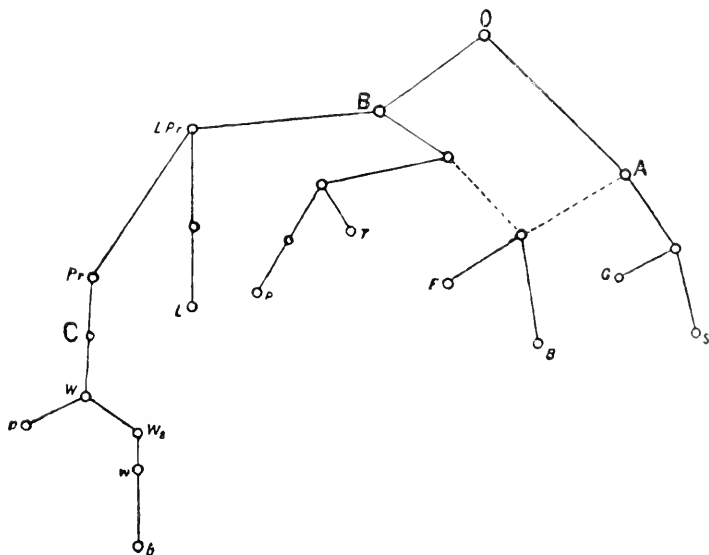
The following common readings of T and L may also go back to their original (T P L)—P, again, would have corrected or attempted to correct :

463. beaute] om. T. L. vite P (*attempted correction*). 494. last now] lust T. L. life P. 976. I shal] shal L. 990. hap bound me to] me hap bound vnto.

The unimportant coincidence in l. 213. 2nd at] om. T. L (before l. 429) must be by chance.

§ 15. Group B of Texts.

We will now attempt to summarize the arguments contained in the preceding paragraphs, and, as the result of these investigations, to establish a theory as to the relation between all the MSS. other than G. S, which latter form, as we have shown before, a distinct group A by themselves.



First then, we must be allowed to anticipate here the proof contained in section IV of this chapter, that all the Prints go back to the oldest one by Caxton. Moreover, we may be allowed to suppose that Caxton had a MS. as his copy, which we may denote by (Pr.), it being the original of the Prints. This MS. goes back, with L., to a still older original (L. Pr.), as we have shown in § 12; between L.

and (L. Pr.) a connecting MS. seems to have existed. Again, in § 9, we arrived at the conclusion that a MS. (T P F B) existed, from which the four MSS. T. P. F. B were drawn in two groups. Now, I think, the simplest way of accounting for all the coincidences and deviations, respectively, enumerated in the foregoing paragraphs, is to suppose that (L. Pr.) and (T P F B) go back to a common original **B**, as the source of the whole second group of texts. The two archetypes **A** and **B** of the two groups, would then in some way or other go back to the original **O**, that is, the poem as it was written by Lydgate himself.

The only objection of any weight to this pedigree of the MSS. in our group **B** seems to be that the Prints have the right reading in certain cases, in which L, in common with T. P. F. B or T. P, differs from them, as for instance in 1402. face] hir face T. P. F. B. L; or in 497. ful] hole T. P. L; see the full lists in §§ 13 and 14. For in such a case we must suppose that this reading appeared already in **B**, and has thence found its way into the individual MS. T. P. F. B. L. On the way to L it must have passed through (L. Pr.), and in the regular course of mechanical copying ought to have propagated itself into the Prints as well. If, therefore, such an error is not found in the Prints, we must suppose that Caxton (or, in some cases, perhaps his original) had found the right reading again. Nor need we be surprised at that. Throughout the Prints, and not least in Caxton's, we find a tendency to modernize the language and to make the poem altogether more palatable to the public of the day. If therefore Caxton, in his endeavour to produce a readable text from his corrupted copy, hit on the true reading in some dozen cases out of the very numerous instances of alteration, this would betray no incredible amount of sagacity on his part. The nature of the few cases in question seems certainly to warrant this supposition.

One point still remains to be accounted for. Lines 154, 216, 320 are missed out in T. P. F. B, which is easily explained by their being omitted in the original (T P F B). In the same way line 96 is left out, not only in T. P. F. B, but also in L. Now, if that line had been omitted by the original of group **B**, it would not appear how the Prints have got the line correctly. The simplest explanation that suggests itself, seems to be that L made the same mistake again, as (T P F B); here also the scribe's eye must inadvertently have wandered from the one *I saue* to the other in the next line.

IV. THE PRINTS.

§ 16. *Caxton's Print.*

THE Prints of the *Temple of Glas* present to us an aspect of the text differing considerably from that of the MSS. The first, by Caxton, already exhibits the principal features common to them, the most important of which are enumerated in the subjoined list:—

Lines 156, 157 are omitted. The same headings are found before ll. 321 and 701.—*purgh* has been changed to *by* in ll. 105, 443, 515, 867, 871, 1217, 1331, 1344, 1350, 1357.—Changes of the old imperative: 513, 721. *Beþ*] *Be ye*. 721. *shapeþ*] *shape ye*. 808. *takeþ*] *take ye*. 812. *sufferiþ*] *suffre ye*. 869. *vndirstondeþ*] *vnderstande ye*. 976. *takeþ*] *take ye*. 1272. *Comeþ*] *Come ye*.—For the introduction of the Scandinavian forms *their*, *them*, see § 11, end.—Other alterations are: 8. *ihorned*] *horned* and *Pr*. 21. *me þouþ*] *om*. 31. *Ichaced*] *chaced*. 44. *eure*] *a*. 49. *&*] *& som*. 63. *was falsed*] *falsed was*. 67. *hov*] *how that*. 69. *Ful ofte wex*] *Was*. 76. *hir*] *om*. 77. *a nobir*] *other*. 81. *him*] *sire*, *syr*. 90. *was honged*] *henge*. 106. *Of*] *On*.—*þunge*] *lusty yong*. 113. *in*] *om*. 130. *and*] *and al the*. 132. *god*] *the god*. 136. *to*] *there to*. 138. *goodli*] *the goodly*. 144. *of*] *om*. 149. *iput*] *put*. 166. *ful*] *right*. 172. *haþ*] *hath had*. 175. *eke*] *om*. 177. *al agaynes*] *agaynst al*. 178. *Wher*] *Where as*. 197. *with ful*] *om*. 199. *tender*] *om*. 205. *to curen al*] *for to coueren*. 206. *outward*] *om*. 211. *of*] *of fre*. 218. *And*] *And after*. 250. *Hov þat*] *om*. 251. *riþ*] *om*. 254. *bi*] *om*. 265. *Forto*] *That for to*. 291. *&*] *or*. 293. *and*] *om*. 298. *benigne and*] *right*. 299. *al*] *om*. 305. *And*] *To*. 311. *þis*] *was so*. 323. *of*] *by*. 333. *your grace may*] *may your grace*. 338. *al*] *om*. 362. *That hatter*] *The hotter that I*. 376. *so forþ lyue*] *so lyue forth*. 378. *þe*] *om*. 386. *Hauc*] *And*. 394. *also*] *om*. 406. *hir*] *om*. 428. *cherissh nov*] *now cherissh*. 440. *his hert I shal*] *I shal his herte*. 463. *ony*] *om*. 488. *to þow hole I*] *I hooly to you*. 495. *to your*] *om*. 499. *haue*] *om*. 506. *it*] *om*. 531. *and*] *om*. 532. *þat*] *om*. 541. *faire &*] *om*. 543. *2nd with*] *om*. 555. *Nere þat he hade*] *Yf that he had not*. 568. *so*] *om*. 573. *riþ*] *om*. 576. *loue and serue*] *serue and loue*. 586. *þolde*] *so yolde*. 595. *no*] *ony*. 597. *gif a werre*] *renne away*. 600. *&*] *and so*. 602. *forto sound*] *to founde*. 605. *she were late*] *late she was*. 609. *with*] *of*.—*a*] *om*. 620. *your*] *his*. 636. *þat*] *om*. 644. *drede agaynward*] *agaynward drede*.—*& saip*] *om*. 647. *Hauc*] *Hath*. 657. *ful*] *ful the*. 668. *opon*] *on*. 670. *of þat*] *how*. 672. *þan doþ*] *doth me theme*. 677. *2nd to*] *and*. 679. *merci*] *pyte*. 687. *þe*] *om*. 694. *þat*] *om*. 703. *contre*] *mounte*. 704. *2nd þi*] *om*. 705. *off*] *om*. 714. *þe*] *yet the*. 726. *restreyne*] *constrayne*. 733. *me*] *om*. 735. *me not*] *not me*. 736. *hæpe þene me*] *me hath yeue*. 748. *his*] *her (+ P)*. 757. *secre & wondre*] *wonder secrete and*. 766. *a*] *om*. 775. *not*] *neuer*. 788. *shottes*] *shott*. 800. *not*] *no thing*. 804. *clepe*] *I clepe*. 811. *Nou*] *om*. 814. *helpe*] *helth*.—*hir me*] *me her*. 818. *nou*] *om*. 820. *nov*] *you*. 834. *þow*] *now*. 859. *The*] *This*. 863. *alway*] *althing*. 871. *þurgh euil*] *by ony*. 882. *þat*] *but*. 899. *merci*] *pyte*. 910. *þe here*] *to her*. 919. *but*] *om*. 939. *a*] *om*. 956. *directe as nov*] *as now directe*. 959. *sustren forto helpe me*] *suster to calle help vpon*. 968. *hir*] *om*. 990. *hath me bound vnto*. 1002. *þe soþe*] *my peynes*. 1015. *þe shuld as nov*] *as now ye shold*. 1039. *grane*] *begrane*. 1046. *so*] *om*. 1070. *bound*] *drowned*. 1095. *oure hertes boþe at*] *bothe our hertes in*. 1122. *for*] *of*. 1147. *at*] *om*. 1165. *With*] *Ayent*. 1173. *deuoid*] *voyd*. 1191. *in fire hou*] *hou in fyre*. 1206. *shalt*] *om*. 1207. *Reioise*] *Shal reioyse*. 1209. *flour*] *the flour*. 1215. *þe*] *these*. 1219. *also I wil*] *I wil also*. 1225. *depured*] *pured*. 1230. *which*] *that*. 1232. *1st &*] *om*. 1235. *doþe*] *om*. 1239. *founde*] *found of*. 1254. *may*] *ther may*. 1257. *As*] *And*. 1259. *þat*] *om*. 1263. *he*] *it*. 1268. *nov do*] *do now*. 1291. *life*] *lyf to telle*. 1302. *vnto*] *to*. 1305. *song*] *songes*. 1318. *plite*] *wyse*. 1320. *so*] *om*. 1322.

haþ made a ful] made a. 1327. euer] euermore. 1380. 2nd a] om. 1383.
fulle] om. 1391. So] om. 1397. þat] om.

This long list, in which some trifling coincidences are nevertheless omitted, shows, without further comment, how widely the Prints differ in character from the other texts, although adhering distinctly in the main to group **B**. These readings, first appearing in **C**, have all crept into the succeeding Prints, whose mutual relations it will be the object of the following paragraphs to point out.

§ 17. *Wyken de Wordes first Print, W.*

In the prints later than Caxton's we can, as a rule, clearly distinguish two leading features: namely, first, they correct the obvious mistakes of their predecessor and thus gain certain readings (fewer or more as the case may be), superior to those of their original. Secondly, they all add a great many more mistakes to those already inherited from Caxton's print. The corrections of some of Caxton's mistakes, found in **W**, are:

13. began C.] gan W. 23. cam] gan. 119. he] her. 258. Surmounted] Surmounteh (*b* by mistake for *th*). 322. in] all.—the] in. 345. For] Fro.—for] fer. 381. han they] han. 426. This] This is. 439. you] ye. 522. fyne] fayne. 587 and 588, *transposed in C, are, in W, in right order.* 700. this] thus. 779. lasteth] lasted. 910. lowe the] lowly. 942. to] for to. 950. I with my silf] with my selfe I. 963. not to peynt] to peynt not. 1055. is] his. 1143. world] wold. 1177. approched] approacheth. 1178. axid] axeth. 1215. syn] fyn. 1234. ouermore] euermore.—bewreke] be wreke. 1358. twinkyng] twynklyng. 1361. Fortune] Fortuned.

Both Prints have wrong readings, differing from one another, in ll.:

41. &] om. **C**. and now **W**. 117. gan to chaunge] changed **C**. began to change **W**. 180. pleined] pleyneth **C**. playnen **W**. 612. when] whan that **C**. what that **W**. 1140. lateþ] late ye **C**. late your **W**. 1236. ferse] fair **C**. fyry **W**. 1336. gonne] begun **C**. goon **W**.

The new mistakes, introduced by **W**, are the following:

eke changed to *also* in ll. 155, 241, 243, 246, 252, 273, 293, 294, 855, 1117; the archaic form *eke* having been left standing in ll. 77, 97, 398, 746, 1173, 1209, 1210 and many more.—159, 163. oþir eke] also other.—182. 187. elde] olde.

95. vnwarl] unwardly **W**. 178. force noon] noo force. 239. graue] in his graue. 247. alderlast] at the last. 249. statue] statute. 309. was] om. 323. beu] om. 394. dropping] drepyng. 416. foloip] folowed. 437. so] om. 439. Wherso] Whether. 449. baspectes] by aspecte. 450. teshwe] teshewe. 551. semed] semeth. 618. kouþe] knowen. 651. were] werre. 656. gñmeþ] begynmeth. 667. my] the. 674. þen] that. 683. seith] sayd. 689. doymb] down. 722. case] care. 726. hire] om. 727. at þe lest] atte laste. 841. euenlich] lyke wyse. 871. compassing] rehercyng. 890. she] he. 905. maist þou] may you. 946. wo as] woos. 980. in] om. 1028. þou] ye. 1044. ran] it ran. 1053. hir] om. 1092. be heled] beheled. 1125. most] oft. 1142. pace] space. 1182. renue] renewe. 1257. deinte] deute.

1284. haue] had. 1305 *changed considerably*. 1368. Me þou3t I] My thought.
1379. to] *om.*

As W, therefore, has all the characteristic readings of C, and differs from C only in certain corrections, and new mistakes of its own, we may conclude that Wynken, in his first edition of the poem, copied from Caxton's print. We may suppose that the corrections all came from Wynken himself; even the two or three more remarkable ones in ll. 322, 587 and 588. 950, 963 hardly warrant the supposition that Wynken had recourse to another source than Caxton's print.

§ 18. *Pyuson's Print.*

Although this is but a fragment, there is nevertheless no difficulty in assigning to it its proper place in the pedigree of the Prints. It must have been derived from W, Wynken de Worde's first print. For, first, it follows the readings of W very closely, and wherever W differs from C, p gives the reading of W. This is the case in the following lines:

1117, 1125, 1140, 1142, 1177, 1178, 1215, 1336, 1368, 1379 (for the specification of which see § 17).

Add hereto the coincidence of such an extraordinary spelling as l. 1160. wmyen (= women) in both prints W and p.

Therefore p cannot have been derived from C. But neither can it have been derived from a print later than W, as is shown by the following coincidences in p and W, where these prints have preserved the old reading in opposition to the second print W₂ by Wynken, whose mistakes have, for the most part, crept into the still younger prints w and b:

1104. twein] sweyne W₂. w. 1121. he] ye W₂. w. b. 1130. Ay] As W₂. w. b. 1337. In] An W₂. w. 1370. gret] friete W₂. w. (b).

Some new mistakes occur also in p:

1149. do] *om.* 1182. renewe] *om.* 1197. þi] the. 1201. dai] *om.* 1332. hem] hym. 1341. 3oure] our. 1377. that] *om.* 1378. as] *om.* 1379. wryte] wyrte.

I think the above arguments can leave no doubt that p had W as its original.

§ 19. *Wynken de Worde's second print, W₂.*

This print has all the characteristic readings of W, reproducing W's corrections of C as well as its own numerous new mistakes. It hardly supplies any corrections beyond mere printer's mistakes, whilst it exhibits a great many new errors:

1. thougt] through W₂. 16. a] *om.* 26. gan] *om.* 37. In] I. 38. gone] *om.* 62. next] nex. 73. trouth] through. 85. When] What. 105. vnwarlij vnwardly. 139. leydons] leydons. 145. In] Is. 200. ofte] oft a. 204. for to] or to. 205. hir] they (for *theyr*?). 231. juru] *om.* 248. cristal] orystell. 252. doune] *om.* 254. In] I. 273. of] yf. 318. wil] styлле. 347. yonde] yonder. 391. þis within] thir within. 401. mate] wate. 450. teschwe] teshewe W. to shewe W₂. w. b. 472. while I liue] lyue whyle. 480. to turne] to forne. 512. is] *om.* 514. mai] many. 533. pres] preces. 535. in his] iu. 582. wiþ] within. 616. til] ryl. 617. vnwarlij] wardly. 638. so] loo. 660. þat] *om.* 664. enere] leuerece. 718. influence] intulgence. 720. þis] his. 796. menyng] meuyng. 839. Hir] *om.* 845. of] *om.* 890. she] *om.* 926. adoun] and a doun. 944. felt] lete. 968. at] *om.*—his] is. 985. god] good. 1001. rwe] knewe. 1013. offend] offence. 1079. to obei] to beye. 1092. men] man. 1104. twein] sweyne. 1121. he] ye. 1130. Ay] As. 1253. doubilnes] *om.* 1263. it] it it. 1269. þour] you. 1312. queme] quene. 1337. In] An. 1370. gre] frete.

There remains no doubt that W₂ was derived from W.

§ 20. Wynken de Worde's third print, w.

This print must have followed W₂ as its original, for it has all the readings of W₂, with a few corrections and many new mistakes of its own. In some cases tangible errors of W₂ have been very thoughtlessly reproduced, for instance, in ll. 37, 73, 145, 200, 204, 248, 254, 273, 616, 664, 1104, 1337.

w supplies corrections in the following ll.: 205, 514, 551, 727, 926, 1001, 1269, 1372.

Unsuccessful attempts at correction appear in ll.:

318. styлле W₂] skylle w. 391. thir within] therwithin. 617. wardly] inwardly. 944. lete] bedde. 1125. it] *om.* 1253. For the omitted *doubilnes* w supplies *falsnes*. 1312. and quene] the quene.

New mistakes are introduced:

ll. 366, 367, and 390 are omitted in w.—219. 464, 816, 840. whilom] somtyme. 1. For through] Through w. 2. pensifhede] pensyfnes. 18. as] all. 25. persing] passyng. 31. haue] than. 62. next] nex W₂. next her w. b. 86. loues] loued. 106. faire] the fayre. 188. Ay] Alwaye. 192. be to] to be. 207. wepen] where. 292. &] *om.* 356. feruence] feruente. 357. mot] may. 381. han] than. 385. change] chaunce. 399. some] *om.* 406. to] the. 422. ioi] no Ioye. 426. douteþ] dowte it. 478. nov] *om.* 492. to] *om.* 527. þis] the. 530. de miculx en miculx magre] better & better after my gre. 537. Descriuen] Dyseeue. 542. offerin] *om.* 547. þe] *om.* 608. possid] tossed. 620. may] *om.*—him] dare hym. 686. to] lo. 765. axen] axely. 815. eygen] euen. 842. het] hit C. W. W₂. it w. 862. oure] her. 886. wiþ] and. 890. as] *om.* 898. menyng] menne. 903. fortune] forne. 933. I gan] gan I. 951. want] lacke. 977. first] *om.* 991. That] My. 1055. menyng] meuyng. 1135. þoure] *om.* 1162. euermore] euer. 1183. ouergon] be gone. 1210. eke] ete. 1232. Ioue] Iuno. 1299. aboute] aboue. 1307. 2nd her] *om.* 1312. and quene] the quene. 1345. Venus ladi] lady Venus. 1357. sizt] light.

Moreover, in a considerable number of cases, where the older Prints C. W. W₂ had left the pure English forms *her*, *hem*, w has

introduced the Scandinavian forms *their, them*; it also occurs for *hit*.

§ 21. *Berthelet's Print.*

Into such a corrupted state had the text of the *Temple of Glas* sunk, when Berthelet, on account, doubtless, of its still enduring popularity, set about issuing another edition. As many passages had become entirely unintelligible, he attempted an out-and-out revision of the text, which thus differs from its immediate predecessor at least as much as Caxton's print differs from its nearest relations, the MSS. of Group **B**. Berthelet's principles were very simple: where he met with obsolete words or inflexions, he modernized; where there were evidently corrupted or unintelligible readings, he got rid of them, as a rule, by some radical cure, more or less appropriate; the three lines omitted in *w* he supplied out of his own head, nor did he feel pangs of conscience in changing, without any apparent reason, a great many other things which it would have been better to have left untouched. The question as to which of the preceding prints he took for his copy, is easily solved: as his print gives not only the few corrections, or attempts at correction, introduced by *w*, but also the greater part of the mistakes which first appear in *w*, there can be no doubt that this last print of Wynken de Worde's served as his original.

To do justice to Berthelet, we first subjoin a list of his successful corrections, in which he found the old true reading again, a list which puts the corrections in Caxton's print, or those in MS. P, quite in the shade, as regards their number, sometimes their sagacity, and always their appropriateness to his purpose.

9. Had] Hydde b. 15. that *restored in* b. 16. a *restored*. 93. the *restored*. 194. to] for to. 200. it *restored*. 204. or to W 2. w] for to. 231. thurgh *restored*. 309. was *restored*. 310. of] and. 377. thy] the. 378. Thy] The. 381. haue *restored*. 400. also reioyce *in the right order*. 406. the] to. 416. folowed] foloweth. 422. no] *om.* 436. hym sette *in the right order*. 437. so *restored*. 472. lyne whyle] while l line. 480. toforne] to turne. 517. of] for. 533. preces] prece.—with *restored*. 537. Dy-seyue] Discryuen. 542. offre *restored*. 547. the *restored*. 574. her] his. 615. ryll] tyll. 626. that *restored*. 661. one] a. 718. infulgence] influence. 749. sauynge] saue. 765. axely] axen. 796. meuyng] meanyng. 845. of *restored*. 850. that] thonga. 916. to *restored*. 935. 2nd *restored*. 960. 2nd *restored*. 1013. offence] offende. 1052. vndeuyssed] vnaduyssed. 1053. her *restored*. 1055. meuyng] meuyng. 1061. so moche] as much as. 1092. man behelde] men be healed. 1104. sweyne] tweyne. 1113. Ful] Fully. 1125. oft] most. 1138. thenne] trouthe. 1210. et.] eke. 1257. deute W. W 2. w] deute b. 1279. lady *restored*. 1284. had] haue. 1299. aboute] aboute. 1314. lusty] lykely. 1337. An] In. 1340. this] thus. 1368. My thought] Me thought l.

Some of the well-intentioned, but unsuccessful, corrections in *b* are:

For lines 366, 367, and 390, missing in w, b has substituted some of his own.—26. gan] *om.* W2. w. dyde b. 86. loues] loued w. loue the b. 150. haue] hath. 192. to be] with the. 207. Thus] There.—where] *om.* 252. and also the storme] in brightnesse echone. 256. the] in. 356. feruent and] feruent. 391. therwithin] therefore within. 415. by] to. 443. hym selfe] he wolde. 492. be at] in to. 839. Hir] *om.* W2. w. Myn b. 842. be hit] he it w. by it b. 903. fortune] forne w. farther b. 933. so] as.—I gan in the right order. 934. so] sore. 1030. preue] me preue. 1054. of roupe] of whiche C. W. W2. w. so moche b. 1125. is] *om.* w. hath ben b. 1363. With] *om.*

Thus far we have enumerated Berthelet's corrections. We now proceed to give other more or less systematic changes in b :

The demonstrative pronoun *tho*, answering to O.E. þā, is replaced by *those* in ll. 1165, 1337, 1351. Similarly, the adverb of time *tho* (also = O.E. þā) is replaced by *than* in ll. 379, 525, 1366, 1369. *Tofore* has been changed into *before* in some 17 cases ; *thou* into *you* 852 ; *thou sorrowest* into *ye sorrow* 860 ; *the* into *you* 859, 874 ; *thin* into *your* 854, 861.

These changes, the first of which are owing to Berthelet's tendency to modernize his text, are at least excusable, and certainly they answered to the requirements, or taste, of his readers. But, unfortunately, Berthelet also thought that the readings of his copy were corrupted in many places where, in reality, they were right. Such is the case in the following lines :

23. gan] eam. 189. pipung] wepyng. 225. they] he. 233. That] Yet. 275. ennewed] endewed. 320. was] foloweth. 407. gan] became. 483. loueth me] I loue. 539. blood] golde. 572. god] the god. 651. man] a man. 695. haue] haue made. 721. ne dare alas] alas ne dare. 860. That] And. 1060. of] for. 1061. That] And. 1090. is founden] fyndeth. 1093. to] *om.* 1266. that] if. 1348. Willy] Worthy. 1366. for] sore.

The number of these cases might be augmented ; but, in some of them, it is obviously difficult to say whether Berthelet believed he was restoring the original reading, or simply wished, by fair means or foul, to improve upon the copy before him. Further, what is still worse, he made a great many apparently quite unwarrantable and uncalled-for alterations, in which his individual caprice seems to have been his sole standard : thus he interpolated four lines between 314 and 315, and completely changed whole lines, as 314, 315, 319, 545—548, 882, 950, 951, or half-lines, as in 318, 374, 1190.¹ To point out his countless smaller alterations would avail nothing, the more as they are one and all contained in the *apparatus criticus*.

If, to sum up, we consider the above lists, we must, I think, in fairness give Berthelet credit for his many real corrections in the first list ; as to those which follow next, we must at least pass a

¹ Or had he a copy of w before him, in which some of these lines were obliterated ?

verdict of “tamen est laudanda voluntas,”¹ all the more readily as there are comparatively few mistakes arising from his own inadvertency. We must certainly allow that the “in many places amended and late diligently imprinted,” put with an evident sense of satisfaction on his title-page, is not altogether unjustified.

But, on the other hand, we are in justice bound to say that Berthelet’s text is, by a long way, the one furthest removed from the original, as it came from Lydgate’s hand. This, of course, is in some measure not so much Berthelet’s own fault, but is rather accounted for by the fact of his Print being the last offshoot of a long generation of MSS. and Prints. It is, nevertheless, instructive to note how Berthelet, with all his emendations and critical sagacity, only managed to produce the worst text of all, and how he was wrong even in such a case as the one pointed out in the footnote below, which, in his eyes, must have appeared a masterpiece of conjectural emendation. These considerations are apt to dim in no small degree the lustre of the nimbus, surrounded by which, some people tell us, the “Conjectural-Kritiker” walks in unapproachable majesty.

CHAPTER IV.

PRINCIPLES FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT.

§ 1. Group **A** corrupted.

IN the foregoing paragraphs it has been shown that the existing texts of the poem form two groups **A** and **B**, the first represented by MSS. G and S, and, for part of the poem, also by F and B; the second by the rest of the MSS., and the Prints. As there are some radical differences between the two groups, we have now first to discuss which of the two is the most likely representative of the older and purer text.

From what we have intimated in Chapter III, § 1, it will already have been gathered that we do not consider group **A** as representing the original version. G and S alone give the *Compleynt* at the end, and no one is likely to be of opinion that this wretched production can possibly have formed an original continuation of the *Temple of Glas*. For although the poetic value of the *Temple of Glas* may not rank high,

¹ This certainly applies in the case of such an alteration as that in l. 721. For as he found the word *case* in l. 722 corrupted in his original into *care*, he again made good the lost rhyme in l. 721 by transposing the *ac dare abas* of his original to *abas ne dare*.

yet this bungling piece of patchwork is much inferior to it. Throughout the *Temple of Glas* it is obvious that the author endeavours to present to us the action of his poem in clearly-defined outlines; but these 600 lines, which are entirely foreign to the general tenour of the *Temple of Glas*, and which have been tacked on to it in such an ill-judged manner, spoil the composition as a whole most cruelly. Granted that the action in the *Temple of Glas* is poor and over-weighted by long, tiresome speeches, yet the narrative clearly ends and is complete at line 1380, and we expect the close of the poem somewhere near there. The *Eucoy* which follows (ll. 1393—1403), and which is thus not given by G and S, is quite characteristic of Lydgate. Here, too, he has not forgotten the request to “correct” his poem, if any word be missaid in it; a close which is as sure to come in at the end of a work of Lydgate’s as the famous white horse in a picture of Wouwerman’s. We have mentioned above that the *Compleynt* was most likely added here in consequence of the ambiguous and unclear purport of the last 25 lines, where the author (ll. 1380 and 1381) promises a “litil tretise,” “in pris of women,” “Hem to comende, as it is skil & rȳt.” But where is anything of this programme carried out in this miserably stupid concoction?

To conclude, not the shadow of a doubt can remain that the *Compleynt* has nothing whatever to do with the *Temple of Glas*.¹

Some of the minor interpolations also may readily be discerned as such. Thus the three stanzas interpolated in group **A** after stanza 25, are certainly far from being in harmony with the general tenour of the poem, and it seems more appropriate that the lady’s thanks to Venus should end with laud and reverence to her name and excellence, rather than with jays, pies, lapwings, and owls. Very much the same holds good of the four stanzas put, in G and S, instead of stanzas 3—7. The expression “fryed in his owene gres” (Stanza 3 c, l. 1) may be quite appropriate in the mouth of the Wife of Bath, but certainly it is not so from the lips of our gentle Lady. We readily allow that the lady’s complaint to Venus (ll. 335—369) is somewhat vague in expression, and can in no sense be called a masterpiece; but the substitute (stanzas 3 a—3 d) must surely be pronounced even less successful.

The above considerations are calculated to make us mistrustful of

¹ I wonder very much whether it is by a mere chance that MS. G, not only in the *Temple of Glas*, but also in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, follows quite a different version.

the more extensive deviations of group **A** from **B**. Thus the single stanza interpolated between ll. 453 and 454, also arouses our suspicion, although innocent enough in itself; so does, similarly, the change of the motto of the Lady in ll. 310 and 530, and the alteration of the colours in ll. 299 and 504 (green being considered by the redactor the symbol of inconstancy; see Skeat, *M. P.*, p. 387). What must make us question still more the correctness of the common readings of G and S, is that we find distinct changes in these two MSS. alone, even in that part of the poem where F and B follow the same group and yet differ from G and S. So, for instance, in l. 510 G and S alone attempt to give a name to the Lady, namely, "Margarete,"¹ and change lines 513 and 514 accordingly, whilst F and B do not deviate from the readings of the other texts. This shows that some of the deliberate and important changes in G and S may come from (G S) rather than the archetype of group **A**, even when not controlled by the readings of F and B.

Another alteration in G and S, not warranted by the readings of F and B, is the change of the pronouns *pou*, *pe*, *pin* to *ze*, *zow*, *your* in certain lines. Venus is addressed in the poem, both by the knight and lady, as *ye*; she, in her turn, addresses the lady as *ye*, and the knight as *pou*. But, in fact, the author himself sometimes seems to have been shaky in his principle, and, in ll. 857 and 865—868, Venus addresses the knight also as *ye*. G and S, however, make Venus address the knight as *ye* in several other instances; as in 854, 883, 888, 889; 1152; in the first four cases certainly wrongly; in the last it cannot be controlled by F and B. Decidedly wrong also is the alteration in l. 1356; for the reading of G and S destroys the rhyme in ll. 1358 and 1359. Shirley, indeed, attempted to restore the rhyme, and the "poetry" introduced by him for that purpose is quite worthy of him.

But, on the other hand, there are, without doubt, certain minor passages in the poem in which group **A** has preserved the right reading. Thus F. B. G. S are correct in reading *dilacioun*, l. 877; *dillusioun* in T. P., and *dissolucion* in L. Pr., are evidently wrong, as both sense and metre show; compare, for the meaning of *dilacioun*,² ll. 1089—1092, 1193, 1206. Further, in l. 635, *orne* (as given in

¹ This name was perhaps introduced here in connection with *Complaynt* 395, etc. Were this certain, we might be led to suppose that the *Complaynt* appeared first in (G S), rather than in **A**.

² This word happily illustrates the way in which the texts of type **B** group themselves into three sub-divisions, namely (L. Pr.), (T. P.), and (F. B.).

F. B. G. S) is wanted to make up the full line; so is *also* in l. 75 (here *also* seems, in F and B, to be a later correction); on the other hand, *ben* makes a syllable too much for the metre in l. 1008. It cannot be decided with certainty which of the two groups is right in ll. 990, 997, 1029. G and S alone seem to have preserved the right reading in 1328, 1331; in 75, and perhaps in l. 9.

But they are certainly incorrect when, between ll. 429 and 1029, F and B do not go with them; as in 778, 781, 808, 870, 910. In the case of the first three lines, this consideration did not present itself so clearly to me, when I introduced the reading of group **A** into the text; I believe now that the text-criticism absolutely obliges us to let the singular accentuation *Ántonyús*, the monosyllabic, and even the trisyllabic foot at the beginning of lines 808 and 781 pass unchallenged. See chapter V on Metre. The readings of G. S seem to me to be doubtful or wrong in ll. 1, 19, 31, 79, 81, 112, 407, 470, 632, 770, 1111, 1170, 1172, 1212, 1270, 1284. Group **A**, and in particular G. S, has a decided tendency to improve upon the metre, and, especially, to do away with the monosyllabic first measures.—In many other instances the readings of Group **A** and **B** are equally good; in such cases I have left the reading of T in the text.

All the foregoing discussions prove that in a critical edition of the text, group **A** must not be taken as the basis; at the most, we may introduce a few of its readings where they seem to be old and good.

§ 2. *MS. T taken as the basis.*

After thus discarding group **A**, little doubt remains as to which text in **B** we have to turn to. We must, from the first, reject group (L. Pr.); for neither representative of it, L or Caxton, is old or good. The prints after Caxton's, being all derived from his, are of course of no value whatever for the construction of the text; for even when a deviation from their respective original restores the true reading, any such successful correction has only the value of a conjectural emendation.

In the two remaining sub-divisions (T P) and (F B), we cannot think of taking the younger representatives P and B. So only T and F are left. Their text does not differ much; but the scale will be turned at once in favour of T, if we consider that it is older, and that, for part of the poem, F follows the version of group **A**.

I have therefore chosen MS. T as the basis of the present text.

The obvious mistakes made by T alone have been, of course, corrected; but I have marked, in the text, every deviation from T. I have used brackets to supply omissions, be it of words or syllables or letters; if the nature of the deviation from T could not be indicated thus, I have marked the altered word, or the first of a group of altered words, by an asterisk. The reading of T is, even in the slightest instance of correction, always given in the list of various readings at the bottom of the pages, whenever it cannot be gathered at once from the nature of the sign introduced in the text. Thus [hid], in l. 9, means that I have supplied the whole word; long[e] in l. 12, that the *e* is not to be found in the MS. In a case like the latter the reading *long* of the MS. has not been expressly given, as there can be no doubt about it. The asterisk before *in*, in l. 160, shows that *in* does not occur in the MS., and a glance at the various readings will show that T has *on* instead. Similarly, in l. 133, we gather that T reads *did lowli*, not *lowli did*.

Changes introduced without a particular notice are the following. The whole punctuation is mine. The MS. has only in some cases marks for the cesural pause; they are quite superfluous, teach us nothing, and would only interfere with the other punctuation.—ff at the beginning of a line has been changed to F.—Capital letters have been put more regularly in proper names; for in many cases it was impossible to say whether the letter standing in the MS. was a capital, or small. The scribe has frequently joined on the indefinite article, or certain adverbs, such as *so*, and the negation, etc., to the word following it; these I have separated.

The contractions, which are rather numerous in our MS., have been expanded in the usual way. Several instances in this MS. seem to show that *r* with a curl to it, was meant by the scribe for *re*; so in *repent* 1076; *decembre* 6; often in *euer* (= every), l. 26, 41, 450, 476, 1257 (*euer* in full occurs, for instance, in ll. 44 and 139), and in some other cases of less conclusiveness. I do not say at all that the scribe, therefore, purposely put *r* with a curl for *re* in every case where it occurs; even in the above-mentioned lines it *might* be only a pleonastic writing, the well-known abbreviation for *re* (or *er*) being attached to the *r*. This would then be similar to cases where *ou^{ur}* stands for *o^{ur}*, which former I transcribe by *our*. I have, however, for the sake of consistency and in accordance with the principles of the E. E. T. S., in every case printed *re* for *r* with the curl.

The readings of the various texts are all given in full at the

bottom of the pages, when they represent variations of meaning; mere orthographical variations, or phonetic ones of no consequence, have not been reproduced. The reader has thus in every case the full available material before him by which he may judge for himself in questions concerning the metrics and language of Lydgate.

Conservatism—perhaps pushed too far—in reproducing the MS. has prevented me from putting in the final *e*'s, whenever the metre did not manifestly show that they were *absolutely* indispensable, especially at the end of the line, or the first half-line. To quote a case to the point, I believe that Lydgate read line 1042 just as Chaucer read line 442 of the *Parlement of Foules*; I have, however, not added an *e* to *fressh*, as T does not give it, and the line is, as it stands, a regular Lydgate-line. I readily grant that this method may be too cautious; but then we avoid the necessity of introducing further questionable alterations on this already slippery ground.

PART II.

Ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἠξίουσ
πίνειν, ξυρεκποτέ' ἐστὶ σοι καὶ τὴν τρύγα.

CHAPTER V.

LYDGATE'S METRE.

§ 1. *Lydgate's metrical forms in general.*

A CONSIDERABLE portion of the discussions in the following Chapters will consist in setting forth Lydgate in the light of an epigone of a more resplendent epoch, from which but a few stray rays found their way into the dull, dark period of the 15th century. Not least do we perceive this epigonic aspect of the monk's poetry when we examine its outward garb. Lydgate is entirely dependent on Chaucer in the choice of all his principal metres. He found the beautiful and wonderfully harmonious versification of Chaucer ready made to hand, and he thought it best to adopt it without more ado. Thus Chaucer's principal metric forms are represented in the monk's works, transformed, it is true, by many a license, into the peculiar Lydgatian structure of verse, which anything but improves upon that employed by Chaucer. The metrical forms mostly used by Lydgate are the following:—

A. The 7-line stanza ("rhyme royal," five-beat lines, with the

sequence of rhymes ababce). This stanza is employed in the *Falls of Princes*, *Life of Our Lady*, *Court of Sapience*, *Edmund and Fremund*, *Albon and Amphabel*, *Assembly of Gods*, *Black Knight*, *Chord and Bird*, *Æsop*, *De duobus Mercatoribus*, *Flour of Curtesie*, *Secreta Secretorum*, and in part of the *Temple of Glas*, not to mention the minor poems.

B. The metre ranking second in importance is the heroic couplet, where two five-beat iambic lines rhyming with each other form the unit of the metrical system. This is the metre of the most important of the *Canterbury Tales*, the *Legend of Good Women*, etc.; the epic metre of Chaucer by way of eminence. In imitation of his master, Lydgate employed it in his two most prominent epic works, the *Troy-Book* and the *Story of Thebes*. Part of the *Temple of Glas* is also in this metre.

C. The third metrical form of importance is the four-beat couplet, the metre of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, the *Hoos of Fame*, the *Romaunt of the Rose*, etc. Lydgate has employed it in *Reason and Sensuality*, and in the verse-translation of Deguileville's first *Pilgrimage*.

These afore-mentioned metres are also employed in many minor poems, where, of course, numerous other metrical forms also appear, especially the 8-line stanza. Of Lydgate's prose-writing¹ only one certain specimen seems to be extant, namely, the *Serpent of Division*; whether the prose-translation of Deguileville's second *Pilgrimage* was done by Lydgate, seems to me extremely doubtful.

As I have already intimated, the *Temple of Glas* is written in two of the above metres used alternately, namely, the heroic couplet and the 7-line stanza. The former of these is, speaking generally, employed in the epic parts of the poem, whilst the stanzas are used for the lyrical parts. But it is true that this distinction is not maintained strictly throughout the poem; occasionally narrative appears in the stanzas, whilst on the other hand, the long soliloquy of the Knight is written in couplets (ll. 567—693). Toward the end of the poem, we have a "Ballade" (ll. 1311—1361), *i. e.* three 7-line stanzas with a refrain, the last lines of the stanzas being substantially the same (see ten Brink, *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst*, p. 213). The three rhymes *a, b, c*, required to make up a stanza, are, moreover, in this form of the "ballade," identical in all three

¹ "Carmina quoque latina composuit, & in soluta oratione nonnulla," says the not altogether dependable Bale, *Summarium*, 1518, fol. 203 a.

stanzas; in our present one they end in *-ist*, *-ere*, *-inne*. We have a ballad of similar structure and function in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* (ll. 249—269); also at the end of the *Flour of Curtesie*, frequently in the Envoys of the *Falls of Princes*; again in the *Isle of Ladies*, ll. 2213—2233, and at the end of the *Court of Sapience*; in the last two poems, however, the burden alone recurs, with slight variations; the rhymes *a* and *b* are different in the three stanzas. Our present ballad, which can only boast of identical rhymes in three consecutive stanzas, is but one of Lydgate's less brilliant feats in the art of rhyming; he has elsewhere envoys consisting of a considerable number of stanzas—in one case (*Falls of Princes*, fol. 66 *d*, etc.) amounting to nineteen—in which the three rhymes *a*, *b*, *c* of the first recur in all the following ones.

§ 2. *The Structure of the Verse.*

Lydgate himself was not very proud of his metre. He explains his system to us in the following lines from the *Troy-Book* (fol. E₅ *b*), which, if they do not reflect great credit upon his metrical art, are at least delightfully candid:

“And trouthe of metre I sette also a-syde;
 For of that art I hadde as tho no guyde
 Me to reduce, whan I went a-wronge:
 I toke none hede nouthur of shorte nor longe.”

Accordingly, poor Daun John's metre has been very severely criticized; Ritson says that there are scarcely three lines together of pure and accurate metre, and Professor Skeat has even as late as 1884 the following sentence in his Preface to the *Kingis Quair* (p. xxxii): “The net result is that the lines of James I., like the lines of Chaucer, are *beautifully musical*, and quite different from the halting lines of Lydgate.” Nor need we wonder that a juster estimate of Lydgate's metre was not sooner arrived at. There is hardly a good critical text of Lydgate's writings existing, and the metre in the corrupt MSS. and Prints deserves indeed the severest strictures that have been laid upon it. There are, in the later MSS., and particularly in some of the prints, hundreds and thousands of such halting lines as

“In Wiltshire | of Engond | two priestes | there were,”

which seem to have simply no metre at all; in the present instance the line can only be scanned, so far as I can see, by one means, namely, by the assumption that Lydgate intended to introduce Firdausi's line into English poetry. The greatest wonder to me is how

the public of the time of Caxton and his immediate followers could read these things as verses; their ears must surely have been singularly impenetrable to anything like rhythmical harmony. If, however, we go back to Lydgate himself, the case is after all not so bad. The monk thinks it great fun to make himself out worse than he really is—a peculiarity of which we shall have to say more in Chapter X—and we know that even his great master Chaucer alludes humorously to possible defects in his metre.

The most successful attempt to set forth Lydgate's metrical peculiarities, is, so far as I know and am able to judge, Professor Schipper's account in his *Englische Metrik*, I, § 196. My own observations, based on a critical text, tend to confirm the results arrived at by the Professor, and I think there can remain no doubt as to the correctness of Schipper's views in general, although in many particulars I cannot agree with his scanning of Lydgate's lines. We may say, roughly speaking, that Lydgate has five types of the five-beat line—even if we make no distinction between lines with strong (monosyllabic) and weak (dissyllabic) rhymes.

A. The regular type, presenting five iambs, to which, as to the other types, at the end an extra-syllable may be added. There is usually a well-defined cæsura after the second foot, but not always. Examples:

Line I: For thóuȝt, constréint, || and gréuous héuines[se].

B. Lines with the trochaic cæsura, built like the preceding, but with an extra-syllable before the cæsura. Examples:

L. 77: There wás eke Ísaude — || & méni anóþir mó.

L. 91: And máni a stóri, || mo þén I rékin eán.

L. 120: List óf his góllhode || his fóurme tó transmwe.

L. 1093: Wherfóre, as Vénus || list þís matér to gué.

This redundant syllable before the cæsura is often found in Chaucer, and, again, in the Elizabethan dramatists, and greatly contributes towards giving variety to this metre, which, in less skilful hands, easily becomes monotonous. This "epic" cæsura is also well-known in Romance poems (see Tobler, *Vom französischen Versbau*, p. 69, etc.), particularly in Italian, French, and Provençal. In our poem this type is very common; the following lines either must be read, or are best read according to it: 39, 102, 105, 164, 198, 227, 244, 276, 298, 329, 367, 401, 406, 409, 429, 444, 463, 484, 511, 543, 553, 609, 678, 679, 690, 698, 722, 750, 759, 770, 792, 797, 801, 835, 853, 859, 864, 898, 953, 960, 1000, 1017, 1031, 1038, 1053, 1073, 1078, 1089, 1100, 1126, 1164, 1176, 1188, 1206, 1237, 1302.

I believe there are many more lines which we may suppose Lydgate to have read in this way; and, again, there are a great many others about which it is impossible to decide.

C. The peculiarly Lydgatian type, in which the thesis is wanting in the cæsura, so that two accented syllables clash together. Examples:

- L. 905: For spécheles || nóþing máist þou spéde.
- L. 309: Enbróuded wás || ás men mýzte sé.
- L. 1200: Siþ nóon but shé || máy þi sóres sounð.
- L. 1368: Me þóuzt I wás || cást as ín a tráunce.
- L. 1398: If ény wórd || ín þe bé myssaide,
- L. 579: Hou éuer gód || fórtó réken ál.
- L. 580: Myzt máke a þíng || só celéstíál.

This line is peculiar to Lydgate, or, at least, is more developed in his works than anywhere else. The second half of the line is here treated, as the whole line is in type D, the first syllable, so to say, being cut off. The development of this type may, to a certain degree, also be due to the increasing tendency to drop the final *e*. This type is very common in all Lydgate's works, and our *Temple of Glas* exhibits many lines of this peculiar metrical structure, the most important of which I enumerate in the following list: Ll. 18, 63, 127, 159, 245, 246, 255, 412, 434, 485, 491, 503, 536, 567, 578, 592, 681, 689, 767, 794, 836, 845, 848, 849, 858, 911, 913, 942, 1005, 1028, 1030, 1049, 1084, 1106, 1141, 1145, 1150, 1261, 1270, 1328, 1373, 1395.

D. The acephalous or headless line, in which the first syllable has been cut off, thus leaving a monosyllabic first measure. Example:

- L. 1396: Unto hír || & tó hir éxcelléncé;
- L. 1311: Óf musike, || ay díde his bísynés;
- L. 1158 (?): Róte þin hért, || and vóide dóublenés.

Most likely we must add l. 489: Lydgate, I should think, read *Thánking*; Gower would read *Thankènde*. There is hardly another *certain* example of this type in the *Temple of Glas*. For although the text of this poem can, in general, be reconstructed with sufficient certainty, yet there are, just with respect to this particular question, certain discrepancies between the two groups **A** and **B**, which allow of an ambiguous interpretation: namely, either G and S exhibit the true old reading, which represented a more regular type; or, G and S show a tendency to tamper with the metre, considered deficient by them, and especially to do away with these monosyllabic first measures.

I am inclined to think that the second interpretation holds good in the majority of cases (cf. Chapter IV, § 1). Thus, I think, we must consider lines 808 and 870 as acephalous; so also l. 265 (G and Prints alone exhibiting an alteration), perhaps also 79. Lines 9 and 954 may be doubtful.

E. Lines with trisyllabic first measure. The occurrence of such lines in our poem is uncertain; but two lines may belong to this class, if we read them in the following way:

L. 781: That wás féiþful fóund, til hém depártid dépe;

L. 1029: Ánd ás férforþe ás my wittes cón concéyue.

Lines 496 and 1037 do not belong to this class; *this is* is to be read *this'*, as a monosyllable; see, for instance, Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*, 411 and 650.

In many cases it is, however, impossible to classify a line as belonging incontestably to any particular one of the above-named types. It not unfrequently happens with Lydgate, as with all doggerel-poets who have not a sensitive ear for rhythm, that his verses can be read in two or three different ways. Type A and C particularly may often seem to have equal claims to a line, according as we read or drop the final *e* before the cæsura. For instance, l. 3 belongs to type C, if we read *went*, as the MS. has it; but it belongs to type A, if we read *wenti*, sounding the final *e*. In our present case it is impossible to decide: Lydgate usually sounds the *e* of the weak preterit, but he has also unquestionably *went* in l. 546. The same holds good of types A and B; for instance, l. 395; *clereþ* may be a monosyllable or a dissyllable. Again, type C and D might lay claim to one and the same line; for instance, l. 63, which may be read:

Hou þát she wás || fálsed óf Iasón; or:

Hou þat shé || was fálsed óf Iasón.

In cases like the last I am inclined to assign the line to type C, as there are so many more indisputable instances of it than of type D.

I must add here that Lydgate seems sometimes to have a double thesis; but the instances are rare and uncertain in our poem. This may be the case in ll. 1082, 1170, 1172; 910, 1212, all of which, however, are uncertain,¹ inasmuch as they either present doubtful

¹ So are almost all the examples, adduced by Schipper, p. 495, in support of the double thesis: we have most likely to scan: For the sixte Herry; *wedþr*, in line 2, is treated as a monosyllable, to be pronounced somewhat in the same way as modern French *qual'* for *quatre* (words in *re* or *le* are very commonly so treated by Lydgate; cp. the line quoted by Schipper on p. 497); in line 3 1

readings, or may be scanned smoothly by slurring. Further, Lydgate very often makes the arsis fall on unaccentuated syllables; for instance: Hertès, 1097, 1211; Demèn, 872; vndir, 809, 1111, 1213; Whilòm, 816; Fairèst, 1341; Opir, 1038; Making, 939; Singyng, 1340; Ledin, 239; Gladèst, 703; Passèþ, 252, etc.

Again, alliteration, particularly in the form of alliterating formulæ, is very common in Lydgate. Many words, like *service, fortune, beaute*, etc., have a double accent, perhaps to a greater extent than in Chaucer. Elisions, slurrings, hiatus, synizesis, etc., occur very much in the same manner as in Chaucer. I think I had better leave a careful and detailed synopsis of these phenomena to some special treatise on Lydgate's metre; the question of the final *e*, which it was absolutely necessary to investigate closely for the construction of the text, will be fully discussed in the following Chapter.

§ 3. *The Rhyme.*

The rhyme is, in general, pure and skilfully handled. The principles followed by Lydgate are much the same as those of Chaucer, for which reason I will only draw attention to certain points which are of special interest or which are peculiar to Lydgate.

As to the quality of the rhyme-vowel, Lydgate makes no difference between open and close sounds; open and close *o* or *e* being treated exactly alike. For instance: wo : do 1370, so : do 637, also : do 902 (compare, however, with regard to these examples, ten Brink, § 31, 72); stode (O.E. stòd) : abode (O.E. âbâd), *Falls of Princes*, fol. 9 c and 21 a; wode (O.E. wòd) : abode, *F. of Pr.* 22 b. *Drede* rhymes with *rede* (O.E. rêd) 641, 1367; with *lede* (O.E. kêdan) 1198; with *hele* (O.E. hêafod) 526; with *womanhele* 764; with *mede* (O.E. mêd) 352, 413, and *spede* (O.E. spêd) 681. *Speche* (O.E. sprêc) rhymes with *leche* (O.E. kêce) 917, and with *seche* (O.E. sêcan) 1166; *clene* (O.E. clêne) with *grene* (O.E. giêne) and *to sene* (O.E. tô sônne) 504, &c. (cp. again ten Brink, § 25). Similarly, no difference is made between *ei* and *ai*, for instance: maide (O.E. mægden) : leide (O.E. legdon) 207; peine : complaine 145, 723, 942; disdein : vain 155, etc. In three cases we find an assonance¹ in place of the rhyme :

should scan : of colour full cov'nable ; in the 5th and 6th line *for* and *the* are probably to be omitted ; read further in the 6th line *at the nring*, and in the 9th *The childre of Seth* ; in ll. 7, 8 and 4 we have probably to accentuate súpport, réport, dévise, if, indeed, we have not, in the last case, to substitute *wise* for *devise*.

¹ Assonances in the *Black Knight* have been pointed out by Skeat, in the *Academy*, Aug. 10, 1878, p. 144, col. 1 : forjугed : excused, 274 ; ywreke : clepe, 284.

ll. 125, 126 *ascape* : *take* ; ll. 856, 858, 859 : *perfourme* : *refourme* : *mourne* ; and ll. 1017, 1018 : *accepte* : *correcte*. We need not blame the monk too much for this oversight ; for sometimes, assonances are put unawares by poets who are particularly conspicuous for the purity of their rhymes, such as Chaucer (see *ten Brink*, § 329), and *Robert of Gloucester* (see Pabst, *Die Sprache der me. Reimchronik des R. von Gloucester*, § 4).

Of course there are plenty of cheap rhymes in Lydgate ; suffixes, such as *-(n)esse*, *-ful*, *-hede*, rhyme frequently with each other ; we have further in the *Temple of Glas*, *binde* : *unbinde*, 1269 ; *lyzt* : *lyzt*, 1341 ; *herte* : *smerte*, etc. ; in one case (ll. 1013, 1016) Lydgate repeats the same word *wise* to rhyme with itself. Lydgate, as well as Chaucer, uses double forms of the same word for rhyming purposes ; thus *deye* rhymes with *obeye* in ll. 587 and 772, with *saie*, 983 ; but it rhymes also, in the form *dye*, with *fantasie* and *specijie*, l. 514 ; with *crie*, 998. We have, moreover, *swete* rhyming with *hete* 510 ; but *soote* rhyming with *rote* and *bote*, 458. *eye* is made to rhyme with *lie*, 73, *Emelie* 106, *regalie* 262, *deye* 232, and was evidently pronounced *ȳe*. The rhymes prove that Lydgate often used the Kentish *e* for O.E. *y* ; in our poem we have thus *test* (: *best* : *rest*), 483 ; the Tanner-MS., however, writes in all cases where the word occurs, *list* or *lust*. We find, further, *mynde*, l. 732, rhyming with *ende* and *sende* ; and, again, l. 1241, *mynd* : *ende*. Compare, on the other hand, the rhymes *mynde* : *finde*, ll. 741 and 830 ; *kynd* : *mynde* : *behind*, 343.¹ Romance words in *-oun* are very common ; the rhymes prove that Lydgate sounded the vowel as a long *u* (as in Modern-English *ruth*) : *soun* : *lamentacioun*, 197 : *toun* : *Palamoun*, 101 ; *doun* : *lamentacioun*, 566 ; *prisoun* : *adoun*, 647 ; *compassioun* : *renoun* : *adoun*, 926. But we have also rhymes like *lason* : *anon* : *gone*, *F. of Priuces*, fol. 11 d, &c. (cp. *ten Brink*, § 71).

A peculiarity of Lydgate's is that he frequently rhymes words ending in *-ire* with those in *-ere*. This has several times been pointed out ; as by Sauerstein, in *Lydgate's Æsopübersetzung*, p. 17 (bottom) ; Prof. Zupitza, in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1886, col. 850 ; Koepfel, *Mitteilungen zur Anglia*, 1890, p. 92. We have the following rhymes in the *Temple of Glas* : *chere* : *desire*, 315, 563, 729 ; *praiera* : *desire*, 543 ; *daunger* : *desire*, 776 ; *pantere* : *desire*,

¹ See, on the promiscuous use of *i* and Kentish *e* in the Suffolk-dialect, Horstmann, *Introduction to Bokenam*, p. xi ; Hoofe, in *Englische Studien*, VIII, 239.

603; wire : spere, 271; zere : desire, 1201; daunger : fire, 631; zere : fire, 473. The regular form for the words: *continue*, *discover*, *recover*, is in Lydgate contune (ll. 1333; 390); discure (ll. 629; 916, 161); recure (l. 1226). Impure rhymes seem to be : yonder : wonder, 577,¹ and socoure : endure, 818; *socoure* elsewhere rhymes with words in *-oure*, not in *-ure*.²

I have now to say a few words on the number of the syllables that form the rhyme. There can be no doubt that we have the strong, monosyllabic rhyme in lines like 11, 12; 15, 16; 77, 78, etc.; the weak or dissyllabic rhyme in lines like 5, 6; 99, 100; 107, 108, etc. In cases like 23, 24 (*place* : *face*); 103, 104 (*smert* : *hert*) the rhyme would be certainly dissyllabic in Chaucer. The question is whether this also holds good for Lydgate's language. Now we cannot deny that some strong arguments might be brought forward in support of the theory that the final *e* in such cases is mute in Lydgate. In the present poem Lydgate has the rhymes grace : trespas, l. 1031; assaie (*infin.*) : nay, 643; assaie : say (I saw, O.E. seah), 693; peine : agein, 1138; peine : wellbescin, 1169; chaine : tweyn (but *tweyne* is perhaps dissyllabic, as in Chaucer), 354, 1106; repente (*infin.*) : entent : sent, 497; repente (*infin.*) : entent : jugement, 1076 (*entent* is usually a dissyllable in Lydgate, see ll. 304, 384, 1335); Iocound : founde (*pp.*) : abounde (*infin.*), 1174; despit : wite (O.E. wite), 165—*wite* is also a monosyllable in l. 208—; in l. 1049, we have, I suppose, to read *pastē* (p. t.), to rhyme with *castē* (*infin.*). Sometimes we also meet with the rhyme *y* : *ie* in Lydgate's works, although not in the *Temple of Glas*; for instance, more than once in the *Black Knight*. All this shows that there is in Lydgate a considerable advance beyond Chaucer in the dropping of the final *e* in Romance words, or rather, to express it more exactly, Lydgate does not always refrain from doing at the end of a verse what Chaucer does not hesitate to do in the middle. Chaucer would read *vilainy* only in the middle of a line, Lydgate would do the same also at the end in the rhyme. With Teutonic words the monk seems to be far more careful; I can find only one example of such rhymes in our poem which would be inadmissible in Chaucer's system,

¹ This rhyme, however, occurs also in Chaucer, *Man of Law's Tale*, l. 920; in *Havelok* 922 we have the spelling *yunder*. We find this rhyme elsewhere in Lydgate, for instance *Falls of Princes*, fol. 26 b.

² We have the rhyme *ye socour* : *youre cure* also in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 3539. The language of this poem often reminds one of Lydgate, both in its rhymes and in its vocabulary.

namely (ll. 392, etc.), *some* (O.E. *sôna*) : *mone* (O.E. *môna*) : *don* (O.E. *ge-dôn*). The same rhyme-system occurs in the *Falls of Princes*, fol. 174*c*. We may, however, note that *some* in Chaucer is always a monosyllable in the middle of the line ; see *ten Brink*, § 327.

As, however, the following chapter will show that the final *e* is sounded by Lydgate nearly in all cases in which Chaucer sounds it, I believe that Lydgate thought it proper to read the words in question as dissyllables, although his Suffolk-dialect may sometimes lead him astray. As the matter is not *absolutely* certain, I have refrained from any interference with the Tanner-MS. in such cases, in so far that I did not add any final *e*'s at the end of the line or immediately before the cæsura, even where I believe Lydgate would have sounded them. The MS., with its very numerous sins of omission and commission in this respect, thus shows us all the more clearly how matters stood in general with regard to the final *e* shortly after 1400.

I believe that according to the types set forth above, nearly all Lydgate's lines, perhaps even the very unruly ones of the *Story of Thebes*, can be made to scan tolerably. Still, the above-given exposition of Lydgate's metrical system will seem little calculated to bear out the statement by Berkenhout, *Biographia Literaria*, p. 317 (copied in A. D. Burrowes's *Modern Encyclopædia*, VII, 201), according to which Lydgate's versification is "much more harmonious" (*sic*) than that of Chaucer. But, on the other hand, we must at least grant that, if the metre of Lydgate is "halting," there is, as a rule, method in this halting.

CHAPTER VI.

LYDGATE'S LANGUAGE.

§ 1. *General Characteristics.*

THE first thing that strikes us in comparing Lydgate's and Chaucer's language is that the first is a great deal more modern than the latter. This has already been frequently noticed, and is in the main correct. The modern stamp, however, of Lydgate's language seems to result principally from the choice of words, rather than from phonology and inflexions. Chaucer, as compared with Lydgate, uses many more concrete words, which are mostly of Old-English origin, and, to a great extent, are now obsolete or have completely died out ; Lydgate, especially in his more pretentious works, uses many abstract words of French or Latin origin, which in most cases

are still in use or are at least intelligible. As he has, however, an extensive vocabulary at his disposal, many interesting words rarely met with in English literature are found in his writings, so that his name must be of frequent occurrence in historical dictionaries of the English language.

In accordance with his propensity to expatiate on his own qualities, Lydgate has also bequeathed to us his opinion on his own language, which is, of course, again expressed in that same self-deprecatory, apologetic style which characterizes his other utterances concerning his own abilities and performances. Among the many passages in which he reviles the "rudeness" of his own language, the most interesting is the one in the prologue to the *Court of Sapience*,¹ which runs thus:

"I knowe my selfe moost naked in all artes,
My comyn vulgare eke moost interupte ;
And I conuersaunte & borne in the partes
Where my natyfe langage is moost corrupte,
And with moost sondry tonges myxte & rupte.
O lady myn, wherfore I the beseche (*Chio*)
My muse amende, dresse, forge, mynysshie & eche."

That Lydgate occasionally uses dialectal forms varying from those of Chaucer, is certain. The principal phonetic peculiarities, so far as they are apparent in the rhymes, have been noted in § 3 of the last chapter. If it is true that Chaucer was Lydgate's "master" in more than a figurative sense, and that he "corrected" some of the early poems of his young admirer, he would doubtless have pointed out, as things to be avoided, these dialectal peculiarities, the dropping of the final *e* in certain instances, and type C of Lydgate's metre.

It would be useless here to give a full analysis of the sound-system of the *Temple of Glas*, as it would be almost entirely a repetition of ten Brink's book on Chaucer's language. Again, there is little difference in the inflexional system of Chaucer and Lydgate; but as there has been some doubt about this point, especially with regard to the sounding of the unaccented syllables, I must deal with Lydgate's inflexions in greater detail. I shall therefore point out the instances in the *Temple of Glas* which tend most to throw light upon this question, hoping that the ground on which we stand will have been made firm by the metrical investigations of the preceding chapter, and by the text-criticism contained in Chapter III. A few

¹ I must, however, note here that the genuineness of this prologue has been called into question; see Warton-Hazlitt III, 60, note 4; Blades, Caxton II, 115; Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), p. 67.

further illustrations of certain points, gathered here and there from Lydgate's other works, may not, I hope, be unwelcome.

§ 2. *The Inflexions of the Temple of Glas. Declension.*

I. *Substantives.—Strong Masculines and Neuters.*

Nom. and Accus. without ending; inorganic *e* in weyë,¹ acc. of wey (l. 897, 639¹²) See ten Brink, *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst*, § 199 note; Sachse, *Das unorganische e im Orrnatum*, p. 7.

Genitive in -ës: liuës 1196; daiësye 74. Dissyllables: heuens 715.

Dative in -ë: kyndë 224; goldë (: biholdë)? 112.

Plural in -ës (often written *is*³ in MS. T): opis 59; stremës 252, 1101, 1342; stonës 301, 310; harmës 314, 618, 686; stormës 515; bemys 718; weiës 1168, etc.—In the *Secreta Secretorum* (MS. Ashmole 46, fol. 102 *b*) occurs the rhyme: desirs (*read* deseris): cler is; in the *Falls of Princes*, 111 *b*, we have *thestates* rhyming with the Latin genitive "*lese magestates*" (*sic*); *ib.* 127 *d*: warres: far is; *Edmund* III, 634, ground is: woundis; in the *Pilgrimage* 172 *a*: Instrumentys: entent ys. But we have also rhymes like succours: deninours: shoures, *Falls of Princes*, 19 *b*. The neuters also usually end in -ës; pingis 167; yeris 202; wordys 320, etc.; kneis 459; soris 602, 1200; shottes 788; wittes 1029. The old Plural without an ending occurs in *folk* 193, 400.

ja-stems. wite l. 208 (O.E. wite). But *ë* in *Pilgrimage*, fol. 216 *b*:

"Ther-whyles the chesë fyl a-down."

I am not aware of a good example, in the *Temple of Glas*, of the *ë* in *i-* or *u-*stems; but compare for the latter, *Pilgrimage*, 98 *a*:

"How goddys sonë, man to saue" . . .

ib., 252 *b*: "My wodë shal on euery syde" . . .

The octosyllables of the *Pilgrimage of man* and of *Reason and Sensuality* lend themselves much better to a grammatical analysis of Lydgate's inflexions than his five-beat line.

¹ *ë* means that the *e* is sounded, *e*, that it is mute.

² The frequent notes of interrogation mean that the metre does not absolutely warrant the sounding of the final *e*; in most instances, however, I am inclined to read it as a full syllable. In some doubtful cases I have refrained from putting dots to the *e*. I may remark here that, on account of the ambiguity of Lydgate's metre, *conclusive* examples on this point are rarer than might be supposed at first sight. In some few cases it will be found that I have here decided with more absolute certainty in favour of sounding the final *e* than when I first constructed my text.

³ The Suffolk-dialect shows a predilection for *i*, *y* in the endings; in O. Bokenam's *Legends* we have rhymes like *knelyn*: *mawdelyn* (S, 1098); see Horstmann's *Introduction*, p. xi. Cp. also, with respect to Chaucer, *ten Brink*, § 62.

Strong Feminines.

Nom. ends usually in *ë*: lovë 1317; dedë 341; helthë 812; rouþë 873. In the case of *love*, the *ë* is due to O.E. *u*; in the other instances it crept into the nominative by analogy of the oblique cases. See *Saxse*, §§ 7 and 8; *ten Brink*, § 207.

But we have also lovë 1143, 1256, 1265; dredë 672; tale 903.

*Genitive in ë*s: lovës 86, 125, 183, 573, 633. worldis 1208.

Accus. and Dative end a.) in *ë*: 3ouþë 448; trouþë 455, 1081? 1102, 1235, 1249; whilë 549; spechë (?) 760; talë 910; salvë 922; helpë 952; myrþë 1177; lovë 1337.

b.) in *e*: 3ouþe 199 (*rhymes with coup*; the same rhyme occurs *Falls of Princes*, 241 *d* and 214 *a*); whilë 217, 626; lovë 327, 1351; worldë 729; rouþë 1054; trouþë 1277.

*Plural in ë*s: woundis 816; sorowis 967; talës 1182 (?).

Old Dative Plural: whilom 568, 816.

n-stems.

a.) *Masculines.* *Nomin.* ending in *ë*: hopë 643, 676 (?); timë 1204 (?).

Nom. in e: timë 1194, 1377. monë *rhymes with don* 394; plei 183 (*plei* is a monosyllable also in Chaucer, see *ten Brink* § 211).

Oblique cases in ë: hopë 657, 892.

*Plural in ë*s: sterrës (?) 252, 1341; dovüës 541; lippës 1049.

b.) *Feminines.* *Nom. in ë*: sunnë 396; hertë 337, 829 (?).—*Nom. in e*: herte 775.—*lady* (O.E. hlæfdige) remains the same in all cases: *Nom.* 250 etc.; *Gen.* 1160; *Dat.* 158, 966, etc.; *Acc.* 134, etc.

*Genitive in ë*s or *ë*: hertës 340, 502, 915, 1212; sunnë bemes, *Falls of Princes*, 31 *d*; hertë roote, *Pilgrimage*, 224 *b*.

Dative and Accus. in ë: erþë 581; sunnë 21 (?); hertë 80, 312, 363, 726, 756, 825, 839, 888 (?), 920, 945, 986, 1044, 1182, 1188, 1205; wekë 1201.

*Plural in ë*s: hertës 323, 529, 619, 1088, 1095, etc.; *genitive*, hertis 1083.

c.) *Neuters*: (e)y3ë (?) 105, 231, 262, 850; *Plural* (e)y3ën 40, 582, 1047, 1103.

Romance Nouns.

These also usually keep their *e*. We have formë 120; forcë 178, 1247; gracë 333, 733; sperë (sphere) 396; entailë 37; peinë 798, 1260 (but compare the rhymes in 1140, 1169); festë 473; joyë 1129 (but joyë 880 ?); inkë 961; rosë 1042; Troië 95; Romë 101.

But we have also cause 953; Cupide 855; and when the accent is thrown back: Fórtune 519; bálaunce 641; ballade 1338; sérvise 155, 719.—In the *Secreta Secretorum*, fol. 110 *a*, we have “som” (= French *somme*) rhyming with the Latin genitives “principum” and “virtutum.”

Plural in ës: billës 50; peynës 479, 668, 805, 951, 1001, 1286; vicës 1181.

Polysyllabic words form their plural in ës: sérvauñtes 1126.

II. *Adjectives.*

The *ja-stems* keep their *e*: sootë 192; newë 681, 657 (*!*), 606 (*!*), 7 (weak); trwë (weak) 71. We have also mychë (= O.E. *mycel*), l. 941.

Plural. It is difficult to find good examples of Nom. and Acc. Plural in the *Temple of Glas*. It seems we must read somë in l. 147, although Chaucer has somë only in the rhyme (for instance, *Troil.* IV. 967); see *ten Brink*, § 255 and 327. In the *Orrmulum* we have sume, see *Sachse*, § 77; in Gower somë is very common; in *Reuson and Sensuwlity*, fol. 287 *a*, we have the line:

“Somme square and sommë rounde;”

similarly, in the *Pilgrimage*, fol. 52 *b*: “Somme swyfft & sommë softe;”

ib., fol. 190 *b*: “With dedly syne as sommë do;”

ib., fol. 76 *b*: “Somme pressen to the table;”

ib., Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 58 *b*: “Somme hyh and som[ë] lowe;”

Story of Thebes, fol. 371 *b*: “And bé Iason || sómë bókes tell.”

But it is true, that in all other cases in the *Temple of Glas* we have some: 49, 50, 51, 151, 162, 169, 179, 244, 539. Most likely we have to read brigtë in 705, but this would be the weak form here. We have also the Scandinavian boþë (the ë representing an older ending) 1294, 345, 790, 510 (*!*); also in 1108, 1224. Boþë occurs in l. 1084.

In the *oblique cases* we have ë: widë 204; goodë 462; allë (*!*) 807, 973, 1165; but alle, 752, 1351.

We have, of course, the distinction between the strong and weak adjective. The latter has an ë also in the Singular, being the continuation of fuller endings in Old-English. The weak adjective stands:

1. *After the definite article*: longë 12; fresshë 70, 93, 1042 (*!*); fairë 786; gretë 87, 787 (*!*), 984; holë 97; zungë 106; saddë 377; þe samë 841; þilkë 81; þe whiche 514; hardë 957; selfë 846; blakë (*!*) 330; rihtë 975.—*ja-stems*: nwë 7; frwë 71.—Compare

also þe soþe 1002, and Skeat's Note to Group G, l. 662 of the *Canterbury Tales*.

For cases like *The bestē tauzt* (l. 292; ep. also l. 558, *the mostē?*), see *ten Brink*, § 246, end of note.

2. *After a demonstrative pronoun*: These yongē 193; þis fairē 454.

3. *After a possessive pronoun*: hir gretē 265; my fullē 489, 830, 1383; his hiddē, 967; Oure hiddē 1087; myn hiddē 988; þoure gladē 1344; his ownē 535, 938; myn ownē 635; þoure oldē 1222.—But we have also: Hir sad 750; your holē 857; his long 1122.

4. *Before proper names*: fresslē May 184; ooldē Januari 185; jungē Piramus 780; öld Satirne, or öldē Sāturne? 389 (*Sāturne olde* occurs in *Story of Thebes*, Prol., l. 3).—(Cp. bright[ē] Phebus, *Story of Thebes*, Prol., l. 1.

These cases certainly confirm Zupitza's opinion on this treatment of the adjective; see *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, 1885, col. 610. I do not think that Freudenberger's attempts to explain away the respective cases in Chaucer quite hit the mark (*Ueber das Fehlen des Auftakts in Chaucers heroischem Verse*, p. 36, etc.).

5. *Before a Vocative*: clerē 715.

But we have no different form for the weak adjective of more than one syllable: The feiþful 378; The inward 1290; þis woful 936; þour dredful 717; my forseid 1389, etc.

Romance Adjectives.

*palē 4 (the asterisk means weak form); benygnē (?) *449, 1110 (?); *clerē 715; *justē 1331; *fersē 1236; *rudē 1393; and, of course, doublē 167, and humblē 472, 697, 925; but sóverain *415, 649.

III. *Numerals.*

two 348, 1255, 1314, and tweyn 354, 1081, 1104 (read tweynē?), 1298, 1322; fivē 831.

IV. *Pronouns.*

The same as in Chaucer. With regard to the final *e* I note: yourēs (?) : showres 1215; doubtful youres 1076, 1130, 1134; similarly hires 593; þe whichē (?) 514; attē = at þe 405, etc.; hire 766, 783; but compare *Pilgrimage*, 229 *b*:

“Ded to hyrē the presente.”

Ib., Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 96 *a*: “Towchyngē hir[ē], the mercer.”

It has been said that Lydgate uses the Scandinavian forms þeir, etc., throughout. This is not borne out by the MSS.; only the late

Prints gradually introduce these forms. Lydgate has always, like Chaucer, *þey* in the nominative, *hir* in the genitive, and *hem* in the dative and accusative.

V. *Adverbs.*

Formed from adjectives by adding *ë*. No decisive example in the *Temple of Glas*, but elsewhere in Lydgate; for instance, *Life of St. Edmund*, III, 1041 :

“Sweyn affraied loudë gan to crye.”

Story of Thebes, fol. 358 a : “On whiche thing the kyng gan sorë muse.”

Pilgrimage, fol. 231 b : “Thogh the bowe be strongë bent.”

In the *Temple of Glas* we have *longë* (or *long* ?) 38 ; *derë* (*ja-stem*) 1258, but see the various readings ; *sorë* or *sorë* ? l. 180 (type A or B ?) ; 1202 *iliche* or *liche* ? Other examples of adverbs in *e* are : *þan* 672, 799 (but *þannë*, which is particularly frequent in Gower, in l. 596 ?) ; *oftë* 69, 169, 193, 200, 231, 669 ; *sonë* 1185, and also in the rhyme, l. 392.—*outë* (?) 662 (cp. *outeward* 340, but *outward* 563) ; *aboutë* 28, 933 (used as a preposition) ; *withoutë* 154, 211, 308, 365, 379, 385, etc., etc. ; *atwixën* 348 ; *besidë* 248.—*abouë* 466.

Adverbs in -es : *againës* 177, 181 ; *nedës* 232, 1063 ; *atonës* 458 ; *onës* (?) 725 ; *hennës* 481, 1025 ; *towardis* 1048 ; *þennes* (?) 1316 ; *ellës* 917 (*ellës* 1032 ; in 819, 1131 most likely *ellës*) ; always *whilës* 172, 576, 738, 790, 1011, 1109, 1324. We have, of course, also the suffix *-ly* to form adverbs ; further, forms like “of nwe,” l. 615, “of hard” 1319, etc.

For an explanation of “The bestë tauzt,” in l. 292, I refer the reader to *ten Brink*, § 246, end of note : the sign *ë* of the weak adjective, properly belonging to *tauzt*, is shifted to the adverb *best*.

VI. *Composition.*

The composition of words in Lydgate is effected on the same principles which we find in Chaucer, and, indeed, as early as in the *Ormulum* ; the *e* in particular, which stands between the two parts of the compound—be it organic or inorganic—being sounded by Lydgate as by Chaucer and Orm. Thus we have : *lodëster* 612 ; *spechëles* 905 ; *causëles* 150 ; *kyndënes* 747 ; *rekëles* 918 ; *hawëthorn* (O.E. *hagaþorn*) 505 ; of course, *secreënes* 900 ; *secreëli* 365 ; *privëli* 635, 1014 ; *bisëly* 1180 ; further, *richëli* 302 ; always *humbëly*, *humbëli* (as if for *humbëli*) 491, 773, 852, 1017 ; *benignëte* 1296 ; *benignëly* 711, 849 ; *jugëment* 1079 ; *duëte* 800 (for the adjective *duë*, see *ten Brink*, § 239) ; *surëte* 1259 ; *goodëly* 851.

But we have nearly always mekeli: 324, 371, 469, 482, 589, 868, 915, 994, 1084, 1105; mekeli occurs in 1281. Further, nameli 229; softly 371; truli 431 (elsewhere trewely); derknes 401, 1211, 1357; swetnes 403; meknes 76, 621; goodnes 745.

§ 3. *Conjugation.*

I need not dwell on the formation of the tenses of strong and weak verbs, as this is the same in Lydgate as in Chaucer. More important for our purpose are the endings of the verb, with regard to which I wish particularly to elucidate how far they were sounded as distinct syllables or not. I proceed at once to give the endings.

Infinitive in en, e: takē 13; biholdē 34; walkē 42; reportē 43; puttē 52; askē 164; wymēn 177; shapē 195; emēn 205; makēn 236; ledin 239; findē 242, etc. etc. (some sixty or seventy conclusive instances).

But sometimes we have also apocope of the ending: shewē 206; voidē 253; vufoldē (?) *rhyming with* bold 360; repente 500; clere 611; tel 663, 964; come 924; fare 1063; bere 1231, and always have 54, 165, 229, 375, 418, 425, etc. Dissyllables end in e: guerdone 1031; disseuer (: euer) 1314; rekin 91, 579. *u* kept in the rhyme: gon: one 26; gon: allone 548, but se: Penelope 68; se: tre 89; se: Canace 137. So also 233, 269, 302, 309, 612.

Gerund: We have to seinē: compleyne 1325; but also to seinē: again 157. Indecisive is l. 506: to sene, *rhyming with* grene. We have further, to do: so 637; to do: wo 1371.

Indicative Present, first person, ends in ē (l) and e: stondē 689 (infinitive ?); takē (l) 769; axē (?) 800; want or wantē 951? menē or mene 1402? (see note). We certainly have panke 1060, hane 349, 366; and in polysyllables: mervaille 585; trespace 1018.

Second person, in est: Enclynyst 324; Gladest 703; soroist 860; menyst 889. Also est; MS. T even writes tast for takest 602. In rare cases we have the ending *-es*: thow tellys: bellys, *Pilgrimage* 102 b; thow pursues: stewes, *ib.*, fol. 141 a; thow tell[ys]: ellys, *ib.*, 275 b.

Third person in ep (no Umlaut in the stem-syllable): abidēp 222; fallep 231; passēp 252; surmountēp 258; louēp 1292, etc. Also ep in comēp 656; contraction in saith 644, 653, etc.; sleip (: dep) 782; fleith 603; lip 722, 865; sep 862 (the vowel comes from the infinitive); the p of the ending is absorbed in the dental consonant at the end of the stem in forms like: sit 184 (but sittēp 894, 1118); bitt

676; list 297, 314, etc.; stant 890, 1259 (standëþ? 1186); lint 1096; fint 1263.

Besides the usual form in *-eþ*, Lydgate has also the northern form in *-es* (for singular and plural), not very frequently, but more so than Chaucer. So we have in the *Troy-Book* telles : welles G₃e; dawes : wawes M₄d; fyghtes : knyghtes O₂a; endytes : rytes Aa₃a; bytes : rytes Aa₃a; *Falls of Princes* ledes : dedes, fol. 184e; telles : shelles : 192b; disdaynes : mountaines 194a; *Secreta Secretorum* 125a; techys : lechys; *Reason and Sensuality* 207a; obeyes : ydeyes (ideas); tellys : wellys, 214b; *Story of Thebes* leres : baneres, fol. 363c; *Pilgrimage* ordeynys : chaumberleyu[y]s, 35a; espyes : skyes 170a; gouernys : posternys, 181b; thynkes : drynkes 195a; espyes : delycacyes 196a; shyne : wynes 229a; espyes : lyes 265a; shewes : thewes, 275b; pulles : bulles 296a.

Plural in ën, ë: putten 166; lovë 167; passen 393; rejoicë 400; greven 663; knowë 723; witen? 797; causen 1343; bië 1351. Lydgate has also *e* in the rhyme, as the following passage from the *Court of Sapience*, c, b, proves, where the monk says of the dialecticians :

“With sophyms straunge maters they disusse,
And fast they crye oft : ‘tu es Asinus!’”

ist seems always to be a monosyllable, also when in the plural and in personal construction : 478, 482, 868, 983, 1000.

A remnant of the old ending seems to remain in haþ 171. We find this ending occasionally also in the rhyme; so in the *Troy-Book* L₁a : they gothe : wrothe (so also *Pilgrimage*, fol. 52b); they seyth : fleyth, *Pilgrimage*, fol. 101a. As has already been said, Lydgate uses also the northern form *-es* in the Plural: telles : elles *Troy-Book* K₅a and Cc₁e; specifies : fantasies *Story of Thebes*, 363b; duellys : ellys *Reason and Sensuality* 272a; discrines : striues (*noun*), *Falls of Princes* fol. 145b; shewes : thewes, *Pilgrimage* 180b; meu peyntes : seyntes 271b; they lookys : bookys, 272a; telles : elles, 303a; ye tellys : ellys, *ib.* 152a.

Subjunctive, Singular in ë, Plural in ën: þou felë 1178; most likely also þou aracë 894; þou fynë 910; perhaps þou herë 1184; but certainly þou haue 896. *Plural* : ze takën 1124.

Imperative, Singular, second Person, no ending: Lat 1198, 1205; comë 1214; takë 1174. Weak verbs : wisse (O.E. wissa) 637; loke (O.E. lôca) 894; put 891, 1403; rote (?) 1158. Romance words generally seem to have *ë*: voidë 1158; of course, suffrë 1161; auauzte 1172; sue 1180; remue 1182; but Tempest 1157.

Plural, second person, in ëþ: þinkþ 391; Remembrëþ 398; trustëþ 412; doutëþ 426; Fölowþ 511; shapëþ 721; takëþ 808, 976; sufferiþ 812; grauntëþ 1034; latëþ 1140; settëþ 1240. *Eending ëþ*: Comeþ 1272; Hauþ (= Haþ) 714. Moreover, we have *let* 878, 961, 1094, 1177, 1179, 1247, which may be a contraction (see Morris, *Prologue*, p. xxxvii, note *a*); *latëþ* occurs in l. 1140. Dissyllables: guerdone 1139.

Participle Present, in -ing: persing 25; passing 226; Thanking 489 (have we to read Thankingë?), 498; sleping and dremyng 531; Sayyng 700, 1110; Making 939; Singyng 1340; Gladyng 1356; Prayeng 1384. We have certainly to read -ingë in the following lines from the *Pilgrimage*, fol. 166 *b*:

“Travayllyngë [*plural*] nyht & day.”

Ib., fol. 170 *a*: “Remewyngë fro that place.”

also in *R. & S.*, fol. 274 *a*: “Nor the ravysshingë sowus” (*weak form*).

The form in *-ende* (Gower's form) occurs in the rhyme, in *Falls of Princes* 173 *a*: shinend[*e*]: attende: Legende.¹

Verbal noun, ending also in -ing: casting 105, 231; peping 180; bidding 509; cherissling 869; compassyng 871; in -iuyë (!): varynge (: wringë, *inf.*) 216.

Strong Preterit, with Ablaut as in Chaucer; I mention, sey (I saw), rhyming with lay 532, and with assai 694 (cp. *Troil.* II, 1265: say: day). *Plural*: foundë 216; Gunne 1305; always were 47, 181, 199, 210, etc. We read, however, also *gunnë*, in the *Pilgrimage*, fol. 156 *a*:

“And as we wente & gon[në] talke;”

similarly, *ib.*, fol. 284 *b*:

“The dropys gonnë for to glyde;”

and even in the Singular, 2nd person, we have *comë*:

“Off thylke hous thow komë fro,” *Pilgrimage*, fol. 16 *a*;

“Off swych fylthe thow komë nouht,” *ib.*, fol. 147 *b*.

But, again, we have *thow spak* (O.E. þû spræce), rhyming with *lak*, *Pilgrimage*, 177 *a*, and *thow gun* (O.E. gumne), rhyming with *man*, *ib.*, 264 *b*.

Subjunctive: were 161, 605, 660, 679, 1131, 1291; nere 555. But also in *ë*:

“Woldë god yt stoodë so,” *Pilgrimage*, 172 *b*.

Weak Preterit. See *ten Brink*, § 194. *Ends a. in -ël*: lastëd

¹ We have *-ende* also twice in O. Bokenam's *Legends*: lyuende 9, 377; died-ende 12, 252. See Horstmann's *Introduction*, p. xii.

779; departid 781. *Plural*: pleyned 151; loued 157, 163; compleyned 175.

b. in tē, dē, t(e), d(e): þouztē 15, 532, 694; nystē 17; myztē 68, 286, 595, 1021; mostē 61, 341; rouztē 939; mentē 1288; didē 80, 116, 945, 1055, 1233; woldē 591, 847, 893, 1143; sholdē 191, 372; hurtē 813; hadē 316, 578; pastē (?) 1049; eastē (?) 1103. *Plural*: brentē 840; woldē (?) 658, 1017, 1027; eriden 193; wenten 505; mighten 280; myztē 89, 137, 309; pastē (!) 1105. But we have *e* in shuldē 668; woldē 214; coude 409; þouzte 21, 527; mostē 232; wentē 546; felte 788; nyste 1371; made 994; hadē 202, 1372; called(e) 219; kneled(c) 697; woldest 922.

Past Participle. Strong; ends in -en, -e: holpēn 141, 376; foundēn 1090, 1239; chosēn 433;—*in e*: boundē 990; ʒeue 736. Note also sein (O.E. gesegen) 1377; further *done*: mone: sone 395, but *do*: also 903.

Weak, ends in -id: Ioyned 5; foundid 18; falsed 63; Iturned 99, 116; Endurid 171; closid 362; wapied 401, etc. etc. We have makēd 1120, but mad 1091, 1322, 1354.

Polysyllables, with the accent thrown back, end in -ed: Ráu-
ysshed 16; enhúmynd 283; cómpast 1053.

Contractions: knyt 338; put 397; I-hid 793; het (O.E. gehêted) 842; hurt 615, etc. The prefix *I-* is very common, in Teutonic and Romance words: *I-went* 31; *I-blent* 32; *I-slain* 95; *I-sett* 47;—*I-chaced* 31; *I-entred* 201; *I-stellified* 136, etc. etc.

I hope the above examples have made it clear that Lydgate still pronounced the final *e*, or the *e* in unaccented inflexional syllables, in the main as Chaucer, and indeed even Orm, pronounced it. Thus Lydgate decidedly stands in point of language, as in everything else, on the mediæval side of the great gulf that intervenes between Chaucer and the new school of poetry which arose in the 16th century. It is somewhat difficult to ascertain precisely to what extent the dropping of the final *e* gradually made itself felt in the metrical system of that age. Ellis (*On Early English Pronunciation*, I, 405) was inclined to make the time of Caxton the great turning-point as regards pronunciation in general; so far as the dropping of the final *e* in poetry is concerned, my own observations tend to confirm his opinion.¹ Evidently the *e* first gave way in Romance words, and later on in those of Teutonic origin. This gradually led

¹ We have, however, as yet no minute analysis of the versification of Hawes, which might somewhat modify the above-expounded view.

to a phase in the language in which double forms—with mute or sounded *e*—were allowed and used to a great extent in poetry. This is already the case with Chaucer, and even more so with Lydgate and his followers. As we have pointed out above, this state of the language may even, with Lydgate (and Oecliffe), have led to a new metrical type, namely, our type C. After the middle of the 15th century, a time of great confusion in language and metre seems to have followed. The transcripts of the older poets made at that time, and the prints of their works by Caxton and his immediate successors, show palpably that the public of that day had lost all feeling for anything like regular metre. After this period of total decay and anarchy, we see not only how poetry itself, but also the language rises, as if new-born, out of this chaos; in Surrey, for instance, final syllables would be rarely sounded, which are silent in Modern English.

This question of sounding or dropping an *e* at the end of a word may at first sight seem a very insignificant thing; but, in reality, it entails a great change in the whole poetical phraseology. It means that nearly all inflexions lose their syllabic value, that ever so many dissyllabic words become thus monosyllables, and ever so many time-honoured formulae, inherited by one poet from another, become no longer practicable. Lydgate could unhesitatingly take from his master Chaucer any such forms as *the shenē sunnē, the greūē lerēs, smālē foulēs, this yongē lordēs namē, oldē stories tellēn us*; but the new school of poetry, in the 16th century, could not easily adopt such archaic stock-phrases without their jarring on the ear of contemporary readers. Instead of Chaucer's *my greūē yéares*, Surrey has to say *my frēsh green yéars*; instead of Chaucer's *sóotē flóurēs*, Sackville says *sóot frēsh flówers*; and for the dropt two syllables in Chaucer's *smálē fólclēs*, he makes again up by an addition: *smáll fowls flócking*.

Still these examples will show that the difficulty in point of language was in no way so great that it might not be easily overcome by a real genius, who had sufficient originality to strike out a new path for himself. Our Lydgate would not, of course, have been the man to do this, had it been necessary; but, according to our analysis of it, the state of his language did not even call upon him to do so. For, as we have seen, in his language the system of certain allowable double forms still prevailed in the main, and such a system, although it was very detrimental to the smooth flow of Lydgate's verse, would by no means be a hindrance to a true poet and master of form; on the contrary, instead of hampering him, it would only give him greater freedom.

Chaucer uses such double forms, as *force* and *fors*, *cometh* and *comth*, without any injury to the flow and melodiousness of his metre. For a further illustration of this usage of Chaucer and Lydgate, scholars have rightly pointed to the similar state of things in modern German. Thus Goethe would use *Liebe* and *Lieb*, *flehet* and *fleht*, as the metre might require; he even, without hesitation, puts double forms side by side, as in the two beautiful lines from *Faust*:

“Es *regt* sich die Menschenliebe,
Die Liebe Gottes *regt* sich nun.”

Nevertheless, no one would think of taking exception to these lines steeped in perfect melody.

Whilst we must, therefore, make due allowance for the increasing difficulty of creating a new metrical canon, it would nevertheless be wrong to infer that the dreariness of this period in English literature is due only to this state of the language. It is even less possible for us to save our monk's reputation upon the strength of the oft-repeated assertion that this decay was due to the unsettled state of public affairs after Chaucer's death. For the Wars of the Roses did not begin till half a century after Chaucer was laid in his grave, and even between 1400—1450, there is no work of any decided poetical value—except perhaps Lydgate's *Reason and Sensuality*. The wars in France would not have disturbed an English poet much: the Weimar-poets wrote in the midst of the wars against Napoleon, and, indeed, the earlier part of the Anglo-French war, with the Battle of Agincourt, ought certainly to have called forth rather than stifled the poet's voice.

The true explanation of the barrenness of this period in English literature, as in corresponding periods in world-literature in general, is simply that an ebb in the tide of poetical talent had set in. Nature had to rest before she could give birth to the *diva proles* of the Elizabethans. And if a period of almost two hundred years of barrenness may appear of undue length, let us not forget the uniqueness of the race that was to come: it took three full nights to create Heracles.

CHAPTER VII.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE POEM.

I. *Stephen Hawes's supposed Authorship.*

It has been mentioned in the preliminary remarks that the *Temple of Glas* was still a very popular work at the beginning of the 16th

century. Whilst on the one hand Wynken de Worde's, Pynson's and Berthelet's presses issued new editions of it, Lydgate found, at the same time, a most enthusiastic admirer in the person of Stephen Hawes, the author of the *Pastime of Pleasure*, so highly praised—far too highly, I think—by Warton as a forerunner to Spenser. As to Hawes's admiration of Lydgate, we have the recorded evidence of Wood in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, edit. of 1721, vol. I, col. 6¹: (Stephen Hawes was) “highly esteemed by him (*King Henry VII.*) for his facetious Discourse, and prodigious² Memory; which last did evidently appear in this, that he could repeat by Heart most of our *English Poets*; especially *Jo. Lydgate* a Monk of *Bury*, whom he made equal in some Respects with *Geoff. Chaucer*.” But even without this express testimony of Wood, Hawes's own works would speak even more eloquently for his excessive reverence for Lydgate; for there is no opportunity let slip—be the work small or large, be it at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end—to inform us of Lydgate's transcendent accomplishments in poetry and rhetoric. When he thus, in chapter XIV of the *Pastime*, comes to enumerate those who distinguished themselves in poetry, he starts off in an animated panegyric extolling Lydgate above all others as his master *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. But, in this passage, he gives us also something more valuable than his opinion of Lydgate, namely, a list of some of his works, at the end of which he says of the monk :

“and the tyme to passe,
Of love he made the bryght temple of glasse.”
(Edition for the Percy Society, p. 54.)

Even if we had no further external evidence, we should, I think, still be justified in considering the passage quoted from Hawes as a fairly reliable witness to Lydgate's authorship of the *Temple of Glas*. At all events it starts us in the right direction for settling this question.

But curiously enough, on the other hand a tradition has sprung up which would make the author of the *Temple of Glas* this very Stephen Hawes, who, as clearly and expressly as possible, tells us that the poem was written by Lydgate. We first meet with it in the *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytannię Catalogus*, by John Bale,

¹ Almost literally repeated in Lewis, *Life of Cuxton*, 1737, p. 103, note t; see also *Warton-Hazlitt* III, 170.

² This is, I think, a most appropriate epithet for a memory that can retain Lydgate, especially those long-winded productions where he says the same thing a hundred times over. But what an idea, to learn Lydgate by heart!

the well-known theologian, historian of literature, and dramatic writer. In the edition of 1557—1559, printed at Basle, on page 632, under "Centuria octava," No. LVIII, a "Templum crystallinum" in one book is ascribed to Hawes. The same error is, later on, also found in John Pits, *Relationum historicarum de Rebus Anglicis Tomus primus*, Parisiis 1619, cap. 903 (under the year 1500). Hence, in both Bale and Pits, the *Temple of Glas* is wanting in their long catalogue of Lydgate's writings (Bale, p. 586 and 587; Pits, cap. 820), and the same omission naturally occurs in other works which derive their information from these sources. So Ghilini, in his *Teatro d'Humorini Letterati*, Venice 1647, vol. II, 130, rests his evidence on Pits, and, in his turn, at least in his list of works, serves as an authority to Papadopoli *Historia gymnasii Patavini*, Venetiis 1726 (vol. II, 165): both these also omit the *Temple of Glas* in their lists of Lydgate's works. In the same manner, our poem is passed over in silence by the Bishop Josephus Pamphilus, in his *Chronica ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum sancti Augustini*, Romae 1581, p. 88¹; by Winstanley, *The Lives of the most famous English Poets*, 1687, pp. 33—37; in Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* (1738), XVII, 944; in J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infimæ Ætatis* (1754), IV, 95, and in Joecher's *Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 1750 (all dependent on Bale or Pits).

To return to positive evidence, we again find Hawes expressly stated to be the author in Wood's *Athene Oxonienses*. In the edition of 1721, vol. I, col. 6, a work with the title *The Crystalline Temple*, is ascribed to Hawes, a title which betrays at once that it was taken from Bale's or Pits's Latin. Somewhat later, however, than the testimonies of Bale, Pits, and Wood, an entry in Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, first edition, 1749, gave a fresh start to this

¹ Pamphilus makes Lydgate an Augustine monk (an error repeated in Edward Phillips, *Theatrum poetarum*, 1675, p. 113 of the Modern Division—another of Phillips's "flagrant inaccuracies" spoken of by Dyce); he, moreover, gives 1482 as the year of Lydgate's death, for which he is duly censured by Pits. This, I conjecture, may have originated in a confusion of the Benedictine John Lydgate, Monk of Bury, with the Augustine John of Bury (born at Bury), who, according to Bale (centuria octava, No. XX, p. 595), flourished about 1460. The Augustine is also mentioned in Fuller's *Worthies of England*, 1662, under Suffolk, p. 69. Leland, in his *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, Oxonii 1709, p. 448, treats in Cap. DXLV of a "Joannes à fano Edmundi, Carmelita Gippovicanus," a commentator of St. Luke's gospel, who seems to be identical with Bale's Ioannes Bury. A book by Philip Elsius, with the title *Encomiasticum Augustinianum*, Brussels 1654, quoted by Zedler and Fabricius as an authority on Lydgate, and criticized by Labbé, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, Paris 1661, p. 142, has not been available to me.

erroneous theory of Hawes's authorship. In that work, on p. 86, the following print is mentioned as having been brought out by Wynken de Worde :

1500. Here bygenneth the temple of Glas, wrote by Stephen Hawes grome of the chamber to king Henry VII. It contains 27 leaves in Octavo.

This passage in the first edition of Ames is surrounded by a whole labyrinth of misunderstandings in the various editions of Warton, Ames, and Wood. For Warton (*Hist. of English Poetry*, 1778, vol. II, p. 211, note h) believed that the words printed in italics, in the above quotation from Ames, were included in the title of Wynken de Worde's edition, which, of course, is not the case. The words in italics merely express Ames's individual opinion with respect to the authorship; his authority might have been Bale, Pits, or perhaps Wood, unless, indeed, Herbert (1, 195) is right, according to whom Ames may easily have derived the statement in question from a written notice in a copy of one of Wynken de Worde's prints, then in the possession of James West (afterwards of Mason and Heber), to whose library Ames had access.

Ames gives the date of the print in question as 1500, so that the book would have come out in Hawes's life-time. Now it seemed unlikely to Warton—labouring as he was under the afore-mentioned delusion and having, moreover, Bale's testimony before him—that a poem, not from Hawes's pen, should have been published, by a contemporary printer, with his name prefixed to it. This argument would not seem, in itself, very strong, and it is all the more curious that Warton should have decided for Hawes's authorship, as he was confronted by the above-quoted passage, in which the latter himself attributes it to Lydgate.¹ As Warton's opinion that Hawes's name was put on a title-page of the *Temple of Glas*, is not borne out by an examination of the three existing prints by Wynken de Worde—one of them, most likely W, we may fairly assume to have been of the same impression as West's copy used by Ames—not a vestige of rational support from this quarter is left for Hawes's authorship.

Unfortunately, the discussion of these arguments spread from Warton to the later editions of Ames by Herbert and Dibdin—controversies about the various prints by Caxton and Wynken de Worde making matters still worse—and thence the theory of Hawes's author-

¹ And also by Speght's authority (going back to Stowe?), see section II of this chapter.

ship found its way into innumerable other works. To disentangle the details of this confusion, and to assign to each of the combatants his exact share of right and wrong in this maze of arguments and refutations, would be a task of some length and difficulty, and would certainly avail nothing for our purpose, as the matter is, without all this, so conspicuously clear. With respect to the typographical part, the best course to pursue appeared to me to give a clear and full description of the prints known to me, and with respect to the authorship, the following pages will establish Lydgate's claim beyond any doubt.

Some of the handbooks, encyclopædias, etc., which give Hawes as the author, are enumerated in the following list. They are, of course, of no authority whatever, being all more or less mechanically copied from Warton or others of the authorities mentioned.

S. Paterson, *Bibliotheca Westiana*, No. 1684; **Edward Phillips**, *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum*, 1800 (dependent on Warton); **G. Ellis**, *Specimens of the early English Poets*, 1811, I, 416; **Chalmers**, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1814; **R. Watt**, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824, I, 475c; **J. Gorton**, *General Biographical Dictionary*, 1851; **Alex. Buechner**, *Geschichte der englischen Poesie*, 1855, I, 56, and *Abriss der engl. Litteratur-geschichte*, 1856, p. 10 (dependent on Warton); **H. J. Rose**, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1857; *Biographie Universelle* (Michaud) 1857; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 1858; **Allibone**, *Dictionary of English Literature*, 1859; **Larousse**, *Dictionnaire du 19^e siècle*, 1873; **Maunder-Cates**, *The Biographical Treasury*, 1873; **Th. Cooper**, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1873.

Also in the Catalogue of the Tanner-MSS. in the Bodleian, by **Hackman**, 1860, under No. 346, Hawes is given as the author, probably from the notice in the index of the Tanner-MS. 346, where Pits is quoted as the source (see Chapter II, § 1). Other writers have wisely preferred silence on the subject, considering its uncertainty; thus the *Temple of Glas* is not mentioned in the articles on Lydgate and Hawes in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. **W. D. Adams's Dictionary of English Literature** valiantly attempts to be impartial, assigning it severally to either, neither or both; see articles Hawes, Lydgate, Temple of Glas.¹ The most distorted account of our poem, however, is given in **Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædie** (1828), under article Hawes, where it is stated that Hawes's *Temple of Glas* is meant as a parody of Chaucer's *Temple of Fame! Crabbs* (sic) *Dictionary* is given as the source, where, however, the last monstrosity is not to be found.²

We must, however, not omit to repeat here that the *Temple of Glas* was hitherto not easily accessible, a circumstance which makes the repetition of such a glaring error made over and over again, for a

¹ Hazlitt also, in his Handbook (1867), seems to have been uncertain about the authorship; as he gives an account of our print W under *Lydgate*, I at first overlooked the fact that he had already noticed our prints C, p, w, b under Hawes.

² There are several dictionaries by George Crabbe; a *Universal Technological Dictionary*, 1823; a *Universal Historical Dictionary*, 1825; and *A Dictionary of General Knowledge*, 1830 (and later). As the article in *Ersch and Gruber* came out in 1828, the second must be meant.

whole century and more, at least excusable. For even those who were willing enough to get their information first-hand, must often have found no other text available, except the extracts in Warton. These, as has been mentioned, were taken from the last and worst print, that by Berthelet; their language in its modernized form much resembled Hawes's, and the metre seemed to be very much the same as that of the *Pastime of Pleasure*, namely, to all appearance, there was often none at all.

II. The Supporters of Lydgate's claim.

But, on the other hand, there have always been scholars who rightly assigned the *Temple of Glas* to Lydgate. Such is the case in Speght's edition of *Chaucer*, 1598, fol. 394 *b*, col. 2, l. 16 (ed. of 1602, fol. 376 *b*, col. 2, l. 13), where we find *The temple of Glasse* in the "Catalogue of translations and Poeticall deuises . . . by Iohn Lidgate . . . whereof some are extant in Print, the residue in the custodie of him that first caused this *Siege of Thebes* to be added to these works of *G. Chaucer*" [*i. e.* Stowe]. Speght's testimony is thus all the more valuable as evidently going back to Stowe.

Further, John Lewis, in his *Life of Carton*, 1737, p. 104, calls Lydgate the author;¹ also Th. Tanner, in his *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 1748, p. 491, ascribes a *Temple of glasse* to Lydgate in the long list of his works, and so does, on his authority (?), Berkenhout, in the *Biographia Literaria*, 1777, p. 318. Even the very same Ames, who wrought such havoc by the above-quoted passage (*Typ. Ant.*, p. 86), calls in the self-same work, on p. 61, Lydgate the author; so does also Ritson in his *Bibliographia poetica*, 1802, p. 68 (No. 10 of Lydgate's works); see *ib.* p. 59. A fact which spoke strongly against Hawes's authorship, seems to have first been pointed out by George Mason, in an entry in his copy of a print by Wynken, quoted by Dibdin II, 305, note at the bottom, and Warton-Hazlitt III, 61, end of note; after Mason, Hallam spoke of it again in his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, 4th ed. 1854, I, 311. The fact was this, that the *Temple of Glas* is mentioned in the *Paston Letters*, as early as February 17th, 1471-72, when Hawes was pro-

¹ A still earlier writer on typography, C. Middleton, does not give, in his meagre account of the Cambridge Collection, any author's name for the *Temple of Glas*; he most likely knew little concerning the authors of the pieces in question. See his *Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England*, 1735, p. 29.

bably not yet hom.¹ The passage in question occurs in a letter from John Paston, Knight, to Johan Paston, Esquier, where it runs (John Fenn's edition, vol. II, p. 90, Gairdner's edition, III, 37): "Brother, I comande me to yow, and praye yow to loke uppe my temple off Glasse and send it me by the berer herof."

In the footnote to the above quotation Fenn also hesitates between Lydgate and Hawes as author; Gairdner gives Lydgate alone. Cf. also Gairdner III, 300 (Fenn II, 300), where, in the *Inventory off John Paston's Books*, mention is made of "a blak Boke," which contained, amongst other pieces, the *Temple of Glasse*. The argument against Hawes's authorship, contained in this passage from the *Paston Letters*, will, indeed, be rendered superfluous by older evidence adduced in section III of this chapter; nevertheless, the passage is valuable as giving further proof that, some seventy years after its composition, the *Temple of Glas* was still read, a fact still more strongly testified to by Caxton printing it seven or eight years later.

In more recent times there has hardly been a scholar of note who, deluded by Warton or Ames, has stuck to the impossible theory of Hawes's authorship. Thus Lydgate has been restored to his rights in the re-edition of *Warton* by Hazlitt (III, 61), and besides this, I may be allowed to point to a few other works, in all of which Lydgate is held to be the author:

Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, I, 311; **Collier**, *Bibliographical Account* I, 367; David **Laing**, *Hawes's Conversion of Swerers*, etc., Preface, p. IV; J. F. **Waller's Imperial Dictionary**, which expressly contradicts Warton; **Klein**, *Geschichte des Decans* XII, 691; **Lowndes**, ed. Bohn III, 1419; H. **Morley**, *English Writers* II, 433 note; Mrs. **Browning**, *Book of the Poets*, 1863, p. 123; H. M. **Fitzgibbon**, *Early English Poetry*, p. xxxii, and xxxvii; **Skeat**, *Chaucer's Minor Poems*, in several places; J. **Churton Collins**, in T. H. Ward's *English Poets* I, 175; **Chambers's Encyclopædia**, 1890, article Lydgate; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1891, article Hawes.

III. *Lydgate's Authorship established.*

There still remains external evidence of a yet more decisive character for Lydgate's authorship. For we are not disappointed, if we look for evidence of the oldest and most authentic kind in that quarter where we should most naturally expect to find it. I mean the Manuscripts. There are, indeed, only two of all the seven MSS. which give the name of an author, namely, Fairfax 16, and Shirley's Add. MS. 16,165; but in both cases we have the good fortune to

¹ The poem is also mentioned in a list of the contents of a MS. of the Marquis of Bath, ab. 1460 A.D.—F.

know the hand that assigns the poem to our monk. In MS. F the author's name does not occur in the handwriting of the copyist of the poem itself; but the name "lidgate" is added to the respective item, in the table of contents, by the same hand that supplied the missing ll. 96 and 320 and some other corrections in F, namely, that of John Stowe (about 1560).

Further, in the second MS., we have Lydgate's name given several times in a handwriting which is even some hundred years older, namely in Shirley's. In his Add. MS. 16,165, the name of the author stands in the title (see Chapter II, § 6) as "Lidegate. Le Moygne de Bury"; in the headlines: on fol. 207 *a* as "daun John," on fol. 231 *a* as "þe Munke of Bury," on fol. 232 *a* as "Lidegate"; lastly on fol. 212 *a* the name is added to the headline, so that this latter runs as follows: "þe dreme of A lover *calde þe Temple of glasse by Lydegate*" (the part in italics added later). The handwriting in the two additions on fol. 207 *a* and 212 *a* differs¹ somewhat from that of the text itself; in the other passages it is undoubtedly Shirley's own. But there is yet another passage in this MS., unquestionably written by Shirley himself, which may afford still further proof for Lydgate's authorship of our poem. It is the identical passage which Skeat, Chaucer's *M. P.*, pp. xlv and xxxiii, note 3, takes as a proof that the monk was author of the *Black Knight*. Shirley has added to this MS. a prologue of 104 lines in verse, written upon two leaves of parchment at the beginning, which describe the contents of the volume. The order of the pieces in the MS. is: 1. Chaucer's translation of Boethius; 2. The gospel of Nicodemus (translated by John Trevisa); 3. þe desporte of huntung (or "maistre of the game"), by Edward, Duke of York; 4. A Complaynte of an Amorous Knight [= *Black Knight*]; 5. Regula sacerdotalis; 6. The Dreme of a trewe lover [= *Temple of Glas*]; 7. Compleint of Anelida; lastly, a number of smaller poems. These Shirley, in the above-mentioned versified prologue to his MS., enumerates in the following order: Boethius (ll. 25—34); Gospel of Nicodemus (ll. 35—44); Maistre of the game (ll. 45—61); then the Regula sacerdotalis (ll. 61—71), thus omitting No. 4 (the "black Knight"); after this he has (fol. 3 *a*):

"þanne and ye wol þe wryting suwe, 72
Shul ye fynde wryten of a knyght,
þat serued his soueraine lady bright,

¹ Also noted by Dr. Furnivall, *Suppl. Par. Texts of Ch. M. P.*, p. 46.

As done þees louers Amerous,	
Whos lyff is oft seen parillous,	76
Askeþe of hem, þat haue hit used—	
A dieux Toenesse, I am refused—	
Whos complaynt is al in balade,	
þat Daun Iohan of Bury made,	80
<i>Lydgate</i> , þe Munk cloped in blacke—	
In his makyng þer is no lacke—	
And thankeþe Daun Iohan for his peyne,	
þat to plesse gentyles is right feyne,	84
Boþe with his laboure, and his goode :	
God wolde, of nobles he hade ful his hoode.” ¹	

The order of sequence points decidedly to the *Temple of Glas* (comp. l. 72 above); moreover, considering the length of the poem as given in Shirley's text (some 2000 lines, against 681 of the *Black Knight*), it is little likely that our poem should have been passed over. Lastly, to this "poetical" table of contents is added, at the top of the first page, a short summary, in which No. 4 is called *þe drewe for lovers* (*Black Knight*), No. 5 *þe Ryule of preestis*, No. 6 *þe complaynt of a lover* (*Temple of Glas*), which latter expression is quite in accordance with l. 79 above. I do not mean, however, to deny altogether the possibility that the *Black Knight* may have been in Shirley's mind when he wrote the passage in question; the expression *al in balade* [*i. e.* in seven-line stanzas], in l. 79, would especially hold good for that poem, and the above lines certainly give but an inadequate idea of the *Temple of Glas*. Be this as it may, we have at all events Shirley's sure testimony for Lydgate's authorship, not only of the *Temple of Glas*, as specified above, but also for the *Black Knight*. For Lydgate's name has, in the latter poem also, twice (on fol. 192 *a* and 193 *a*) been added to the headline; it stands in the title, on fol. 190 *a* (bottom), and on fol. 200 *b* we have as running title: *Lenwoye of daun Iohn*.

To sum up: 1. *Hawes cannot be the author*. One is seldom able to refute an error more completely than this theory of Hawes's authorship. For first, it has been shown that Warton's advancement of this hypothesis was based on a misunderstanding of Ames. Secondly, if, in favour of Hawes, Bale's or Pits's authority be brought forward,

¹ May we conclude, from ll. 83—86, that Lydgate was still living, when Shirley wrote this? Shirley died on Oct. 24, 1456, aged 90, see Stowe's *Survey of London*, ed. Thoms, 1876, p. 140. "John Shirley wrat in þy tyme of John Lydgate in his lyffe tyme," says Stowe in Add. MS. 29,729, fol. 179 *a*. Stopford Brooke, in his excellent little Primer, p. 55, gives 1449 (which seems to be wrong) as the date of the death of Shirley, whom he has honoured far too highly in mentioning him twice, whilst, for instance, some of the pre-Shaksperian dramatists are barely named.

our answer is that there is a MS. of the *Temple of Glas*, Tanner 346, which is a hundred years older than Hawes's principal work. Thirdly, if doubts should be raised respecting the age of the MS., we have the express statement of Hawes himself, who ascribes the poem to his admired master. 2. *Lydgate must be the author.* For, by way of external evidence, we have the witness of three reliable authorities who all call him so, namely Shirley, about 1440 or 1450, Hawes, about 1506, and Stowe, about 1560. The internal evidence is equally convincing. First, the testimony of language and metre. There are unfortunately as yet no special treatises on Lydgate's language and metre, and, indeed, to undertake such a thing would be premature, before we have some more critical editions of his works. But, after the preliminary researches in Chapters V and VI, we may say as much as that the language of our poem is quite in accordance with the more prominent peculiarities of Lydgate's. Thus there is a slight advance in the disregard of the final *e* beyond Chaucer: we have in our poem specimens of the confusion of *-as* and *-ace* rhymes (not however of *-y* and *-ie* rhymes, as in the *Black Knight*, to give an instance of one of his earlier poems); also the Teutonic words *some*, *none*, and *don* (p. p.), rhyme with each other.—The treatment of the final *e* in general, is altogether the same as in other recognized works of Lydgate, so far as I have been able to investigate the subject. We have also another outspoken peculiarity of Lydgate's in our poem, namely, that he rhymes words in *-ere* with those in *-ire*, as has been noted by others in more than one place. See, on this matter, Chapters V and VI.

The best account of Lydgate's metre, and the most successful in its results, seems to me to be contained in Prof. Schipper's *Englische Metrik*. The unmistakable characteristics of the verses of our monk exhibit themselves throughout the *Temple of Glas*.¹ See Chapter V.

Lydgate's style is justly denounced as being intolerably drawled-out, incompact, and full of anacolutha; and although the greater part of the *Temple of Glas* may, on the whole, be superior to his lengthy works, yet the Lydgateian "drivelling"² long-windedness is not to be mistaken in the speeches of our poem.

Ample examples have been given in the notes illustrating some

¹ I would here note that I had myself, in every respect, arrived at the same conclusions before consulting Schipper's book. I merely make note of this in order to corroborate the distinguished scholar's statements.

² For this expression, which so exactly hits the right nail upon the head, I am indebted to Ritson, with whom, however, I have a bone to pick by and by.

of Lydgate's favourite expressions and ideas; thus his pen quakes, when he has to "endite of wo," l. 947; thus he invokes the Furies, instead of the Muses, when he has to relate something dreadful (l. 958); the lady with hair "like gold-wire" is not wanting, and at the end, in the Envoy, he has not omitted his favourite request to "correct" his poem, if "any thing be missaid in it."

Lastly, the entire atmosphere of the poem, the framework of a vision, the allegories, the whole range of ideas, and the *motifs* borrowed from Chaucer, Gower, the "Roman de la Rose" etc., are essentially the same as in several of the monk's earlier works, particularly the *Complaint of the Black Knight*, the *Flour of Cartesie*, and his hitherto almost unnoticed best work, *Reason and Sensuality*.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRONOLOGY OF LYDGATE'S WRITINGS.

"For myne wordes here and every parte,
I speke hem alle under correccion."—*Troilus*, III, 1282, 1283.

§ 1. *Lydgate's Life.*

THE exact dates forming the boundary-lines of Lydgate's life have never been precisely made out; nor can we affix a certain date to the greater number of his works. Still there is in his case comparatively less ground for complaint than in other instances, with regard to the scantiness of information accessible to us; for it has been at least possible to fix approximately the dates of the longer writings of Lydgate's second period, and no doubt, after a careful collection and investigation of the materials extant, many more points connected with chronological questions will be brought to light.

It is in view of assigning to the *Temple of Glas* its proper place amongst Lydgate's other writings, and also, I hope, of offering some help to the investigator of particular works of the monk's, that I here attempt a rough outline of his life and his most important works, in chronological order—with great mistrust in more than one point, I confess, and always "under correccioun."

We knew that the monk was born at Lydgate¹ (near Newmarket),

¹ *Falls of Princes*, fol. 217 d :

"Borne in a village which called is Lidgate,
By olde tyme a famous castel towne;
In Danes tyme it was beat[e] dome,
Tyme whax saint Edmund, martir, maid, & king
Was slaine at Oxone, record of writynge."

ib., 176 d :

"I was borne in Lydgate,
Where Bacchus lieour doth ful seaisly bete."

Æsop, Prol. 32 : "Have me excused, I was born in Lydegate."

whence he derived his name. But there has been much dispute as to the year of his birth. Bale says of him (*Catalogus*, 1557, p. 587): “*Claruit sexagenarius, anno . . . 1440.*”¹ Pits, “*illius pro more exscriptor,*” makes of this (cap. 820): “*(Burie tandem) circiter sexagenarius mortuus & sepultus est circa annum . . . 1440*”, adding in brackets: “*malè etenim vitam eius producit Iosephus Pamphilus vsque ad annum Domini 1482.*”

This censure is well-deserved by Pamphilus, who seems to confuse Lydgate with the Augustinian (or Ipswich Carmelite?) John of Bury, as has been remarked above in the footnote on page lxxvii. The exact words of Pamphilus concerning Lydgate are (*Chronica ordinis fratrum sancti Augustini*, p. 88): “*Claruit Burie, vbi tandem decessit, anno, 1482.*” This date has also been wrongly defended in the *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.* No. 2251, Article 3, on the grounds that a stanza on King Edward IV. is, in that MS., added to Lydgate's stanzas on the Lives of the English Kings. Again, Ghilini, dependent on Pits, says: “*Finalmente nell' età di 60. anni, passò all' altra vita nel suo Monasterio di Sant' Edmondo, circa l' Anno 1440*” (Teatro d' Huomini Letterati, II, 131), and Papadopoli, following him, has: “*Decessit in patria an. MCDXL. aetat. LX*” (*Historia Gymnasii Patavini*, II, 165). Papadopoli had evidently well mastered the first rules of arithmetic; for, from Ghilini's evidence, he has been able to make out the date of Lydgate's birth, which he is the first to state expressly as 1380. This year, however, is certainly too late. It has since been concluded from more than one reason that the monk must have been born some ten years earlier.

The facts which are of first importance to us in attempting to settle this much disputed point, are contained in the extracts from certain MSS. quoted by Tanner in his *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 489. The dates we gather from these extracts, are the following:

March 13th, 1388 (I suppose 1389, according to the new style): “*fr[at]er Joh[annes] Lidgate monachus de Bury ord[inatus] ad omnes ordines in ecclesia de Hadham.*”

This entry is from the register of Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London from 1381—1404; it certainly has reference to the four minor ecclesiastical orders. The next three entries, which I have had the opportunity of examining myself, are contained in MS.

¹ In the first edition, however (1548, folio 203 *a*), Bale wrote: “*Claruit ab incarnato Dei uerbo, 1470. sub rege Edwardo quarto.*”

Cotton Tib. B. ix, the register of William Cratfield, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds from 1389—1414. According to them, the young monk of Bury received letters dismissory for the office of subdeacon on [Dec. ?]¹ 17th, 1389 (Cotton Tib. B. ix, fol. 35 *b*); for that of deacon on May 28th, 1393 (*ib.*, fol. 69 *b*); for the order of priesthood on April 4th, 1397 (*ib.*, fol. 85 *b*). According to a MS.-note² in Tyrwhitt's copy of Wayland's *Falls of Princes* (now in the British Museum, marked 838. m. 17), Lydgate was ordained priest by John Fordham, Bishop of Ely, on Saturday, April 7th, 1397, in the chapel of the manor at Dounham.

From these dates it has been reasoned backwards that Lydgate must have been born about 1370. So by Ward, *Catalogue of the Romances in the British Museum*, I, 75, and by H. Morley, *English Writers*, II, 421. Taine, *Life of our Lady*, p. III, and Th. Arnold, *A Manual of English Literature*, 6th ed., p. 134, conclude the date to be 1368; but this date does not agree so well with certain allusions to his age made by Lydgate himself in several of his works, allusions which will be discussed in full below.

Nothing seems to be known about his family,³ or as to how he came from his native village of Lydgate to the Monastery of Bury St. Edmunds. Papadopoli, indeed, has: "A puero Monasticam D. Benedicti regulam professus est, primasque literas didicit in cenobio," which is not unlikely at all; but, in Papadopoli, this statement seems merely to be a guess, and not drawn from any older reliable authority.

If I interpret the passages in Lydgate's *Testament* rightly, this poem would seem to warrant the conclusion that he was received into the monastery as a "child," "within 15 yeares age," although the lines in question are not very clearly put. He says that

¹ The month is wanting in the MS., owing to its being much damaged by fire. Tanner has December. The date immediately preceding in the MS. is Oct. 26th, 1389.

² Printed in A. Hortis, *Studi sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, p. 641, note 2, not always quite correctly. It runs as follows: "Frater Iohannes Lydgate Monachus de Bury, ordinatus Presbiter per Iohannem Fordham Episcopum Eliensem in Capella magni Manerii de Dounham, die Sabat. 7^o April. 1397." The passage professes to be transcribed from a Register of Bishop Fordham of Ely, which was in 1728 in the hands of "Wfrancis¹ Blomfield de ffersfield."

³ In his *Testament* (*Halliwell*, p. 255) he says of himself (speaking of his school-days):

"Made my freendys ther good to spende in ydyl";

and, further on, p. 256:

"Snybhyd of my frendys such techelys for fawnde,
Made delle ere, lyst nat to them attende."

“Duryng the tyme . . . of my yeerys greene,
Gynnyng fro childhooð stretchithe up so fere,
To the yeerys accountyd ful fifteene,”

he was a naughty, mischievous boy, “loth toward seole,” “straunge to spelle or reede”; then he tells us that he entered the monastery as a novice:

“Entryng this tyme into religioun,
Unto the plouhe I putte forth myn hoond,¹
A yeer'complect made my profession;”

but he did not like much to follow “blessed Benet's doctrine,”

“Which now remembryng in my latter age,
Tyme of my childhooð, as I reherse shal,
Witheyne fifteene holdyng my passage,
Mid of a cloistre depiet upon a wal
I saulhe a crucifix.”

This would go very well with *Temple of Glas*, ll. 196, etc. I believe that Lydgate was certainly thinking of himself when he wrote those lines, and that he also was “entered in childhood into religion before he had years of discretion.” Certain is that in the extracts referred to above, the dates of which range from 1388 to 1397, Lydgate is always called a “monachus de Bury.”

Besides the instruction which he would thus have received during a considerable number of years in the monastery, Lydgate seems to have enjoyed the benefit of a University education. Bale says of the monk in his *Catalogus*, p. 586:

“Didici tamen, post perlustratas Anglorum academiis, Galliam & Italian, discendarum linguarum gratia, petijisse illum.”

His statement, which I do not consider very trustworthy in itself, is, so far as Oxford is concerned, corroborated by an entry in MS. Ashmole 59, where we have, on fol. 24 *b*, in Shirley's handwriting, the following title to part of Lydgate's *Æsop*:

“Here begynneþe . a notable proverbe of Ysopus Ethiopyen in balad . by Daun Iohan Liedegate made in Oxenford.”

Of course, it does not follow from this passage that Lydgate was then studying at Oxford, as a member of the University; still, I think, this would be the most natural interpretation.² According to Tame,

¹ This expression, taken from the Bible, occurs also in the *Pilgrimage*, fol. 296 *b*:

“I sette myn hand vnto the plough.”

² Is it a grateful reminiscence of Oxford, when he, in his old age, writes in the *Secreta Secretorum* (MS. Ashmole 46, fol. 123 *b*):

“As the somme shewyth in his guyse
Mong smale sterys with his beemys bryght,
Right so in the same maneer wyse
An vninosite shewith out his lyght,
In a kyndoom, as it shulde be of ryght”?

But see also his verses on the foundation of the town and University of Cambridge, printed in the *Retrospective Review*, 2nd series, vol. I, p. 498.

Lydgate would then have been attached to Gloucester Hall, where the Benedictines used to send their pupils.

After finishing his academic studies in his native country, a tradition, repeated from Bale downwards, supposes Lydgate to have travelled abroad and studied in France and Italy. That the monk was at one time at Paris, we shall see presently; but whether he was there in his youth, for the purpose of study, seems doubtful enough. His translation of Deguileville's *First Pilgrimage* would have afforded him an opportunity of showing off his knowledge of Paris University-life; but in the passage in question he adds hardly anything of his own to Deguileville's words. The original reads (Barthole and Petit's print, fol. 50 *b*):

“Car se aux escolles a paris
Anoit par quarante ans apris
Ung poure / qui mal vestu fust” . . .

Lydgate translates (Cott. Vit. C. XIII, fol. 176 *a*):

“Thogh a man wer neuere so wys,
And hadde lernyd at parys,
Thys thrytty yer at scole he
In that noble vnyuersyte,
And hadde ful experyence
Of enery wysdum & seyence,
& koude exponen enery doute,
And wer but porely clad *with-out*e” . . .

It is even more doubtful whether he was ever in Italy. Papadopoli, *Historia gymnasii Patavini*, II, 165, has: “Joannes Ligdat (*sic*) unus est ex antiquissimis alumniis Patavini lycei. Ejus in monumentis gymnasticis vix obiter semel mentio est, memoratur attamen à Ghilino, ut diurnus hospes Patavii.” I wish Papadopoli had given in full the reference he alludes to from the “monumenta gymnastica,” instead of quoting Ghilini.—Or is it a mere creation of his own imagination? “Vix obiter semel” is a very suspicious expression.¹

In one of his poems in MS. Harl. 2255 (fol. 148 *a*–150 *a*)—the genuineness of it is vouched for by the “*Explicit quod Lydgate*” of the MS.—Lydgate says:

“I haue been offte in dyvers londys
And in many dyvers Regionys,
Haue eskapyd fro my foos hondys,
In Citees, Castellys, and in townys;
Among folk of sundry nacionys
Wente ay forth, and took noon hede;
I askyd no manere of proteccionys;
God was myn helpe ageyn al drede.”²

¹ In Jacopo Facciolati's *Festi Gymnasii Patavini*, Patavii 1757, I do not find Lydgate's name.

² Also printed by Tame, *Life of our Lady*, p. viii.

The first line of this stanza is quoted in Warton-Hazlitt (III, 53, note 2), and again referred to by Koepfel, *Falls of Princes*, p. 76. It is, however, not the first line of the whole poem, as Koepfel was led to suppose from Warton-Hazlitt, but it stands in the middle of it (MS. Harl. 2255, fol. 149 *a*, top). The last line, as given above, forms, with slight variations, the refrain throughout the poem, which is, in fact, an illustration of this burden. We cannot draw much in the way of a definite conclusion from these lines.

The last support which I can bring forward for the hypothesis that Lydgate was ever in Italy, is contained in the following passage from Papadopoli, *Historia Gymnasii Patavini*, II. 165, in which the author expresses his belief that a certain *Joannes Anglus*, mentioned by Salomoni, must be identical with our John Lydgate, not with Duns Scotus, as Salomoni had imagined. Papadopoli says of Lydgate:—
 “nec alius sit à Joanne Anglo, quem à se in antiquissimis quibusdam albis Salomonius inventum, notatumque scribit, ac vir bonus Joannem Scotum principem Scotistarum existimavit: cum nedum patria, quæ Scoto Caledonia, Anglo Anglia, & Ordo sacre Familiae, quæ Anglo Benedictina, Scoto Franciscana fuit, alterum ab altero discriminant, sed etiam ætas, quæ Scoto annum MCCCVIII. emortualem præstituit, natalem Anglo MCCCLXXX.”

I do not know whether Papadopoli refers to Giacomo Salomoni's *Agri Patavini inscriptiones sacre et profane*, Patavii 1696—1708; I certainly have not been able to find the reference in this work. With regard to the question before us, everything depends upon whether this *Joannes Anglus* was stated by Salomoni himself, on the authority of old documents, to be a Benedictine, born in 1380. I am hardly inclined to believe it; the documents would scarcely have given the wrong date, 1380, for Lydgate's birth, which was suggested to Papadopoli by the statements of his principal authority, Ghilini. If Salomoni himself does not call this *Joannes Anglus* a Benedictine, born in 1380, I should then prefer to believe that his *Joannes Anglus* might have been some other Englishman, perhaps the distinguished Earl of Worcester, John Tiptoft (executed in 1470), who, according to *Warton-Hazlitt*, III, 337, note 1, occupied a professorship at Padua for some time. As I know of no further evidence which could supply us with information concerning this period of Lydgate's life, I am inclined to acquiesce in Koepfel's opinion concerning the monk's relations to Italy (*Falls of Princes*, p. 82), namely, that he was never in the country, and knew nothing of its literature in the *lingua vulgare*.

Of our monk's successive advances in the priestly office we have spoken above. From 1397 to 1415 we lose sight of him and his outward life, nor do we know, with one exception, a precise and certain date for any of his writings before the *Troy-Book*. Bale, followed by Pits, Ghilini, Papadopoli, Fuller, Winstanley, etc., says that after returning from his travels and studies abroad Lydgate opened a school for the sons of noblemen; later writers (from Warton downwards) have made this school to be in the monastery of Bury, others (Berkenhout, copied by Burrowes's *Encyclopædia*) in London. However that may be, it seems to me not unlikely that, about this time, Lydgate was in London. He evidently knew London-life very well from his own experience, a fact which would be amply proved by his *London Lick-penny* alone.¹ — *Q₁ 2*

Whether Lydgate knew Chaucer personally, can, I think, neither be proved satisfactorily, nor entirely disproved. On the one hand he frequently mentions Chaucer, as the note to l. 110 will show, usually with the epithet "my maister." In the *Troy-Book*, 1513, fol. N₃ a, we read :

" And Chaunceer now, alas, is nat alyue,
Me to refourme, or to be my rede,
For lacke of whom slower is my spede " ;

in the *Life of our Lady*, fol. e; b :

" For want of hym now in my grete nede,
That shold, allas, coneye and dyrecte,
And with his supporte amende and correcte
The wronge traces of my rude penne,
There as I erre and goo not lyne right ;
But for that² he ne may me not kenne,
I can nomore " . . . (but pray for him).

Chort and Bird is dedicated to his "maister," who, I suppose, can hardly be anybody else but Chaucer, with the following lines :

" Go, gentille quayer! and recommaunde me
Unto my maister with humble affecciou³ ;
Beseke hym lowly, of mercy and pite,
Of this rude makyng to have compassion."

But compare, on the other hand, the quotation on p. lvi, where Lydgate says he had "no guide to reduce him, when he went a-wrong," and the end of the *Troy-Book*, MS. Cotton Augustus A. IV, fol. 153 a :

¹ Stowe, in his Add. MS. 29729, fol. 166 a, has the entry :

" And now here foloweth an ordenaunce of a preses-yon of y^e feste of corpus cristie made in london by daune (MS. *dame*) John Lydegate." See the poem in Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 95—103.

² Thus in MS. Harl. 629; Caxton has *that for*.

³ Halliwell (from MS. Harl. 116) *effection*.

“My maister Chaucer, þat founde ful many spot,
 Hym liste nat pinche nor gruche at euery blot,
 Nør meue hym silf to þerturbe his reste,
 I haue herde telle, but seide alweie þe best.”

Nor does the epithet “my maister,” which Lydgate is so fond of bestowing on Chaucer, go to prove much; King James, and even Gawain Douglas, call Chaucer also their master.

Tanner adduces MS.-evidence that, in 1415, Lydgate lived at Bury, “ubi electioni Gul. Excestr. adfuit”; his statement is taken from the Register of William of Exeter, who was elected abbot of Bury St. Edmunds after the death of Cratfield in 1414. We meet again with Lydgate’s name in one of the Minutes of the Privy Council, dated Feb. 21st, 1423. We read there (*Proceedings of the Privy Council*,¹ ed. by Sir Harris Nicolas, III, 41, taken from MS. Cotton Cleopatra F. IV, fol. 7 a) the decree that all the lands appertaining to the Priory of St. Fides of Longville are to be let to farm² to certain persons named by Sir Ralph Rocheford, among which a monk John Lydgate figures, who is, no doubt, our Benedictine. Compare also Sir Harris Nicolas’s *Preface*, p. lxix.

In June 1423 Lydgate was elected Prior of Hatfield Broadoke (also called Hatfield Regis), see Tanner; and, on April 8th, 1434,³ he received permission from “Prior Johannes”⁴ to go back to Bury “propter frugem melioris vitæ captandam.” See again Tanner, and particularly, the above-mentioned MS.-note in Tyrwhitt’s copy of Wayland’s *Falls of Princes*, where the whole *Dimissio* is quoted in full from the Register of abbot Curteys (1429—1445).⁵

In the meantime, our monk must have been for some time in Paris. In MS. Harl. 7333, fol. 31 a, occurs the following heading to a poem:

¹ My attention was drawn to this, as well as to another passage (given lower down) from the *Proceedings*, etc., by Dr. Furnivall.

² “. . . dimittamur modo ad firmam dompno Iohanni Lidgate & Iohanni de Tofte monachis. Iohanni Glaston & Williamo Malton Cappellanis ad nominationem prefati Radulphi Rocheford, etc. . . .”

³ Tame, *Life of our Lady*, p. ix, says that Lydgate had leave to return to his monastery again in the following year, 1424, and quotes MS. Cott. Tib. B. IX (not, however, the folio). This must be one of Tame’s mistakes; it seems that he misread Tanner’s date MCCCXXXIV as MCCCXXIV.

⁴ There is a gap in the list of the Priors of Hatfield Broadoke, as given in Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, IV, 433, between William Gulle, elected prior in 1395 (and, it seems, mentioned again in 1413), and John Derham, who is named as being prior in 1430 and 1432. The latter must be our “Prior Johannes.”

⁵ This note has also been printed by A. Hortis, in his *Studi sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, p. 641, note 2.

“Here begynneth A remembraunce of a pee deugre how that the kyng of Englonde, Henry the sext, is truly borne heir vnto the Corone of Fraunce by lynyall Successioun. als welle on his flader side Henry the fifth, whom god assoill as by Kateryne quene of Englonde, his modir, whom god assoile. made by Lydygate John the monke of Bury at Parys. by þe instaunce of my lord of Warrewyk.”

This says clearly that Lydgate was in Paris, at a time not earlier than 1421, in which year Henry VI. was born. We are even able to determine the date still more exactly. The poem, besides alluding to contemporary events, mentions the king as

“Henry the sext of Age ny fyve yere reñ” :

it was begun on July 28th, I suppose in 1426.¹ The poem itself says :

“I meved was . . . by . . . commaundement
Of . . . My lord of Warrewyk
Beyng present that tyme at parys,
Whan he was than repaired agein
From seint Iuliañ of mayus oute of Mayñ.”

“My lord of Warrewyk” is, of course, Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who was then Regent of France during the absence of the Duke of Bedford. Evidently the leaders of state-affairs wished to proclaim in every possible way that Henry was the true king of France, so the Duke of Bedford commanded Laurence Callot to compose a poetical pedigree which should serve this purpose, and the Earl of Warwick employed the pen of our monk to translate it. That the notice in the Harleian MS., which ascribes the poem to Lydgate and makes him be in France about 1426, is correct, is borne out by a passage in Lydgate's writings themselves. In the beginning of his *Dance of Macabre* the monk says (Tottel's edition of the *Falls of Pr.*, fol. 220 *a*) :

“Like thensample which that at Parise
I fonde depict ones in a wal,”

and again, at the end (fol. 224 *d*) :

“And from Paris to England it sent.”

Henry V. is called the conqueror of France in this poem, which would go very well with the above-given dates. Mention is also made in it, on fol. 224 *a*, of the death of Master John Rikil, whilom “Tregetour” of Henry V., the date of whose death is, however, unknown to me. We may further compare Miss Yonge's *Comeos from*

¹ I should express myself with greater certainty were I sure what the “reñ” in the MS. means. An astronomical calculation based on the detailed description of the position of the principal planets, given towards the end of the poem, would no doubt settle the year precisely.

English History, II, 357, where she says that in 1424, for more than six months, the *Dance of Death* was acted out by living performers in Paris.

To strengthen this argument, we might also adduce here another passage taken from the prologue to Lydgate's translation of Deguileville's *First Pilgrimage* (MS. Cotton Vit. C. XIII, fol. 4 a):

“And of the tyme playnly & of the date,
Whan I be-gan thys booke to translate,
Yt was . . . [1426]
My lord that tyme beyng at Parys,
Wych gaff me charge, by hys dyscrete avys,
As I seyde erst, to sette myn intent
Vp-on thys booke to be dyllyge.1,
And to be-gynne vp-on thys labour.”

This passage, of course, only says that Lord Salisbury was at Paris in 1426; but it may indeed have been that Lord Salisbury personally gave the monk the commission

“Thys seyde booke in englyssh for to make,”

as the date 1426 (expressed in a very circumlocutory way) tallies exactly with what has been said above.

Still this sojourn at Paris, and Lydgate's priorate at Hatfield Regis, give rise to several questions which I am not able to solve. When did Lydgate return from Paris, and where was he after his return? One would think that he wrote his *Life of St. Edmund* (in 1433; see below) at Bury, or at least saw King Henry VI. there; but his “Dimissio” from Hatfield is dated April 8th, 1434. What induced or compelled him to go to Paris? When did he give up his office of Prior of Hatfield Regis? I suppose when he went to Paris; most likely Derham was then chosen in his stead.

From 1434 until his death, Lydgate seems to have lived again at Bury St. Edmunds, where he certainly was buried (cf. Bale and *Archæologia*, IV, 131). The precise date of his death has never been made out. The year 1482 we have already discarded as being quite impossible. Nor is there any certain fact warranting the supposition that Lydgate did not die before the accession of Edward IV. in 1461. In favour of this theory it has been adduced (for instance in the *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.*, under No. 2251, art. 3) that among Lydgate's stanzas on the kings of England occurs one on Edward IV. Halliwell already (*Minor Poems*, p. vi) has pointed out this argument to be a delusion; in the older copies such a stanza does not appear. I mention only the one in MS. Ashmole 59, in which case we know very well why Henry VI. is the last king mentioned. For this copy

is written by Shirley, who died himself in 1456. Nevertheless, the verses existed then already. So the stanza on Edward is evidently spurious, a fact further certified by its being written in the 8-line stanza, whilst the others are all in the 7-line stanza (MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 4 *a*).¹ By this mode of argumentation we might easily prove that Lydgate became not only 112 years old, but even some 180; for in MS. Royal 18 D. II (and, I think, in the print by Wynken de Worde), a stanza on Henry VIII. is added. In this recension the earlier stanzas also deviate greatly from the original text, although we can clearly see that they have been built upon Lydgate's groundwork.

Very much the same holds good with respect to the poem "Ab inimicis nostris" . . ., quoted by *Warton-Hazlitt*, III, 53, note 1, for the same purpose. The greater part of the poem may be genuine, the last stanza in MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 11 *a*, recommending King Edward IV. and his mother to God, is certainly not so. The refrain in this stanza differs also slightly from that employed in the preceding ones.

A proof that Lydgate was alive in 1446, is adduced by *Warton-Hazlitt*, III, 53, note 1. We there find the assertion that Lydgate in his poem *Philomela* mentions the death of Henry Lord Warwick, "who died in 1446," and are referred to MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 255. Now it is true that at this place in the MS. in question (new pagination, fol. 229 *a*) there is a poem by Lydgate, entitled (by Stowe) "A sayenge of the nyghtyngale,"² but I cannot find the reference to Henry of Warwick. In MS. Cotton Caligula A. II (fol. 59 *a*—64 *a*), however, is also a poem "The nightyngale," and this contains, on fol. 63 *a*, the following stanza:

"A myghty pynce, lusty, yonge & fiers,
Amonge the peple sore lamented ys:
The Duc of Warwyk—entryng the oure of tierce,
Deth toke hym to—whom many sore shall mysse:
All-myghty Ihesu, receyue his soule to blisse.
Both hye & lowe, thanke well that ye shall hennce:
Deth wyll you trise, ye wot not, how ne wheinne."³

This stanza was, of course, written after the death of Henry of Warwick—brother-in-law of the kingmaker—which, however, accord-

¹ The *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.* itself says (No. 2251, article 3) that the stanza relating to K. Henry VI. looks as if it were written in that king's prosperity.

² This poem occurs also in Stowe's MS. Add. 29729, fol. 161 *a*.

³ This latter poem has 57 stanzas (in rhyme royal); Lydgate's poem (MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 229 *a*—231 *b*, and Add. 29729, fol. 161) has 54 stanzas. It is unfinished; the Harl. MS. has the colophon:

"Of this Balade Dm Johñ Lydgate made nomore."

ing to the *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, took place on June 11th, 1445, not in 1446. But it seems that these two poems are by different authors; their subject only is the same, namely, an allegorizing interpretation of the nightingale's song. Both poems are perhaps independent treatments of John of Hoveden's *Philomela* (see *Warton-Hazlitt*, II, 33 top, and II, 93 note), which I cannot investigate at present.

Again, there is an *Epitaphium ducis Gloucestrie* (MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 7 *a* to 8 *b*), attributed to Lydgate by Ritson, No. 139, and in *Warton-Hazlitt*, III, 50, note 8. This would bring us down to 1447. But it must first be proved that the poem is genuine. I am inclined to believe that the internal evidence is against its being so; of external evidence I am ignorant: Ritson's opinion as to the authorship of the poem is, of course, worthless.

But we have fortunately two or three certain dates for these latter years of Lydgate's life. The first of them is already referred to in *Warton* (ed. Hazlitt III, 54, note 1); it is contained in a notice of Stowe's, in his *Annals of England*, 1615, p. 385, which states that Lydgate made the verses for the pageants exhibited at Queen Margaret's entry into London. This was in 1445. Further, Lydgate is mentioned as living by Bokenam, in his *Legend of St. Elizabeth*, with the following words (13, 1075):

“ For, þow I had kunnyng for to ryme,
And eek to endyten as copyously,
As had Gower & Chaucers in þer tyme,
Or as our both þe munk of Bery,
Joon Lytgate, yet coud not I”

Bokenam's *Legends* were written between 1443 and 1447; that of Elizabeth appears to have been the last in order of time, and was, according to Horstmann's *Introduction*, p. viii (at the top), written in 1446.

On viewing the above facts, it however becomes clear to us that we reach the last *certain* date connected with Lydgate's life by means of a document published by Professor Zupitza in *Anglia*, III, 532. This is a receipt signed by John Baret for a sum of £3 16s. 8*d.* received by him for himself and for our monk, as a half-yearly instalment of a pension granted to them jointly. That such a pension was given¹ to

¹ Perhaps in compliance with his request to Duke Humphrey at the end of the *Falls of Princes* (finished about 1438, or 1439 ?), fol. 217 *b* :

“ Trusting ageynward, your liberal largesse
Of thys quotidian shall releuen me . . .
[Hope] Sayd, ye, my lord, should have compassion,
Of royal pity support me in mine age.”

Lydgate and John Baret had already been known from the *Proceedings*¹ of the Privy Council, 1835 (ed. Sir Harris Nicolas), V, 156, from which we gather that there were at first some formal difficulties as to the payment (cf. also Sir H. Nicolas's *Introduction*, p. elvii). The entry in the *Proceedings*, taken from MS. Add. 4609, art. 27 (fol. 64), is dated Nov. 14th, 1441, the document published by Zupitza, Oct. 2nd, 1446. So far we can follow our monk, the latter being the latest certain date which we have concerning Lydgate's life. We may suppose that he died soon after this; several of the MSS. of the *Secreta Secretorum*, his last work, mention his death. In whatever year he may have died, certain it is that, for his literary fame with posterity, he lived some thirty or thirty-five years too long. Had he died before 1412, or at least written no more, the epithet of a poet—*cum grano salis*, of course—might have been given him less hesitatingly by our generation.

I have already indicated above that we know little of Lydgate's private life,² and nothing of his family. They were, I suppose, village-folk, and the boy most likely attracted the notice of the neighbouring monastery by his natural gifts. Considering that he passed the greater part of his life in the monastery, and moreover received frequent commissions for literary work from the highest personages in the land, it seems rather strange that we hear him so often complain of his straitened circumstances and the emptiness of his purse. We should have supposed that many of Lydgate's complaints on this score were only humoristic; for instance, his frequent hints that an occasional glass of Bacchus' finest gift would be a most desirable incentive to spur on a poet's flagging imagination. Some such passages are:

Falls of Princes, fol. 176 d: "I was borne in Lydgate,
Where Bacchus licour doth ful searsly flete,
My drie soule for to dewe and wete."

Ib., fol. 90 c, the monk tells us that poets should

"eschew all ydlenes,
Walke by riners and welles christalline,
To hie mountaines a-morow ther cours dresse,
The mist defied whan Phebus first doth shine,"

¹ See *supra*, p. xcii, note 1.

² Those who care to know it may be informed that our monk wore spectacles:
"Myne yien misted and darked by spectacle" (*Falls of Princes*, fol. 217 a)

It was, I suppose, in imitation of his brother-poet that Bokenam also took to spectacles; cp. his *Legend of Margarete* (1,656):

... "myr handys gone to feynte,
My wyt to dillyn, and my eyne bleynte
Shuld be, ner helpe of a spectacle."

and, especially,

“Drinke wine among to quick(en) their diligence.”

Ib., fol. 217 *a*, he speaks of a “thrustlew axesse” as “cause of his langour,” because “of Bachus seared were the vines,” and complains of the “ebbes of constrained indigence,” and that there is in him

“None egal peyse : heart heavy and purs light.”

Of his life in the monastery, he says in his *Testament* (*Halliwell*, p. 258) :

“I savouryd mor in good wyn that was cleer
And every hour my passage for to dresse,
As I seide erst, to ryot or excesse.”

The monk seems to have been of a kindred spirit to Heraclius, of whom he says (*Falls of Princes*, fol. 200 *a*) :

“And therwithall he had a froward lust
Euer to drinke, and euer he was athurst.”

As we have said, we should be inclined to look at this entirely from the humoristic side, although we might possibly find in it grounds for the suspicion that our monk belonged to the confraternity of “bibuli,” in which the thirstier souls of the monastery may have been united in Lydgate’s time as in the days of grand old Abbot Samson.¹

There is further Lydgate’s “*Litera ad ducem Gloucestrie pro oportunitate pecunie in tempore translacionis Bochasi*” (printed in *Halliwell*, p. 49), in which he asks the Duke

“To se thentent of this litel bille,”

in which “*nihil habet* is cause of the compleynt.” This again might be interpreted, from its humoristic tone, as a mere imitation—playful or pedantic, however we choose to call it—of Chaucer’s *Complaint to his Purse*. That the literal interpretation is, however, the right one, is confirmed by a passage in the *Falls of Princes* (fol. 67 *d*), in which Lydgate thanks the Duke for his liberality :

“My lordes fredom and bounteous largesse
Into mine heart brought in suche gladnes,
That through releuyng of his benigne grace
False indigence list me nomore manace ;”

further, by the wording of his “*Dimissio*” from Hatfield Broad-oak,

¹ See *Jocelyn de Brakeloud* and Carlyle’s *Past and Present*. With respect to Lydgate’s time compare a passage in Dr. Logeman’s Introduction to his edition of the *Rule of S. Benedict*, p. xvii : “About the year 1421 we find that degeneration had again set in, and that a reform was contemplated. At a meeting in Westminster Abbey between King Henry V and the Abbots and prelates of the Order of Black Monks, more than 360 in number, a reform was decided upon.”

which was granted him "propter frugem melioris vite captandam" (see above); also by his petition to the king for the confirmation of a grant, in which he calls himself "youre pouere and perpetuell Oratour John Lydgate" (see above, p. xevii), and lastly by two passages from Shirley, namely the one given above on page lxxxiii (last line), and the following one from Addit. MS. 29729, fol. 178 *a* (copied by Stowe from Shirley):

"Yet for all his much konnyng,
Which were gret tresore to a kynge—
I meane this Lidgate, munke dame (MS. *dame*) Iohn—
His nobles bene spent, I leue yehon,
And eke his shylynges nyghe by ;
His thred-bare coule wold not ly.
Kllas! ye lordes, why nill ye se,
And reward his pouerte!"

These lines betray, however, a reminiscence of the Prologue of the *Story of Thebes*, with its humoristic description of the monk's shabby appearance, which makes it questionable whether Shirley had more resources to draw from than the passage alluded to and his own poetical inspiration.

§ 2. Chronological sequence of Lydgate's writings.

Lydgate's writings seem naturally to group themselves into two periods, that of his early works up to 1412, and that of his long translations—of the *Stories of Troy*, of *Thebes*, and the *Falls of Princes*, together with Deguileville's *First Pilgrimage*—as well as the legends and minor poems of his old age, a period lasting from 1412 to his death.

We have already spoken of Lydgate's sojourn at Oxford, which was most likely devoted to study in that University. It seems that when there he wrote his *Æsop*, which gives a very drawled-out version of some six or seven Æsopian fables, which have been printed by Sauerstein in *Anglia* IX, p. 1, etc., and again by Zupitza, in the *Archiv*, vol. 85, p. 1, etc., from a different MS., with important additions, and corrections of Sauerstein's mistakes. The date of this *Æsop* would then be about 1387; but there still appears to me to be room for some doubt in the matter.

The first certain date for any of Lydgate's writings has been made known to us by Miss Toulmin Smith; it is the date for the prose-work, *The Serpent of Division*, or, *The Damage and Destruction in Realms*. According to vol. 35 of Lord Calthorpe's Yelverton MSS.,

this tract was composed by Lydgate in 1400 (December?); see Miss Toulmin Smith's edition of *Gorboduc*, p. xx, etc.

A poem which, I think, we must not place later than 1400, is *Churl and Bird*. The Envoy of it is directed "Unto my maister with humble affeccioun," praying him to correct and amend it. As far as I am aware, Lydgate calls no one his master, except Chaucer, and I think this envoy can be addressed to none other than him. Chaucer, of course, must have been still living then, so that the latest date we can assign to it would be 1400.

Certainly the influence of Chaucer, whom he may have known personally, is most perceptible in Lydgate during this period, to which we may assign those works most clearly impregnated with the ideas of his great master, dimmed and diluted as they may be after having gone through the alembic of Lydgate's mind. To this category belong the *Flour of Curtesie*, the *Black Knight*, the *Temple of Glas*, as well as *Reason and Sensuality*, the *chef-d'œuvre* of this period, as it is of all Lydgate's writings. It is a great pity that we have not one certain date for any poetical work of this period, which more than any other does credit to Lydgate's poetical faculties. The *Flour of Curtesie*, however, must have been written after Chaucer's death, as its Envoy proves, and the *Temple of Glas* not far from 1400, as I hope to show is probable in § 3 of this chapter. The *Black Knight* is a palpable imitation of the *Book of the Duchesse*, and may come before the *Temple of Glas*, as this last-named poem is evidently a more ambitious effort, in which Lydgate stands, it seems, for the first time, upon his own feet, the invention of the whole work originating entirely with him. Thus I believe that the three works, the *Flour of Curtesie*, the *Black Knight*, and the *Temple of Glas* were written in this sequence, most likely between 1400 and 1403.

I have little doubt that between this time and the translation of the *Troy-Book*, *Reason and Sensuality* was written, as well as the *Life of our Lady*. But as there are no certain dates recorded for these comprehensive works, and our reasons for placing them here, will become all the more evident later on, we will now, by a considerable jump, proceed at once to the lengthy works of the second period, which we may date from the year 1412.

There is, first of all, the *Troy-Book*. We have fortunately a certain knowledge of the approximate dates¹ for this work, which

¹ A chronological discussion of the three best-known works of Lydgate—best-known by name only, of course—forms the introduction to Koepfel's treatise

heads the series of those long, spun-out and entirely unoriginal writings which have so justly discredited Lydgate's Muse. From the Prologue to that work we easily gather that Lydgate must have begun it in October 1412. With the same preciseness we know that it was finished in 1420. For we have in Pynson's *Troy-Book* (1513), sign. Dd₂d :

“And tyme complet of this translacyon . . .
 Was a thousande and foure hundred yere,
 And twenty nere—I knowe it out of drede . . .
 The eyghte yere, by computacyon,
 Suynge after the Coronacyon
 Of hym Herry the fyfthe,”

the reading of MS. Cotton Aug. A. IV, fol. 152 *b*, agreeing word for word with this. To Kœppel, only the modernization of the *Troy-Book*, printed in 1614 by Th. Purfoot, was available. In this the passage is different, and points to 1421 as the date of the conclusion of the poem. Perhaps the expression “twenty nere” warrants the inference that the *Troy-Book* was finished between March 21st and March 25th, 1420 (new style). Henry V's eighth year lasted from March 21st, 1420, until March 21st, 1421 ; so the date must be after March 21st, 1420 (old style, 1419), and if we have to interpret “nere” as meaning “nearly,” “not quite,” it must be before March 25th, 1420 : the days from March 21—25, 1419 (new style, 1420), lie in the eighth year of Henry V, and are “near” the year 1420, from Lydgate's standpoint. I believe, therefore, that the *Troy-Book* was begun in the autumn of 1412, and finished in the spring of 1420.

The work we have next to discuss is the English prose-translation of Deguileville's *Second Pilgrimage*, i. e. of the Soul, printed by Caxton in 1483. We know—for instance, from Caxton's colophon and MS. Egerton 615—that this translation was made in 1413, but the great question is whether it was done by Lydgate. It has several times been alleged, as a proof for Lydgate's authorship, that Chapter XXXIV of the *Life of our Lady*, and Chapter XXXIV of the *Pilgrimage* are one and the same. It is curious to compare the wording of these assertions. We read in the *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ*, 1744, III, 126 : “This is remarkable, that the 34th Chapter of that Poet's [Lydgate's] *Life of the Virgin Mary* is a Digression in Praise of *Chaucer* . . . and

on the sources of the *Story of Thebes*. His dating of the *Troy-Book* and the *Story of Thebes* are certainly in the main successful ; with respect to the *Falls of Princes* I shall be obliged to somewhat modify his results. It will be seen that the conclusions I have arrived at concerning these works tally more closely with those obtained by Ward, *Catalogue of the Romances*, I, 75.

that the 34th Chapter of the Second Book of this *Pilgrimage* should be the same Poem." There is, indeed, a panegyric on Chaucer in the 34th Chapter of the *Life of our Lady*, as is very well known; but the second part of the above statement is not correct. There is no 34th Chapter at all in the second book of Caxton's print of the *Pilgrimage*, as the numbers of the chapters go on without a break through the first two books (1—39 being contained in the first book, 40—65 in the second). Chapter XXXIV of the first book contains the "Charter of Mercy" for the pilgrim, but no eulogy on Chaucer. Again, Miss Cust, in *The Booke of the Pylgremage of the Soule translated from De Guileville*, 1859, p. iv, says: "The translator, or at least the author of the "additions," was in all probability Lydgate; for the 34th chapter of Lydgate's metrical "Life of the Virgin Mary" is literally repeated in the 34th chapter of this translation of "The Charter of Mercy." Very much the same thing is stated in *Warton-Hazlitt* III, 67. It is quite true that the 34th, or rather 35th, Chapter of the *Pilgrimage* (Caxton's numbering is not quite correct) contains the *Charter of Mercy*, but not so the 34th Chapter of the *Life of our Lady*. The part of the *Life of our Lady*, which somewhat recalls this *Charter of Mercy* in the *Pilgrimage*, is Chapters XI—XIV, which contain the dispute between "Mercy, Pees, Rightwynnes and Trouthe, for the redemption of mankynde": but there again, I cannot find any verbal coincidences. It may be that some of the stanzas, interspersed between the prose of the *Pilgrimage*, can be identified with others in the *Life of our Lady*; but I must add, that a comparison of the French and English texts of the *Pilgrimage* shows the English stanzas to be in all cases renderings of the French original.¹

In perusing this translation of the *Second Pilgrimage*, nothing in the way of internal evidence has struck me which points decidedly to Lydgate as the author, either in the prose or even in the stanzas, and yet Lydgate is, as a rule, easily enough detected. Further, it seems to me highly improbable that Lydgate, just after having begun the translation of the *Troy-Book*, at the command of

¹ Even if a more careful investigation than I am at present able to carry out, should after all identify some of the stanzas in the two works, this would not necessarily be a proof of Lydgate's authorship: the case would then be exactly parallel to the intended insertion of Chaucer's *A B C* in Lydgate's verse-translation of the *First Pilgrimage*. For later on I hope to make it probable that the *Life of our Lady* was written before 1413, and could thus have been made use of by anybody.

Prince Henry—in 1413, King Henry V.—should only a few months later have started a translation of another work of by no means contemptible dimensions (I should think, some 10,000 lines in the original). Moreover, in his Prologue to the verse-translation of the *First Pilgrimage* (that of Man), begun by him in 1426, he would scarcely have omitted some reference to his former rendering of Deguileville's *Second Pilgrimage*. I am, at present, aware of only one passage which could possibly be construed into a proof that Lydgate was the author of this translation of the *Second Pilgrimage* in prose. I mean the following lines from Stowe's MS. Add. 29729, fol. 178*a*, which have been copied by Stowe from one of Shirley's "poetical" lists of the contents of one of his MSS. :

"First y^e humayne pilgrymage,
 Sayd all by proose in fayre langage :
 And many a roundell and balade,
 Which y^e munke of bury hath made."

But then this seems to refer to Shirley's Sion College MS. Archives 2. 23, which contains a prose-rendering of the *First Pilgrimage*, called in one of the headlines of the MS., "þe pilgrymage humayne."¹ I suppose this prose-translation in the Sion College MS. is essentially the same as the one published by W. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1869, from MS. Ff. 5. 30 in the University Library, Cambridge. The title "humayne pilgrymage," if taken literally, only applies to the *First Pilgrimage*, the "pèlerinage de la vie humaine," which Lydgate later on translated in verse. No one would suppose Lydgate to have translated the same work twice over, first in prose, then in verse, all the less as no decided authority can be adduced for such a supposition. Although I have not been able to examine the Sion College MS. personally, yet I should think that the last line from Shirley given above can only mean that Lydgate was the author of "many a roundell and balade" in this MS., but not so of the "humayne pilgrymage."

Thus I believe that Lydgate certainly translated Deguileville's *First Pilgrimage* in verse, in 1426, etc., but he neither made the prose-translation of the *Second Pilgrimage* in 1413, nor (as scarcely any one will assume) translated the *First Pilgrimage* in prose.

Lydgate's next large work, after the *Troy-Book*, is the *Story of Thebes*. The monk was "nie fiftie yere of age" when he wrote the

¹ See Dr. Furnivall's *Odd Texts*, pp. 65 and 78; compare also his *Trial-Forewords*, p. 13.

prologue to this work, which opens with a description of spring. We may therefore fairly assume that Lydgate began the work in the spring of 1420, after having finished the *Troy-Book*; the expression, "Mid of April,"¹ in the Prologue to the *Story of Thebes*, would tally very well with the end-date for the *Troy-Book*. Taking one consideration with another, it seems to me most likely that the *Story of Thebes* was begun in April 1420. For this would also agree best with the "nie fiftie yere of age" of the Prologue; if Lydgate was born in 1371—we scarcely can make it later—he was in 1420 exactly 49 years old. If he was *very* "near fiftie," he might have been born early in 1371, or better still for our chronology, towards the end of 1370. As regards the end-date for the *Story of Thebes*, Koepfel rightly points out that Lydgate would not have omitted in his Epilogue to lament the death of Henry V., after the 31st August 1422, on which day that monarch died. At all events, we cannot be very far wrong if we say that the *Story of Thebes* was written between 1420 and 1422.

It would seem also that *Guy of Warwick* belongs to this time; Prof. Zupitza has conjectured its date to be 1420. Perhaps it was written shortly after the *Story of Thebes*, when the monk appears to have had more leisure after the completion of his two large translations.

With respect to the *Troy-Book* and the *Story of Thebes*, I agree in the main with Dr. Koepfel, as to the dating of them; making only the slight change of 1421 to 1420, which change is warranted by texts of the *Troy-Book* of better authority than the one which was accessible to Koepfel. But I can no longer share his opinion as to the date of the *Falls of Princes*. On the strength of two passages in that work, Koepfel came to the conclusion that it must have been written from 1424 to about 1433. Now we shall presently show that, in 1426, Lydgate undertook the translation of Deguileville's *First Pilgrimage* for the Earl of Salisbury. This work has more than 20,000 lines, and thus it would seem unlikely that the *Falls of Princes*, being done at the command of the Regent of England and uncle of the king, should be broken off for an indefinite time for another big undertaking. Still, we should nevertheless be forced to assume that such was the case, if the date 1424 could be inferred unmistakably

¹ Compare, however, Wulker, in *Altenglisches Lesbuch* II, 270, who thinks that this statement as to the time is simply made by Lydgate in accordance with the beginning of the *Canterbury Tales*.

from Lydgate's own words in the Prologue to the *Falls of Princes*. We should then assume that Lydgate, after having written the two first books of the *Falls of Princes* from 1424—1426, wrote, in the course of the next years, the translation of the *Pilgrimage*, and then returned to his former and much duller work. Thus his deep sighs in the Prologue to the 3rd book would be all the more understandable :

“ Thus my self remembryng on this boke,
It to translate how I had vndertake,
Full pale of chere, astonyed in my loke,
Mine hand gan tremble, my penne I felt[e] quake . . .
I stode chekmate for feare whan I gan see,
In my way how litle I had runne ” (*E. Pr.* fol. 67 *v*).

Indeed, there was reason for “ trembling and standing checkmate : ” 11,627 lines, and only two out of nine books done ! Surely, his breast must be girt with “ robur et æs triplex ” who could be impervious to all feelings of pity for our sorely-tried monk.

But, as I have said, the *Falls of Princes* was not begun in 1424. The passage adduced by Koepfel for this conclusion is wrongly interpreted (see also Ward, *Catalogue* I, 75, and Th. Arnold, *A Manual of English Literature*, 6th ed., p. 137, note). The lines in question, from the Prologue to the *Falls of Princes*, fol. A₃ a (Koepfel, *Story of Thebes*, p. 14), are as follows (the punctuation is mine) :

“ Eke in this land, I dare affirme a thing,
There is a prince, ful mighty of puissaunce :
A kinges sonne, & vnkle to the king—
Henry the sixth, which now is in fraunce—
And is lieftenant & hath the gouernaunce
Of our Britayn
Duke of gloucester men this prince cal.”

The relative sentence, “ which now is in fraunce,” must certainly refer to Henry VI., an assumption which at once makes everything clear. Henry VI. was in France from April 1430 to the end of 1431 ; it will tally best with the other evidence to assume that the Prologue to the *Falls of Princes* was written in 1430.

But, before his *Falls of Princes*, Lydgate made another lengthy translation for a famous English nobleman. As I have already said, the Englishing of Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, in four-beat couplets, was undertaken by him, in 1426, for Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. I should think that the monk finished it between the years 1426 and 1430, at his average rate of producing 4000 or 5000 lines a year.¹ In my opinion, not the slightest doubt

¹ The Earl of Salisbury, as is well known, had fallen in the meantime, being shot in the siege of Orleans. Lydgate, however, does not allude to the event

remains as to its genuineness; the Prologue (in heroic couplets) is thoroughly Lydgatian; there is the allusion to his master Chaucer (fol. 256 *b*), and to the niggardliness of "Jove's butler Ganymede" to our monk (fol. 4 *b*); we have further the authority of Speght (see No. 3 of the Lydgate-list in the Chaucer-edition of 1598, fol. 394 *a*), and thus also, I think, indirectly, of Stowe, who supplied many missing headings in the MS. Cotton Vit. C. XIII. The language,¹ the manner of translating, &c., are entirely those of Lydgate.

The next work to which we can assign a certain date is the short *Legend of St. Margaret*. According to the Durham MS., this little work was written "A° VIII° h[enrici] VI,"² *i. e.* between Aug. 31st (on which day Henry V. died in 1422), 1429, and August 31st, 1430. It evidently stands between the *Pilgrimage of Man* and the *Falls of Princes*.

The Prologue to this latter work, as has already been pointed out, must have been written in 1430 or 1431. The monk seems first to have finished Books 1 and 2, after which a break of a few months must have occurred. For in 1433 Lydgate certainly wrote the *Legend of St. Edmund and Fremuol*. He says himself in that poem that Abbot William [Curteys] commanded him to write the life of the patron-saint of his monastery during the visit of King Henry VI. to the shrine and convent of St. Edmund (l. 187, &c.). This visit lasted from Christmas 1432 to Easter 1433. Lydgate's own words as to his beginning the poem are not quite clear: from l. 134, &c., in the Prologue, it might appear that he began the poem at Christmas (1432); but lines 151, &c., of the Prologue were clearly written after the king's departure. There can be no doubt however that the main part of the *Legend* was written in 1433. In this case we need not wonder that the monk stopped short in his translation of the *Falls of Princes* for Duke Humphrey; for *Edmuol* was written for the king himself. Lydgate brought great zeal to bear on his treatment of this *Legend*, and the work is by no means his worst. For the last time we get a glimpse of something like poetry in the

in the course of this work; but we have a reference to the Earl's death in his *Minor Poems*, Halliwell, p. 126.

¹ Note particularly the not unfrequent use of the word "chaumpartie," used in a sense which seems to have originated in Lydgate's misunderstanding of a line in Chaucer. See note to l. 1164. Other favourite expressions of Lydgate's are of frequent occurrence in the *Pilgrimage*, as the notes will to some extent show.

² See the edition of this Legend in Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge*, p. 416.

now aging monk, when it devolved upon him to shed all possible lustre upon his glorious martyr-king. For in true piety, which comes straight from the heart, there always lies a touch of poetry.

After this labour of love, our poor monk went on—amid the deep sighs and groans described above—with his *Tragedies of Iohn Bochas on the Falls of Princes*. “Tragedies” indeed, inspiring the Aristotelian terror and pity in no common degree: terror by their bulk, and pity for their author—and ourselves into the bargain, when we feel bound to wade through them. This time the monk went right through to the bitter end. In the Prologue to the 8th book,¹ Lydgate complains of his great age, which is “more than three-score years,” and of his trembling joints. We may suppose that this passage was written about 1436, at which time Lydgate was sixty-five years old. I should think that the monk finished this dreary compilation in 1438 or 1439, and I readily believe that he said a very heartfelt “Deo gratias” after it. He need not in his next work have expressly drawn our attention to the fact that his wit was irretrievably “fordulled.”

In 1439, abbot Whethamstede of St. Albans wished to see the patron-saint of his monastery and protomartyr of England glorified in the same way as St. Edmund had been. Lydgate was again chosen to carry out this work, and he thus wrote a *Life of Albon and Amphabel*, on a similar plan to the *Life of St. Edmund*, but, as may be easily understood, inferior to it in every respect.

After 1439 we hear little of any poetical efforts of our monk. Still his fame had not died before him; for in one of his last years, 1445, he was called upon to write the verses for some pageants exhibited on Queen Margaret's entry into London. About the same time he was engaged in commemorating in verse certain miracles, wrought by St. Edmund in 1441, and again in 1444, the which verses are printed by Horstmann at the end of his edition of Lydgate's *St. Edmund (Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge, p. 440, &c.)*. We may also suppose that Lydgate's *Testament* belongs to this time. We know with certainty that he died when in course of writing the

¹ Ward, *Catalogue of the Romances*, I, 75, says that this passage occurs in the contemporary MS. Harley 1766, on folio 184, in the middle of the 6th book. This is quite correct; but the passage stands in reality in the same place as in Tottel's print, the numbering of the books in the Harl. MS. being in great confusion. It counts only eight books, whereas Boccaccio's work has nine; and from the very passage in question, as it stands in Tottel as well as in the Harleian MS., we gather that this Prologue was to be followed immediately by “two books.”

Secreta Secretorum, which was finished by Bennet Burgh. Lydgate's part ends with the line—

“Deth al consumyth, whych may nat be denyed,”

which may have been the last verse that came from the monk's pen. Immediately after it the MSS. have the rubric: “Here deyed this translatur and nobyl poete / And the yonge folwere gan his prologe on this wyse” (MS. Ashmole 46, fol. 131 *a*).

We must now return to certain works of Lydgate's, the classification of which we postponed until we should find ourselves on firmer ground. We will first consider the *Life of our Lady*. I have little doubt that this was the last important work of Lydgate's first period, before he began the translation of the *Troy-Book* in 1412. For we know that it was undertaken at the command of Henry V. Now we have seen that Lydgate, from 1412—1422, was occupied with the *Troy-Book* and the *Story of Thebes*. Therefore, it seems most natural that the *Life of our Lady* should have been written before these works. Moreover, we have an astronomical datum in the work. On folio *i*, *b*, we hear that our monk made a certain prayer when “Lucina was passed late from Phebus,” and the statement seems to refer to the first of January. There was a new moon, in 1410, on the 26th of December (see *infra*, p. exiv), which agrees very well with this statement. I should think that the *Life of our Lady* was written about 1409—1411. The poem, with its comparative freshness—at least in some parts—still belongs to Lydgate's better works.

For *Reason and Sensuality* I know of no external evidence which would warrant a certain date for the year of its composition. The work is of considerable length (about 7400 four-beat lines), and there remain only three periods in which Lydgate could possibly have found time to write it, namely, 1422—1426, 1439—1445, and the time immediately before 1409. I believe that 1422—1426, and still more 1439—1445, are quite impossible dates; the monk was much too “fordulled” at that time, and had sunk from what was, at any rate, some approach to a poet, to a mere rhymester and unoriginal translator. He can only, I believe, have written the best production of his life in his prime, and I consider the *Flour of Curtesie*, the *Black Knight*, the *Temple of Glas*, as works which lead up to the only one of Lydgate's poems which we can read with real interest and enjoyment. Thus we are, perhaps, not far wrong in believing that *Reason and Sensuality* was written between 1406 and 1408.

Of the monk's larger works, *Horse, goose, and sheep*, *De duobus Mercatoribus*, the *Assembly of Gods*, and the *Court of Sapience* remain. With respect to the chronology of these I feel extremely doubtful. The least thing which I should feel it incumbent upon me to do before venturing on any definite opinion as to their dates, would be to read them again carefully, which I have at present no opportunity of doing. The first of these poems has the approximate date, 1470, in the *N. E. Dictionary* (under *bouge*), which, of course, is absolutely impossible. Lydgate cannot have written it after his death. Of the *Assembly of Gods*, otherwise called *Assemble de dyeus*, or *Banquet of Gods*, we have a late MS., Royal 18 D II; and the poem was printed by Wynken, Pynson, and Redman (it would seem, altogether five times; see Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 358). The MS. is later than Wynken's first print;¹ its text follows Wynken de Worde's print (C. 13. a. 21 in the British Museum) very closely; indeed, it seems to be a copy of it. Prefixed to the poem itself we find in the prints the *Interpretation of the names of gods and goddesses*, enumerating the principal heathen deities, and also indicating their respective spheres of action (for instance, Pluto = God of helle, Morpleus (*sic*) = Shower of dremes, &c.). This *Interpretation* has often been mistaken for a separate work, which it is not; it seems only to be Wynken's addition to make the poem more easily understood by those of his readers who were less versed than he in classic mythology. In the MS. it does not appear. The metre of the prints and the MS. is exceedingly irregular, much more so than in any other poem of Lydgate's; but as the lines on the Kings of England in the Royal MS. show the same metrical corruption, besides great arbitrary changes, I am inclined to believe that this *Assembly of Gods* may have been tampered with in a similar way. Still it is not absolutely certain that Lydgate was the author; but I suppose the following item in Hawes's list of Lydgate's works (*Pastime of Pleasure*, Chapter XIV) can only mean our work:

"And betwene vertue and the lyfe vycyous,
Of goddes and goddes[s]es] a boke solacyous
He did compyle" . . .

Further, Bale mentions *De nominibus Deorum* among the writings

¹ That is to say, the second half of it; the first part, containing the *Troy-Book* and the *Story of Thebes*, with beautiful illuminations, is in a much older handwriting. The second hand (beginning of the 16th century) has written the *Assembly of Gods*, further, a poem by Skelton, Lydgate's *Testament*, and his *Stanzas on the Kings of England*, the latter with additional stanzas down to Henry VIII. (also copied from a print by Wynken &c. See Dyce's *Skelton*, p. x.

of Lydgate; so also, following him, Pits, Ghilini, &c. It may, however, be that Bale simply drew his statement from a title-page of Wynken de Worde's, as found in the copy of the British Museum, marked C. 13. a. 21, which seems to have been a joint issue of Lydgate's *Story of Thebes*, *Assembly of Gods*, and *Temple of Glas* (see Hazlitt, *Hawulbook*, p. 358). The first stanza reminds one strikingly in its tone of the beginning of *Piers Ploughman*:

“Whan Phebus in the crabbe had nere his cours ronne,
And toward the Leon his Iourney gan take,
To loke on Pyctagoras spere I had b[e]goume,
Syttyng all solytary allone besyde a lake,
Musyng on a maneer how that I myght make
Reason and sensualyte in one to accorde:
But I conde not bryng about that monacorde.”

The poem certainly deserves a re-edition.

I feel almost certain that the date of the *Court of Sapience* could be made out by a careful investigation. As to its genuineness I have not the slightest doubt; Blades's scruples on this score, as brought forward against the opinion of W. Oldys (*Caxton*, II, 115), are hardly justifiable. Blades would consider the *Court of Sapience* Lydgate's finest work, if it were his, and wonders that such a remarkable poem should be so scarce then, compared with the monk's other writings. But it cannot be said that the poem is so very scarce; for we have, besides Caxton's print, and the Trinity College MS., a print by Wynken de Worde, of the year 1510, and further, Addit. MS. 29729, which was copied out by John Stowe (from Shirley, or a print?). Moreover, the first part of it, the pleading between Mercy, Truth, Right, and Peace, occurs at the end of MS. Harl. 2251, and some stanzas of it found their way into the Chaucer-print of 1561 (see Chapter XII). We have, moreover, Hawes's (*Pastime of Pleasure*, Chapter XIV) and Stowe's plain testimony that Lydgate was the author. Stowe's testimony (in MS. Addit. 29729, fol. 87 a, in the Trinity College MS., and in the list contained in Speght's *Chaucer*, 1598) perhaps goes back to Shirley, not to Hawes, as Blades supposes.

I feel far less certain as to its date. The poem in MS. Harl. 2255, fol. 21 (“Mercy and trouthe mette on an hih mounteyn,” etc.), written after Henry V.'s death, or the passage in *Pur le Roy* (about 1432), *Hallirell*, p. 11 &c., or the first book of the prose-translation of the *Pilgrimage of the Soule* (1413), have hardly any direct contact with the *Court of Sapience*. Who is the “sovereign,” by whom the author was “constrained to write”? So far as I am aware at

present, this question of the date requires us to take into especial consideration the following line of the prologue :

“Let ignorance and *chylldhode* haue the wyte.”

But was Lydgate favoured so early by the Court? By Henry IV.? Or is the word *chylldhode* here not to be taken in its natural and usual sense referring to age? Some critics even feel inclined to believe that this Prologue is not by Lydgate, but was added by somebody else, perhaps Caxton. I repeat that a careful investigation must almost certainly lead to a definite solution of these questions, which will make a re-edition of the poem all the more interesting.

Speaking generally, I believe that further observations will disclose more and more decisive characteristics, from which we may ascribe an earlier or later origin for those works to which we have as yet the most difficulty in assigning a place. For as Koepfel truly remarks, we still stand “in den Anfängen der Lydgate-Forschung,” and only gradually, by careful investigations and editions of each separate work, shall we be able once and for all to disperse the doubts and solve the questions which attach to all the more interesting works of Lydgate. Until now, with hardly a single exception, Lydgate's dullest works alone have been treated of by Historians of Literature.

At present we can only with certainty say this much, that there is a wide difference in poetical value, in tone and style, between the more imaginative writings of his earlier time, and the dry, monotonous translations spun out through thousands and thousands of lines in his later days; between the jovial humour, or keen enjoyment of nature in the first period, and the cumbersome and dismal pages of the *Falls of Princes*, or the philistine rules—often disgracefully devoid of taste—for the health, diet, and general conduct of a prince in the *Secreta Secretorum*. We may safely say, that, after our monk had reached the zenith of his power in *Reason and Sensuality*, the poetical value of his works decreases in direct proportion to the distance from this better time.

Whether the same is true of his metre, further investigations have to establish. As regards versification, the *Story of Thebes* is indeed, of all his works, generally made out to be the scape-grace of the family, whilst the metre of the *Falls of Princes* is applauded as being far superior. True enough, if we take the two texts as they stand, the one in the Chaucer-Print of 1561, the other in Tottel's edition of 1554. But I should not be astonished if Dr. Erdmann's forthcoming edition of the *Story of Thebes* proves that its black-letter

text is much more corrupted than that of the *Falls of Princes*; for Tottel gives us to understand on his title-page that he used more than one MS. for the construction of his text. Still I must not omit to say that Lydgate's five-beat line always seems more regularly built in the seven-line stanza than in the heroic couplet.

Lydgate's style, at all events, changes considerably in the course of time, and, as he grows older, he entirely forgets some of his favourite expressions. His pen certainly had still ample occasion to "quake" in the *Falls of Princes*, and the invocations to the Furies are frequent enough; but the pretty descriptions of nature, his humour, in short, the brighter side of his poetry, is almost entirely gone; his "fresh, fair" ladies have become very scarce, and those with "hair like gold wire" have vanished for ever.

It will perhaps not be amiss to subjoin a short synoptical table of the dates—known and conjectural—of Lydgate's life and works.

1370 (or 1371) ?, born at Lydgate.	1420—1422 (?), <i>Story of Thebes</i> .
1387? studying in Oxford; his <i>Æsop</i> . Travels abroad??	Feb. 21, 1423, Lydgate mentioned in the Minutes of the Privy Council.
March 13, 1388 (new style 1389?), receives the four lower orders of the Church.	June 1423, elected Prior of Hatfield Broadoak.
Dec. (?) 17, 1389, receives Letters dismissory for the order of sub- deacon.	1423 (?), <i>Guy of Warwick</i> .
May 28, 1393, ditto for deacon.	1424—1426, Lydgate in France?
April 4, 1397, ditto for the order of priest.	1425 (?), <i>Dance of Morabre</i> .
April 7, 1397, ordained priest.	1426—1430 (?), <i>Pilgrimage de mounde</i> (in verse).
1398 (?), <i>Churl and Bird</i> .	1430, <i>Legend of St. Margaret</i> .
„ <i>Horse, Goose, and Sheep</i> ??).	1430—1438 (?), <i>Falls of Princes</i> .
1400, <i>Serpent of Division</i> .	1432, <i>Par le Roy</i> .
1400—1402 (?), <i>Flour of Curtisie</i> , <i>Black Knight</i> .	1433, <i>Legend of St. Edmund and Fre- mund</i> .
1403 (?), <i>Temple of Glas</i> .	April 8, 1434, licensed to go back to Bury from Hatfield.
„ [<i>Assemble of Gods?? Court of Sapience??</i>]	1439, <i>Legend of St. Albon and Am- phabel</i> .
1406—1408 (?), <i>Reason and Sensu- ality</i> .	1441, legal difficulties concerning the payment of a royal grant to Lydgate.
1409—1411 (?), <i>Life of our Lady</i> .	1444, <i>Miracles of St. Edmund</i> .
1412—1420, <i>Troun-Book</i> . [1413, Prose <i>Pilgrimage</i> hardly genuine.]	1445, <i>Verses for Queen Margaret's entry into London</i> .
1415, Lydgate living at Bury.	1445 (?), <i>Testament</i> .
	1446 (?), <i>Secreta Secretorum</i> . Dies between 1446 and 1450?

Many of the monk's smaller poems can be dated; the above list comprises only the more extensive works. I repeat that this attempt at making out the sequence of Lydgate's writings, is merely a temporary one, given in the hope that, with all its shortcomings, it may throw more light upon the matter, and may be welcome to the

investigator of special works of Lydgate. I shall only be glad if a more thorough study of his particular writings removes any of the above notes of interrogation or assigns the right date to a work possibly inserted in a wrong place.

§ 3. *Date of the Temple of Glas.*

Unfortunately there is not sufficient evidence to afford us a precise date for the composition of the *Temple of Glas*. That it, however, belongs to Lydgate's first period, and was produced before the interminable rhymes of his middle and old age, is proved by the MS. T, which is scarcely much later than 1400. The next-oldest MS., G, seems to have been written about 1430; it exhibits, with S, extensive deviations from the other texts; and the common original of G and S may be some years earlier. This external evidence agrees very well with the classification given above in § 2, and even serves to justify it; the *Temple of Glas* certainly bears in its composition, its style, and its general tenor, the marks of the early period, as alluded to above. Lydgate's inveighing against the enforced monastic life (ll. 201—208) strengthens this supposition of an early origin; we know from his *Testament* that, in his youth, he himself felt little vocation for the cloister. Neither, unfortunately, do the sources the author used advance us much further, nor yet does Shirley's assertion that the poem was written "à la request dun amoureux." Whether this statement of Shirley's was in itself merely a bad guess,¹ must remain a matter of uncertainty; nor have I been able to find anywhere the motto of the lady: "de mieulx en mieulx magre" (in the second version: "humblement magre"). Should, however, the hypothesis that the poem was written somewhere between 1400 and 1415 be correct, then a more precise date within the limits of this period may be assigned to it, or rather we may set on one side certain years in which it cannot have been written. At the opening of the poem is an astronomical statement concerning the

¹ Thomas Feylde, also an admirer of Lydgate, addresses his poem *Controversy between a lover and a jay* in the Envoy thus:

"For made thou was of shorte adyusement
Be meruyllous instance of a lover verament."

But at the end of the Envoy he has:

"Suche grete unkyndnesse . . .
Was shewed to a lover called, F. T.,
Her name also begyneth with, A. B."

F. T. are doubtlessly meant to represent his own initials. Feylde cites in this poem a great many famous couples of lovers; those of the *Temple of Glas* are also all in it.

time of the dream which Lydgate feigns to have had. It says that he had gone to bed one night

“Whan þat Lucina wip hir pale list
Was loyned last wip Phebus in aquarie,
Amyd decembre, when of Ianuarie
Ther be kalendes, of þe nwe yere.”

The first two lines, of course, refer to the conjunction of Sun and Moon; the key to the exact meaning of the last two we find in Lydgate's poem, *Pur le Roy* (in Halliwell's edition of the *Minor Poems*, p. 2), of which the first stanza runs:

“Toward the ende of wyndy Februarie,
Whan Phebus whas in the flysshe crowne,
Out of the signe, wiche callyd is aquary,
New kalendys were enteryd and begone
Of Marchis komyng, and the mery sone
Upon a Thursday sched his bemys bryght
Upon Londone, to make them glad and lyght.”¹

The date here referred to is February 21st, 1432, relating to King Henry VI's entry into London after his return from France. The above method of fixing the date has, of course, reference to the ancient calendar, according to which, after the Ides of the month, the reckoning would be made by the kalends of the next month. Thus the meaning of ll. 6 and 7 of the *Temple of Glas* is: in the middle of December, when the new “Kalende Ianuarie” have begun, *i. e.* at the earliest on December 14th, which is the 19th day “ante Kalendas Iannarias.” Now, Professor Tietjen, of the Berlin University, has been kind enough to give me a list of new moons in the December of the years 1400—1420. According to it, there was a new moon in 1400, on December 16th, at 2 a. m.; 1402 on the 24th, 1403 on the 14th, at 9 a. m., 1405 on the 21st, 1407 on the 29th, 1408 on the 17th, 1410 on the 26th, 1411 on the 15th, 1413 on the 23rd, 1416 on the 19th, 1418 on the 27th, 1419 on the 17th: the other new moons all occur before December 14th. Now we must not lose sight of the possibility that Lydgate did not mean the above-quoted words to be interpreted literally; but if we do so, I should think that the two years 1400 and 1403 are of all the most likely, as the date of their new moon agrees so well with the “Amyd decembre” of the poem. And if we have to choose between the two, I think we must choose 1403 as the more probable. For two

¹ We have also a close parallel to the above lines in MS. Cott. Calig. A II, fol. 59 a:

“And on a nyght in Aprile as y lay
Wery of sleep & of my bed all so,
Whene that the kalendes entred were of May.”

reasons. It seems that the *Flour of Cartesie* (evidently imitated from the *Parlement of Fowles*), and the *Black Knight* (imitated from the *Book of the Duchesse*) precede our more ambitious *Temple of Glas*. But the *Flour of Cartesie* was certainly written after the death of Chaucer, which is proved by its envoy. Secondly, I believe that Lydgate, in December 1400, would have mentioned Chaucer with warmer words than the bare mention of his name in l. 110. For scarcely two months had then elapsed since his beloved master had been laid in the grave.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SOURCES OF THE POEM.

§ 1. *Lydgate's learning in general.*

WE are, indeed, obliged to bring forward a strong protest against certain old admirers of Lydgate, when their effusive eulogies are too freely bestowed on his poetical powers. But we can agree more readily with these ancient *literati* when they commend our monk's wide learning.¹ Although we moderns perceive at once that it is—like much of the erudition of the Middle Ages—more extensive than deep or accurate, yet we must not deny Lydgate the epithet of “learned,” which he received for several centuries, and with which he was still honoured, in the midst of the glories of the Elizabethan era, by no meaner poet than Beaumont. Still, even here we must make the necessary deductions from the wholesale eulogies of Bale, Pits, and other early writers, and some of the accomplishments attributed to him all too lavishly by them, we shall do well to strike out altogether from their lists. Thus, if Pits speaks of him as “non solum elegans Poëta, & Rhetor disertus, verum etiam *Mathematicus expertus*, Philosophus acutus, & Theologus non contemnendus,”² we prefer to believe Lydgate's own words, when he says (*Troy-Book*, F1a):

“For douteles / I radde neuer Enelyde.”

¹ And we may perhaps add, his command of language. Bale praises him thus: “Tante enim eloquentie & eruditionis hono iste fuit, ut nunquam satis admirari possim, unde illi in ætate tam rudi, tanta acceverit facundia;” further on: “fuitque post dictum Chaucerum, Anglici sermonis illustrator plane maximus” (*Catalogus*, p. 586).

² Pits evidently derives his information from the first edition of Bale (*Summarium*, 1518, fol. 202b), which reads: “Rhetorem certe, philosophum, mathematicum, ac theologum cum extitisse, scripta eius luculenter ostendunt.” Bale himself thought good to omit this questionable account of Lydgate's versatility in his *Catalogus*, whilst Pits was copied by Ghilini, Papadopoli, etc.

After this confession we need not wonder that the history of mathematics is silent concerning any "Theorem of Lydgate."¹

Similarly, we must not let pass unchallenged Bale's random guess concerning the authors who served as Lydgate's chief models. Bale asserts—and his assertion has been adopted even by Warton without due criticism—that Dante, Alanus, and Chaucer were the principal poets whom Lydgate studied and imitated. But of Dante he does not seem to have known much more than the mere name and the title of his great work; further, if by Alanus, Bale meant Alanus ab Insulis, then *Reason and Sensuality* alone would fully justify the tradition; but he evidently means Alain Chartier, and I must confess that, beyond a general likeness of *motifs*, etc., current at the time, I am unable, so far as my knowledge goes, to trace any actual interdependence between the two. Some works of Chartier were, indeed, translated into English in the 15th century; but we must note that Lydgate is at least twenty-five years older than Chartier, and can thus have learnt little from him. With respect to the third poet mentioned by Bale, there is no doubt that Lydgate knew Chaucer well, and the present poem would strongly confirm this statement, did it need confirmation. Bale's authority is here, as unfortunately also in many other instances, altogether unreliable; he evidently chose haphazard three representative poets of Italy, France, and England, and thus two-thirds of his statements are incorrect.

The sources of two of Lydgate's best known works, the *Falls of Princes* and the *Story of Thebes*, have been ably treated in Dr. Koepfel's two excellent treatises, which, although the two works in question are more or less only translations or paraphrases, yet throw

¹ Moreover, let any one who may have imagined Lydgate to be a connoisseur of jewelry, correct his error at once: for he himself tells us in the *Secreta Secretorum* (MS. Ashmole 46, fol. 109 a):

"I was never noon expert Ioweleere."

Nevertheless we may not inaptly apply to the monk Hazlitt's remark on Herriek, that "from his frequent allusion to pearls and rubies, one might take him for a lapidary instead of a poet" (*Lectures on the Dramatic Literature of the age of Elizabeth*, Lecture VI).—Concerning Lydgate's geometry we must, however, in justice add, that he evidently knew the value $3\frac{1}{2}$ for π (see note to l. 36). But again, his "Tractatus de Geometria" in the *Court of Sapience*, fol. f₂b to f₄b, does not prove him to have been a great adept in the mysteries of Euclid's science. Cp. also the following passage from the *Pilgrimage of Man*, fol. 182a, the purport of which we do not mean to gainsay:

"And many on that thow dost sen,
Ys nat ther-for A Geometryen,
With-In a compas—ha thys in mynde—
Thogh he koonne out the centre fynde."

considerable light upon Lydgate's general knowledge and the manner in which he makes use of it in enlarging upon his originals. Koepfel shows, I think conclusively, that Lydgate knew no Greek nor Italian, but Latin and French tolerably. In his so-called translations, the monk usually renders his original in a paraphrastic manner, and puts in many additions foreign to it. He is fond of quoting authorities for his statements; but often enough, he does so—like his great master Chaucer—quite incorrectly and at random. Some investigations have also been made into the sources of certain of his smaller poems; I mention especially *Guy of Warwick*. But much still remains to be done to make clear his attitude towards the sources whence he derived his other principal works. Thus a treatise on the sources of the *Troy-Book* would be a very meritorious *pendant* to Koepfel's comparison of Boccaccio, Laurent de Premierfait, and Lydgate; it would have to elucidate the manner in which Lydgate follows Guido di Colonna, and how far he deviates from the Sicilian's famous work. The investigator of Lydgate's *Secreta Secretorum* would have to define the exact relation between this work and the pseudo-Aristotelian tract of that title; and also to show how it is connected with Oecelev's *De Regimine Principum* or Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Book VII. An enquiry into the sources of the *Court of Sapience* will, so far as it deals with the first part of the poem, lead back to the Pleading between Mery, Truth, Right, and Peace, so often treated in the Middle Ages.¹ In the later parts of the *Court of Sapience*, the inquirer will have ample opportunity to show his own erudition whilst discussing that of Lydgate. Not the least interesting of such investigations would be that of *Reason and Sensuality*; Alanns ab Insulis' work *De Planctu Nature*, the *Roman de la Rose*, and the moralizations on the game of chess would be found to play a prominent part in it.

If I am not much mistaken, the groundwork of the *Assembly of Gods* must go back in some way to the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, and more than one of Lydgate's stories appear to be derived from

¹ By Lydgate himself in the *Court of Sapience*, 1st part, in *Life of Our Lady*, cap. 11—14; it occurs also in Deguileville's *Second Pilgrimage*, books I and IV of the English prose-translation in Caxton. In book I the Charter of Mery has reference to the soul of the individual pilgrim only; in the IVth to mankind in general. Further treatments of, or allusions to, this Pleading are found in a homily of St. Bernard's, in Grosseteste's *Castel d'amour* (English version, ed. Weymouth, l. 275 etc.), in the *Cursor Mundi*, ed. Morris, p. 548—561 (ll. 9517—9752); in *Piers Plowman*, C text, XXI, 118 etc.; see ten Brink, *Geschichte der engl. Litt.*, I, 441, and particularly, Skeat's note to the passage in *Piers Plowman*.

the *Disciplina clericalis*, or a French translation of it.¹ Inquiries of the kind indicated would be valuable contributions to the history of English literature in the 15th century, and I should be glad if these discussions instigate other workers in this field to undertake an elucidation of some of the questions set forth above.

§ 2. *Current "motifs" used in the Temple of Glas.*

Whereas Sandras, some thirty years ago, spoke of Chaucer's works as "*véritables mosaïques*" of ideas, gathered together from various quarters, a better knowledge of the poet has made it clear to us that Chaucer, although drawing from many foreign sources, still preserved the originality of his singular genius and impressed each of his genuine works with the stamp of his own personality. Later researches have shown that the works to which this remark of Sandras particularly applies, are mostly not genuine, but, as a rule, belong to a post-Chaucerian school of poets, who had learnt their *technique* of, and borrowed their ideas from, the great master-poet. But if this remark is not appropriate in the case of Chaucer's genuine works, it is certainly applicable to the earlier compositions of Lydgate, and particularly to our poem. For although the *Temple of Glas* may be said to be an original production with regard to its action and composition, yet the most prominent *motifs* which form the component parts of the story, and serve as vehicles to set the action working, are the common property of the time, heirlooms, some of them, of older days, modified and enlarged upon by generations of writers.

Thus we have in our *Temple of Glas* the framework of a vision. We can clearly distinguish in the literature of the Middle Ages two separate, yet closely related currents, which represent two different forms of the vision. First we have the vision proper, the religious trance, opening Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell to man's ecstatic gaze. For the origin of this species of the mediæval vision we must turn to the Bible, namely to the visions of Ezekiel and Daniel, the trance of St. Paul, and the Apocalypse of St. John.² Again, in the earlier

¹ So *Chowl and Bird* and *D' duobus Mercatoribus*. For the latter see Ward, *Catalogue of the Romances*, I. 929, and Zupitza, in his *Archiv*, vol. 84, 130 etc.

² There are also heathen parallels, describing either descents into the lower world, or visions of a life beyond the grave; the 11th book of the *Odyssey* and the 6th of the *Aeneid*, the *Cuba*, and particularly the *Somnium Scipionis*. In the *Mahābhārata* occurs a famous episode, the *Indralokāyatantra*, describing the ascent of Arjuna to Indra's heaven. The popularity of these fictions was so great that it produced parodies and burlesques; two well-known instances are

centuries of the Middle Ages, many privileged mortals, mostly canonized saints, were credited with having beheld such visions, in body or in spirit; for the historian of literature the names of St. Patrick, St. Brandan, Alberic, Tundalus, and the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus are of particular interest.¹ The *Sólar-Ljóð*, Raoul de Houdenc's *Souye d'Enjer* and *Voie de Paradis*, Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*, Dunbar's *Dance of the seven Deadly Sins*, Lyndsay's *Dream*, the poem of the *Pearl*, Deguileville's *Pilgrimages*, and Alanus' *Anticlaudianus*, which latter had certainly no small influence on the conception of the *Hous of Fame*, are interesting enough as turning the vision of other worlds into a poetic theme; but it is, of course, the *Divina Commedia*, which shows in its peerless magnificence what a poet of Dante's tremendous powers could make of the vision of the Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso.

On the other hand, the vision is often used more or less as a poetical framework only; in this case, it usually presents itself to the poet either in a dream, or when walking forth into the fields on some fair morning. This secular form of the vision no doubt sprang from the religious type; the frequent occurrence of the dream-motif appears moreover to have been partly due to the *Somnium Scipionis*, with its widespread popularity in the Middle Ages.² As famous examples of this species of the vision in Romance literature we may mention the popular work of Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, Petrarca's *Trionfi*, Boccaccio's numerous visions, and—of great influence upon Chaucer and his school—the *Roman de la Rose*, and Alanus' *De Plunctu Nature*. This type of vision, rather than the preceding, is also exhibited in *Piers Ploughman*, and Chaucer made use of it in more than one of his works, as in the *Hous of Fame*, the *Parlement of Foules* (in this case following directly the *Somnium Scipionis*), in the *Book of the Duchesse*, and the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*. It occurs in the pseudo-Chaucerian poems, *The Isle of Ladies*, *The Assembly of Ladies*, and *Cuckow and Nightingale*; in

the *Μένιππος ἢ Νεκρομαρτία*, attributed to Lucian, and, it would seem, contemporary with Lydgate, the Scandinavian *Skida-Rima* by Einar Fostri (see Vigfússon, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, II, 396, etc.).

¹ For the subject of visions see particularly Th. Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*; Hammerich, *Achtste christliche Epik*, p. 181; Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters*, passim; and C. Fritzsche, *Die lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, in *Vollmoller's Romanische Forschungen*, II, 217 etc.; III, 337 etc.

² Cp. Warton-Hazlitt III, 65; Sandras, p. 67; Ward, *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Lit.* I, 57; ten Brink, *Geschichte der engl. Literatur* II, 86.

Gower's *Vox clamantis*, in Skelton's *Garland of Laurel and Bouge of Court*, in the *Kingis Quair*, in Dunbar's *Golden Targe*, Henryson's *Æsop* (Introduction), Douglas's *Palice of Honour*; in Machault, Alain Chartier, etc., etc. Lydgate, who certainly knew Chaucer, Boccaccio, Deguileville, and the *Roman de la Rose*, is not less fond of this particular framework than his contemporaries; he has it, in different forms, besides in the *Temple of Glas*, in the *Assemblée de Dieus*, the *Court of Sapience*, the *Complaint of the Black Knight*, and, in a certain degree, also in the *Falls of Princes*.

The vision of some stately building, a palace or a temple, is common, as the very titles show: *Palaces of Honour*, *Houses of Fame*, *Temples of Glory*, etc., occurring frequently in the English and the Romance literatures. Temples of Venus—for so our *Temple of Glas* turns out to be—are found amongst Chaucer's works, in the *Knights Tale* (l. 1060 etc.), the *Hous of Fame* (l. 130 etc.), and the *Parlement of Foules* (l. 230 etc.), from all of which works Lydgate seems to have taken various hints for the present poem. The particular title, *The Temple of Glas*, may have suggested itself to Lydgate from ll. 119 and 120 of Chaucer's *Hous of Fame*, which run thus:

“But as I sleep, me mette I was
Within a temple y-mad of glas.”

The temple spoken of in this passage of the *Hous of Fame* is also a Temple of Venus.

Further, the enumeration of famous names, and particularly of famous lovers, is a very common feature in works of the aforementioned category. These names are naturally most numerous in poems which make the representation and portraiture of personages seen in a vision their primary object, such as Chaucer's *Hous of Fame*, Douglas's *Palice of Honour*, Petrarca's *Trionfi*, Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*, the *Intelligenza*,¹ not to mention the *Divina*

¹ This list is interesting as giving, amongst others, the following pair of lovers (stanza 75, l. 2):

La bella Analida e lo bono Ivano.

This seems to point to one of the Romances treating of *Iwain* and the *Round Table*, for the origin of the name *Analida*, which would at once upset Bradshaw's and Prof. Cowell's ingenious etymologies from *'Avairic* and *Anahita*; for I do not believe that both the poet of the *Intelligenza* and Chaucer mistook a *t* for an *l*. We have also in Froissart's *Bit du bleu chevalier* the line (ten Brink, *Chaucer-Studien*, p. 213):

“Ywain le preu pour la belle Alydes.”

One and the same personage is evidently indicated by the two names *Analida* and *Alydes* for *Iwain's* paramour; I am not, however, sufficiently acquainted with the Arthur-romances to know of the occurrence of such a name. *Laudine* in Chrestien's *Chevalier au Lion* is not very like it.

Commedia. Our poem, however, connects itself in particular with the idea of a "Court of Love," inasmuch as it enumerates not but lovers in the *entourage* of Venus, who is represented as "Lady-president of Love"—to use a phrase of Peele's—with Cupid at her side and lovers of all ages and conditions around her. We need not seek long for Lydgate's immediate sources among the many Romance and English poems in which this fanciful idea is introduced; Chaucer's Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* and Gower's vision of the Court of Love,¹ towards the end of the *Confessio* (ed. Pauli, III, 357 etc.), were certainly uppermost in Lydgate's mind when he wrote the part in question of the *Temple of Glas*. This is amply proved by the names which occur in our list (ll. 55—142), as well as in the two sources I have just named.²

Lydgate is not, perhaps, quite consistent in the representation of this Court of Love. In the latter part of the poem we find ourselves face to face with living inhabitants of the Temple, who sing the praise of Venus and otherwise join in the action of the poem; but in the beginning we hear of them—even of Venus, l. 53—only as "depainted upon every wall" (see l. 44). Both methods of introducing personages in a vision are common enough with these early "dreamers," and Warton (*History of E. P.*, ed. Hazlitt II, 192; 275, note 1; III, 63) has given us a series of examples, both from History and Fiction, in which such characters figure in pictures, statues, tapestry, etc. Warton's list itself may seem superfluous enough, and if, in addition to this, I point to *Béowulf* 994, to Úlfir Uggason's *Húsdrápu*, to Bojardo and Ariosto, to Athis and Prophilias, to Blikêr von Steinahne's *Umbehane* (Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan* 4690), to the *Anti-clauidian* of Alanus ab Insulis, to the *Intelligenza*, to Benoit de Ste-More, to the *Periphetasma* of Baldericus

¹ A Court of Love meant, of course, originally something different; but our version—Venus as queen listening to the complaints of the lovers—is already found in the 13th century, in Jean de Condé's *Des Chanoines et de des Bernardines* (see Morley, *English Writers*, 2nd ed., V, 143); in fact, we may trace its origin as far back as the classics, for example, Ovid's *Amors* I, 2, 25 etc. We have this notion again in Petrarca's *Triunfo d'Amore*, in the pseudo-Chaucerian poem *The Court of Love*, in Douglas's *Palace of Honour*, in Rolland's *Court of Venus*, etc. Cp. also the little poem "The Parliament of Love," in Furnivall's *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, p. 48—54, and the passage from Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure* in the note to l. 50.

² We may also refer to the list of lovers in *Part. of E.*, 288, and to the enumeration of good women in *March. Tale* 119 etc., *Melibe*, p. 150; *Frankel. Tale* 628. In Lydgate similar lists frequently recur; for instance in the *Life of our Lady*, fol. 35 b; in the poem on Duke Humphrey and Jacqueline, MS. Add. 29729, fol. 158b; in the poem entitled "Of a squyer vt serued in lones courte," *ib.*, fol. 157a; in the *Flour of Curtesia*, etc.

Dolensis, to Catullus' *Marriage of Pelcus and Thetis* (the passage from which Titian drew some suggestions for his glorious picture "Bacchus and Ariadne" in the National Gallery), etc. etc., I willingly plead guilty to the charge of *krokylegnos*.

Further, the "Complaints" of the Lady and the Knight, as they present them to the goddess, recall to us a certain species of poetry¹ which was at one time much in vogue in England and France. These "Complaints" are usually put into the mouth of a rejected or forsaken lover, bewailing his wretched state, and calling upon his lady for pity. It is not impossible that their origin may have been influenced by Ovid's *Heroides*, which enjoyed so remarkable a popularity in the Middle Ages. We have such "Complaints" from French poets—for instance, from Rutebeuf, Christine de Pisan, and Machault; Chaucer wrote the "Complaints" of Mars, of Venus, and of Anelida (of somewhat different *genre*, the *Complaint to Pity*, and, turned jokingly, the *Complaint to his Purse*). Of Lydgate we have the *Complaint of the Black Knight*, a tangible imitation of the *Boke of the Duchesse*; the *Complaint to his Purse* has also its parallel in Lydgate, see Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 49. Of Surrey, we have the *Complaint of a dying lover*, and, in fact, this species had not died out in Elizabethan times, witness Gascoigne's *Complaint of Philomene* and *Complaint of the green Knight*, Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamund*, Shakspeare's *A Lover's Complaint*, etc.

We ought, however, to add here that the "complaints" in the *Temple of Glas*, and the prayers combined with them, have perhaps been most immediately influenced by the *Knights Tale*, with its prayers of Arcite, Palamoun, and Emelie to Mars, Venus, and Diana.

The mode of beginning a poem with a detailed description of the time was also extensively used in those days; every one will at once recall Chaucer's beautiful descriptions of the May-morning, or the season of spring. These "dreamers" are particularly fond of embellishing their fictions by means of astronomical references; see, for instance, Petrarca's *Trionfo d'Amore*, I. 4—6, Skelton's *Garland of Laurel* and *Bowge of Court*, the *Flower and the Leaf*, the *Kingis*

¹ Cp. *Marchaundes Tale* 636, 637:

"And in a letter wrot he ad his sorwe,
In maner of a compl-ynt or of a lay."

Frankleynes Tale 219, 220:

" . . . made he many layes,
Songes, compleigntes, roundeletis, virrelayes."

Quair, Dunbar's *Golden Targe* and *Thriessill and the Rois*, Henryson's *Testament of Criseide*, Douglas's *Palice of Honour*, Lyndsay's *Dream*, the *Pastime of Pleasure*, etc. Nor is Lydgate behind his contemporaries in this respect. His *Story of Thebes*, the *Assemble de Dieus*, the *Flour of Curtisie*, and the *Troy-Book* (fol. A₁ d), begin in a like manner to the *Temple of Glas*, and these astronomical allusions are also frequently scattered throughout some of his other works.

Lastly, we believe we hear a faint echo of the love-poetry of those times in the admonitions of Venus to the lovers. They are most of them very diluted and commonplace, but sometimes they remind us of certain laws to which the lovers were bound in the Romance *Courts of Love*, alluded to in Cupid's Code in the *Roman de la Rose* and in the English poem, *The Court of Love*. The latter poem in particular enumerates 20 statutes for lovers, of which many coincide more or less closely with some of Venus's exhortations (see further on, § 4). Naturally, in all these regulations with respect to love, we are also sometimes vaguely reminded of "Venus clerk Ovide," one of the favourite classics in mediæval times.

§ 3. *Influence of Particular Works on the Temple of Glas.*

It has been more than once alleged that the *Hous of Fame* and *Parlement of Foules* were imitated and made use of by the author of the *Temple of Glas*. Although some of the remarks in question do not seem to be more than vague guesses, yet there is at least some little truth in this statement. We have above referred to ll. 119 and 120 of the *Hous of Fame*, and intimated that Lydgate may have got the title of his poem from there. Lines 19 and 20 of the *Temple of Glas* must have been written in remembrance of ll. 1128—1130 of the *Hous of Fame*:

"But at the laste espied I,
And found that hit was, every del,
A roche of yse, and not of steel."

ll. 130—139 of the *Hous of Fame* have been made use of in several passages of the *Temple of Glas*; see particularly ll. 53 and 541. The "wicket," through which Lydgate gains access to his glass-temple (l. 39), is also found in l. 477 of the *Hous of Fame*; it occurs further in the *Romant of the Rose*, ll. 528, 542; similarly a "guichet" is found in Deguileville's *Pilgrimage*, etc. Finally, Chaucer also dreams in the middle of December (on the 10th), see

ll. 63 and 111 of the *Hous of Fame*; it may be that Lydgate intended to imitate this.¹

If we turn to the *Parlement of Foules*, we find there also an imaginary Temple of Venus, "peynted over al of many a story;" the names given from ll. 284—292 coincide partly with those in the *Temple of Glas*. Moreover, l. 442 of Chaucer's poem occurs almost word for word in l. 1042 of the *Temple of Glas*. In Chaucer it is the female eagle who blushes so deeply. Of course, this coincidence may be purely accidental.

This may also be the most convenient place to note that certain other ideas which appear in the *Parlement of Foules*, are found occasionally in Lydgate; thus the "pecock with his aungels fethers bright" (*P. of Foules*, l. 356)² occurs in *Reason and Sensuality*, 221 b; also in the *Court of Sapience*, v₁ b:

(the peacock) "That to the syght he seemed every dele
An Archaunge'll doune frome the heuen sent."

"The cok that orloge is of thorpes lyte" (l. 350) appears in the *Troy-Book* D₁ a as "the cok comon Astrologere"; see again G₂ a:

"a coeke
Syngyng his houres trewe as any clocke."

Similarly, in *Æsop* 2, 10 and 11, the cock is called

"comyne astrologere
In thropes small to make hertis light."

As to the expression "Nature, the vicaire of thalmyghty lorde" (*Parl. of F.*, l. 379, Chaucer's *A. B. C.*, l. 140, and *Doctoures Tale*, l. 20), compare:

De duobus Merc. (MS. Hh. IV. 12, fol. 70 a):

(Nature) "Which is of god minister and vicare;"

¹ Lydgate often alludes to the idea of a house of Fame, for instance, *Tr.-B.* Q₆ b (Chaucer, the monk says, is to be exalted thither); *ib.* D₄ a (the same is said of Henry V.). Add to these the instances given by Koppel, *Falls of Princes*, p. 94, and esp. the poem on Humphrey and Jacqueline, MS. Add. 29729, fol. 159 b:

"He hath deserved thorough his knyghtly name (*Duke Humphrey*)
To be registryd in the hous of flanne."

² The following line 357 of the *Parl. of Foules* occurs nearly word for word in MS. Gg. 4. 27, fol. 9 b:

"þe fesaunt, scornere of þe cok
Be niþter tyme in frostis colde,
þhat nestelyth love be sunn blok
Or be sunn rote of bosschis olde."

In the same poem, f l. 9 a, we have also "Qui bien ayme tard oublye" sung by the "mauys" (cf. *Parl. of F.* l. 679); this motto occurs also in the form: "Tar · vblia · chi · bien · eima" as an inscription on one of Francia Bigio's pictures in the National Gallery; see E. T. Cook, *Handbook to the National Gallery*, 1890, p. 21.

further, *Troy-Book* D₃ d :

“ For the goddesse that called is nature,
 Whiche next hir lorde [hath] all thyng in cure,
 Hath vertue gyue to herbe, gras and stone,
 Which no man knoweth but hir selfe alone ;”

again, *Testament*, Halliwell, p. 243 :

(*Nature which is*) “ undyr God ther worldly emperesse ;”

F. Princes, 93 a :

(*Nature*) “ Which vnder god in heauen alone reigning,
 The world to gouerne, is called themp[re]sse ;”

R. Sens, fol. 205 b :

“ For she ys lady and maistresse, (*Nature*)
 And vnder god the chefe goddesse.”

The same occurs nearly word for word again on fol. 210 a. See further, *Black Knight*, 491—493, and *Par le Roy*, Halliwell, p. 6. Scipio's Dream is mentioned, *Troy-Book*, fol. R₃ d (not in Guido). The *Parlement of Foules* was evidently in great favour with Lydgate, as with all his contemporaries.

Line 703 of our poem, with the name of Cirrea, suggests line 17 of *Anelida and Arcite*. “Cirrea” occurs more than once in Lydgate's writings; see note to l. 703. The general composition of *Anelida* is also somewhat similar to the *Temple of Glas*, the epic and lyric *genre* alternating in different metres.

There are also certain points of analogy between the *Temple of Glas* and the *Boke of the Duchesse*; the *dream-motif* occurs in both at the beginning, and the figures of the Duke and Duchess Blanche bear some resemblance to our knight and lady.

One is frequently reminded of the *Legend of Good Women*, especially of the Prologue, as the greater part of the lovers named in the *Temple of Glas* also occur there, and some of them, with their detailed history, in the Legend itself. Lydgate may also have been influenced in the portraiture of his lady by Chaucer's description of certain ladies in the Legend; for instance, Alceste, whom Lydgate mentions in l. 74, as having been turned into a daisy. The garments of the Lady (l. 299) remind one also of Alceste's “whyt coron” and “real habit grene,” Prologue 214, etc. Line 60 of the *Temple of Glas* agrees with the *Legend of Dido*, l. 385, where Dido also exclaims :

“ That I was born! alas!”

Compare, however, for the common occurrence of this expression, the note to l. 60. A “ballade” of similar metrical structure is

inserted in both poems (*Legend*, Prol. 249—269, and *Temple of Glas*, 1341—1361).

The mention of Mars, Vulcan, and Venus, ll. 126—128, may also remind us of Chaucer's *Complaint of Mars*, and *Complaint of Venus*.

Lydgate was of course well acquainted with the *Canterbury Tales*; he himself aspired to add another to their number in his own *Story of Thebes*. The following of them are referred to in the *Temple of Glas*:

The *Knights Tale*, in ll. 102—110, in which the monk mentions Chaucer's name expressly (l. 110). I have already said that the prayers of the three principal personages in the *Knights Tale* bear a certain resemblance to those in the *Temple of Glas*. The conception of Lydgate's temple may have been somewhat influenced by Chaucer's description of the "theatre" built by Theseus (*Kn. Tale*, 1027 etc.); the line on Venus, *Temple of Glas* 53, is almost a literal transcript from *Kn. T.* 1098 (cp., however, also *Hous of Fame*, l. 133). Certain ideas and many lesser expressions are common to the two poems, as pointed out in the notes.¹

Further, allusions are to be found to the *Clerkes Tale*, ll. 75 and 76, to the *Squieres Tale*, ll. 137—142;² to the *Frankleynes Tale*, ll. 409 and 410, and to the *Marchaundes Tale* (ll. 184, 185), which latter has been imitated by Lydgate in his *Story of December and July* (see Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 27).

Lastly of Chaucer's works we may mention *Troilus and Cressida*. The notes will sufficiently show that many of the standard phrases of the monk come from this poem, especially those relating to love and lovers. The monk says of this poem in his well-known list of Chaucer's works in the Prologue to the *Falls of Princes*:

(Chaucer) "Gave it the name of Troylous and Cresseyde,
Whiche for to rede lovers them deleyte,
They have therein so grete devoeyou."

(Morris's *Chaucer*, I, 79.)

Lydgate is also indebted to Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. First, Gower's representation of the *Court of Love* seems to have been present in a general way in his mind, as has been said above. More-

¹ Our monk also got the epithet "omnipotent" for Mars, in the invocation at the beginning of the *Troy-Book*, from the *Knights Tale*, 1124, or *ib.* 1583 (and compare the beginning of *Luclada and Arcite*). The *Knights Tale* is twice alluded to in the *Story of Thebes*, fol. 372 d, and 377 c.

² I do not think that the wording of this passage warrants the supposition that there was more of the *Squieres Tale* written than is now extant (as suggested in *Warton-Hazlitt* III, 63, note 3): see Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and the continuation of our story in the *Faerie Queene*, book IV, and that by John Lane.

over, the allusion to the story of *Phoebus and Daphne* (ll. 111—116) seems to have been suggested by the *Confessio*, book III (ed. Pauli I. 336, etc.); so was certainly the story of *Phyllis and Demophoon*, the “filbert” tree, which seems to have been introduced by Gower (Pauli II. 30), occurring in Lydgate’s poem, l. 90.¹

We have furthermore to mention Martianus Capella, whose work, *De nuptiis Philologie et Mercurii* is referred to in ll. 129—136. It may be questioned whether Lydgate was acquainted with the original; certain it is that the book was widely known in the Middle Ages; see *Warton-Hazlitt*, III, 77. Chaucer mentions it in the *Marchauntes Tale*, 488, and in the *House of Fame*, 985; Lydgate refers to it again in the *Story of Thebes*; see *Warton, l. c.*, and Koepfel, *Story of Thebes*, pp. 25 and 74. Perhaps we must add to Lydgate’s sources for the *Temple of Glas* Fulgentius, on account of l. 248; for in his *Troy-Book* (G₃ b) the monk tells us that this crystal shield of Pallas is a symbol of force in virtue,

“by manly hie diffence,
Agayne vyces / to make resystance.”

For this and other symbolical interpretations Lydgate gives “Fulgence” as his source, *ib.* G₃ c. In the same passage of the *Troy-Book*, the monk refers us also to Fulgentius with regard to the doves which he there attributes to Venus as in our *Temple of Glas*, l. 541. Cp. the notes to ll. 53, 248, 541.

§ 4. *Resemblances in Later Works to the Temple of Glas.*

After having spoken of the sources of the *Temple of Glas* and the *motifs* which it has in common with earlier works, it may not be out of place here to add a few words on some resemblances which we find to the *Temple of Glas* in certain of Lydgate’s own works, and in works of later date than our poem.

Of all Lydgate’s works, the *Complaint of the Black Knight* and the *Flour of Curtesie* are those which a perusal of the *Temple of Glas* recalls most vividly to our mind, both as regards tone and

¹ Koepfel, *Falls of Princes*, p. 97, has also pointed out an instance of Lydgate’s dependence on Gower, namely in the monk’s narrative of the story of Canace (*Falls of Pr.* I, 23). Lydgate mentions Gower very rarely; he does so, together with Chaucer, in the *Court of Sapience* a2a:

“Gower, chancers, erthly goddes two . . .
I you honour, blysse, loue, and gloryfye.”

And, again, in *Falls of Princes*, IX, 38, fol. 217 c:

“In moral matter ful notable was Gower.”

imagery. As the *Temple of Glas* represents, with its introduction of the dream-motif, one of the popular forms of poetical frame-work, so in the *Black Knight* we have an example of the other species, opening with a description of the May-morning, and the poet's walk into the woods and by the river. Both poems begin with astronomical allusions; the lines dedicated to "Lucifer" (*Black Knight*, ll. 5—9) have moreover a close resemblance to ll. 253, 328—331, and 1355—1358 of the *Temple of Glas*. In both poems we find to a great extent the same my thical and allegorical personages (note particularly Daunger, Malebouche, and the filbert tree in the story of Phyllis), and the same phrases concerning lovers frequently occur in both (the mischievous "false tongues," the "access" hot and cold, etc.). The figure of the Black Knight is the double of the "hero" of the *Temple of Glas*; he is introduced and described precisely like the latter, and the Complaints of the two are much in the same strain. Both poems are dedicated, in the Envoy, to the poet's lady; one line (554) of the *Black Knight* is word for word the same as one which occurs twice in the *Temple of Glas* (424 and 879); also l. 623 of the first poem is nearly the same as l. 128 of the latter. A more minute analysis of the *Black Knight*, although by no means devoid of interest, would be out of place here; I can only state my opinion briefly that the form and contents of this poem are thoroughly Lydgatean, and even without Shirley's direct evidence (see p. lxxxviii), it would be emphatically clear that the poem is by Lydgate.

The *Flour of Curtesie* also begins with a joyous greeting to the morning (this time it is St. Valentine's day), and the poet's walk into the woods. The beginning at once pleasantly reminds us of the *Parlement of Foules*, nor are the astronomical embellishments wanting here. The two principal parts of the *Flour of Curtesie* are the poet's complaint on the obstacles to his love, and the description of his ideal Lady-love, the *Flour of Curtesie*. Both are much like their analogues in the *Temple of Glas*; the latter particularly, with its profuse comparisons of rubies, roses, and stars closely resembles certain lines of the *Temple of Glas* (cp. the notes to ll. 251 and 257—261). Lydgate has again managed, in spite of the small compass of the poem, to introduce his favourite personifications from the *Roman de la Rose*, Daunger, Malebouche, False Envie, and also "false suspicion" (cp. *Temple of Glas*, l. 153). The names of famous women enumerated are to a great extent the same as those in the *Temple of Glas*; I would emphasize particularly the occurrence of Alceste,

Grisilde, and Dorigene. At the end of the *Flour of Curtesie*, Lydgate introduces a ballad in praise of his lady; in the *Temple of Glas* (l. 1381) he seems to express a similar intention, which, however, he does not carry out. Finally, in both poems, the monk makes mention of his master Chaucer, the closing stanzas of the *Flour of Curtesie* lamenting his death.

I will now proceed to discuss certain other works which bear some similarity to the *Temple of Glas*. We have spoken above of Stephen Hawes and his excessive admiration of Lydgate. We have also quoted Wood's assertion that he knew many of Lydgate's works by heart and could repeat them at will. Some lines of the *Temple of Glas* seem thus to have remained in his memory; there is, at least, a great resemblance between ll. 19—34 of our poem, and Hawes's lines (ed. Wright, p. 15):

“I loked about, and sawe a craggy roche . . . (cp. *T. of Glas*, l. 19)
 And as I dyd then unto it approche . . . (l. 20)
 . . . I sawe . . . The royall tower . . . Made of fine copper . . .
 Which against Phebus shone so marveylously, (l. 21)
 That for the very perfect bryghtnes,
 What of the tower and of the cleare sunne,
 I coulde nothyng beholde the goodlines (l. 27)
 Of that palaice where as Doctrine did womne;
 Tyll at the last, with mysty wyndes donne, (l. 30)
 The radiant bryghtnes of golden Phebus (l. 32)
 Auster gan cover with clowde tenebrus.”

Again, a good many parallels of minor importance are to be found between Hawes's poem and the *Temple of Glas*.

But, as far as I am aware, the two poems that bear the greatest family-likeness to the *Temple of Glas* are the *Court of Love* and the *Kingis Quair*. Tytler, in his edition of the *Kingis Quair*, p. 49, has already compared King James's poem to the *Court of Love*—"of Chaucer," he adds, a mistake which we can readily forgive him: he considered the spirit, not the language of the poem. If we are entitled to introduce the *Temple of Glas* into the family—as its weakest member, we willingly allow—then there would naturally also be a likeness between Lydgate's work and the *Court of Love*. And a comparison of the two latter poems proves this to be the case. The structure and extent of the *Court of Love*, the metre adopted, the allegories introduced, the progress of the action, and a great many direct verbal resemblances, remind us frequently of the *Temple of Glas*. Philogenet, the poet and hero of the *Court of Love*, enters the magnificent castle, where the King and Queen of Love, Admetus and Alcestis, have their residence. In it he finds a great throng of young

and old people (ll. 110 and 111), servants to Love. Within this castle is the "temple" (l. 229), or "tabernacle" (l. 222), of Venus and Cupid, which shines "with wyndowes all of glasse" (l. 229), "bright as the day with many a feire ymage" (cp. *Temple of Glas*, l. 45): Dido and Aeneas, and Anelida and Arcite are given as representatives, of which Dido and Aeneas occur also in the *Temple of Glas*, the false Arcite of Thebes in the closely allied poem of the *Black Knight* (l. 379). Philogenet is "sore abashed" to see such a crowd of people, who, "in here guyse" (*Court of Love*, l. 245, *Temple of Glas*, l. 537), sacrifice to Venus and Cupid (cp. *Temple of Glas*, ll. 531—544). He finds a beautiful lady, Rosiall (l. 767), whose description at once reminds one of the Lady in the *Temple of Glas*; Rosiall also, like the Lady, has on the *green* garments to which one of the scribes of our poem seems to have had an objection (*Court of Love*, l. 816, *Temple of Glas*, l. 299). Philogenet's prayer to Venus, l. 631, etc., and his "bille" to Rosiall, l. 841, etc., recall at once the Knight's prayer to Venus and his suit to the Lady. Rosiall's answer (ll. 890 and 891):

"Truly gramerey, frende, of your gode wille,
And of youre profer in youre humble wise"

has a verbal resemblance to that of the Lady in the *Temple of Glas*, l. 1060; lines 1016—1019 also, describing Rosiall's blushing, resemble *Temple of Glas*, ll. 1042 and 1043. The praise of Venus by the fortunate lovers (ll. 591—623) has the same ring as the joyous ballad at the end of the *Temple of Glas*. The various complaints of the lovers in the *Court of Love* are in part identical with those in the *Temple of Glas*; such as the complaints on "Poverty" (*Court of Love*, ll. 1137—1148, *Temple of Glas*, l. 159, etc.), and, particularly, the complaints of the priests, monks, and nuns (*Court of Love*, ll. 253—258, 1095, etc., *Temple of Glas*, ll. 196—208). The latter are sometimes worded similarly in the two poems; cp. *Court of Love*, ll. 1116 ("copes wide") and 1104—1106:

" 'Alas,' thay sayn, 'we fayne perfeccion,
In clothes wide, and lake oure libertie;
But all the synne mote on oure frendes be'"

with *Temple of Glas*, ll. 204 and 208. Lines 50—52 of the *Temple of Glas* should also be compared with ll. 575—581 of the *Court of Love*, and stanzas 25 *b* and 25 *c* (most likely spurious) in the first poem with ll. 582, etc. of the latter. Some of the allegorical figures in the *Court of Love* are identical with those in the *Temple of Glas*. So

Daunger and Disleyne, mentioned together in l. 156 of Lydgate's poem, stand, in the *Court of Love*, near the King and Queen as attendants (ll. 129 and 130); further, Envie, mentioned in *T. of Glas*, l. 147, is described in two stanzas of the *Court of Love* (ll. 1254—1267); lastly, the dispute between Hope and Dispeyre, *T. of Glas*, ll. 641—661, has its parallel in the *Court of Love*, l. 1036, etc.

But as I have already indicated at the end of § 2, it is in particular the Statutes of the Court of Love which recur in a diluted form in the *Temple of Glas*, mostly in the exhortations given by Venus to the Knight, *T. of Glas*, ll. 1152—1213. The lover is admonished in the third of these statutes to be constant, true and faithful to his lady, and never "to take another love" (*Court of Love*, l. 316, etc.); the same injunction we find frequently in the *T. of Glas*; see ll. 1152—1158, 1124—1130; 1188; 1201; cp. also 999, 1005. The second of the statutes enjoins secrecy in love (*C. of Love* 309); cp. *T. of Glas* 1005, 1154; the fifth commands the lover "to turne and wallowe" in bed and weep; cp. *T. of Glas*, ll. 1—3 and 12; the 6th, to wander alone and to be reckless of life and death; see *T. of Glas*, 550 etc. and 939; the 7th, to be patient; see *T. of Glas* 1203 and 1267, and lowly to obey his mistress (*T. of Glas* 1007, 1145 etc.); the ninth, never to be overbold or offend his lady (ll. 1013, 1025); the tenth, to ask everything from the mercy and pity of his lady, and never to demand anything as his right (*T. of Glas* 800 and 979); the 12th, to suffer mortal wounds (ll. 170, 1014); the 14th, to believe no "tales" (*T. of Glas* 1182); lastly, the 18th, not to be "sluttish," but always clean, "fresh," and courteous (*T. of Glas* 1166, 1167).

If thus the *Court of Love*, concerning the author and exact date of which we are so sorely puzzled, reminds us in many particulars of the *Temple of Glas*, the *Kingis Quair*, written, it would seem, some twenty years later than our poem, does so perhaps even more forcibly and directly.

This poem, justly famous for its intrinsic worth and the associations connected with it, nevertheless presents two different aspects of poetry, which illustrate in a striking manner the poetical currents of the time. We almost imagine, in the first part of the poem, and again at the end, that we hear Chaucer's own melodious voice once more, speaking to us of beauteous ladies, of the fresh May-morning, and the delightful song of the birds, whose charms alone could lure him away from his beloved books. But the more we feel delight

in King James's poetry in the first part of his famous work, so much the more are we reminded, in the second part, of Goethe's famous words :

“Weh dir, dass du ein Enkel bist!”

This part, decidedly inferior to the first, is blighted throughout by the baneful influence of the allegorical plots so much in vogue at that day—from which, however, Chaucer wisely kept aloof in his ripest works—and even King James's brilliant genius could not take free flight under the pressure of those leaden wings. This part does not recall Chaucer, but Gower and Lydgate. It is true that, besides Chaucer, King James mentions Gower alone as entitled to his thanks;¹ but my impression is that he must also have read Lydgate. If I remember rightly, some resemblances are found in *Reason and Sensuality* to the *Kingis Quair*;² but, of all Lydgate's writings, it is the *Temple of Glas* of which we are especially reminded in reading King James's poem. The very first lines of it contain an expression which Lydgate seems to have originated, and perhaps, indeed, just in our present poem. We read in the *Kingis Quair*, stanza 1, ll. 3 and 4 :

“And, In Aquary, Citherea the clere
Rynsid hir tressis like the goldin wyre.”

Skeat, in his notes, cites many instances of the notion of golden hair, but none which contains the exact comparison of hair to “golden wire.” The latter is, however, a favourite phrase of Lydgate's, as the note to l. 271 will amply show, and, once started, this expression lived a long life down to the Elizabethan period, from Lydgate and King James through Hawes and popular ballads down to Spenser, Peele, and perhaps even Shakspeare. I do not think it probable that such an expression should have been started twice independently. Unless, therefore, earlier instances of it come to light, I am inclined to believe that King James borrowed it from Lydgate.

¹ Prof. Schipper evidently quotes from memory in stating the contrary, see his *Duubar*, p. 29. Henry Morley, indeed, makes King James finish up with an additional stanza in honour of Lydgate (*English Writers*, II. 453). Skeat, however, on p. 94 of his edition of the *Kingis Quair*, rejects this stanza, as obviously belonging “to some other poem”; and rightly so, for it is the closing stanza of Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*.

² Henry Wood, in *Chaucer's Influence upon King James I.*, p. 25 (also in *Anglia*, vol. III, 223 etc.), compares *Kingis Quair*, stanza 116, and *Troy-Book*, lib. III, cap. 24 (beginning):

“Whan Aurora the sylber droppes shene,
Her teares, shad vpon the freshe grene;
Complaynyng aye in weping and in sorow
Her chyldrens death enery sooner morowe.”

He also points out (p. 31) a general likeness between *Kingis Quair*, stanza 154—158, and *Black Knight*, l. 36 etc.

But, more than this, there is in part of the *Kingis Quair* great resemblance of subject-matter to the *Temple of Glas*. This similarity begins at stanza 73, where King James feigns to have been carried up to the Temple of Venus, an episode much resembling part of our poem. Stanzas 82—93, in particular, cover the same ground as ll. 143—246 of the *Temple of Glas*, both passages containing the complaints of various conditions of lovers, who present their “billes” to Venus. King James’s complaint to Venus and her answer to him are much in the same style as the complaint of our Knight and Lady to the goddess and Venus’s reply. Portions also of Minerva’s answer to King James recall expressions used by Venus in the *Temple of Glas*; compare, for instance, *Kingis Quair*, 129, with stanza 55 of Lydgate’s poem.

Further, special instances of resemblance occur in the following passages: Stanzas 88—90 of the *Kingis Quair*, and lines 196—206 of the *Temple of Glas*; particularly stanza 90 and ll. 207 and 208; stanzas 91 and 92 and ll. 209—214; stanza 93 and l. 151; stanza 134 and ll. 215—222; stanza 137 and ll. 167 and 168; stanza 144, 1 and 2, and ll. 1061 and 1062. Many more verbal resemblances will be pointed out in the *Notes*; I would only observe here that “gude hope” is James’s guide to Minerva (cp. *Temple of Glas*, 892 and 1197).¹

The names of the lovers in the Temple of Venus, enumerated in Lydgate’s poem from ll. 55 to 142, are not given by King James, as, to use his own words, of their

“chancis maid is meucioun
In diuerse bukis, quho thame list to se;
And therefore here thaire nanys lat I be.”
(*Kingis Quair*, 78, 5—7.)

As instances of the “diuerse bukis” which King James had in mind, Professor Skeat mentions, besides Ovid, the three well-known lists in the *Man of Law’s Prologue*, the *Legend of Good Women*, and in Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* (ed. Pauli III, 359). I think we may boldly add the *Temple of Glas* to the books enumerated by the learned commentator of the *Kingis Quair*.

¹ If King James wrongly inferred from *Proilus* (1st stanza of Canto 1 and last stanza of Canto III) that Tisiphone was a Muse, Lydgate’s frequent invocation of that “Muse” was quite calculated to keep this error awake; see *Temple of Glas*, l. 958 and Note.

CHAPTER X.

STYLE OF THE *TEMPLE OF GLAS*.

I PURPOSE, in this chapter, to treat of certain characteristics of Lydgate's, which I would handle collectively under the comprehensive heading "Style," although some of them might more properly be assigned a place in Chapter VI on the language, or Chapter IX on the sources and borrowed *motifs* of the *Temple of Glas*.

We have already stated, in discussing the authorship of the *Temple of Glas* (see p. lxxxiv), that the style of this poem is essentially the same as that of Lydgate's other works. Drawled-out and incompact, are the first epithets which one would most readily apply to the style of the monk's productions. His sentences run on aimlessly, without definite stop, and it is often difficult to say where a particular idea begins or ends. One certainly has the impression that the monk never knew himself, when he began a sentence, how the end of it would turn out. He knows little of logic connection, or distinct limitation of his sentences, and the notion of artistic structure, by which all ideas form, in mutual interdependence, an organic whole, is entirely foreign to him: what is uppermost in his mind comes to the surface without further consideration of the context; for a moment he may lose sight of the first idea when something fresh turns up, to resume it again as soon as his new thought leaves him. Compare, for instance, the list of the lovers, from ll. 55—142. In his enumeration, he is evidently only guided by the inspiration of the moment, according to which he either gives a brief summary of the story, or merely indicates it. After line 77, and particularly after 91, one imagines that he is about to close his list, as we find an apparently concluding phrase; but the expected finale turns out to be a delusion, for meanwhile Paris and Helen have flashed across his mind, which sets him going once more in the old strain, on the principle of "The more, the merrier." The same applies to the lengthy list of the complaints of the various lovers, from l. 143—246. He adds one set of complaints after another, just as they occur to him, and as the rhyme may require, so long as he can think of any; nor does it matter much to him if he says similar things twice over.

He is especially in his own element whenever he can bring in long sermons and moralizations. Then showers of commonplaces,

proverbs, and admonitions rain down upon us, the fruits of his extensive reading swelling the vast store of his own commonplaces. In our poem, this natural propensity of the monk is most apparent in the speeches of Venus, who, in this character of a pedantic moralizer, occasionally appears to us in a very philistine aspect.¹ More commendable, however, is the zeal with which our monk allows his pen free flight, when he comes to a passage which inspires him with unusual fervour. Then he lets loose the floodgates of his eloquence, and a whole deluge of epithets and images is showered down upon us. Such is usually the case when he comes to a turning-point in his story, or when he wishes to present us with a lively description of Nature, or a portrait of a personage in whom he is especially interested. In our poem, he found unfortunately no opportunity for bringing in one of his famous pictures of Nature, but he more than makes up for it in what he evidently considered the *chef-d'œuvre* of his poem, the description of his lady. For this, every imaginable simile and comparison is raked up from every possible quarter, and he heaps together sun and stars, May, roses, balm and rubies; it is a wonder how ever Nature could make such an angelic creature; her hair shines like Phœbus' beams, and the entire temple is illumined by her; and, in addition to all this, he winds up with a whole string of womanly charms and virtues in her praise. The “*πλέον ἡμῖν παντός*” evidently never dawned upon our monk.

It is nevertheless in this vitiated, overwrought style that he is at his best, as the good intention of heaping every beauty and virtue upon his ideal lady, or his sincere love of Nature, makes him sometimes really a poet. The worst of it is that he often loses his way and becomes entangled in his own sentences, by reason of overmuch zeal in setting forth what impresses his mind most strongly. The consequence is that the anacoluthon is exceedingly common in all Lydgate's writings. Now, an anacoluthon may be a fine thing—I have always, for instance, admired the one in *Hamlet*, before the Prince first sees his father's ghost;—but, in Lydgate, it does not usually heighten the beauty of the passage—at all events, if it ever

¹ Brugari, in a little pamphlet on Chaucer, has a quaint remark concerning the position of Venus in certain poems of this period: “Venere in tutta questa letteratura è degradata e rassomiglia ad una vecchia *douairière* pensionata e collocata a riposo” (*Jeffrey Chaucer e la Letteratura Inglese del secolo xiv.*, p. 13). Similarly Godwin, *Life of Chaucer*, III, 256, has: [The poets of chivalry] “superannuated her [*Venus*], and substituted another [*Alceste*], as the active and administering divinity, in her room.”

does, it must be by a tremendous fluke. What it certainly does, is to make the punctuation very difficult for the editor, especially as it is often impossible, in the monk's interminable sentences, to define with certainty whether we have to do with an anacoluthon. An undoubted oversight of this kind has, however, crept in unawares into his masterpiece, the portraiture of his lady; for it seems impossible to construe ll. 271 etc. grammatically. The same may be said of ll. 548 etc., 563 etc., 603 etc., 614 etc.; stanzas 42, 43, 44, 50, etc. There is, however, no instance of the anacoluthon in our poem quite so bad as the beginning of *Guy of Warwick*, where, as Professor Zupitza says (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1873, vol. 74, p. 665), not only the predicate of the sentence is wanting, but the subject as well.

We may also note here that sometimes direct and indirect speech flow together in a very careless manner, as in ll. 509 and 510, and in ll. 376 and 377. Our monk apparently here at first intended to give only a few words of reply, for which indirect speech might conveniently be employed; but he changed his mind, and when once in full swing, it is no easy matter to stop him.

Parallel to this carelessness in language, is the monk's inconsistency in depicting his ideas. Thus we first hear of his assemblage of lovers as being painted on the wall, whilst later on we have clearly to do with living personages. Venus herself is first spoken of as "fleting in þe se," evidently in a picture on the wall (l. 53); then, in l. 249, her "statue set on height" is mentioned, before which the Lady kneels to pray, and, throughout the rest of the poem, we find her addressed as a living being, and speaking and acting as such. If we had to do with a poet who can hold his ideas together, we might try and reconcile the discrepancy; but, in the present case, it arises simply from Lydgate's well-known *laissez-aller* and general muddle-patedness.—In the same manner, also, his mode of expression in the last lines of the poem is unclear, and of the several "treatises" mentioned in ll. 1380 and 1387, it is difficult to know which is which. Such a slight inconsistency as the *ὑστερον πρότερον* in ll. 33 and 39, where he sees the inside of the temple before entering it, of course hardly counts with our monk.

If, however, heathen and Christian ideas are heaped together in a very incongruous medley, the monk is less to blame for it than the general taste of that period. For this feature is exceedingly common throughout the Middle Ages, and is especially in accordance with the

notions prevailing at the time of the Renaissance. We meet with more or less grotesque confusion of this kind in Dante, Boccaccio, the Italian Humanists, Chaucer, Gower, Camões, etc. In the same way it mattered little to our monk whether he invoked a saint, the Virgin Mary, or a heathen goddess; he did it all in one and the same strain. In our poem Lydgate speaks of "orisouns" to Venus (l. 460), of an "oratory" in her temple (l. 696), and when the scribe of the Pepys MS. once (l. 577) changes *tempil* into *cherche*, the alteration is not out of keeping with the general tenour of the poem. The greatest absurdity, however, committed by our monk himself, is that Venus cites the example of "holy saints," who won heaven through their suffering; but this is more than matched by the *Kingis Quair*, in which Minerva quotes *Ecclesiastes* (see the passage in the Note to l. 1203), or by Bishop Gawain Douglas, in whose *Palice of Honour* a nymph of Calliope's train expounds the scheme of redemption.¹

We need not be greatly astonished that a rhyme-maker of Lydgate's order of mind should make ample use of expletives, pleonasm and certain stock-phrases occurring again and again; in fact, if we consider how often a poet like Chaucer has recourse to such means, we wonder that Lydgate does not go still further in that respect. Some of the expressions he uses as a make-shift to fill up the line—mostly also Chaucerian—are the following: Shortli in a clause, 536; shortli to conclude, 545; forto reken all, 579; if I shal not lie, 73; if I shal not feine, 911; what shal I lenger tarie, 1297; þer is no more to sein, 1325; some of his set phrases: for wele or (for) wo, 517, 783; boþe in cold and hete, 512; doumb as eny ston, 1184; stil as eni stone, 689; trw as eny stele, 866; constant as a walle, 1153; favour or be foo, 519. Sometimes he repeats whole lines which form favourite stock-phrases; thus l. 385 is the same as 1295, and l. 424 the same as 879. Paraphrases by means of a relative—

¹ Other incongruities and anachronisms, at which we cannot forbear a smile, occur in the following passages, where Lydgate calls Orpheus a "poet laureate" (*Falls of Princes*, 32 c), and Gabriel the "secretary of God" (*Life of our Lady*, fol. c₃ b); the Parcæ are made to keep the library of Jove (*Falls of Princes*, 27 d); Mercury is chamberlain, secretary and chief notary to Phebus (*R. & Scus.*, 225 a); Pythagoras is chief clerk to govern the library of "Arsmetryk" (*Pur le Roy*, Halliwell, p. 11); Ganymede, Jove's "butler," and of Venus the monk says (*R. & Scus.*, 222 a):

"For she doth leden and eke gnyve
The amerouse constablerie."

Sometimes, however, I believe Lydgate must have seen the joke himself, as Chaucer certainly did when he made Pluto quote Solomon (*Marchaundes Tale* 998).

for instance: *stormes þat be kene for kene stormes* (l. 515); *cloudes þat ben blake* (l. 613)—often help him through, and meaningless little words, such as *so, as, gan* and other similar stop-gaps, also serve to fill up his line.

To return, however, to points of more general and further-reaching interest than the monk's individual make-shifts to get his lines right, we must first notice the traces found in the *Temple of Glas* of the allegorical style so much in vogue at that time. Professor Ward, in his *History of Dramatic Literature*, I, 56, calls the English an allegory-loving people, and rightly so, no doubt, if we bear in mind Piers Ploughman, Chaucer and his school, Hawes, the Moralities, and above all Spenser, Bunyan, and Swift. Lydgate certainly was acquainted with those of the above-mentioned works which existed at his time; all the instances, however, of allegory, or rather personification, in our present poem, seem to go back, more or less directly, to the *Roman de la Rose*.¹ In that poem excessive prosopœia forms a distinctive feature, and many of its personifications became exceedingly popular with the English poets. So, in numerous passages of our poem (ll. 156, 646, 652, 739, 776), we meet with the great bugbear of the *Roman de la Rose*, Dangier, who guards the rose-tree from all assailants; in l. 153 we have also a distinct allusion to Dangier's comrade, Malebouche, called Wikked-Tonge in the English translation (see also stanza 25 *b*, l. 7). Other such personifications—nearly all of them started by the *Roman de la Rose*—are the following: Hope (641—686, 736, 892, 1119, 1197) and its opponents Drede (631—686, 893, 1119, 1198), Dispeire (656, 895, 1198), Wanhope (673, 895), and Dislaine (156, 218); further, Reason

¹ *Reason and Sensuality*, especially, has in many points a distinct connection with the *Roman de la Rose*; the French poem is directly named on folio 268 *b*, etc. (MS. Fairfax 16), and the monk says of its author:

“He compiled the romaunce,
Callyd the Romavnce of the Rose,
And gañ his processe so dispose,
That neuer yet was rad noo (read *nor*) songe
Swich a nother in that tonge,
Nor noon that in comparysouñ
Was so worthy of renouñ,
To spekyñ of Philosophie,
Nor of profounde poetrie:
For sothly yet it doth excelle
Al that ever I herd of telle.”

This admiration, in his earlier days, for the *Roman de la Rose* did not, however, prevent Lydgate from trans'ating, without any comment of his own, Degui eville's severe censure of it in the *Pelerinage de la vie humaine*, MS. Cott. Vit. C. XIII, fol. 201 *a*, etc.

(878); Riches 175, Tresour 176, Poverte 159; Mirth and Gladnes 190; croked Elde 182, 187; þe serpent of fals Ielousie 148 (see also stanza 3 *b*, and 25 *a*, l. 7); Suspecioun 153; Envie 147;¹ Covetise 244, Slouth 244, Hastines 245, Rekleynes 246; see also, particularly, stanza 58 and 59. In more than one of the above instances it is, however, difficult to say whether we have to do with a distinct and conscious prosopopœia.

Another feature of some prominence in our poem is the occurrence of expressions which had arisen from the astrological beliefs of the time. Every planet was supposed to be guided by the heathen god whose name it bore, and star and god were, in the language of the period, often entirely identified. So Venus in our poem is directly addressed or spoken of as a "star" or "planet," etc., see ll. 326, 328, 715, 835, 1097, 1341, 1348, 1355. The "aspects" of the planets are described as "benign," l. 449, or "fierce," l. 1236, and their effect is accordingly beneficial or pernicious. The proper word to express the working of the planets upon human destiny is the word *influence*, of particularly common occurrence throughout these centuries; so also in the *Temple of Glas*, ll. 718, 885, 1330; Chaucer, in one place (*Man of Law's Tale*, l. 207), introduces the corresponding Arabic word *at-ta'thūr* (infinitive of second stem of *'athara*, with prefixed article).

Quite in accordance with the style of the age are likewise the portions of the poem referring to love and lovers. As already indicated, the idea of a Court of Love runs through the whole poem; Cupid deals his dreadful stroke (l. 984), and Cupid and Venus keep the books (ll. 1238, 1136, 1234) in which the good and evil deeds of every lover are registered. The poor lover has, indeed, a hard time of it. He is the "man" and "servant" of his lady, and desires to be nothing beyond that; the wounds inflicted by his lady's "casting of an eye" are always fresh and "green"; his blood rushes to his heart, making him "pale and wan"—the favourite aspect of a man "daunted" by Cupid; he is in a continual "access," now hot, now cold, constantly swoons and falls down, and is altogether nearly killed. In fact, we hear from the mouth of our lover himself (l. 634) that he is murdered and slain *at the least*. Now there is appropriateness in the hyperbole of Harpagon's "Je

¹ The seven deadly sins appear to have been particularly often personified at that time; Lydgate himself introduces them thus in the *Assembly of Gods*, b7b, following, it seems, Prudentius' *Psychomachia*; and they come, of course, also in his translation of Deguileville's first *Pilgrimage*.

suis tué, je suis tué," after his money-box has been stolen, or in the cowardly "hada mhi, hada mhi" of Kâlidâsa's *Vilâshaka*; but in the case of our innocent though long-winded lover it seems hard lines that Cupid should go so far as to kill him straight off, and, indeed, murder and slay him *at the least*. We involuntarily ask, if to be murdered and slain is the least that befalls him, what would be the most?

Another similarly absurd way of putting the case is that our lover assures us—evidently with a view to refute those who might not believe it—that he has a mouth (l. 823), with which he is, however, unable to speak. Yet this ridiculous phrase seems not to have been uncommon at the time; see note to l. 823. But among all these absurdities, the palm must certainly be awarded to line 117, where the monk represents

“Κροτίωνα κρασφόρον ἄρπαγα νύμφης”

as changing his “cope” for the purpose alluded to. Leopold von Schroeder, in his *History of Sanskrit-Literature*, has aptly drawn our attention to the significant fact that all nations represent their gods as being similar to themselves in appearance and occupation, and he adduces the characteristic instance of the compilers of the *Yajur-Veda*, who, impressed with the all-importance of their interminable sacrifices, finally make their own gods priests operating with the sacrificial ladle. So our monk, being himself vested in the black cope (see the Prologue to the *Story of Thebes*), would clothe the “father of gods and men” with the same garment, and the outcome of this “false analogy” is, mighty Jove enthroned on Olympus in a monk’s cope.

Another feature characteristic of Lydgate is his self-deprecatory vein. He very frequently introduces modest excuses and phrases; he willingly grants that the Muses did not preside over his cradle, that he knows nothing of the flowers of Tully, that Jove’s butler, Ganymede, deals his liquor very sparingly to him (Prologue to the *Pilgrimage of Man*, and Envoy to *Ethiud*), and that he never slept on the hill of Parnassus; he complains of his “dulnesse” and asks Calliope to “redress” it; he excuses himself that he is “born in Lydegate,”¹ and that thus his English is not the best; his metre, also, he is afraid, may be found wanting, and he even does not

¹ “I wil proeede furth with white and black.

And where I faile, let Lidgate beare y^e lack.”

Falls of Princes, 217 d.

hesitate to run down his own character and manner of life.¹ I have already alluded to his particular mania of ending his poems by an appeal to the reader, or the addressee of his envoy, to correct his poem; for he knows well, as he himself says at the end of the *Troy-Book* (fol. Dd₃ b), that

“moche thyng is wronge
Falsely metryd / bothe of short and longe.”

Similar requests to correct his verses are found, besides in the *Troy-Book*, in our *Temple of Glas*, in the *Æsop* (*Anglia*, IX, 2, 46), in the *Legend of Austin* (Halliwell, p. 149), and elsewhere; see note to l. 1400. In one case he says:

“If ought be mysse in worde, sillable or dede,
Put all defaute upon John Lidgate.”²

Similarly in *Guy of Warwick*, 73, 7, 8, he has:

“Yif ought be wrong in metre or in substance,
Putteth the wyte for dulnesse on Lydgate.”

Yes, certainly, on whom else!

Almost invariably hand in hand with the demand to correct him, goes the expression “litel boke” bestowed by the monk on his poems in the envoys. Lydgate forgot many a favourite phrase of his youth, when, in later years, the *Falls of Princes* too sorely tried his spirits; but to this particular one he clung most tenaciously. We should have thought the monk might have been content to call the 20,000 lines of the *Pilgrimage*,³ or the 30,000 of the *Troy-Book* a “litel boke.” But no; after he has tired us out with nearly four myriads of verses of the dullest description in his *Falls of Princes*, he has once more, at the end, the coolness to say in his envoy (fol. 218 c):

“With letters and leaues goe *lille booke* tremblyng.”

I need hardly add a word on our envoy (ll. 1393—1403), as such terminations occur in dozens and dozens of poems of the time. Nor is indeed self-deprecation, even in its absurd exaggeration, uncommon

¹ Cp. his *Testament*, and *Troy-Book*, Dd₃ b:

“Monke of Burye by professyon,
Usynge an habyte of perfeccyon,
Albe my lyfe accorde nat therto,
I feyne nat, I wot well it is so;
It nedeth nat wyttnesse for to calle;
Recorde I take of my brethren alle,
That wyll nat fayle at so great a nede.”

² *Stans Puer ad Mensam*. I have not yet seen the paper by F. Buchenne, which undertakes to prove that this poem is spurious (s. *Mittheilungen zur Aulic*, 1890, p. 221).

³ See MS. Cott. Vit. C. XIII, fol. 257 a.

in those days. Skeat, *Man of Law's Tale*, p. xxv, quotes Dunlop's *History of Fiction* (3rd ed. 1845, p. 247), who says of Ser Giovanni's *Pecorone* (the "Dunce"): "a title which the author assumed, as some Italian academicians styled themselves, *Insensati*, *Stolidi*, &c., appellations in which there was not always so much irony as they imagined." The immediate sources, however, of Lydgate's self-deprecatory phrases seem to be Chaucer's humorous excuses for possible shortcomings; for instance, the familiar ones in the *House of Fame*, l. 1098, and at the end of *Troilus* (V, 1872), and I may add, Lydgate's personal modesty, especially when he measures himself with his great master. We have seen above how Lydgate himself is apt to fall into absurdities in his handling of these phrases; but they come to sheer stupidity in their treatment by Lydgate's imitators. Thus one of them (MS. Fairfax 16, fol. 309 *a*) complains that the Pierides do not favour him "dull ass." Chaucer is here, as always, the graceful humourist, Lydgate the ungraceful imitator, and our anonymous aspirant at the laurels of Parnassus—"such as he said he was."

CHAPTER XI.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

AFTER these strictures on Lydgate's absurdities it is only fair that we should also hear the other side. If we needed only the laudatory testimony of a successive line of poets, historians, and critics to prove that Lydgate was a great poet, we could, indeed, for this purpose marshal a long and proud array of names. I have spoken above of Hawes's craze for his favourite author, and of Shirley's verses in honour of Lydgate; I may further mention, among the less conspicuous admirers of Lydgate, Bennet Burgh, the continuator of the *Secreta Secretorum*, Bradshaw (*Life of Saint Werburge* II, 2023), Feylde (*Controversy between a lover and a jay*, Prol. 19—21), Bokenam (*Legends* I, 177; II, 4, 612; VI, 24; XIII, 1078) and Ashby, *Active Policy of a Prince* (see Morley, *English Writers*, 2nd ed., VI, 161). To proceed to greater names, King James I. was, as we attempted above to make probable, acquainted with his writings; Skelton frequently introduces him together with Chaucer and Gower (*Philip Sparrow* 804—812; *Garland of Laurel* 390, 428—441, 1101); Sir Thomas More evidently imitated him in his early poems, and the great triad of later Scotch poets never fail to mention him in connexion with Chaucer (cp. Dunbar, *Golden Targe* 262—270, and

Lament for the Makaris 51; Douglas, *Palace of Honour*, ed. Small, I, 36, 11; Lyndsay, *Pappogo*, ProL. 12). In the Elizabethan times, even at the close of the period, Lydgate's name was far from being forgotten. In Tarlton's *Seven Deadly Sins* he appeared before the Elizabethan public as speaker or chorus (like Gower in *Pericles*), see Boswell's *Malone*, 1821, III, 348 etc.; Richard Robinson, in the *Reward of Wickednesse*, 1574, places Googe on Helicon with Lydgate, Skelton and others (*Dictionary of National Biography*, under Googe); later on, John Lane, in his continuation of *Guy of Warwick*, again introduces Lydgate as speaker of the prologue and epilogue. Camden praises him very highly indeed,¹ the *Polimanteia* (fol. R₃ a) and Beaumont (Chaucer, ed. Speght, 1598) mention him honourably, and but little doubt can be entertained that even Shakspeare himself read Lydgate. The *Story of Thebes* was repeatedly printed between 1561 and 1687, together with Chaucer's works, and even the two longest poems of the monk were reprinted after the middle of the 16th century (the *Troy-Book* in 1555 by Marsh, the *Falls of Princes*, 1554, by Tottel, and again, 1558 (?) by Wayland). The authors of the *Mirror for Magistrates* continue his longest and dullest production, and the man who, in 1614, took the trouble to re-write the *Troy-Book* in six-line stanzas, and the publishers who issued it, must have had no mean opinion of the value of that book. Nay, even a hundred years later, we find the highest compliments paid to Lydgate. Dart, the modernizer of the *Black Knight*—which he, it is true, believes to be Chaucer's—says in his preface (1718) that he thinks this Complaint “the best design'd of any extant, either Antient or Modern, . . . the Thoughts in the Speech natural, soft, and easy, and the Hint for Invoking *Venus*, and the Invocation inimitable.” It even seems that this Complaint of our “inimitable” Lydgate biassed Dart not a little in proclaiming its supposed author to be “the greatest Poet that *England* (or perhaps the World) ever produc'd.”

More than one name of good repute might also be adduced to testify that the *Temple of Glas* is far from being the meanest work of our “*brillaut* (sic) *disciple de Chaucer*.”² I have above quoted

¹ “Nec procul dissitus est *Lidgate* viculus, qui hoc nomine nentiquam tacendus, quod in lucem Ioannem *Lidgate* monachum adiderit, cuius ingenium ab ipsis Masis effictum videatur, ita omnes Veneres & elegantie in suis Anglie carminibus resident” (*Britannia*, 1607, p. 336).

² So is he called by L. Constans, *La Légende d'Edipe*, p. 368. Taine also, *Life of Our Lady*, p. iv, speaks of his “brilliant genius.”

the excessive praise bestowed upon this poem by a poet laureate (see p. xiii). Warton's criticism was fully endorsed by Dibdin I, 309 note: "Whoever may be the author of it (the *Temple of Glas*), its intrinsic merits are very great; as the reader will be convinced by a careful perusal of the brilliant extracts given by Warton." Hill, *De Guileville . . . compared with . . . Bunyan*, p. 35, finds a "decided similarity" between the preamble of the *Temple of Glas* and Dante's *Inferno*. He compares, in particular, l. 14 to Dante's words:

"I' non so ben ridir com' io v' entrai;
Tant' era pien di sonno . . ."—(*Inferno* I, 10).

I must confess that in reading the poem for the first time, I myself was also vaguely reminded, by certain lines such as stanza 1, 2, 117—119, l. 716, of the *Divina Commedia*. But this does not go to prove much for the value of the poem, and even less for the supposition that Lydgate had read the *Divina Commedia*; for such lines as 329, 330; 1355, 1356 also reminded me vaguely of the hymns to the Aq̄vins in the Veda, which latter were, *most likely*, unknown to Lydgate. Further, Mrs. Browning says that the *Temple of Glas* forms, with *Piers Ploughman*, the *Hous of Fame*, and Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*, one of the "four columnar marbles, on whose foundation is exalted into light the great allegorical poem of the world, Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (Book of the Poets, in E. B. Browning's *Greek Christian Poets and English Poets*, p. 123). I do not think that the text of our poem bears out this statement; if any one of Lydgate's writings may be regarded as a forerunner to the *Faerie Queene*, it would be the *Court of Sapience*, which seems to have served Hawes as a model.¹

I do not claim such a high place for the *Temple of Glas* as Warton and Mrs. Browning. But I think we may fairly allow it some small amount of poetical merit. It may be that Shirley is right in his statement that Lydgate wrote the poem "a la request dun amoureux;" for the monk had, all his life, patrons enough: Henry V., Henry VI., Humphrey of Gloucester, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Salisbury, Lady March, etc., representing the proudest names among them. And if it is true that our monk wrote the poem with the view of celebrating the union of a certain knight and his lady, we must admit that the machinery he introduces is prettily conceived. The poet takes up the current *motif* of a vision, and by this means brings his

¹ By a closer investigation the following pedigree might perhaps be made out—of course, with regard to certain features only—: *Martianus Capella*—*Anticlaudianus*—*Court of Sapience*—*Pastime of Pleasure*—*Faerie Queene*.

knight and lady, as the most prominent pair among the famous lovers of history and mythology, into the magnificent temple of Venus, where the goddess of Love herself unites them. Of course, our monk does not omit to adorn both with all imaginable excellences, and the picture of the Lady is one of the brightest of any in Lydgate's works. The rejoicing in the Court of Venus, ending in a ballad which makes the whole temple resound with the praises of Venus Urania for her graciousness to the lovers, leaves an impression at once vivid and pleasing upon the reader's mind. We can at all events understand the long-enjoyed popularity of our poem in an age which fully appreciated this its brighter side, and perhaps even found the weaker parts to its taste. If I add to this that our poem belongs to the few of Lydgate's works which are not directly taken from a foreign source, but that it exhibits, at the most, some traces of the poetical currents of the day, and especially of Chaucer's genial influence, I think I have said about all that can be brought forward in its praise.

I have above pointed to a general family-likeness, and a number of minor resemblances between the *Temple of Glas* and the *Kingis Quair*. I must not be understood, however, to wish for one moment to compare the *Kingis Quair* and its right royal author to our monk and his glass-temple. For although the second part of the *Kingis Quair* reminds one of Lydgate, and although many passages could be adduced from certain writings of Lydgate which would almost be a match for some of the finer parts of King James's poem, yet I know full well that there is another side to be considered in this question, namely, the subjective as well as the objective. Two-thirds of the poetry of the *Kingis Quair* lie in King James himself, his person and fate, his capture, his love, and death. Manly strength and undaunted courage—exhibited in the cause of justice—have seldom been combined in one man with that exquisite tenderness of feeling with which the royal Stuart wooed and won his lady, and the graceful gift of song with which he immortalized it. It is the consciousness of its reality and of a tragic fate lurking behind its sunny pages that gives the *Kingis Quair* an incomparable interest, and raises many a passage into poetry which otherwise would be flat and meaningless. In what light has subsequent history placed the following passage from it :

“ And thus this floure, I can seye [30u] no more,
So hertly has vnto my help attendit,
That from̄ the deth hir mañ sehe has defendit ” (*Kg. Qu.*, 187, 5-7),

the absurd counterpart of which we had to criticize severely in Lydgate! It is this personal interest which appeals to us so strongly in the *Kingis Quair*: the royal poet has in reality loved the beautiful lady of whom he sings, he has made her his queen, and she has defended him in that last terrible struggle, when the "noblest of the Stuarts" had to fight for his life. And, moreover, the kindly feeling displayed by the noble prince towards everything surrounding him, animate and inanimate Nature, and the gratefulness with which he thanks the nightingale, the roses, the hedges, Gower, Chaucer, and all the saints of March for their help, win our hearts irresistibly. All these qualities would alone be sufficient to make the *Kingis Quair* a book of uncommon interest, and as the poetry is occasionally truly beautiful, it will remain a pearl in English literature for ever and ever.

Pour revenir à nos moutons! Although the two poems, in spite of many resemblances, are not for one moment to be compared as regards poetical value or interesting associations, the above discussions have I hope at least shown that a better knowledge of Lydgate's works would greatly contribute to the elucidation of the more illustrious of his contemporaries, "who sang together at the bright dawning of British poesy." The monk's name will certainly be of frequent occurrence in commentaries on Chaucer, Gower, and King James, when the principal of his works are more easily accessible. There is, in the investigation of Lydgate, a wide field for work open to the student: editions, treatises on the sources, the language, the metrics, the text-criticism, the chronology, and also the genuineness of certain poems affording ample material to the philologist, whatever his particular bent may be.

I have spoken above, in the preliminary remarks, of the most important work done in this direction, and, in Chapter IX, § 1, have also pointed to some *desiderata* towards the elucidation of the monk's sources. I may add here that a re-publication of the smaller poems, as edited by Halliwell, would be very welcome; it would have to omit the spurious poems¹ given by Halliwell, and to collect those not contained in this first edition; its text, of course, would have to be based throughout on critical principles. A not uninteresting col-

¹ Also those that form part of larger works of Lydgate's, as the "*Moral of the Legend of Dido*" (Halliwell, p. 69), which is identical with the Envoy to Chapter II, 13 of the *Falls of Princes*, and "*A Poem against Illness*" (Halliwell, pp. 84—94), which consists of *Falls of Princes* II, 15 (beginning with the second stanza), followed by II, 14 and closing with the Envoy to II, 15.

lective volume might then be formed by a *critical* edition of Lydgate's somewhat longer poems in the epic, or lyric-epic *genre*, such as the *Black Knight, Churl and Bird, Horse, Goose, and Sheep*, etc.; of the latter Halliwell (*Minor Poems*, pp. 117—121) and Furnivall (*Political, Religious and Love Poems*, pp. 15—22) unfortunately only give parts, and the reprint of the whole for the Roxburghe Club from a faulty print, is scarce enough. The *Æsop, Guy of Warwick*, and the story, *De duobus Mercatoribus*, belong also to this class. A good critical edition of the *Dance of Macabre*, or of the *Testament*, would likewise be very desirable.

To speak of Lydgate's larger works, I should consider an editor of *Reason and Sensuality*¹ as more fortunate than myself; for this poem appears to me to be by far the finest of all Lydgate's productions. The editor would have to settle definitely the question of the authorship; I can only mention here that there is amongst others Stowe's evidence for its being Lydgate's. The text-criticism would be very simple, as there are apparently only two MSS., Fairfax 16 and Stowe's Add. 29729, of which the first presents a very fair text indeed. The investigation of its sources would be highly interesting, and, if anything definite could be brought to light as to the time of its origin, such a date would be of great importance for the right understanding of Lydgate's development as a poet. Another important contribution would be a treatise on the *Troy-Book*, with respect to which many questions have to be settled: the classification of the numerous MSS. and Prints, the way in which Lydgate follows Guido di Colonna, the assignment to it of its right place in the literature of the mediæval Troy-Saga; its popularity in the Elizabethan time, the authorship of its modernized form, as printed in 1614, and the question as to exactly how much Shakspeare took from it, furnishing ample material for research. The Prolegomena would, I suppose, be a good deal more interesting than the edition itself; but, perhaps, some unusually courageous philologist will also one day undertake this; and then he had better at once set about the *Falls of Princes* into the bargain. Previous researches in the text-criticism of at least parts of these two big works would make the matter considerably easier, and not tax the patience of one individual too sorely.

Further, it would be no thankless task to compile a good and clearly-put treatise on the two *Pilgrimages*, and to settle their author-

¹ Skeat, *M. P.*, p. xli, l. 9, means this poem, and quotes from it on p. 349, where he has the title.

ship, their relation to the French original, etc. Lydgate's last work, the *Secreta Secretorum*, with its curious lore—not poetry, I must add—might induce a scientist among the philologists to publish it and compare it with other poems based on the same grounds. Perhaps Dr. Horstmann will one day reprint the *Life of our Lady* in full, and tell us something definite about its date. An edition of the *Serpent of Division* would be interesting as a specimen of Lydgate's prose, and even more in its connection with Gorboduc; perhaps the careful investigator would find that it was not unknown to Shakspeare.—Of the forthcoming editions of the *Story of Thebes*, *De duobus Mercatoribus*, and the *Court of Sapience* I have spoken above, and from the prospectus of the Early English Text Society I see too that it has an edition of the *Pilgrimages* in view.

I need hardly mention that a careful and exact bibliography is one of the greatest *desiderata* for Lydgate-literature. And now for my bone with Ritson. We are usually referred to his list of 251 “works” (*Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 66, etc.) as the “fullest and best” account and synopsis of the monk's literary productions. I call this “fullest and best” list an Augean stable of disorder, glaring mistakes and inextricable confusion. For first, this appallingly tedious medley is arranged according to no apparent principle whatever, neither of chronology, nor length, nor importance, nor *genre*, nor anything else. Ritson's intention seems, indeed, to have been to enumerate the printed works first (No. 1—36); but this is a ridiculous division, the best copies of the first numbers being, of course, also as a rule in the MSS. Moreover, this pretended classification is a mere delusion; for—to give only one or two examples—the very next number 37 is also in print, forming part of the *Falls of Princes*; No. 11 is *Parvus Calho*, No. 54 *Magnus Cato*; but in the very print by Caxton mentioned in No. 11, *Magnus Cato* is of course also included, etc. etc. The whole list is a thoughtless jumble copied without understanding from headings of MSS. and entries in Catalogues, and from earlier writers whom Ritson reviles with the utmost impertinence, whilst at the same time transcribing and distorting their statements with a coolness *sans pareil*. Ritson says he believes his list to be the completest that can be formed “without access, at least, to every manuscript library in the kingdom, which would be very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain,” thus implying hypocritically that he at least consulted the libraries easily accessible to him. But a consultation of the British Museum or the Bodleian alone would have been more

than sufficient to prevent the incredible mistakes which I have here to expose. Indeed the worst of them he ought surely to have avoided without any library at all. Nobody but Ritson would want access to "every library in the kingdom" to know the *Canterbury Tales*! Of Bale, who has also, it is true, serious mistakes in his list, Ritson says: "but it is the constant practice of that mendacious prelate to split one book into several."¹ Let us see what Ritson himself does.

First, he has made two works of the *Secreta Secretorum*, which he mentions in No. 36; in No. 52 they come again as "*Regimen principum*," sive "*De Aristotele & Alexandro*," called also "The booke of all goode thewes, and *Secreta secretorum*." Again, he has made two works of *Albon and Amphabel*, which he mentions under No. 7; but under No. 249 he has once more: *Vita S. Albani martyris ad J. Frumentarium abbatem*. Similarly, of *Æsop's Fables*:—the "notable proverbe of Ysopus in balade, made in Oxford (*canis & umbra*)" in No. 44 is part of No. 45: "Isopes fabules." Further, of the *Testament*, which he mentions under No. 33; but in No. 214 we read: Christ a lamb offered in sacrifice: "Behold o man, lift up thy eye and se"; this is in reality part of the *Testament*, occurring in *Halliwell*, p. 259. Also of the "Dietary," Nos. 55 and 61 belonging to the same poem; see *Halliwell, M. P.*, p. 66; Skeat, *Bruce*, p. 537. Again, No. 58 "Of a gentlewoman that *lived with* (read *loved*) a man of great estate," is the same as No. 110: A love balade: "Allas i woful creature," printed by *Halliwell*, p. 220, as "A Lover's Complaint," and declared to be altogether spurious by Koeppel, *Falls of Princes*, p. 76, note. Then, No. 22 of our "learned" Ritson's list: "A balade of gode counseile, translated out of Latin verses," is identical with No. 62: "*Consulo quis quis eris, &c.*" "I counceile whatsoever thow be," and No. 84 is again the same: Balade of wysdome: "Counseillyer, where that ever thou be." Besides this, our "accurate Ritson" has made three works (at least) of the *Court of Sapience*; namely, No. 12: "The werke [or Court] of Sapience," and No. 225: "The court of sapience in heaven for redemption of mankind"; further, No. 51: The vision:

¹ To adduce an instance, which Ritson omits to do—he almost invariably gives again in his own list these split-up books, enumerated as separate works by Bale—: Leland, *Collectanea* II, 428, has: "John Lidgate, monke of Byri, made a treatise of King Athelstan, and Gui of Warwike that slew Colbrand the Dane." Bale has, as three separate articles (pp. 586 and 587): "Vitam regis Ethelstani; Acta Guidonis Vuaruicensis; De Guidone & Colbrando."

“All busy swymmyng in the stormy floode” (Harley MSS. 2251) is nothing else than the beginning of the *Court of Sapience*, after the Prologue. We have again three separate works made of the *Life of our Lady*, in No. 5: “The lyf of our lady”; No. 8: “Part of the life of the virgin Mary,” etc., contained in the *Pilgrimage of the soule*, printed by Caxton (on this see Introduction, Chapter VIII, p. ci); further, in No. 187 we have: On the same subject [*i. e.* In praise of the virgin Mary]: “O thoughtful herte plunged in distresse.” But these words are actually the beginning of the *Life of our Lady*. Sometimes these mistakes are very complicated and difficult to unravel. Compare No. 158: “Moralisation of a fable how the trees chose them a king.” Sauerstein, *Ueber Lyfgate's Aesopübersetzung*, p. 13, believes that Ritson refers to the beginning of *Chorl and Bird*, a not unlikely supposition in itself. This is, however, not the right solution. Ritson saw in MS. Ashm. 59, fol. 34 *b*, the following entry by Shirley: “þan foloweþe nowe a notable moralisaciõn made by Lidigate of a fabul poetical. howe trees chose hem a kyng bytwene þe þe [*sic*] Ryal Cydre of þe hye moñtayne and þe thowthistell of þe lowe valeye. þis moralisaciõn is in þis same boke to-fore.” Thus Shirley was on the point of copying over again a piece already transcribed a few pages back in his MS., namely No. 3, on fol. 16 *b*: “þis moral Epistel sent kyng Amasias to kyng Johas made by . . . Lidigate”; but Shirley saw his error, did not transcribe a second time this epistle to¹ Amasias, and proceeded to copy a new piece. Thus Ritson's No. 158 is a mere imaginary shadow. Nor is this epistle to King Amasias itself a separate work, although Ritson, in No. 72, has put it down as one; it is nothing else but part of Book II, Chapter 16, of the *Falls of Princes*.

We have again a complete muddle in Ritson's Nos. 13, 112, and 113. No. 112 reads: “Play at the chesse between Reason and Sensualitie”; No. 113: “Banket of gods and goddesses, with a discourse of reason and sensualitie”: “To all folkys vertuose” (Fairfax, MSS. 16: Royal MSS. 18 D II.); No. 13: “The interpretation of the names of the golδες and goddesses”; printed by W. de Worde. Two works are totally confused in these three numbers. MS. Fairfax 16 contains *Reason and Sensuality* (No. 112), beginning “To all[e] folkys vertuose”; Royal MS. 18 D II contains the “Assembly [or Banket] of Gods”; No. 13: “The interpretation of the names of the gods” is a printer's addition to the *Assembly of Gods*, on the

¹ Not from Amasias; see the *Falls of Princes* II, 16, and *Kings* II, 14, 9.

title-page of that work, to render the heathen names more familiar to the reader. See Chapter VIII, p. cix. So much for learned Ritson's account of Lydgate's best work, which of course he had never even seen. This number 113 is, by the bye, not the only one which exhibits a tendency of Ritson's to make up for his chorizontic work; in No. 213 also two distinct works are mixed up: "A saying of the nightingale touching Christ": "In June whan Titan was in Crabbes hede" (Caligula. A. II. & the Harley MS. 2251); as has been said above, on p. xev, the poems in the two MSS. are two distinct works.

But we have not yet done with Ritson's feats in "splitting up one work into several." Of the *Legend of St. Edmund and Fremund* he has made at least four works; in No. 243, "The martyrdome of saint Edmunde" is put down as one work; but No. 244: A poem on the banner and standard of St. Edmund: "Blyssyd Edmund, kyng, martyr, and vyrgyne," is equivalent to *Edmund I, 1* (Prologue) in Horstmann's edition; No. 245, "A ballad royall of invocation to saint Edmond at thenstaunce of kynge Henry the sixt": "Glorious master [read *martir*], that of devout humblenesse" [read, of course, *humblesse*], is nothing but *Legend of Edmund*, Book III, ll. 1456, etc. No. 247, *Vita sancti Fremundi martiris*, constitutes Book III of *Edmund and Fremund*. No. 246: *Miracula S. Edmundi* may stand as a separate work; see above, p. cvii. But Ritson's masterpiece in "splitting up" is his account of the *Falls of Princes*. These are first cited as number 2 in his list. But then we have besides this, in No. 37: "*De rege Arthuro*"; in No. 38: "*De ejus mensa rotunda*"—both numbers thoughtlessly copied from Bale. They are, of course, one and the same, and form Book VIII, Chapter 24 of the *Falls of Princes*; MS. Lausdowne 699, fol. 50 *b*, gives "Arthurus Conquestor" as a separate work. That No. 72, identical with No. 158, "Morall epistle sent [from] kynge Amasias to kyng Johas" forms part of the *Falls of Princes* (II, 16), I have already mentioned. No. 93: Of poverty: "O thow povert, meke, humble, and debonayre," is I, 18 (stanza 4, etc.) of the *Falls of Princes*. No. 73 reads: "Epistle of vartuous ensines eschewing idlennesse"; this I suppose is nothing else but II, 15 of the *Falls of Princes*, also printed as "A poem against Idleness" by Halliwell, pp. 84—94 ("Two maner of folkes to put in remembraunce"); it may, however, also be that it is the same poem as Ritson's No. 111. I am not sure whether No. 117 etc. of the list are also taken from the same passage of the *Falls of Princes*. Lastly, in No. 17 we have the

“Proverbes of Lydgate” (on the *Falls of Princes*) printed by Wynken de Worle. The very title of Wynken ought to have shown Ritson that these proverbs would, in part at least, be taken from the *Falls of Princes*.¹ So the *Falls of Princes* come at least about seven or eight times in Ritson’s list. We see that “mendacious” Bale’s feats in splitting up are very poor performances indeed as compared with those of “accurate,” “learned” Ritson.

But this is not all. Ritson ascribes to Lydgate any number of early English pieces, the titles of which he happens to have come across: thus the *Assemblee of Ladies* (No. 27), *Remedie of Love* (No. 29), *Craft of Lovers* (No. 30), *Childe of Bristow* (No. 42), *De jatro dominam reformante* (No. 44), the “*Coventry Plays*” (No. 152, see Halliwell, p. 94), “*Dantis opuscula*,” “*Petrarchæ quædam*” (No. 159, 160, copied from Bale), etc., etc., are all by Lydgate! In No. 38 he attributes the *Siege of Jerusalem* to Lydgate, forgetting that on p. 24, No. 6, he had already ascribed it to Adam Davie. He sometimes also attributes spurious writings to Lydgate, and then again splits them up into two; we have noted this already in the case of No. 58 and 110; we have further in No. 53: *Vegetius de re militari*, and again in No. 144: “*De arte militari*.” We also find Bennet Burgh’s translation of *Cato* among Lydgate’s pieces, again split up into *Parvus Catto*, No. 11, and *Liber magni Catonis*, No. 54.

But the worst is yet to come. In No. 21 we have: “Balade of the village without paintyng.” This is, of course, Chaucer’s *Ballade of the visage without painting*. No. 206 reads: Another [*i. e.* poem in praise of the Virgin Mary]: “Almighty and almerciablen quene.” Of course, Chaucer’s *A. B. C.* In No. 85, Ritson has the *Complaynt d’amour*. Prof. Skeat says that the poem is by Chaucer; it forms No. XXII. in his edition of Chaucer’s *Minor Poems*. Here, indeed, it is possible that Ritson may not be wrong. But it would

¹ That these “Proverbes” were not entitled to be put down as a separate work of Lydgate’s, the identification of the contents of Wynken’s print will clearly show: “Go kysse y^e steppes” . . . = *Falls of Princes*, fol. 218 c (the three last stanzas); “Sodeyne departyng” . . . = *Falls of Princes* I, 1 Envoy (5 stanzas); then follow Chaucer’s *Fortune* and *Truth*; further: “The vnshure gladnesse” . . . = *Falls of Princes* I, 12 Envoy (4 stanzas); “Vertue of vertues” . . . = *Falls of Princes* IX, 31 Envoy (9 stanzas); “Myn auctour” . . . = *Falls of Princes* VI, 15, stanzas 1, 30, 39—47; “This tragedye” = *Falls of Princes* V, 25 Envoy (4 stanzas). Then follow the two poems: “I Counseyll what so ener thou be,” already amply represented in Ritson’s list, as No. 22, 62 and 84 (in Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, pp. 173—178, called “The Concordes of Company”), and “Towarde the ende of frosty Januarye” = Ritson 99 (in Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, pp. 156—164, with the title “A Poem against Self-love”).

be a rash conclusion to think that any merit in the case belongs to Ritson; he has merely copied Tanner. No. 28, "A praise of women," is printed in Morris's *Chaucer*, VI, 278; cp., however, Skeat, *Minor Poems*, p. xxvi. No. 31: "A balade teching what is gentilnes" is, I suppose, again Chaucer's work. But Ritson's supreme ignorance of Chaucer becomes most transparent, when we look at Nos. 46 and 235 of this "fullest (full, indeed!) and best" list of Lydgate's works. No. 235 reads: *Vita Sancte Cecilie*: "The ministre of the (read *and*) norice unto vices." Of course, this is the Second Nun's Tale! No. 46: "Tale of the crow." The precedence of "accurate, learned" Ritson also induced Sauerstein to regard this "Tale of a Crow" as a fable by Lydgate; but Zupitza, in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1886, col. 850, showed that this "Fable," "little known and never published," was in reality Chaucer's well-known and somewhat frequently published *Mauunciples Tale*. Ritson, I suppose, had heard that Lydgate's *Story of Thebes* was intended to form an additional Canterbury Tale, and so the "learned" reviler of Warton seems to have thought Lydgate must also be the author of those which one usually ascribes to Chaucer. I am in justice bound to add that "accurate" Ritson makes up for this by attributing works of Lydgate to Chaucer; but I am afraid that the *Black Knight* is but a poor compensation for some half dozen of Chaucer's poems.

And here I think I had better stop. It would go far beyond my knowledge and patience to set all Ritson's errors right, or even to find them all out; I have here merely censured his more glaring and obvious mistakes. I would only add that Ritson's references are very often faulty, and always exceedingly poor; in the case of many of the most interesting works they are only conspicuous by their absence. Of course, Ritson never even saw many of Lydgate's principal works; much less did he know anything of their contents. He found it easier to revile the monk than to know him: reviled he must be, for Warton had praised him.

Still, after all this, I owe some thanks to Ritson. It is for having himself put into my mouth the very words which constitute the truest criticism on him. I myself could have found none so appropriate as the following, with which Ritson sums up his arrogant attack on Warton, who was in every way his superior.

"I have at length, Mr. [Ritson], completed my design of exposing to the public eye a tolerable specimen of the numerous errors, falsities, and plagiarisms of which you have been guilty in the course

of your celebrated ["fullest and best" list of Lydgate's works]. And, though I am conscious of having left considerable gleanings to any who may be inclined to follow me, I trust I have given you much reason to be sorry, and more to be ashamed. . . . Your indolence in collecting and examining materials; and, beyond every thing, your ignorance of the subject, should have prevented you from engaging in a work which [requires, if certainly no vast amount of genius, yet care, diligence, and learning]; in which, whatever might be your progress, how uninformed soever you might esteem the bulk of your readers, you were certain, at last, of encountering detection and disgrace."

These words are literally taken from Ritson's "*Observations on . . . the History of English Poetry*" (by Warton), p. 47; the words in brackets only replace such words as are, indeed, applicable to Warton's great *History of English Poetry*, but not so to Ritson's bibliographical gallimaufry.

The least thing we expect from a list of an author's works is an insight into the extent of his productions; but this is certainly impossible in Ritson's list. I should not point out the self-evident absurdity of putting little trifles of a few lines only, on a level with the *Falls of Princes* or the *Troy-Book*, if I had not, in ever so many books, met with the number 251 given as the fixed and sacrosanct number of Lydgate's "works." Such a method of proceeding gives a most inadequate idea of the monk's productions, the combined length of two particular works out of the list being more than all the remaining 249 put together. The truth is this. There are two or three works of the monk's, translated by the command of the Court, which indeed exceed all ordinary limits. I mean, of course, the *Falls of Princes*, consisting of nearly 40,000 lines, the *Troy-Book* of about 30,000, and the *Pilgrimage of Man*, of some 22,000 or 23,000. The subjoined list enumerating the monk's principal works, together with the number of lines they respectively contain, will I hope be welcome to the reader:¹

¹ In some cases, the number of lines is only roughly estimated, by multiplying the number of pages with the approximate average number of lines contained on one. Had I counted line for line, the result would again have only been approximate, as lines are sometimes wanting in the MSS., etc.

Falls of Princes	... ..	36,316 lines	(cp. Köppel, <i>F. Pr.</i> , p. 87).
Troy-Book	... .. about	30,000	,, (Ward, <i>Catalogue</i> I, 75).
Pilgrimage of Man	... ..	22,000	,,
Reason and Sensuality	... ..	7,400	,,
Life of Our Lady	... ..	5,936	,,
Albon and Amphabel	... ..	4,724	,,
Story of Thebes	... ..	4,716	,, (Ward, <i>Cat.</i> I, 87).
Edmund and Fremund	... ..	3,693	,,
Court of Sapience	... ..	2,282	,,
Assembly of Gods	... ..	2,107	,,
Secreta Secretorum	... ..	1,484	,, (+ 1239 by Burgh).
Temple of Glas	... ..	1,403	,,
Æsop	... ..	959	,,
De duobus Mercatoribus	... ..	910	,,
Testament	... ..	897	,,
Dance of Macabre	... ..	672	,,
Horse, Goose, and Sheep	... ..	658	,,
Guy of Warwick	... ..	592	,,
Pur le Roy	... ..	544	,,
Legend of St. Margaret	... ..	540	,,
December and July	... ..	520	,,
Miracles of St. Edmund	... ..	464	,,
Legend of St. Austin	... ..	408	,,
Chorl and Bird	... ..	386	,,
Legend of St. Giles	... ..	368	,,
Flour of Curtesie	... ..	270	,,
		<hr/>	
		Total	130,249 lines.

Hereto we have to add the smaller poems, especially these in Halliwell, which are not comprised in the above list, and possibly also a number of pieces of doubtful authenticity. We are, however, at all events, not far from the truth, if we say that the number of lines our monk produced, is, in round numbers, 130,000—140,000. There are, as we see, three works of indeed stupendous length, which betray their origin in one of those “collegiate establishments, where the patient monk, in the ample solitude of the cloister, added page to page, and volume to volume, emulating in the productions of his brain the magnitude of the pile he inhabited.”¹ There are, further, some four or five works of no mean bulk, and, again, some four or five of less significant length, some dozen of a few hundred lines only, besides numerous smaller pieces. I hope that the above synopsis I have given will at least prevent the repetition of the absurd statement that the monk wrote 251 “works.” In comparison with the coryphæi of prolific production—take Lope de Vega as an example—our monk is but an innocent baby, and even among the “drivellers” of our 19th century, called Novel-Writers,² who are the nearest

¹ Washington Irving, *London Antiquary*.

² Henry Morley, *English Writers* II, 424 note, wishes to rebut the accusation of tediousness often laid against Lydgate, with the fact that when he was one of the novel-reading “boys” in the British Museum Library, a MS. of

brethren to Lydgate I can think of, he would be one of the more harmless delinquents.

To sum up, I certainly shall not subscribe to the insipid eulogies of a Shirley, a Burgh, or a Hawes; I find Warton's praise far too high, and in some cases even ten Brink's, or Koepfel's, well-tempered commendation of Lydgate's better-known works somewhat beyond the mark. But neither, on the other hand, do I endorse the slighting remarks of Pinkerton and Pauli, and still less do I mean to act the *advocatus diaboli*, by joining in Ritson's Billingsgate. It certainly does not occur to me to claim for Lydgate a place in the realms of higher poetry; but I think we must allow that not unfrequently do we meet in his better works, especially in those of his youth, with passages which breathe true poetry, or at all events, lie on the borderlands of true poetry. There is certainly many a felicitous line and many a poetical sentiment or piece of imagery to be found in his works that would not deface the finest page of a true poet. Moreover, his love of Nature, his humour, his earnest piety,¹ his admiration of his betters or of genius beyond his reach—always tendered ungrudgingly—the love of his country, his national pride,² his high reverence for woman, cannot fail to win our hearts; certainly these qualities incline us to forgive much.

Ten Brink, in his *History of English Literature*, and Professor Minto in his *Characteristics of English Poets*, have some admirable remarks showing that many of the monk's most prominent faults arise from his being an epigone of greater masters; our motto at the head of the second part of the Introduction will have shown that we judge of many of Lydgate's peculiarities from the same point of view. There cannot be, moreover, the slightest doubt that Lydgate's commissions from the Court, resulting, amongst other productions, in his two most bulky works, had a baneful influence upon his further

Lydgate, with a long saints' legend, was as pleasant to him as *Tylacy Hall* or *Peter Simple*. Sir W. Scott calls Hawes "a bad imitator of Lydgate, *ten times more tedious* than his original"—which, be it said by way of parenthesis, means not a little.

¹ Especially in the *Life of our Lady* and the *Legend of Edmund*.

² Compare Lydgate's amusing rebuke of Boccaccio, whom he pays out soundly for having slighted his dear Albion (the passage refers to the battle of Poitiers, and the capture of King John):

"Hys fantasye nor hys opinion [Boccaccio's]
Stode in that case of none auctorite:
Their king was take, their knightes did[e] flee;
Where was Bochas to help them at such nede?
Sauwe with his pen he made no man to blede."

Falls of Princes, fol. 216 a and b.

development. I believe that the scales will be decidedly turned in Lydgate's favour, and ten Brink's comparatively high opinion of the monk still further justified, when certain of his works which lie as yet unpublished in various libraries are made generally accessible. Then it will appear more and more clearly that, in estimating him as a poet, the stress should not so much be laid on the unoriginal and spun-out rhymes of his later age, but rather on the more spontaneous and animated productions of his earlier years. The best turn we can do Lydgate—and ourselves in studying him—is certainly to leave the nauseating tirades on Fortune in the *Falls of Princes*, and the soporific speeches in the *Troy-Book* alone, and to take up one of his earlier and more attractive works—such as *Reason and Sensuality*, which we put down with real regret at its unfinished state. Of works of the first stamp we say with Taine: “On s'en va et bâille,” while those of the second are sure to engage our interest. At all events, in criticizing Lydgate's abilities, we must not lose sight of one fact which will always incline us to a mild judgment:—as Lydgate has often and justly been praised for his reverence of woman, let me express it in the words of an accomplished woman: ¹ “When he ceased his singing, none sang better; there was silence in the land.”

CHAPTER XII.

THE APPENDICES.

I. *The Complaynt*.

I HAVE already, in Chapter III, § 1 and Chapter IV, § 1, sufficiently expressed my opinion concerning these lines which MSS. G and S give as a continuation of the *Temple of Glas*. I ought perhaps to apologize for the publication of such worthless rhymes; but I need hardly assure the reader that it was not as a pleasure that I resolved upon the printing of them. When I first came upon this *Complaynt* in the London MS., it was, I confess, with many a deeply-heaved sigh to Apollon Apotropaïos that I perused it; but the piece turned up again in the Cambridge MS. Gg. 4. 27, which, with S, formed a conspicuous group by itself, and therefore it had to be printed, were it only for the sake of the text-criticism.

The date of this “*Complaynt*” cannot be much later than that of the *Temple of Glas*; I should think, it is about 1420 or 1430.

¹ El. Barrett-Browning, *Book of the Poets*, 1863, p. 121.

Later than 1430 we cannot make it, since it occurs in MS. G, which is one of our oldest texts, and supposed to be written about that date. We have also distinct reminiscences of Chaucer in the poem. I mean the allusion, in ll. 394—437, to the worship of the daisy-flower, which reminds us at once of the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*.

Line 575 may also be a reminiscence from *Anelida* 211 :

“So thirleth with the poynt of remembraunce” . . .

The evidence of the language is quite in accordance with the above date. In fact I do not see any remarkable discrepancy between the language of the *Compleynt* and that of Lydgate. The rhymes, although often faulty from Chaucer's standpoint, nevertheless agree with Lydgate's principles of rhyming. That the poem is not northern, we see at once by rhymes like *abod : stod*, 207 ; *oones : sones*, 619. We have further the rhyme *y : ie* in l. 86 : *mercy : dye* ; l. 447 : *dayesye : pryvyly* ; further, *trespas : grace* 603 ; *mynde : finde* 39 ; but also *mynde : ende* 287 ; *fyr : cler* 607 ; *deye : preye* 625 ; *eye : espye* 183 ; *recure : endure* 93 ; further, *dysdeyn : peyne* 89 ; *ageyn : peyne* 407 ; *seyn : peyne* 615 ; *holde : cold* 305 ; *among : vndyrfonge* 171 (or have we to read *amongé*? cf. stanza 25 c, l. 6) ; whether *sloo* : *foo*, l. 295, is a Lydgatian rhyme, I am at present unable to say.¹ In ll. 395, 396 we have only an assonance ; Shirley's reading, however, differs here from G.

Moreover, the inflexions, as shown by the metre in the middle of the line also, are exactly the same as in Lydgate. The ratio of the number of instances in which the final *e* is sounded, to those of its apocope, at the end of nouns—of Teutonic or Romance origin—and in the conjugation of the verb is very much the same as in the *Temple of Glas*. I speak with diffidence of the metre, as I have not analyzed Lydgate's four-beat line with the same care as his five-beat one. If there are many more monosyllabic first measures in the *Compleynt* than in the *Temple of Glas*, this need not surprise us ; for in the four-beat line a trochaic beginning has not an unpleasant effect on the ear, and consequently it is also frequently used by poets with an unmistakably fine perception for rhythm. Lydgate himself has this acephalous type very often, as the perusal of any one page of *Reason and Sensuality* will amply show.

But in spite of all this I cannot help thinking that the *Compleynt*

¹ The form *sloo* occurs in the rhyme in the *Siege of Jerusalem*, and more than once in the *Romannt of the Rose* (ll. 1953, 2593, 3150, 4592).

not only has nothing to do with the *Temple of Glas*, but that it is not Lydgate's production at all. The piece is so thoroughly stupid. Now Lydgate's poetry was, it is certain, only occasionally inspired by Apollo and the Muses, but I do not think that I have read anything so wretchedly poor as this in his acknowledged works. The only piece of Lydgate's that reminded me slightly of it, is the poem on Thomas Chaucer's departure for France.¹ But even that is not quite so miserable a production as this *Compleynt*, and besides, it is contained within merciful limits.

There was little doubt as to which MS. was to be chosen as the basis of the text, G being older and evidently better than S. Where G is deficient, we had to rely on S; the text is then sometimes hopelessly corrupt. In no case am I a great advocate of conjectural emendations; in the instance of these silly rhymes it would certainly have been ridiculous to deliberately sit down and try one's ingenuity in improving upon them.

I need hardly add that the principles adhered to with respect to punctuation, orthography, etc., are the same as those I have followed in the *Temple of Glas* itself. The headlines and the short summary of the contents on p. 58 were done by Dr. Furnivall.

II. *The Duodecim Abusiones.*

In the description of the Prints, in Chapter II, I have spoken of the errors and disputes which exist with respect to the Prints of the *Temple of Glas* by Caxton and Wynken de Worde. It is not always easy to see which particular print Herbert and Dibdin mean; but these *Duodecim Abusiones*, occurring in W, W₂, w and b, and given as specimens (with the beginning of the *Temple of Glas*) by Herbert and Dibdin, help to make their statements clearer.² It was therefore with the view of enabling the reader to judge for himself which print the historians of Typography meant in each respective case, that I thought it advisable to subjoin Appendix II. The text is taken from W, *i. e.* Wynken de Worde's first edition of the *Temple of Glas*, which has been faithfully reproduced, with the addition of stops only. All the variations of W₂, w and b are given, including even those of mere orthography.

¹ I fully concur in Dr. Furnivall's opinion that Thomas Chaucer was not the son of Geoffrey, as expressed in *Notes and Queries*, 1872, May, p. 381 etc. Lydgate would not have let this opportunity slip of introducing an allusion to his "master."

² Unfortunately, their orthography (even Herbert's) seems anyhow to be somewhat incorrect, whatever print they used.

But I hope the present reprint will also serve another purpose. A very important task of Chaucer-philology is the critical analysis of Stowe's Chaucer-print of 1561, the object of which must be to eliminate the supposititious works, and to assign, as far as possible, each of the spurious pieces to its real author. Now these *Duodecim Abusiones* appear also in this Chaucer-print (on folio 336 *d*), that is to say, the two English stanzas only without the Latin text. They have been reprinted in Bell's *Chaucer*, ed. Skeat IV, 421, and again in Prof. Skeat's edition of Chaucer's *Minor Poems*, Introduction p. xxix. Skeat has pronounced his opinion as to the authorship with great decision: "Surely it must be Lydgate's," and I think he is right. The appearance of the *Abusiones* in the above-mentioned prints, annexed as they are to a work of Lydgate's, can only tend to strengthen the learned Professor's supposition.¹ I have added the few variations of importance (not the orthographical ones) of the earlier Chaucer-prints.

There are similar pieces to these *Duodecim Abusiones* in earlier English literature (see ten Brink, *Geschichte der englischen Lit.*, I, 268, and note). The "twelf unþeawas" existed also in Old-English; a homily on them is printed in Morris, *Old English Homilies*, p. 101—119. It is based on the Latin Homily, "De octo viciis et de duodecim abusivis huius sæculi," attributed to St. Cyprian or St. Patrick; see Dietrich in Niedner's *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1855, p. 518; Wanley's *Catalogus*, passim (cp. the Index *sub voce* Patrick). In the Middle-English period we meet again with more or less of these "Abusions"; see Morris, *Old English Miscellany*, p. 185 (11 Abusions); Furnivall, *Early English Poems*, Berlin 1862 (Philological Society), p. 161: "Five evil things"; Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, I, 316 and II, 14.

¹ In another case, which concerns a work of Lydgate's in Stowe's Chaucer-print, Skeat is on the right track, without however arriving at the ultimate conclusion. I mean the passage in *M. P.* XLVI, top of page. The poem on the "Fall of Man" in MS. Harl. 2251 is part of Lydgate's *Court of Sapience*.

The Temple of Glas.

For thouȝt, constreint, and greuons heuines,		In heaviness and distress
For pensifhede, and for heiȝ distres,		I went to bed
To bed I went nov þis opir nyȝt,		the other night,
Whan þat Lucina wiþ hir pale list	4	when Sun and Moon were
Was loyned last wiþ Phelus in aquarie,		last in con- junction in
Amyd decembre, when of Ianuarie		mid-Deцем- ber.
Ther be kalendes of þe nwe yere,		
And derk Diane, ihorned, noþing clere,	8	
Had [hid] hir bemys vndir a mysty cloude :		
Wipin my bed for sore I gan me shroude,		
Al desolate for constreint of my wo,		
The long[e] nyȝt waloing to and fro,	12	A long while restless,
Til at[te] last, er I gan taken kepe,		I at last fell into a deep
Me did oppresse a sodein dedeli slepe,		sleep,
Wip-in þe which me þouȝt[e] þat I was		in which I
Rauysshid in spirit in [a] temple of glas —	16	was carried in spirit into a
I nyst[e] how, ful fer in wildirnes—		Temple of glas,
That foundid was, as bi lik[ly]nesse,		fat in a wil- derness, on a
Not opon stele, but on a craggy roche,		frozen like ice.
Like ise Ifrore. And as I did approche,	20	As I ap- proached,
Again þe some that shone, me þouȝt, so clere		methought

For the titles in the various MSS. and Prints, see the Introduction. 1. For thouȝt] For through W2. Thronghe w. b. constreint] complaynt G. S. 2. pensifhede] pensyfnes w. great thought b. 2^d for] *om.* L. Pr. distres] pensyuensse b. 6. Amyd] Amiddes S. 7. nwe] newe come S. 8. ihorned] horned and Pr. 9. Had] *om.* L. b. hid] *om.* T. P. F. B. C. W. W2. w. 10. sore] feyr P. colde L. Pr. 13. atte] at the L. P. G. S. at T. B. Pr. er] as S. til P. gan] began C. 14. oppresse] expresse L. dedeli] dede L. 15. þat] *om.* Pr. (*ccc.* b.) 16. spirit] scripture F. in] into S. L. Pr. a] *om.* T. W2. w. 17. nyst] nyst nought S. ne wist L. ne wyste w. b. fuller] fer S. Pr. in] into S. 18. as] all w. b. liklynesse] liknesse T. F. B. L. 19. on] vpon B. L. S. a] *om.* G. S. 20. Ifrore] afrore P. 21. that shone me þouȝt] me thoughte I saw G. me thought hit shoone S. me þouȝt] *om.* Pr. so clere] as clere G. als clere S.

the Temple shone clear as crystal against the sun: the light shone so dazzlingly in my face,	As eny cristal, and euer nere and nere As I gan neigh this grisli, dredful place, I wex astonyed: the liȝt so in my face Bigan to smyte, so <i>persing</i> euer in one On euere part, where þat I gan gone,	24
that I could perceive nothing,	That I ne myȝt noþing, as I would, Abouten me <i>considre</i> and bihold, The wondre *estres, for briȝtnes of þe sonne; Til at[te] last certein skyes donne,	28
till at last some dark clouds drifted before the sun,	Wiþ wind Iehaced, haue her cours Iwent To-fore þe stremes of Titan and Iblent,	32
so that I could see all around me.	So þat I myȝt, wiþ-in and <i>with</i> -oute, Where so I walk, biholden me aboute, Forto report the fasoun and manere	36
This place was circular, round in shape. After I had long sought, I found a wicket, and entered quickly Least my eyes on every side,	Of al þis place, þat was circulere In <i>compaswise</i> , Round bentaile wrouȝt. And whan þat I had long gone & souȝt, I fond a wiket, and entrid in as fast Into þe temple, and myn eizen east On euere side, now lowe & eft aloft. And riȝt anone, as I gan walken soft, If I þe soth ariȝt report[e] shal,	40
and saw pic- tures on the walls images of sundry lovers.	I sauȝe depeynt oþon euere wal, From est to west, ful many a faire Image Of sondri louers, lich as þei were of age I-sette in ordre, aftir þei were trwe, Wiþ lifli colours wondir fressh of hwe.	44
		48

22. 1st nere] the nerre P. 23. gan] cam C. b. 24. wex] was L. 25. *persing*] *passynge* w. b. 26. euere part] yche apart S. gan] koude S. *om.* W2. w. dyde b. 28. me] me to P. *Between 28 and 29 are the following two lines in S:*

And many a story / mo þan I reken can. (= *line* 91)
Item to rehers / I trowe þer might no man.

29. wondre] wondrous S. wonders b. estres] hestres T (hestrys L.) 30. atte] at the P. L. G. S. att B. at T. w. b. skyes] kyes P. donne] doone L. 31. Iehaced] chaced Pr. haue] than w. and b. Iwent] went G. S. 32. To-fore] þo for S. Before b. 33. and] and eke P. S. 34. Where so] Wher that P. walk] wolde G. Pr. 35. report] report the report P. 36. þis] þat S. 37. lu] I W2. w. Off P. Round] *om.* P. 38. þat] *om.* P. Pr. hade l u g] longe hadde G. long] longer P. long gone] goon longe S. gone] *om.* W2. w. b. souȝt] well sought b. 39. fond] founded L. 41. &] *om.* C. and now W. W2. w. b. 43. ariȝt] ryȝht P. 44. euere] a Pr. 45. ful] *om.* S. Pr. 47. I-sette in] Sett by S. aftir] lich as G. after that as P. riȝht as S. 48. wondir] wonders b. of hwe] & new B.

And, as me þouzt, I sauze somme sit & stonde,		Some sat,
And some kneling wiþ billis in hir honde,		some stood,
And some with compleint, woful & pitous,		with 'bills' in
Wiþ doleful chere to putten to Venus,	52	their hands,
So as she sate fleting in þe se,		with complaints
Vpon hire wo forto haue pite.		to lay before Venus.
And first of al I saugh þere of Car[ta]ge		
Dido þe quene, so goodli of visage,	56	First I saw
That gan complein hir aduenture & caas,		Dido of
Hov she deceyued was of Eneas,		Carthage,
For al his hestis & his opis sworne,		complaining
And said: 'alas, þat euer she was borne,'	60	of the faith-
Whan þat she saugh þat ded she most[e] be.		lessness of
And next I saugh the compleint of Medee,		Eneas;
Hou þat she was falsed of Iason.		
And nygh bi Venus saugh I sit Addoun,	64	next Medea,
And al þe maner, hov þe bore him slough,		deceived by
For whom she wepte & hade pein Ineuze.		Jason;
There saugh I also, hov Penelope,		
For she so long hir lord ne myzt[e] se,	68	then, nygh by
Ful oft[e] wex of colour pale & grene.		Venus,
And aldernext was þe fressh[e] quene,		Adonis slain
I mene Alceste, the noble trw[e] wyfe,		by the boar.
And for Admete hou sho lost hir life,	72	
And for hir trouth, if I shal not lie,		
Hou she was turnyd to a dai[e]sie.		
There was [also] Grisildis innocence,		
And al hir mekenes, & hir pacience.	76	Also Pene-
There was eke Isaude—& meni a noþir mo—		lope, pale
		with grief
		at her lord's
		absence.
		Next Alceste,
		who died for
		Admetus,
		and was
		turned into a
		daisy.
		There was
		also patient
		Griselda,

49. And] Right S. &] sum L. & som Pr. 51. compleint] compleyntes G. S. 54. forto] to L. 55. Cartage] Carge T. P. F (*in F. corrected by s. love*). 58. deceyued] descended F (*n corrected to v in different ink*). 59. hestis] behestes P. 60. she was] was she G. S. 61. Whan] And when P. þat] om. S. P. Pr. she moste] most she S. 62. next] nex W2. next her w. b. 63. was falsed] falsed was Pr. falsed] falsid G. Iason] Iosan L. 64. saugh I] I saw P. sit Addoun] siten down S. 65. þe maner] manere P. hov] how that G. hore] here P. 66. hade] made S. pein] sorwe G. S. pyne C. W. W2. w. pite b. 67. hov] how that Pr. howe fyre S. 68. so] om. S. hir lord ne myzte] ne myght her lorde b. ne myzte] might not S. 69. Ful ofte wex] Was Pr. wex of colour] of colour wex S. pale] bothe pale Pr. 70. And] All B. 72. And for Admete] þat for hir trouthe S. 73. for hir trouth] transfourmed S. trouth] through W2. thrughe w. 74 *in S*: In to þe flour / cleped Daysye. to] into P. Pr. 75. also] om. T. P. L. Pr. 76. & hir] and al hir P. and Pr. 77. eke] om. S. a noþir] other Pr.

Tristram and Isolde,	And al þe turment, and al þe cruel wo, That she hade for Tristram al hir line.	
Pyramus and Thisbe,	And hou þat Tesbie her hert[e] did[e] rife Wip þilk[e] swerd of him Piramus ;	80
Theseus and the Minotaur,	And al þe maner, hou þat Theseus The Minatawre slow amyd þe hous, That was for-wrynkked bi craft of Dedalus, When þat he was in prison shette in Crete.	84
and Phyllis, who for love of Demo- phoon, hanged her- self upon a filbert tree.	And hou þat Phillis felt of loues hete The grete fire of Demophon, alas, And for his falshed and [for] his trespas Vpon þe walles depeint men myzt[e] se, Hov she was honged vpon a filbert tre.	88
There were Paris and Helen,	And mani a stori, mo þen I rekin can, Were in þe tempil, & hov þat Paris wan The faire Heleyne, þe lusti fressh[e] quene,	92
and Achilles slain for Polyxena.	And hov Achilles was for Policene I-slain vnwarli wít/in Troi[e] toune : Al þis sawe I, [walkyng] vp & down.	96
There was also the story of Philomene and Progne,	Ther sawe I] writen eke þe hole tale, Hov Philomene into a nyztynge Iturnd was, and Progne vnto a swalow ;	
and the Sa- bines at the feast of Lu- crece.	And hov þe Sabyns in hir maner halowe The fest of Lucrese zit in Rome tovne.	100
I saw also the sorrow of Palamon,	There saugh I also þe sorow of Palamon, That he in prison felt, & al þe smert, And hov þat he, þurugh vnto his hert,	104

78. 2^d al] *om.* G. S. Pr. 79. hade for Tristram al] for Trystram sufferede in G. S. 80. hou þat] howe b. her] thorowe þe S. 81. pilke] þe S. him] hyre G. hir S. sire C. syr W. W2. w. b. 82. þe] *om.* P. hon] of G. þat] Duc S. 84. for-wrynkked] for wrynkeled F. for wrinkled B. so wrynkked G. S. 85. When] What L. W2. w. þat] *om.* Pr. was] *om.* P. 86. loues] loued w. loue the b. 87. fire] furye S. of] for S. b. 88. 2^d for] *om.* T. P. F. B. L. G. 89. walles depeint] wal depeinted G. S. depeint] epeynted P. 90. was honged] was hangyn G. henge Pr. filbert] philbertis S. 92. in þe tempil] þer depeynted S. 93. The] *om.* S. þe] a Pr. (*exc.* b.) lusti fresshe] fresche lusty G. S. 94. hov] *om.* L. 95. I-slain] Slawe G. vnwarli] unwardly W. W2. w. b. Troie] troyes S. 96. *om.* T. (P.) F. B. L. In F the following line has been subsequently supplied: by forcastyng of greit tresovne; this has been expunged and (by Stowe) corrected to: And in this Temple / as I Romed vp and downe. The latter is also the reading of P. sawe I] I sawe S. I say G. 97. Ther] Al þis T. F. B. L. Al thus P. eke] also S. 99. vnto] to G. into L. S. b. 100. þe] *om.* S. hir] a S. *om.* L. 101. zit] that P. 103. prison] *om.* in F; but subsequently added by Stowe. 104. vnto] in to S. *om.* P.

Was hurt vnwarli þurgh casting of an eyze		his love for Emily, and his fight with his brother,
Of faire fressh, þe 3ung[e] Emelie,		
And al þe strife bitwene him & his broþir,		
And hou þat one fauzt eke with þat opir	108	
Wiþ-in þe groue, til þei bi Theseus		
Acordid were, as Chaucer telliþ us.		as told by Chaucer.
And forþimre, as I gan bihold,		
I saw; hov Phebus with *an arow of gold	112	I saw how Phœbus was wounded by Cupid,
I-woundid was, þuru3 oute in his side,		
Onli bi envie of þe god Cupide,		
And hou þat *Daphne vnto a laurer tre		and Daphne changed into a laurel tree;
Iturnd was, when she did[e] fle ;	116	
And hou þat Ioue gan to chaunge his cope		and how Jove turned himself into a bull for love of Europa,
Oonli for loue of þe faire Europe,		
And into [a] bole, when he did hir sue,		
List of his godhode his fourme to transmwe ;	120	
And hou þat he bi transmutacioun		and took the shape of Amphitryon
The shap gan take of Amphitrioun		for Alcmena's sake.
For *hir, *Almen, so passi[n]g *of beaute ;		
So was he hurt, for al his deite,	124	
Wiþ loues dart, & myzt it not ascape.		
There sau3 I also hou þat Mars was take		I saw Mars and Venus bound by Vulcan,
Of Vulcanus, and wiþ Venus found,		
And wiþ þe Cheynes invisible bound.	128	
Ther was also al þe poesie		and the wedding of Mercury with Philology,
Of him, Mercurie, and Phil[o]log[y]e,		

105. hurt] hit G. wounde P. vnwarli] *om.* S. vnwardly W2. inwardly w. b. þurgh] thorowe þat S. for G. by Pr. 106. Of] On Pr. faire] the fayre w. b. þe] *om.* L. and w. b. 3unge] lusty yong Pr. 108. eke] *om.* P. B. Pr. þat on[e] the ton G. þat opir] the tothyr G. the othir P. 109. þei bi] that P. 110. Acordid] Arrested S. Departed P. Chaucer telliþ] telliþe Chaucer to S. 111. as] *om.* L. 112. hov] of G. S. an arow] anoro T. of] *om.* P. 113. oute in] in to P. in] *om.* Pr. 115. Daphne] Dane G. Done S. Diane T. P. F. B. L. he P. *om.* Pr. Iu to a] In ta G. in to a S. 116. when] whan that Pr. 117. Ioue] Iohou P. gan to chaunge] changed C. began to chaunge L. W. W2. w. b. 118. loue of þe] the love of G. 119. into a bole] Triable S. a] *om.* T. F. B. hir] he C. 121. hou] *om.* S. 122. gan] came S. 123. hir] his T. F. B. L. he P. *om.* Pr. Almen] Alcmena Pr. al men T. P. L. þat was S. so] *om.* L. passing] passaunt G. of] was T. F. B. L. was vith P. was of Pr. 124. in P: Aforne all othir that smyten so was hee. deite] deynte S. 125. reuds in P:

With lowes dart he myght

he myght it noight aschape. it] *om.* B.

126. þat] *om.* Pr. 127. found] I founde B. 128. Cheynes] Cheynes of L. bound] I bounde B. 130. him] *om.* S. and] and al the Pr. Philologie G.] Philologic (Philogy *etc.*) F. B. P. L. Pr. Philloge T. Philosophic S.

- And hou þat she, for hir sapience,
Iweddit was to god of eloquence, 132
- and how the bitter was conveyed to heaven by the Muses,
And hou þe Musis *lowli did obeie,
High into heuen þis ladi to conuei,
And with hir song hov she was magnified
With Iubiter to bein Istellified. 136
- One could see, how Canace understood the language of birds,
And vppermore depeint men myzt[e] se,
Hov with hir ring, goodli Canace
Of euere foule þe ledne & þe song
Coud vndirstond, as she welk hem among ; 140
- and how her brother was helped by the steed of brass,
And hou hir broþir so oft holpen was
In his myschefe bi þe stede of bras.
And forþermore in þe tempil were
Ful mani a þousand of louers, here & þere, 144
In sondri wise redi to complein
Vnto þe goddes, of hir wo & pein,
Hou þei were hindrid, some for envie.
- of jealousy,
And hou þe serpent of fals Ielousie 148
Ful many a louer haþ iput o bak,
And caus[e]les on hem Ilaid a lak.
- of absence and exile through wicked tongues,
And some þer were þat pleynd on absence,
That werin exiled & put oute of presence 152
Thuruþ wikkid tungis & fals suspecioun,
[With-oute mercy or remyssyoun.]
And oþer eke her seruise spent in vain,
- of 'Danger' and 'Disdain.'
Thuruþ cruel daunger, & also bi dislain ; 156
And some also þat loued, soþ to sein,
And of her ladi were not louyd again.

131. hir] his S. 132. god] the god Pr. 133. hou] *om.* S. lowli] only G. lwfly P. lowli did] did lowli T. 136. to] there to Pr. Istellified] stelled L. S. Pr. 138. with] that G. goodli] the goodly Pr. 139. ledne] leydous C. W. b. leydous W2. laydous w. layes L. &] and ek G. S. 2^d þe] *om.* C. W. W2. w. 140. Coud] Cowde them L. welk] walked Pr. 141. hou] *om.* G. 142. stede] sounde S. 144. a] of P. a þousand of louers] an hundred thousand S. of] *om.* Pr. 145. In] Is W2. w. 146. pein] pyne P. 147 *and* 148 *transposed in* P. 147. þei] there G. for] thourgh G. by S. of P. 149. iput] put Pr. oft put S. 150. causles T. hem] hym G. S. Ilaid] leyd G. haþ leyde S. b. haue leid C. W. W2. w. he layd P. 151. þer] *om.* S. þat pleynd] pleynyng G. pleyning hyely S. pleynd] playne L. 152. put] *om.* L. 154. *om.* T. P. F. B ; *in* F *by a different hand* :

Wyth owte answar weche was no resoun.

154. or] or any L. Pr. 155. eke] also W. W2. w. b. seruise] lwfys P. 156 *and* 157 *om.* Pr. 156. also] al P. 157. loued] lwfith P. 158. And] *om.* L.

And opir eke, þat for pouerte		Others were
Durst *in no wise hir grete aduersite	160	in poverty,
Disceure ne open, lest þai were refusid ;		
And some for wanting also werin accensid,		or loved
And opir eke þat loued secreli,		secretly, not
And of her ladi durst aske no merci,	164	daring to
Lest þat she would of hem haue despite ;		declare them-
And some also þat pitten ful grete wite		selves ;
On double louers, þat loue þingis nwe,		othersblamed
Thurgh whos falsnes hindred be þe trwe.	168	false lovers,
And some þer were, as it is oft[e] found,		who hinder
That for her ladi meny a blodi wounde		the faithful
Endurid hap in mani [a] regioun,		ones.
Whiles þat an oþer hap possession	172	Some had en-
Al of his ladi, and heriþ awai þe fruyte		dured bloody
Of his labur and of al his suyte.		wounds in
And oþer eke compleyned *of Riches,		distant re-
Hou he with Tresour dop his besines	176	gions,
To wyunen al, againes kynd & ryzt,		whilst
Wher trw louers haue force noon ne myzt.		another pos-
And some þer were, as maydens zung of age,		sessed their
That pleined sore with peping & with rage,	180	lady.
That þei were coupled, againes al nature,		Others com-
Wiþ croked elde, þat mai not long endure		plained
Forto performe þe lust of loues plai :		against
For it ne sit not vnto fressh[e] May	184	Riches, who,
Forto be coupled to oold[e] Ianuari—		with Treas-
		ure, wins
		the field
		against true
		lovers.
		Young maid-
		ens com-
		plained, that
		they were
		coupled with
		crooked Old
		Age :

159. opir eke] also other W. W2. w. b. 160. in] on T. F. B. 161. ne] in G. S. 162. And] om. S. wanting] avaunte S. 163. opir eke] also other W. W2. w. b. 164. And] om. L. þat S. no] ne b. 165. she would of hem] of hem she wold S. of hem haue] haue of them L. 166. ful] right Pr. 167. loue] lufyþ P. 168. þe] om. P. L. 169. þer] that L. as] at P. found] cfounde S. 170. meny a blodi] haden many a S. 171. hap] hadde G. haue b. and S. a] om. T. F. B. S. 172. Whiles] Whyte b. þat] om. P. hap] hath had Pr. hath the P. 174. Of his] Of al his P. 175. And] An b. eke] om. Pr. compleyned] complayneth b. of] in T. P. F. B. L. 176. he] om. B. tresour] tresours L. 177. wyunen] wymen F. women P. al] om. Pr. againes] agaynst al Pr. 178. Wher] Where as Pr. force noon] noo force W. W2. w. b. no kynde S. ne] no b. myzt] ryght P. 180. pleined] pleyneth C. playnen W. W2. playne w. b. sore] so L. Pr. peping] piping L. popyng C. W. W2. w. popyng P. peynenge B. wepyng F. G. S. ⁴. 181. þei] om. G. Pr. were] om. P. coupled] compelled S. againes] agay Pr. 182. elde] olde G. W. W2. w. b. old P. 183. lust of lounes] lustis G. 184. it ne sit not] it is nat syttinge b. vnto] to S. 185. to] vnto G. with P.

Old Age and Youth are so different.	Thei ben so diuers þat þei most[e] varie— For eld is grucching & malencolious, Ay ful of ire & suspicious, And iouth entendeþ to Ioy & lustines, To myrth & plai & to al gladnes.	188
‘Alas! that sugar should be mixed with gall!’ these young folks cried.	‘Allas þat euer þat it shuld[e] fal, * So soote sugre Icoupled be with gal!’ These yong[e] folk criden oft[e] siþe, And praied Venus hir pouer forto kiþe Vpon þis myschef, & shape remedie.	192
And others I heard lament with tears and piteous sounds,	And riȝt anon I herd oþir erie With sobbing teris, & with ful pitous soume, Tofore þe goddess, bi lamentacioun,	196
that had been forced to enter the monastic life in their childhood,	That * were constrayned in hir tender youþe, And in childhode, as it is oft[e] couþe, * Yentred were into religioun, Or þei hade yeris of diseresioun,	200
and now must feign perfection in wide copes, huding their inwardsmart.	That al her life cannot but complein, In wide copis perfeccion to feine, Ful couertli to curen al hir smert, And shew þe contrarie outward of her hert.	204
Thus wept many a fair maid, blaming her friends.	Thus saugh I wepen many a faire maide, * That on hir freendis al þe wite þei leide. And oþer next I saugh þere in gret rage,	208

186. moste] mot nedes S. most nedes P. 187. eh] olde G. P. W. W2. w. b. grucching] grucchynd P. &] om. S. 188. Ay] Alwaye w. b. ful of ire] irefull b. of] om. L. &] and eke b. suspicious] suspessyonous S. 189. iouth] though P. &] & to P. 190. al] gret S. 191. 2^d þat] om. L. S. Pr. it] is P. ye F. om. B. shulde] shulle P. eshoulde S. fal] befall b. 192. So] þat S. So soote] To sute T. Icoupled] couplid B. Icoupled be] shoulde be coupled S. be] om. L. be with] be to C. W. W2. to be w. (he has been scratched out and soure written over it). with the b. 193. These] The F. B. folk] folkys S. criden ofte siþe] of sithe wepþith and cryden P. ofte] oftyn G. 194. forto] to C. W. W2. w. 195. Vpon] Vnto L. &] to S. 196. oþir] an oþir P. 197. sobbing] sowing L. pytous S. with ful] om. Pr. ful] wol G. pitous] weping S. soume] swoun G. 198. Tofore] By fore S. Before b. A for P. bi] with S. with gret L. 199. That] Thaire L. were constrayned] conseiles T. counseyles F. B. counseillys L. conseylis G. concellith P. cofes- sen S. tender] om. Pr. 200. in] In here G. in hir S. childhode] childysh hode F. childerhod P. it] om. C. W. W2. w. ofte] oft a W2. w. 201. Yentred] Yrendred T. L. Irenderede G. were] ben S. 202. Or] Er þat S. 204. to] for to C. W. b. P. or to W2. w. 205. to curen al] for to coueren Pr. hir] thy W2. 206. outward] outwards S. om. Pr. of] in G. her] om. P. 207. Thus] This P. There b. wepen] wepyng P. where w. om. b. 207 and 208 transposed in P. 208. That] Than T. L. þe] hir S. þei] om. P. G. b. 209. oþer] ouer L. next] mo b. þere] om. P. they altered to them F.

That þei were maried in her tendir age, Wip-oute fredom of eleccioun, Wher loue haþ sold domynacioun :	212	Others had been married in their tender age, without free choice, re- gardless of inclination.
For loue, at laarge & [at] liberte, Would freli chese, & not with such trete. And oþer saugh I ful oft wepe & wring, [That they in men founde swych varynge,]	216	Others com- plained of men, who only love while beauty blooms, and when it departs, frown on their lady.
To loue a seisoun, while þat beaute floureþ, And bi disdein so vngoodli loureþ On hir þat whilom he callid his ladi dere, That was to him so plesaunt & entere ;	220	
But lust with fairnes is so ouergone, That in her hert trouþ abideþ none. And som also I sauþ in teris reyne, And pitousli on god & kynd[e] pleyne,	224	Some I saw in floods of tears complain against God and Nature, for endowing a woman with such passing beauty as to ruin a man :
That euer þei would on eny creature So mych beaute, passing bi mesure, Set on a woman, to yeue occasioun A man to loue to his confusioun,	228	
And nameli þere where he shal haue no grace ; For wip a loke, forth-bi as he doþ pace, Ful oft[e] falleþ, þuruþ easting of an yþe, A man is woundid, þat he most nedis deye,	232	for by one look a man is often wound- ed to the death.
That neuer efter peraventure shal hir se. Whi wil god don so gret a euellte To eny man, or to his creature, To maken him so mych wo endure,		Why does God inflict so much woe on any man,

210. þei] *om.* b. maried] *murdred* S. 211 and 212 *transposed in L.* 211. of] of fre Pr. 212. sold] *seldome* b. 213. 2^d at] *om.* T. L. 214. chese] *om.* S. not] *om.* P. trete] *threte* L. 215. saugh I] I sawe L. I saughe P. oft] *soore* G. *sore* S. 216 *om.* T. F. B. *In F the following line is inserted by a later hand:* that weer dysayuyd / bi thacyr wenyng. *The reading of P is:* That euer a man shuld so fals a thyng. varynge] *vayringe* L. 217. þat] *om.* G. the L. 218. And] And after Pr. bi] he high P. 219. On] Vpon S. hir] *hym* G. þat whilom he callid] he cleped S. whilom] *somtyme* w. b. 220. was to him] to *hym* was G. S. him] *hynt* P. & entere] in *tyre* P. 221. so] *some* F. B. ouergone] *ouer* grone P. 222. her] *hys* P. 224. pitousli] *pituous* L. pleyne] *complayne* b. þey pleyne S. 225. euer þei] *thei* euer P. þei] he b. on] in L. G. S. 227. on] in G. S. to yeue] by S. 229. haue] *fynd* P. haue no] *han* *corrected to* *hanno* G. no] *om.* S. 230. wip] by B. forth-bi] *forby* G. S. he doþ] *men* do G. *men* doon S. 231. Ful] *Wel* S. þuruþ] *om.* W2. w. 232. he most nedis] *nedis* he most P. 233. That] *Whiche* G. And S. Yet b. after *peraventure*] *perantur* after he L. Pr. *peraventure* shal hir] shal hir *peravntre* S. 234. a] *om.* P. b. 235. or] or *cls* b.

for the sake of one, who will never be his own ?	For hir <i>percaas</i> , whom he shal in no wise Reioise neuer, but so forþ in Iewise Ledin his life, til þat he be graue. For he ne durst of hir no merci craue, 240 And eke <i>peranenture</i> , þouȝ he durst & would. He can not wit, where he hir find[e] shuld. I saugh þere eke, & þerof hade I roupe, That som were hindred for couetise & slouth, 244 And some also for her hastines, And oþer eke for hir reklesnes—
Some were also hindered by covetousness, by sloth or hastiness.	But alderlast as I walk & biheld, Beside Pallas wiþ hir cristal sheld, 248 Tofore þe *statue of Venus set on height, Hov þat þer knelid a ladi in my syzt Tofore þe goddes, which riȝt as þe <i>sonne</i> Passeþ þe sterres & doþ hir stremes <i>donne</i> , 252 And Lucifer, to voide þe nyȝtes sorow, In clerenes passeþ erli bi þe morow, And so as Mai haþ þe souereinte Of euere moneþ, of fairnes & beaute, 256 And as þe rose in swetnes & odoure Surmounteþ floures, and bawme of al licour Haueþ þe pris, & as þe rubie briȝt Of al stonnes in beaute & in siȝt, 260 As it is know, haþ þe regalie : Riȝt so þis ladi wiþ hir goodli ciȝe,
Last of all I saw, beside Pallas, before the statue of Venus,	
a lady kneeling, and, as the sun outshines all stars,	
as May is the fairest of all months,	
as the rose surpasses all flowers, balm all liquors, and the ruby all stones :	
so this lady	

237. *percaas*] *parcas* (*underlined as a proper name*) S. whom] when S. he] she P. 238. *reuer*] at any tyme b. *forþ*] sorry L. in Iewise] as vnwyse S. Iewise] inwyse b. 239. his] this (*over crasure*) his F. þat] *om.* b. graue] in his graue W. W2. w. b. layde in graue b. 240. of] on P. craue] haue P. 241. eke] also W. W2. w. b. &] or G. 242. he] *om.* F. B. he hir] hir he S. hir] *om.* L. 243. eke] also W. W2. w. b. þerof] of P. therefore L. 244. hindred] heme-rede G. for] thorowe S. G. by Pr. 245. for] thoroughe S. 246. eke] also W. W2. w. b. for] thoroughe S. 247. alderlast] at the last W. W2. w. b. 248. Beside] Besides L. cristal] orystell W2. w. 249. Tofore] Before b. statue] statute T. B. W. W2. w. stature P. L. b. 250. Hov þat] *om.* Pr. 251. Tofore] Byfore S. Before b. which] the whiche G. S. riȝt] *om.* Pr. 252. &] *om.* b. doþ hir] so thorough G. doþ hir stremes] eke the stormys C. also the stormes W. doþ hir stremes *donne*] also the stormes (storme w.) W2. w. in brightnesse echone b. stremes] brightnesse S. *donne*] downe P. 253. And] And as b. 254. In] I W2. w. clerenes] clemesse G. cherenesse P. bi] *om.* Pr. 255. so] *om.* b. 256. of] the C. W. W2. w. in b. 258. Surmounteþ] Surmounted C. Surmounteh (*sic*) W. W2. floures] the flowres P. and] & as b. al] *om.* S. 259. &] *om.* F. briȝt] hight L. 260. Of] Bryght off P. al] alle the G. beaute] bountee S. Lines 261—264 are omitted in S (*the rhymes briȝt and siȝt occurring again in ll. 263, 264*). P interpolates between

And with þe stremes of hir loke so briȝt,		
Surmounteþ al þurgh beaute in my sizte :	264	with her radiant look's surpassed all in beauty.
Forto tel hir gret semelines,		
Hir womanhed, hir port. & hir fairnes,		
It was a meruaile, hou ever þat nature		
Conde in hir werkis make a creature	268	It was a marvel how Nature could make so angelic a creature :
So aungellike, so goodli on to se,		
So femynyn or passing of beaute,		
Whos sonnyssh here, briȝter þan gold were,		
Lich Phebus bemys shynyng in his spere—	272	her sunny hair was brighter than goldwire,
The goodlihed eke of hir fresshli face,		
So replenysshid of beaute & of grace,		
So wel ennuyd bi Nature & depeint,		
That Rose and lileis togedir were so meint,	276	in her fresh face roses and lilies seemed to mingle,
So egalli bi good proporcoun,		
That, as me þouȝt, in myn inspeccioun		
I gan meruaile, hou god, or werk of kynd,		
Mizten of beaute such a tresour find,	280	and alto- gether she was of such passing beauty and excellence,
To yeven hir so passing excellence.		
For in goode faip, þuruz hir heiȝ presence		
The tempil was enlumynd enviroun,		
And forto speke of condicioun,	284	that the whole Temple was illuminated by her high pre- sence.
She was þe best þat myȝt[e] ben on lyve :		
For þer was noon þat wiþ hir myȝt[e] striue,		
To speke of bounte, * or of gentiltes,		
Of womanhed, or of lowlynes,	288	No one could compare with her in womanly charms and virtues :
Of curtesie, or of goodlihed,		
Of spech, of chere, or of semlyhed,		
Of port benygne, & of daliaunce,		

ll. 260 and 261 : To for the goddess wheche ryght as (cf. *Line* 251). 263. þe] *om.* G. 264. þurgh] *om.* B. through all P. 265. Forto] *Hfor* forto G. That for to Pr. 266. 2^d hir] hert P. 267. meruaile] *meruabil* P. ever þat] þat ever S. 269. aungellike] agreeable G. so] or G. S. 271. sonnyssh] goodly L. Schynyng P. *om.* S. here] here heire P. clernesse S. briȝter] is bryghter G. S. bright P. 272. bemys] by S. 273. eke] also W. W2. w. b. of] yf W2. w. fresshli] fresshe L. B. S. C. W. W2. w. fayre b. 274. replenysshid] replenysshes G. 275. ennuyd] enewed P. endewed b. coloured S. 276. That] The L. As S. Pr. Rose] roses S. so] *om.* L. S. Pr. meint] y meint F. B. b. emeynt S. 277. egalli] evenly S. bi] euen be P. 278. in] by S. Pr. 279. of] or P. 281. passing] *persant* P. 282. heiȝ] *om.* F. 284. forto] to F. of] of her P. L. Pr. 285. best þat] *om.* P. on lyve] a lyve G. alyve S. 286. þat wiþ hir] with her that B. wiþ hir myȝte] might with hir S. 287. bounte] beute G. beantie b. or] or T. gentiltes] lowlynesse S. 288. lowlynes] genylynesse S. 290 omitted in P. or] *om.* G. 291. Of port benygne] Beningne of port S. &] or Pr.

	The best[e] tauzt, & þerto of plesauuce	292
she was a model and mirror, lady and mistresses to all of her sex.	She was þe wel, and eke of oneste An exemplarie, & mirroure eke was she Of secrenes, of trouth, of faythfulnes, And to al oþer ladi & maistres,	296
So I saw this lady kneeling before Venus, clad in green and white,	And so þis ladi, benigne and humble of chere, Kneling I saugh, al clad in grene and white, Tofore Venus, goddes of al delite,	300
with broideries of precious stones, and sundry 'rolls,'	Eubrouded al <i>with</i> stones & perre So richeli, þat ioi it was to se, Wiþ sondri rolles on hir garnement,	304
setting forth her motto: 'De mieux en mieux.'	Forto expoune þe trouth of hir entent, And shew fulli, þat for hir humbilles, And for hir vertu, and hir stabilnes, That she was rote *of womanli plesauuce.	308
This is to say: she resigns her heart and will, from better to better, unto Venus.	Therefore hir woord wiþoute variauce Eubrouded was, as men myzt[e] se : 'De mieulx en mieulx,' <i>with</i> stones and perre :	312
	This [is] to sein þat she, þis benigne, From bettir to bettir hir hert[e] floþ resigne, And al hir wil, to Venus þe goddes, Whan þat hir list hir harmes to redresse.	

292. tauzt] thought G. P. etaught S. &] *om.* w. b. 293. and eke] also S. W. W2. w. eke C. b. 294. An] And S. &] and the P. eke] also W. W2. w. b. *om.* S. 295. secrenes] sikurnesse S. 3^d of] & G. and of P. 297. sue] shewe S. Pr. sewe *in* L is, *by a later hand, altered into* shewe. 298. ladi] *om.* P. benigne and] right Pr. humble] noble S. chere] her chere b. 299. al] *om.* Pr. al clad in grene] in blak *In* red G. S. and] & *In* G. 300. Tofore] Before b. Beseching S. al] *om.* P. 303. garnement] garment B. L. b. 305. And] To Pr. þat for hir] for þat hir hye S. humbilles] humblenesse L. b. noblesse S. 306. And for hir] Hir stedfast vertu S. 2^d hir] for hir F. B. L. stabilnes] stablesse G. stedfastnesse b. 307. was] *om.* P. of] of al T. F. B. L. Pr. 309. was] *om.* W. W2. w. as] ther as P. 309 *and* 310 *read in* G. S :

Was vp & doun as men myghte (mighten S) se

In frems (fresshly S) enbroudyt humblement magre.

310. and] of L. C. W. W2. w. 311. This] þat S. is] *om.* T. L. þis] is S. was L. was so Pr. 312. From] fro P. for L. 312 *reads in* G. S : Hyr herte & al fully doth resigne. 313. And al hir wil to] *In* to the handys of G. S. 314. Whan] Quhame P. 1st hir] she P. harmes] harnes P.—*Line* 314 *reads in* b : She stode at poynt redy to expresse.—*Between* 314 *and* 315 *the following 4 lines are interpolated in* b :

And her humbly of mercy for to pray

For her dole remedy to puruaye

Gladly she wolde the goddesse shulde attende

Her sorowes all and harmes to amende

- For as me þouȝt sunnwhat bi hir chere,
 Forto compleyne she haile gret desire : 316 From her
 For in hir hond she held a litel bil, thought, she
 Forto declare þe somme of al hir wil, too had a
 And to þe goddes hir quarel forto shewe, complaint ;
 [Theeffect of which was this In wordys fewe :] for she had a
 320 which was to little 'bill' in
 this effect : her hand,
- 1.
- ‘O ladi Venus, modir of Cupide, 321 ‘O lady
 That al þis *wor[1]d hast in gouernaunce, Venus,
 And hertes high, *þat hauteyn [ben] of pride, mistress of all
 Enclynyst mekeli to þin obeissaunce, this world,
 Causer of ioie, Relese of penaunce, 325
 And with þi stremes canst eueri þing discernen
 *Thuruȝ heuenli fire of loue þat is eterne ; 327
- 2.
- O blisful sterre, persant & ful of liȝt, 328 thou blissful
 Of benys gladsome, deuoider of derknes, star,
 Cheif recomford after þe blak nyȝt, comfort after
 To voide woful oute of her heuynes, the black
 Take nov goode hede, ladi & goddesse, 332 night,
 So þat my bil ȝour grace may atteyne, let now my
 Redresse to finde of þat I me compleyne. 334 bill attain
 your grace.
- 3.
- For I am bounde to þing þat I nold ; 335
 Freli to chese þere lak I liberte ; I lack liberty
 And so I want of þat myn hert[e] would ; to choose
 freely ;

315. þouȝt] þinkeþe S. 315 reads in b: And euermore me thought by her chere. 316. Forto] To b. gret] right great b. 317. held] had S. 318. Forto declare] Wherin was writte b. þe somme] sume part S. of] and P. al] om. S. wil] style W2. skylle w. b. 319 reads in b: And all that she wolde to the goddesse shewe. to] om. L. 320 om. T. B; in F *Stowe supplied*: hir matire was / of thes ballads fewe. *This is also the reading of P; only of is wanting in the latter MS.* was] foloweth b. this] om. L. Pr.

The following headings are found before line 321: Supplicacio mulieris amantis F. B. Balade S. The cople of the supplicacion Pr. The fyrst parte of the songe L (in a later hand). 321. of] to G. S. 322. al] in C. world] word T. worde L. hast] þou hast S. in] the C. 323. And] And the b. high] om. b. hauteyn] ha doten T. hateydeyn F. hatydon B. hadoten P. haultotayn L. haunteyn G. ben] om. T. W2. w. hyc b. of] by Pr. 325. Causer] Cause G. Relese] releser B. P. L. G. S. 327. Thuruȝ T. fire of loue] loue of fyre b. 328. O] Oif (?) P. sterre] sterrys G. persant] passanant G. ful] cler G. S. 329. Of] O L. deuoider] the wouder P. voyder S. 330. recomford] confort G. recomforter S. of recomford P. 331. voide] wynde S. woful] woful hertes Pr. L. her] om. G. S. 333. ȝour grace may] may your grace Pr. 334. me] nowe S. 337. And] a F.

my body may
not follow my
thought,
my outward
conduct must
be at variance
with my
heart's
desire.

The bodi [is] knyht, al þouȝe my þouȝt be fre.
So þat I most, of necessite, 339
Myn hertis lust out[e]ward contrarie ;
Though we be on, þe dede most[e] varie. 341
338. is] *om.* T. F. B. P. al] *om.* Pr. 339. of] of verrey L.
341. varie] nedis warie P.

*Stanzas 3—7 (ll. 335—369) are missing in G. S; in their place
the following four are found:*

3 a.

Deign of your
benignity,
to grant a
remedy for
wicked
tongues and
their cruelty.

So that ȝow lyst of ȝoure benygnete, 1
Goodly to seen & shaipe remedye
On wekkede tongis & on the crewelte,
That they compassse thourgh maleys & envye,
To quenche the venym of here felonye, 5
Wher as they hyndere wemen gilteles :
*Stynteþe this werre & lat vs leue in pes. 7

3 b.

I complain
also of
Jealousy, the
vile serpent,
always
grodging and
suspicious,

I pleyne also vp-on Ielusye, 1
The vile serpent, the snake tortyvous,
That is so crabbit & frounyng of his ye,
And euere grochynge & suspeeyous,
I-fret with eysel that makyth hym dispytous, 5
Of euery thyng the werste for to deme,
That ther is no thyng that may his herte queme. 7

3 c.

ever froward
and frow-
ing, whose
reason fails in
the dotage of
old age.

Thus is he fryed in his owene gres, 1
To-rent & torn with his owene rage,
And euere *froward & frounyng causeles,
Whos rescoun faylyth in elde thourgh dotage :
This is the maner of krokede fer in age, 5
Whan they ben couplyd with ȝouthe *þey can no more,
But hem werreyen, which wemen beyeth ful sore. 7

3 d.

Thus we are
ever oppress-
ed with tor-
ments,
as you were
when bound
by Vulcan.
Now for love
of Mars and
Adonis, take
pity on my
complaint.

Thus euere in *tourment & yre furyous 1
We ben oppressed—allas the harde stounde !—
*Rygh[t] as ȝoure selve were with Wilkanus
Ageyn ȝoure wil & ȝoure herte bounde.
Now for the Ioye, whilom that ȝe founde 5
With Mars, ȝoure knyght, vp-on myn compleynt rewe,
For love of Adon that was so frosh of hewe. 7

3 a. 3. On] Of S. 2^d on] of S. 4. they] þey may S. maleys &] fals S.
5. the venym of] þeyre venyme and S. 6. as] þat S. 7. Styntth G.—
3 b. 2. vile] wyld S. 3. crabbit] crokid S. of his ye] on hye S. 4. *om.* S.
5. dispytous] suspesious S. In S the following line is marked to be inserted
between 5 and 6 : By al kynde þou art so envyous.—3 c. 3. froward] frowar
G. & frounyng] groyning S. 4. in elde thourgh] nowe in olde S. 6. þey]
I G. 7. werreyen] waryen S. which] *om.* S. beyeth] ben S.—3 d. 1. turment]
tornement G. 2. the] þat S. 3. Rygh G. 4. Ageyns S. 7. Adon] yowe S.

4.

- Mi worship sauf, I faile eleccioun, 342 To save my
 Again al ryzt, hope of god and kynd, dignity, I
 There to be knit vudir subieccion, forego my
 Fro whens ferre *are hope[e] witte & mynde ; choice ;
- Mi þouzt goþe forþe, my bodi is behind ; 346 in body I
 For I am here, and yonde my remembraunce ; remain, but
 Atwixen two so hang I in balauce. 348 my thought
 goes forth.

5.

- Denoide of ioie, of wo I haue plente ; 349
- What I desire, þat mai I not possede ;
- For þat I nold, is redi aye to me, What I de-
 And þat I loue, forto swe I drede, sire, I may
 To my desire contrarie is my mede ; 353 not possess,
 And þus I stond, departid euen on tweyn, and dread to
 Of wille and dede placed in a chaine. 355 sue for what
 I loue.

6.

- For þouze I brenne *with* feruence and *with* hete, 356 Although I
 Wip-in myn hert I mot complein of cold, burn with
 And þuruþ myn axesse thoze I sweltre and swete, fervent heat,
 Me to complein, god wot, I am not boold, my heart
 Vnto no wizt, nor a woord vifold 360 within is
 Of al my peyne, alas þe hard[e] stond ! cold,
 That hatter brenne þat closid is my wounde. 362 nor dare I
 unfold a word
 of all my
 pain.

7.

- For he þat hap myn hert[e] feipfulli, 363 For I have no
 And hole my luf in al honesti, chance of
With-oute chaunge, al be it secreli, being with
 I haue no space wip him forto be. him who,
 O ladi Venus, consider now & se 367 secretly, has
 my heart and
 love
- O ladi Venus, consider now & se 367 O lady Venus,
 consider now

343. Again] Agaynst b. 345. Fro] For C. P. ferre] *om.* L. ferre are hope] for both ar C. fer both ar W. W2. w. both are ferre b. are] or T. B. or F (*sign* of the *caesural pause* before it). witte &] out of L. Pr. 346 *omitted in* P. 347. yonde] yonder W2. yonder L. w. b. 348. Atwixen] atwyen F. Bitwix L. Betwyx P. Betwene Pr. so] *om.* P. 352. swe] shewe P. 354. euen on] in Pr. on tweyn] atwayne L. 355. placed] y lashed P. 356. brenne] out brenne b. feruence] feruente w. feruence and *with* ferment b. 2^d *with*] *om.* Pr. 357. mot] may w. b. 358. þuruþ myn axesse] by excesse Pr. axesse] *actes* L. sweltre] swelte P. Pr. 359. god wot I am not] I am nat god wote b. 360. a] one Pr. 362. That hatter] That I L. The hotter that I Pr. That the hatter P. þat closid] the closir P. In the colder L. the colder Pr. 366 and 367 are *omitted in* w. *In their place* b substitutes :

All way it must ikept and covered be

Wherfore lady Venus encline I pray the.

367. &] *om.* B.

my complaint: my life and death are in thy hands.' Vnto þe effecte and compleint of my bil,
Sip life and deþ I put al in þi wil.' 369

8.

And then the goddess inclined her head, and told her how her torment should soon end, And þo me þouzt þe goddess did enlyne 370
Mekeli hir hede, and softli gan expresse,
That in short tyme hir turment shuld[e] fyne,
And hou of him, for whom al hir distresse
Contynued had & al hir heynes, 374
She *shold haue Ioy, and of hir purgatorie
Be holpen sone, and so forþ lyue in glorie. 376

9.

Saying: 'Daughter, your faithful meaning has won my hearing, And seid[e]: 'Douzter, for þe sad[de] trouþe, 377
The feiþful menyng, & þe Innocence,
That planted bene, withouten eny slouþe,
In your persone, deuoid of al *offence,
So haue atteyned to oure audience, 381
That þuruþ oure grace 3e shul be wel releuyd,
I 3ov bihote of al þat haþ 3ov greued. 383

10.

As you have been so patient in your long adversity inflicted by Saturn, And for þat 3e euer of oon entent, 384
Without change or mutabilite,
Haue in your peynes ben so patient,
To take louli your aduersite,
And þat so long þuruþ þe cruelte 388
Of old Saturne, my fadur vnfortunyd,—
Your wo shal nov no lenger be contuned. 390

11.

It will soon be asswaged and pass over; And pinkiþ þis: within a litel while 391
It shal asswage, and ouerpassen sone;

368. þe effecte] affecte P. 369. I put al in] y put is in al P. al] om. B. Rubric before line 370 in F. B: Thansuere of Venus. 370. þe] than b. as G. S. me] my P. þe] that G. 371. gan] did B. 374. Contynued had] She had endured b. al] of F. b. om. L. 375. shold] would T. 376. so forþ lyue] so lyue forth Pr. lyue] om. P. 377. þe] thy L. C. W. W2. w. thi P. 378. The] Thy C. W. W2. w. feiþful] rightful S. þe] om. Pr. thi P. 380. deuoid] right voyde S. offence] defence T. vycence S. 381. haue] han they C. han W. W2. than w. haue b. 382. þuruþ] with Pr. by P. shul] should S. wel] om. L. 383. þat] om. P. haþ] han G. 384. 3e] ye ben L. ye be Pr. 3e euer] euer ye P. 385. change] chaunce w. eny change P. 386. Haue] And Pr. 387. To take] And takyñ P. 388. þuruþ] thought F. trouþ P. 389. old] youre S. 390. om. w. b reads: Ye shall of me be well rewarded. Your—lenger] Youres shal neuer more S. 391. þis within] thir within W2. ther—within w. therefore within b.

For men bi laiser passen meny a myle.
 And oft also, aftir a dropping mone,
 The weddir clereþ, & whan þe storme is done, 395 the sun
 The soñne shineþ in his spere briȝt, shines all the
 And ioy awakipþ whan we is put to flizt. 397 brighter after
 a storm,

12.

Remembreþ eke, hou neuer ȝit no wizt 398
 Ne came to wirship *wit*houte some debate,
 And folk also reiossh[e] more of liȝt, light glad-
 That þei wiþ derknes were waped & amate; dens the
 Non manis chaunce is alwai fortunate, 402 more after
 Ne no wizt preiseþ of sugre þe swetnes, sweetness
 But þei afore haue tasted bitternes. 404 after bitter-
 ness.

13.

Grisild[e] was assaiaed at[te] ful, 405 Even so with
 That *tur*ned affir to hir encesse of Ioye; Griselda,
 Penelope gan eke for sorowis dul, Penelope
 For þat [her] lord abode so long at Troie; and Dorigen:
 Also þe *tur*ment þere coude no man akoye 409
 Of Dorigene, flour of al Britayne: joy was the
 Thus euer ioy is ende and fine of paine. 411 end of their
 pain;

14.

And trusteþ *þis, for conclusioun, 412
 The end of sorow is ioi I-voide of drede;
 For holi saintis, þuruȝ her passioun, and holy
 Haue heuen Iwonne for her souerain mele; saints won
 And plenti gladli foloipþ after nede: 416 heaven
 through their
 passion:

394. also] *om.* Pr. dropping] drepyng G. W. W2. w. b. 395. &] *om.* S. storme] *strem* G. 397. awakipþ] waketh L. Pr. 398. eke] yet P. *om.* b. 399. Ne came to] Come to no S. some] *om.* w. b. 400. folk] folkes b. also reiossh[e] reioyse also C. W. W2. w. reiossh[e] rechen P. 401. That] þenne S. þei] *om.* b. wiþ] *om.* P. waped] wrapped L. wrapped b. amate] mate L. P. S. C. W. wate W2. w. b. 403. wizt] whit G. 404. þei afore] if þai to forne S. afore] to fore C. W. W2. w. before b. 405. assaiaed] assailed L. atte] at the B. P. L. G. b. atte þe S. at T. w. 406. to] the w. hir] *om.* Pr. of] and P. Ioye] her ioye b. 407. gan] came S. became b. for] for her P. sorowis dul] sorwe dwelle G. S. 408. her] *om.* T. F. B. 409. *tur*ment] torneiment G. 410. flour] the flour P. 411. Thus] This P. euer] euer *corrected into* euere (= every), *in different ink*, T. euer ioy] every ioyes S. ende] endid *corrected into* ende T. ende and fine] fyne and ende L. C. W. W2. w. finall ende b. of] is S. 412. And] As F. trusteþ] truste G. [is] us T. F. B. P. for] for a S. 413. The] Thus S. I-voide] y woked P. voyde Pr. 415. Iwonne] wonne G. Pr. for] by C. W. W2. w. to b. 416. foloipþ] folowed W. W2. w.

- so I promise
you pleasure
after grief. And so my douzter, after *your* greuauus,
I 3ou bihote 3e shul haue ful plesauunce. 418
- 15.
- For Love first
wounds For euer of loue þe maner and þe gnyse 419
Is forto hurt his seruant, and to wounde ;
and then
gives joy : And when þat he haþ tauzte hem his emprise,
He can in ioi make hem to abounde ;
And siþ þat 3e haue in my lase be bound, 423
Wipoute grueching or rebellion,
so consolati-
on is now
your due. Ye most of ryzt haue consolacioun. 425
- 16.
- You shall
soon possess
him whom
you cherish, This is to sein—douteþ neuer a dele— 426
That 3e shal haue ful poss[ess]ion
Of him þat 3e cherissh nov so wel,
In honest maner, wipoute offencioun,
because your
intent is to
love him best. Bicause I enowe *your* entencion 430
Is truli set, in parti and in al,
To loue him best & most in special. 432
- 17.
- For your
chosen one
shall be yours
till death : For he þat 3e haue chosen 3ow to serue, 433
Shal be to 3ow such as 3e desire,
Wipoute chauge, fulli, til he sterue :
so have I set
him afire. So *with* my brond I haue him set afire, 437
And *with* my grace I shal him so enspire,
That he in hert shal be ryzt at *your* will,
* Wherso 3e list to saue him or to spill. 439
- 18.
- His heart
I will bind
to you so
humbly For vnto 3ow his hert I shal so lowe, 440
Wipoute spot of eny doubelnes,
That he ne shal escape fro þe bowe—

417. so] *om.* b. greuauus] gouernance S. 418. ful] *om.* G. S. 420. his] is P. seruant] seruauntz S. and] and for L. 421. þat] *om.* S. J. Pr. hem] hym F. B. 422. ioi] no Ioye w. hem] him L. 423. þat] *om.* P. L. lase] lacys P. 426. is] *om.* F. C. douteþ] dowte it w. doute it b. daughter by a second hand corrected into douteth L. 427. possion T. 428. him] hem G. cherissh nov] now cherissh Pr. 429. maner] wyse F. B. G. S. offencioun] transgressyon b. 430. Bicause] Be cause that P. 432 reads in P: he shal ben^d yours ryght ye wyl hym call. 434. to 3ow] right S. 435. he] ye S. 436. him] *om.* F. B. him set] sette hym C. W. W2. w. 437. him] *om.* F. B. so] *om.* W. W2. w. 438. in hert shal] only P. 439. Wherso] Wheþir T. P. W. W2. w. b. 3e] you C. 3ow G. S. 440. his hert I shal] I shal his herte Pr. I shal] shal y P. 441. spot of] sport or S. 442. he] ye F. ne shal escape] shape shal P. escape] scapen S.

Thouȝ þat him list þuruȝ vnstidfastnes—
 I mene of Cupide, þat shal him so distres 444 that he shall
 Vnto your hond, wiþ þe arow of gold, not escape
 That he ne shal escapen þouȝ he would. 446 Cupid's bow.

19.

And siþe ȝe list, of pite and of grace, 447
 In vertu oonli his ȝouþe to cherice,
 I shal, baspectes of my benygne face, I shall make
 Make him teschwe euere synne & vice, him eschew
 So þat he shal haue no maner spice 451 every sin and
 In his corage to loue þingis nwe : vice,
 He shal to ȝou so plain be found & trwe.' 453 so that he
 will ever be
 constant to
 you.'

20.

And whan þis goodli, faire, fressh of hwe, 454 When this
 Humble and benygne, of trouth crop & rote, fair one saw
 Conceyued *had, hov Venus gan to rwe, how Venus
 On hir praier plainli to do bote, took pity on
 To chaunge hir bitter atones into soote, 458 her,
 She fel on kneis of heiz deuocion, she fell on
 And in þis wise bigan hir orisoun : 460 her knees
 and prayed
 thus:

443. him list] he wolde b. list] self C. W. W2. w. þuruȝ] by Pr. || vnsted-
 fastne B. 444. of] om. b. þat] om. b. 445. þe] an P. 446. escapen] scapen
 S. 447. ȝe] you S. 449. baspectes] espectes P. be aspect G. W. W2. w. b.
 by aspectance L. be inspect S. 450. teschwe] teshewe W. to shewe W2.
 w. b. S. synne] om. P. 452. loue] lyue S. þingis] thinge F. B. 453. plain]
 playnly P. 454. *In the margin of B in red ink: Hic vsque verba Veneris ;*
in b is the heading The authour before l. 451. faire] ladi b. fressh] and
 fresshe S. 456. had] haþ T. 457. praier] preyers S. prayer prayer P.
 payne b. plainli] only G. S. 458. bitter] bitternesse S. om. P. atones]
 ones b. attreynys G. om. S. into] vnto F. B. G. 459. of] by S.

*In MSS. F. B. G. S. the following stanza is found
 between ll. 453 and 454.*

19 a.

And whi that I so sore to ȝow hym bynde, 1 I thus bind
 Is [for] that ȝe so manye han forsake, him to you,
 Bothe wyse & worthy, & gentyl [eke] of kynde, because you
 Pleynly refused, only for his sake : have refused
 He shal to ȝow, wher so ȝe slepe or wake, 5 so many for
 his sake.
 Ben euene swich, vndyr hope & drede,
 As ȝe lyst ordeyne of ȝoure womanhede. 7

19 a. 1. so sore to yow] to yow so sore F. B. 2. for that] that G. þat
 for S. 3. 1st &] om. S. gentyl eke] gentyl G. eke gentil S. 5. wher so ȝe]
 wheþer he S. 7. ȝe] you S.

21.

	'Heigest of high, quene and Emperice,	461
'Goddess of love, who by your beauty won the apple at Jupiter's feast:	Goddess of loue, of goode zit þe best,	
	þat þuruz your [beaute], withouten eny vice,	
	Whilom conquered þe appel at þe fest,	
	That Inbiter þurugh [his hygh request]	465
	To al þe goddesse aboue celestial	
	Made in his paleis most imperial :	467

22.

	To 3ov my ladi, vpholder of my life,	468
Meekly I thank you for your gracious promise, and while I live I will sacrifice at your yearly least.	Mekeli I þanke, so as I mai suffice,	
	That ze list nov, with hert ententif,	
	So graciousli for me to deuysse,	
	That while I liue, with humble sacrificse,	472
	Vpon your auters, your fest zere bi zere,	
	I shal encense casten in þe fire.	474

23.

	For of 3oure grace I am ful reconciled	475
For I now have joy and ease, as you deign to appease my pain.	From euere trouble vnto Ioy & ease,	
	That sorois al from me ben exiled,	
	*Sip ye, my ladi, list nov to *appese	
	Mi peynes old, & fulli my disease	479
	Vnto gladnes so sodeinli to turne,	
	Hauyng no cause from hennes forþ to moune.	481

24.

	For sipin ze so mekeli list to daunte	482
For as you bind him to my service who loves me best,	To my seruyce him þat loueþ me best,	
	And of 3our bounte so graciousli to graunte,	
	That he ne shal varie, þouze him list,	
	Wherof myn hert is fulli brouz[t] to rest :	486

Heading in F and B before l. 461: Oracio amantis supradicte: in S: La Orysoune del amant. 461. high] hight P. 462. goode] goddess P. þe] ye L. 463. þat] Though P. 3our] om. P. you L. beaute] om. T. L. vitte P. bountee S. eny] om. Pr. vice] wyse F. wise L. 464. Whilom] Somtyme w. b. at þe] atte C. W. Wz. at w. 465. That] Whyche S. his hygh request] om. T. P. 466. aboue] of lone S. 469. þanke] thank you P. 470. That] What G. S. nov with hert] with hert now P. hert] her F. B. ententif] retentyff S. 471. to] vn to S. 472. while I liue] lyne whyle Wz. w. 473. Autours L. 474. in] in to G. Pr. 475. of] in L. 476. euere] euer S. vnto] and to F. 477. from me ben] ben fro me P. S. Pr. 478. Sip ye] Wip þe T. P. ye my ladi] þat you S. nov] om. w. b. thus sodeynly S. appese] peese S. haue peas T. P. 479. old] alle S. 480. Vnto] In to S. so sodeinli] so wondrously S. to turne] to forne Wz. toforne w. 481. forþ] om. P. 482. sipin] sith B. sithins S. 483. þat] om. P. loueþ me] I love F. B. G. S. b. 484. to] om. G. 485. varie] tary L. 486. brouz[t] brouz T. hente S. to] in F.

For now and ever, o lady myn benygnie,
That hert and wil to 3ow hole I resigne. 488 I resign my
heart and will
to you,

25.

Thanking yow *with* al my ful hert,
þat, of 3oure grace and visitacioun,
So humb[e]li list him to conuert 489 thanking you
that you have
thus sub-
jected him to
me:

Fulli to bene at my subieccioun,
With-oute chaunge or transmutacioun, 493

Vnto his *last : [now] laude and reuerence
Be to youre name and [to] your excellence. 495 now laud and
reuerence be
to your name.

487. o] now B. om. S. 488. wil] al F. B. G. S. to 3ow hole I] hol I to
3ow G. I hooly to you Pr. hole] om. P. 490. of] om. S. and] and god P.
492. to] om. w. to bene at] in to b. bene] ben hole P. 493. *With-oute*]
With eny P. 494. Vnto] Now vn to S. last now] lust T. L. life P. now
laude] joye S. 495. Be] Be euer b. 2^d to] om. T. P. L. to your] om. Pr.

*Between 495 and 496 the following three stanzas are
interpolated in F. B. G. S :*

25 a.

And in despit platly of hem alle 1 I shall
That ben to love so contraryous, cherish him
I shal hym cherice, what so euere falle,
That is in love so pleyn & vertuous,
Maugre alle tho that ben so desyrous 5 spite of all
To spekyn vs harm, *thourgh* groehyng & envye harm us
Of thilke serpent I-callyd Ielousy. 7 through
Jealousy.

25 b.

And for hem, lady, 3if I durste preye, 1 I pray you
Meynge no vengeaunce, but correccioun,
To chastyse hem *with* torment, or they deye, chastise them
For here vntrouthe & fals suspecyoun, for their
That deme the werste in here opynyoun, untruth 5
With-oute desert, wherfore that 3e vouche
To ponysshe hem dewely for here male bouche. 7 and 'male
bouche,'

25 c.

So that they may stondyn In reprof 1 that they
To alle loueris for here cursedenesse, may be a
With-outyn mercy forsakyn at myschef, reproot to
Whan hem lyste best han helpe of here distresse, all lovers,
And for here falshed & here doublinesse 5 as are jays,
Had In despit, ryght as a-mong foullys pies, lap-
Ben Iayis, Pyis, Lapwyngis & these Onlys. 7 wings and
owls to birds.

25 a. 5. so desyrous] derysuous S. 7. thilke] þat ilk S. I-callyd] cleped S.
25 b. 6. that 3e] we S. 7. dewely] om. S. 25 c. 1. So] To S. 2. To] Un
to S. 4. helpe] mercy S. 5. 2^d here] for hir S. 6. Had] And S. a-mong]
amonges F. amonge þes S. 7. Iayis Pyis] pyes Iayes F. B. Lapwyngis]
þes lapwynges S.

26.

This is the substance of my request,	This al and some & chefe of my request, And hool substaunce of *my ful entent,	496
thankyng you for grace to conquer him.	Yow þankyng euer of <i>your</i> graunt & hest, Boþ nou and euer, þat 3e me grace haue sent To conquere him þat neuer shal repent Me forto serue & humbli to please, As final tresur *of myn hertis ease.'	500 502

27.

Then Venus cast down into the lady's lap hawthorn branches,	And þan anon Venus cast adoume Into hir lap, braunchis white & grene Of haw[e]thorn, þat wenten enviroou Aboute hir hed, þat ioi it was to sene, And bade hir kepe hem honestli & clene—	503 507
which should never fade.	Which shul not fade ne nevir wexin old, If she hir bidding kepe as she haþ told.	509

28.

Saying: 'Do as these branches teach you:	'And as þese bowzis be boþ faire & swete, Folowip þeffect þat þei do specific: This is to sein, boþe in cold & hete,	510
Be unchang- ing like these leaves,	Beþ of oon hert & of o fantasie, As ar þese leues, þe which mai not die	514
which no storm can kill.	þuru; no dures of stormes, þat be kene, No more in winter þen in somer grene.	516

496. This] This is P. L. S. of] *om.* L. 497. my] myn T. my ful] all my hole b. ful] hole T. P. hoole L. 498. Yow þankyng] Thankyng you S. euer] *om.* b. 499. me grace haue] grace me P. haue] *om.* Pr. 500. neuer shal] shal neuer S. 501. Me] and F. forto] to S. humbli] meekly S. to] for to S. L. Pr. 502. of] to T. *Between ll. 502 and 503 in F:* flinis oracionis. 504. brannchis] Roses F. B. G. S. white] both white P. grene] rede F. B. G. S. 505. Of hawethorū] So fressh of hewe F. B. G. And fresshe of hewe S. þat] that it G. 506 *reads in F. B. G. S:* In compas wyse even [evere F. euer B] aboute hir hede. it] *om.* Pr. 507 *omitted in S.* honestli & clene] of hir goodelyhede F. B. G. & clene] *om.* P. 508. shul] shuld P. L. shold Pr. 509. kepe] folowe F. B. G. S. she haþ] I have G. 510 *reads in G. S:* And so as 3e ben callyd Margarete. þese] the L. be] *om.* b. 511. þeffect] þe feythe S. þei do] it doth G. hit doþe S. 512. is] *om.* W2. w. b. &] and in L. 513. Beþ] Euer S. Be ye Pr. & of o fantasie] as is the daysye G. S. 514. As ar þese leues] I lyche fresch G. S. ar] be L. þe] *om.* S. L. Pr. which] whiche þat S. mai] many W2. 515. þuru;] By Pr. dures] distresse L. dures of stormes-] stormys of durys G. stormes ne duresse S. þat] how it S. kene] lenc G.

29.

- Riȝt so hensawmple, for wele or for wo, 517 Even so, in
 For ioy, *turment*, or [for] *aduersite*, weal and woe,
 Wherso þat fortune fauour or be foo,
 For pouert, riches, or prosperite,
 That ȝe youre hert kepe in oo degre 521 let your heart
 To loue him best, for noþing þat ȝe feine, be constant in
 Whom I haue bound so lowe vudir ȝoure cheine.' 523 love for him.'

30.

- And *with* þat worde þe goddes shoke hir hede, 524 Then the
 And was in peas, and spake as þo no more. goddess was
 And þerwithal, ful femynyne of drede, silent,
 Me þouȝte þis ladi sighen gan ful sore, and the lady
 And said again: 'Ladi þat maist restore 528 answered:
 Hertes in Ioy from her *aduersite*, 'Goddess, to
 To do ȝoure will de mieulx en mieulx magre.' 530 do your will
 de mieulx
 en mieulx
 m' agree.'

- Thus *euer* sleping and dremyng as I lay, Thus dream-
 Within þe tempil me þouȝt[e] þat I sey 532 ing on, I saw
 Gret pres of folk, *with* murmur wondrous, in the temple
 To *eroude and *shove—þe tempil was so ful— great press of
 Euerich ful bise in his owne cause, folk,
 That I ne may shortli in a clause 536
 Descriuen al þe Rithes & þe giȝe,
 And eke I want kumnyng to denyse,
 Hou som þer were *with* blood, encense & mylk, making offer-
 ings

517. Riȝt so] Right B. So S. 1st for] of C. W. W2. w. 2^d for] om. L. Pr.
 518. turment] turnment G. for] om. T. F. B. 519. Wherso] Whether þat S.
 Whether so Pr. þat] om. Pr. be] els b. 522. feine] seyn P. fyne S. C. 523.
 Whom] Who L. so lowe vudir] om. P. 525. þo] than b. 526. ful] om. b.
 as S. femynyne] memynyne P. drede] degre G. 527. þis] the w. b. sighen]
 to sighe b. gan] can L. 528. restore] þer fore S. 529. in] to F. B. G. S. b.
 Ioy] saue S. from] for G. 530. will—magre] byddyng humblement magre
 F. B. G. S. wyll (wyll w.) better & better after my gre w. b. After line 530
 T and L *luce*: Explicit prima pars (.I. parte L.). Icy commence le secund
 parti (seconde party L.) de la soñge. F and B: Et cest le hñne del primer
 parte Et yey commence la secoñde parte del songe. G: Yci comence la
 secunde partye de la Chamsoñ. S: And þus endeþe þe first partye of þe
 dreem and þilowyng begynneþe þe secound partye. Lines 531—536 omitted in
 G. 531. Thus] This P. Thus euer] þer I was S. and] om. Pr. 532 omitted in
 P. þat] om. Pr. 533. pres] preces W2. w. part S. with] om. W2. w.
 534. To] Who b. To croude] So heve S. cronde] broute T. L. huonte P.
 shove] shoue T. 535. in his] in W2. 536. ne may] myght P. a] om. P.
 537. Descriuen] Dysceyne w. Rithes] rightes P. ryȝtis B. ryte S. 538. eke
 I want] al pestates þe S. 539. þer were with blood] there that blede L. om.
 P. blood] golde b.

to the gold- dness,	And som <i>with</i> floures sote & soft as silk,	540
	*And some <i>with</i> sparovis & doves faire & white,	
	That forto offerin gan hem to delite	
entreating release from their painis.	Vnto þe goddes, wiþ sigh & <i>with</i> praier,	
	Hem to relese of þat þai most desire ;	544
	That for þe <i>prese</i> , shortli to conclude,	
Leaving the crowd,	I went my wai for þe multitude,	
	Me to refressh oute of þe <i>prese</i> allone.	
	And be my self me þouzt, as I gan gone	548
	Wip-in þe Estres & gan awhile tarie,	
I saw a man walking in solitude and complaining.	I saugh a man, þat welke al solitarie,	
	That as me semed for heuines and dole	
	Him to complein, þat he walk so sole,	552
	Wip-oute esping of eui oþir wist.	
	And if I shal descryuen him arizt,	
Were it not for his heavi- ness, he seemed the very model of a man.	Nere þat he hade ben in heuynes,	
	Me þouzt he was, to speke of semelynes,	556
	Of shappe, of fourme, & also of stature,	
	The most passing þat cuir zit nature	
	Made in hir werkis, & like to ben a man ;	
	And þerwith-al, as I reherse can,	560
	Of face and chere þe most gracious,	
	To be biloued, happi and Ewrous.	
	But as it semed outward *by his chere,	
But, for lack of his desire, he made lamentation,	That he compleyned for lak of his desire—	564
	For *by himself, as he walk vp & doune,	
	I herd him make a lamentacioun,	

540. floures] *om.* L. 541. And] An T. faire &] *om.* Pr. 542. offerin] *om.*
w. to] *om.* F. B. Pr. 543. wiþ sigh] *om.* P. sigh] sight S. with] *om.* Pr.
545. for] for to P. *prese*] price L. *Lines 545—548 read in B:*

And shortly this thyng to conclude
So great and huge was the multytude
That I was fayne out of the prece to go
And as I was alone with me no mo.

546. I] It P. my] ne P. for þe] from þat S. 547. to] for to C. W. W2. w.
þe] *om.* w. 548. me þouzt] *om.* S. as] as þat S. gan] can S. ded P. 549.
gan] I gan P. 550. I saugh] I was wel ware of S. þat welke] *om.* S. 551.
semed] semeth W. W2. and dole] *om.* P. 552—555 omitted in P. 552. þat]
om. b. sole] hole L. 554. if] covered by a spot in the parchment in T.
555. Nere] þer S. Nere þat he hade] Yf that he had not Pr. þat] *om.* L.
557. 1st Of] and F. 2^d of] and F. B. L. fourme] striue (?) P. 558. þat cuir
zit] yit þat S. 559. hir] hys P. 560. þerwith-al] therwyth F. 561. þe]
om. B. 562. To be biloued] flor to be lwfyd P. 563. as] *om.* b. semed]
om. P. outward] outwards S. by] in T. 565. by] in P. by himself] byn
self T. himself] my self L.

And seid : ' Allas ! what þing mai þis be,		and said :
That nou am bound, þat whilom was so fre,	568	' Alas ! how am I, who before was so free,
And went at laarge, at myn eleccioun :		
Nou am I cauȝt vnder subieccioun,		
Forto bicomme a verre homagere		now bound in Cupid's fiery chain !
To god o[f] loue, where þat, er I come here,	572	
Felt in myn hert riȝt nouȝt of loues peine ;		
But nov of nwe <i>with</i> in his fire cheyne		
I am embraced, so þat I mai not striue		Now am I forced to serve her
To loue and serue, whiles þat I am on lyue,	576	
The goodli fressh, in þe tempil yonder		whom I saw in the temple yonder,
I saugh riȝt nov, þat I hade wonder,		
Hou euer god, forto reken all,		
Myȝt make a þing so celestial,	580	
So avngelllike on erþe to appere.		that angelic creature,
For wiȝ þe stremes of hir eyen clere		Her eyes have wounded me to the death.
I am Iwoundid euen to þe hert,		
þat fro þe deȝ, I trow, I mai not stert.	584	
And most I mervaile þat so sodenli		
I was Iȝolde to bene at hir merci,		
Wherso *hir list, to do me lyue or deie :		I am forced to obey her ;
Wip-oute more I most hir lust obeie	588	
And take mekeli my sodein auentur.		
For siȝ my life, my deȝ, and eke my cure		
Is in hir hond, it would[e] not auaille		it avails not to murmur :
To gruch agein ; for of þis bataile	592	for she is plainly victor in this battle.
The palme is hires, & pleinli þe victorie.		
If I rebelled, honour non ne glorie		

567. þing] *om.* P. 568. That nou am] Nowe am I b. nou am] am now F. I am now B. whilom] somtyme S. so] *om.* Pr. 570. Nou am I] Nowe I am S. And now y P. subieccioun] obieccion F. B. 571. bicomme] be bounde F. B. 572. god] the god b. of] o T. þat] *om.* Pr. come] kan F. 573. riȝt] *om.* Pr. 574. his] þe S. her C. her W. W2. w. fire] verrey S. 576. loue and serne] serue and loue Pr. whiles] whyle S. l. Pr. þat] *om.* l. Pr. 577. The goodli] þat feyre S. in] wight in S. which in F. B. tempil] chereche P. 578. I saugh riȝt nov] Right nowe I saughe S. wonder] gret wonder S. 579. Hou] þat S. forto] as for to S. 580. Myȝt] Koude S. 581. ou] in S. to] for to S. 582. wiȝ] within W2. w. b. stremes] pereyng F. B. S. 583. Iwoundid] woundid B. S. Pr. euen] I weene S. to] vn to F. B. P. L. so to S. 584. I trow] *om.* S. Pr. stert] astert S. Pr. 586. Iȝolde] yolden S. so yolde Pr. at] in F. yn B. 587 and 588 transposed in C. 587. Wherso] Whether S. Whether that Pr. hir] him T. she Pr. to do me] me to Pr. 588. more I] *om.* P. most] mot S. 591. woulde] wol L. wyl P. wil Pr. not] nothyng b. 592. agein] *om.* P. of] *om.* P. 593. pleinli] playne b. 594 reads in S : As hole subiet / for hirs is al þe glorie. rebelled] rebell P.

	I myzt[e] not, in no wise, achene.	
I yield my- self: I cannot war with her.	Sip i am yold, hou shuld I þan prene To gif a werre—I wot it wil not be— Thouȝ I be loos, at laarge I mai not fle.	596
Why dost thou wound me so, O god of love!	O god of loue, hov sharp is nov þin arowe! Hou maist þou nov so cruelli & narowe, With-oute cause, hurt[e] me and wound. And tast non hele, my soris forto sound!	600
As a bird is caught by a snaare—	But lich a brid, þat fleith at hir desire, Til sodeinli within þe pantire She is Icauȝt, þouȝ she were late at laarge—	604
my barge is driven from its track by tempest.	A nwe tempest for-castep now my baarge, Now vp nov dovne with wind it is so blowe, So an I *possid and almost ouerþrowe, Fordriue in dirknes with many a sondri wawe. Alas! when shal þis tempest ouerdrawe, To clere þe skies of myn aduersite, The lode ster when I [ne] may not se, It is so hid with cloudes þat ben blake. Alas when wil þis turment ouershake? I can not wit, for who is hurt of nwe And bledip inward, til he wex pale of hwe, And haþ his wound vnwarli fressh & grene, And is not kouþe vnto þe harmes kene Of myzti Cupide, þat can so hertis davnte That no man may in your werre him vauzte	608
Alas! the bon Istar is hidden from me, nor can I foresee the end of this torment—		612
the hurt being new and the harmes of Cupid un- known to me:		616
		620

595. myzte] might it S. not] om. b. no] ony Pr. wise] maner wyse b. 597. Here G begins again. gif] gyne F. B. G. S. gif a werre] renne away Pr. a werre] awerry P. I wot] y wys F. B. G. S. be] ybe S. 600. maist] mightest S. nov] om. S. cruelli] prynely S. &] and so Pr. & narowe] an arowe P. 602. soris] sorowes L. S. Pr. forto] to Pr. sound] founde P. Pr. 605. Icauȝt] caught G. S. Pr. she were late] late she was Pr. were] was F. late at] let a S. 606. nwe] sodeyne S. now] new F. nyw B. lath P. om. L. 607. it] om. G. so] om. P. 608. possid] passid T. pressid G. tossed w. b. 609 and 610 are omitted in L. 609. Fordriue] Far drynen b. flor throwe S. with] of Pr. a sondri] sondry Pr. sturdy F. B. G. S. 610. þis] þe S. ouerdrawe] to me dawe F. B. G. slake lawe S. 611. To] So S. skies] skye is S. 612. when] when that C. what that W. W2. w. I wote b. ne] om. T. b. hym P. not] om. C. W. W2. w. 613. ben] ben so P. 614. wil] shal F. B. G. S. ouershake] overslake L. S. Pr. 615. for] but G. 616 omitted in P. til] ryl W2. ryll w. wex] be S. 617. vnwarli] wardly W2. inwardly w. b. 618 reads in S: Euer unholpen / more kene and kene. is] yt F. hit is L. Pr. kouþe] knowen W. W2. w. b. vnto] to F. B. G. harmes] armys P. 619 þat] which S. can] om. F. B. can so] cause P. davnte] daunce (?) F. 620. may] om. w. b. your] his Pr. werre] werryys G. him] dare hym w. b. vauzte] avauzte S. awauzt P. avauuce (?) F.

To gete a pris, but oonli bi mekenes—		against him none prevail except through meekness.
For þere ne vaileþ strif ne sturdines—		
So mai I sain, þat <i>with</i> a loke am yold,		
And haue no power to 'stryue þouze I would.	624	
Thus stand I euen bitwix life and deþ		Thus I stand between life and death,
To lone & serue, while þat I haue breþ,		
In such a place where I dar not pleyne,		
Lieh him þat is in turment & in peyn,	628	
And knoweþ not, to whom forto disceure ;		not knowing to whom to discover my torment.
For þere þat I haue hoolly set my cure,		
I dar not wele, for drede & for daunger,		
And for vnknowe, tellen hou þe fire	632	
Of lousi brond is kindled in my brest.		
Thus am I murdrid & slain at þe lest		
So preueli <i>within</i> *myn [owne] þouzt.		
O ladi Venus, whom þat I haue souzt,	636	O lady Venus, teach me what is best to do :
So wisse me now what me is best to do,		
þat *am distrauzt <i>within</i> my self[en] so,		
That I ne wot what way for [to] turne,		
Sauf be my self solein forto mourne,	640	
Hanging in balauce bitwix hope & drede,		I hang in the balances between Hope and Dread.
Withoute comfort, remedie or rede.		
For hope biddiþ pursue & assay ;		
And drede againward answeriþ & saiþ nai ;	644	
And now wiþ hope I am *set on loft,		Hope lifts me up,
But drede and daunger, hard & noþing softe,		
Haue ouerþrowe my trust and put adoune ;		
Nou at my laarge, nou feterid in prisone,	648	

621. gete] grete F. a] hym S. 622. vaileþ] awalith P. 2^d me] nor b.
624. þouze] thorgh F. 625. euen] euer L. Pr. bitwix] betwene P. S. b.
626. while] while while P. þat] om. S. C. W. W2. w. I haue] me lastefe S.
627. dar] ne dar F. B. 629. forto] to Pr. 630. þat] as F. B. b. hoolly]
hyely S. B. 631. wele] were P. &] ne G. Pr. & for] of foule S. 632. hou]
3ow G. S. 633. is kindled] unkyndeld S. 634. am I] y am P. at þe] atte C.
W. W2. w. 635. So] Thus S. *within*] with F. B. G. S. myn] my T. owne]
powre P. om. T. L. Pr. 636. ladi Venus] Venus lady F. B. G. S. whom] to
whom F. B. þat] om. Pr. haue] haue often P. souzt] thought F. B. 637.
2^d me] om. G. S. me is] is me P. 638. am] I am T. P. L. *within*] with S.
Pr. sellen] selven F. B. selvyn G. so] loo W2. w. lo b. 639. ne] om. P.
for] om. S. b. to] om. T. 640. solein] sodelyndly G. alone b. forto] to G.
641. bitwix] betwene G. S. b. 642. or] & G. 643. biddiþ] me biddeþ S.
pursue] om. P. 644. And] om. G. drede againward] agaynward drede Pr.
& saiþ] om. Pr. 645. now] so now P. om. L. set] Iset T. F. L. 646. hard]
om. S. 647. Haue] Hath Pr.

	Nov in <i>turment</i> , nov in souerein glorie, Nou in paradise & nov in <i>purgatorie</i> ,	
but Dread and Danger draw me back.	As man dispeired in a double *were, Born vp wiþ hope, & þan anon <i>daunger</i>	652
When I am bold to ask mercy,	Me drawiþ abak, and seith it shal not be. For where as I, of myn aduersite, Am *bold somwhile merci to requere,	
then comes Despair and dismays me.	þan comeþ dispeire & gimneþ me to lere A nwe lessou, to hope ful contrare— Thei be so diuers þei would do me varie— And þus I stond dismaied in a traunce :	656
	For whan þat hope were likli me tanaunce,	660
	For drede I tremble and dar a woord not speke. And if it so be þat I not oute breke To tel þe harmes, þat greuen me so sore, But in *myself encrease hem more & more,	664
But indeed if I disclose not my harms to her,	And to be slain fulli me delite, þen of my deþ sho is noþing to wite ; For but if she my constreint pleindi knwe, Hou shuld she euer opon my paynis rwe !	668
she is not to blame for my death.	Thus oft[e] tyme <i>with</i> hope I am I-mevid To tel hir al of þat I am so greued, And to ben hardi on me forto take	
Thus Hope oft moves me to tell her my griefs ;	To axe merci ; but drede þan doþ awake,	672
but Dread answers back : better to die	And *þurgh wanhope answeriþ me again, þat bettir were, þen she haue disdeyne,	

649. 2^d nov] and now F. B. G. S. in souerein] soone in S. souerein] sodeyn G. 650. Nou] *om.* F. B. 651. man] a man P. b. double] doufull L. were] were T. P. S. W. W2. w. b. where F. B. 652. þan] *om.* P. 653. not] *om.* F. B. 654. I] þat S. 655. bold] hold T. P. L. somwhile] somewhat F. some tyme S. B. 656. gimneþ] begynneth W. W2. w. b. 657. ful] al S. ful the Pr. 658. would] wol L. wil Pr. 659. I stond] staund y P. 660. þat] *om.* P. W2. w. b. likli] like L. lyke b. tanaunce] to vauce B. auance F. 661. tremble] trowe S. and] I S. b. a woord not] not on worde S. b. a] one C. W. W2. w. 662. it] *om.* F. B. so be] be so S. I] *om.* P. 664. myself] myseluf T. encrease] lencrece W2. w. hem] *om.* P. C. W. W2. w. moued b. me] my P. 666. þen] Whan L. Pr. noþing] nocht F. B. 667. my] the W. W2. w. b. knwe] knowe W. W2. w. b. 668. opon] on Pr. paynis] harmes F. B. G. 669. ofte tyme] oftymes P. ofte tymes F. B. oft tymes S. *with* hope I am] I am *with* hope G. I-mevid] meved S. C. W. W2. w. moued b. Imournd L. 670. of þat] how Pr. so greued] grevid G. Pr. agreved P. S. 672. drede þan] then drede B. þan doþ] doith than L. doth me theane Pr. 673. þurgh] þou; T. thought P. than L. C. b. thenne W. W2. w. wanhope] when P. 674. were] is P. þen] that S. W. W2. w. b. haue] had F. B. S. shuld haue P.

To deie at onys, vnknow of eny wist.		
And þere-with[-al] *bitt hope anon ryzt	676	Ham be disdaind by her.
Me to *be bold, to prayen hir of grace ;		Hope makes me look for mercy ;
For sip al vertues be portreid in hir face,		
It were not sitting þat merci were bihind.		
And ryzt anone with in my self I finde	680	
A nwe ple brouzt on me with drede,		but Dread urges my simpleness against her excellence.
þat me so maseþ þat I se no spele,		
Bicause he seith, þat stoneiþ al my bloode,		
I am so symple & she is so goode.	684	
Thus hope and drede in me wil not ceasse		
To plete and stryne myn harmes to encrease.		
But at þe hardest zit, or I be dede,		But at all events
Of my distresse sip i can no rede,	688	
But stond[e] doymb stil as eni stone,		
Tofore þe goddes I wil me hast anone,		
And complein withoute more sermon ;		
þouz deth be fin & ful conclusioun	692	I will haste to the goddess and complain, though death result from my request.
Of my request, zit I will assai.'		
And ryzt anoñ me þouz[te] þat I say		
This woful man, as I haue memorie,		Then me-thought, this man entered an oratory,
Ful lowli entre into an oratorie,	696	
And knelid [a]doun in ful humble wise		and kneeling before the goddess, said :
Tofore þe goddes, and gan anon denyse		
His pitous quarel wiþ a doleful chere,		
Saying ryzt þus, anone as ze shul here :	700	

675. at onys] anoon S. of eny wist] to my wit S. 676. al] om. T. P. L. bitt] bittir T. but F. L. om. S. ryzt] yit S. 677. to be bold] gan beholde S. be hold] bihold T. be holden P. be holde G. 2^d to] and Pr. 678. For] And L. Pr. portreid] portured L. 679. merci] pyte Pr. 681. brouzt] y broght P. with] by L. 683. seith] seepe S. sayd W. W. 2. w. b. þat] om. S. stoneiþ] astonyeth b. astonyed S. 684. 1st so] to F. B. G. S. 2^d so] to F. B. knowe so S. 685. Thus] þis S. 686. to] lo w. b. encrease] peese S. 687. at—or] yit doutelesse or þat S. þe] om. Pr. I] om. P. 688. sip] such F. 689. doymb] doun W. W. 2. w. dome b. 690. Tofore] Before S. b. I wil] as I P. 691. And] And me F. B. G. S. withoute more] with more pleyne S. 693. I will] wil I G. wol I hym S. 694. And] om. P. þouzte] þouzt T. þat] om. Pr. 695. woful] offulle P. dolefull S. as] as þat S. haue] haue made b. 696. *In the margin of F and B: Verba sompniantis.* lowli entre] lwfly entred P. into] in F. B. an] the F. B. G. S. 697. knelid] kneling S. adoun] doun T. S. in] with S. ful] alle G. S. 698. Tofore] Before S. b. gan] om. P. 700. þus] this G. anone] om. Pr. *Before 701 the following headings are found: Supplicacio amantis F. B. G. þe supplicaciõ of þe Louer S. The compleynt of the man Pr. Complaynt of the man (?) P (later hand).*

31.

'O Cytherea, who glad- denest all Cirrea,	'Redresse of sorow, o Citheria, That wiþ þe stremes of þi plesauht hete Gladest þe contre of [al] Cirrea, Where þou hast chosen þi paleis & þi sete, Whos brizt bemes ben wasshen and of[t] wete In the riuer of *Elicon þe well : Haue nou pite of þat I shal here tell.	701 705 707
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32.

And, of your grace, deign to redress my mortal woe,	And not disdeyneþ of <i>your</i> beniguite, Mi mortal wo, o ladi myn, goldes, Of grace & bounte and merciful pite, Benig[ne]li to helpen and to redresse ; And þou; so be I can not wele expresse The greuous harmes þat I fele in myn hert, Haueþ neuer þe les merci of my smert.	708 712 714
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33.

Clear light of heaven,	This is to sein : o clere heuens list, That next þe <i>sonne</i> cerceled haue <i>your</i> spere, Siþ 3e me hurten wiþ <i>your</i> dredful myzt Bi influence of <i>your</i> bemys clere, And þat I bie <i>your</i> seruise nov sodere,	715 719
since you hurt me by the influence of your beams,	As 3e me brouzt into þis maledie, Beþ gracious and shapeþ remedie.	721

be gracious
and shape a
remedy.

34.

For you alone can help: you know my pain.	For in 3ow hoolli lip help of al þis case, And knowe best my sorow & al my peyne : For drede of deþ hou I ne der, allas !	722
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701—714. *These two couplets have, in B, been closely interlined with what seem arbitrary corrections and notes, which have since been partly erased and rendered illegible.* 701. Redresser S. sorow] sorrowful F. G. S. o] o thow P. 702. þe] thy F. thi P. 703. þe] al P. contre] contrees F. B. G. S. Court L. mounte Pr. al] om. T. P. L. 704. hast] haddest L. 2^d þi] om. Pr. 705. brizt] brightful S. oft] of T. om. Pr. 706. In] Wipin F. B. G. S. Elicon] eleccion T. 707. here] now L. þe S. om. G. you Pr. 708. disdeyneþ] dysdeyn P. b. desdayne ye C. W. W2. w. 709. o] om. F. B. G. S. myn] and F. B. G. S. 710. merciful] of mrcyful P. 711. Benigneli] Benigli T. 1st to] om. b. 2^d to] om. F. B. G. S. 714. þe] yet the Pr. merci] pite P. 715. heuens] heynynesh F. heuenyssh B. 716. spere] light S. 718. influence] infulgence W2. w. *your* bemys] Beemys þat been S. 720. þis] his W2. 721. Beþ] Be ye Pr. and shapeþ] to shape F. G. S. shapeþ] shape ye C. W. W2. w. shape a b. 722. hoolli] only G. al] om. F. B. þis] the P. case] care W. W2. w. b. 723. knowe] knowyth P. sorow] sore F. B. G. S. peyne] pyne G. P. 724. hou] now P. that B. ne der allas] alas ne dare b.

To axen merci eues ne me compleyne,
 Non wijþ 3oune fire hire hert[e] so restreyne, 726 So constrain
 With-oute more, or I deie at þe lest, her heart,
 That she mai wete what is my requeste : 728 that she may
 understand
 my request :

35.

Hov I noþing in al þis world desire, 729 how I only
 But forto serue, fulli to myn ende, desire to
 That goodli fressh, so womanli of chere, serve her ;
 With-oute chaunge, while I haue life & mynde ;
 And þat 3e *wold me such grace send 733 send me
 Of my seruyse, þat she not disdeyne, grace that
 Sipeþ hir to serue I may me not restreyne, 735 she may not
 disdain me :

36.

And siþ þat hope haþe 3eue me hardines 736 for Hope has
 To loue hir best and neuer to repent, emboldened
 Whiles þat I lyue, with al my bisenes me to love
 To drede and serue, þouþ daunger neuer assent. her best,
 And hereopon 3e knowen myn entent, 740 in spite of
 Hov I haue *vowed fulli in my mynde Danger.
 To ben hir man, þouþ I no merci finde. 742 You know
 how I have
 vowed to be
 her servant.

37.

For in myn hert enprentid is so sore 743 For deep in
 Hir shap, hir fourme, and al hir semelines, my heart are
 Hir port, hir chere, hir goodnes more & more, imprinted
 Hir womanhede, & eke hir gentilnes, all her wo-
 Hir trouth, hir faip & hir kynd[e]nes, 747 manly virtues
 With al vertues, Iche set in his degre ;
 There is no lak, saue onli of pite. 749 (she only
 lacks pity) :

725. To axen] Aske h. ones] only G. me] *om.* F. B. G. me] to S. 726. fire] *om.* h. hire] *om.* W. W2. w. h. herte] dart b. restreyne] constrainne Pr. 727. at þe lest] at last P. atte laste W. W2. 730. forto] to S. fulli] holly and truely S. 732. &] or P. 733. 3e] I P. wold] wil T. wulle P. me] *om.* Pr. grace] a grace F. B. G. S. send] nowe sende S. 735. I may me not] may I me nought S. me not] not me Pr. restreyne] refreyne L. F. G. Before 736 S. *inserts* : With oute more / er I dye at þe leest (—*line* 727). 736. And siþ þat] Sith S. And] Alas b. haþe] haue L. haþe 3eue me] me hath yeue Pr. (me hath yeue yeue W2). me] me al þis S. 737. neuer to repent] me neuer restreyne S. 738. Whiles] while F. B. 739. daunger] *om.* P. 740. 3e knowen] to knowe P. *Instead of* ll. 741 and 742 S. has : So let me neuer with daunger more be shent. 741. vowed] woid T. sewyd (?) P. my] *om.* P. 742. finde] *om.* P. 744. al] *om.* P. 746. eke] al F. B. 747. Hir trouth hir faip] Hire faith hire trouthe L. 3^d hir] al P. all hir B. eke hir L. S. kyndenes] sikynesse B. 748. Iche] she P. his] her Pr. hir P. 749. saue] but F. B. G. S. sauynge C. W. W2. w. of] *om.* B.

38.

her grave demeanour, her benign look,	Hir sad demening, of wil not variable, Of looke benygne & roote of al plesaunce, And examplaire to al þat wil be stable,	750
her wit,	Discrete, prudent, of wisdom suffisaunce, Mirrou of wit, ground of gouernaunce,	754
her beauty.	A world of beaute compassid in hir face, Whose persant loke doþ þuruþ myn hert[e] race ;	756

39.

Besides, she is faithful, bounteous,	And ouer þis secre & wondre trwe, A welle of fredome, and riȝt bovntevous, And euer encreasing in vertue nwe & nwe,	757
gracious and humble :	Of spech goodli and wonder gracious, Deuoide of pride, to pore not dispitous, And if þat I shortli shal not feyne,	761
mercy alone is wanting.	Saue opou merci I noþing can compleyne.	763

40.

No wonder then that I dread to ask grace of her.	What wonder þan þouþ I be wiþ drede Inli suppressed forto axen grace Of hir þat is a quene of womanhed ? For wele I wot, in so heigh a place	764
I will rather lowly endure my woe, till she pity me.	It wil not beþ ; *þerfor I ouerpace, And take louli what wo þat I endure, Til she of pite me take vnto hir cure.	768 770

41.

I vow, whatever she decides, to take it humbly.	But oone *avowe pleinli here I make, That wheþir so be she do me lyve or deye, I wil not grucch, but humble it take,	771
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750. demening] demyng S. 751. Of] and F. B. benygne] kunnyng S. al] om. B. 752. And] An B. G. And an P. to] of S. wil be] ben F. B. G. S. 753. prudent] prudence w. kunnyng S. 754. ground] growed F. 757. And ouer þis] Et euer þus P. And euer þis S. secre & wondre] wonder secrete and Pr. wondre] wonderfully S. 758. A] om. F. B. of] om. P. 759. And euer] Alwey S. vertne] vertus P. 760. wonder] right b. 761. Deuoide] Alvoide S. to] of G. not dispitous] folkes pitous S. 762. And] So F. B. G. S. if] om. G. if þat] þat if S. I shortli] I corrected to shortly I B. 763. I noþing] noþyng I b. noþing can] can no thyng G. S. can] om. F. B. Pr. 764. þan] þat S. be] om. b. 765. suppressed] suppressid G. oppressed S. axen] axely w. 766. a] om. Pr. 767. wot] wot that G. S. 768. wil] wolde F. þerfor] þerfro T. F. 769. And] Et P. þat] om. P. S. Pr. 770. she] ye G. S. me take] take me P. vnto] in to G. S. to P. Pr. hir] youre G. S. 771. avowe] avove T. here] hir P. here I] I here S. 772. so be] be so P. om. S. she do] doth P. or] or ellys S.

- And þank[e] god, & wilfulli obey ;
 For, be my trouth, myn hert shal not reneye, 775 My heart
 For life ne deþ, merci * ne daunger, shall never
 Of wil and þouzt to ben at hir desire, renouce her
 777 service.
- 42.
- To bene as trwe, as * was Antonyus 778 As Antony
 To Cleopatre, while him lasted breþe, was true to
 Or vnto Tesbe zung[e] Piramus Cleopatra,
 * Was feiþful found, til hem departid deþe : and Pyramus
 Riht so shal I, til Antropos me sleiþe, 782 to Hisbe,
 For wele or wo, hir faithful man be found, so will I be
 Vnto my last, lich as myn hert is bounde, until death.
 784
- 43.
- To loue aswel as did Achilles 785 As Achilles
 Vnto his last þe faire Polixene, loved Poly-
 Or as þe gret famous Hercules, xena,
 For Dianyre þat felt þe shottes kene— and Hercules
 Riht so shal I, y sei riht as I mene, 789 so will I serve
 Whiles þat I lyve, hir boþe drede and serue, her.
 For lak of merci þou3 she do me sterve. 791
- 44.
- Nou ladi Venus, to whom noþing vnknowe 792 Now, lady
 Is in þe world, I-hid ne not mai be— Venus, to
 For þere nys þing, neþir heigh ne lowe, whom no-
 Mai be concealid from 3our privete— thing in the
 Fro whom my menyng is not nov seere, 796 world is un-
 But witen fulli þat myn entent is trwe, known,
 And lich my trowth nov on my peyn[e] rwe. 798 take pity on
 my pain.

774. And] Et P. wilfulli] humbely S. wyllingly b. 775. my] om. P. shall] om. P. shal not] ne shal G. not] neuer Pr. reneye] revey B. 776. 1st ne] nor G. 2^d ne] nor T. L. G. 777. and þouzt to] ne trouthe but S. to] om. G. 778. was] euer was *all except G. S.* 779. lasted] lestyth G. lasteth C. 780. vnto] to P. S. Piramus] priamus P. 781. Was] That was *all except G. S.* hem] hym P. hym F. G. him B. S. 782. Antropos] Atropos b. 784. my last] last end P. 785. To] And G. S. 787. Or] Er S. 788. For— felt] Whiche felt of loue S. Dianyre] Deyanne G. þat] om. G. shottes] shott Pr. kene] sharþ and keene S. 789. I, y] y P. I S. Pr. riht] om. P. S. euyh b. riht as] om. L. as] as þat S. 790. Whiles] While G. S. Pr. þat] om. B. I lyve] lyfe P. hi] om. P. boþe drede] drede most S. 792. Nou] O P. vnknowe] is vnknowe P. 793. Is] om. P. þe] thys F. B. I-hid] hid C. hyde W. W2. w. om. b. not] naught L. nought S. Pr. 794. nys] ne is G. is no S. neþir] so S. ne] ne so S. 796. Fro] ifor G. menyng] meuyng W2. w. not nov] nowe not S. 797. þat] om. P. 798. nov on] vp on G. peyne] peynes P. G. S.

45.

	For more of grace þan <i>presumpciouz</i>	799
	I axe merci, and not of duete,	
In lowly humbleness I ask you,	Of louli humblesse, wiþoute offensioun,	
	That 3e enlyne, of <i>3our</i> benygnyte,	
	<i>Your</i> audience to myn humylite,	803
of your grace, to grant me release.	To graunt[e] me, þat to 3ov clepe & calle,	
	Somdai relese 3it of my paynes alle.	805

46.

As you hold in your hand the reward for true lovers,	And siþ 3e haue þe guerdon & þe mede	806
	Of al louers pleinli in <i>3our</i> hond,	
	Nou of [your] grace and pite takeþ hede	
	Of my distresse, þat am vmdir <i>3our</i> bond	
	So lovli bound, as 3e wele vmdirstond :	810
	Nou in þat place, where I toke first my wound,	
so let me there find my health, where first I was wounded.	Of pite sufferiþ my helth mai be found—	812

47.

	That lich as she me hurt[e] wiþ a sizte,	813
	Ri3t so <i>with</i> helpe let hir me sustene,	
As the rays of her bright eyes once pierced my heart,	And as þe stremes of hir ey3en bri3t	
	Whilom myn hert, <i>with</i> woundis sharp & kene,	
	Thru3 perced haue, and 3it bene fressh & grene :	817
so let her now succour me.	So as she me hurt, nou let hir me socoure,	
	Or ellis certein I mai not long endure.	819

48.

For lack of speech, I can say no more;	For lak of spech I can sey nov no more :	820
	I haue mater, but [I] can not plein ;	
	Mi wit is dulle to telle al my sore ;	

799. þan] than of L. Pr. 800. not] no thing Pr. of] *om.* P. 801. louli] love G. S. louli humblesse] lwlynesse P. humblesse] humblenesse L. b. offensioun] transgression b. 803. to] vnto Pr. 804. me] hit me S. þat to 3ov] it for whiche b. clepe] I clepe Pr. 805. Somdai] Sumdelle (?) L. (*effused*). Somdai—of] Yit ye releesse some day S. 3it] *om.* B. P. b. 806. And] An S. 808. your] *om. all except* G. S. takeþ] take P. take ye Pr. 809. am] I am L. 810. wele] wil S. 811. Nou] *om.* Pr. toke] take P. 812. Of] þfor P. sufferiþ] sudre ye Pr. helth] helpe G. S. Ioy P. found] now found P. 813. lich] *om.* S. me hurte] myn herte G. hurt me b. hurt me first S. 814. helpe] helth Pr. hir me] me her Pr. 815. ey3en] euen w. 816. Whilom] Somtyme w. b. Whilom *corrected by a later hand into* Entred L. 817. haue] hath P. and] that G. S. 818. *omitted in* P. she] *om.* L., *supplied by a later hand.* 1st me] *om.* G. S. nou] so S. *om.* Pr. 2^d me] *expunged in* L. socoure] sature G. 819. not long] nowhile G. S. 820. nov] *om.* P. you Pr. 821. mater] gret mater S. no mater b. 2^d I] *om.* T. plein] complayne b.

A mouth I haue, & zit for al my peyne,
 For want of woordis I may not nov atteyne 824 words fail me
 To tell[en] half þat doþ myn hert[e] greue, to tell half my
 Mèrci abiding, til she me list releue. 826 heart's grief.

49.

But þis theffecte of my mater finale : 827 Finally, I ask
 Wip doþ, or merci, reles forto finde. release, in
 For hert, bodi, þought, life, lust and alle, death or
 Wip al my reson and alle my ful mynde, mercy ;
 And fiue wittes, of oon assent I bind 831 for my whole
 To hir seruice, wip-outen eny strife, being is
 And make hir princesse of my deþ or life. 833 bound to her
 for ever.

50.

And 3ov I prai of routh and eke pite, 834 O lady Venus,
 O goodli planet, o ladi Venus brizt,
 That 3e 3oure some of his deite— so kinde her
 Cupid I mene, þat wip his drefful myzt heart,
 And wip his bronð, þat is so clere of lizte, 838 through your
 Hir hert[e] so to fire and to mark, son Cupid,
 As 3e me whilom brent[e] with a spark : 840 even as you
 have done
 mine ;

51.

That euenlich, and with þe same fire, 841
 She mai be het, as I nov brenne & melt,
 So þat hir hert be *flaumed bi desire, that her heart
 That she mai knowe bi feruence hou I swelt ; be inflamed as
 For of pite pleinli if she felt 845 mine is ;
 The selfe hete þat doþ myn hert embrace, for then I
 I hope of rouþe she would do me grace.' 847 might hope
 for grace.

821. of] *om.* L. 825. half] al P. G. 826. she] 3e G. yow S. me list] list
 me P. list S. 827. But þis] Dis is S. þis] thus L. mater] prayer G. S. 828.
 or] of S. 829. þought, life, lust] lyfe lust thought P. life, lust] lust lyf G.
 830. reson] resort P. alle] *om.* P. G. S. 831. fiue] myne fyve G. S. of] with
 G. 833. And] To G. S. hir] *om.* L., supplied by a later hand. of] ouer L.
 or] and L. P. G. S. 831. And 3ov I prai] Besече I yowe S. 3ov] now Pr.
 of] for P. eke] of S. ek of G. 835. O] *om.* G. S. 836. 3e] *om.* S. some] soñ
 pray P. 839. Hir] *om.* W2. w. Myn b. so] lyst so b. mark] make P. 840.
 3e me whilom] whilhom 3e me G. S. whilom] sountyme w. b. brente] henten
 S. 841. euenlich] lyke wyse W. W2. w. b. 842. be het] be it w. by it b.
 het] hit C. W. W2. I] *om.* P. 843. flaumed] baymed T. L. P. bi] with L.
 Pr. 844. bi] wip G. S. II *om.* L., inserted later. 845. For of pite] She wolde
 me pite b. of] *om.* W2. w. 847. would] will Pr. *At the close of stanza 51*
F and B have in the margin: thus oracionis; besides this, B has in a later
hand: h' vsq̄w nescio qu. s.

52.

And there- with Venus looked be- nignly on this man,	And <i>þerwithal</i> Venus, as me þouzt,	848
	Toward þis man ful benyg[ne]li	
	Gan cast hir eyze, liehe as þou; she rouzt	
and said:	Of his disease, and seid ful good[e]li :	
'Thy hum- ble obedience deserves my help.	'Sip it is so þat þou so humb[e]lie,	852
	Wip-oute grucchyng, oure hestis list obey,	
	Toward þin help I wil anon puruey.	854

53.

And Cupid, too, shall help,	And eke my sone Cupide, <i>þat</i> is so blind,	855
	He shal ben helping, fulli to <i>perfourme</i>	
	<i>þour</i> hole desire, <i>þat</i> noþing behind	
	Ne shal be left : so we shal refourme	
	The pitous <i>compleint</i> , <i>þat</i> makip þe to <i>mourne</i> ,	859
that thy lady may relieve thy smart.	That she for whom þou soroiest most in hert,	
	Shal þuru; hir merci relese al þi smert,	861

54.

	Whan she seþ tyme þuru; oure <i>purueaunce</i> .	862
Be not too hasty:	Be not to hasti, but suffre alway wele :	
	For in abidyng þuru; lowli obeissaunce	
	Lipe ful redresse of al <i>þat</i> ze nov fele,	
she will be true as steel to you, if you only bide your time.	And she shal be as trw as eny stele	866
	To þowe allone, þuru; oure myzt & grace,	
	þif ze lust mekeli abide a litel space.	868

55.

But under- stand, all her love shall be grounded in honesty ;	But vnderstondeþ <i>þat</i> al hir cherisshing	869
	Shal ben grovndid upon honeste,	
	That no wist shal, þurugh euil <i>compassing</i> ,	

In b, before stanza 52, is the heading: The author; *in B. F:* Responsio Veneris. 848. *þerwithal*] ther with P. Venus as] right as *þat* S. 849. Towardes F. B. L. S. Pr.—benygli T. benignly P. 850. hir] an P. þou;] *om.* G. that S. Pr. (*etc.* b.) rouzt] reugh P. 851. goodeli] in goodely S. 852. þou] you b. 853. obey] tobye G. weye F. 854. Towar G. Towardes L. S. þin] your G. S. b. I wil anon] anon I wyl G. S. 855. eke] also W. W2. w. b. so] *om.* L. G. 856. He] *om.* b. 857. behind] be behynd P. L. Pr. G. S. 858. left] kept S. 859. The] This Pr. þe] you b. 860. That] And b. þou soroiest] ye sorowe b. 861. þi] your b. 862. seþ] scyth P. oure] your S. her w. b. 863. to] *om.* P. alway] althing Pr. 864. in] *om.* P. lowli] lwfly P. 865. ful] *om.* S. 867. þuru;] by Pr. oure] youre S. hyr G. 868. ze lust mekeli abide] humbully ye hyde S. mekeli abide] hyde G. abyd mekly P. 869. vnderstondeþ] vnderstande ye Pr. 870. ben] he so S. so ben G. grovndid] ground P. honeste] al honestee S. 871. þurugh enil] by ony Tr. *compassing*] rehereyng W. W2. w. b.

*Demen amys of hir in no degre :

For neiþer merci, rouþe, ne pite 873 never shall
she outstep
the bounds of
womanhood.
She shal not haue, ne take of þe noñ hede
Ferþer þen longiþ vnto hir womanhede. 875

56.

Beþe not astoncid of no wilfulnes, 876
Ne nouzt dispeired of þis *dilacioun :
Lete reson bridel lust bi buxumnes,
Withoute grueching or rebelliouu ;
For ioy shal folov al þis passioun : 880
For who can suffre turment & endure,
Ne mai not faile þat folov shal his cure. 882
Let reason
bridle desire ;
cure crowns
patient en-
durance.

57.

For toforn all she shal þe louen best : 883 She shall love
thee best :
So shal I here, withoute offencioun, ^{of}
Bi influence enspire[n] in hir brest,
In honest wise, wiþ ful entencioun,
Forto enelyne, bi elene affecciouu, 887
Hir hert fulli on þe to haue rouþe,
Bicause I know þat þou menyst trouþe. 889
so will I in-
fluence her
to pity thee.

58.

Go nov to hir, where as she stant aside, 890 Go now to
her,
Wiþ humble chere & put þe in hir grace,
And al biforne late hope be þi guide,
And þouze þat drede would[e] with þe pace,
It sitteþ wel ; but loke þat þou arace 894
Out of þin hert wanhop & dispaire,
To hir presence er þou haue repaire. 896
guided by
'Hope'—
and even
'Dread'—
but banish
'Despair.'

872. Demen] Semen T. P. Seyen L. of hir] om. G. no] nomaner G. 873. For] But G. S. ne] nor G. Pr. 874. haue ne take] tak ne haue P. of] at G. þe] þow G. S. b. 875. vnto hir] to P. 876. Beþe] But P. Be Pr. 877. Ne] Be P. Ne nouzt] Nor b. dispeired] dispayer P. þis] þe S. dilacioun] dillusioun T. P. dissolucion L. Pr. 879. or] or ellys S. 880. filowe S. 881. who] om. B. 882 reads in b: May nat fayle at length to optayne pleasure. Ne] He F. B. þat] but Pr.—filowe S. felowe P. 883. For] om. S. toforn] before b. all] alle oþer S. þe] þow G. S. 884. I] ye P. 885. hir] my S. 886. wiþ] and w. b. 887. elene] full P. 888. fulli] holly b. þe] þow G. S. 889. þat] om. P. þou menyst] ze mene G. S. trouþe] but truthe S. 890. where] were L. om. S. as] om. L. w. b. she] he W. om. W2. stant] standes w. standeth b. aside] side L. 891. put] pite P. 892. al] om. L. biforne] to foru G. late] loke L. be] by L. 893. And] þor S. þe] his P. pace] face b. 894. þou] yow P. 895. wanhop] hope P. 896. repaire] any repyre S.

59.

'Mercy,'	And merci first shal þi wai[e] make,	897
'Honest Meauing,'	And honest menyng aforn do þi message, To make merci in her hert awake ;	
'Secretness' and 'Humble Port' shall smooth thy way ; I, too, will favour thee.	And secrenes, to furþer þi viage, Wiþ humble port to hir þat is so sage, Shul menes ben, & I myself also Shal þe fortune er þi tale be do.	901 903

60.

Go forth at once :	Go forþe anon, & be riȝt of goode chere : For specheles noþing maist þou spede ; Be goode of trust, & be noþing in were, Siþ I myself shal helpen in þis nede ; For at þe lest, of hir goodlihed, She shal to þe hir audience enclyne, And lovli þe here, til þou þi tale fyne.	904 908 910
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with my
help, she shall
at least grant
thee a hear-
ing.

61.

Thou must speak out ;	Fore wele þou wost, ȝif I shal not feine, Withoute spech þou maist no merci haue : For who þat wil of his preve peine Fulli be cured, his life to help & saue, He most mekeli oute of his *hertis graue Discure his wound, & shew it to his lech, Or ellis deie for defaute of spech.	911 915 917
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for there is
no cure,

unless thou
discover thy
wound to the
lech.

62.

In mischief one must seek help ;	For he þat is in myschef rekeles To sechen help, I hold him but a wreech ; And she ne mai þin hert[e] bring in peas, But if þi compleint to hir hert[e] streech.	918
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897. shal þi waie] þy wey shal redy S. 898. menyng] mevyng G. menne w. meane b. 899. make] do P. merci] pyte Pr. 900. secrenes] sikurnesse S. to] tor P. viage] vysage S. message L. 901 omitted in L, but added by a later hand. 902. I] om. P. 903. fortune] forne w. forther b. er] and P. þi] al þy S. tale] calour (?) P. 904. riȝt of goode] of ryght good F. B. L. b. right good of C. W. W2. w. 905. noþing] for no thyng G. S. maist þou] may you W. W2. w. may ye b. 908. at þe] atte C. W. W2. at w. P. lest] last P. 909. to þe] the to P. to—audience] hire audience to the L. 910. lovli] lowe the C. þe] to B. om. G. S. þe here] to her Pr. here] hir S. til] tell b. 911. wost] knost P. wyst G. wotest w. wottest b. ȝif] yeft P. 912. þou—haue] than no mercy maist haue P. 914. Fulli] fullyche G. be cured] to be recured P. 915. He] om. b. hertis] hurtis T. herte G. w. b. hert F. B. L. C. W. W2. 916. to] om. C. W. W2. w. 917. deie] to die P. 918. he] om. L. rekeles] and is rekeles b. 919. sechen] seche hym P. but] om. Pr. a] om. L. 921. if] om. G. S. to] vnto G. hir] thyn L. herte] erys G. S.

Wouldist þou be curid, & wylte no salve fecch, 922 without salve,
 It wil not be: for no wizte may atteyne thou canst
 To come to blis, if he lust lyue in peyne. 924 not be cured.

63.

Therefore at ones go in humble wise 925 Therefore
 Tofore þi ladi & louli knele adoun, kneel lowly
 And in al trouth þi woordis so deuyse, before thy
 That she on þe haue *compassioun*: lady;
 For she þat is of so heigh renoun 929 and she shall
 In al vertues as quene & souerain, have pity on
 Of womanhed shal rwe opon þi pein. 931 thy pain.'

And whan þe goddes þis lesson hade him told, 932 When the
 Aboute me so as I gan bihold, goddess
 Riȝt for astoneid I stode in a traunce, ended,
 To *seen þe maner & þe covtenaunce the counten-
 And al þe chere of þis woful man, 936 ance of this
 That was of hwe deedli pale & wan, man was
 Wiþ drede surprised in his owne þouȝt, woeful to see:
 Making a chere as *þouȝ he rouȝt[e] nouȝt
 Of life ne deþ, ne what so him bitide: 940
 So mych fere he hade on euere side, so feared he
 To put him forþe forto tel his peyne to lay his
 Vnto his ladi, oþer to compleyne, case before
 What wo he felt, *turment* or disease, 944 his lady.
 What dedli sorov his hert[e] did[e] sease,
 For rouþe of which his wo as I endite, For very ruth
 Mi penne I fele quaken as I write. I feel my pen
 quake,

922. þou] then F. not S. wylte] lyst G. S. no] not L. B. nocht P. fecch] seehe F. 923. not be for] not be nocht be P. 924. he] him S. 925. go] go forth Pr. 926. Tofore] By fore S. Before b. adoun] and a down W2. þi] this G. 928. on þe] of the may G. S. 929. of so heigh] so hie of S. 931. opon] on Pr. of P. After 931 in F. B.: Hue [Hie B] usque verba Veneris. *Healing before* 932 in B. F.: Verba sompniantis; in b.: The author. 932. him] om. S. Pr. 933. so as] so C. W. W2. w. as b. I gan] gan I w. gan] cane S. 934. for] as for F. B. P. L. sore S. b. so C. W. W2. w. I] om. C. W. W2. w. in] as in F. B. G. S. 935. seen] sein T. seyn P. &] of L. 2^d þe] om. C. W. W2. w. covtenaunce] gouernaunce G. 937. deedli pale &] pale and dedly S. 938. surprised] oppressid S. in his owne] inly in his G. oonly in his S. 939. a] his S. om. Pr. þouȝ] þat T. S. he] hym G. S. rouȝte] reached S. cared b. 940. 1st ne] nor F. B. P. G. 941. he] him L. on] in G. 942. him] hem S. forto] to C. 943. oþer] or els b. 944. he] him L. felt] lete W2. ledde w. b. or] and P. b. 946. his wo as I] of his wo to S. wo as] woos W. W2. w. b. 947. quaken] qwakyng S. L. write] now write P.

	Of him I had so gret compassioun,	948
as I rehearse his lament- ation.	Forto reherse his weymentacioun. That, wel vnneþe þouȝ <i>with</i> my self I striue, I want connyng, his peynes to diseryue. Allas! to whom shal I for help[e] cal?	952
Not the Muses, help- ers in joy, may I now invoke,	Not to þe Mysis, for cause þat þei ar al Help of riȝt in ioi & not in wo, And in maters þat þei delite also, Wherfore þei nyl directe as nov my stile,	956
but Tisi- phone and her sisters.	Nor me enspiren, allas þe hard[e] while! I can no ferþer but to Thesiphone And to hir sustren forto help[e] me, That bene goddesses of turment & of peyne.	960
Now let your tears rain into my ink,	Nou lete ȝoure teris into myn inke reyne, <i>With</i> woful wordis my *paper forto blot, This woful mater to peint[e] not, but spotte,	
that I may relate the complaint of this man,	To tell þe maner of þis dredful man,	964
	Vpon his compleint, when he first bigan To tel his ladi, when he gan declare His hid[de] sorois, and his eucl fare,	
which ran thus:	That at his hert constreynd him so sore,	968
	Theffecte of which was þis <i>with</i> -oute more:	
	64.	
*Princess of youth,	‘Princes of iouþe, & flour of gentillesse, Ensaumple of vertue, ground of eurtiesie,	970

949. Forto] þat to S. his] his gret P. weymentacioun] lamentacion b.
950, 951 read in b:

Ye / though I with my selfe stryue
Unmeth my connyng may his paynes diseryue

950. wel] om. C. W. W2. w. vnneþe] I wot S. *with* my self I] I with my self
C. 951. want] lacke w. 952. to—helpe] for help to whom shall I B. 953.
for cause] by cause G. b. þat] om. F. B. Pr. ar] om. S. ben Pr. al] nere all
b. 954. Help] Helpynge F. B. G. Helpen S. 955—957 om. in P. 955. þei]
om. F. B. G. S. 956. nyl] wil nat G. nyl not S. directe as nov] as now di-
recte Pr. nowe dyrect S. as] om. G. 957. allas] but allas F. 958. I] And
G. S. no] no more P.—Phisyphonee S. 959. sustren—me] suster to calle
help vpon C. W. W2. w. b *with the variation* susters. 960. goddesses of]
goddesse nt P. goddes L. 2^d of] om. C. W. W2. w. 962. woful] peynfull S.
paper] pauper T. 963. to peinte not] not to peynte B. C. b. not peynt S.
but] to P. but to S. 964. dredful] woful P. 966. when] and howe b. gan]
began L. 967. sorois] sorowe P. 968. That] Whiche S. at] om. W2. w. b.
his] is W2. him] om. Pr. 969. þis] thus L. *After 969 is in F. B the rubric:*
The supplicacion of the man to hys (his B.) lady; S has in the margin: Ba-
lade of þe lover. 970. Princes] Prynceisses P. 971. Ensaumple] A ensaunple
P. Ensaunplier L.

Of beaute rote, quene & eke maistres	974	queen and mistress of all women,
To al women hou þei shul hem gie,		
And soþefast myrroure to exemplific	974	
The riȝt[e] wei of port & womanhed :		
What *I shal sai of merci takeþ hede—	976	list to my request.

65.

Biseching first vnto ȝoure heigh nobles,	977	With quaking heart I beseech your help;
Wiþ quaking hert of myn inward drede,		
Of grace and pite, & nouȝt of riȝtwisnes,		
Of verrai rouþe, to help[en] in þis nede :		
That is to saie, o wel of goodlihed,	981	I do not dread death, if only you hear me.
That I ne recch, þouȝ ȝe do me deie,		
So ȝe list first [to] heren what I saie.	983	

66.

The dredful stroke, þe gret[e] force & myȝt	984	Cupid has so smitten me,
Of god Cupide, þat no man mai rebel,		
So inwardli þuruȝ out myn hert[e] riȝt		
I-persid haþ, þat I ne mai concele		that I cannot conceal my wound.
Myn hid[de] wound, ne I ne may apele	988	
Vnto no grettir : þis myȝti god so fast		
Yow [for] to serue *haþ bound me to my last,	990	

67.

That hert and al, withoute strife, ar yokde,	991	I have surrendered to your service,
For life or deþ, to ȝoure seruiſe alone,		
Riȝt as þe goddes myȝti Venus would :		as Venus, on hearing my complaint, constrained
Toforme hir mekeli when I made my mone,		
She me constreynd, without chaunge, anone	995	

972. beaute] bountee S.—magistresse P. 973. shul] shuld F. B. G. 974. And] þe S. to exemplific] goode texemplifye S. 975. of] to þe S. &] in G. of S. and of L. Pr. 976. I shal] shal I T. L. takeþ] take ye Pr. *Between 976 and 977 no interval marking the division of the stanzas in C. W. W2. w. (because the same rhymes recur?).* 977. first] om. w. b. vnto] to P. heigh] gowd P. 978. inward] vware S. 979. nouȝt] om. b. 980. in] om. W. W2. w. b. 981. That] This G. S. Pr. 983. ȝe] you S. to] om. T. 985. god] gowd P. good W2. w. om. h. þat no man] ayenst whom non P. b. 986. out] om. L. P. 987. I-persid] y presed F. concele] cuncelle S. 988. hidde] hovyn S. ne] nor F. B. G. S. ne may] may not P. 989. þis myȝti god] his mightyhed S. 990. for] om. T. P. L. Pr. haþ bound me to] me haþ bound vnto T. L. hath me bound vnto Pr. me to] vnto F. B. G. S. 991. That] My w. b. al—ar] body hole is to you S. 992. or] and L. 993. goddes myȝti] mighty goddesse S. 994. Toforme] Before b. 995. anone] in oone F. B. G. S.

me to do, To 3oure seruise, & neuer forto feyne,
*Where so *ye list to do me ease or peyne. 997

68.

so that I can For þat I can noþing but merci crie 998
only cry Of 3ov my ladi—& chaungen for no nwe—
mercy. That 3e list goodl[i], tofore [er þat] I deyz3e,
Of verrey rouþe upon my peynes rwe.

Verily, if you For be my trouþe, & 3e þe soþe kuwe, 1002
knew all, you would What is þe cause of myn aduersite,
have pity. On my distres 3e would haue pite. 1004

69.

For I will be For vnto 3ow trwe & eke secre 1005
true and humbly devoted to you, I wole be found, to serue as I best can,
And þerwith-al as lowli in ich degre

as ever man To 3ow *allone, as euir 3it was man
was to his lady. Vnto his ladi, from þe tyme I *gan, 1009

And shal so forþe, withouten eny slouþe,
Whiles þat I lyue, bi god & be my trouþe. 1011

70.

I would rather die For leuyr I had to dei[e]n sodeinli, 1012
than offend you. Than yow offend in any maner wise,
And suffre peynes inward priueli,
Than my seruise 3e shuld as nov despise.

For I riȝt nouȝt wil asken in no wise, 1016

Take me as your servant; But for 3oure seruant 3e would me accepte,
And, whan I trespace, goodli me correcte, 1018

71.

And forto graunt, of merci, þis praier, 1019
Oonli of grace and womanl[i] pete,

teach me Fro dai to dai þat I myȝt[e] lere

997. Where so] Where S. Where so euir T. P. L. Pr. ye] yow T. F. B. S. do me] me do P. me] om. L. 999. chaungen] chaunging S. 1000. 3e] you S. —goodl T. tofore] before b. byseen S. er] om. P. er þat] om. T. 1001. rwe] knewe W2. 1002. &] yef P. if L. b. þe soþe] my peynes Pr. 1003. What is þe cause] And what the cause is b. 1004. On] Of S. L. Off P. distres] disese G. S. Pr. 1006. wole] wold P. found] bounde S. 1007. lowli] low G. S. 1008. allone] ben allone T. L. P. Pr. was] ded P. 1009. þe tyme] tyme þat S. I] the world P. gan] began T. L. P. S. Pr. 1010. shal so] so shal G. S. so] be B. 1011. Whiles] Whye b. 1012. leuyr—to] I had leuer b. 1013. offend] offence W2. w. 1014. inward] Inwardes S. 1015. my—nov] as now my seruise ye shuld P. 3e shuld as nov] as now ye shold Pr. ye shulden nowe S. 1017. would] wol L. 1018. goodli me] me goodely to S. 1019. þis] the L. Pr. 1020. womanl T. 1021. lere] beter lere S.

3ow forto please, & þerwith-al þat 3e,		how to please you,
When I do mys, list [for] to teche me,	1023	
In 3oure seruyse hou þat I mai amende		and how to amend, if I
From hens-forþe, and neyr 3ow offende.	1025	do amiss.

72.

For vnto me it dop inou3 suffise,	1026	For I am content to be your servant :
That for 3oure man 3e would me reseyue,		
Fulli to ben, as 3ou list deuyse,		
And as ferforþe *my wittes con conceyue,		
And þerwithal, lich as 3e perseyue	1030	reward or punish me as I deserve.
That I be trwe, to guerdone me of grace,		
Or ellis to punyssh aftir my trespace.	1032	

73.

And if so be þat I mai not atteyne	1033	And if I cannot obtain your mercy,
Vnto 3our merci, 3it graunteþ at [þe] lest,		
In 3our seruice, for al my wo & peyne,		then let me die in your service.
That I mai deizen aftir my bilhest.		
This is al & som, þe fine of my request :	1037	This is the whole of my request.
Oþir with merci 3our seruant forto saue,		
Or merciles þat I mai be graue.	1039	

74.

And whan þis benygne, of hir entent trwe,	1040	When this benign lady heard this,
Conceyued hap þe compleint of þis man,		
Ri3t as þe fressh rodi rose nwe		she waxed red as a rose,
Of hir coloure to wexin she bigaũ ;		
Hir bloode astonyed so from hir hert[c] *ran	1044	
Into hir face, of femyny[ni]te :		
Thuru3 honest drede abaisschel so was she.	1046	

1023. for] *om.* T. G. S. 1024. I] ye L. 1027 *omitted in P.* 1028. 3ou] ye G. P. W. W2. w. b. deuyse] to devise G. S. 1029. And] Ryght F. B. G. S. my] as my *all except* F. B. G. S. con] may F. B. G. S. P. 1030. perseyue] prene C. W. W2. w. me prene b. 1031. That I] To b. I] ye P. me of] of your G. S. 1032. to] *om.* G. me P. S. 1034. at þe] at T. attie F. W. W2. w. att B. me at L. P. 1035. peyne] pyne P. 1037. is] *om.* F. B. G. þe] and P. *om.* S. request] beheest S. 1038. Oþir] Outher C. Eyther W. W2. w. h. Oonly S. forto] to Pr. 1039. I] he G. S. graue] begraue Pr. grace F. P. *In the margin opposite* 1040: The answer of hys lady F. 1040. And] *om.* S. trwe] so trewe G. S. 1041. hap] had P. 1044. ran] it ran T. P. W. W2. w. b. 1045. femynyte T. F. B. pure femynite P. verray femynyte L. Pr. 1046. so] *om.* Pr.

75.

and humbly and benignly glanced at him, in abashed silence;	And humb[e]le she gan hir eizen cast Towardis him, of hir benygnyte, So þæt no woord bi hir lippes past For hast *nor drede, merci nor pite. For so demeyned she was in honeste, That vnauised noþing hir astert : So mych of reson was compast in hir hert—	1047 1051 1053
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76.

till at last, in pity, she spoke:	Til, at þe last, of rouþe she did abraide, When she his trouþe and menyng did[c] fele, And vnto him ful goodli spake & seide :	1054
* With all my heart I thank you for your offer.	‘ Of ʒoure [be]hest and of ʒour menyng wele, And ʒoure seruise so feiþful eueredel, Which vnto me so lowli now ʒe offre, Wiþ al my hert I þanke ʒow of ʒoure profir—	1058 1060

77.

You must needs speeð the better for your virtuous intent;	That for as mych as ʒoure entent is sette Oonli in vertu, I-bridelid vnder drede, ʒe most of riȝt nedis fare þe bette Of ʒoure request, and þe bettir spele.	1061
but I can graunt nothing more than Venus will allow;	But as for me, I mai of womauhede No ferþir graunt to ʒov in myu entent Thanne as my ladi Venus wil assent.	1065 1067

78.

for I am bound to obey what she ordains.	For she wele knowiþ I am not at my laarge To done riȝt nouȝt but bi hir ordinaunce ; So am I bound vndir hir dredful charge, Hir lust to obey <i>withoute</i> variaunce.	1068
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1047. gan] began L. Pr. 1048. Towarde b. of] right of S. 1050. 1st
nor] ne T. S. 2^d nor] ne L. S. Pr. 1052. That] Than P.—vnaduyssed C. b.
vnduyssed W. vndeuyssed W2. w.—no thyng no thyng P. noþing hir] hir
noþyng myȝht G. hir astert] fro her stert Pr. 1053. compast] composed
b. hir] om. W. W2. w. 1054. at þe] atte C. W. W2. w. F. at B. of rouþe]
so moche b. rouþe] whiche C. W. W2. w. 1055. his] is C. menyng] meuyng
w. dide] well dyd b. 1056. 1st And] That b. vnto] to G. S. spake &] thus
she b. 1057. 1st Of] And of B. behest] behestes S. hest T. 2^d of] om. G.
S. Pr. 1058. ʒoure] of yowr P. 1059. vnto] to L. 1060. of] for b. 1061.
That] And b. om. S. as mych as] so muche as L. so moche C. W. W2. w.
sette] y sette P. 1062. in] on S. b. I-bridelid] brydeld S. 1063. fare] fayr P.
1066. to] om. S. 1067. as] om. P. assent] ful assent S. 1068. am] nam S.
1069. bi] at G. 1070. bound] drowned Pr. 1071. to obey] to him S.

But for my part, so it be plesance	1072	But, for my part, I fully accept you.
Vnto þe goddes, for trouþe in <i>your</i> emprise,		
I þow accepte fulli to my sermyse.	1074	
79.		
For she myn hert hap in subieccioun,	1075	My heart is wholly yours and will ever be:
Which holi is <i>þoures</i> and neuer shal repent,		
In þouzt nor dede, in myn eleccioun :		
Witnes on Venus, þat knoweþ myn entent,		but yet, as Venus discoses, I must obey.
Fulli to obei hir dome and Iugement,	1079	
So as hir lust disposen and ordeyne,		
Riȝt as she knoweþ þe trouth of vs tweyne.	1081	

80.

For vnto þe time þat Venus [list] prouyde	1082	For until she deign to appease our inward woe, we must meekly abide.
To shape a wai for oure hertis ease,		
Boþe ȝe and I mekeli most abide,		
To take a[t] gre, & not of oure disease		
To grucch agein, til she list to appese	1086	
Oure hid[de] wo, so inli þat constreynep		
From dai to day & oure hert[es] peyneþ.	1088	

81.

For in abiding, of wo & al affray—	1089	For in abiding is found remedy for woe:
Whoso can suffre—is founden remedie,		
And for þe best ful oft is made delay,		
Er men be heled of hir maladie ;		
Wherefore, as Venus list þis mater to guie,	1093	let us surrender ourselves to Venus' will;
Late vs agreen & take al for þe best,		
Til her list set oure hertes boþe at rest.	1095	

1072. plesance w. 1074. fulli] in P. 1076. holi] hol G. hole S.—repete w. 1077. 1st In] And in G. nor] nen S. 1078. ou] of G. 1079. to obei] to beye W2. w. b. to byde S. 1080. hir] she G. P. 1081. Riȝt] Lych G.S. vs] bothe vs G. S. 1082. vnto] yn P. þe] om. G. S. list] om. T. P. F. B. 1084. mekeli most] most nedes þe tyme S. 1085. at gre] agre T. in gree S. l. of] at G. for S. b. 1086. agein] agrayne b. til] til that Pr. 2^d to] om. B. S. b. appese] have pece P. 1088. &] so S. and of P. hertes] hert T. peyneþ] pleyneþe S. peyryth G. 1089. al] om. L. 1090. Whoso] Who that G. S. b. Who P. is founden] fyndeþe S. b. 1091. ful oft is] is ofte P. G.—dely G. 1092. Er] Er that P. men] man W2. w. be heled] beleled W. be- helede W2. w. 1093. list þis mater] this mater lest G. þis] the b. to] om. S. b. 1094. take] om. L. al] al thing S. al for] for al P. 1095. her] sche G. S. set—boþe] owre both hertes sett P. oure —boþe] bothe our [w: out] hertes Pr. at] in Pr.

82.

for she can unite lovers.	For she it is þat bindeþ & can constreyne Hertes in oon, þis fortunate planete, And can *relesen louers of her peyne, To <i>turne</i> fulli hir bitter into swete.	1096
Now, blissful goddess, be- friend us from thy starry seat. ⁷	Nou blissful goddes, doun fro þi sterri sete, Vs to fortune, caste <i>your</i> stremes shene, Like as 3e enow þat we trouþe mene.'	1100 1102

83.

And then I saw these lovers pass before the goddess, who linked their hearts together with a golden chain,	And þerwithal, as I myn eyzen cast Forto perceiue þe maner of þese twein, Tofore þe goddes mekel[i] as þei past, Me þouzt I saw, <i>with</i> a golden cheyne, Venus anoñ enbracen & constrein Her boþ[e] hertes, in oon forto <i>perseuer</i> , Whiles þat þei liue and neuer to desseuer.	1103 1107 1109
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84.

saying: 'My daughter,	Saiyng riht þus <i>with</i> a benygne chere : 'Sip it is so 3e ben vndir my myzt, Mi wille is þis, þat 3e, my douzter dere, Fulli accepte þis man, *as hit is riht, Vnto <i>your</i> grace anoñ here in my siht, That euer haþ ben so louli 3ou to serue : It is goode skil <i>your</i> þank þat he desserue.	1110 1114 1116
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85.

It is fitting that you should cherish him,	<i>Your</i> honour saue, and eke <i>your</i> womanhed, Him to cherissen it sittip 3ov riht wele, Sip he is bound, vnder hope & drede, Amyd my cheyne þat maked is of stele ;	1117
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1096. it] *om.* L. Pr. is] *om.* b. bindeþ] biddeth L. constreyne] destreyne S. 1098. relesen] recouer P. plesen T. F. B. 1099. To] And to P. into] vn to G. b. 1100. fro þi sterri] streight from þy S. 1101. Vs] Vn G. 1104. twein] sweyne W2. w. 1105. Tofore] Before S. h.—mekel T. þei] the P. F. 1106. a golden] of golde a S. *In the margin of F, opposite ll. 1104—1106 :* Corda amborum amancium cathenati per venerem. 1107. enbracen] enbraced P. eukrace b. 1108. bothis G. boþer S. boþe hertes] hertes both P. 1109. Whiles] Whyle b. liue] haue lyue L. to] for to S. desseuer] disserue F. 1110. *In the margin of F :* Verba veneris ad amantes. 1111. 3e] that ye P. they G. S. 1112. þis] thus Pr. 1113. Fulli] Ful C. W. p. W2. w. as hit is] at his T. F. B. 1116. he] ye L. 1117. eke] also W. p. W2. w. b. 1118. riht] *om.* P. 1120. Amyd] And with S. maked] forged G. L. Pr. maked—stele] is golde yche dele S.

3e must of merci shape þat he fele	1121	and be gracious to him.
In 3ov som grace for his long servise,		
And þat in hast, like as I shal deuyse.	1123	
86.		
This is to sein : þat 3e taken hede,	1124	Consider how, for all his faithful- ness,
Hou he to 3ov most faipful is & trwe		
Of al 3our servanthis, & noþing for his mede		
Of 3ov ne askip but þat 3e on him rwe ;		he only asks your pity :
For he haþe *vowid to chaunge for no nwe,	1128	he has vowed never to change.
For life nor deþ, for ioy[e] ne for peyne—		
Ay to ben 3ours, so as 3e list ordeyne.	1130	

87.

Wherefore 3e must—or ellis it were wrong—	1131	Wherefore, admit him to your favouir ;
Vnto 3our grace fulli hym receyne,		
In my presence, bicause he haþ so long		
Holli ben 3oures, as 3e may conceyne		
That, from 3oure merci nov if 3e him weyne,	1135	else I must record cruelty against you.
I wil my self recorden cruelte		
In 3oure persone, & gret lak of pite.	1137	

88.

Late him for trouth þen find[e] trouth] agein :	1138	Let grace be his guerdon ;
For long service guerdone him with grace,		
And lateþ pite wei[e] doum his pain ;		
For tyme is nov daunger to arace		root 'Danger'
Out of 3oure hert, and merci in to pace ;	1142	out of your heart, and let
And loue for loue would[e] wele biseme		'Mercy'
To yeve agein, and þis I pleinli deme.	1144	enter.

1121. 3e] She S. of merci shape] nedys of mercy P. he] ye W2. w. b.
 1122. for] of Pr. 1123. like] om. P. 1125. Hou] How þat G. most] oft W.
 p. W2. w. is] it W. p. W2. om. w. hath ben b. 1127. ne] he b. þat] om.
 Pr. rwe] to rue b. 1128. haþe vowid] vowed hath L. Pr. vowid] woid T.
 1129. nor] ne P. F. Pr. ne] nor G. ner L. no B. 1130. Ay] As W2. w. b.
 3e] yowe S. 1131. 3e] yow S. 1132. fulli hym] him fully to S. 1133. he]
 that he L. 1135. 3oure] om. w. b. nov] om. G. Pr. 3e] I S. weyne] reve P.
 1138. for] so S. for his L. Pr. þen] om. P. G. S. b. þen finde] fynde than C.
 W. p. W2. w. finde] trouth] trouthe fynde G. 2^d trouth] truwe S. om. T. F.
 B. L. C. W. p. W2. w. 1139. with] om. P. 1140. lateþ] late ye C. late your
 W. p. W2. w. b. wei[e] doum] away doon S. 1141. to arace] for tarace G. for
 to race S. vp to race P. 1142. Out] But S. pace] space W. p. W2. w. b.
 1143. And] þor P. woulde] It we] G. hit wolde S. world C. biseme] seeme
 S. 1144. þis] thus L. P. G. S. I] om. S.

89.

I will stand surety for his dutifulness.	And as for him, I wil bene his borow Of lowlihed and bise attendaunce, Hou he shal bene, boþ at eue & morov, Ful diligent to don his obseruaunce, And euer awayting zou to do plesauce ;	1145 1149
And thou also, my son, list to my counsel.	Wherefore, my sone, list & take hede Fulli to obey as I shal þe rede.	1151

90.

First, be faithful and humble ;	And first of al, my wil is þat þou be Feiþful in hert and constant as a walle, Trwe, humble and meke, & þerwithal secre, Withoute chaunge in parti or in al ;	1152
in every trouble let thy heart be rooted in steadfastness.	And for no turment, þat þe fallen shal, Tempest þe not, but euer in stidfastnes Rote þin hert, and voide doublenes.	1156 1158

91.

For thy lady's sake,	And forþermore, haue in reuerence Thes women al for þi ladi sake, And suffre neuer þat men *hem don offence, For loue of oon ; but euermore vndirtake Hem to defend, wheþer þei slepe or wake, And ay be redi to holden champartie With al[le] þo, þat to hem haue envie.	1159 1163 1165
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92.

Be courteous, fresh and seemly ;	Be curteis ay and lowli of þi spech To riche and poure, ai fressh & welbescin, And euer bisie, weies forto sech All trwe louers to relese of her peyne, Sip þou art oon ; and of no wiȝt haue dislein— For loue hap pouer hertis forto daunt— And neuer for cherisshing þe to mych auauante.	1166 1170 1172
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1145. for] for for F. 1146. bise] lowly S. 1147. he] hit S. at] *om.* Pr. eue] even S. &] & at G. 1149. zou] *om.* S. to] for to F. B. L. G. S. do] *om.* p. 1150. list] listen P. L. F. B. Pr. hede] good hede G. 1151. to obey] obeye S. 1152. þat] at P. thys that F. B. þou] ye G. S. 1154. and] *om.* B. Pr. 1155. or] and b. 1156. fallen shal] may befall b. 1160. ladi] ladyis G. ladyes S. 1161. hem don] do þem T. L. b. do hem S. 1162. but] *om.* P. euermore] ever wher S. euer w. b. 1163. wheþer þei] wherso thow G. 1164. And] But G. S. to] for to P. champartie] trwe partye S. them party L. Pr. 1165. With] Aynst Pr. þo] *om.* P. those b. 1166. ay] eke F. B. 1167. ai] *om.* S. Be b. 1168. euer] euery P. 1170. and] *om.* G. S. 1172. And] *om.* S. neuer for] for no G. S. þe] neuer G. S. to mych] to S.

93.

Be lusti eke, deuoid of al tristesse,	1173	Be deuoid of melancholy,
And take no þouzt, but euer be Iocond,		
And nouzt to pensif for non heuynes ; ¶		
And <i>with</i> þi gladnes let sadnes ay be found ;		yet earnest in thy gladness ;
When wo approcheþ, lat myrþ most habound,	1177	be mirthful even in woe,
As manhod axeþ ; and þouȝ þou fele smert,		and do not wear thy heart upon thy sleeve.
Lat not to manie knowen of þin hert.	1179	

94.

And al vertues biseli þou sue,	1180	Seek virtue,
Vices eschew, for þe loue of oon ;		eschew vice ;
And for no tales þin hert[e] not remue :		take no heed of tales ;
Woorde is but winde, þat shal some ouergoñ.		
What euer þou here, be doymb as eny stoñ,	1184	
And to answeere to sone not þe delite ;		answer not hastily.
For here she standeþ þat al þis shal þe quite.	1186	

95.

And where þou be absent or in presence,	1187	
None opirs beaute lat in þin *herte myne,		Give place to no other's beauty in thy heart.
Sip I haue *zyue hir of beaute excellence,		
Aboue al opir in vertue forto shine ;		
And þenk *in fire hou men ar wont to fyne	1191	Gold must be purified by fire, and thou by delay.
This purid gold, to put it in assay :		
So þe to preue, þou ert put in delay.	1193	

96.

But tyme shal come þou shalt for þi sufferauuce	1194	In due time thy endurance shall be paid with thy life's joy ;
Be wele apaide, and take for þi mede		
Thi lues loy and al þi sullisauuce,		

1173. deuoid] al voyde S. voyd Pr. al] om. S. 1174. euer] ay G. 1175. And nouzt to] Ne be not S. 1177. approcheþ] approached C. myrþ] mercy G. 1178. axeþ] axid C. 1179. manie] fele S. 1180. biseli þou] besye the to G. S. þou sue] ensue b. 1181. eschew] eschwe ay S. 1182. And] Ne S. not] ne S. þin—remue] let not thy hert remue P. remue] remeve G. renewe W. W2. w. b. 1183. Woorde] Wordis L. þat] hit S. shal some] some shal G. ouergoñ] be gone w. begone b. 1185. reads in S: And soone to answeere þat þou þe not delyte. not] do nat b. na P. þe] om. G. 1186. al þis shal] shall alle P. 1188. opirs] other b. herte myne] hertes mynd T. 1189. zyue] om. S. zyue hir] hir zyue T. F. B. L. beaute] bountee S. 1190. in—shine] euer to be thyne b. vertue] beaute B. G. 1191. þenk] þenk þat T. P. F. B. L. in fire hou] hou in fyre Pr. ar] hen S. wont] wone G. 1192. in] at G. S. 1193. þe to preue] to the proue Pr. 1194. But] And S. 1195. take] thanked S. 1196. þi] this P.

So þat goode hope alway þi bridel lede. 1198
 'Despair' and 'Dread'
 be far from
 thee.
 Lat no dispeire hindir þe with drede,
 But ay þi trust opon hir merci grovnd,
 Siþ noon but she may þi sores sound. 1200

97.

Eche houre and tyme, weke, dai and ȝere, 1201
 Never vary;
 Be iliche feithful, and varie not for lite;
 abide
 patiently,
 and endure
 delay; for in
 the end thou
 shalt win her,
 Abide awhile, & þan of þi desire
 The time neighth, þat shal þe most delite;
 And lete no sorov in þin hert[e] bite 1205
 For no differring, siþ þou shalt for þi mede
 Reioise in pees þe flour of womanhede. 1207

98.

Think hou she is þis wor[ld]is sonne & list, 1208
 who is this
 world's light,
 the star of
 beauty, the
 empress of
 thy heart.
 The sterre of beaute, flour eke of fairnes—
 Boþe crop and rote—and eke þe rubie bryzt
 Hertes to glade Itroubled with derknes,
 And hou I haue made hir þin hertes emperesse : 1212
 Take him,
 daughter, by
 the hand,
 Be glad þefore to be vudir hir bonde.
 Nou come nere, douzter, & take him bi þe hond, 1214

99.

Vnto þis fyne þat, after al þe showres 1215
 that he may
 be glad after
 his torment.
 Of his turment, he mai be glad and list,
 W[h]an, þuruȝ ȝoure grace, ȝe take him to be ȝoures
 For euermore, anon here in my syzt;
 And eeke also I wil, as it is ryzt 1219
 Withoute more his langour forto lisse,
 Kiss him
 here in my
 presence;
 In my presence anon þat ȝe him kisse— 1221

100.

That *þere mai be of al ȝoure old[e] smertis 1222
 A ful relese vudir ioy assured;

1197. þat] shal S. alway] ay S. þi] the p. 1199. opon] on b. 1200. may] ne may G. sores] sorowes L. P. sorowe Pr. 1201. 1st and] om. b. weke] and every S. dai] om. p. 1202. iliche] ay liche L. cylyche P. lyche G. S. liehe C. lyke W. p. W2. w. b. 1204. þat shal] þow shalt S. 1206. no] om. G. S. differring] desyring S. shalt] shall P. om. Pr. 1207. Reioise] Shal [Shalt b.] reioyse Pr. 1208. þis] þe S. worldis] wordis T. G. &] om. B. 1209. flour] the flour Pr. eke] and eke L. 1210. eke] ete w. 1211. Itroubled] doubeld S. 1212. haue] om. G. S. 1215. fyne] syn C. þe] þy S. these Pr. showres] sorowes L. 1216. his] thys F. hire L. 1217. Whan] Wan T. þuruȝ] by Pr. to he] to S. 1219. eeke also] firþermore S. also I wil] I wil also Pr. 1220. lisse] lesse P. 1222. þere] here T. P. B. F.

- And þat oo lok be of 3oure boþe hertes
 Shet with my key of gold so wel depured,
 Oonli in signe þat 3e haue recured 1226
 3oure hole desire here in þis holi place,
 Within my temple, nou in þe 3ere of grace. 1228
- 101.
- Eternalli, be *bonde of assuraunce, 1229
 The enott *is knytt, which mai not beñ vnbovnd,
 That al þe goddis of þis alliaunce,
 Saturne, & Ioue, & Mars, as it is fovnde,
 And eke Cupide, þat first 3ou did[e] wounde, 1233
 Shal bere record, & *euermore be wreke
 On which of 3ou his trouþe first doþe breke : 1235
- 102.
- So þat bi aspectes of hir fers[e] lokes, 1236
 Wip-oute merci, shal fal[le] þe vengeaunce
 Forto be raced clene out of my bokes,
 On which of 3ow be found[e] variaunce.
 þefore atones setteþ 3our plesauns 1240
 Fulli to ben, while 3e haue life and mynd,
 Of oon accord vnto 3oure lyues ende, 1242
- 103.
- That, if þe spirit of nvfangilnes 1243
 In any wise 3oure hertis would assaile,
 To meve or stir to bring in doubilnes
 Vpon 3our trouþe to giuen a bataile,
 Late not 3oure corage ne 3oure force fail, 1247
 Ne non assautes 3ov flitteen or remeve :
 For vn-assaied men may no trouþe preue. 1249

your hearts
 shall be
 locked in one
 by my golden
 key.

The knot is
 for ever knit :

all the gods
 bear record

and will take
 vengeance on
 whichever is
 untrue.

The culprit
 shall be
 erased out of
 my books.

Therefore be
 ever of one
 accord ;

that, if new-
 tangledness
 and double-
 ness assail,

your courage
 and force
 may not fail :
 truth must
 be proved.

1224. of] on S. 1225. so wel] wel G. depured] pured Pr. 1226. haue] ben S. 1227. hole] om. P. in] right in L. 1228. in þe] þis S. þe] this L. 1229. Eternalli be] Ye be eternally b. be bonde of] bea bounde & G. bonde] bounde T. P. L. Pr. S. 1230. is] 3e T. F. B. L. is knytt] om. P. which] the wheche G. that Pr. 1231. goddis] knottys G. 1232. 1st &] of F. om. Pr. Ioue] Iuno L. w. Iune b. 2^d &] as P. 1233. eke] þowe S. 3ou dide] did you L. Pr. ded yow P. did him S. 1234. euermore] ouermore T. L. C. be wreke] bewreke S. C. 1235. On] Of S. his] þeyre S. doþe] to S. om. Pr. 1236. bi] om. S. aspectes] the aspectes P. L. þaspectes S. hir] his P. G. fers[e] first S. fair C. fyry W. W2. w. b. 1237. Wip-oute] With S. þe] to B. te G. þe foule S. vengeaunce] variance P. 1239. On] In G. S. fovnde] found of Pr. 1243. nvfangilnes] reproued Idoussnesse S. 1244. 3oure hertis would] wolde yore hertes S. 1245. or] and L. 1246. giuen] gynnyn G. 1247. ne] nor L. 1248. Ne] Nor L. Nor Pr. assautes] assayis G. or] nor G. 1249. men may no] may no man P. no man may L. Pr.

104.

For white is whiter when set by black; sweet is sweeter after bitterness:	For white is whitter, if it be set bi blak,	1250
	And swete is swettir eftir bitternes,	
	And falshode euer is drive & put a-bak,	
	Where troupe is rotid <i>without</i> e doubilnes;	
without proof is no security.	Wip-out[e] prefe may be no sikirnes	1254
	Of loue or hate; and þerfor of 3ow t[w]oo	
	Shal loue be more, þat it was bouzt <i>with</i> wo.	1256

105.

Everything is more prized when dearly bought; love is surer when won with woe.	As euere þing is had more [in] deinte,	1257
	And more of pris, when it is dere bouzt;	
	And eke þat loue stond more in surete,	
	When it tofore <i>with</i> peyne, wo & þouzt	
	Conquerid was, first when it was souzt;	1261
	And euere conquest hap his excellens,	
	In his <i>pursuite</i> as he fint resistance:	1263

106.

So love will be sweeter to you,	And so to 3ow more sote and agreable	1264
	Shal loue be found—I do 3ou plein assure—	
because you suffered patiently;	Wip-oute grueching þat 3e were suffrable	
	So low, so meke, pacientli tendure,	
	That al atones I shal nov do my cure	1268
I will bind your hearts together for ever.	For nov and euer 3our heitis so to bynd,	
	That nouzt but deþ shal þe *knot vnbynd.	1270

107.

To make it short—be	Nou in þis mater what shuld I lengir dwel?	1271
	Comeþ [off] at ones, and do as I haue seide.	

1250. bi] wyth P. 1252. falshode] falsenes P. S. euer] *om.* S. euer is] is neuer L. 1253. rotid] rote P. doubilnes] *om.* W2. falsnes w. b. 1254. may] ther may Pr. be no] not be S. 1255. or] nor G. S. and P. 1256. loue] *om.* P. þat] sith S. for Pr. was] is S. 1257. As] And Pr. more in] in more L. P. G. in] *om.* T. F. B. deinte] deute W. W2. w. dente b. 1258. bouzt] Ibought P. aboght F. B. G. S. 1259. þat] *om.* Pr. more in] in more L. 1260. When it] þat longe S. it] *om.* B. it is Pr. tofore] be fore P. b. peyne wo] wo peyne G. &] *om.* G. 1261. 1st was] is S. than b. first—was] when hit is first S. souzt] boght B. thought L. 1262. And] þfor S. 1263. he] it Pr. (it it W2.) 1264. And] Right S. sote and] sett P. 1265. Shal loue be] Loue shalbe b. loue] *om.* P. do] *om.* b. do 3ou plein] playnly you L. plein] pleyndly S. (L.) Pr. assure] ensure L. sure S. 1266. þat] if b. þat 3e] as he P. were] be b. 1267. So low so] Both lowe and b. pacientli] placently S. 1268. That] Than b. nov] *om.* P. nov do] do now Pr. 1269. 3our] you W2. bynd] bende G. fynde S. 1270. but] saf P. shal þe knot] the knot shal G. S. þe] your P. knot] þnot *with* the þ scratched through T. 1271. *In the margin of F: Conclusio verborum Veneris.* 1272. Comeþ] Come ye Pr. off] *om.* T. L. Pr. haue] yow P.

And first, my dougter, þat bene of bounte* well,		gracious to him, my daughter:
In hert and þouȝt be glad, and wele apaied,		
To done him grace þat haþ, & shal, obeid	1275	
ȝour lustes euer, and I wole for his sake		I will stand surely for him.
Of troupe to ȝow be bounde and vndertake.'	1277	

108.

And *so forþewith, in presence as þei stonde	1278	Then this lady took her servant by the hand,
Tofore þe goddes, þis ladi faire & wele		
Hir humble seruauzt *toke goodli bi þe honde,		
As he toforme here mekeli did knele,		
And kissed him after, fu[i]fylling eueredele	1282	and kissed him,
Fro point to point in ful *þrifti *wise,		
*As ȝe toforme haue Venus herd deuyse.	1284	as Venus had devised.

109.

Thus is þis man to ioy and al plesauuce,	1285	Thus has this man found joy after pain:
From heynnes & from his peynes old,		
Ful reconsiled, and haþ ful suffisaunce		
Of hir þat euer ment[e] wel, & would :		
*That in goode faith, *and I tell[e] shuld	1289	thus are their hearts filled with inward mirth,
The inward myrþe dide hir hertis brace,		
*For al my life it were to lit a space.	1291	

110.

For he haþe wonne hir þat he loueþ best,	1292	
And she to grace haþe take him of *pite ;		
And þus her hertis beþe boþe set in rest,		and set at rest ;
Wiþ-outen change or mutabilite,		
And Venus haþ, of hir benygnete,	1296	for Venus has bound them in one for ever.
Confermed all—what [shal] I lenger tarie?—		
This tweyn in ooñ, and neuere forto varie :	1298	

1273. bene] is S. ar Pr. bounte] beute G. well] wele T. the welle P.
1274. hert] herte G. wele] om. P. 1275. haþ & shal] shal and hath P. Pr. &
shal] so longe S. 1277. be bounde and] by bounde I S. 1278. so forþewith
in] soforþe within T. so forth within L. C. W. W2. w. so forth in b. stonde]
dyl stonde b. 1279. Tofore] He fore S. Before P. b. ladi] om. C. W. W2. w.
1280. toke] eke T. take F. 1281. toforme] before b. mekeli] om. P. knele]
þer kneele S. 1282. fuffylling T. eueredele] om. B. 1283. þrifti] tristi T.
tristy L. P. wise] vise T. 1284. As] And T. toforme] before b. haue] hade
L. had W. W2. w. haue Venus] Venus haue C. S. 1286. 2^d from] om. S.
1287. haþ] om. S. 1289. That] And T. and] þow T. if b. 1290. myrþe]
merthis G. mirthes C. myrthes L. W. W2. w. myrtes b. loye S. dide] that
dede G. S. P. b. hertis] hert L. 1291. For] Forþe T. F. B. In P. life] lyf
to telle Pr. lit a] lytel F. B. P. Pr. 1292. loueþ] loued L. 1293. of] to T.
1294. beþe boþe] bothe ben G. in] at B. L. G. S. 1297. shall] om. T. shulde
G. S. 1298. forto] to Pr.

111.

Therefore, laud and honour were given unto Venus and Cupid,	That for þe Ioy in þe temple aboute Of þis accord, bi gret solempnyte, Was laude and honoure <i>with-in</i> and <i>with-oute</i> ʒeue vnto Venus, and to þe deite	1299
the Muses magnifying the goddess with their song.	Of god Cupide, so þat Caliope And al hir sustren in hir armonye *Gunne <i>with</i> her song þe goddes magnyfie.	1303 1305

112.

All did her reuerence :	And al at ones, <i>with</i> notes loude & sharpe, Thei did her honour & her reuerence, And Orpheus among hem <i>with</i> his harp Gan strengis touch <i>with</i> his diligence,	1306
Orpheus touched his harp, and Amphion did his best to please her.	And Amphion, þat haþe suche excellence Of musike, ay dide his bisynes To please and queme Venus þe goddes,	1310 1312

113.

The lovers all prayed Venus that the love of these two might ever endure and increase.	Oonli for cause of þe affinite Betwix þese twoo not likli to desseuere ; And euere louer of louz & heiȝ degre Gan Venus pray, fro þens forþ & euer That hool of hem þe loue may <i>perseuere</i> , Wip-oute[n] ende, in suche plite as þei gonme, And more encrease þat it of hard was womme.	1313 1317 1319
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114.

So the god- dess made a solemn promise,	And so þe goddes, hering þis request, As she þat knew þe elene entencioun Of hope hem tweyne, haþ made a ful bihest, Perpetuelli, by confirmacioun,	1320
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1299. for þe] for b. in] wyth in P. aboute] aboute w. 1301. honoure] *om.*
P. preysing S. *with-oute*] eke wyth out P. 1302. ʒeue] loye S. vnto] to
Pr. to] vnto L. 1305. Gunne] Can S. Some T. L. F. P. Soon C. Swete W.
W2. w. Gunne *with* her] With theyr swete b. her] *om.* L. C. song] songes
Pr. magnyfie] to magnyfy S. W. W2. w. did magnyfy C. 1307. 1st her]
om. S. 2^d her] *om.* w. b. 1308. Orpheus] or Phebus F.—amonges S. L.
his] hir P. 1309. his] besy G. S. 1311. Of] In S. ay dide] dede ay ek G.
1312. and queme] and quene W2. the quene w. b. queme] quen P. þe] and
w. and b. 1313. for cause] bycause b. of] or P. þe] þis S. 1314. Betwix]
Betwene b. Be tweste G. twoo] tweyne G. S. likli] lusty C. W. W2. w.
1315. louz & heiȝ] heigh and low P. b. 1316. Gan] Guzue G. pray] to pray
L. 1317. hool—loue] ho the loue of hem G. loue] lyf S. 1318. in] wyt G.
plite] wyse Pr. 1319. And] In S. 1320. so] *om.* Pr. þus S. 1322. haþ
made a ful] made a Pr.

Whiles þat þei lyue, of oon alleccioun 1324 that their
Thei shal endure— þer is no more to sein— affection
þat neiþer shal haue mater to compleyne. 1326 should last
perpetually.

115.

‘ So ferforþ euer in oure eternal se 1327 ‘Thus have
The goddes haue, in *her presscience, the gods
Fulli denysed þuru3 hir deite, devised and
And holi concludid bi hir influence, concluded
That þuru3 hir myzt and iust[e] *providence 1331 (that their
The loue of hem, bi grace and eke fortune, love shall
Wip-oute chaungē shal euer in oon *contune.’ 1333 continue for
euer.)

116.

Of which[e] grant, þe tempil environ, 1334 And then, in
þuru3 heiz confort of hem þat were present, the temple,
Anone was gon[n]e with a melodius sowne, a ballad with
In name of þo þat trouþ in loue ment, melodius
A ballade nwe in ful goode entent, 1338 sound
Tofore þe goddes with notes loude & clere, was sung
Singyng riȝt þus anon as 3e shal here : 1340 before the
goddess :

117.

‘ Fairest of sterres, þat, wip 3oure persant liȝt 1341 ‘Fairest of
And with þe cherisshing of 3oure stremes clere, stars, whose
Causen in loue hertes to ben liȝt, radiant
Oonli þuru3 shynyng of 3oure glade spere : beams lighten
Non laude and pris, o Venus, ladi dere, 1345 hearts in love,
* Be to 3our name, þat haue withoute synne laud and
þis man fortunēd his ladi forto wyzne. 1347 praise be to
you, O Venus.

1324. Whiles] Whyle b. þat] om. P. Pr. lyue] lone B. of] by G. 1325. sein] fayne L. 1327. ferforþ] ferthermore L. euer] euermore Pr. oure] oon S. 1328. her presscience] oure presence T. P. F. B. L. Pr. hir heghe preseynce S. 1329. þuru3] in G. 1330 and 1331 transposed in P. 1330. holi] hol G. hoole S.—conclude b. hir] fynal G. S. 1331. þuru3] by Pr. myzt] witt S. myth G. providence] prudence all except G. S. 1332. hem] hym p. eke] by S. 1333. euer in oon] euermore S. Pr. contune] tyme T. P. F. (corrected later to tyme, by Stowe?). suvn B. 1336. gonne] gone T. p. goon W. W2. w. begun C. begon b. sowne] song P. 1337. In] Au W2. w. In—þo] Namely of hem G. Namely of þoo S. þo] those b. 1338. in] with G. in—entent] with good avysement S. 1339. Tofore] Before S. b. with] of S. notes] note P. 1340. riȝt] om. F. þus] this C. W. p. W2. w. anon—shall] as ye shal aftter S. 1341. þat] om. B. 3oure] oor p. 1342. with] om. P. cherisshing] clerisshyng P. feyrnesse S. 3oure] youres L. stremes] beames b. 1343. in] to L. 1344. þuru3] by Pr. 1345. pris] preyse P. L. B. G. b. Venus ladi] lady Venus S. w. b. 1346. Be] We T. P. flor S. 1347. forto] made to F.

118.

Bright Hesperus,	Willi planet, O Esperus so bryzt,	1348
	þat woful hertes can appese and *stere,	
helper of all lovers,	And euer ar redi þuru3 3our grace & my3t To help al þo, þat bie loue so dere, And haue power hertis to set on fire :	1352
honour be to you from all present.	Honor to 3ow of all þat bene here-inne, That haue þis man his ladi made to wyne.	1354

119.

Mighty god- dess, day-star after night,	O my3ti goddes, daister after nyzt, Glading þe morov whan 3e done appere, To voide derknes þuru3 fressshnes of 3our sizt, Oonli with twinkeling of 3oure plesauzt there :	1355
we lovers all thank you for your favour to these two.	To 3ov we þank, louers þat ben here, That 3e þis man—and neuer forto twyn— Fortuned haue his ladi forto wyne.	1359 1361
With this heavenly melody in the temple	And with þe noise and heuenli melodie *Which þat þei made in her armonye þuru3 oute þe temple, for þis manes sake,	1364
I awoke,	Oute of my slepe anone I did awake, And for astonied knwe as þo no rede ; For sodein chaunge oppressid so with drede Me þouzt I was cast as in a traunce :	1368
and at losing sight of this lady :	So clene away was þo my remembraunce Of al my drede, wher-of gret þouzt & wo I hade in hert, & nyst what was to do, For heuynes þat I hade lost þe sizt	1372

1348. Willi] Worthy b. so] lady S. 1349. can] canst b. stere] sterre T. 1350. ar] be S. þuru3] by Pr. 1351. þo] those b. 1352. power—set] pore hertis so oft] sette S. hertis to set] to sette hertis L. on fire] affere G. a fere L. 1353. of] om. S. 1354 reads in S: þat þis man haue / fortunied his lady wyne. þis—to] made this man his lady P. 1355. O] And S. daister] day stery P. 1356. 3e done appere] the sunne apperyth G. S. 1357. þuru3] by Pr. sizt] light G. S. w. b. 1358. with] of P.—twinkyng C. of—there] as þat hit clereþe S. plesauzt] persauzt G. 1359 reads in S: Nowe we you thanken / þat yow seeþe or hereþe. To 3ov] Now alle G. 1361. Fortunied] Fortune C. Heading before 1362 in b: The author. 1362. And] Right S. melodie] maladye S. 1363. Which] With T. With L. C. W. p. W2. w. om. b. 1364. oute] om. L. 1365. Oute] Forthe b. 1366. And] As P. for] fer L. sore S. b. as þo] I than L. þo] than b. 1367. so] or S. om. L. Pr. 1368. Me þouzt I] My thought W. p. W2. w. I] om. L. was cast as] lay liggyng G. was ay ligging S. cast as] casted P. as] om. Pr. 1369. þo] than b. 1370. gret] frete W2. w. frette b. 1371. hert] my hert L. was] om. G. S. 1372. þat] for that C. W. p. W2. om. S. lost] elost S.

Of hir þat I, all þe long[^e] nyȝt,		for never had I seen so fair a one before.
Had dremed of in myn auisioun :		
Whereof I made gret lamentacioun,		
Bicause I had neuer in my life aforme	1376	
Sei[^u] none so faire, fro time þat I was borne ;		
For loue of whome, so as I can endite,		For love of her I purpose here to write
I purpose here to maken & to write		
A litil tretise, and a processe make	1380	a little 'pro- cess' in praise of women,
In pris of women, oonli for hir sake,		
Hem to comende, as it is skil & riȝt,		
For here goodnes, with al my ful[^{le}] myȝt—		
Prayeng to hir þat is so bounteu[^u]s,	1384	praying her to accept this tretise,
So ful of vertue and so gracious,		
Of womanhed & merciful pite		
This simpl tretis forto take in gre,		
Til I haue leiser, vnto hir heiȝ renoun	1388	until I can fully expound my vision.
Forto expoune my forseid visioun,		
And tel in plein þe significaunce,		
So as it cometh to my remembraunce,		
So þat her-after my ladi may it loke.	1392	
Nou go þi wai, þou litel rude boke,		Now go thy way, thou little book,
To hir presence, as I þe comaund,		
And first of al þou me recomavnd		and recom- mend me unto my lady.
Vnto hir & to hir excellence,	1396	
And prai to hir þat it be noon offence,		
If eny woorde in þe be myssaide,		And if aught be missaid,
Biseching hir she be not eucl apaied ;		
For as hir list, I wil þe efte correcte,	1400	I will correct it.
When þat hir likeþ againward þe directe :		
I mene þat benygne & goodli of [#] face.		Now put thee in her grace.
Nou go þi way & put þe in hir grace.	1403	

1373. þere in the margin, marked by a caret to be put before al S. 1375 omitted in F. 1376. in] om. S. aforme] before Pr. 1377. fro] syn the G. sith S. fro time þat] sith that C. W. W2. w. b. syth p. 1378. as] om. p. 1379. to write] wryte P. W. W2. w. b. wryte p. 1380-1403 are missing in G. S. In their stead there is a long addition, the 'Compleynt,' in both these MSS. 1380. 2^d a] om. Pr. 1381. pris] preye P. praise b. women] woman P. F. 1383. goodnes] goddes P. fulle] om. Pr. 1385 omitted in F. B. 1386. Of] O L. 1389. Forto] for P. 1390. þe] om. F. 1391. So] om. Pr. to] vn to F. B. L. 1396. to] om. F. 1397. And] I F. þat] om. Pr. 1398. in þe be] be in the P. be] om. L. 1399. end] wille P. apaied] payd b. 1400. hir] she P. efte] oft P. 1402. þat] the F. face] hir face T. P. B. F. L. —For the colophons in the MSS. and Prints, see the Introduction.

APPENDIX I.

Complaynt.

[THIS ditty (595) or little book (622), given in MSS. G and S as a continuation of the Temple of Glass, was written by a lover to express his feelings, when he took leave of his mistress Margaret (the day's eye, 395), on the last day of March. In her presence, he cannot speak; she will not help him, or bid him do aught for her, tho' she sees his sorrow and love for her. On this March 31, the Sun rejoices because he'll spend the night with Diana; but the Poet has left his love. He reproaches March for its changes, and describes the charms of his Mistress. He appeals to Fortune to let his Margaret, the day's eye, whose beauty he praises, give him her grace and love in April, for he is hers only, till death; she is his joy, his heart's rest, but alas also the cause of his woe. For her, he is in a fever, first hot, then cold; he ever burns like the lamp of Albiston in Venus' shrine. Never had he felt such pain till this last of March, when he parted from his Love. So he writes her this Ditty to tell her his woe. He prays her to look at his little book; to tear it, if she will, with her soft hands: but rather look on it with her goodly face, and take heed of him, who is hers for ever.]

Allas for thought & inward *peyne,	1	Lych as asshis dede, pale of hewe.	
That myn herte so constreyne,		So myn constreynt doth renewe,	28
With-oute reste day be day,		And euere eneresith more & more;	
Enere sythe I wente a-way	4	At myn herte it sit so sore,	
Out of 3oure syght, myn lady dere,		Whan that I haue in remembraunce,	
That there is no thyng that may stere		Myn owene souereyn remiffysance,	32
Myne dolful harmys nor myn wo,		How I of 3ow myn leue tok,	
That ben so fer on me go,	8	And in euery membre quok;	
With-oute remedy or bote,		For verry wo & dystresse	
Euyn onto myn herte rote,		Ne myghte [I] not a word expresse	
That wel I fele by myn smert		Of al myn wo, allas the whyle!	37
That I from deth may not astert;	12	For al myn olde peyntede style	
And trewely that is lytyl woundyr,		Was cleue a-gon & out of mynde:	
Sythe that we are so fer asundy,		For I ne coude a word not fynde	40
Myn luys lust, myn hertys quene,		To speke to 3ow, I was so dul;	
So fayr, so good vp-on to sene,	16	Fortune hath 3oue me swich a pul	
That by myn trouthe, wher so I be,		In 3oure serayse, that al is gon,	
I fare, whan I may 3ow nat se,		And mynne wittys, euery-chon,	44
As doth the fyseh vp-on the stronde,		Bothe tonge, speche & euery del,	
Out of the watyr brought to londe,	20	Thow I recorde nenere so wel,	
That spraulynge deyeth for dystresse:		Whan I am come to 3oure presence,	
Ryght so fare I for heynesse,		Farwel, speche & eloquence;	48
Whan I of 3ow haue lost the syght.		A tunge I haue, but wordys none,	
More drexy than the derke nyght	24	But stonde mut as *any stone.	
For wantynge of the sterrys clere,		I fele smert, & can not pleyue,	51
Ryght so forderkyd is myn cheere,		So *hoot myn feuere in euery *veyne,	

Title: Complaynt S. La compleyn G. 1. peyne] pyne G. 6. 2^d that] which S. 7. dolful] woful S. harmys] harome S. nor] and S. 11. smert] hert S. 12. *reals in S.*: [pat nit to depe wol me smert. 14. are] been S. 18. whan I may] if [pat I S. 21. That] With S. deyeth] depe S. 27. as asshis] Ashen S. 30. At] To S. it sit] hit smytcpe S. 33. leue] love S. 36. I] om. G. 37. wo] sorowe S. 40. not] om. S. 44. mynne] my S. 48. Farwel] flor wills S. &] or S. 50. any] a G. 52. hoot] halt G. hoot myn feuere] au I hoot S. veyne] weyne G.

The wheche I haue so longe enduryd, Wondyt but myn wounde is curyd ; And 3ee, that myghte ben myn leche, Hau me for-nome tunge & speche, 56 Wit, & mynde, & al myn thought, So that <i>with</i> me is left *ryght nou[<i>g</i>]ht, But good wil only 3ow to serue, <i>With</i> -oute chaung, tyl that I sterue. God wot, I haue no more rychesse, 61 Ioye, merthe, nor gladnesse, But fully theron for to thynke, Wher so that I *wake or wynke, 64 For to a-swage myn inward smert. For wel 3e wetyn that myn hert <i>With</i> 3ow onbit & nat remeyt[<i>h</i>], And aftyr mercy euemor seuyth 68 In 3ow to fynde pete or grace, Sum reuthe ek in 3oure goodly face. And *er I deye for treuthe & drede, Ay thynkyng on 3oure womanhede, On 3oure beute & semelynesse, 73 Recordyng ay in myn distresse 3oure schap, 3oure forme, & 3oure glad chere, Thow 3e ben there, & I am here, 76 Allas ! <i>thourgh</i> crewel auenture, 3oure schap, 3oure forme, & 3oure fygure Amyd myn herte depeyntyd be : By god, thow I may 3ou nat se, 80 The prent is there so depe I-graue ; And euemor schal so god me saue, I 3ow ensure, by myn trouthe, Thow that 3e neuere haue on me routhe, Ne neuere ne wele me do mercy, 85 3yt schal I seruyn, tyl I dey, By god, on-to 3oure womanhede,	How euere it falle, that I spede ; 88 Of whyche 3yf 3e han dysdeyn, It *wolde double al myn peyn, And castyn me in swich seknesse, That I ne schulde, in sothfastnesse, To helthe neuere a-geyn reure, 93 But euere in maledy endure Vnto myn laste—thys is the trouthe— For that 3e leste to haue no routhe 96 Vp-on 3oure seruauit & 3oure man, In al that euere I may or can. And of on thyng, soth for to seyne, I haue gret mater to compleyne, 100 That 3e ne wolde, of al the tyme, Nothyr at eue ne at pryne, Comaunde me to do ryght nought, Wherof I haue so meeche thought, 104 And ay castyng in myn fantasye, How 3e, for ought I can espye, Of myn servise have no deyste, 107 And seye : “allas what may this be !” Astonyd so in al myn blod, That I to symple—& 3e to good— For 3oure worthy excellence, 111 That myn kendenesse yow doth offence, Sythe 3e [ne] wele In word ne thought 3owere seruant bidde do ryght nought. What haue I gilt, allas, allas ! Othyr offendyt, in ony eas, 116 3oure womanhed* or 3oure heyghnesse, Ageyn 3oure trouthe & gentillesse. I-wis I se non othyr cause, To telle shortly in a clause, 120 But only this that myn symplesse Vnworthy is, to 3oure heighnesse To do servise agreable. Allas, allas, I am vnable 124
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53. wheche] whiche seeknesse S. so longe enduryd] longe dured S. 54. Wondyt] No wonder S. but] þat S. wounde] hert S. 55. ben] best be S. 56. me for-nome] reiff frome hope S. 57. 1st &] om. S. 58. ryght] ryth G. 62. nor] ne S. 64. Wher] Wheper S. wake] slepe G. 67. abydeþe S.—remeweþe S. 68. suweþe S. 70. ek] ye haue S. goodly] om. S. 71. er] whan that G. treuthe &] thought er S. 73. beute] bountee S. 75. glad] om. S. 77. crewel] yuell S. 78. 3oure—forme] Yit ay your shappe S. 80. 3ou nat] not you S. 81. depe] sore S. 82. euemor] euer S. 85. 2^d ne] om. S. me do] do me S. 86. seruyn] serue you S. 87. on-to] and to S. 89. 3yf] if þat S. 90. wolde] wele G. 93. To] Myn S. neuere a-geyn] ageyne neuer S. 96. 3e] you S. 98. I] he S. 99. of] om. S. 102. even S. 103. do] om. S. 105. in] om. S. 110. I] om. S. 2^d to] so S. 112. kendenesse yow doth] lewdenesse doþe yow S. 113. 1st ne] om. G. 116. Othyr] Or you S. 117. or] othyr G. 118. Ageyn S. &] or S.

Of cunnynge—& non-suffysaunce—	Wherefore on me havith <i>sum</i> routhe,
To 3ow, myn lady, to don plesaunce,	And thynkyth, sythe I am 3oure man,
And 3e ne wolde of crewelte	To serve as lowly as I can, 108
Onys [list] to comaunde me. 128	I can not demyn how that 3e
And 3it this vow to god I make,	Of myn servise havyn deynthe,
How euere it be, that 3e it take,	But 3e lyste bidde me a-mong
To good or harm in ony wyse,	<i>Sum</i> servise to vndyrfong, 172
Herte, body, & myn servise, 132	That may 3ow turne to plesaunce.
Konnynge, wit, & diligence,	And fetherre hath in remembraunce,
Absent & In 3oure presence,	Whaune I of 3ow tok last myn leve,
To 3ow I 3eve & to no mo,	How sore that it dede me greve 176
Myn hertys quen, myn swete fo. 136	That 3e me 3eve so meche large,
Pleyully it may non othyr be,	From 3ow to gou <i>with-oute</i> charge,
For lak of mercy thow that 3e	The wheeche 3af my herte a wounde,
Me slen & don non othyr grace,	By myn cher as It was founde, 180
Wherso I be, in ony place. 140	Of face bothe pale & dede,
For I am bounde of olde & newe	Heviere than ony lede.
To 3ow a-lone to ben trewe,	I trowe 3e dede it wel espye
And to no mo in al myn lyve, 143	By the castynge of myn eye, 184
Ageyn the whiche I ma[<i>y</i>] nat stryve,	And also by myn pytous lok,
Thow that I wolde, 3e *knowe it wel.	And how that I for sorwe quok,
Wherefore doth awey the stel,	For lak of blod that hym <i>with-drow</i>
I mene the hardnesse of 3oure herte,	Vn-to myn herte thus <i>In</i> a swow : 188
And letyth pete 3ow converte, 148	I hadde almost ful soleynty
To clepe me 3oure owene man,	I-falle there, & cause why
To serve forth, as I be-gan,	Was that I <i>deporte</i> shulde 191
And 3oure servauzt me to calle, 151	From thens where myn herte wolde
And letyth nat swich vengeauns falle,	Fayneste abyde, & euere more shal,
Myn hertys lady, vp-on me—	Wher it is set, not part but al ;
Preyinge of 3oure benygnete,	And I a word ne myghte speke,
3if that 3e lyste myn lyf to save,	Myn hyde sorwe to vureke, 196
And me to kepyn <i>from</i> myn grave, 156	Wherof I was <i>sumdel</i> ashamyd ;
Me to comaunde hastely,	For tho of newe was a-tamyd
Of 3oure womanly mercy,	To me of sorwe the bittyr tonne,
Of newe to don 3ow <i>sum</i> servise	That to myn herte hath I-roune 200
By <i>sum</i> ollys or <i>sum</i> empyse, 160	The sharpe <i>lycour</i> , so fel & egre,
Wherwyth I myghte 3ow deleyte.	More than eyssel or venegre,
The which[<i>er</i>] thyng but 3if 3e wryte,	Whiche dede myn herte sore enbrace,
As I have seyde, to biddyn me,	Whan I be-held 3oure goodly face,
Myn herte shal neuere in ese be, 161	Ful pytously as I forth *yede, 205
I 3ow ensure by myn trouthe.	[Thinking on youre godelyhed ;]

126. myn lady] dere hert S. 127. And 3e ne] If ye S. crewelte] youre emteysye S.
 128. list] om. G. 129. 3it this vow] pat avowe S. 134. In] om. S. 135. 3eve] gaf S.
 142. 2^d to] for to S. 143. in] and S. 144. Ageyns S. 145. knewe G. 148. letyth] let S.
 152. nat] om. S. 155. 3e] you S. myn lyf] me S. Lines 157—176 wanting in S. 177.
 3eve] gaf S. 183. it] om. S. 187. hym] hit S. 190. I-falle] Haue fallen S. 192. wher]
 when S. 193. euere more] euer S. 195. a] on S. 196. hyde] hertis S. vureke] buwrek
 S. 205. yede] rod G. 206 omitted in G.

The body wente, the herte a-bod.*	But cause, I trowe, of his gladnesse,
So pytously <i>with</i> me it stod,	208 And that he was so frosh & gay,
That, as me thoughte, <i>thourw</i> myn	In March vp-on the laste day,
syde	248 Was for that he shulde mete
A swerd of sorwe dede glyde,	<i>With</i> Dy[a]ne in the aryete,
That made me ful roufully	His owene lady & his quene,
To loke thanne, so that I	212 And al the nyght to-gedere bene,
Was lych a verrey ded ymage.	252 Ful merye as by <i>commyxyoun</i> ,
It sene was in myn visage,	And make non departeycoun,*
The sorwe that at myn herte sat,	þe nexst[e] day til hit be Eeve,
Takyng non hed of this ne that,	216 þat þe Moone takeþe hir leve,
256 Save by myn self, at good leyser,	And to þe whyte bulle hir dresse.
A-syde that no man cam me ner,	But I, allas, in hevynesse,
To syghyn & to make mone,	þe same day of Marche þe last,
And pytously *I gan to grone :	220 But fro my lady sithe I past,
260 I felte so gret aduersite,	Of lyf, of dethe al cast in were,
That it wolde non othyr be,	Whas shyning of hir eyen clere
Wher-so me were lef or loth.	And comfort of þe bright[e] lemys,
And <i>with</i> the sunne I was rygh[t]	Of þe sunne bright with his bemys,
wroth	224 Of hir looke so aungellyk,
That he shon so bryghte & shene,	þat in þis worlde is noon hir lyke,
Whil that I felte so gret tene,	Ne noon was, with-owten weene,
And that he shewede hym so bryght,	Heleyne neyper Polixene,
And of hyse bemys glad & lyght,	268 To reken alle hir semlynesse,
228 Whils I was in so gret trouble.	To hir of beaute ner feyrnesse,
Myrthe made myn sorwe double ;	And hir trouthe bope in feere,
For loye & sorwe a-cordyn nought :	þat with my lady may appere,
232 No gladnesse to an hevy thought.	272 For to Alayene my distresse,
No laughtyr to hym that is in peyne.	To recomforten and redresse
For non acord may ben a-tweyne,	My woful lyff to myrthe ageyne :
But they in herte & thought ben on	For þer is noon suche for to seyne
To parte, w[h]ere they ryde or gon,	276 In al þis worlde, oonly but she,
loye & wo, euene a-lyche,	237 That may til myn adu[er]site
Whethyr they be pore or ryche.	Do remedy ne medecyne,
Wherfore It sat me wondyr sore,	Saue she þat may my sorowes fyne,
That Phebus alwey more & moore	240 To seken out est and west,
240 So cler was shynynge In his spere,	I mene you, myn hertis rest,
Whils I so hevy was of chere,	Of whame þis day in ful gret sorowe
Awaytynge, whan it wolde reyne,	I tooke my leve by þe morowe,
244 With me to wepyn & compleyne	284 Ful trist and hevy in weping,
Myn hidde dol & drerynesse.	And wonder sore of compleyning,

After 207 G has the line: And gan to louryn in myn hod. 209. thoughte] semed S. 210. A] þe S. dede] did kerue and S. 212. thanne] vpon S. 213. a verrey] verrey a S. 214. It sene] A seen hit S. in] by S. 218. cam me ner] might me here S. 219. syghyn] cryen S. 220. And pytously] ful hevly S. I] me G. 223. Wher-so] Wher so þat S. 224. ryght] on. S. 229. Whils] Whyte S. 232. No] Ne S. an] hane S. 234. may ben] on. S. a-tweyne] between tweyne S. 235. herte & thought] thought and hert S. 236. To parte] No party S. 249. mete] þanne meete S. 253. *commyxyoun*] *conjuccyoun* S. 255—330 *wanting in G (a leaf being cut out).*

þe which may neuer out of mynde.	Wysdam, maner, and honestee,	325
þus Marche haþe made an hevy cende,	Prudence and femynynytee,	
And take his leue ful bitturly,	289 Sykurnesse, and assuraunce,	
That wot no man so wel as I,	Stylle porte, and gouernaunce,	328
Ne is expert, what þis may meene,	Lowlynesse, and al-so dred,	
But I alloone, þat al sustene,	292 Sadnesse ymeynt with goodelyhed,	
With bone so hooete sette a fyre.	Tronthe, feyth, & stedefastnesse :	
His crueltee, and woful Ire,	To alle exsaunple & maystresse	332
Allas þe whyle ! hit wol me sloo,	That lest in vertu for to lere ;	
Departing fro my swete foo,	296 To telle hire port & hire manere ;	
O Marche, I may ful wel warye,	Large in refus & dangerous to take,	
That art to me so contrarye,	*Streyttest of grant, ay redy to forsake,	
Proving ay myn hevynesse,	Ferful euere to don a-mys,	337
As Iudith ful of doublenesse,	300 Ful shamefast & sobre I-wys,	
Wondurful, and ay vustable,	Merour of attemperaunce,	
Right dyuers and varyable :	And rygh[t] demeur of dalyaunee ;	340
Now canst þow Reyne, now shyne,	Of worshepe, honour & mesure	
And so wrongely drawest þe lyne,	304 She is the welle, I þow ensure ;	
And al þy couns dost holde :	Dotous of tunȝis, that ben large ;	
Nowe art þou hoot, now art þou colde,	So hol in vertu is hire *charge,	344
Nowe canst þou loude and fully blowe,	In alle hire dedys vertuous,	
Nowe smooþe and stilly bere þe lowe,	And [to] a coward *despitous,	
Now canst þou snewe, now canst þou	As deth hatynge dyshoneste,	
heyle,	309 In here entent so clene is she.	348
And vs with stormes sore assayle ;	How meche wit she can ek shewe,	
Ful seeld in oon þou doost abyde,	Where as she lest, in wordys fewe !	
Gret cause haue I þe to chyde,	312 There is no lak in no degre,	
þat hast þis day so gret delyte,	But of mercy & pete,	352
As hit wer verray for despyte	To sweche as ben in hyre seruyse.	
Of me, to ben so gladd and feyre,	Thus may I seyn in myn avise,	
Whylest my lyf hongeþe in despeyre	That d[i]eth <i>thourgh</i> hyre crewelte.	
Of parting, al in dole and dred,	317 That leste not on-to me	356
Frome þe floure of wommanhed,	Vnelose hyre lypmys for to speke.	
Whiche haþe my lyff and deepe in	Allas ! she is to sore I-w[r]eke,	
honde,	Sythe that she wele me nat comaunde,	
Boþe in water and in londe,	320 Nor hyre centence countyrmaunde,	
And is þe feyrest and þe best,	In here seruyse ne contune,	361
In whame yche vertue is at rest,	This day of March—allas, Fortune,	
Bounte, youþe, and gentyllesse,	Thyn double whel that can so varye !	
Beaute, glad cheere, and semlynesse,	Thyn stormy cher may I wel warye,	

331. *Here G begins again.* 334. telle] al S. 335. Large—&] Large yiving S. 336. Streyttest] Streystest G. Streyt S. of] to S. ay redy] fayne S. 339. attemperaunce] attemperaltee S. 344. charge] corage G. 346. to] om. G. to a coward] a coward to S. despitous] amerous G. 347. As deth] Euer S. 349. How] om. S. ek] and hit S. 350. she] hir S. 354. myn avise] many wyse S. 355. That d[i]eth] She doþe me S. 356. That] flor she ne S. 358. I-wreke] I weke G. awreke S. 359. wele me nat] nyl me S. 361. ne contune] contynuaunce S. 362. This] þat S. allas Fortune] desfortunaunce S. 363. Thyn] In S. whel] wille S. 364. *reads in S:* Ellas my hert is ful soye.

That whylom is so glad & lyght, 365	That may a-lone to myn langour
Now derk as is the donne nyght;	Don remede, to myn socour, 400
Now fayr & frosch & pleyn of face,	And lyssyn al myn langvissyng,
Now frounynd & devoyd of grace;	Of whyche I am so compleynyng,
Now lau[g]hyng, & rygh[t] merye of	From day to day, <i>with-oute socour,</i>
cheere, 369	For lakkyng of this frosche flour, 404
Now dedly pale & nothyng cleere;	That hath in curys so gret fame,
Now bryghtere than the clere sonne,	And 'petyt confort' beryth the name.
Now blak as ben the skyis donne; 372	For it can sonde & hele a-geyn
Now as the rose, frosch & newe,	Hertys woundit, that fele peyn, 408
Now as the netyl row of hewe;	Whos crowne is bothe whit & red,
Now canst thow sette men aloft,	The stalke euere grene & nevere ded,
And now hem ploñchyn ful vnsoft,	In medewe, valeyis, hillys & clyf,
Down from hegh felycyte, 377	The whiche flour pleyntly zif 412
Swich is thyn mutabylyte.	I myghte at leyser onys se,
Now canst thow smyle & make a mowe,	And a-byde at lyberte,
Whan men arn wel from the I-throwe:	Where as it doth so fayre sprede
Thus may I seyn, alas, alas! 381	A-geyn the sunne in euery mede, 416
That causeles, for no trespas,	On bankys by a-mong the bromys,
Hast mad myn lady most souereyn	Wher as these lytylle herdegromys
Myn symple seruyse to dysdeyn. 384	Floutyn al the longe day,
Alas, therby I wot ryght wel,	Bothe in aprylle & in may, 420
But thow turne a-geyn thyn whel,	In here smale recorderys,
To make me a-zen purchase	In floutys & in rede sperys,
Merye of hyre & getyn grace, 388	Aboute this flour, til it be nyght;
Ther is non othyr remedye,	It makyth hem so glad & lyght, 424
But shortly this that I mot deye.	The grete bente to be-holde
Now merye, Fortune, & haue pyte	Of this flour & sone onfolde
On myn grete aduersyte, 392	Hyre goodly fayre white levis,
And on myn woful maladye.	Swettere than in 3ynge grevis 428
And graunt[e] that the day[e]sye,	Is cheuyrfoyl or hawethorn,
The wheche is callyd margaret,	Whan plente <i>with</i> hire fulle horn
So fayr, so goodly & so meke 396	Hyre sote baume doth out-shede
Of flour, of stalk, of crop & rote,	On hony-souklys in the mede, 432
So frosch, so benygne & so sote,	Fletynge ful of sugre newe;

365. is] was S. 366. derk] in derknesse S. is the donne nyght] at midnight S. 367. fayr & frosch &] ful of flesshe nowe S. 368. devoyd] al voyde S. 369. ryght] *om.* S. of] *om.* S. 373. & newe] of huwe S. 374. of hewe] and nuwe S. 375. canst—men] sette in hope an hye S. 376. And] *om.* S. hem ploñchyn] plungen me depe S. 377. from hegh] for frome S. 378. reads in S: Curtesye þer wanteþe as semeþe me. 380. reads in S: And when I not me overthrowe S. 386. turne] tarye S. 390. this that I mot] þat I may now S. 392. On] Of S. 393. ou] of S. 395. callyd] cleped S. 396. & so meke] I yon byhete S. 397. flour of stalk of] folke þe flour þe S. 399. a-lone] anon S. 400. to myn] and cke S. 401. al] also S. langvissyng] langouryng S. 409. is] is ay S. 410. euere] ay S. 411. valeyis—clyf] in gardin in hil and dale S. 412. reads in S: Which is fresshe and neuer pale. 413. in S: If I might it at leyser se. 414. at] with S. 416. A-geyn] Ageyns S. euery] þe S. 417. a-mong] amonges S. 418. as] on S. these lytylle] pleyen þes S. 419. Floutyn] flooutyng S. 420. Bothe in] So fresshe S. 422. reads in S: In pypes made of erne spyres. 426. sone] sen S. 428. in 3ynge grevis] any rouhge grevys S. 429. Is] Or S. 431. sote] owen S. 432. On] To S.

Yit is ther non so frosh of hewe,	To ben <i>zoure</i> man in every thyng,
Nor half so fayr vn-to myn ye,	<i>With-oute</i> chaung or departing, 472
As is the lusty dayesye,	And <i>ouer</i> this, ay newe & newe
Whos frosche beute nygh me sleth.	Vn-to <i>zoure</i> man, that is so trewe,
For in hyre mercy [is] lyf & deth,	How dere of hym that it be bought,
loye, helthe & euerydele,	Evene as it ly[e]th in *your thought,
That in short tyme, but I fel	<i>With-oute</i> feynynge or feyntyse, 477
Sum grace in this goodly flour,	To bidde & charge in every wise,
I mot be ded of this langour.	To don in loye, *or in disese
*Yit god me sende this <i>Aperylle</i>	Every thyng, that may ben ese 480
In syght therof to han myn fille,	Vn-to <i>zow</i> , myn lady dere.
More than I hadde in march now late,	And letyth outwar[d] more appere
Whan I tok leue now at the gate	<i>zoure</i> inward hidde seerensse,
Of this goodly day[e]sye,	So that <i>zoure</i> tunge more expresse 484
<i>With</i> *sighing inward pryvylye,	Your hertys wil & pryuite
I mene myn souereyn hertis rest,	Pleyndy, myn lady, onto me,
For whom myn herte wele to-brest,	That am <i>zoure</i> owene man I-swore,
But she the rathere mercy shewe,	<i>With</i> herte & mouth & wil, wherfore
And Fortune ek, in wordys fewe,	<i>ze</i> shulde nat so straunge be, 489
Do here besynesse & cure,	Sythe wel <i>ze</i> wete, how that <i>ze</i>
To helpe to myn auenture.	Of herte, body, good & al,
Now help, Fortune, & have pete!	And every thyng In specyal, 492
And help, myn owene lady fre,	In veray trewe sothfastnesse
For whom this pitous wo I make,	Ben sonereyn lady & maystresse,
Sythe it is only for <i>zoure</i> sake,	Myn wor[ld]ely goddessse, & also 495
And for non othyr, by myn trouthe!	Myn loye, myn helthe & ek myn wo,
Now mercy, swete, & hauyth sum	Myn fulle trust & myn grevaunce,
routhe!	Myn seknesse, & myn hol plesaunce,
That I may only at the leste	Myn myrthe & ek myn maledye,
To <i>zow</i> fulfyllyn myn beheste,	Myn langour & ek myn remedye, 500
And myn *avow & oth also,	Myn hertys rest & <i>pertrublaunce</i> ,
To servyn <i>zow</i> in wele & wo,	Myn syghynge & myn suffysaunce,
Whil that I leue, & not departe,	Myn confort & contrycyoun,
Tyl dethis darte myn herte parte—	Myn dol, *myn consolacyoun, 504
That I to myn reconfortynge	Myn laughynge & myn wepyng ek,
May han this charg be <i>zoure</i> bedynge,	And cause whi that I am sek,
And by <i>zoure</i> comanndement,	Myn though[t] a day, myn wach a
<i>With</i> al myn fulle beste entent	nyght, 507

435. Nor] Ne S. fayr vn-to] fresshe to S. 438. For—is] In hir is mercy S. is] *om.* G. 439. helthe] boofe S. 442. mot] most S. 443. Yit] That G. this] in pis S. 444. fille] will S. 446. now] *om.* S. 447. Of] Al of S. 448. sighing] seyinge G. 450. herte] lyve S. to-brest] brek and brest S. 453. Do] Dofe S. 458. *zoure*] hir S. 460. hauyth] *om.* S. 463. avow] awow G. oth] oþer S. 466 reads in S: Til depe smyte me with his darte. 468. bedynge] bidding S. 473. *ouer* this ay] every þus hope S. 474 reads in S: My thought is sett hit nyl remwe. 476. lyeth] is S. your] myn G. 477. fyntyse S. 478. ewery] any S. 479. or] oþyr G. disese] destresse S. 480. ben] hym S. 488. wherfore] þerfore S. 489. shulde] shul S. 490. wete] wot S. 493. sothfastnesse] stidfastnesse S. 494. Ben] My S. 496. helthe] welthe S. 498. seknesse] sikurnesse S. myn hol] hole S. 500. ek] *om.* S. 503. confort] desport S. 504. myn] & myn G.

Myn dredful pes. myn glade fyght,	As sterys in the wyntyr nyght,	548
Myn quiete & myn busy werre,	I fynde, in Venus oratorye,	509
Myn pensyfhed bothe nygh & ferre,	In hir worshepe & memorye,	
Myn softe salve, myn sharpe wounde,	Was mad a laumpe of this ston,	
Myn pley, myn penauns most Iocounde,	To breune a-fore here euere in on,	
Myn holsam drem whan that I slepe,	For to queme the goddesse :	553
But whanne I wake, thanne I wepe ;	Ryght so myn lady & maystresse	
Myn hertys loye, where ze gon,	Myn herte, as ze shal vnderstonde,	
And I in langour ly alon,	Herede with Cupidis bronde,	556
Nothyr fully quik nor ded,	That hath—& shal bothe day &	
But al amasid in myn hed,	nyght—	
By-twixe hope & dred apeyrid,	So hot, so clerly & so bryght	
Of myn lyf almost dispeyrid,	Enflaumbid me, in wondyr wyse,	520
*Byconstreynt of myn greete penaunce,	And only brend in zoure servise,	560
And ofte I lay thus in a traunce ;	With-oute smoke of doubilnesse,	
Myn feure is contynuel,	Chaung[e] or newfongylnesse.*	
That me asayeth stoundemel,	Qwytt of al, for wele or woo,	524
Now hattere, than the verray glede,	Satte of loue—per ben no moo	564
And now as cold, with-oute drede,	þat may me lyf or dethe comaunde,	
As frost is in the wyntyr mone ;	Pleyntly þat is no demaunde ;	
And thanne sodeynly & some	And þer-fore, as ye willen hit be,	528
For hete *and cold a-non I deye.	I mot obeye, at al degre.	568
And thus forpossid *be-tween tweye,	And pleyntly þus þe game haþe go,	
Of hasty cold & sodeyn hete	Euer sith I parted yow fro,	
Now I cheuere, & now I swete,	Sipen, allas, I sayde amyssse	532
And now I am with cold I-shake,	Of oure departing last ywysse.	572
And thanne a breunynge doth me take	For sithen I had first a sight	
Of fer, that may nat quenchid be	Of youre peersand eyen bryght,	
With al the watyr in the se.	þe sharp[e] poynt of Remembraunce	536
Myn hete is so violent,	Mad[e] no disseueraunce,	576
Wherwyth myn pitous herte is brent,	þat hit naþe stiked in myn hert	
That may ben likkenyd to a ston,	Contynuelly, of loye or smert,	
Which is I-callyd albiston,	And not departed trawely.	540
That onys whan it hath caught feer,	But witteþe oon thing feythfully :	580
Ther may no man the flaumbe steer,	In al my lyf, sithe I was borne,	
That it wel breune aftyr euere,	As felt I neuer suche peyne aforne,	
And neuere from the fer disseuere,	Of no departing noon suche offence,	
So they acordyn of nature.	As whane I went from youre presence,	545
And for this ston may longe endure.	In Marche nowe þe last[e] day.	585
In fer to breune fayr & bryght.	For euere sithe in suche affray	

508. fyght] sight S. 510. pensyfnesse S. 512. penauns] prudence S. 516. ly] lyve S. 519. By-twixe] Between S. apeyrid] enpeyred S. 520. Of] þat S. almost] is neghe S. 521. By] Myn G. 522. ofte] as S. lay] ley S. 523. is] is so S. 524. asayeth] assaylleþe S. 527. mone] morne S. 528. & some] shyneþe þe sonne S. 529. and] of G. S. 530. be-tween] a twethyn G. 533 reads in S: And jamne with colde ageine I shake. 534. thanne a] after S. 539. to] til S. 540. Which] þar S. I-callyd] clepid S. albiston] Alobastoun S. 541. That onys] þe whiche S. 556. bronde] honde S. 558. bryght] light S. 562. Chaunge] Chaunging S. 563 to end missing in G.

Myn hert haþe been, in sothefastnesse,	I prey you first to maken cler	608
In suche annoye and duresse,	588 With a goode looke, and with no more.	
þat hit haþe brought me right lowe.	And if hit shal be al to-tore,	
And for by-cause ye shal hit knowe,	With-outen mercy, and to-rent,	
My sighing and my woful care,	I prey yowe with my best entent,	612
And euer sith howe I haue fare,	592 þat with youre owen handes soft	
Al be I can not tellen al,	þat ye reende and brek it oft:	
To you I wryte in specyal	For youre touche, I dare wel seyne,	
A certaine dytee, þat I made,	Wel þe lasse shal ben his peyne,	616
And oft[e] syþes a balade,	596 If ye may haue so myche grace,	
þe whiche I made þe selff[e] day,	þat you list with goodely face	
From you when I went away,	þer-on for to loken oones,	
With þis compleynt here byfore,	And to rede hit eftt sones,	620
And syþen howe I haue me here,	600 þer-on wel to beholde,	
Day and night, in youre service,	And þe litel book vnfolde,	
Beseching þat ye not despise	Of þe storrye þat ye take heede;	
þis litell quarell, but doþe grace	I desyre noon oþer mede.	624
For to forgyve þis trespas,	604 And euer of mercy I you prey,	
If my worde amyssse he spoke,	Whedir þat I lyf or deye.	
And or þat ye þer-on be wroke,	þis is al and some, my lady dere,	627
To casten fully in þe fyr,	And I youre man frome yere to yere.	

APPENDIX II.

¶ Duodecim abusiones.

Rex sine sapientia.	Episcopus sine doctrina.	
Dominus sine consilio.	Mulier sine castitate.	
Miles sine probitate.	Iudex sine Iusticia.	3
Dives sine elemosina.	Populus sine lege.	
Senex sine religione.	Servus sine timore.	
Pauper superbus.	Adolescens sine obediencia.	6
Goo forth, kyng, reule the by sapyence ;		7
Bysshop, be able to mynystre doctryne ;		
Lord, to treu counceyle yeue audyence.		
Womanhed, to chastyte euer enelyne ;		
Knyght, lete thy dedes worshyp detemayne.		11
Be righteous, Iuge, in sauynge thy name ;		
Ryche, doo almes, lest thou lese blys with shaine.		13
People, obeye your kyng and the lawe ;		14
Age, be thou ruled by good religyon ;		
True seruaunt, be dredfull & kepe the vnder awe,		
And thou, poure, fye on presunpeyon :		
Inobedyence to yougth is vtter destruceyon.		18
Remembre you how god hath sette you, lo !		
And doo your parte, as ye ar ordeynd to.		20

1. ¶ Rex b.—sapientia w. b.—Episcopus b. 2. Dominus b.—consilio W2. b. consilio w.—casti-tate W2. 3. probitate b.—iustitia b. 5. religiose W2. w. 6. Pauper b.—superbus b.—sine b.—obediencia W2. obediencia w. b. 7. Go w. ¶ Go b.—forthe b.—kyng w.—reull W2. rule w. b. 8. Bysshoppe b.—mynyster w. mynister b.—doctrine w. 9. Lorde w. b.—trewe w. true b.—counsell w. counsayle b.—gyue w. b.—audyence b. 10. Womanhede w. Wowanheed b.—chastite b. 11. lette w. let b. 12. ryghtwyse w. righteous b.—sauynge w. 13. do w. b.—lose b.—blysse w. b. 14. kyng w. 15. relygyon w. religion b. 16. Treu W2. Trewe w.—seruaunt b.—dredful w. dredfull b. 17. poore w. b.—fye on] defye b.—presunpeion b. 18. Inobediencia b.—youth w. b.—distruction b. 19. you] om. b.—howe w. b.—set b.—lo] so b. 20. And] Than b.—do w. b.—part b.—are w. b.—ordeynd W2. w. b.

The Chancer-Prints of 1561 and 1598 (fol. 336*d*, in both), omit *thou* in l. 15, and have *be* for *ar* in l. 20. It would serve no purpose to give their orthographical variations.

NOTES.

LINES 1—3. The author seemingly wishes to represent himself in the light of a lover; at least his wofulness in going to bed and his wallowing to and fro is quite in accordance with Cupid's injunctions in the *Rom. of the R.* 2553—2564. See similar lines in *Parl. of F.* 88, 89, and cp. the 5th Statute in the *Court of Love* (l. 334). See also Ovid, *Amores* 1, 2, 1—4; and note to l. 12 below.

1. thought.] This word is common in the love-poetry of Lydgate's time in the emphatic meaning "heavy thought," "sorrowful meditation," "trouble"; cp. for instance: "take no þouȝt," *T. of Glas* 1174; "þeyne, wo & þouȝt," *ib.* 1260; "gret þouȝt & wo," *ib.* 1370; "thought & inward þeyne," *Compleynt* 1; "sorwe and thought," *Falls of Pr.* 207 c, *Rom. of the R.* 308, 2728, and *Court of L.* 990; "turment and thought," *Frank. Tale* 356; "care and thought," *Troy-Book* Cc₁ c; "thought, þyne, and aduersitee," *Kings Quoir* 175, l. 2. Shakspeare still frequently uses the word in this sense. Compare further:

"And thus to bedde I wente with thought my gest,"

Court of S. a₂ b;

"Devoide of heynesse and thought," *Reason and S.* 271 b;

"For thought and woo þyteously wepyngc," *Troy-Book* T₁ c;

"glad and mery . . . voyde of thought," *Falls of Pr.* 113 b.

constraint.] Occurs again in l. 11 and 667; see also *Compleynt* 28 and 521. Very common in this context; see, for instance, *Falls of Pr.* 9 b; his [Jupiter's] constraint & his mortal distres; *Troil.* II, 776: joye, constreynte, and þeyne; IV, 713: wo and constreynte. Cp. also note to l. 11. The reading *compleynt* in G and S is certainly wrong.

2. pensifhede.] The word occurs also in the *Black Knight* 102; *De duobus Mercatoribus*, MS. Hh. IV, 12, fol. 73 b; *Reason and S.* 237 b; *Compleynt* 510; print w replaces it by the modern *pensyves*.

3. To bed I went.] Similar beginnings of these "dreamers": *Rom. of the R.* 23; *Court of S.* a₂ b (see note to l. 1); *Parl. of F.* 88.

4—7. For the meaning of these lines see the Introduction, p. cxiv.

Titan (see l. 32) and *Phebus* are very common in Lydgate for the sun, *Lucina* for the moon. Cp. for instance, *Troy-Book* K₃ a:

"And Appollo is called eke Titan . . .

And he also yeailed is Phebus."

Life of our Lady, fol. a₆ a:

"she fayrer was to see (*the Virgin*)

Than onther Phebus platly, or Lucyne,

With hornes ful on (*Caxton of*) heuen whan they shyne."

See Koepfel, *Story of Theseus*, p. 73, l. 4.

4. "Lucyna . . . with hir pale lyght" comes also in the *Troy-Book* Dd₁ a; "Lucyna of colour pale and wan," *ib.* fol. A₁ d.

6. decembre.] Cp. *Hours of F.* 63, 111. Chaucer dreamt his wonderful dream of the House of Fame on the 10th of December.

Bradshaw's *Life of Saint Werburgh* also begins "Amyddes Decembre," when "pale Lucyna" illuminates the earth.

8. derk Diane, ihorned.] Cp. "Þe mone pale wiþ hir derke hornes," Boethius, ed. Morris 508.

11. Cp. *Troy-Book* S₆ b and U₅ c :

“For the constreynt of his hydde (dedely U₅ c) wo” ;

Ib. U₂ d : “Denoide of slepe for constreynt of his wo.”

Ib. S₆ a : “Aye on his bedde walowynge to and fro,

For the constreynt of his hydde wo.”

Falls of Pr. 201 a : “for constreint of her wo.” Cp. note to l. 1.

12. waloing.] *i. e.* turning restlessly. The word occurs again, in the same meaning, in the *Leg. of Good W.* 1166 :

Wife of Bath's Tale 229 :

“He walwith, and he tornith to and fro,”

Rom. of the R. 2562 : “And walowe in woo the longe nyght.”

Compare also the quotation in the preceding line, from the *Troy-Book*, fol. S₆ a ; further, the expressions : “walow and wepe,” *Troil.* I, 699 ; “for-wakit and for-walowitz,” *Kingis Quair* 11, 1. Similar expressions referring to the restless state of lovers during the night are :

Rom. of the R. 4132 : “Long wacche on nyghtis, and no slepinge . . .

With many a turnyng to and froo” ;

Troil. II, 63 : “And made ar it was day ful many a wente” ;

Daubar, ed. Laing, I, 68, l. 213 :

“Than ly I walkand for wa, and walteris about.”

Cp. the note to ll. 1—3.

13, 14. Cp. *Troy-Book* Cc₂ b :

“And with theyr songe, or he take kepe,

He shall be brought in a mortall slepe.” (*Ulysses and Sirens.*)

“Take kepe” = take heed, a very common expression ; cp. Chaucer's *Prolog. to the Cant. Tales* 398, 503 ; *Knight's Tale* 531, etc.

Line 14 struck Hill, *De Guileville . . . compared with . . . Bunyan*, p. 35, as being similar to Canto I, 10, of the *Inferno* ; see the Introduction, p. cxliv.

15, 16. Cp. *Hous of F.* 119, 120 :

“But as I sleep, me mette I was

Within a temple y-mad of glas.”

This seems to have suggested the title of our poem. See further Pope's *Temple of Fame*, ll. 132—134 :

“The wall in lustre and effect like glass,

Which o'er each object casting various dies,

Enlarges some, and others magnifies.”

Cp. also *Falls of Pr.* 105 b :

“Whose temple is made of glas & not of steele” (*Fortune's*),

and *The Isle of Ladies*, l. 72. 751.

17. I nyste how.] Cp. *Piers Pl.*, l. 12 :

“That I was in a wilderness, wist I neuer where :”

further *Court of S.* a₃ b :

“Thus brought on slepe my spyryte forth gan passe,

And brought I was, me thought, in a place deserte,

In wyldernes ; but I nyst where I was.”

The expression occurs also in the *Hous of F.*, l. 1049.

18. (as) bi liklynesse.] Cp. *Falls of Pr.* 9 d :

“which, as by likelines,

Was a place pleasant of larges.”

The expression occurs also *Troy-Book* H₃ a ; M₃ c ; P₆ a ; Cc₆ c ; *Assem. of Gods* c₈ b ; *Edmund* I, 464 ; *Pilgrim.* 161 b ; 173 a :

“A womman as by lyklynesse.”

Or may we read “likēnesse,” as the reading of MSS. T. F. B. L. suggests ?

ll. 19—34. Stephen Hawes seems to have had these lines in his memory when he wrote the passage in the *Pastime of Pl.*, quoted on page cxxix.

19. *Hous of F.* 1130 : “A roche of yse, and not of steel” (see Introduction, p. cxxiii).

A curious, indirect mode of expression. Cp. *Falls of Pr.* 93 c:

“This Erebus hath, of yron, not of stone,
For avarice built a foule great citie.”

H. 105 b: “Whose temple is made of glas & not of stele” (*Fortuné's*),
a symbolism which is explained by *Falls of Pr.* 127 b:

“Fortunes favours be made—who loke wele—
Of brotill glasse, rather than of stele.”

Cp. further, *Reason and S.* 278 b:

“And the poyntes of eche hede
Nat of Ireñ, but of lede.”

St. of Theltes 356 b: “In a Cope of blacke, and not of grene.”

roche.] Similarly *Hous of F.* 1115, 1116:

“How I gan to this place aproche
That stood upon so high a roche.”

The Castle of Sapience (*Court of S.* e₂ a) stands also on a “roche”; Nimrod's tower, *Falls of Pr.* 5 b, is

“Like to a mountaine bilt on a craggy roche.”

Many of Hawes's towers or castles stand “on a craggy roche,” so the Tower of Geometry, Chapter XXI; the Tower of Correction, Chapter XXXII, etc.

21, 22. Cp. *Troy-Book* B₁ d:

“fresslie ryuers, of which the water clene
Lyke cristall shone agayne the sonne shene.”

Douglas, ed. Small, l. 50, 14: “Agane the sone like to the glas it schone.”

29. *estres* = “inner parts” of a house. See Skeat, *Leg. of Good W.*, note to l. 1715. The word occurs again in l. 549; *Falls of Pr.* 71 b; *Reason and S.* 280 a, 282 a; *Knights Tale* 1113; *Reveres Tale* 375; *Rom. of the Rose* 1418, 3626, etc.

30—32. Similar expressions in *Life of our Lady* h₁ b:

“I fynde also that the skyes donne,
Whiche of custome curteyne so the nyght,
The same tyme with a sodayn some
Enchaced were that it wexid al light,

As at mydday whan phebus is most bright” (*at the birth of Christ*),
Falls of Pr. 160 d: “Though it so fall, sometime a cloudy skye
Be chased with wynd afore y^e sunne bright.”

skyes donne] very frequent expression; see, for instance, *Falls of Pr.* 193 b; *Allou H.* 1131; *Pilgrim.* 58 b; *Complaynt* 372; *Flour of C.* 115; *Departing of Th. Chaucer*, etc.

33. The *wipia* is somewhat anticipating, as Lydgate first tells us of his entering into the temple in l. 39.

36. Of similar construction to our Temple of Glas is the Palace of Priam in the *Troy-Book*, fol. F₃ a (repeated on fol. R₃ a, and alluded to in the *Court of S.* e₃ b):

“He made it bylde, hye vpon a roche . . .
The syght of whiche, iustly circular
By compase east, round as any sp^r.”

In this case the monk gives us also the exact dimensions, and shows off his knowledge of geometry:

“And who that wold the content of y^e grounde
Truely acounte, of this place rounde,
In the theatre firste he muste entre,
Takyng y^e lyne y^t kerneth thorough the centre,
By gemetrye, as longeth to that art,
And trebled it, with the seuenthe part. . . .”

So our monk had an inkling of the Archimedean value of $\pi = 3\frac{1}{7}$.

37. In *compaswise*.] So again *Falls of Pr.* 151 d:

“In *emupas wise* closed him without.”

We have several times “In *compas rounde*” in Lydgate; for instance; *Allou* l. 358: “in *compas rounde* and large”; *Black Knight* 39: “a parke, enclosed

with a wal In compas rounde." So also in the *Rom. of the R.* 4183: "The tour was rounde maad in compas." Cp. also *Knights Tale* 1031: "Round was the schap, in maner of compas."

hentaile.] *entaile* here seems simply to mean "forme," "shape"; in which meaning it is not uncommon in Lydgate, ep. *Reason and S.* 226 b:

"Of entayle and of fassouna

Lych: the blade of a fawchoun" (*a sword*);

a little lower down Lydgate says that Hercules, Hector, or Achilles

"had no swerd of swich entaylle:"

further, *Falls of Pr.* 63 a: "eraggy roches most hidous of entaile;"

Ib. 174 d: (yron barres) "Brode of entayle, rounde and wonder long;"

Albon I. 256:

"harnesse of plate and maile,

Curiously forged after moost fresshe entaile:"

Albon I. 242: "Ther was one of stature and entaile, (*Amphibolus*)

As ferre as kinde coulde her crafte preuaile:"

Edmund I. 659, speaks of God's "disposicionn most ynknown off entaile:"

Pilgrim. 271 a: "And made hym flyrst off swych entaylle" (*the carpenter his idol*);

Story of Thebes 357 b: (wallis) "Passyng riche, and roiall of entaile."

Cp. also *Rom. of the R.* 3711: "This lady was of good entaile" (*Venus*).

39. wicket.] These "dreamers" usually find access to their Castles and Palaces and Temples through such "wickets"; ep. *House of F.* 477; *Rom. of the R.* 528—530:

"Tyl that I fonde a wiket smalle
So shett, that I ne myght in gon,
And other entre was ther noon."

Compare with this the version in *Reason and S.* 268 b:

"Til he fonde a smale wiket,
The which ageyn[e]s him was shet,
And fonde as thoo noon other weye."

Further, *Pilgrim.* 9 b:

"And ther I sawh a smal wyket
Ioynynge evene vp-on the gate."

See the Introduction, Ch. IX, § 3, p. cxviii.

as fast.] This pleonastic prefix *as* is very common, especially before adverbs: as *faste Troil.* II, 657, 898, 1358; *Chan. Yem. Tale* 94; *Troy Book G.* d: *Reason and S.* 281 a; as swythe *Man of Laure's Tale* 539; *Chan. Yem. Pro.* 383; *Chan. Yem. Tale* 19, 183, 283, 298, 325, 415; *De duob. Merc.*, fol. 60 b; *Reason and S.* 282 b; as blive *Court of L.* 1441; *Fame* 1106; *Troil.* II, 1513; *Troy-Book Y.* c; as here *Doctours Tale* 103; as now *Troil.* III, 584; *Shipm. Tale* 52; *Melibe.* p. 178, etc.

44. depeint] p.p. = depeinted. The line is of type C; the full form *depeinted* would make it of type A. The contracted form of the p.p. occurs again in ll. 89, 137, 275, in the last case rhyming with *meint*. Similarly, *depeynt*: *seynt, Pard. Tale* 488. Cp. also *Isle of Ladies* 712.

45. ful many a faire Image] Cp. *Court of Love* 230.

46, 47. The division of lovers according to their age is carried out at some length in the *Kingis Quair*, stanza 79, etc.; see also the *Court of L.*, and compare *Troy-Book M.* a: "Lyke theyr degrees, as they were of age."

50. billes.] These lovers' "billes," presented to the pitiless loved one or to the Queen of Love herself, when she holds her "high parliament," occur in many poems of Chaucer and his school; cp. again ll. 317, 333, 368 of the *Temple of G.*; further *March. Tale* 693, 708; *Kingis Quair* 82, 6, etc.; *Isle of Ladies*, l. 920, etc.; *Asson. of Ladies*, passim; *Court of Love* 577, 839, 916; *Parl. of Love* 83; *Lancelot of the Laik*, ProL 142; Hawes's *Pastime of Pl.*, Chap. XXIX (ed. Wright, p. 142):

(lovers) "Whiche in the temple did walke to and fro,
And every one his byll did present
Before Venus in her hyghe parliament."

Cp. also Chaucer's *Compl. to Pite* 43 :

"A compleynt hadde I, written, in my hond,
For to have put to Pite as a bille."

53. Venus is often thus represented, see *Hous of F.* 130—133 :

"Hit was of Venus redely,
This temple ; for, in portreiture,
I saw anon-right hir figure
Naked fletinge in a see."

Knights Tale 1097, 1098 :

"The statu of Venus, glorious for to see,
Was naked fletyng in the large see."

Troy-Book K₁ b :

"And she stant naked in a wavy see."

In the *Troy-Book*, sign. G₅ b, this is symbolically interpreted (according to Fulgentius) :

"And therefore Venus fleteth in a see,
To shewe the trouble, and aduersytee
That is in lone, and in hir stormy lawe
Whiche is byset with many sturdy wawe," etc.

Fulgentius (ed. Muncker), p. 72, says : "Hanc etiam in mari natantem pingunt, quod omnis libido rerum patiatnr naufragia."

55—61. Dido was a favourite and often-quoted figure in mediæval times, owing, of course, to the pathetic treatment of her story by Virgil. Compare Chaucer's *Legend of Dido*, and the Prologue to the *Legend* 263 ; *Hous of F.* 140—382 ; *Duchesse* 731—734 ; *Parl. of F.* 289 ; *Rom. de la R.*, ed. Méon, l. 13378, etc. ; Gower, *Confessio*, Book IV (ed. Pauli, II, 4 etc.) ; *Court of L.* 231 ; *Intelligenza* 72, 3 and 4. Lydgate has treated Dido's story in the *Falls of Pr.* II, 13 ; cp. further, for Dido and Aeneas, *Falls of Pr.* 139 d ; *Reason and S.* 261 b ; *Edmund I.* 275 ; *Black Knight* 375 ; *Troy-Book* U₈ b, Bb₅ a ; *Life of our Lady* a₅ b, h a ; *Flour of C.* 211. There was another version of Dido's story current in the Middle Ages, according to which Dido put an end to herself, in order to escape another marriage and remain faithful to her dead husband. See *Falls of Pr.* 51 c and their original, Boccaccio *De Casibus* II, 10 ; see also Kötting's *Petrarca*, p. 505 and 661 ; *Triumphes of Petrarch*, edited for the Roxburghe Club, by Lord Iddlesleigh, Preface, p. vi ; Koeppl, *Falls of Pr.*, p. 93, to whom I am indebted for most of the last-given dates. In our passage, as in *Reason and S.*, Lydgate follows the common version, according to Virgil. Aeneas, as arch-traitor to Troy, plays no very creditable part in the *Troy-Book*, see sign. Y₂ c, Y₃ c and d ; Aa₅ b ; he is also sharply rebuked for his faithlessness to Dido in the *Troy-Book*, Bb₅ a :

"And how that he falsede (Pynson *falschede*) the quene,
I mene Dido, of womanhede floure,
That gaue to hym hir rychesse and treasure . . .
But for all that how he was vnynde—
Rede Eneydos, and there ye shall it fynde ;
And how that he falsely stafe away,
By nyght tyme, whyle she a bedde lay."

57. "And tak thyn aventure or cas." *Hous of F.* 1052.

59. *Troy-Book* D₅ a :

"And how that he was false and eke vnynde
For all his othes . . ." (*Jason*).

60. The words "alas, þat euer she was borne" agree with *Leg. of Dido* 385 :

"That I was born ! alas ! what shal I do !"

and with *Hous of Fame* 315 :

"O, welawey that I was born !"

But, at the same time, the exclamation : "alas, that (ever) I was borne," is in poems of that time so commonly put into the mouth of those in extreme distress that Lydgate need not here have copied from either of these two poems ; see *Knights Tale* 215, 365, 684 ; *Mourne. Tale* 169 ; *Reveres T.* 189 ; *Doctors T.*

215; *Shipm. T.* 118, 119; *Frankel. Tale* 725, 814; *Duchesse* 566, 686, 1301; *Troilus* III, 255, 1024, 1374; V, 690, 700, 1276; *Cleopatra* 79; *Thish* 128; *Cuckoo and Night*, 208; *Isle of Ladies* 1611, 1643; *Black Knight* 484; Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 115. In *Duchesse* 90, *Monk's Tale* 489, and *Legend of Adriane* 302, with slight variation: "Alas . . . that (ever) I was wrought!" Compare also the *Pastime of Pleasure*, Chapter XXXII, where Godfrey Gobelive gives vent to this exclamation, when whipt by Correceioun (ed. Wright, p. 156).

62. The story of Medea and Jason is given at great length in the *Troy-Book*, Book I, Chapter V, VI, VII (the description of Medea, etc., *Troy-Book* B, b, is by no means the least of Lydgate's poetical achievements): again, in the *Falls of Pr.* I, 8, and in the *Confessio Amantis*, Book V (ed. Pauli II, 236 etc.). Jason is sharply lectured by the monk for his inconstancy in the *Troy-Book* D₁ b—D₁ c.—See further mention of Jason or Medea *Black Knight* 372, 373; *Story of Thebes* 371 b; *Flour of C.* 214; *Reason and S.* 261 b; *Lesop* 4, 100; *Legend of Hypsipyle and Medea*, beginning; Prologue to the *Legend* 266; *Squires Tale* II, 202; *Man of Law's Prologue* 74; *Hous of F.* 400, 1271; *Duchesse* 330, 726; *Rom. de la R.* 13432, etc.; *Intelligenza* 73, 3. Medea is mentioned, with Circe, as an enchantress in the *Knights Tale* 1086.

63. falsed = deceived; see *Troilus* III, 735, 757; *Ancilida* 147; *Duchesse* 1234, etc.

64—66. Adoun.] Compare *Falls of Pr.* 32 a; *Black Knight* 386—388; *Knights Tale* 1366; *Troilus* III, 671. Lydgate has also the form Adones, rhyming with peereles (*Falls of Pr.* 32 a), and Adonydes, *Reason and S.* 252 b. The prints corrupt the name into Atheon, which could only mean Acteon; see *Knights Tale* 1445. The Italian form Ateone occurs in Frezzi's *Qualtriccio* I, 4, 137, and Taccone wrote a drama *Atteone* (see *Gaspary* II, 216). The story of Acteon is given by Gower I, 53 and alluded to in the *Black Knight*, ll. 94—98.

67—69. Penelope.] See Gower, Book IV (Pauli II, 6 etc.), and list at the end of the *Confessio* (Pauli III, 363); *Rom. de la R.* 8693. High praise is bestowed on Penelope's faithfulness in *Troy Book* C₂ c and d; see, further, *Triunfo d'Amore* III, 23; *Duchesse* 1081; *Legend*, Prologue, 252; *Ancilida* 82; *Man of Law's Prolog.* 75; *Frankel. Tale* 707; *Troilus* V, 1792; *Intelligenza* 74, s. See also, further on, l. 407; *Flour of C.* 203.

69. pale and grene.] Frequent formula: see *Duchesse* 497, 498; *Ancilida* 353; *Troy-Book* H₂ b: "Now pale and grene she wexyth of hir chere."

70. aldernext.] Similarly alderlast 247. Alder, of course, is O.E. *ælra*, of *all*; Lydgate has even "for our alder ease," *Troy-Book* Y₃ a; "of theyr alder sorowe," *ib.* Y₆ d; in theyr alder syght, *Albon* II, 888.

70—74. Alceste.] On Alcestis, her transformation into a daisy, and the poetical worship of that flower, see Skeat, *Leg. of Good W.*, p. xxii, etc.; *Minor P.*, p. xxv; ten Brink, *Geschichte der engl. Litter.*, II, 115; Morris, *Prologue*, XVIII; H. Morley, *English Writers*, 2d. ed., V, 133. Compare particularly the Prologue to the *Leg. of Good W.*; *Confessio Amantis*, book VII (ed. Pauli III, 149), and list at the end (III, 364); *Court of L.* 105, etc.; Lydgate's *Minor P.*, p. 161 (Halliwell); *Falls of Pr.* 37 b; *Secreta Secretorum* (Ashmole 46), fol. 127 a:

"Whan the Crowne of Alceste whyte and Red,
Aurora passyd, ful flesschly doth appere,
For loye of which with hevenly nootys Clere
The bryddes synge in ther Armonye,
Salwe that seson with sugyd melodye."

See further, *Troilus* V, 1540, 1792; *Frankel. Tale* 706; *Lancelot of the Laik*, Prolog. 57; *Flour of C.* 198; Add. MS. 29729, fol. 157 a; *Complaynt* 394—437; Oeclve, *Letter of Cup d*, stanza 6 from end; *Flower and Leaf* 348. Compare further, note to l. 510. As is well known, the story of Alcestis has often been treated in poetry and music; in modern times by Hans Sachs, Hardy, Quinault, Wieland, Herder, Handel, Gluck, etc.; see G. Ellinger, *Alceste in d'r mod'rnen Litt'atur.* For the mention of Alcestis, and poetical treatments of her story,

in ancient times, see Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 58. In the following words "Ce sujet que la science moderne eroit retrouver dans la vieille littérature de l'Inde," Sandras alludes, I suppose, to the beautiful *Savitryupakhyanam* in the *Mahabharata*.

75, 76. Grisildis.] This is, of course, from the *Clerkes Tale*. The story comes, as is well known, from Boccaccio and Petrarch, has been painted by Pinturicchio, and again treated by Radcliff, Dekker, Chettle and Haughton, Hans Sachs, Lope de Vega, Halm, etc. Compare F. v. Westenholz, *Die Griseldissage*. Griseldis is also mentioned in Lydgate's *Bycorne* 87; *Flour of C.* 199; Add. MS. 29729, fol. 157 a; *Falls of Pr.* A₃a: 60 b; 99 a (where Lydgate mentions Petrarch's treatment), and again in our *Temple of G.* 405. Also in MS. Ashmole 59, fol. 53 a:

"Gresylde whylome sheo hade gret pacyence,
As it was prooved far vp in Ytaylor."

Further, in Feylde's *Controversy* (twice), etc.

77—79. Isolde.] *Confessio*, Book VI (Pauli III, 17). Tristram and La Bele Isolde head Gower's list in Book VIII. See also *Trionfo d'Amore* III, 80, 82; *Parl. of F.* 290; *Hous of F.* 1796; *Leg. of Good W.*, Prologue, 254; *Black Knight* 366; *L. Lady* 1, a; *Le Dit du bleu chevalier* 299; *Intelligence*, 72, 7.

80, 81. Pyramus and Thisbe.] Mentioned again, l. 780. Compare particularly *Reason and S.* 256 b, where the story is told; further, *Leg. of Thisbe*, and Prologue 261; *Parl. of F.* 289; *March. Tale* 884; *Confessio*, Book III (Pauli I, 324, etc.), and list in Book VIII; *Trionfo d'Amore* III, 20; *Troy-Book* X₃d; *Black Knight* 365: "yonge Pyramus," see *Temple of G.*, l. 780; *Le Dit du bleu Chevalier* 242, 243.—Of course I might mention Ovid, Shakspeare, etc.

81. him Pyramus.] With respect to this combination of pronoun and proper name, see l. 123: hir Almen; 130 him Mercurie; *Black Knight* 368: of him Palemoure; *Troilus* III, 834: she Cryseyde; *Non. Prestes Tale* 574: he lakke Straw; *ib.* 321: Lo hire Andromacha; *Knights Tale* 352: him Arcite; *Duchesse* 286: he mette, king Scipion; *March T.* 124: him Oliphernus; *ib.* 129: him Mardoche; *Boethius* 293: hym Trigwille, etc.

82—85. Theseus.] See *Leg. of Ariadne*, and Gower's *Confessio*, Book V (ed. Pauli II, 302, etc.); *Hous of F.* 405, etc; *Knights Tale*, 122; *Falls of Pr.* 3 e; 14 b; 23 c.

84. Dedalus.] *Hous of F.* 919, 1920 (see Skeat's note); *Duchesse* 570; *Rom. de la R.* 5241; *Falls of Pr.* 86 c. The Story of Dedalus and Icarus is given in *Reason and S.* fol. 259 a and b.

for-wrynked.] *Leg. of Ariadne* 127:

"for the hous is crinkled to and fro,
And hath so queinte weyes for to go."

Falls of Pr. 14 a: "Labyrinthus, diners and vncouth,
Ful of wrincales and of straungenesse."

Reason and Sens., fol. 251 b:

"For this the house of Dedalus . . .
It is so wrynkled to and fro."

Chaucer's *Boethius*, ed. Morris, 2981: "pat hast so women me wip þi reasons, þe house of didalus so entre-laced. þat it is vnable to ben vn-laced."

86—90. Phyllis and Demophoon.] Their story was very popular in the Middle Ages; see Chaucer's *Leg. of Phyllis*, and Prologue, 264; *Man of Law's Head-Link* 65, and Skeat's note; *Hous of F.* 388—396; *Duchesse* 728; *Rom. de la R.* 13414—13417; Dante, *Paradiso* IX, 100; *Trionfo d'Amore* I, 127; *Falls of Pr.* 37 a; *Reason and S.* 261 b; *Flour of C.* 204; Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan* 17193; Dirk Potter's *Minne boec* I, 325, etc.; Al. Chartier, "L'Hospital d'Amours." Lydgate represents here, and *Black Knight* 68—70, Phyllis as hanging herself on a filbert-tree. This seems to originate in Gower's *Confessio*, Book IV (ed. Pauli, II, 30):

"That Phyllis in the same throwe
Was shape into a nutte-tre,
That a le men it mighte se;

And after Phillis philliberd
This tre was cleped in the yerd."

See Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*, under *filbert*, and Webster. This version is not, as far as I know, borne out by the classics. Ovid, *Heroides* II, gives no particular tree (nor does Chaucer); see further the short account in *Hygians* (59 and 243, not quite consistent with each other). According to a tradition given by Servius (ad Virg. *Ecl.* V, 10) Phyllis was changed into an almond tree, which tree seems to be meant in *Pliny* 16, 45; Palladius, *De insitionibus* 61, and 97; and *Chaucer*, ll. 130, 131; cp. *Spenser's* translation:

"And that same tree in which Demophoon,
By his disloyalty lamented sore,
Eternal hurt left unto many one."

We read further in Rolland's *Court of Venus*, book III, 30:

"The Quene Phillis, and luif to Demophoon,
And in ane tre scho was transfigurat,
[Q]uhen he on sey be storme was tribulat."

Our version with the filbert tree, however, seems to have sprung from one of Virgil's *Eclogues* (VII, 63):

"Phyllis amat corylos; illas dum Phyllis amabit,
Nec myrtus vincet corylos, nec laurea Phoebi."

[92, 93. Paris & Eleyne.] See particularly *Troy-Book* II, Chapter XIII, where the rape of Helen is narrated in detail. See also *Duchesse* 331; *Parl. of F.* 290, 291; *Legend*, Prologue 254; *Hous of Fame* 399; *Squires T.* II, 202; *Man of Law's* Prologue 70; *March. Tale* 510; *Troil.* I, 62, 455; V, 890; *L. Lady a₃ b*; *l₁ a*: *Flour of C.* 191; *Albon* I, 475; *Intelligenza* 71, l. 8.

Line 93 occurs nearly word for word in the *Troy-Book* II, b:

"This fayre Eleyne, this fresshe lusty quene."

[94, 95. Achilles and Polyxena.] *Troy-Book* IV, Chapter XXXII, tells how Achilles was treacherously slain in Troy; see also *Falls of Pr.* I, 21. Cp. further *Duchesse* 1067 (and Skeat's note); *Parl. of F.* 290; *Legend*, Prologue 258; *Troil.* I, 455; *Black Knight* 367; *Flour of C.* 190; *T. of Glys* 785 and 786; *Intelligenza* 72, 1, 2 and 273, 1, 2.

[97—99. Philomene.] See Chaucer's *Leg. of Philomela*; *Gower*, book V (ed. Pauli, II, 313, etc.); also *Troil.* II, 64—70; *Falls of Pr.* 9 a; *Black Knight* 374; *Kingis Quair*, stanza 55. The above form of the name, instead of Philomene, is common in the Middle Ages, not only in England. There was, for instance, a *Hist. of Felix and Philomena*, acted 1584 (interesting with respect to *The Two Gent. of Ver.*): the name of the maid in Aymer's *Pelimeria* is Philomena; Lope de Vega wrote a *Philomena*, and Gascoigne a *Complaint of Philomena*. In the *Kingis Quair* 62, 1, Philomene rhymes with quene (see Skeat's note); *ib.*, 110, 3 with schene; in Lydgate, *Falls of Pr.* 9 a, with cleane; Gower rhymes the name with tene, betwene, so ac, grene, merne; Andrew of Wyntoun (*Cronykil* II, 1013) with kene; Pulci, *Morgante maggior* I, 3, 1 with pena.

[100, 101. Luerce.] See *Livy* I, 57—59; Ovid, *Fasti* II, 721—852 (and, of course, Shakspeare, Thomas Heywood, etc.). Chaucer has also treated the story in the *Leg. of Luc.*; cp. also the Prologue 257, and Skeat, *Legend*, p. xxxi; St. Augustine, *De civ. Dei. caput* XIX; *Gesta Rom.*, Tale 135; Gower, *Confessio*, book VII (ed. Pauli, III, 251 etc.), and, again, the list in the eighth book. Lydgate has treated the same story in the *Falls of Pr.* II, 5; and, again, III, 5 (see Koepfel, *Falls of Pr.* p. 66, 93). See further *Life of our Lady a₃ b*; *Flour of C.* 201; *Edmund* I, 277; and Lydgate's *Poem on the Mar. of Humphrey and Jacqueline* (MS. Add. 29729, fol. 158 b₂); further, *Duchesse* 1082 (and Skeat's note); *Frank. Tale* 669—672; *Man of L. Prol.* 63; *Anclida* 82; *Rom. de la Rose* 8649; Boccaccio, *De claris Mul.* 46.

100. The expression: to halowe a feast occurs often; for instance, *Troy-Book* H₁ a; S₃ d; T₃ a; *Falls of Pr.* 14 b; 174 c, etc.

[102—110. Palamon and Arcite.] This, of course, is from the *Knights Tale*. Lydgate alludes to the same story again in the *Black Knight* 368, and *Story of Thebes*, fol. 372 d. Many of the expressions in our passage agree word for word

with the *Knights Tale*; cp. *Kn. T.* 219: He caste his eyen upon Emelye (see also 238); 13: eek hire yonge suster Emelye; 114: Emelye hire yonge suster schene; 177—179:

“Emelic, that fairer was to seene
Than is the lillie on hir stalke grene,
And fresscher than the May with flouris newe;”

190: I-clothed was sche fressh for to devyse; 210: the fresshe Emely the scheene. Line 976 speaks of the “stryf and jelousye,” l. 1926 of the “stryf and rancour” between the two brothers. If Shirley, in l. 82, speaks of *Duc Theseus*, it is quite in accordance with the *Knights Tale*, where Theseus is often called “Duke,” see l. 2, 15, 35, etc. We have a “Duke Theseus” also in the *Falls of Pr.* 15 a, 23 b, etc.; a “Duke Hannibal” in the *Falls of Pr.*, a “Duke Moyses” in the *Secreta Secretorum*, etc.

105. These “castings of an eye” were very dangerous at that time; cf. *Troy-Book* Aa2b:

“Whan that he was wounded to the herte,
With the eastyngc oonly of an Eye” (*Achilles*).

De duobus Merc. (MS. Hh. IV. 12, fol. 62 a):

“Cupidis dart on me hath made arest,
The clere stremys of eastyng of an eye:
Thys is the arow that causyth me (for) to deye.”

See again ll. 231, 232, and compare *Merciless Beaute*, l. 1 etc., *Troilus* II, 534, etc.

110. [Chaucer.] Lydgate is fond of introducing the name of his great “master” into his writings. Koepfel, *St. Thebes*, p. 78, has pointed out the instances in the *Story of Th.*, and the *Falls of Pr.*, namely *St. Th.*, Prologue, fol. 356 a and b; fol. 377 c (Chaucer-edition of 1561); *Falls of Pr.*, Prologue, fol. A2b, l. 6 (fol. 8 d), VI, 16 (fol. 164 c, *Leg. of Antony and Cleopatra*):

“Thyng once sayd by labour of Chaucer,
Wer presumeyn me to make agayn;”

VIII, 6 (fol. 180 a); IX, 38 (fol. 217 c), to which II, 4 (fol. 46 a) and III, 18 (fol. 90 c) may be added. I have made note of the following occurrences in other works: *Troy-Book* N3a:

“And Channeer now, alas! is nat alyne,
Me to reforme, or to be my rede:
For lacke of whom slower is my spede;
The noble Rethor, that all dyde excelle:
For in makyng he dranke of the welle
Under Pernaso, that the muses kepe,
On whiche hylle I myght neuer slepe
Unmeth slombre, for whiche, alas, I playne.”

See further *ib.*, I, c and d (*Story of Criseyde*); Q3d (*Troilus*); Dk3c; *Court of S.* a2a (see Introduction, p. cxxvii, note 1, together with Gower); *Horse, goose, and sheep*, 76 and 77 (see note to ll. 111, 142); *Life of our Lady* v, b:

“And eke my master chauceris now is graue . . .”—

(a well-known passage, see Morris's *Chaucer* I, 81); *Flour of U.* 236; *Minor P.* (Halliwell), p. 28 and 128; the *Serpent of Division* (see Miss Toulmin Smith's *Gorboduc*, p. xxi); Translation of *Dequileville's First Pil.* MS. Cott. Vit. C. XIII, fol. 256 b and 257 a (see Skeat, *M. P.*, p. lxviii; Dr. Furnivall's *Trial Forewords*, pp. 13—15 and 100; *Hill*, pp. 8, 9).

Does “my maister” in *Chort and Bird*, 380, also refer to Chaucer? The *Court of S.*, fol. 5 b, speaks of “Galfride the poete laureate”; but this, I believe, refers to Geoffrey de Vinsauf, the highly-celebrated author of the *Nova Poetria*, not to Chaucer. Galfridus de Vinosalvo, also called “Galfridus Anglicus,” wrote a didactic poem “*De nova Poetria*” (dedicated to Pope Innocent III.), a monody on the death of Richard I., and treatises on Rhetoric and Ethics (see Morley, *English Writers* I, 603 and 604). He is very frequently quoted by poets of that time, and celebrated for his “purpurat colours of rhetorike.” Chaucer's humorous allusion to him in the *Nova Poetria Tale* (l. 527, etc.) is

well known. He is further unmistakably quoted by Bokenam, *Prolog.* 83, etc. (Horstmann, *Introduction*, p. xi, is on the wrong track in believing that Chaucer is meant in this passage):

“Aftyr the scole of the crafty clerk
Galfryd of Ynglond, in his newe werk,
Entytlyd thus, as I can aspye:
‘Galfrydas anglieus,’ in his newe poetrye,” etc.

Cp. also “Galfryd of Ynglond” in I, 171, Chaucer being mentioned in addition, together with Gower and Lydgate, further on, l. 177.

The poem by the “Dull Ass” (cp. *Introduction*, p. cxlii) in MS. Fairfax mentions both, Chaucer and Geoffrey de Vinsauf, side by side (fol. 309 a):

“Cum on, Tullius, with sum of thy flouris;
Englesshe geffrey with al thy colourys,
That wrote so wel to pope Innocent:
And mayster Chauser, sours and fundement
On englysshe tunge svetely to endyte—
Thy soule god haue with virgyne white!—
Moral gower, lydgate, Rether and poete;
Onide, stase, luan of batylls grete” . . .

Chaucer and his older namesake are similarly put together in *Little John* (Speght's *Chaucer*, 1598, fol. c. ii):

“O cursed death, why hast thou those poets slain,
I meane Gower, Chaucer, and Gaufride.”

It is thus extremely doubtful to me that the “Galfryde” in the *Court of Love* (l. 11) is intended for Chaucer, as Skeat, *Chaucer's Minor Poems*, p. xxxii, maintains.

112—116. Phoebus and Daphne.] The story is alluded to in *Reason and S.* 236 a and 247 a, and told at length in the *Confessio*, book III (ed. Pauli I, 336), where Cupid “casts a dart throughout Phebus' heart”—

“Which was of golde and all a fire,
That made him many fold desire
Of love more than he dede,
To Daphne eke in the same stede
A dart of led he caste and smote,
Which was all colde and no thing hote.”

In a similar way we have in the *Kingis Quair*, stanza 95, a reference to Cupid's different species of arrows, viz., of gold and steel, with the addition of silver ones, which, it seems, King James introduced on his own account. This fiction comes from the *Rom. de la R.*, where (English Translation 918, etc.) Swete-lokyng, in attendance on Cupid, carries two bows, made of different kinds of wood, and two sets of five arrows, the first of which is of gold. Lydgate has introduced this into *Reason and S.* (MS. Fairfax 16, fol. 277 a, etc.); his first bow is made of ivory, the second black, full of “knottys” and “skarys.” The names of all ten arrows are given as in the *Rom. de la R.*, and it is stated that the first set had heads of gold, the second of lead. Cf. also *St. Thebes*, fol. 363 b:

“That his [Cupid's] arrowes of golde, and not of stele
Yperced han the knightes hertes tweine.”

Spenser also speaks of Cupid's “bow and shafts of gold and lead” (*Colin Clout*, l. 807), and we read in the *Court of L.* 1315 and 1316:

“The Golden Love, and Leden Love thay hight:
The tone was sad, the toder glad and light.”

“The arrow of gold” occurs again in *T. of Glas* 445, and in *Reason and S.*, fol. 236 a, where the story of Daphne is told. Cp. also Watson's sonnet 63, where the first book of Conrad Celtis's *Odes* is quoted. Barfield, in his *Tears of an affectionate Shepherd* (Arber, p. 6), speaks of

“Death's black shaft of steel, Love's yellow one of gold.”

Line 114, with its allusion to Cupid's envy, is explained by the following passage from *Troy-Book* K₃a, which speaks of Apollo's victory over the dragon Python:

“ For of Pheton he had the victorie,
 When he hym slewe, to his encrease of glorye,
 The great serpent, here in erthe lowe,
 With his arowes and his myghty howe,
 Of whiche conqueste the great[e] god Cupyde
 Hadde enuye, and euen thourgh the syde
 He wounded hym, depe to the herte,
 With y^r arowe of gold, y^t made hym sore smerte.”

This goes back to Ovid, *Metam.* I, 452 etc.

The amours of Phoebus are also alluded to in *Black Knight* 358—364, and *Troilus* I, 659—665; the whole story of Phoebus and Coronis is given in Gower's *Confessio* I, 305 etc., and in Chaucer's *Mauunciples T.* (according to Ritson, a Fable of Lydgate, No. 46 of his list).

115. Daphne.] *Diane*, the reading of MSS. T. P. F. B, is of course wrong, as Daphne is meant; but perhaps I might have left the *Dane* of MS. G in the text; see *Knights T.* 1204—1206:

“ Ther sawgh I Dane yturned til a tree,
 I mene nought the goddesse Dyane,
 But Peneus daughter, which that highte Dane.”

To discriminate between three names as similar as Diana, Danae, and Daphne was too much for the Middle Ages; so Dafne occurs for Danae in Edition B of Calderon's *La Vida es Sueño* III, 560. See further *Troilus* III, 677—679 (with the form *Dane*); *Black Knight* 64; *Reason and S.* 236 a (Fairfax MS. 16 has rightly *Daphne*; *Court of L.* 824: Dane = Danae; both names, Daphne and Danae, occur close together in *Reason and S.*, with curious spellings in MS. Fairfax 16, fol. 247 a.

117—120. Jupiter and Europa.] See *Ley. of Good W.*, Prologue 113; *Troilus* III, 673; *Falls of Pr.* I, 7; *Reason and S.* 247 a; *Troy-Book* A₆ d; *Court of L.* 823; *Court of S.* g₂ a:

“ He come an oxe, and toke Europa, they sayd,
 Wherefore the hole they worshyp of theyr grace.”

117. For *Jove's cope*, see the Introduction, Chapter X, p. cxl.

121—123. Amphitryon and Alcmene.] See also Gower's *Confessio*, Book II, ed. Pauli I, 242 (where Amphitryon supplants his friend Geta in the love of Alcmene). “Alcmenia” is also mentioned *Court of Love* 821.

124. for al his deite.] Similarly *Troy-Book*, A₆ d:

“ for all his deyte (*Jupiter and Alcmene*):

He was rauysshed thurgh luste of hir beaute.”

Falls of Pr. 9 b: “As he that was, for al his deitie, (*Jupiter and Europa*)

Supprised in hert with her great beautie.”

Troy-Book D₆ b: “Iubiter, for all his deyte,

Upon Dyane (!) begat them all[e] thre.”

(*Helen, Castor and Pollux.*)

Falls of Pr., fol. 8 b: (Isis) “enclined her heart vnto his deitie.”

Cp. also Petrarch, *Trionfo d'Amore* I, 159, 160:

“ E di laccinoli innumerabil carco

Vien catenato Giove inmanzi al coro.”

126—128. Mars & Venus.] Alluded to again in stanza 3 d. See further, Chaucer's *Compl. of Mars*, and *Compl. of Venus*, and Skeat's note, *M. P.*, p. 274 (to the classical names given there, Lucian might be added); Gower's *Confessio*, Book V (ed. Pauli II, 148); *Knights Tale* 1525; *Troil.* III, *Proem* 22; III, 675 (“Cypres” in Morris must surely mean *Cyprius*). Compare *Reason and S.* 254 a:

“ the bed of Vulcanus,

Al with cheynes rounde embracyd,

In the which he hath ylacyd

Hys wyf Venus and Mars yfere,

Whan Phoebus with hys beynys clere

Discrede and be-wroyed al,

And al the goddys celestial
Of scorne and of derisioun
Made a congregacioun." . . .

In the *Troy-Book*, A₁ a the monk invokes Mars thus :

"Nowe for the loue of Vulcanus wyfe,
With whom whylom y^u were at myschef take,
So helpe me now, onely for hir sake."

Lines 127 and 128 are similar to ll. 621—623 of the *Black Knight* :

"For that joy thou haddest when thou leye
With Mars thi knyght, when Vulcanus *now* founde,
And with a cheyne unvisibile yow bounde."

Curiously enough, the monk is quite on the side of the guilty couple ; see *Reason and S.* 254 a ; *Black Knight* 389—392 :

"But Vulcanus with her no mercy made,
The foule chorle had many nyghtis glade,
Wher Mars, her *worthy* knyght, her *troue* man,
To fynde mercy comfort noon he can."

In the *Troy-Book*, K₁ d, he vents his spite on Phoebus, who awoke them, thus :

"And for that he so falsely them awoke,
I haue hym sette laste of all my boke."

[129—136. Mercury and Philology.] This alludes to Martianus Capella's work, *De Nuptiis Philologie et Mercurii*, which was much read in the Middle Ages (see *Warton-Hazlitt* III, 77 ; ten Brink, *Chaucer-Studien*, p. 99 ; Koepfel, *St. Thebes*, p. 25 and 74 ; Skeat, *M. P.*, p. 344). Chaucer mentions him, *March. Tale* 488 ; *Fame* 985 ; so does Bennet Burgh in an Epistle to Lydgate, MS. Add. 29729, fol. 6 a. See further, *Story of Thebes*, fol. 360 a and b, and *Falls of Pr.* 67 d :

"Mercury absent and Philologie."

Edmund I., 99 : "For Mercurie nothir Philologie,
To-gidre knet and ioyned in mariage,
Withoute grace may haue noon auauntage."

A similar passage to that in our text occurs in Lydgate's poem on the marriage of Duke Humphrey and Jacqueline of Holland, Stowe's MS. Addit. 29729, fol. 160 a :

(and Hymeneus, thou) "Make a knott, feythfull and entiere,
As whylome was betwene phylogonye (!)
And Mercury eke, so hyghe aboue y^e skye,
Wher y^e Clye, and eke Calyope,
Sange w^t hir sustren in nombre thryes thre."

132. god of eloquence.] The article, as supplied by the Prints, is not necessary ; see again, l. 572 : "To god of loue" ; so also *Troil.* I, 967 ; *Black Knight* 304 ; *Rom. of the Rose* 3289. Mercury is very commonly called the "god of eloquence" by Lydgate ; cp. for instance, *Assembly of Gods* b₂ b :

"In eloquence of langage he passed all the pake."

Troy-Bk. G₃ a : "The sugred dytees, by great excellence,
Of rethoryke, and of eloquence,
Of whiche this god is soueraygne & patrowne."

Ib. G₃ b : "This god of eloquence kynge."

Ib. K₃ d (Mercurius) :

"That in speche hath moste excellence,
Of rethoryke, and sugred eloquence,
Of musyke, songe and Armony
He hath lordshyp, and hole the regalye."

St. Thebes 357 a : "Marcurie, God of eloquence."

Secreta Secr. 124 b : "In Rethoryk helpith Mercurys."

Falls of Pr. 67 a : "Wynged Mercury, chief lord and patron
Of eloquence, and of fayre speakyng."

Ib. 168 b : "Mercury, God of eloquence."

See particularly the description of Mercury in *Reason and S.* 225 a, etc.

Compare also the *Interpretation of the names of the gods and goddesses*, prefixed to the *Assembly of Gods*, where "Mercurius" is called the "God of language." Cf. further Dunbar, *Golden Targe* 116, and Lyndsay's *Dream*, 393:

"Than we ascendit to Mercurious,
 Quhilk Poetis callis god of Eloquence,
 Rycht Doctourlyke, with termes delicious,
 In arte exparte, and full of sapience."

136. Istellified.] Occurs frequently; see *Hous. of F.* 1002; *Legend*, Prologue 525; *Troy-Book* B_{1c} (referring to Callisto); *ib.* L_{3b} (Castor and Pollux); *Falls of Pr.* 65 a (Romulus); *ib.* 107 b (Alexander), etc. In our passage the word scarcely means "placed as a star in the firmament," but "received into heaven and there glorified"; cf. *Pilgrimage*, MS. Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 48 a:

[Cyprian] "is in hevene stelledfyed,
 And with seyntis gloreffied."

The French original here has only: "Et est en ciel glorifié."

[Cf. also Skelton, *Garland of Laurel* 961:
 "I wyll my selfe applye . . .
 Yow for to stellyfye."

137—142. The story of Canace is the subject of the unfinished *Squires T.* Waldron, as quoted by Park in *Warton-Hazlitt* III, 63, note 3, seems to think that our passage proves that Chaucer wrote more of this Tale than is now existing; but the passage hardly bears out this supposition: ll. 138—140 are sufficiently illustrated in Chaucer's Tale; with ll. 141 and 142 compare *Squires T.*, II, 317—320:

"And after wol I speke of Algarsif,
 How that he wan Theodora to his wit,
 For whom ful oft in great peril he was,
 Nad he ben holpen by the hors of bras."

MS. Ashmole 53 gives John Lane's continuation of the Story; on the back of the last leaf 81, Ashmole has written ll. 137—142 of the *T. of Glas* (see Dr. Furnivall's edition, p. 237). Spenser's version of part of the Story in the *Fairie Queene*, Book IV, is well-known; cf. also Milton's *Peasblossom*:

"Or call up him that left half told
 The story of Cambuscan bold,
 Of Camball, and of Algarsife,
 And who had Canace to wife,
 That own'd the virtuous ring and glass;
 And of the wondrous horse of brass,
 On which the Tartar King did ride."

This Canace is mentioned again by Lydgate in *Flour of Curtesie*, l. 206. The magic mirror of Canace occurs also in Douglas's *Palice of Honour* I, 57, 11 (ed. Small):

"Or ȝit the mirroure send to Canace,
 Quhairin men nicht mony wonders se."

Not to be confused with this Canace is the other Canace, whose story is told in Ovid's *Heroides*, ep. XI. Gower introduced it at the beginning of Book III of the *Confessio*, and Chaucer's allusion to it in the *Man of L.'s* Prologue, l. 77, etc., is well known. It has been advanced that Chaucer meant, in this passage, rather to humour his "moral" friend than to censure him; a further argument in favour of this opinion would be that our monk also did not take exception to this story, but introduced it at great length into the *Falls of Pr.* (I, 22 and 23), evidently, moreover, making use of this very narrative of Gower's (see Koepfel, *Falls of Pr.*, p. 98). This story from the *Falls of Pr.* is very highly praised by Gray in his article on Lydgate (*Works*, ed. Matthias II, 66, 67), and is also the very one selected in Thomas Campbell's *Specimens of the British Poets*, p. 15. See also *Legend*, Prologue 265, and Thomas Feylde's *Controversy*. Gottfried von Strassburg mentions this Canace also (*Tristan* 1719f); so does Petrarch in the *Trionfo d'Amore* II, 181—183, and Skelton, *Garland of Laurel* 934; Sperone Speroni wrote a drama *Canace*.

There is a third person with the very similar name Candace, connected with

the Alexander-Saga; she is mentioned, *Parl. of F.* 288; *Ballade on Newfangle-nessse*, l. 16; Gower, *Confessio*, Book V (ed. Pauli, II, 180). Cp. further Thomas Feylde's *Controversy*, fol. B₄b, where "Candaecys" is mentioned; MS. Ashmole 59, folio 52b:

"And ryche was ecke þe faire qwene Candace."

Life of our Lady, 1_a: "Riche candace of ethyope quene."

The last line reminds one at once of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, whose eunuch Philip baptized (Acts viii, 27). According to Pliny (VI, 35), "Candace" was a transmitted title of the Ethiopian queens; cp. also Strabo XVII, 820, Dio Cassius 54, 5, and Suidas. For the story of Alexander, Candace, and her son Candaulus, see especially, *Wars of Alexander*, l. 5090, etc. (ed. Skeat, p. 257); *Knyg Alisaunder*, ed. Weber, p. 305, etc.; *Intelligence* 229, etc.; *Li Roman d'Alisandre*, by Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay, ed. Michelant 371, etc.; 380, etc. This story goes back to the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* III, 18, etc.—Calderon, in *La Sibila del Oriente*, has a King Candaces of Egypt, reigning at the time of Solomon.

138. For the magic power of Canace's ring, see *Squires Tale* I, 138, etc.; for that of the "stele of bras," *ib.*, I, 107, etc.

139. ledne] = language; comp. *Squires T.* II, 89, 90, 132; *Alban* II, 873; *Warton-Hazlitt* II, 58, note 2; *Harl.* 2251, fol. 229 a (A saying of the night-ingle); *Pilgrim.* 22 b:

"A foul that was of colour blak.

And in hys lydene thus he spak."

Spenser, *Colin Clout*, l. 744: *Intelligence* 3, 6:

"Udia cantar li augelli in lor latino."

141, 142. hir broþer.] Algarsif; see *Squires T.* II, 317, etc. Lydgate has another allusion to the *Squires T.* in *Horse, goose, and sheep*, l. 76, 77:

"Chawcer remenbrith the swerd ryng & glasse

Presented were vpon a stele of brasse."

144. mani a þousand.] Shirley, not content with this, makes it many an hundred thousand. But he is beaten by King James' *Kingis Quair* 78, 4), who has "mony a myllion" of lovers, and King James, in his turn, is outdone by the *Court of Love*, l. 589, where we find "a thousand milion" lovers.

145. complein.] Very similar to the following list of complaints is the one in the *Kingis Quair* and also in the *Court of L.*; see the Introduction, Ch. ix, § 4.

147. Envie.] Personification from the *Rom. de la R.* (*Rom. of the R.* 248, etc.); *Reason and S.* 270 b; *Pilgrim.*, fol. 223 b, etc. Sins of Envy fill the second Book of Gower's *Confessio*. See also *Black Knight*, l. 257, and 336:

"The more he was hundred by envye," and *Flour of U.* 84.

In the *Assembly of Gods*, b, b, Envy is introduced as one of the seven deadly sins, sitting on a wolf. Cp. further the description of Envy in the *Court of Love*, l. 1254, etc.

148. Ielousie.] *Parl. of F.* 252; *Kingis Quair* 87, 7; *Reason and S.* 280 b; *Black Knight* 663, and see the *Rom. de la R.*, English Translation, l. 3820, etc. "Serpent Ialousie" occurs again, stanza 3 b and 25 a; in *Troil.* III, 788; in the *Falls of Pr.*, fol. 124 a:

"Stiered by the serpent of false gelousye."

Similarly "a fals serpent, callyd Ignorance" occurs, *Edmund* III, 147; "serpent of doublenes," *Falls of Pr.* 21 c; "serpent of discord," *Troy-Book Y. b*; "serpent of foryetfulness," *Troy-Book A. 2 a*; "serpent of newfangleues," *Falls of Pr.* 53 b; "the false serpent of descencion," *Falls of Pr.* 79 b; "serpent of high presumption," *Falls of Pr.* 82 a; "serpent of enuy," *Falls of Pr.* 141 a. The "Serpent of Division" is the title of a work by Lydgate.

149. yput aback.] So again l. 1252, *Secreta Secret*, fol. 111 a, etc.

151. In the *Falls of Pr.*, fol. 99 a, Lydgate says that Ovid wrote:

"Ful many a pistle compleyning for absence."

He means, of course, the *Heroides*. In the *Kingis Quair* 93, the lovers also complain of "disseuzance."

153. Wicked Tongues.] Personification from the *Rom. de la R.* (English translation, ll. 3027, 3257, 3799, etc.): the French name Malebouche appears in stanza 25*b*; in *Flour of C.* 84; *Black Knight* 260; *Reason and S.* 280*b*; *Flower and Leaf* 580; in the *Pilgrim.*, fol. 202*a* and *b*. Compare l. 1182 of the *T. of Glas*, and stanza 3*a*, 3. In the *Black Knight*, l. 207, we have

“false tonges, that with pestilence
Sle trewe men that never did offence.”

Flour of C. 157: “Dredful also of tonges that ben large.”

Falls of Pr. 91*a*:

“But there is no poyson so wel expert nor preued,
As is of tonges the hateful violence,
Namely whan princes list yene them audience.”

Pilgrim. 121*b*: “For ther ys addere nor serpent
So dredful nor malyceous,
As ys a Tonge venymous.”

Troil. I, 38 speaks of them

“that falsly ben apeyred
Thorwgh wikked tonges, be it he or sche.”

ib. II, 785: “Also thisse wikkele tonges ben so preste
To speke us harme” . . .

See also *ib.* II, 804, and V, 755 and 756, and cp. *Mauunciples Taie* 215—258. fals suspecioun.] Cp. *Black Knight* 505, and *Flour of Curtesie* 86.

154. This is a stock-line of Lydgate's; it occurs again in *Troy-Book* I*2a*, and Y*1d*; *Falls of Pr.* 57*c*, and 147*d*; cf. also *Pilgrim.* 206*b*:

“For mercy nor remyssyoun.”

Similarly, *Falls of Pr.* 39*a*:

“Voyde of al mercy and remission.”

Albon III, 873: “Without mercy of any remyssyoun”;

ib. II, 418: “Without fauour or remyssyon.”

156. Daunger.] He and Malebouche are (together with Shame) the guardians of the Rose-tree in the *Rom. de la R.*, and frighten away those who intend to pluck the rose; *Rom. of the R.* 3015, etc.; 3130, etc. Cp. also *Legl. of Good W.* 160, and Skeat's note (to which, towards the end, the *Court of S.* might be added). This cruel “Daunger,” the lover's principal opponent in the heart of his mistress, is very frequently introduced, as a more or less distinct personification, often together with his associates Disdeyn, Pride, Drede, as opposed to Pity and Grace. See, again, *T. of Glas*, l. 631, 646, 652, 739, 776, 1141; further, *Parl. of F.* 136; *Troil.* II, 384, 399, 1376;—*Black Knight* 13, 250; *Falls of Pr.* 31*b*; *Reason and S.* 236*a*; 238*b*; 280*a* (following closely the *Rom. de la R.*); 294*b*; *Flour of C.* 81; *Isle of Ladies*, 472; *Merciless Beaute* 16; *Court of Love* 831, 973; *Rt. of the Rose* 1524. In Al. Chartier, *Le Parlement d'Amour* (ed. Tourangeau, 1617, p. 696), we read:

“Et sur icelle estoit montez (*la portee*)
Dangier, pour y faire le guet.”

Dangier occurs also frequently in the same poet's *Hospital d'Amours*. In Skelton's *Boyc of Court* (l. 69), Daunger is “chief gentylwoman” to Dame Saunce-pere.

Disdain.] A similar personification to Daunger. He is “chambreleyn” to the lady of the *Black Knight* (see that poem, l. 504); in the *Court of Love*, ll. 129 and 130, Daunger and Disdeyne are the chief counsellors of King Admetus and Queen Alceste. In the *Parlement of Foules* also, l. 136, Disdayn and Daunger are mentioned together. Cp. also *Boyc of Court*, l. 140.

159—161. poverte.] Cp. the *Rom. of the R.* 450 etc., and *Reason and S.*, fol. 270*b*. “Poverty” is also a personification in the *Falls of Pr.*, disputing with Fortune (Book III, beginning). Cp. further *Court of L.* 1137—1139:

“And as I yede, full naked and full bare
Some I beholde, loking dispiteously
On poverte, that dedely caste here ye.”

Kingis Quair. 87, 4: “Sum for desyre, surmounting thaire degree.”

161. Perhaps *in open* (reading of G and S) is right; cp. *Falls of Pr.* 47 c:
 "To you in open my gilt I wil confesse."
Æsop 2, 124 "shewid in opyn."
162. wanting.] Wanting in what? In means? or good looks? Cp. *Court of Love* 1161—1163. In the *Kingis Quair*, stanza 87, l. 7, there are also some who complain "for to moch."
165. *Kingis Quair* 87, 5: "Sum for dispite and othir Inmytee."
 166—168. *Kingis Quair* 136, 1, 6, 7:
 "Fy on all suich! fy on thaire doubilnesse! . . .
 That feynen outward all to hir honour,
 And in thaire hert hir worschip wold denoure."
Kingis Quair 137, 4—7: "for qulich the remanant,
 That menen wele, and ar nocht variant,
 For otheris gilt ar suspect of vntreuth,
 And hyndrit oft, and trenely that is reuth."
- 169—174. The same sentiment is expressed in the *Legend of Hipsipyle* 17—21, and in the *Black Knight*, ll. 412, 413. Cp. further *Duchesse* 1024, etc., and Skeat's note, who quotes Gower, Book IV (*Pauli* II, 56), the *Rom. de la R.* 18499—18526, and Machault's *Dit du Lion*.—See also *Kingis Quair* 86, 7.
- 175—178. Richesse is again a personification in the *Rom. de la R.*; see the English translation, l. 1033; she is "porter" of Venus in *Parl. of F.* 261. Cp. also *Rom. of the R.* 5360, etc.
- 179 etc., and the similar complaints in 209 etc., may be compared to *Kingis Quair* 91 and 92, which speaks of people whose bodies were
 "bestowit so,
 Quihare bothe thaire hertes gruch[en] ther-ageyne,"
 for which "Thaire lyf was nocht bot care and repeatance."
 See *ib.*, 92, 5—7:
 "Off song[e] ladies faire, and mouy lord,
 That thus by maistry were fro thair chose dryve,
 Full redy were thaire playntis there to gyve."
180. peping.] "An imitative word, allied to *pipe*, to express the chirping of a bird." So says Professor Skeat in his note to the following line from the *Kingis Quair* 57, 6: "Now, suete bird, say ones to me 'pepe.'" Cp. also *Dunbar*, ed. Laing I, 85, l. 64: "Quhen of the Tod was hard no peip," and Lyndsay's *Peder Coffris* 23: "Peipand penrly with peteouss grunis."
182. coked Elde.] One of the pictures in the *Rom. de la R.*; see *Rom. of the R.* 349, and *Reason and S.*, fol. 270 b. The expression "coked elde" occurs again *Falls of Pr.* 3 a; *Rom. of the R.* 4889; "coked age," *Troy-Book* T, 1 a; *Falls of Pr.* 176 c; *Reason and S.* 289 a; *S. of Thebes* 360 b; *Testament*, Halliwell, p. 241, 246; *Edmund* III, 422; "age coked and lame" *Falls of Pr.* 18 b; "stale coked age" *Falls of Pr.* 67 d.
- 184, 185. May and January.] This is an allusion to the *Marchaundes Tale*, with the story of the ill-coupled old, gray January and fresh May. Lydgate himself has imitated this story in a poem printed by Halliwell (page 27—46), containing the story of Decembre and Iuly. Lydgate quotes Chaucer in this story (*Halliwell*, p. 28):
 "Remembre wele on olde January,
 Whiche maister Chaunceres ful seriously descryveth,
 And on fresshe May" . . .
- King James has also an allusion to Chaucer's tale (*Kingis Quair* 110, 2):
 "Eke Iannarye is [yu] like unto may."
186. Cp. *Story of Thebes*, fol. 370 b:
 "Thus selde is sen, the trouthe to termine,
 That age and youth drawe by O line."
Miller's Tale 43: "Men schulde wedde affir here astaat,
 For eelde and youthe ben often at debaat."

189. *Rom. of the R.* 82 :

“Than yonge folk entenden ay
For to ben gay and amorous.”

ib. 1288 .

“For yonge folk wole, witen ye,
Have lytel thought but on her play.”

Reason and S. 279 a : (these lusty folkes all—youth among them) :

“neutende nyght nor day
But vn-to merthe and vn-to play.”

The same is said of Cupid and Deduit in *Reason and S.* 268 a :

“The which entende never a day
But vnto myrthe and vu-to play.”

189. *Myrthe* is “lord of the garden” in the *Rom. de la R.* ; see *Rom. of the R.* 601, etc., and 817, etc. ; and “Dame Gladnesse” is “his leef,” *ib.* 848 ; but in the present passage we have hardly a prosopopœia. “Gladnesse” is personified in *Reason and S.* 271 b.

190. *Rom. of the R.* 3893, 3894 :

“For he loveth noon hevynesse, (*Bialwoil*)
But mirthe and pley, and alle gladnesse.”

191. Cp. Chaucer’s *Complaynt unto Pite* 23 :

“Allas! that day! that ever hit shulde falle!”

The repetition of *but* is peculiar; but the best MSS. have it, and, without it, the metre is incomplete.

192. *sugre and gal.*] A frequent simile; compare, for instance, *Falls of Fr.* 24 d :

“Their pompous suger is meint with bitter gal” (*of princes*).

Reason and S. 248 b : “The sugre of hir drynkes all (*Venus*)

At the ende ys meynt with gall.”

Pilgrim., fol. 2 a : “hyr sugre vnder-spreynt wyth galle” (*Fortune’s*).

195. *shape remedie.*] See again l. 721 ; *Story of Thebes*, fol. 264 b ; *Alban II.* 1289. The expression occurs frequently elsewhere in Lydgate; also in the *Kingis Quair* 102, 5 :

“and shapith remedye

To sauen me, of þour benigne grace.”

196—208. This passage seems to have served as a model to *Kingis Quair* 88—90, and *Court of L.* 1095, etc. (see also *ib.* 253). Compare particularly *Kingis Quair* 90, 3—7, with ll. 207 and 208 of our poem :

“Sum bene of thañ that halin were full lawe,
And take by frendis, nothing thay to wyte,
In ȝouth from lufe into the cloistere quite ;
And for that cause are euomyn recounsilit,
On thame to pleyne that so thañ had begilit.”

See further *Kingis Quair* 88 :

“ȝone were quhilum folk of religioun,” etc.

Very similar is also the passage in the *Court of L.*, 1095—1136 ; particularly 1101—1106 :

“Alas! . . . we fayne perfeccion,
In clothes wide, and lake oure libertie ;
But all the syme mote on oure frendes be”

(see *T. of Glas.*, ll. 204 and 208) ;

the “copes wide” (l. 204) are also found in *Court of L.* 1116, and the “tender youpe” (l. 199) in *Court of L.* 1111. Cp. further ll. 196 and 197 with *Court of L.* 1100 :

“Se howe thei crye and wryng *here* handes white,
For thei so some went to religion!”

and with *Court of L.* 1135 :

“Thus leve I *hem*, with voice of pleint and care,
In ragyng woo crying full petiously.”

The passage is quite in accordance with Lydgate’s views on monastic life as

expressed elsewhere ; see his *Testament*. In the *Troy-Book* Dd, b he represents himself as

“Usynge an habyte of perfeceyon,
Albe my lyfe accorde nat therto.”

209—214. See above, under 179.

215—222. Cp. *Kingis Quair* 134 :

“Bot there be mony of so brukill sort,
That feynis treuth In lufe for a quhile,
And setten all thaire wittis and disport
The sely Innocent woman to begyle,
And so to wynne thaire lustis with a wile.”

Troilus II, 786 :

“ek men *ben* so untrew,
That right anon, as cessed is hire leste,
So eeseth love, and forth to love a newe.”

See also *Fame* 341, etc.

219. *Anclida* 251 : “Upon me, that ye calden your maistresse.”

220. entere] = entirely devoted ; cp. *Troy-Book* C₂ d :

“Whiche is to me moste plesaunt and enter.”

The word is common in this sense ; we have also a noun formed from it, with similar meaning, in *Edmund* II, 938 :

“How gret enternesse they hadde vnto ther kyng.”

The synonym *hool* is also used in the same way : trew and hool *Troilus* III, 952.

223. Similarly *Troy-Book* Q, c : “And into terys he began to rayne.”

Falls of Pr. 16 d : “Like a woman that would in teres reyne.”

Ib. 39 b : “I pray the not dislayne,

Upon my graue some teares for to rayne.”

Cp. also *Troilus* IV, 818 and 845, and further on, l. 961 and note.

228. *Falls of Pr.* 13 b : “But she al turned to his confusion.”

229. *Black Knight* 479 :

“Mot axe grace, mercy, and pite,

And namely ther wher noon may be founde.”

230. forth-bi pace.] So again *Falls of Pr.* 18 a ; *Rom. of the Rose* 4096 ; *Pard. Tale* 206 ; *Prior. Tale* 117. To “passe (or come) forby,” is also not infrequent ; see, for instance, *Doct. Tale* 125 ; *Troilus* II, 658, and ep. Skeat’s note to l. 175 of Chaucer’s *Prologue* to the *Cant. Tales*.

231, 232. See note to l. 105.

233. peraventure.] To be read as a trisyllable *peraventure* ; so also, for instance, *Troil.* II, 921, 1373 ; III, 412. Cp., further on, l. 241.

234. The same sentiment occurs in the *Compl. of Mars*, l. 231 :

“And that is wonder that so lust a king
Doth such hardnesse to his creature.”

See also *Duchesse* 467—469.

242. This lover evidently endeavours to carry out the 20th Statute of the Court of Love (namely, to seek his absent lady, see *Court of L.* 498—504) ; but his bump of locality would not seem to be sufficiently developed for the task.

241. *Coretise* is again to be found in the *Rom. de la R.*, English translation, 181, etc. ; and in the *Assembly of Gods*, c₂ b (riding on an “Olyfaunt”). It is the vice against which the Pardoner preaches with particular zeal ; see the *Pard. Prol.* 138, 147. It is akin to “Avarice,” treated by Gower in the 5th book of the *Confessio*. See further, *Melibe*, p. 152, and Lydgate’s *Serpent of Division*, fol. A₃ a, which speaks of “that contagious sinne Couetousnes, intermeddled with Ennie.”

Sloth is the subject of Gower’s 4th Book. This vice often occurs personified ; we have, for instance, a description of Sloth in the *Pilgrimage*, fol. 210 a :

“My name ys yeallyd slouthe ;
For I am slow & encombrows,
Haltynge also and Gotows

Off my lymes crampysshynge,
 Maymed ek in my goynge.
 Coorbyd lyk folkys that ben Old,
 And afowndryd ay with cold."

In the *Assembly of Gods*, c₂ b, Sloth rides on a "dull asse." See again, l. 379, 1010.—A subdivision of Sloth is "Idelnesse" (see the *Confessio*, book IV), very frequently personified and held up as a thing to be avoided. In the *Roman de la Rose*, "Idelnesse" is "porter" of the garden (see the Engl. Translation 531 etc., 593, 1273 etc.). She has the same function in the *Knights Tale*, l. 1082, and frequently comes in Lydgate and Hawes. See also *Melibe*, p. 181; *Sec. Nun's Tale* 2; *Faerie Queene* I, 4, 18 etc.

245. hastines.] See note to l. 863.

248. crystal shield.] This attribute of Pallas is often spoken of; cp. *Troy-Book* G₃ b:

"And next venus, Pallas I behelde
 With hir spere, and hir cristall shelde."

After these lines follows the interpretation of this symbol, according to Fulgentius, as given in the *Introduction*, p. cxxvii. Again, *ib.* K₁ a:

"And Pallas eke with hir cristall shelde."

ib., Z₂ a: "Whiche on hir brest haueth of cristall

Hir shelde Egys, this goddesse immortall."

ib., Z₄ a: "To fayre Pallas with hir Cristall shelde."

Lydgate again has the "shelde of Crystall elere" and its interpretation as:

"The shelde of fortytude and of pacyence,"

in the *Court of S.* c₇ a, and there also refers to Fulgentius, who says (*ed.* Muncker, p. 68): "Gogonam etiam huic addunt in pectore, quasi terroris imaginem, ut vir sapiens terrorem contra adversarios gestet in pectore." See further, *Reason and S.* 218 b:

"In hir lyfte hande she had also
 A myghty shelde of pacyence,
 Ther-with to make resistence
 Ageyn al vices out of drede"

Again, *L. Lady* i, a:

"It [*the name of Jesus*] is also the myghty panyce fayre
 Ageyn wanhope and dysperacion,
 Cristall shelde of pallas for dispayre."

Assembly of Gods, b₂ a:

"She [*Minerva*] wered two bokelers, one by her syde,

That other ye wote w[h]ere; this was all her pryde" [*namely, on her breast*].

Compare also the following passage from Frezzi's *Quadrivoglio* II, 1, 40—42:

"Scopita avea l'orribile Gorgone [*Minerva*]

Nel bello scudo, ch' ella ha cristallino,

Il quale porta, e contro i mostri oppone."

The virtue of this shield is thus expressed (*ib.*, II, xix. 40):

"O figlio mio, se adocchi

Per mezzo del cristallo del mio scudo . . .

Tu vederai il vero aperto, e nudo;

E non ti curerai dell' apparenza,

Alla qual mira l'ignorante, e nudo."

Cf. also *Quadrivoglio* II, XVI, 19, etc. See further, Peck's *Arraignment of Paris* IV, 1:

"because he knew no more
 Fair Venus' ceston than Dame Juno's mace,
 Nor never saw wise Pallas' crystal shield."

251 and 252. *Parl. of F.* 298:

"ther sat a quene
 That, as of light the somer-sonne shene
 Passeth the sterre, right so ouer mesure
 She fairer was than any creature."

Flour of C. 113—116 :

“ Ryght by example, as the somer sonne
Passeth the sterre with his beames shene,
And Lucifer amonge the skyes donne
A morowe sheweth, to voidé nightes tene” . . .

Machault, *Fontaine Amoureuse* (see Skeat, *M. P.*, p. 259) :

“ Qui, tout aussi com li solaus la lune
Veint de clarté,
Avait-elle les autres sormonté
De pris, d’onneur, de grace, de biauté.”

253, etc. Compare *Story of Thebes*, fol. 363 a :

“ And like, in soth, as Lucifer the sterre (l. 253)
Gladeth the morowe at his vprising :
So the ladies, at her in coming, (ll. 282 and 283)
With the stremes of her eyen clere
To al the Courte broughten in gladnesse.”

Cp. also, further on, ll. 328—331 and 1348.

255. *Testament*, Halliwell, p. 244 :

“ May among moneths sitte lyk a queene.”

. 257—261. Cp. *Flour of C.* 120—123 :

“ And as the Ruby hath the souerainte
Of riche stones, and the regalie :
And the rose, of swetnesse and beaute,
Of freshe floures, without any lye” . . .

For eloquent praise of the rose as the queen of flowers, see Dunbar’s *Thriussill and Rois*, l. 141 etc.

259. *L. Lady* a₃ b :

“ And as the Rubye hath the renoun
Of stones al and domynacion,
Right so this mayde, to speke of holynesse,
Of wymmen alle is lady and maistresse” (cf. l. 296).

Fails of Pr. 88 a : “ so clere his renoune shone”
As doth a Rubye aboue eche other stone.”

Edmund I, 977 : “ And as the Ruby, kyng of stonys alle,
Reioiseth ther presence with his naturel liht.”

Albon I, 298 : “ As amonge stonys the Ruby is moost shene.”

Reason & S. 294 a : “ For this Royal stoon famous

Was a Ruby vertuous,
Which hath by kynde the dignite
Of stonys and the souereynete.”

ib. 295 a : “ the Rubye vertuous,

Which is a stoon Most plenteuous,
Of vertu, yif I shal nat tarye,
Preferred in the lapydarye,
With grace and hap a mañ to avaunce.”

ll. 265, 266 occur almost word for word in the *Troy-Book* H₃ a :

“ So he meruayleth hir great semelynesse, (*Helen*)
Hir womanhede, hir porte and hir fayrenesse.”

267—270. *Troy-Book* H₃ a :

“ For neuer afore ne wende he that nature
Coude haue made so fayre a creature :
So aungellyke she was of hir beaute,
So femynyne, so goodly on to se.”

ib. S₃ d : (*Achilles*) “ gan meruayle greatly in his thought,
How god or kynde euer myght haue wrought,
In theyr werkes, so fayre a creature.”

Cp. also the description of Cryseyde, *Troilus I*, 100—105.

271. This line contains one of Lydgate’s favourite phrases, “ hair bright like-gold-wire” (golden thread). Compare the following passages :

- Troy-B.* C₂ c: "His sonnysshe heer, crisped lyke golde were" (*Jason*).
ib. I, d: "Hir sonnysshe heer, lyke Phebus in his sper
 Bounde in a tresse, bryghter than golde were" (*Cryseyde*).
ib. I₆ a: "With lockes yelow, lyke gold wyre of colour" (*Paris*).
ib. S₃ d: "Hir heer also resemblynge to golde wyere" (*Polyxena*).
ib. Q₃ c: "And eke vntrussed hir heer abrode gan sprede,
 Lyke to golde wyre, for-rent and all to-torne" (*Cryseyde*).
ib. Z₆ a: "With heer to-rent, as any golde wyer shene" (*Polyxena*).
ib. C₂ d: "With berde yspronge, shyynunge lyke gold weer" (*Jason*).

Assembly of Gods b₂ b:

"Whoos long here shone as wyre of golde bryght" (*Venus*).

Chorl and Bird 59:

(a bird) "With sonnyssh feders bryghter then gold were."

Reason and S. 223 b:

"Whos here as eny gold wyre shoñ" (*Venus*).

It seems that this expression was started by Lydgate; at least I cannot point to an earlier instance. We have the phrase again in the *Kingis Quair* 1, 4:

"tressis like the goldin wyre";

it occurs in one of the *Roxburghe Ballads* (62, stanza 5):

"First is her haire like threds of golden wyre";

cp. further, Henryson, *Testament of Cresseid* 177:

"As golden wier so glittring was his heare" (*Jupiter*);

Lyndsay, *Anc Satyre*, 342:

"Hir hair is like the goldin wyre."

These two examples are also quoted by Henry Wood, *Chaucer's influence upon King James I.*, p. 5, note.

Hawes, *Past. of Pleasure*, p. 79:

"Her heer was downe so clerely shyynunge,
 Lyke to the golde, late purifyed with fyre;
 Her heer was bryght as the drawne wyre."

It is found in Spenser's "Hymn in honour of Beauty," stanza 14:

"That golden wire, those sparkling stars so bright,
 Shall turn to dust, and lose their goodly light";

further in his *Ruins of Time*, stanza 2:

"A woman . . . Rending her yellow locks, like wiry gold,
 About her shoulders carelessly down trailing";

more than once in the *Fairy Queen*; for instance, II, 3, 30, 1:

"Her yellow lockes, crisped like golden wyre" (*Belphoebe*);

cp. also *ib.* II, 4, 15, and II, 9, 19; in Gascoigne's *Dun Bartholomew*, stanza 9; and several times in Peele; see *David and Bethsabe* II, 2:

"Thou fair young man, whose hairs shine in mine eye
 Like golden wires of David's ivory lute" (Absalon),

and, again, II, 3:

"His hair is like the wire of David's harp,
 That twines about his bright and ivory neck."

Even Shakspeare seems to allude to the phrase, in the *Sonnets* 130, 4:

"If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head";

cp. further *King John* III, 4, 64.

A passage in the *Celestina* has also this idea; Calisto praises his beloved Melibea thus: "Comienzo por los cabellos: ¿ves tú las madejas del oro delgado que hilan en Arabia? Mas lindos son, y no resplandescen menos" (see the English translation in Dodsley-Hazlitt, I, 61). The notion of "golden," "sunnish" hair, as being ideal in colour, was common at the time; Chaucer also has it frequently; see *Duchesse* 858; *House of F.* 1387; *Doctor's Tale*, l. 37 etc. (*Virginia*); *Knights Tale* 191, 1308, 1431; *Wife of Bath's Prol.* 304; *Troilus* IV, 708:

"Hire ownded here, that sonnyssh was of hewe."

ib. IV, 788: "Hire myghty tresses of hire sonnysshe hewes."

See further, *Kingis Quair* 46, 2 (Lady Joan is described as having "goldin hair"), and *Rom. of the R.* 539 (Idleness); *Court of Love* 138, 654, 780;

Douglas's *Palice of Honour* I, 10, 22 (ed. Small); Dunbar, *Golden Targe* 61 and 62 (similar to *Parl. of Foules* 267, 268) and I, 61, l. 19 (ed. Laing):

"So glitterit as the gold wer thair glorius gilt tressis."

Troy-Book I, b: "Lyke g alde hir tresses" (*Andromache*);
Story of Thebes 371 c:

"And gan to rende her gylte tresses clere."

Court of S. a, b: "She gan vnlace her tressed sommysshe here" (*Merry*).

Par le Roy, Halliwell, p. 8:

"Lyke Phebus bemys shone her goldyn tresses" (and cp. p. 6, l. 18).

Falls of Fr. 13 b:

"Her father had a fatal heere that shone (*Scylla and Nisus*)

Brighter then gold" (occurs again in *Reason and S.* 261 b);

Ib. 60 b: "Her here vntressed like Phebus in his sphere."

Ib. 119 b: "Her golden heere was al to-torne and rent."

Cp. also *Ballad of the fair Rosamund* (in Percy):

"Her crisped lockes like threads of golde

Appeard to each man's sight."

I hope these passages will sufficiently prove that Shakspeare had not to go to Italy for this idea. Some of the Italian paintings present to us, it is true, an exact illustration of this "hair like gold-wire;" especially those of the Venetian school, and many of Botticelli's.

272—277. Compare the description of Helen in the *Troy-Book*, H₃a, which bears a striking likeness to our passage:

"Hir golden heer, lyke the sonne stremes

Of fresshe Phebus with his bryght[e] bemes,

The goodlyhede of hir fresshly face, (l. 273)

So replenysshed of beaute and grace, (l. 274)

Euen ennewed with quycknesse of colour,

Of the rose, and the lylye flour,

So egally that nouthur was to wyte,

Thorough none excesse, of moche nor of lyte."

275. enmyd.] See the passage quoted in the last note; also *Life of our Lady* a, a, where the Virgin is described as "ennewyd" with the "rose of womanly sufferance and the lily of elastity"; further *Troy-Book* C₂b:

"But euer amonge, to ennewe hir coloure, (*Medea's*)

The rose was meynt with the lylye flour."

Reason and S. 217 a:

"And hir colour and hir hiwe

Was eue ylych[e] fresh and nywe" (*Pallas*).

Duchesse 906: "And every day her beaute newed."

Cp. also *Calisto and Melibea* (Dodsley-Hazlitt, I, p. 62):

"Her skin of whiteness endarketh the snow,

With rose-colour ennewed;"

further, Skelton, *Philip Sparrow* 1003, 1032; *Garl. of Laurel* 985; also *Garl. of Laurel* 389, *Phil. Spar.* 775, and Dyce's quotations in the note to the last-named passage. See also the quotation from Skelton in note to next line.

276. *L. Lady* a, b:

"Whos chekes weren, her beaute for to eke,

With lilyes meynte & fressh[e] roses reed."

Skelton, *Garland of Laurel* 883:

"The enbuddid blossoms of roses rede of hew

With lillis whyte your bewte doth renewe."

Cp. also *Doct. Tale* 32—34.

279, etc. Compare ll. 267, etc.; and 578, etc. Similarly, *Chartier*, p. 695 (ed. 1617):

"Tant bien l'ont voulu apprester

Dieu & nature à leur vouloir."

283. enlunynd.] It is a poetical idea that the Lady's beauty should "illu-

mine" the whole temple round about her. We have it again in *Life of our Lady* f₂ b :

"And as she entrid, a newe sodeyn light
All the place enlumyned enuyron"
(*The Virgin in the stable at Bethlechem*).

Similarly, *King Horn*, l. 391, 392 :

"Of his faire sijte
Al þe bur gan liȝte" ;

Dunbar, *Thriissill and Rois* 155—157 :

"A coistly croun, with clarefeid stonis brycht,
This emuly Quene did on hir heid inclois,
Quhyll all the land illumynit of the licht."

Edmund III, 224 : "a child . . . Which sholde enlumyne al this regioun."
Troy-Book C₁ c :

"That hir comyng gladeth all the halle" (*Midea*).

Intelligenza 15, 1 :

"La sua sovramirabile bieltate
Fa tutto 'l mondo più lucente e elhiaro."

Cp. also *Reason and S.* 204 b, etc. :

"the beaute of hir face, (*Dame Nature*)
The whiche abouten al the place
Caste so mervelous a lyght,
So clere, so perceyng and so bryght . . .
That I ne myght[e] nat sustene
In hir presence to abyde,
But went[e] bak and stood asyde."

284, etc. Compare with these lines the very similar description of a lady in the *Parliament of Love*, 60 etc.

291. dalliaunce.] Very much the same as "beauparlaunce" in the *Court of S.* f₁ b, and "parladura" in the *Intelligenza* 7, 9. In Lydgate the word *dalliaunce* seems always to refer to speech ; cp. *Falls of Pr.*, fol. 53 b and 145 d : "(faire) speche and daliaunee," and l. 18, fol. 34 c :

"He axed was among great audience, (*Xenocrates*)
Why he was solayne of his daliaunee :
His answeere was that neuer for sciencce
Through litle speaking he felt[e] no greuance."

Ib. 69 b : "Men with thee wyl haue no daliaunee" (*Poverty*).

Ib. 119 d : "Under a curtayn of double daliaunee."

Ib. 144 c : "John Bochas sate & heard al her daliaunee."

Ib. 163 d : "Of Rethoriciens whilom that wer old,
The sugred language & vertuous daliaunee."

Ib. 197 a : "Through his subtil false daliaunee,
By craft he fylh into her acquaintaunee."

Albon II, 730, 731 :

"Of Christis fayth and (of) his religion
Was theyr [talkyng] and theyr daliance" ;

Ib. II, 1612 : "theyr langage and theyr daliance" . . .

In the *Pilgrimage of Man*, MS. Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 43 b, we have the lines :

"Though sche and I bothe two
Hadde I-dfere longe daliance,"

which are a translation of the French :

"Combien qua moy long parlament
Ait tenu" . . . (Barthole et Petit, fol. 63 b).

Ib. MS. Cott. Vit. C. XIII, fol. 10 a :

(Doctors and prelates) "By speche and by dallyaunce
Teelhyng pylgrymes."

292. The beste tauzt.] See p. lxxix of the Introduction, and *ten Brink* § 246, end of note. L. 558 is doubtful (The moste passing?).

292, 293. well of plesance.] *well* is very common in this usage ; cp. *Wife*

of *Bath's Prol.* 107; *Sec. Nun's Tale* 37, etc.; so is *mirroure* (l. 294); see again, *T. of Glas*, ll. 754 and 974; *Man of Law's Tale* 68, etc.

295. *secrenes*.] This is the 2nd Statute in the *Court of Love* (l. 309) and always much commended in lovers; see again l. 900; 757, 1005, 1154; *Troil.* III, 93, 429.—*Ib.* l. 245:

“That firste vertu is to kepe tonge.”

The same maxim occurs also in a poem of Lydgate's in the Harl. MS. 2255, fol. 150 a:

“And Catoñ wrytt in pleyn language,
The first vertu, whoo-so lyst it rede,
Keep your tonge froom al Outrage.”

In the *Kingis Quair*, stanza 97, l. 3, “Secrettee” is “chamberere” of Venus.

296. *Troy-Book* Y₁c:

“Of women all lady and maystresse” (*Penthesileia*).

See again l. 972, and note to line 259. The expression “lady and maystresse” occurs also in the *Pilgrimage* 59 a; *Isle of Ladies* 2003; *Rom. of the Rose* 5881; Douglas's *Palice of Honour*, ed. Small, I, 3, 17, and frequently elsewhere.

297. *Life of our Lady* a, a:

“If that hem lyst, of hyr they myght[er] here” (*the Virgin Mary*).

Lere (O.E. *lêran*) meant originally “to teach,” as in l. 656; here and in l. 1021, it means “to learn.” *Vice-versâ*, “leune” (O.E. *leornjan*) means also “to teach,” for instance, *Falls of Pr.* 213 c. Similar to our passage is further *Doct. Tale* 107—110. In the *Sec. Nun's Tale* 92, Chaucer explains the name of St. Cecilia as meaning

“the way of blynde.

For sche ensample was by way of techyng.”

299. *grene and white*]. This, the redactor of group A changed into *in blak* *In red*, as the green colour was considered the token of inconstancy, whilst blue signified faithfulness; cf. Chaucer's *Ballade on Newe-fangynesse*, of which the burden is:

“In stede of blew, thus may ye were al grene.”

This is taken from Machault (ed. Tarbé, p. 56). See also *Squires T.* II, 298, 299, and Skeat's note; further, *Court of Love* 246, etc.; *Aelida* 146, 330, and Skeat's note, where he quotes from Lydgate:

“Watchet-blewe of feyned stedfastnes, . . .

Meint with light grene, for change & doublenes.”

(*Falls of Pr.*, fol. 143 c.)

In the *Rom. of the Rose* 573, *Ydelnesse* is represented as wearing a coat of green colour: in *The Flower and the Leaf*, the worshippers of the quickly fading flower are clad in green (l. 329, etc.).

But there was nevertheless no occasion to make the alteration in Group A. Thus, *Alceste* in Chaucer is “clad in real habit grene” (*Legend*, Prologue, 214); similarly *Emelye* in the *Knights T.*, l. 828, corresponding to Boccaccio's *Teseide*; ep. canto XII, stanza 65 of that poem:

“ella fosse . . . viceamente

D'un drappo verde di valor supremo Vestita.”

Diana's statue is “clothed in gaude grene,” *Knights T.* 1221, and *Rosiall* in the *Court of L.* 816, has a green gown on. In *Edmund* III, 115, we read:

“The watty grene shewed in the Reynbowe

Off chastite disclosed his clemesse.”

Pilgrim. 12 b:

(*Grace Dieu*) “In a surecote al off whyt,
With a Tyssu gyrt off grene,
And Endlong ful bryht & shene”;

the French original reads:

(*sembloit*) “Vestement avoir dor batu
Et cinete estoit dun verd tissu.”

Ib., fol. 100 a:

“thys skryppe . . . mot be grene,
Wych colour—who so looke a-ryht—

Doth gret comfort to the syht,
Sharpeth the Eye, yt ys no dred."

Compare also Barclay, as quoted in Dyce's *Skelton*, p. xiv:

"Mine habite blacke accordeth not with grene,
Blacke betokeneth death as it is dayly sene;
The grene is pleasour, freshe lust and iolite;
These two in nature hath great diuersitie."

In the *Castle of Perseverance*, Truth is represented as wearing "a sad-coloured green"; see Skeat's note to *Piers Plowman*, C-text XXI, 129 (p. 406).

Kindermann's *Teutscher Wolrdner* (Appendix, p. 19) has: "Grün gibt Freude / Ehre / Liebe und Hoffnung zu-erkennen." Green was, according to the astrology of that time, Venus's colour; see Morley, *Eng. Writers*, 2nd ed., V, 139; and cp. *Love's Labour's Lost* I, 2, 90: "Green, indeed, is the colour of lovers."

301. stones and perre.] Occurs again in l. 310. Lydgate has it often, for instance, *Falls of Pr.* 109 b; 128 c; 159 a; 170 d; 191 c; 198 c; "perre and stones" occurs in *Falls of Pr.* 183 c.

301, etc. Cp. *Assembly of Ladies* 257 c:

"Her gowne wel was embrouded certainly
With stones after her owne denise,
In her purfil her worde by and by
Bien & loyalement, as I coude denise."

311. This is to sein.] Very frequent in Lydgate; it occurs again in ll. 426, 512, 715, 1124. Also in Chaucer, *Squ. T.* II, 186, 293; *Prior. T.* 48; *Melibe.* p. 146, 158, 159, 161, 163, 168; *Pers. T.*, p. 266, 286, 289, etc.

pis benigne.] Occurs again, without a noun, in l. 1402. Cp. also *Kingis Quair* 42, 3: "that verray womanly."

312. For the motto see *Flower and Leaf* 548—550:

"For knightes ever should be persevering,
To seeke honour without feintise or slouth,
Fro wele to better in all manner thing."

Edmund I., 361: "Fro good in vertu to better he dide encesse."

Pilgrim. 291 b: "Fro good to bet alway pefolyte."

Lydgate seems to have some difficulty in explaining the motto; at any rate, he does so very awkwardly, which might point to its being the actual family-motto of some fair lady. Similar mottoes with comparatives are not rare; for instance: "Altiora peto," or "Excelsior." Numerous French mottoes are found in the *Assembly of Ladies*, but none like ours. Perhaps a negative counterpart to our present expression may serve to illustrate it further, *Falls of Pr.* 138 a:

"Fro better to worse she can so wel trausmie [*Fortune*]
The state of them that wyll no vertue sue."

320. This line occurs word for word in the *Troy-Book* B₅c. See also *Compl. unto Pite* 56:

"Theffect of which seith thus, in wordes fewe."

321. Similar in tone to this prayer is the one in ll. 701, etc.; 1341, etc.; *Knightes T.* 1363, etc.; the poem to Book III in *Troilus*; *Kingis Quair*, stanza 52, 99 etc.; Chapter XXX of the *Pastime of Pleasure*.

322, 323. With respect to this all-dominating power of Venus, Lydgate proposes the following etymology (*Reason and S.*, fol. 265 a):

"Venus ys sayde of venquysshing,
For she venquyssheth euery thing."

If this etymology should not be acceptable, there is another one, deriving *Venus* from *vener* (to hunt), *Pilgrim.* 128 a, and yet another, deriving *Venus* from *venom* (*Reason and S.* 248 b)!—See also note to l. 619.

322. Similar expressions, *Leg. of Dido* 121:

"Fortune that hath the world in gouernaunce;"

Doct. Tale 73: "That lordes doughtres han in gouernaunce."

Court of L. 1371: "The God of Love hath erth in governaunce."

Generybes (ed. Wright), 2049, 2050:

"The fornest ward . . . The kyng of Turkey had in governaunce."

Compl. of Mars 110: "she that hath thyn herte in governaunce."

Reason and S. 229 b: "Which hath lone in governaunce" (*Venus*).
There was, therefore, no need of Caxton's alteration.

323. Cp. *Reason and S.*, fol. 222 b:

"And thorgh hir myght, which ys dyvyne,
She the proude kan enlyne
To lownesse and humilyte" (*Venus*).

[*hauteyn*.] The word is curiously corrupted in our best MSS., although it is not of rare occurrence; for instance, *Parl. Prolog.* 44; *Legend of good W.* 1120; *Rom. of the Rose* 6104; Wyntoun, *Cronykil* V, 12, 271; *De duob. Merc.* (MS. III. IV. 12, fol. 69 b):

"That whilom was in rychesse so hauteyn" (*rhyming with paine*).

Magnus Calo: "Refreyne thy self, be nat hawteyne ne to hye"

(Caxton reads *haute*, which we have also *Falls of Pr.* 135 b).

Reason and S. 275 a:

"For ther is nouthur halt nor lame
So hawteyn nor so surquedous . . .
But they must of diwe ryght . . .
Stonde vnder his obeysaunce" (*Cupid's*).

325. *Causer*.] MS. G reads, in opposition to all other texts, *Cause*, which no doubt is wrong. We read also in the *Complaynt of Mars*, l. 46:

"The faire Venus, causer of plesaunce."

328. blissful.] Common epithet for Venus; see further on l. 1100; *Knightes Tale* 1357; *Parl. of F.* 113; *Troilus* II, 234, 680; III, Proem 1; III, 656, 663; IV, 1633; *Kingis Quair* 76, 6; 101, 6; *Court of L.* 580.

[*persant*.] This does not seem to be a Chaucerian word; see Skeat, *Why "The Romant of the Rose" is not Chaucer's*, p. 446. It is common in Lydgate: in the *T. of Glas* it occurs again in ll. 756, 1341; we have it several times in the *Black Knight* (ll. 28, 358, 591, 613), and elsewhere; also in the *Complaynt* 574 (and, I believe, does not here denote the northern participle, but is written for *ant, antel*). The word occurs further in the *Rom. of the Rose*, ll. 2809 and 4179; *Court of Love* 849; *Fairy Queen* I, 10, 47, 5 etc. Cp. also *Kingis Quair* 103, l. 1.

328—331. With these lines compare ll. 253, 254, and 1355—1358.

331. woful.] MS. L and Prints read *woful herbes*, which is too much for the metre. Nor does grammar require it; cp. *Man of Law's Tale* 752:

"to whom alle woful cryen,"

and *Chorl and Bird* 249:

"Comforthith sorowful, and makith heuy hertis light."—

"voide" is similarly construed in *L. Lady* l, a:

"To voyde hem out of al derknesse."

Stanza 3 a, 3. Wekkede tongis.] See note to l. 153.

3 b. See note to l. 148.

3 c. [fried in his owne grease.] Occurs in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, l. 487; see Hazlitt, *English Proverbs*, p. 258.

3 d. For Mars, Venus, and Vulcan, see ll. 126—128, and note; for Adonis, l. 64, and *Black Knight* 644.

341. The meaning of some of the lines in the Lady's complaint is not clear; the author makes her express her wishes in a very vague way.

342. Mi worship sauf.] Similarly *Kingis Quair* 143, 5: "Hi worschip sauf" = her honour being kept safe; and see *ib.* 142, 7, and *Duchesse* 1271. Cp. also *Ancilida* 267: "My honour save"; the same expression occurs in *Troil.* II, 480; III, 110; and see *T. of Glas* 1117. In the *Falls of Pr.* 73 d we read:

"Iniury done or any maner wrong,
Agayn my worschip or mine honestie" (*Lucifer*).

In *Magnus Vato* the expression "salvo tamen ante pudore" is paraphrased by:
 "Ay sauynge thy worship and honeste."

346. Compare *Rom. of the Rose* 2424:

"And I abyde al sole in wo,
 Departed from myn owne thought,
 And with myne eyen se ryght nought."

348. *Story of Thebes* 363 b: "Atwene two hanging in a balance."

Elmound III, 477: "Thus atween tweyne hangyng in ballance."

Cp. also further on *T. of Glas*, l. 641.

350, 351. Compare *Parl. of F.* 90, 91:

"For bothe I hadde thing which that I nolde,
 And eek I ne hadde that thing that I wolde."

Court of L. 988: "But that I like, that may I not come by;
 Of that I playn, that have I habondaunce."

See also *Compl. unto Pite* 99, etc., and poem XXI in Skeat, *Chaucer's Minor Poems*, l. 47:

"For al that thing which I desyre I mis,
 And al that ever I wolde nat, I-wis,
 That fynde I redy to me evermore;"

further Boethius, 3d prose of book III: "Nonne quia vel aberat, quod abesse non velles; vel aderat, quod adesse noluisse?"

356 and 357. heat and cold.] These lovers are constantly in extremes of temperature; see *Troil.* I, 420; II, 698; *Complaynt* 523, etc.

358. access = an attack of fever; cp. *Troy-Book* Aa₆d; *Falls of Pr.* 172 d; 217 a; *L. Lady* ga. Exceedingly common with these lovers; see *Troil.* II, 1315, 1543, 1578; *Kingis Quair* 67, 5; 144, 5; Skelton, *Garland of Laurel* 315; *Cuckoo and Night*, 39; *Black Knight* 136; *De duobus Merc.* fol. 62 b; *Falls of Pr.* 124 a:

"With lones accesse now wer thei whote now cold."

In the *Play of the Sacrament*, l. 611, we have the word as a monosyllable *axs*, rhyming with *laxe* (see the *Transactions of the Phil. Soc.* 1860/61, Appendix):

"Who hat[h] y^e canker y^e collyke or y^e laxe,
 The tereyan y^e quartanc or y^e brynny[n]g axs."

sweltre and swete.] *Rom. of the Ro.* 2480:

"Though thou for love swelte and swete."

Similarly *Miller's Tale* 517.

362. Cp. *Troil.* II, 538, 539:

"And wel the hootter ben the gledis rede
 That men hem wren with asshen pale and dede."

De duobus Merc. (MS. Ith. IV. 12, fol. 62 a):

"I am I-hurt, but closed is my wond;
 My dothes spere stykkyth in my brest;
 My bollyng festyryth that it may nat sond,
 And yit no cicatrice shewith at the best."

Flour of C. 26: "And though your lyfe be medled w^t greuaunce,
 And at your herte closet be your wounde."

Soliman and Perseda (Dodsley-Hazlitt V, 296):

"And I must die by closure of my wound."

385. This line occurs again word for word further on in our *T. of Glas*, as l. 1295. Similar to it is line 639 of the *Court of Love*:

"Withoute offence of mutabilité."

388. According to Chaucer and Lydgate, Saturn is Aphrodite's father; see the *Knights Tale* 1595, where Saturn addresses Venus "my deere daughter Venus"; further on, l. 1619, Saturn calls himself Venus's *ayel*. Lydgate's *Reason and Sensuality* (fol. 219 b etc., and 221 b etc.) tells the same story concerning Venus's birth, as Hesiod's *Theogony*, with the difference that the part of Uranus is given to Saturn, and that of Saturn to Jupiter. Comp. especially fol. 222 a:

"For wrytyng of poetis halt

That she roos of the foōm most salt,
Which ryseth in the wawes felle,
That fyualy, as clerkes telle,
The See was moder to Venus,
And hir fader Saturnus."

Lydgate may have taken this from his favourite Fulgentius (ed. Muncker, p. 70). Cp. also *Rom. of the Rose* 5956—5959. Chaucer, however, calls Venus also "doughter to Dyon" (*Troilus* III, 1758), a version well-known from the *Ital.* —The astrological influence of Saturn is the most baneful of all planets; see *Troil.* III, 667; *Knights T.* 229, 479, and particularly 1595 etc.; Dunbar, *Golden Targe* 114; *Kiŋgis Quair* 122:

"Or I sall, with my fader old Saturne,
And with al hale onre hevynly alliance (see *T. of Glas.* l. 1231)
Oure glad aspectis from thame writh and turne."

Lyndsay's *Dream*, 474:

"Tyll Sātunnūs, quhilk trublis all the hewin
With hevuy cheir, and cullour pail as leid" . . .

394. I suppose "a dropping mone" means a wet or misty moon, as portending rainy weather. Cp. *Falls of Pr.* 67 b:

"Of Diana the transmutacion,
Now bright, now pale, now clere, now dropping."

Some texts of the *Temple of Glas* also read *droppage*, which, of course, is O.E. strong drēopan, whilst *dropping* comes from O.E. weak dropian.

395, 396. Cp. *Troilus* III, 1011—1015; further *Guy of Warwick* 11:

"The sonne is hatter after sharpe schours . . .
And after mystys Phebus schyneth bright."

Troy-Book I, b: "For after stormes Phebus bryghter is."
Albon II, 1918: "as passed is the daungere

Of stormy weders, Phebus is most clere."

Piers Plowman, C-text XXI, 456, 457:

"After sharpest shoures . . . most sheene is þe sonne;
Ys no weder warmer þan after watery cloudes."

Spenser, *A Hyman in honour of Love*, ll. 277, 278:

"As after stormes, when clouds begin to clear,
The sun more bright and glorious doth appear."

Cp. also Boethius, *De cons. phil.*, 2nd metre of book III.

397. "Joy cometh after whan the sorow is past."

Hawes, *Pastime of Pl.* (ed. Wright, p. 145).

398, 399. *Rom. of the R.* 2119:

"To worshiþe no wight by aventure
May come, but if he peyne endure."

400 and 401. Similar sentiments in stanzas 104, 105.

401. That.] The same construction in l. 362, and *Falls of Pr.* 71 d:

"For more contraye was their falling lowe
That they tofore had of no mischief knowe."

401. (*wrapped and amate*), frequent expression: see *Black Knight* 168; *S. of Thebes*, fol. 359 d; *Troy-Book* A₃ c, O₁ b, O₂ a, U₃ a, X₃ d; *Pilgrim*, 22 a, 298 b. *archaped* alone occurs *Troy-Book* O₃ a; *Falls of Pr.* 39 b; *Anclida* 215; *Legend*, *Prol.* 132; *Thisbe* 109; *Philomela* 94; Gower and Spenser also have it. l. and b read *wrapped*; cp. Miss Toulmin Smith, *Gorboduc*, p. 68.

403, 404. Very much the same is expressed in l. 1251. Cp. also *Troil.* I, 638:

"For how myght evere swetenesse han ben knowe
To hym that nevere tasted bitteresse?"

Court of S. a₂ α: "as tasted bytternesse
All swete thyng maketh be more preyous."

De duobus Merc. (IIh. IV, 12, fol. 60 a):

"But as to hem that hath I-tasted galle,
More agreeable is the hony soote."

Court of S. a, b: "And ryght as swete hath his apryce by soure."
Surrey (Abline Poets, p. 30): "by sour how sweet is felt the more."
Dunbar, ed. Laing, I, 89, l. 81:

"And how nane deservis to haif sweetness,
 That never taistit bitterness."

The sentiment is reversed in the *Rom. of the Rose* 4138.

405. Grisilde.] See l. 75.

407. Penelope.] See l. 67.

dulle as an intransitive verb occurs *Troy-Book* I, b, M, b; *Falls of Pr.* 35 d, 105 b, 136 b, 159 d; *Troilus* IV, 1461; *Rom. of the R.* 4795. MSS. G and S read *dwellle*; similarly we have in MS. Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 88 b (*Pilgrimage of Man*):

"And after that sche lyste not dwellle,
 But gan hir hanker vp to pulle."

409. Dorigene.] This is taken from the *Frankelynes Tale*. Compare particularly Dorigene's Complaint, ll. 619—718. She is also mentioned in *Flour of C.* 192:

"Stelfast of herte, as was Dorigene."

411. *Troil.* I, 952: "And also joye is next the fyn of sorwe."

411. *Pilgrim.*, fol. 101 a:

"For scyntys wych that suffrede so,
 I wot ryht wel that they be go
 To paradys, & Entryd in."

Isle of Ladies 941, 942:

"And saied he trowed her compleint
 Should after cause her be corseint."

419. *Je maner and je guyse.*] Common formula; see, for instance, *Troil.* II, 916; *Reason and S.* 273 a, 281 a, etc.

421. The word *emprise* usually means "undertaking"; but it seems also to have the meaning "lore, teaching (cp. *apprise*), governance"; for instance:

"To folwe themprises of my profession."

Testament, Halliwell, p. 257.

"For whilom he learned his emprise

Of his Maister, Amphiorax the wise." *S. of Thelous* 376 a.

Cupid's *emprise* comes often in the *Rom. of the R.*, see ll. 1972, 2147, 2286, 4908; cp. further, *Elmound* II, 124, and *Reason and S.* 286 b:

"Who that ys kaught in his *servise*,
 And y-bounde to his emprise" (*Loce's*).

424. Again a stock-line of our monk's, repeated in l. 879. It occurs also in the *Black Knight*, l. 554; *Troy-Book* Bb, d; *L. Lady* f, a. Similarly, *Pilgrim.* 183 b:

"Gruechelyng nor rebelloun,
 Nor no contradiccouna."

431. in parti and in al], *Formula*, occurring again l. 1155; also in the *Troy-Book* H, a, N, c, X, c, Y, c; *L. Lady* c, b; *Falls of Pr.* 184 a; *Alton* I, 228.

436. See l. 838. Cp. also *Reason and S.*, fol. 223 b:

(Venus) "hild also in hir ryght honde
 Rede as a kole A firy bronde,
 Castyng sparklys fer a-broode,"

where, in the rubric, the following wise remark stands: "hoc fingunt poete propter ardorem libidinis." This passage is immediately followed by an interesting allusion to the Greek fire.

445. *Je arow of gold.*] See l. 112.

450. to eschew vice.] See l. 1181. The sentiment that true love is able to make the lover "eschew every sin and vice," is frequently met with in poems of this period; cp. *Troilus* I, 252; III, 1751—1757, and III, poem 24:

"Algates hem that ye wol sette a fyre,
 Thei dreden shame, and vices thei resigne."

See further *Cuckoo and Nightingale* 14, 151 etc., 191 etc.; *Court of Love* 598 etc., 1066—1078; Al. Chartier, *Le Parlement d'Amour*, ed. Tourangeau, p. 697:

“Car luy, qui n'a comparaison,
Ne peut souffrir en son serf vice.”

451. spice.] Cp. *Falls of Pr.* 115 b:

“And spoyled he was, shortly to specifye,
With al the spices of pride and lecherye.”

Reason and S. 299 a:

(Idelnesse) “bryngeth in al maner spices
Of vnthryfte and al vyces.” . . .

Cp. also *Henry VIII.*, II, 3, 26:

“For all this spice of your hypocrisy,”

where Al. Schmidt rightly explains *spice* by *taste, tincture*. We have similar ‘y spice of heresy’ in *Calisto and Melibea*, Dodsley-Hazlitt I, 58. Cp. also “a spiced conscience,” in Chaucer’s *Prolog* to the *Can.* *Tals*, l. 526, and Skeat’s note.

455. crop and root.] Common *formula* of Lydgate’s. See, further on, l. 1210; and *Troy-Book* A₂ b, A₁ d, G₂ c, G₁ c, H₁ d, I₃ c, I₆ d, O₃ a, Z₆ a, Aa₁ c, Dd₁ c; *L. Lady* b₆ a; *Assem. of Gods* b; b; *S. of Thebes*, fol. 360 d; *Falls of Pr.*, fol. 8a, 30a, 75a, 116d, 199a (ground, chief, crop & roote); *Leg. of Margaret* 322; *Reason and S.*, fol. 203 b, 205 b (where we hear that the “mevnyng of the speres nyne” is

“both crop and roote

Of musyk and of songis soote”), 239 b, 289 b.

Cp. further, *Compluynt* 397; *Troil.* II, 318; V, 1245; *Generydes*, ed. Wright, l. 4940; *Letter of Cupid*, stanza 3 etc.

We have almost certainly to read *trouthē*.

460. orisoun.] Such addresses to heathen gods are often called *orisouns* in the style of this period (see also l. 696). The word occurs, for instance, in the same usage, in the *Knights T.* 1403; *Kingis Quair* 53, 1 (in both cases addressed to Venus). In the *Troy-Book* S₂ b, “deuoute orysons” are offered by the priests for Hector, etc.

462. of goode ȝit þe best.] Cp. the line

“For of al goode she is the beste lyyvynge,”

which forms the burden of the ballad at the end of *Cuckoo and Nightingale*.

463, etc. The story is told in the *Troy-Book*, Chapter XII (Book II), and again in *Reason and S.*; see particularly fol. 228a—230a. Similar to our passage are the words of Mercury to Paris (*Troy-Book* G₃ d), where he tells him that the three goddesses

“Were at a feste, as I the tell[e] shall,
With all the goddes alone celestyall, (cp. l. 166)
That lubyter helde at his owne borde.”

The story is again alluded to in the *Assem. of Gods* b₃ a.

Line 466 occurs also nearly word for word in *Troy-Book* N₁ c:

“To the goddes above celestyall.”

Cp. also *Reason and S.*, fol. 209 b:

“Lych to the godlys immortal,
That be above celestiaall.”

In *Reason and S.* 224 a, Venus holds the apple in her hand, as an attribute, and emblem of her victory.

472. See the similar vow of Anelida, at the end of Chaucer’s poem, and that of Aleyone, *Duchesse* 114. In the *Life of our Lady* h₃ a we read:

“And with encenee cast in the sencere
He dyd worschyp vnto the autlere” (*Octavian*).

Knights T. 1393:

“Thy temple wol I worschipe evermo,
And on thin auter, wher I ryde or go,
I wol do sacrifice, and fyres beete.”

See also *ib.* 1417, etc.; *Court of Love* 324, and *T. of Glas* 537, etc.

486. To bring to rest, to set in (at) rest, are common expressions; see, for instance, further on ll. 1095, 1294; *Troil.* II, 760; III, 917, etc.

490. Compare Lydgate's poem *Wulfric*, l. 8 (*Halliwel*, p. 72).

494, 495. *Troil.* III, 1224:

"laude and reverence
Be to thy bonnte and thyn excellence!"

Stanza 25 *a*, 7. serpent lelosye.] See l. 148.

Stanza 25 *b*, 7. Cp. *Court of L.* 582:

"And ponysshe, Lady, greuously, we praye,
The false untrew, with counterfete pleasure."

For Malebouche, see note to l. 153.

Stanza 25 *c*, 6, 7. Cp. *Squires Tale* II, 301—303; further *Parl. of F.* 346: "the scorning lay"; *ib.* 345: "the iangling pyc"; 347: "The false lap-wing"; 343: "The oule eek, that of dethe the hode bringeth"; cp. Skeat's notes. "As the howle malicious" occurs in *Secreta Secretorum*, fol. 150 *b* (Burgh's part); see further, *Troilus* V, 319, 382. We also recall poems like *The Owle and Nightingale*, and Holland's *Howlat*. For the jay, see *Man of Law's Tale* 676: "thou janglest as a jay"; *Chan. Ven. Tale* 386: "chiteren, as doon these jayes"; *Garland of Laurel* 1262: "iangelyng iays." See further a poem in MS. Gg. 4. 27, fol. 9 *a*:

"3it in be wole þere was discord
þourgh rusti chateryng of þe Iay;
Of musik he coude non acord.
Ek pyis vnpleisant to myn pay,
þey iangeledyn & made gret distay."

Cp. further *Pilgrim.* 218 *b*:

"And iangleth euere lyk a Iay,
A bryd that callyd ys Agaas."

For the pie, cp. further *Reeves Tale* 30: "proud and pert as is a pyc"; *March. Tale* 604: "ful of jargoun, as a flekked pyc." The pie is also enumerated among the disagreeable birds by Lyndsay, *Popyngo* 647.

496. This = 'This' = This is; occurs again l. 1037, where *is* is written in full in the MS. See *Parl. of F.* 411 (and Skeat's note) and 650; the contraction occurs also in *Frank. Tale* 161, 862; *Sec. Nua's Tale* 366; *Troilus* II, 363; IV, 1165, 1246.

505. hawthorn.] Venus is usually represented with a chaplet of roses; see *Knights T.* 1102:

"And on hire heed, ful semely for to see,
A rose garland fresch and wel smel' yng."

Again, *Fame* 134:

"And also on hir heed, parde,
Hir rose-garland whyte and reed."

Reason and S. 223 *b*:

"But she had of roses rede
In stede therof a chapelet,
As compas rounde ful freshly set."

So also *Troy-Book* K, *b*:

"And on hir hede she hath a chapelet
Of roses rede, full pleasauntly yset."

Troy-Book G, *b* we are told that the red roses mean:

"hertely thoughtes glade
Of yonge folkes, that be amerous."

Kingis Quair 97, 6 and 7:

"And on hir hede, of rede rosis full suete,
A chapellet sche had, fair, fresch, and mete."

Peele also, *Arraignment of Paris* I, 1, speaks of Venus's "wreath of roses."

In explanation of the monk here choosing hawthorn for Venus's garland, rather than roses, I may mention that the May-queen used to be crowned with hawthorn; it was also used in Greek wedding-processions, and the altar of

Hymen was strewn with it.—Hawthorn is mentioned in the *Knights Tale* 650; *Black Knight* 71; *Court of L.* 1354, 1433; *Rom. of the Rose* 4002; *Flower and Leaf* 272; *Kingis Quair* 31, 5 (“hawthorn hegis knet”), and, similarly, *Dunbar*, ed. Laing, I, 61, l. 4; these passages form, however, no illustration to our line.

506. Cp. *Troy-Book* B₆ d:

“That to beholde a Ioye it was to sene.”

510. MSS. G and S introduce here “Margarete” as the name of the Lady; their reading is certainly not the original one, as the two other MSS. of their group, F and B, preserve the old reading. The name Margarete was, no doubt, introduced in connection with the glorification of the daisy by Chaucer. See above, l. 70.

514 etc.] Cp. *Flower and Leaf*, ll. 551 etc.

524. *Knights Tale* 1407: “But atte laste the statue of Venus schook.”

525. was in peas = was silent. Similarly *Troy-Book* B₁ b:

“And than anone as Iason was in pes.”

Pilgrimage, 83 b: “She stynte a whyle & was in pes.”

Isle of Ladies 1008: “every wight there should be stille,
And in peas.”

526. “femynyne of drede” occurs also in *L. Lady* a, a.

533, 534. *Troy-Book* A₁ c:

“Great was the prease that in the weye
Gan Croude and shoue to beholde and sene.”

536. shortli in a clause.] Frequent stop-gap; see *Troy-Book* Y₂ b; *Pilgrimage* 149 a; *Rom. of the Rose* 3725 etc.

536, etc. In the *Troy-Book* also, fol. H₁ a, Venus is honoured

“With gyftes byngyngye, and with pylgrymage,
With great offryngye, and with saeryfysse,
As vsed was in theyr paynem wyse.”

Helen, *Troy-Book* H₃ a, makes

“hir oblacion . . .
With many iewell, and many ryche stone.”

537. Cp. *Troy-Book* X₁ b:

“To telle[n] all the rytes and the gyse.”

Court of Love 244:

“They . . . did here sacrifice
Unto the god and goddesse in here guyse.”

539. *Story of Thebes*, fol. 377 d:

“Nor how the women rounde aboute stood,
Some with milke, and some also with blood . . .
When the ashes fully were made cold.”

540. floures.] Fulgentius, ed. Muncker, p. 71: “Huic [*Veneri*] etiam rosas in tut-lam adjiciunt. Rosæ enim & rubet & pungunt, ut etiam libido.” soft as silk.] Occurs also in Lyndsay’s *Anc Satyre*, l. 341.

541. sparrows and doves.] *Troy-Book* K₁ b:

“And enuyron, as Poetes telle,
By downes whyte flyenge and eke sparowes.”

Parl. of F. 351: “The sparrow, Venus sone;” see Skeat’s note, who quotes Lyly’s well-known song on Cupid in *Alexander and Campaspe*. See also Peele, *Arr. of Paris* I, 1:

“Fair Venus she hath let her sparrows fly,
To tend on her and make her melody;
Her turtles and her swans unyoked be,
And flicker near her side for company.”

Further, see *Tempest* IV, 100, and Sappho’s famous song on the “ποικιλόθρονος Ἀφροδίτη.” See further, *Troy-Book* G₃ b:

“Aboute hir hede hadde downes whyte (*Venus*)
With loke benyngne, and eyen debonayre;”

we are also told that these doves mean

“very Innocence

Of them in lone that but troutht mene.”

Fulgentius is again given as the source; he, however, explains this symbol very differently, see Muncker's edition, p. 71: “In hujus etiam tutelam columbas ponunt, illa videlicet causa, quod hujus generis aves sint in coitu fervidae.”

Knights Tale 1104:

“Above hire heed hire dowves flikeryng.”

Parl. of F. 237: “And on the temple, of doves whyte and faire

Saw I sittinge many a hundred paire.”

Past. of Pleasure, Chapter XXXI (ed. Wright, p. 155):

“A turtle I offred, for to magnify

Dame Venus hye estate, to glorify.”

Venus's doves are also mentioned in *Hous of P.* 137.

Cp. further *Reason and S.* 224 a:

“Ther was gret novmbre of doves white,

Rounde about hyr hede fleying”

Assembly of Gods c₃ b says of “Doctrine:”

“Ouer her hede bouyd [Wynken *honyd*] a culuer fayre & whyte.”

544. desire, *viz.*, desire to be released from.

545. *shortli to conclude*, another stop-gap; see *Knights Tale* 1037; *Story of Thebes*, fol. 356 a; 366 d, etc.

552. This solitary walk is in accordance with the 6th Statute of the Court of Love (see that poem, l. 338). Cp. also *Black Knight*, l. 587.

554, etc. Compare with this the description of the “Black Knight” (l. 155, etc.); with line 554 in particular, cp. also *Troy-Book* Dd₃ c:

“And if I shall shortly hym descryue” (*Chaucer*).

558. Have we to read: The mostē passing? See line 292.

559. “Man is here used emphatically,” says Prof. Skeat, in his Note to a similar passage in the *Leg. of Dido* (l. 251):

“For that me thinketh he is so wel y-wrought,

And eek so lykly for to be a man” (*Aeneas*).

Cp. also *Falls of Pr.* 180 c:

“Them to chastise toke on hym like a man.”

Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 4:

“How lyke a man he to the Kyng is gone” (*the Lord-Mayor of London*);

cp. *ib.* p. 207, l. 2: “But lyk a man upon that tour to abyde”;

and *Generydes*, ed. Wright, ll. 2243, 2244:

“Generides ayenward lik a mañ

With-stode his stroke, and smote hyñ so ageyñ.”

562. Ewrous.] Exactly corresponding to French *heureux*. The word occurs also in *Troy-Book* P₃ b:

“For no wyght may be aye victoryous

In peas or werre, nor glyche Eurous;”

Reason and S., fol. 216 b, and 275 b, “ewrous and fortunat;” “ewrous and happy,” fol. 272 b; “ewrous,” fol. 274 a; *Edmund* I, 1057 and II, 177; *Falls of Pr.* 5 a: “Most ewrous, most mightie of renoume.”

ib. 121 d: “The same day not happy, nor Eurous.”

Pilgrimage 62 a: “Happy also & ryht Ewrous;” similarly “happy And Ewrous,” *ib.* 260 b.

Magnus Vato: “As to be eurous, mighty, stronge, and rude”

(*eurous* stands in Caxton's print; MS. Ill. IV. 12 has *virous* instead). We have the word also twice in the English translation of Alain Chartier's *Curial*, ed. Furnivall, 5/15, and 15/21 (again the same phrase “ewrous and happy”). The corresponding noun (*eure* = *augurium*) is in common use; so is another *ure* = Lat. *opera*, O.F. *uevre* (still in Mod.-Engl. *inure*); an adjective *uorous* is also derived from this second *ure*: *Story of Thebes* 363 b (or rather, 362 b):

“Urous in armes, and manly in working.”

567. The poet's complaint in the *Flour of Curtesie*, l. 53, begins similarly : "alas what may this be."

568. *Chorl and B.* 89 : "Now am I thral and sume tyme I was free."
Clerkes Tale I, 91 : "Ther I was fre, I mot ben in servage."

572. For the omission of the article, see l. 132.

574. of nwe.] Occurs again in l. 615 ; see note to l. 1319.

575. enbraeced.] The word may here also have the meaning of French *embraser*, as it no doubt has in l. 846. Cp. *Pilgrimage*, fol. 281 a :

"And with the flawme he kan embrace [*Satan*]
Folkys bertys,"

a translation of the French line :

"Fait tous fumer et embraser" (Barthole and Petit, fol. 76 c).

Pilgr. of the Soul, fol. 50 b : [they shall ben . . .] "al enbraecyd with brennyng
brondes ;" French original :

"Et de feu tous les embrasez" (*ib.* fol. 115 d).

578, etc. See l. 279, etc. ; 267, etc.

591 etc. Cp. *Rom. of the Rose* 3529 etc.

596. yold.] Reminds one of expressions like "serf rendu" in the French love-poetry.

604. pantire.] See for this word, Skeat's note to the *Leg. of Good W.*, Prologue 130, and his *Elym. Dict.* (under painter). The word occurs also in *Rom. of the Rose* 1621 ; *Remedie of Love* (1561), fol. 323 c ; *Chorl and Bird*, ll. 77, 174, 268 ; *Troy-Book* G₂ a ; *Falls of Pr.* 66 c ; *Reason and S.* 291 b ; *Pilgrimage*, fol. 227 a ; *ib.* fol. 208 a : (Lyk a byrd . . . wych . . .)

"for dred begyneth quake,
Whan she ys in the panter take,
Or engluyd with bryd lym."

[French original : "Tant com loisel va costoyant,

Et ca et la le col tourmant,
Soumant aduient quan las est pris," etc.]

606, etc. *Troilus* I, 415 : "thus passed to and fro,

Al sterles withinne a boot am I
Anyd the see, betwexen windes two,
That in contrarie standen ever mo."

Leg. of Phyllis 27 : "and posseth him now up now down."

Falls of Pr. 69 d : "They be so possed with windes in thy barge."

"Forpossyd" occurs in *Complaynt* 530 ; *Troy-Book* Q₁ a ; *Falls of Pr.* 3 b ;

L. Lady c₁ b : "As in balaunce for-possyd vp and down."

Troy-Book I₃ b : "Now vp now downe, forcast and ouer throwe

Theyr shyppes were with tempest to and fro."

Edmund II, 100 : "With sondry tempestis forpossid to and fro."

609. Perhaps the reading *sturdy* in F. B. G. S, for a *sondri*, is right ; cf.

Troy-Book I₃ b : "The see gan swelle with many sturdy wawe ;"

Pilgr., fol. 297 a : "Boyllyng with many sturdy wawe."

ib., Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 54 a : "Amonge the sturdy wawys alle."

And see the 2nd quotation from the *Troy-Book* in note to l. 53.

614. ouershake.] *Troy-Book* II, d :

"Wherfore I rede to let ouershake
All heynesse."

614, etc. This is a difficult passage to construe. The anacoluthon seems to begin with "for who," in l. 615, unless we may be allowed to assume that the expression "for who is hurt of newe" may mean "being one who is newly hurt," parallel to "for astoneid," etc. (see note to l. 632). *your*, in l. 620, is very peculiar. Can it mean "*Venus's* war" = love ? It is more likely that the monk thought that he—or his knight—had apostrophized Cupid, so that *your* refers to Cupid : "no one, warring with you (Cupid), may vaunt himself to win a prize, except by meekness." For the comparison of love to war, cp. the "Militat omnis amans" of Ovid, *Amores* I, 9.

615. of we.] See the notes to ll. 574 and 1319.

618. koupe.] We should expect the reverse construction of *couth*: the harms of Cupid are known to him, not he to them. Thus *couth* comes to have the meaning of "acquainted with." An instructive instance of this transition is *Lithale of St. Juliana*, ed. Cockayne, p. 22: "3ef þu cneowe ant were eu8 wi8 þe king."

619, etc. For the might of Cupid, which neither gods nor men can withstand, see especially *Reason and S.* 235 *b*, etc., where the instance of Phæbus and Daphne is quoted at length (see *Temple of Glas*, ll. 111—116); and again, folio 275 *b*, etc. Cp. further, *Troilus III*, 1695 etc.; *Cuckoo and Night*. 1—20; *Court of Love* 92 etc.; *Rom. of the Rose* 578 etc., 4761 etc. See also note to l. 322. With l. 620 cp. *Isle of Ladies* 2112:

"Against which priuce may be no wer."

622. *Troilus III*, proem, l. 38:

"That who-so stryveth with yow (*Venus*) hath the worse."

Ib. i, 603: "Love, ayeins the which who-so defendeth
Him-selven most, him alderlest availleth."

Cp. also *ib.* III, 940; V, 166.

631. Drede and Daunger, Personifications from the *Rom. de la R.*, see note to l. 156. For "Drede" see *Rom. of the Rose* 3958, etc.; *Court of Love* 1034; *Troilus II*, 810. In the *Bourge of Court*, l. 77, Skelton introduces himself as "Drede."

632. for vnknowe.] This construction of *for* with the p.p. occurs also in l. 934 and 1366, and is in general of frequent occurrence. We even have "for pure ashamed," *Troil.* II, 656; for pure wood, *Rom. of the R.*, 276; for very very, *Black Knight* 647; for very glad, *Generydes* 1255.

634. These exaggerations are as common as they are absurd; see *Introduction*, Chapter XI, p. cxxxix. Cp. further on, l. 724; *Black Knight* 512:

"And thus I am for my trouthe, alas!

Mordred and slayn with wordis sharp and kene."

Menelaus, *Troy-Book* I₂ c, falls into "a swowne . . .

Almoste mured with his owne thought."

In the *Court of S.* as *a*, man is also represented as being doomed to "dye at the lest." For similar exaggerations see *Troilus II*. 1736; *Aelida* 291; *Squieres Tale II*, 128; *Frankelynes Tale* 97, 112, 352, 613; *Knights Tale* 260, 474, 709; *Merciless Beaute*, 1; *Isle of Ladies*, 520; *Compleynt* 437. The least thing that these unlucky lovers do, is to swoon constantly; once, twice, three times, according to the intensity of their feeling; in *Generydes*, ed. Wright 4099, Clarionas swoons fifteen times running.

637. wisse.] To teach, = O.E. wissian. Common in Lydgate. See *Troy-Book* N₃ c (to guye and to wysse); S₆ b (wysse me or teche); *Assembly of Gods* d; a:

"axed yf ony wyght

Coude wysse hym the wey to the lord of lyght."

Reason and S. 250 a; *L. Lady* K₁ a (wysse: blysse: mysse); *ib.* K₁ b:

"And like a prophete to wisshen vs and rede";

similar expression in *Falls of Pr.* 9 c; 42 d. See also *Troil.* I, 622; *Freres Tale* 117; *Morte Arthure*, ed. Broek, 9, 671, 813.

641. Cp. *Black Knight* 563: "That Iye now here betwexe hope and drede;"
Troilus V, 1207: "Betwixen hope and drede his herte lay."

643, 644. A similar allegorical battle between Hope and Drede (or Daunger and Dispeyr) is found in the *Court of Love* 1036—1057; see also *Black Knight* 12, 13. Compare further the conflict in Medea's breast, between "Love and Shame," in the *Troy-Book*; particularly folio C₃ c:

"For whan that loue of manhode wolde speke . . .

Cometh shame anon, and vtterly sayth may."

Very similar to our passage is also *Falls of Pr.* 217 a.

648. *Falls of Pr.* 178 d: "Nowe liest thou bound, fettred in prison."

650. Cf. *Knights T.* 368, 379.

651. were.] = doubt; occurs several times in Chaucer, very frequently in Lydgate, and in the northern poets. See *Duchesse* 1295; *Howe of F.* 979; *Legend* 2686. The word occurs again in the *T. of Glas*, l. 906, and in the *Complaynt* 261; cp. further *Troy-Book* U₂d:

“And thus he stode in a double weer.”

Similarly *Falls of Pr.* 67c; *Legl. of St. Giles* 367; *Guy of Warwick* 27, 5; *Reason and S.*, 232b, 242a, 244a; *Lancelot of the Laik* 84. A very common phrase is “withoute were,” so in *Reason and S.* 202b, 206b; *Flour of Curt.* 223; *Pilgrim.* 147b, 252a, 252b, etc.; *Rom. of the Rose* 1776, 2568, 3351, 3452, 5488, 5660, 5695; Lyndsay's *Dream* 613, 642; also “but weir,” *ib.* 485, 496; *Dunbar*, ed. Laing, I. 89, l. 70. In Skelton's *Bouge of Courte*, l. 31, we find a p.p. *enwered*, evidently derived from *weir*.

656. Despair, frequently personified: see ll. 895, 1198; *Black Knight* 13; *Troil.* II, 530; *Court of L.* 1036, and especially the *Assembly of Gods*. Cp. also *Troy-Book* T₁c (love-complaints of Achilles similar to those of our knight):

“Anone dispeyre in a rage vp sterre,
And cruelly caught hym by the herte.”

666. *Troil.* II, 385: “That of his deth ye be nought for to wyte.”

673. *Wanhope*, similarly repeated in l. 895.

678. *De duob. Merc.*, fol. 65a: “My lyfe, my deth, is purtred in 3owre face.”

678, 679. Common sentiment in poems of the time; cf. again l. 749, 763. Similarly *Isle of Ladies* 815:

“He said it was nothing sitting
To voide pity his owne leggyng.”

684. Similar idea in Skeat, *M. P.*, p. 216, l. 93:

“I am so litel worthy, and ye so good.”

689. dumb (still) as (any) stone, is a very common expression in Chaucer and Lydgate: still as any stone, *Miller's Tale* 286; *Temple of Glas* 689; *Troy-Book* H₁c: *L. Lady* k₂b; *Kingis Quair* 72, 6; as stille as eny stoon, *Squires Tale* I, 163; *Troilus* II, 1494. still as stone, *Life of Edmund* III, 1212; *Story of Thebes* 372b; *Isle of Ladies* 583. as still as stone, *Clerkes Tale* I, 65; *March. T.*, 574; *Troil.* III, 650; V, 1743. dumb as any stone, *T. of Glas* 1184. dome as a stoon, *Rom. of the R.* 2409. dome and styll as any stoune, *De duobus Merc.*, fol. 72b. as dowmb as stok or stou, *Pilgrim.* 271a. muet as a stone, *Troy-Book* D₁d; *Story of Thebes* 369d; *Complaynt* 50; *Reason and S.* 244b, 289b. as hard as is a stone, *March. T.* 746. trewe as stone, *Rom. of the R.* 5251. stable as any (a) stone, *Falls of Pr.* 190c; *St. Ursula* 6; *Albon* II, 1009. dyle as stok or stou, *Reason and S.* 291b; (as) blynd as (ys) a stou, *Pilgrim.* 149a, 152b; *March. Tale* 912; similarly *Rom. of the Ro.* 3703; deed as (eny) stoon, *Squ. T.*, II, 128; *Pite* 16; *Court of L.* 995.

691. withoute more sermon.] So also *Troy-Book*, H₃c.

696. oratorie.] See the Introduction, Chapter X, p. cxxxvii, and cp. note to l. 460. Mention is made of an oratory of Venus, *Troy-Book* D₁c, H₃d; *Knights Tale* 1047; *Complaynt* 549; of Apollo at Delos, *Troy-Book*, K₃c; of Diana, L₁a; *Knights Tale* 1053, 1059. We have the expression “oratory” often, of course, in the *Life of our Lady*, namely on folios b₆a, c₁a, e, a, g₈b. *Troy-Book* H₁d speaks of “the chapel called Citheron”; *Reason and S.* 252b of the chapel of Venus, in which the Sirens do their service day and night!

700. (anon) as 3e shul here.] So again l. 1340; also *Black Knight* 217; *Albon* II, 176; *March. T.* 623; *Doct. T.* 177; *Pard. Prol.* 40; *Isle of Ladies* 70, 948, 1437; *Genevives* 2002, 3899, etc.

701, etc. This is the passage quoted in Skeat's *M. P.*, p. xlv, and in Wood-Bliss, *Athene Oxonienses*, I, 11, note.

701. *Citheria*, common for Venus; for instance, *Parl. of F.* 113; *Knights Tale* 1357; *Troy-Book* P₁d; *L. Lady* d₂a; *Court of Love* 50, 556, etc. The name comes, of course, from Cythere; and the author of the *Court of Love*, however, evidently confuses the island of Cythere and the mountain Cithæron; see ll. 49, 50, 69 of that poem.

Redresse.] In the *Court of Love*, l. 591, Venus is similarly addressed :

“Venus, redresse of al divysion.”

703. Compare with this line *Knights Tale*, 1365 :

“Thou gladere of the mount of Citheroun.”

Cirrea.] See *Anclida* 17 : “By Elicon, not fer from Cirrea.”

Ten Brink, *Chaucer-Studien*, p. 181, note 35, and Skeat, in the note to this line of *Anclida*, point out the occurrence of *Cirra* in *Paradiso* I, 36, whence Chaucer may have taken the name. Lydgate mentions Cirrea often; twice in the beginning of the *Troy-Book*, fol. A₁ a :

“And for the loue of thy Bellona, [Pynson *belloua*]

That with the dwellyth, beyonde Cirrea,

In Libye londe vpon the sondes rede”; and again, fol. A₁ b :

(the Muses) “that on pernaso [Pynson *pernaso*] dwelle

In Cirrea, by Elycon the welle.”

Troy-Book L₃ b, speaks of the rape of Helen as perpetrated

“In the temple of Cythra,

That buylde is besyde Cirrea.”

Ib. A₂ d :

“Nor the Muses that so synge can

Atwene the Coppys of Nysus and Cyrra,

Upon the hylle, besyde Cyrrea.”

Falls of Pr. 17 d : (Apollo) “Which in Cirrha worshipped was y^e tyme.”

We meet again with our Cirrea in a complete muddle of geographical names, in Lydgate's *Letter to Lord-Mayor Estfeld*, MS. Addit. 29729, fol. 132 b :

“towards Ierusalem,

Downe costynge, as bokes makyn mynde,

By Lubyes londes, thurgh Ethiopie & Ynde,

Conveyed downe, wher Mars in Cyrra

Hathe bylt his palays, vpon y^e sondes rede,

And she Venus, callid Cithera,

On Parnaso, with Pallas full of drede . . .

Where Bacus dwellethe, besydes y^e Ryver

Of ryche Thagus, y^e graylles all of gold,” etc.

The further context tends to make it probable that Lydgate has here confused Syria with Cirrea. Who is “Cyrria y^e goddess,” *Falls of Pr.* 147 a ?

705. Perhaps we have to scan : “wässhen and öfté wéte.”

706. Here, for once, our MS. T alone has made a glaring mistake, in writing *eleccion* instead of *Elicon*. Or did the scribe object to the “riuer of Elicon” ? Lydgate has “Elicon the welle” again in the beginning of the *Troy-Book*, fol. A₁ b (see above, note to l. 703), and speaks of it as

“Remyng full clere with stremys cristallyn,

And callyd is the welle Caballyn,

That sprynge (!) by touche of the pegase,”

having, of course, Hippocrene in his mind. See further *Troy-Book* B₆ c : Medea had drunk, the monk tells us, “at Elycon of the welle”; so did Chaucer, as *Troy-Book* N₃ a tells us.

The note to line 703 will have sufficiently shown that Lydgate's geography is, in general, rather shaky; but here he may have been misled by Chaucer, *Hous of F.* 521 :

“that on Parnaso dwelle

By Elicon the clere welle.”

See Skeat's note to *Anclida* 15. As an excuse for Chaucer we must add that Helicon is frequently called a well or fountain about this period. Skelton, *Garland of Laurel*, l. 74, speaks of “Elyconis well”; in the *Court of Love*, l. 22, we read of the

“snger dropes swete of Elicon;”

Lyndsay, in the Prologue to the *Monarchie*, l. 229, says :

“Nor drank I neuer, with Hysiodus,

Off Hylicon, the sors of Eloquence,

Off that mellifluous, famons, fresche fontane.”

In the notes to Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, we even find it expressly stated

that "*Helicon* is both the name of a fountain at the foot of Parnassus, and also of a mountain in Beotia, out of which floweth the famous spring Castalius," etc. The mediæval poets evidently applied the name *Helicon*, which properly belongs to the mountain, also to the famous springs on it, Aganippe and particularly Hippocrene, having also in their mind the Castalian fount on Mount Parnassus.

743. *March. Tale* 934 :

"Ye ben so deep emprynted in my thought."

749. Cp. above, ll. 678, 679. Similarly we have in a small poem by Lydgate (MS. Add. 29729, fol. 157*b*) :

"I see no lacke but only y^t daunger
Hath in you voyded merey and pyte ;"

further, *Court of Love* 831 :

"There was not lak, sauf daunger had a lite
This godely fresch in rule and governaunce."

750. sad demenyng.] *Secreta Secretorum*, fol. 121*b*, we are told that a king must be :

"Sad of his Cheer, in his demenyng stable."

Sad, of course, meant "serious, grave." Cp. also *March. Tale* 360 .

"Hir wommanly beryng, and hir sadnesse."

754. *Mirroure*, see l. 294.

governaunce] = discreet, well-controlled behaviour ; the poets of this period often make mention of, and commend, this quality in woman. See *Duchesse* 1008 ; *March. Tale* 359 ; further, Henryson's *Garment of good Ladies*, l. 31 ; *Troy-Book* N₄d (Hector's *governaunce* praised). In a characteristic passage in the *Court of S.* sign. e₁a, "good Socrates" is called the "fyrst founder of governaunce" (= ethics). "Governance" is one of the two allegorical greyhounds at the beginning of Hawes's *Pastime of P.* The verb "governe" is used similarly : cp. *Secreta Secretorum*, fol. 99*b* : (Aristotle wrote "Epistelys" to Alexander)

"By cleer Exaunple by which he myght[e] knowe
To governe hym, bothe to hih and lowe."

755. This is not the worst line in our *T. of Glas.* We have similarly in the *Troy-Book* H₅a :

"Within the cerelyng of hir eyen bryght (of Helen)
Was paradys compassed in hir syght."

761. pride.] *Rom. of the Ro.* 2239 : "Loke fro pride thou kepe thee wele," etc. Similarly in l. 2352. Comp. further *Man of Law's Tale* 64 :

"In hire is hye bewte, withoute pryde."

Sec. Nun's Tale 476 :

"We haten dedly thilke vice of pryde."

Pride is the first sin in Gower's *Confessio*, and in the *Persones Tale*, p. 294 : Lydgate also often warns against it. Pride characterizes herself in a very amusing way in the *Pilgrim*, fol. 217*b* :

"And ofte tyme I boste also
Off thyng wher never I hadde a do,
My sylf avaunte off thys and that,
Off thynges wch I never kam at . . .
Vp with my tayl my flethrys shake,
As whan an henne hath layd an Ay,
Kakleth affter al the day ;
Whan I do wel any thyng,
I cesse neuere off kakelyng,
But telle yt forth in every cost ;
I blowe myn horn, & make bost,
I sey *Tru tru*, & blowe my flame.
As hontys whan they fynde game," etc.

In the *Assem. of Gods*, fol. b; b, Pride is introduced among the seven deadly sins, sitting on a lion.

778. I believe we must read the line :

“To lén as trwe as euer was Ántonyús,”

and l. 781 with trisyllabic first measure, “Thát wás feiþ-.” The readings of G and S, which present no metrical difficulty, are not borne out by F and B. See the Introduction, pp. LII and LIX.

Antony and Cleopatra.] Their history is told in the *Falls of Pr.* VI 16, and in Chaucer's *Leg. of Cleopatra*. See also *Black Knight* 367; *Flour of C.* 195; *Troy-Book* X₃d; *Part. of Foules* 291; *Court of Love* 873, and Gower's list at the end of the *Confessio* (ed. Pauli, III, 361). Cp. also MS. Ashm. 59, fol. 53a :

“And Cleopatre, of wilful moeyoun,
Lyst for to dye with hir Anthonius.”

780. Pyramus and Thisbe.] See l. 80.

782. Autropos.] This is a common form of the name at that time. It occurs often in the *Assembly of Gods* and in the *Troy-Book*; for instance, U₃a :

(Autropos) “That is maystresse & guyder of the rother
Of dethes shyp, tyll all goth vnto wrake.”

See *ib.* Y₁a, C₆e; and *L. Lady* g₃b, where all the three Fates are mentioned; *Reason and S.* 219a, etc.; *Story of Thebes* 359d; *Alban* II, 764.

785. Achilles and Polyxena, see above l. 94.

787. Hercules and Dejanira.] This is not a well-chosen example; Chaucer, more in accordance with classical mythology, has (*Hous. of F.* 397, 402) :

“Eek lo! how fals and recheles
Was . . . Ercules to Dyanira;”

and see again, *Wife of Bath's Prol.* 724.

The Story how Hercules won Dejanira, is told in the *Confessio Amantis*, Book IV (ed. Pauli, II, 70 etc.); how he deserted her for Iole, in the same work, Book II (*ib.*, I, 232 etc.). See also *Heroules*, epistle IX; *Metam.*, Book IX. Lydgate, however, seems to have believed that Hercules was faithful to Dejanira throughout, see the *Falls of Pr.* I, 14, and *Black Knight* 357. Hercules' exploits are narrated in detail in the *Troy-Book* A₆d, etc., and E₃b etc.; in the *Falls of Pr.* I, 14; in the *Monk's Tale* 105—152; the *Garland of Laurel* 1284—1314, and they are also mentioned in the *Black Knight* 344—357; his name occurs further in *Part. of F.* 288. In the *Falls of Pr.*, fol. 28 d, Lydgate calls Hercules a philosopher! “The great[e] Hercules” he is also called, *Troy-Book* A₆d; “the worthy conquerour,” *ib.* D₆b. Cp. also *Reason and S.*, fol. 240 a :

(Hercules) “That was of strengthe percles,
Rounde and square and of gret height.”

788. shottes kene.] We have the same expression in *Troil.* II, 58.

792, 793. *Troil.* III, proem 31, 32 :

“Ye (*Venus*) know al thilke covered qualite
Of thynges, which that folk on wondren so.”

799, 800. Similar sentiment in l. 979. Cf. also *Troy-Book* Dd₁a :

“More of mercy requerynge, than of ryght,
To rewe on me whiche am your owne knyght.”

Frankel. Tale 588, 589 :

“Nat that I chalenge eny thing of right
Of yow, my soverayn lady, but youre grace.”

It is the 10th Statute in the *Court of Love*, II, 368, 369. Compare also *Flour of Curt.* 106, 107 :

“What euer I saye, it is of dufe[te],
In sothfastenesse, and no presumption.”

806. þe guerdon & þe mede.] Occurs elsewhere in Lydgate; for instance *L. Lady* i; b.

808. I think we had better leave out *your*, and let the line pass as acephalous. *your* stands only in G and S, not in the two other MSS. F and B of group A.

823. A mouth I haue.] This graceful expression occurs again *Troy-Book* Q, d :

“He had a mouthe, but wordes had he none” (*Troilus*).

Falls of Pr. 38 *d*: "A mouth he hath, but wordes hath he none."

See also *Complaynt* 49: "A tunge I haue, but wordys none."

In the *Falls of Pr.*, fol. 26 *a*, our rognish monk says of women:

"Thei mai haue mouthes, but langage haue thei none,"

and similarly *Reason and S.* 289 *b*:

"A mouthe they hañ, her tonge ys goñ."

829. Almost word for word in *Troil.* V, 1319:

"With herte, body, lyf, lust, thought, and alle."

838, 839. Cp. *Troy-Book* C₂ *e*:

"Loue hathe hir caught so newly in a trauunce,
And I-marked with his fury bronde."

Ib. H₃ *a*: "Cupides darte . . . hath hym marked so."

Ib. H₃ *b*: "And venus hath marked them of neuve
With hir brondes fyred by feruence."

Ib. X₁ *b*: "He was so hote marked in his herte."

Reason and S. 258 *b*:

"And even lyke shaltow be shent,
Yif Venus Marke the with hir bronde."

Cp. also *March. Tale* 483 and 533.

863. *hasti.*] Often censured as a fault, whereas the contrary is commended as a virtue. See above, l. 245; cp. also *Falls of Pr.* 24 *d*, and the whole chapter J, 13; the same idea expressed negatively, *Leg. of Margaret* 148:

"She, not to rekel for noon hastynesse,
But ful demure and sobre of contenance;"

Edmund I, 1001: "Koude weel abide, nat hasty in werkynge."

Ib. II, 514: "nat rakel . . . Lyst for noon haste lese his patience."

Cp. further l. 1203, and note. See also *Troy-Book* B₃ *c* (*Jason*); *McIbte.* p. 152. and *Troilus* IV, 1539, 1540. Compare further a beautiful passage in the *Pilgrim.*, fol. 54 *a*:

"Al thyng that men se me do, (*Nature*)
I do by leyser by & by,
I am nat Rakel, nor hasty;
I hate in myn oppynyous
Al sodeyn mutacyouns;
My werkys be the bettre wrouht
Be cause that I haste nouht."

The passage reminds one strangely of the creator of the "*Erdgeist*," and his dearly-cherished belief in the tranquil, grand, silent working of Nature, as she weaves the "living garment of the godhead."

866. true as (any) steel.] Very frequent formula: *Hypermnestra* 21; *Squire's Prol.* 8; *Reason and S.* 297 *a*; *Rom. of the R.* 5149; *S. of Thebes* 363 *a*; *Troy-Book* I₃ *a*, I₃ *d*, R₁ *a*; several times in Shakspeare, etc.

869, etc. Compare Minerva's admonitions to the poet in the *Kingis Quair*, stanza 129.

877. dilacioun.] Cp. ll. 1091, 1193, 1206. Both meaning and metre require this reading.

878. Resoun.] Personification from the *Rom. de Ut R.*; see *Rom. of the R.* 3034, 3193, etc.; cp. also *Reason and S.*; and *Assen. of Gods* e₇ *a*; *Pilgrim.* 25 *a*, etc.; Dunbar, *Golden Targe* 151. Similar to our line is *Troil.* IV, 1650:

"And that youre reson bridede youre delite," etc.;

further Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 219:

"Lat reson brydle thy sensualite."

Cp. also *Troil.* IV, 1555: "And forthi, sle with reson al this hete."

879. This line is exactly the same as l. 424.

881, 882. Cp. again, l. 1090; further *Troil.* IV, 1556:

"Men seyn, the sultraunt overcomth. parde!"

See further, *Frank. Tale* 43—50; *Rom. of the Rose* 3463-5.

892. hope.] See ll. 641 etc., and further on l. 1197. "Good Hope" is King James's guide to Minerva; see the *Kingis Quair*, stanza 106, 5: "and lat gude hope the gye." Cp. also *Rom. of the R.* 2754, 2760, 2768 etc., 2941; further *Pilgrim.*, fol. 108 a:

"Good hope alway thow shalt yt calle:
Thys the name off thy bordoun."

897, etc. All these personifications are quite in the style of the *Rom. de la R.*

904. riȝt of goode chere.] The text-criticism is for this position of the words; "of right good chere," as F. B. L. b have it, occurs again *Falls of Pr.* 183 b, *Edmund III*, 493; with right good cheere, *Sec. Nun's Tale* 304; *Rom. of the Rose* 3617.

913—917. Cp. *Troil.* I, 857, 858:

"For who-so liste have helynge of his leche,
To hym behoveth first unwre his wounde."

Pilgrim. of the Soul, Caxton, fol. 21 a (chapter 23):

"What helpyth it thus for to telle and preche,
But shewe thy sore to me that am thy leche."

See further *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Skeat, l. 103:

"And It is weil accordinge It be so
He suffir harme, that to redress his wo
Previdith not; for long ore he be sonde,
Holl of his leich, that schewith not his vound."

Fairy Queen I, 7, 40:

"Found never help who never would his hurts impart."

Fletcher, *The Faithful Shepherdess* II, 2:

"that man yet never knew
The way to health that durst not show his sore."

Boethius, *De consol. philosophiæ* I, prose 4: "Si operam medicantis exspectas, oportet vulnus detegas."

915. oute of his hertis graue.] Curious expression. I suppose it means "out of his heart's grave" = out of his innermost heart. We constantly hear that these love-wounds are most dangerous when near the heart, and especially if they close up. See note to l. 362.

937. pale and wan.] Exceedingly common formula; cp. *Miller's Tale* 640; *Geneydes*, ed. Wright, 752, 1297, 4763, 6760; *Black Knight* 131; *Troy-Book* A₁ d, A₃ c, D₃ a, C₄ e, D₁ d; *De duobus Merc.*, fol. 65 a; *Troil.* II, 551; IV, 207. "deadly pale and wan" occurs in *Falls of Pr.*, fol. 196 a. "Dead, pale & wan," *ib.* 123 b. The formula was still very common in Elizabethan times; see, for instance, *Shepherd's Calendar*, January, l. 8; *Fairy Queen* I, 8, 42; *Com. of Errors* IV, 4, 111; *Til. And.* II, 3, 90; *Tamburlaine* 985, 2235, 3555, 4458. Perhaps we must consider "deedly" as an adjective, and then put a comma after it; cp. *Knights T.* 224:

"That art so pale and deedly on to see;"

Black Knight 132: "And wonder dedely also of his hiwe;"

Kingis Quair 169, 2: "thy dedely colour pale;"

S. of Thebes 371 c: "Dedly of looke, pale of face and chere;"

Albon III, 684: "Theyr deedly faces."

939, 940. Cp. *Troy-Book* S₆ c:

"Of lyfe nor deth that he rought[e] nought."

Falls of Pr. 95 d: "By mazly prowesse of deth he rought[e] nought."

Troil. IV, 920: "As he that of his lif no lenger roughte."

Cp. also the 6th Statute in the *Court of Love*, l. 340.

941. Most likely we have to read: "So mychë fere"; mychë corresponding to O.E. mycel.

947. Mi penne I fele quaken.] A favourite expression of Lydgate's. Cp. *Troy-Book* E₃ a:

"I wante connynge, and I fele also
My penne quake, and tremble in my honde."

Ib. Bb₃ a: "For whiche, alas, my penne I fele quake.
That doth myn ynke blott[en] on my boke."

L. Lady es a: "And though my penne be quakyng ay for drede."
Similarly *Troy-Book* R₆ c: "that for wo and drede

Fele my hande both[e] tremble and quake";
and *Black Knight* 181.

Secreta Secretorum (MS. Ashmole 46, fol. 103 b):

"With quakyng penne my consceyt to expresse."

Falls of Pr. 30 c: "O Hercules! my penne I fele quake,
Mine ynke fulfilled of bitter teres salt,
This piteous tragedy to write for thy sake."

Ib. 39 b: "In her right hand her penne gan to quake" (*Cunace*).

Ib. 46 b: "Whose deadly sorow in English for to make
Of piteous ruth my penne I fele quake" (*Lucrece*).

Ib. 67 d: "Mine hand gan tremble, my penne I felt[e] quake."

Ib. 89 c: "My penne quaketh of ruth and of pitie."

Ib. 119 d: "With quaking hand whan he his pen[ne] toke" (*Boccaccio*).

Ib. 136 c: "My penne quoke, my heart I felt[e] blede"
(in rehearsing the tragedy of *Hannibal*).

Ib. 161 a: "Myne hand I fele quakyng whyle I write."

Ib. 217 a: "In which labour mine hand full off[e] quooke,
My penne also, troubled with ignoraunce" . . .

Edmund III, 89: "That hand and penne quake for verray drede."

Leg. of Margaret 57: "my penne, quakyng of verray drede."

Albon l. 928: "But now, forsothe, my penne I fele quake."

Cp. *ib.* l. 27, 28.

Application for Money 4 (Halliwell, p. 49):

"this litel bille,
Whiche whan I wrote, my hand felt I quake."

Other affections of, and manipulations with, his pen are mentioned, *Troy-Book*
Z₃ d: (to describe their woe)

"My penne shulde of very rounthe ryne."

Ib. Cc₆ c: "For I shall now, lyke as I am wouite,
Sharpe my penne, bothe rude and blont."

Chaucer has the expression in *Troil.* III, 1784, 1785:

"And now my penne alas, with which I wryte,
Quaketh for drede of that I most endite."

It occurs also in *Mother of nurture*, l. 50 (*Morris's Chaucer* VI, 277).

Similarly, Gawain Douglas has (*Small* I, 48, 7):

"Now nair to write for feir trimblis my pen."

The following amusing lines from Bokenam's *Leg. of Margaret* (ed. Horstmann, I, 659—669) should also be compared with our present passage, and ll. 962, 963 of the *T. of Glas*:

"My penne also gyunyth make obstacle
And lyst no leugere on paper to reane,
For I so ofte haue maad to greune
Hys snowte vp-on my thombys ende
That he ful ny is waxyn vnthende (!)—
For enere as he goth, he doth blot
And in my book makyth many a spot,
Menyng therby that for the beste
Were for vs bothe a whyle to reste,
Til that my wyt and also he
Myht be sum craft reparyd be."

950. Cp. *De duobus Merc.*, MS. Hh. IV. 12, fol. 65 a:

"For with my self thowh I enermore strive."

wel unnepe = not at all easily; scarcely; with great effort; *Monkes Tale*
431; *Frank. T.* 8; *Clerkes Tale* V, 108; Chaucer's *Boethius*, ed. Morris, 1515;
Troilus V, 31, 399; *Flower and Leaf* 46:

"That well unnepe a wight ne might it se."

952—956. Cp. *Black Knight* 176 :

“But who shal now helpe me for to compleyne?
Or who shal now my stile guye or lede?”

Falls of Pr. A₂ b :

“But O alas, who shal be my muse,
Or vnto whom shall I for helpe call?
Calliope my calling will refuse,
And on Pernaso her worthy sustern all,
They will their suger temper with no gall;
For their swetenes and lusty freshe singing
Ful ferre diseordeth from maters complaining.”

De duobus Merc. (MS. Hb. IV. 12, fol. 66 b) :

“But now, alas! who shall my stile guye,
Or hen[ne]s-forth who shall be my muse?” . . .

954, 955. Cp. *Falls of Pr.*, fol. A₃ d :

“Dities of mourning and of complaynyng
Doe not pertayn vnto Calliope
And vnto maters of aduersitee,
With theyr sugred auneat licour,
They been not willye for to don fauour” (*the Muses*).

955. *pei delite*.] I think we must omit *pei*, following MSS. F. B. G. S. The construction of *delite*, which we should get by adopting the reading of the other texts, would be very unusual.

958. This invocation of the Furies is very common in Lydgate, whenever he has woe or horrors to relate. Chaucer started it in *Troil.* I, 6 and 7 :

“Thesiphone, thou help me for tendite
This woful vers, that wepen as I write.”

Il. III, 1793 etc. :

“O ye Herynes! nyghtes doughtren thre,
That endeles compleynen evere in pyne,
Megera, Alecte, and ek Thesiphone! . . .
This ilke ferthe book me helpeth fyne.”

Lydgate has it often; for example in the *Troy-Book* R₆ c :

“O who shall now helpe me to endyte,
Or vnto whom shall I clepe or calle? (l. 952)
Certys to none of the Musys alle, (l. 953)
That by accorde syng[e] euer in oon
Upon Pernaso besyde Elycon
It sytte them noughte for to helpe in wo,
Nor with maters that be *with* mournyng shent. (l. 954)
To them, alas! I clepe dare nor crye,
My troublid penne of grace for to guye, (l. 956)
Nouthur to Clyo, nor Callyope,
But to Alecto and Thesyphone, (ll. 958 and 959)
And Megera that ener doth complayne.”

De duobus Merc. (MS. Hb. IV, 12, fol. 67 a) :

“Alas, Megera! I most now vnto the
Of hert[e] call, to help me to complayn;
And to thi sustur eke, the Siphone, (*sic*)
That aftyr ioy goddessys ben of payn̄.”

Similar to these passages are stanzas 2 and 3 of Spenser's *Daphnida*; Lyndsay's Prologue to the *Monarchie*, ll. 216, etc., 237, etc., *Remedie of Love* (1561), fol. 322 b :

“Aspire my begynnyng, O thou woode furie
Alecto with thy sisters” . . ., and fol. 322 d.

Somewhat different is *Falls of Pr.*, fol. 67 d :

“Me to further I fond none other muse,
But hard as stone Pierides and Meduse.”

See on this passage Koepffel, *Falls of Pr.*, p. 72. Further *L. Lady es a* :

“Nether to clyo ne to calyope
 Me list not calle for to helpe me,
 Ne to no muse, my poyntel for to gye;
 But leue al this and say vnto marie.”

He says, however, elsewhere that Alceto hinders him (*Troy-Book* N₃ a):

“Crnell Allector (*sic*) is besy me to lette,
 The nyghtes daughter, blynded by derkenesse.”

By these constant invocations of the Furies, King James (*Kingis Quair* 19, 3) was misled into believing that Tisiphone was a Muse.

The Furies appear also in a different function in the *S. of Thebes*, fol. 360 b, and similarly, *Falls of Pr.* 198 b (cp. also *Æsop* 7, 27). These passages may be imitated from Chaucer's *Leg. of Philonela*, ll. 22—25, itself an imitation of Ovid's *Mét.* VI, 428—432.

961. Compare *Black Knight* 178 :

“O Nyobe, let now thi teres reyne
 Into my penne, and eke helpe in this nede,
 Thou woful Mirre!” . . .

Similarly, *Troy-Book* R₃ d :

“Wherfore helpe now, thou wofull nyobe,
 Some dreȳ tere in all thy piteuous payne,
 Into my penne dolefully to rayne.”

De duobus Mercatoribus (MS. Hb. IV. 12, fol. 67 a) :

“O wepyng mirre, now lett thy terys reyñ
 In to myñ ynke, so clobbyd in my peme,
 That rowght [*rowthe*, Harl. 2255] in swagyng a-brood make it renne.”

Falls of Pr. 38 c (Canace writes a letter) :

“The salt[e] teares from her iyen clere
 With piteuous sobbing fet from her hert[e]s briake
 Distilling downe to tempre with her ynke.”

962. blot.] See *Falls of Pr.* 115 b :

“But to declare the vicious liuyng . . . (*of Agathocles*)
 It would through perse & blot[te] my papere.”

Ib. 120 b: “O cursed Ceraunus, I leue thy story here,
 Thy name no more shal blot[te] my papere.”

Troy-Book Aa₃ b :

“And though my style be blotted with rudenesse.”

Ib. Bb₃ a : (my penne) “That doth myn ynke blotte[n] on my boke.”

Douglas, *Palice of Honour* (Small I, 54. 7) :

“It transcendis far aboue my might
 That I with ink may do hot paper blk.”

Cp. also the quotation from Bokenam, in the note to l. 947.

963. To paint with fresh colours, with gold and azure, etc., is a phrase of common occurrence; Lydgate often modestly says that he can only paint in black and white—“aureat colours,” etc., being denied to him —; here the turn for black has come (as also in ll. 551, etc.), and he must “blot” and “spot” his paper, instead of “illuminating” it.

967. evil fare.] Also in *Troy-Book* Ce, a ; *Falls of Pr.* 2 b ; *Story of Thebes* 360 c, etc.

970. Princess of youth, etc.] We have similar addresses in *Garland of Laurel* 897, 904 :

“Princes of yowth, and flowre of goodly porte.”

See also *Bowge of Court* 253, and *Court of Love* 843.

978. The natural position of the words would be: with hert quakyng of drede. Similar constructions in *Corboduc*, see Miss Toulmin Smith's edition, note to l. 433, where we are referred to Abbott's *Shakespearean Grammar*, § 419 a. Compare also *Court of Love*, l. 1 :

“With tymeros hert and tremlyng hand of drede ;”

further, *Melibe*, p. 193 :

“these trespasours and repentyng folk of here folies” ; etc.

979. See l. 800, and note.

996. *feyne* seems here to mean "to be slack, idle;" like O.F. *feindre* (and its Participle *feignant*, in modern French made into *fainéant*). Cf. *Troilus* II, 997; *Duchesse* 317; *Rom. of the Rose* 1797, 2996; *Pilgrimage* 189 a:

"To don thy labour & nit feyne,
And myghtily thy sylff to peyne."

999. change for no newe.] See again further on, l. 1128; *Leg. of Dido* 312; *Leg. of Lucrece* 196; *Anclida* 219, etc.

1011. bi god and be my troupe.] Not unfrequent formula; see, for instance, *Troilus* III, 1464; *Court of L.* 648, etc.

1025. There is hardly a doubt that we must scan "hennēs."

1026. inou3 suffise.] This expression, which now appears pleonastic, was very common; see *Falls of Pr.* 13 c, 77 a; *Æsop* 7, 50; *Albon* II, 695; *Pilgrimage* 52 b, 64 a, 77 b, 78 a; *March. T.* 296; *Parl. Prol.* 148; *Shipm. T.* 100; *Monk's Prol.* 94; *Monk's Tale* 468; *Monac. T.* 232 etc.

1029. Are we to leave the second *us* in the line, and read the line with a trisyllabic first measure?

Comp. with this line, *Story of Thebes* 367 b:

"And as ferforthe as it lith in me;"

further, *Troil.* IV, 863: "As ferforth as my wit kan comprehend."

Man of Lawes T. 1001: "As ferforth as his connyng may suffise."

Chan. Yem. Tale 76: "Als ferforth as my connyng wol streeche."

Frankel. Prol. 31: "As fer as that my wittes may suffiee."

Parl. of F. 460: "As wel as that my wit can me suffyse."

Both, "as ferforth as," and "as fer as" are frequent constructions.

1036. Comp. *Black Knight* 517:

"And to youre grace of mercie yet I preye,
In youre servise that your man may deye."

1037. This is.] Read *This*: see l. 496.

1042, 1043. *Parl. of F.* 442—445:

"Right as the fresshe, rede rose newe
Aven the somer-sonne coloured is,
Right so for shame al wexen gan the hewe
Of this forme!" . . .

Troilus II, 1198: "Therwith al rosy hewed tho wex she."

Ib. 1256: "Nay, nay," quod she, "and wex as rede as rose."

Court of L. 1016:

"And softly thanne her coloure gan appere
As rose so rede, throughoute her visage alle."

1045. femynynite.] The proper form of the word in Chaucer and Lydgate seems to be *femynynite*; cp. *Man of Lawes Tale* 262:

"O serpent under femininite."

The MSS. of Chaucer and Lydgate, however, frequently have the shorter form *feminite*, which we find in Spenser; cp. *Colin Clout*:

"And only mirror of feminitey."

F. Queen III, 6, 51: "And trained up in trew feminitee."

Our line is indecisive; the full form makes it of the regular type A, the shorter form of type C.

1049. *Troy-Book* C₂ d:

"Ne lette no worde by hir lyppes pace" (*Medea*).

1052. Cp. *Troy-Book* X₄ d: [in Hector was]

"gou rnanuce medlyd with prudence,

That nought asterte hym; he was so wyse & ware;"

and again S₄ b: "Unayused / for no thyngge hym asterte."

Ib. X₄ d: "Of womanhede, and of gentyllesse,

She kepte hir so that no thyngge hir asterte." (*Prothesilaus*.)

1060. Cp. *Court of Love* 890:

“Truly gramercy, frende, of your gode wille,
And of youre profer in youre humble wise!”

1061, 1062. Cf. *Kingis Quair* 144, 1 and 2:

“Now wele,” quod sche, “and sen that It is so,
That in vertew thy lufe is set with treuth” (. . . I will help thee).

1074. *Troilus* III, 112:

“Receyven hym fully to my servyse.”

1078. Witnes on Venus.] *Nonne Prestes Tale* 416:

“Witnesse on him, that eny perfit clerk is.”

Troy-Book Aa, d: “Wytnesse on you that be immortall.”

The construction with *on* occurs further in *March. T.* 1038; *Pard. T.* 172; *Monkes Tale* 735; *Pers. T.*, p. 289; also in the poem by the “Dull Ass” (see the Introduction, p. cxliii, and note to l. 110), MS. Fairfax 16, fol. 308 b:

“Wytnes on Ambros vpon the bible.”

We find also the construction with *of*, and *at*; cp. *Flower and Leaf* 530: “Witnesse of Rome,” and *Falls of Pr.* 16 a:

“I take witnes at (*off* Digby 263) Ieroboall.”

A similar frequent expression is: Record on, vpon, or of.

1081. Perhaps we ought to read: “þe trouthe” in spite of the hiatus.

1082. unto þe time.] The omission of þe, as in MSS. G and S, makes the metre smooth. The article is often omitted before *time*: cp. further on, l. 1377; also *Falls of Pr.* 114 a:

“For vnto time that she gaue vp the breath.”

See further *Geneydes*, ed. Wright, ll. 4228, 6012, 6755.

1083. To shape a way.] Frequent expression; cp. *Secreta Secretorum*, fol. 108 a; *Story of Thebes*, fol. 358 a, 361 b, etc.

1085. To take at gre, to accept (receive) in gre, are frequent phrases.

1089. See l. 1203.

1090. Whoso can suffre.] This parenthetic, brachylogic construction is very frequent in Lydgate: Chaucer has it also; for instance, *Cont. Tales*, ProL 741:

“Eek Plato seith, whoso that can him rede” . . .

Cp. further, for the maxim expressed in ll. 1089, 1090, above, ll. 881, 882, and note.

1094. *Troy-Book* C₁ b:

“And what I saye, to take it for the beste.”

1106—1108. *Troy-Book* N₅ b:

“That theyr hertes were locked in a chayne” (*Achilles and Patroclus*).

Alban II. 756: “So were theyr hertes ioyned in one cheyne.”

1110. blisful.] Common epithet of Venus; see l. 328, and note.

1117. Your honour saue.] See note to l. 342.

1136. recorde.] See the Introduction, Chapter X, p. cxxxix, and again, l.

1234. Cp. also Gower, in the passage on Chaucer towards the end of the *Confessio*:

“So that my court it may recorde” (*Pauli* III, 374).

Scogan 22: “Thou drowe in scorn Cupyde eek to record
Of thilke rebel word that thou hast spoken.”

1138, 1143. Cp. *Troil.* II, 391, 392:

“That ye hym love aycyn for his lovyng,
As love for love is skylful guerdonyng.”

Edmund I, 479: “Bouate for bouate, for loue shewe loue ageyn.”

1146. “Lowliness” to his mistress is the 7th Statute for the lover; *Court of Love* 349.

1152, etc. With these admonitions of Venus to the Knight, compare the Statutes in the *Court of Love*; see the Introduction, p. cxxxii.

1153. constant as a wall.] So also *Clerkes Tale* 109; *L. Lady* e, b. Similar expressions are common:

stable as a wal, *Edmund I.* 211; III, 390.

sturdy as a wall, *Troy-Book U₁d.*

close as any wall, *Troy-Book U₂c.*

stedfaste as a wall, *Troy-Book Cc₃a*; *Falls of Pr.* 75 b, 128 a; *Reason and S.* 288 a; *Rom. of the R.* 5253; *Albon II.* 91.

stylelle as a walle, *Troy-Book Cc₁a.*

vpright as a wall, *Falls of Pr.* 142 c.

1154. Cp. *Court of L.* 315; *Troil.* III, 92: "humble, trewe, Secret." *Kingis Quair* 132, 1: "Be trewe, and meke, and stedfast in thy thought." seere.] See note to l. 295.

1157. Tempest.] Rare verb; compare Chaucer, *Truth* 8:

"Tempest thee noight al croked to redresse."

Chaucer's *Boethius*, ed. Morris 1060: "so þat þou tempest nat þe þus wip al þi fortune" (te tuæ sortis piget).—See further the *Century Dictionary*.

1159, 1160. *Rom. of the Ro.* 2229, 2230:

"And alle wymmen serve and preise,
And to thy power her honour reise."

1161—1165. *Rom. of the Ro.* 2231, etc.:

"And if that ony myssaiere
Dispise wymmen, þat thou maist here,
Blame hym, and bidde hym holde hym stille."

1163. slepe or wake.] Absurd use of a common formula, which occurs in the *Sec. Nui's Tale* 153; *Rom. of the Rose* 2730; *Flour of Curtesie* 95, etc.

1164. champartie.] Lydgate seems to have got this word from *Knightes T.* 1090, 1091:

"Beaute ne sleight, strengthe, ne hardynesse,
Ne may with Venus holde champartye."

Champartie means "a share of land," and, generalized, "a share, or partnership, in power." But Lydgate was reminded, by the "champ parti," of the tilting ground, and "to holde champartie *with*" (or *against*) means with him "to fight against," "to hold the field against." This is rightly pointed out in the N. E. Dictionary. The word is very common in Lydgate, and may even serve as an evidence for the genuineness of doubtful writings. See *Reason and S.* 229 a, 246 b; *L. Lady* g, b; *Troy-Book K₂b*, K₃a, P₃b, Y₆a; *Story of Thebes* 366 d; *Bycorne* 41, *Pilg. of man*, fol. 59 a, 91 a, 128 b, 148 a, 299 a; *Falls of Pr.* 6 a, 16 b, 26 d, 34 (or rather 35) b, 69 c, 70 d, 148 d, 159 b, 195 b, 204 c.

1166, 1167. *Rom. of the Ro.* 2351, etc.:

"Who-so with Love wole goon or ride,
He mote be curteis, and voide of pride,
Mery and fulle of jolite."

Troil. III, Proem 26: "Ye (*Venus*) don hem curteis be, fresshe and benigne."

The 18th Statute of the *Court of Love* commands the lover to eschew "slut-tishnesse," to be "jollif, fressh, and fete, with thinges newe, Courtly with maner . . . and loving clenlynesse."

1167. fressh & welbesin.] So also *Troy-Book I₁c*, Cc₁c; *Machabe* (Tottel, fol. 223 d); *Pilgrim.* 176 a; similar expressions occur in *Story of Thebes*, fol. 363 c: "riche and wel besin" (so also *Genevyles* 1978); "richely biseye," *Clerkes Tale* VI, 46; *Troy-Book C₁c*: (Medea) "was bothe fayre and well besayne"; *ib.* C₃b: "Full royally arayed and besayne" (chambers); "fresshly besene," *Troy-Book Cc₃b*; "ryally besene," *Court of Love* 121; "ful ryally and wel beseyn," *Pilgrim.* 14 a; "goodely byseyn," *Troil.* II, 1262; "ille byseye," *Clerkes Tale*, VI, 27.

1168—1170. Similar expressions are not unfrequent in the love-poetry of the time, and betray a very brotherly feeling among these fellow-sufferers. Cp., for instance, *Kingis Quair* 184, 1:

"Beseching vnto fair Venus abuse
For all my brethir that bene In this place,
This Is to seyve that sermandis ar to lufe,

And of his lady can no thank purchase,
His paine relesch, and sone to stand In grace." . . .

Troil. III, 1741—1743:

" . . . esen hem that weren in distress,
And glad was he if any wight wel ferde
That lover was, when he it wiste or herde."

Comp. also *Court of L.* 468, 469, which gives it a jocosse turn.

1172. anaunte.] Compare for "avauntours" particularly, *Troil.* III, 240, 259, 269; further, *Pastime of Pl.*, Chapter XXXII:

"make none adnaunt

When you of lone haue a perfite graunte."

And see the amusing description of the "Avaunter" in the *Court of Love* 1219, etc.; also *Compl. of Mars* 37.

1173—1175. Compare with this sentiment the *Provençal Poem on Boethius*, l. 221, where "tristicia," together with "avaricia," "perjuri," etc., is enumerated as a sin:

"contr' avaricia sun fait de largetat,
contra tristicia sun fait d'alegretat" (*the rungs of the ladder*).

Dante puts the "tristi" into Hell; comp. *Inferno* VII, 121:

"Fitti nel limo dicono: tristi fummo
Nell' aer dolce che dal sol s' allegra,
Portando dentro accidioso fummo:
Or ci attristiam nella belletta negra."

So does Deguileville, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, fol. 119c (Barthole and Petit):

"Ce sont dist les filz de tristesse,
Gens endormiz en leur paresce";

in the English translation (*Custom*, fol. 55b): "these ben . . . the children of tristesse that slepyñ in slouth and lachesse." In consideration of the promises of the Faith, "tristesse" was accounted a great sin. Compare also the quotation from *Matthew* VI, 16: "Nolite fieri sicut ypocrite, tristes," in *Piers Plowman* B XV, 213, and Dante's "collegio degl' ipocriti tristi" (*Inferno* XXIII, 91). Similar to our passage is *Secreta Secretorum* 126b:

"Be nat to pensyfl, of thought take no keep."

Pastime of Pl., p. 96: "And let no thought in your herte engendre."

See further the passage from the *Rom. of the Ro.*, quoted above in the note to l. 1166; and *ib.*, ll. 2289, etc.:

"Alwey in herte I rede thee,
Glad and mery for to be,
And be as joyfulle as thou can:
Love hath no joye of sorrowful man."

Compare also *Kingis Quair*, stanza 121; further the picture of "Sorrow," *Rom. of the Ro.*, 301—348, and the figure of Sansjoy in the *Fuerris Queene*.

1176. sadness = earnestness. See *Mogans Uolo*:

"Nat alway sad ne light of contenance,"

and again:

"It is a gool lesson . . .

to be glad and mery eft sones" (quoted in *Jack Juggler*,
Edmund I, 693—695; beginning).

"Sadnesse in tyme, in tyme also gladnesse,
With entirchangyngis off merthe and sobriennesse
After the sesonys requered off every thyng."

Duchesse 880: "She nas to sobre ne to glad."

1177—1179. We must not fail to put it down to our monk's credit that, amongst so many commonplaces, he gives us at least one moral which has a manly ring. The same sentiment also forms the kernel of Agamemnon's discourse to Menelaus in *Troy-Book* 12c and d. Cp. also *Wanderer*, ll. 11—18:

"Ic tō sōðe wāt,
þæt bið on eorle indryhten þeaw,
þæt hē his ferðlocan feste binde,
healde his hordocfan, hvege swā hē wille;

ne mag wërig môd wyrde wið-stondan,
 ne se hreo hyge helpe gefremman :
 forþon dōmgearne dreorige oft
 in hyra brēosteofan bindað feste."

1177. It is best for the metre to read *myrþē*.

1180, 1181. Cp. l. 450, and note.

1182. tales.] See note to l. 153; the whole Chapter l. 13 of the *Falls of Pr.* inveighs against such indiscreet "tales." In the *Secreta Secretorum*, fol. 98 b, the monk tells us that Aristotle hated "florid talys"; *ib.* 121 c we hear that a king must not be

"lyghtly credible

To talys that make discenciouna."

The 14th Statute in the *Court of Love* is to believe no "tales newe" (l. 412).

1183. Word is but wind.] This simile occurs also *Troy-Book* 12 d; *Aa* 1 c; (he is) "but worde and wynde."

Ib. 17 b: "For lyke a wynde that no man may areste,
 Fareth a worde discordaunt fro the dede."

Falls of Pr. 216 a: "Worde is but wind brought in by enuye."

Pilgrim. 218 a: "Wynd and wordys, rud and dul,
 Yssen out flul gret plente."

Secreta Secretorum (Ashm. 46, fol. 125 a):

"Trust On the dede, and nat in gay[e] spechys ;

Woord is but wynd ; leve the woord & take the dede."

In *Magnus Cato* the Latin hexameter, "Contra verbosos noli contendere verbis" is paraphrased by :

"Agayns the folkes that ay ben full of wynd,
 Strye not at all, it may the nat profite."

In the same poem we have the lines :

"Of thy good dede clamour nat ne crye ;
 Be nat to wyndy ne of word[es] brene."

"Word is but wind" occurs also in Kyd's translation of Garnier's *Cornelie*, Dodsley-Hazlitt V, 216; in *Calisto and Melibœus*, *ib.* l. 69; Ingelend's *Disobedient Child*, *ib.* II, 301; Skelton's *Magnificence* 584; Wyatt, Aldine edition, p. 138; *Comedy of Errors* III, 1, 75; *Much Ado* V, 2, 52.

1184. doymb as eny ston, see l. 689.

1185. This childish maxim reminds one of the philistine rules drawn up by the monk for children. Cp. also Burgh's part of the *Secreta Secretorum*, fol. 159 a :

"Whoospekith soone Or ony man hym Calle,
 Is vnresonūable, as philisophres expresse."

1188. myne.] Cp. *Falls of Pr.* 41 c :

"The vnkynd worme of foryetfulnes,
 In his heart had myned through the wall."

Ib. 67 b: "Let this conceit aye in your heartes mine."

Ib. 79 b: "That grace none myght in his heart[e] myne" (*Coriolanus*).

Ib. 150 d: "Under al this there did his heart[e] mine
 A worme of auarice, his worship to declyne" (*Marius*).

Ib. 183 b: "Royal compassion did in hys heart[e] mine."

Testament 33: "In amorous hertys bremying of kydenesse
 This name of Ihesu moost profoundly doth myne."

Edmund II, 447: "And heer-upon a worm most serpentyn
 Of fals enuye gan in his herte myne."

S. of Thebes 372 b: "The rage gan mine on him so depe."

Pilgr. 65 a: "Thys mortal worm [of conscience] wyl neuere fyne
 Vp-on hys mayster for to myne,
 And gaue vp-on hym day & nyht."

1191, 1192. *L. Lady* v, a :

"As golde in fyre fyned by assaye,
 And as the tryed syluer is deperid."

1197. See above l. 892. Cp. also *Falls of Pr.* 3 b :
 “And thus false Iust doth your bridell lede.”
Ib. 6 c : “Pride of Nembroth did the bridell lede.”
Rom. of the Ro. 4935 :
 “Delite so doth his bridil leede” (*of youth*).
Ib. 3299 : “Take with thy teeth the bridel faste,
 To daunte thyne herte.”
 Cp. also l. 878, and note.
1203. Abide a while.] *Rom. of the Ro.* 2121 :
 “Abide and suffre thy distresse,
 That hurtith now ; it shal be lesse” . . .
Kingis Quair 133 :
 “All thing has tyme, thus sais Ecclesiaste ;
 And welle is him that his tyme wel abit :
 Abyde thy time ; for he that can bot haste,
 Can noght of hap, the wise man I writ.”
March. Tale 728 : “For alle thing hath tyme, as seyn these clerkis.”
Melibe. p. 146 : “He hastith wel that wisly can abyde.”
 In the *Secreta Secretorum*, fol. 104 b, “treatable abydyng” is enumerated as a virtue.
1208. Similarly *Troy-Book* T₆ b :
 “That was this worldes very sonne and lyght” (*Hector*).
1210. crop and rote, see l. 455.
1220. his langour forto lisse.] The same expression occurs in *Albon* II, 658.
- 1224, 1225. Cp. *Rom. of the Ro.* 2087, etc. ; 3320 ; *Aelidu* 131 :
 “Her herte was wedded to him with a ring ;
 So ferforth upon trouthe is her entente,
 That wher he goth, her herte with him wente.”
Falls of Pr. 38 c : “Under one key our hertes to be enclosed.”
Troy-Book N₃ b :
 “That theyr hertes were locked in a chayne” (*Achilles and Patroclus*).
Ib. R₃ c : “She locked hym vnder suche a keye” (*Cressida and Diomed*).
1229. *L. Lady* g₃ a : “Eternally be bonde that may not fayle.”
Reason and S. 230 a : “To han hir knyght to him by bonde,”
 and again similarly 233 b.
1230. *Troy-Book* I₁ d :
 “For euer more to laste atwene them tweyne,
 The knotte is knyght of this sacrament” (*Marriage of Paris and Helen*).
De duob. Merc., III. IV. 12, fol. 65 b :
 “and hath a day I-sett
 Of hyr sponage to se the knott I-knett.”
- ✓ 1231. alliance.] Cp. the quotation from the *Kingis Quair* in note to l. 388.
1234. record.] See note to l. 1136.
- 1234, 1235. Cp. Chaucer's *Legl. of Ariadne*, ll. 6 and 7 :
 “For which the goddes of the heven above
 Ben wrothe, and wreche han take for thy sinne.”
 “To be wreke” (on) is a common construction in Lydgate : *Black Knight* 663 ;
Troy-Book Q₃ d, T₃ c, U₃ c ; *Falls of Pr.* 59 a, 101 c ; *Macabre* (Tottel 224 d) ;
Pilgrim. 62 a, 63 b, 65 a (in that place we have the form *wroke* rhyming with
spoke ; cp. *Complaynt* 605, 606). Shirley and Caxton read *bewreke* ; but “to be
 wreke” is not to be mixed up with “to bewreak” ; the latter word occurs, for
 instance, *Troy-Book* K₂ a :
 “On Troyans our harmes to bewreke.”
- Chaucer has not infrequently “to ben awreke,” see *Frank. Tale* 56 ; *Mauve.*
Tale 194 ; *Mill T.*, 564.
1238. Cp. *Falls of Pr.* 169 d :
 “If that I might, I wolde race his name
 Out of this boke that no man should it rede” (*Nero*).

1250. Cp. *Troil.* I, 642:

“Ek whit by blak, ek schame by worthyues,
Eeh sett by other, more for other semeth.”

Falls of Pr. 160 d:

“Two colours seen that be contrarius,
As white and blacke—it may bee none other—
Eeche in his kynd sheweth more for other.”

Skelton, *Garl. of L.* 1237: “The whyte apperyth the better for the black.”

Pastime of Pl., p. 56:

“As whyte by blacke doth shyne more clerely.”

1251. See ll. 403, 404.

1252, 1253. Similarly, *Edmund* II, 592:

“For alwey trouthe al falsheed shal oppresse.”

S. of Thebes, fol. 366 d:

“Ayens trouthe, falshode hath no might.”

Albon II, 1915: “Trouthe wyll out, magre fals enuie.”

The reverse is found in *Black Knight* 325:

“He shal ay fynde that the trewe man
Was put abake, whereas the falshele
Yfurthered was.”

1257. *deinte* = value, estimation, liking; see *Aelida* 143; *Troil.* II, 164; *Frank. T.* 275; *Frank. Prol.* 9. “To have (hold) in *deinte*” is a frequent expression; so, *Falls of Pr.* 9 a, 127 b; *Rom. of the Rose* 2677; *Dunbar*, ed. Laing, I, 75, l. 376, etc.

1266. *suffrable*.] The suffix *-able* in an active sense (*i. e.* inclined to do or undergo something) is very common in Lydgate, in cases where in Modern-English it would have a passive sense; Lydgate has *deceivable*, *partable*, *defensible*, *credible* (see quotation in note to l. 1182), etc.; *suffrable* occurs again *Reason and S.* 289 b (also in *Wife of Bath's Prol.* 442); and cp. *Pilgrim.* 154 a:

“Thy body . . . insensyble,
Wych muste with the be penyble.—
Sustene also & be suffrable;
For he wyl also be partable
Off thy merytes & guerdouns.”

In Shakspeare we find still “a contemptible spirit” = a contemptuous, scornful spirit (*Much Ado* II, 3, 187), and “an unquestionable spirit” = an unquestioning spirit (*As You Like It* III, 2, 393).

1271. *Troy-Book* B₁ a:

“What shulde I lenger in this mater dwell?”

1272. *Comeþ* off.] MSS. T, L, and the Prints omit *off*; that the majority of MSS. are right, is made probable by the following passages: *Troil.* II, 310: “*com* of, and tel me what it is”; similarly, *ib.* 1738, 1742, 1750; *Miller's Tale* 540; *Freres Tale* 304; *Court of Love* 906; *Assembly of Ladies*, fol. 258 c.

Troy-Book L₁ b: “Wherefore come of, and fully condescende.”

Ib. Q₃ a: “Come of therfore, and let nat be prolonged.”

De duobus Merc. (MS. Hh. IV. 12, fol. 64 a):

“Tel on for shame; cum of & lat me see.”

Pilgrim. of the Soul, Caxton, fol. 66 a:

“Come of, come of, and slee me here as blyue.”

1275. *haþ*, and *shal*, *obeid*], *i. e.* *hath* obeyed and shall obey. For this shortened form of construction see *Troil.* II, 888, 998; III, 1558; IV, 1652; V, 833; *Clerkes Tale* IV, 36; *Frank. Prol.* 16; *Hours of Fame* 82; *Rom. of the R.* 387; *Generydes*, ed. Wright, 4906; *Court of Love* 922; *Æsop* 8, 1:

“An olde proverbe haþe heo seyde and shal.”

1279. *welc* is here used as an adjective; its opposite *wou* often occurs so also; see *Knights Tale* 68; *Prol.* to the *Canterbury T.*, 351, and Skeat's note; further Abbott, *A Shakspeariana Grammar*, § 230; Zupitza's notes to *Guy of Warwick*, ll. 1251 and 3474; Einkenel, *Steeffing*, p. 112.

1283. [rifti] = well-ordered, becoming, seemly; cp. *Troil.* III, 162:

“She toke hire leve at hem ful thriftily,

As she wel koude.” . . .

Frank. Tal. 444: (a clerk) “Which that in Latyn thriftily hem grette.”

Cp. also the use of “thriftly” in Prol. to the *Cont. T.*, 105; *Chan. Yem. Prol.* 50; *Shipw. Prol.* 3; *Chan. Yem. Prol.* 340: unthriftily = slovenly.

1290. For the omission of the relative, cp. *Kingis Quair* 61, 3:

“To here the mirth was than̄ amang.”

Nonne Prestes Tale 355: “he had found a corn lay in the yard.”

Duchesse 365: “I asked oon, ladde a lymere.”

Peete, David and Beths. III, 2:

“And muster all the men will serve the king.”

See Abbott, § 244; Mätzner, *Engl. Transl. by Greece*, p. 524 etc.

1295. The same as l. 385.

1297. *Troil.* II, 1622: “What sholde I longer in this tale taryen?”

Man of Law's Tale 276: “What schuld I in this tale lenger tary?”

Chan. Yem. Tale 210: “What schuld I tary al the longe day?”

Troy-Book S₃ d: “what shulde I lenger tarye.”

1303. Calliope.] See *Hous of F.* 1400; *Troil.* III, Proem 45; *Count of Love* 15; *L. Lady e, a*, quoted in the note to l. 958, etc. Lydgate is particularly fond of saying that Calliope never took him under her patronage. Calliope plays a very prominent part in Douglas's *Palice of Honour*.

1307. The same expression occurs *Pilgrim.* 270 b:

“Doth hym honour and reuerence.”

1308. Orpheus.] Son of Calliope and Apollo; see the beginning of the *Troy-Book* (fol. A₁ b):

“And helpe also, o thou Callyope,
That were moder vnto Orpheus,
Whose dytees were so melodyous
That the werbles of his resownyng harpe
Appese dyde the bytter woules sharpe
Bothe of parchas, and furies infernall.” . . .

Again, in the *Falls of Pr.* 32 a, he is called

“Sonne of Apollo and of Caliope”; further

“Orpheus, father of armonye,” *ib.* 32 b;

so also *Duchesse* 569: “Orpheus, god of melodye.”

Orpheus is also mentioned *Assen. of Gods* b₁ a, as a “poete musykall”; further in the *Hous of Fame* 1203; in Douglas's *Palice of Honour*, ed. Small, I, 21, 15; in MS. Ashmole 59, fol. 64 a:

“And Orpheus with heos stringes sharpe
Syngeþe a roundell with his temperd herte”

(*herte*, in the MS., is evidently a mistake for *harpe*).

Reason and S. 279 b:

“the verray heuenly soua
Passed in comparisoua
The harp's most melodious
Of Dauid and of Orpheus.”

Orpheus and Eurydice are mentioned together in Lydgate's *Testament*, Halliwell, p. 238; in *Albon*, ed. Horstmann, p. 37, note, stanza 4; and Henryson wrote a poem *Orpheus and Eurydice*. Orpheus is not infrequently mentioned together with Amphion, as in our passage; see note to l. 1310.

1309. strengis touch.] We find “touchen cords” in the *Isle of Ladies* 2153.

1310. Amphion.] How he built the walls of Thebes, is related in the *S. of Thebes* 357 a; see also *Falls of Tr.*, fol. S a, 145 b, 163 d; *Manuscripts Tale* 12; *Knights Tale* 688; Douglas's *Palice of Honour*, ed. Small, I, 21, 2 and 3. Orpheus and Amphion are mentioned together in *March. Tale* 472, and Skelton's *Gardard of Laurel* 272 and 273.

1312. queme and please]. frequent phrase; see *Troy-Book* T₂ b; *De duobus*

Merc., fol. 60 b; *Falls of Pr.* 72 b; *Reason and S.* 242 b; queene or plese, *Troy-Book* B, b.

1319. of hard.] This way of forming an adverbial expression occurs also in l. 574 and 615: "of newe"; in *Troil.* II, 1236:

"That ye to hym of harde now ben ywonne."

Falls of Pr. 72 a; "of olde, and not of newe"; *Complaint* 159, 198; *Reason and S.* 283 a. *Troy-Book* M, a presents even a comparative:

"Ne came none hoost of more harde to londe."

1325. þer is nomore to sein.] Exceedingly common formula in Chaucer and Lydgate; cp., for instance, *Squires Tale* I, 306; *Frank. Tale* 862; *Mauuc. Tale* 162; *Pite* 21, 77.

1328. *Troy-Book* U, a:

"That fynally, as goddes haue be-hyght,
Thorough prescyence of theyr eternal myght
To victorye that ye shall attayne."

"Prescyence" is a personification in the *Assen. of Gods*.

1331. "by iuste purveiaunce" occurs also *Troil.* II, 527. "providence" is, of course, only the learned doublet of "purveiaunce."

1334. *enciroun* is used as a post-position; the sentence is thus to be construed: In consequence of this grant, a new ballad was straightway begun throughout the temple, by reason of the great satisfaction of all present.

1348. Willy planet.] The same as "welwilly" in *Troilus* III, 1208:

"Venus mene I, the welwilly planete!" and

Black Knight 627: "O feire lady, wel-willy founde at al!"

1348, 1349: *Black Knight* 612. etc.:

"Esperus, the goodly bryghte sterre,
So glai, so feire, so persaunt eke of chere,
I mene Venus with her bemys clere,
That hevy hertis only to releve
Is wont of custom for to shewe at eve."

See also *ib.*, ll. 5, 6 and *Temple of Glas*, ll. 253, 254, and 328—331; further *Kingis Quair* 72, 5 and Skeat's note.

1355. daister.] Cp. *Albon* II, 1749: "Venus, called the daysterre."

1362. There is always some contrivance or other to wake these dreamers. Here—and it is a good idea, I think—it is the heavenly melody of the lovers' song; Chaucer, *Duchesse* 1322, is waked by the castle-bell; in the *Parl. of F.*, by the song of the birds; so also Dunbar, in the *Thrisill and the Rois*, and the poet of *Cuckoo and Nightingale*; Deguileville, by the sound of the matin-bell; King James, by Fortune taking him by the ear to place him on the top of her wheel; Alanus (*De Planctu Naturæ*), by the light of the candles going out; Octavien de St. Gelais, at the end of the *Vergier d'Honneur*, by the noise the people make in uttering their opinions; the writer of the *Assembly of Ladies*, because water "sprang in her visage"; Skelton, in the *Bowge of Court*, by imagining he was leaping into the water; Douglas, at the end of the *Pallice of Honour*, by falling into a pool; Lyndsay (*Decau*), by the sound of cannon, etc. noise.] Cf. *Albon* II, 1943:

"Heuently angels, that made noyse and sowne";

further *Edmund* II, 911:

"This heuently noise gan ther hertis lyhte."

Of course, we need not substitute *noyse*, as Horstmann thinks. We have again a "heavenly noise" in the *Fairy Queen* I, 12, 39, and in Painter's *Pallice of Pleasure* (ed. Haslewood II, 272); a "sweete noyse" occurs *Mauuc. Tale* 196.

1366. Cf. *Rom. of the R.* 3859:

"I was a-stoned, and knewe no rede."

1372. With similar regret Deguileville awakes from his vision:

"Bien dolent que si tost auoye
Perdu mon solas et ma ioye;
Iesu le me doit recourer" (*Barthole and Petit*, fol. 148 a).

1374. auisionn.] See *Hous of F.* 7; *Duchesse* 285; *Somptoures Tale* 150; *Persones Tale*, p. 268, etc. The word occurs often in the *Troy-Book*, in *Albon* II, 521, 561, 589. Compare also *Falls of Pr.* 59 d:

(consider . . .) "Howe dremes shewed by influence deniue
Be not lyke sweenenes, but like auisionn."

1380. The "treatises" mentioned in the following lines are not clearly defined; I suppose ll. 1378—1383, and again ll. 1388—1392, allude to a "treatise," with which the world has not been favoured; the "simil tretis" in l. 1387 must mean the *Temple of Glas*. Similar to our passage is the conclusion of the *Flour of C.*, to which, consequently, a "ballad" of three stanzas is appended.

1380. processe.] = progress; progress of a story, or narrative; the story or treatise itself. Very common in the latter meaning. Cp. *Leg. of Ariadne* 29; *Troilus* II, 268, 292, 424; III, 421; *Leg. of Austin*, Halliwell, p. 149:

"Doth your devere this processe to correcte."

Falls of Pr. 112 c: "In this processe briefly to procede."

Ib. 218 d: "And pray al tho that shal thys processe see."

Story of Thebes, fol. 360 d:

"and gan a processe make,

First how he was in the forest take."

Troy-Book Aa, c: "And shortly here Guydo doth forth pace,
And lyst of them no lenger processe make."

Ib. Cc, c: "Of them can I none other processe make."

Ib. Cc, b: "Fro hensforth I can no processe rede."

Dr duob. Merc., fol. 66 a:

"I will entrete thys processe forth in playn."

Secreta Secretorum (MS. Ashmole 46, fol. 97 a):

"Excellent prynce, this processe to compyle

Takith at gree the Rudnesse of my style."

1392. Who is "my lady?" Does the monk represent himself as a lover, in the conventional style of the period, or does *my lady* mean the lady of the "amoureux," at whose request, according to Shirley, the monk composed the poem? The first assumption is made more probable by the Envoy of the *Black Knight*.

1393, etc. Similar Envoys occur in *Black Knight* 674: "Go litel quayre" (so also Skelton, *Garl. of Laurel* 1533); *Chorl and Bird* 379: "Go, gentille quayer;" *Troy-Book* Dd, d: "Go lytell boke," etc.; *L. Lady* m, b: "Goo litlyl book" (this however seems to be added by Caxton); *Edmund*: "Go, litel book!" *Falls of Pr.*, fol. 218 c: "With letters and leaves goe litte booke tremblyng;" *Kingis Quair* 194, 1: "Go litill tretise;" *Pastime of Pl.*: "Go, litte boke;" *Belle Dame*, the last stanza but three: "Go litte booke;" *Troilus* V, 1800: "Go, litel boke, go, litel myn tragedie."

1400. correcte.] See the Introduction, p. exli. Cp. Boccaccio, *De casibus*, at the end: "ut suppleatur quod omissum sit, & superfluum reseceatur;" further *Troilus* V, 1872; *Persones Prol.* 55, etc.; *Sec. Nun's Tale* 84: "And pray yow that ye wol my werk amende." The *Falls of Pr.* ask the readers "to correct where as they se nede" (fol. 217 b), and, again (fol. 217 c):

"I pray them y^t they would

Favour the Miter and doe correccion."

At the beginning of the *Falls of Pr.* (fol. A, c), Lydgate commends Laurent for his

"entencion to amende, correcten and declare,

Not to condemme of no presumption."

Dance of Macabre, fol. 224 c:

"Lowely I pray with all myne heart entere

To correct where as ye se nede."

Reason and S. 202 b: "Beseeching him for to directe

Al that ys mys, and to correcte."

L. Lady b, a: "I put hit mekely to hir correccion."

Esop, Prol. 46: "I me submyt to theyr correccion."

- Flour of C.* 109 : "it is al vnder correction,
What I reherse in commendacion."
Guy of Warwick 74, 1 : "Meekly compiled vnder correceyoun."
Chocul and Bird 385 : "Alle thing is saide vndre correccioun."
Similarly *Secreta Secretorum*, fol. 97 b.
Pilgrimage of the Soul, end (Caxton 1483) :
"and goodly correcten
where that it nedeth oughte to adden or withdrawen ;"
in the original French : . . . "doulcement corrigeront,
Se riens y a a corriger,
A amender ou retracter."
Troy-Book E₃ a : "Prayeng the reder where my worde myssyt,
Causynge the metre to be halte or lame,
For to correete, to saue me fro blame" . . .
Ib. E₃ b : "And where I erre, I praye you to correete."
Ib. Dd₃ b : "To correete rather than disdayne."
Ib. Dd₁ d' : "And the submytte to theyr correceyoun."
See also *ib.* E₁ b.
Edmund : "Meekly requeryng, voyde off presumpcioun,
Wher thou faylest, to do correccioun."
The word *correccioun* forms here the burden of five stanzas.
Albon II. 1993 : "I wyll procede vnder correction."
Pur le Roy 63 : "For to correete where as thei see ned."'
Pilgrimage 4 a : "For my wrytyng, in conclusioun,
Ys al yseyd vnder correccioun."
Leg. of Austin (Halliwell, p. 149) :
"By cause I am of wittis dul and old,
Doth your deueer this processe to correete."
Belle Dame : "Where thou art wrong . . .
Thee to correete in any parte or all."
Cf. also *Lancelot of the Laik*, ProL. 184, 185 ; fur'her Skelton's *Phil. Sparrow*
1246, and his *Envoy to the Garland of Laurel*, l. 1533, etc.
1402. Perhaps we ought to adopt the realing of MSS. T. P. F. B. 1., and
scan the line :

"I méne þæt bénygne || & g'odli of hir face."

COMPLEYNT.

- 19—21. The same simile occurs in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, ll.
179—181 ; further *Troil.* IV, 737 :
"How shold a fissh withouten water dure ?"
Departing of Th. Chaucier (MS. Ashm. 59, fol. 46 b) :
"What is a fische oute of þe see,
For alle heos scales (MS. *scles*) silver sheene,
Bot dede anoone as man may see."
12. 3one me swich a pul.] The same expression occurs in the *Falls of Pr.*,
fol. 140 b.
125. "noun-suffysauce" occurs also in the *Pilgrim.*, fol. 197 a. Chaucer
translates *impotentia* by nounpower, *Boethius* 2074.
136. myn swete fo.] Very frequent expression ; it occurs *Troilus* I, 874 ;
V, 228 ; *Anelida* 272 ; poem XXI in Skeat's edition of Chaucer's *M. P.*, p. 214,
l. 11 ; *De duob. Merc.* (MS. III. IV. 12, fol. 62 a) : "My swete foo is hard as
any stele." See again l. 296 of the *Compleynt*.
196. Read *enwreke*. Shirley's reading is *enwrek*, not *buwrek*, as given, on
p. 61, in the various readings.
198. Many allusions to the two casks containing sweet and bitter liquor
(represented as attributes of Fortune or Jupiter) are to be found in contemporary

poetry. See particularly Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, book VI (*Pauli* III, 12, etc.); similar to this passage is *Reason and S.*, fol. 202 b:

(Fortune) "Had through hir subtil gyn be-gonne
To yive me drynke of her tonne,
Of which she hath, with-oute where,
Couched tweyn in hir celler:
That oon ful of prosperite,
The tother of aduersyte,
Myd hir wonderful taverne
And of this ilke drynkes tweyne
Serveth fortune in certeyne
To alle foolkys eve and morowe,
Some with loye and some with sorowe."

Cp. further *Pilgrim.*, fol. 4 b:

"Nor I drank newe of the sugryd tonne
Off Jubiter, couchyd in hys celer;
So strange I fondē to me hys boteler,
Off poetys callyd Ganymede."

De duob. Merc. (MS. Hh. IV. 12. fol. 70 b):

"As Iupiter hath cowehid tuanyis too
With-in hys colar, platly, and no moo:
That oon is full of ioy and gladnes,
That other full of sorow and bitternes,
Who that will entyr to tamen on the swete,
He must as well takyn hys aventure
To taste the bytter, or he the vesell lete."

Comp. also *ib.*, fol. 65 b; further *Legend of Good W.*, Prol. 195; *Wife of Bath's Prol.* 170. We have the fiction further *in extenso* in the *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Méon 6836, etc., and read also in Borthius, *De consolat. philoso.*, book II, prose 2: "Nonne adolescentulus εἶσο τοῖς πίθουσι, τὸν μὲν ἕνα κακῶν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον καλῶν, in Jovis limine jacere didicisti?" The whole fiction goes back to *Iliad* xxiv, 527, etc.:

"Δοιοὶ γὰρ τε πίθοι κατακίεσται ἐν Διὸς οἴῳ
δύορων, οἷα εἰδῶσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἰάων," etc.

202. eyssel or veneger.] Cp. *Tram-Book* E₁c:

"Of bytter eyssel, and of egre wyne."

203. embrace.] See note to *Temple of Glas*, l. 575.

300. We find Judith often mentioned; see, for instance, *Man of Law's Tale* 841; *March. Tale* 122; *Melibe*, p. 150; *Alban*, ed. Horstmann, p. 37, note, stanza 5, and particularly, the *Monk's Tale* 561—584. Nowhere, however, is any emphasis laid on her "double-ness" to Holofernes, as in our passage.

304, etc. Cp. *Falls of Pr.*, Book VI, beginning.

335. dangerous.] Cp. the note to l. 156 of the *T. of Glas*; see also Chaucer's Prologue 517. "Dangerous" is a woman, in whom "Daunger" has his abode; it means thus "unapproachable, inaccessible." The word occurs thus in the *Wife of Bath's Prol.* 151, 514, *Tale* 234; further *Court of Love* 901; *Rom. of the Rose* 490, 591, 1492, 2312, 3727, etc.—Has "Large in refuse," in the main, the same meaning as "dangerous to take," or have we to adopt Shirley's "Large giving"? "Large in yeuyng" occurs also *Edmund* I, 1006.

336. Does *streyt* mean here "straightforward," "ready"? *Falls of Pr.* 170 a has the word in the opposite meaning:

"Streyt in keping, gein liberalite" (*Galbo*).

Similarly *Pilgrim.* (MS. Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 94 b):

"They seyne eke they be lyberal,
Though they be streyte and ravynous."

379. Similarly *Falls of Pr.* 146 c: "laugh & make a mowe."

Pilgrim. 169 b: "gruchehe & mowhes make";

Ib. 225 b: "Scornyng off the Lewes alle, (*of Christ*)

Ther inowyng & derysioua" (similarly *Pers. Tale*, p. 279);

further *Troilus* III, 1778 :

“Than laugheth she, and maketh hym the mowe” (*Fortune*),
Rom. of the Ro. 4355 :

(Love and Fortune) “Which whilom wole on folke smyle,
And glowmbe on hem another while.”

395, etc. This is a distinct allusion to the worship of the daisy-flower ; cp. note to l. 70 of the *T. of Glas.*

476. We have *lyeth* as a dissyllable in the *Pilgrim*. 174 a :

“Shal lete the way that lyf[eth] wrong.”

477. This line occurs word for word in *Rom. of the Ro.* 1971.

494—515. The writer was evidently highly pleased with this interminable litany of antitheses and oxymora. His model may have been *Rom. of the Ro.* 4706, etc.

529. Both MSS. read “hete of cold.” Being perfectly sure that this must be nonsense, I changed of into *and*. Nevertheless *of* seems to be right ; cp. *Black Knight*, 237, 238 :

“So that my *hete*, pleyuly as I fele,
Of grevousse colde ys cause every dele ;”

further *Troil.* I, 419 and 420 :

“Allas, what is this wonder maladye ?
For hete of cold, for cold of hete I dye.”

This example shows what even “obvious” emendations may be worth. Nevertheless, to die for heat of cold, and for cold of heat, is indeed a “wonder maladye.”

539, etc. Our author probably derived his information with respect to this wonderful lamp from Bartholomæus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum* XVI, 11 (MS. Harl. 4789), who says of the stone “Albeston” : “For in a temple of Venus was made a candyll sticke : on whyche was a lantern so brennyng that it myght not be quenched wyth tempeste nother with reyne : as Ysider sayth . li^o. XV^o., Capitulo de Gemmis.” In Isidore’s *Etymologie*, Book XVI, Chapter IV, No. 4, we find : “Denique in templo quodam fuisse Veneris fanum (dicunt) ibique candelabrum, et in eo lucernam sub dio sic ardentem, ut eam nulla tempestas, nullus imber exstingueret” (Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. 82, col. 565). The earliest mention, however, of this lamp, seems to be in Ampelius, *Liber memorialis*, cap. 8 (shortly after the passage on the Pergamian sculptures) : “Argyro est fanum Veneris super mare ; ibi est lucerna super candelabrum posita, lucens ad mare sub divo caelo, quam neque ventus aspergit, nec pluvia exstinguit” (Thomas Munckerus, *Mythographi Latini* 1681, II, 283, note *b*, conjectures *dispergit* for *aspergit*). For the stone asbestos, see Pliny 37, 54 ; Solinus 7, 13 ; Augustine *De civ. Dei* 21, 7, 1, and a note to Krasinski’s *Irydion* ; further *Court of S. cab ; Falls of Pr.* 183 *c*, stanza 4 ; *Reason and S.* 297 *b* ; *Intelligenza* 43, 2. Cp. with our present passage also the following lines from the *Pilgrim*., fol. 134 *b* :

“And the name off thys dredful ston
Ys yeallyd Albeston,
Wych, whan yt receyveth flyr,
To hete yt hath so gret desyr
That [MS. *Than*] when with flyr yt ys ymeynt,
Alfter neuere yt wyl be queynt.”

The lamp is again mentioned, in 1567, by John Maplet, *A greene Forest*, fol. 2 : “*Isidore* sayth in his .XVI. booke, that in a certayne temple of *Venus* there was made and hoong vp such a Candlesticke, wherein was a light burning on that wise, that no tempest nor storme could put it out, & he beleneth that this Candlesticke had somewhat of *Albeston* beset within.” The name *Albeston* instead of “asbestos” is due to a perverse etymology from *lapis albus*.—For many particulars in this note I am indebted to Dr. von Fleischhacker. See also the N. E. Dictionary under “Albeston.”

575. Cp. *Anclida* 211 :

“So thirleth with the poynt of remembraunce
The swerle of sorowe . . . Myn herte.”

The quotations in the Notes are, as a rule, taken from the following texts :

Falls of Princes, from Tottel's print, 1554.

Troy-Book, from Pynson's print, 1513.

Story of Thebes, from Stowe's *Chaucer*, 1561.

Court of Sapience, from Wynken de Worde's print, 1510.

Pilgrimage of Man, from MS. Cotton Vit. C. XIII and Tib. A. VII.

Pilgrimage of the Soul, from Caxton's print.

Life of our Lady, from Caxton's print.

Reason and Sensuality, from MS. Fairfax 16.

Assembly of Gods, from Wynken de Worde's print (British Museum, press-mark C. 13. a. 21).

Secreta Secretorum, from MS. Ashmole 46.

De duobus Mercatoribus, from MS. Hh. IV. 12 (Cambridge).

Guy of Warwick, from Zupitza's edition.

Aesop, from Sauerstein's edition (*Anglia IX*).

Horse, goose, and sheep, from Sykes's reprint for the Roxburghe Club (1822).

Choir and Bird, from Halliwell (*Minor Poems*), and MS. Longleat 258.

Edmund and Fremund, from Herstmann's edition.

Albon and Amphabel, " " "

Legend of St. Margaret, " " "

Dance of Mowabre, from Tottel's *Falls of Princes*.

Flour of Curtesie, from Stowe's *Chaucer*, 1561.

Chaucer, from Skeat's annotated texts, and the Aldine edition.

Kingis Quair, from Skeat's edition.

The abbreviations used in the Notes will be easily understood by means of the above list.

GLOSSARY.

[For the more interesting or rare words, the Notes should also be compared.]

TEMPLE OF GLAS.

- abaisshed*, abashed, dumb with confusion 1046.
abraide, to start, break forth abruptly 1054.
accesse, see *accesse*.
accoye, see *akoye*.
acordid, reconciled 110.
againward, again, back, in return 644, 1401.
akoye, to calm, quiet, appease 409.
al, although 365.
alderlast, last of all 247.
aldernext, nearest of all, next 70.
amate, dismayed, daunted, cast down 401.
and, if 1002, 1289.
apaid, satisfied, contented; *welc apaid* 1195, 1274; *euel apaid* 1399.
aquarie, Aquarius 5.
arace, to eradicate, tear away 894, 1141.
as, expletive, before adverbs: *as fast* 39; *as þo* 525, 1366; *as nor* 956.
assay, test, proof 1192.
astert, p. t., escaped 1052.
astonied, *astonyed*, astounded, benumbed, dismayed 24, 1044, 1366;
astoncied 876, 934.
atones, at once 458.
atte, at the 13, 30, 405.
atwixen, between 348.
auaunce, to advance, further, help 660.
auaunte, to vaunt oneself, boast 1172.
auisionn, vision, dream 1374.
aulers, altars 473.
arowe, avowal, solemn promise 771.
accesse, access, attack of fever 358.
auen, to ask 672, 725, 765, 800, 1178.
bataile, battle 592, 1246.
baurne, bahn 258.
behest, *bihest*, promise 1036, 1057, 1322.
bemys, beams, rays 272, 329, 718.
bentaile, = *be entaile* 37.
bet, *bette*, adv., better (312), 1063.
bie, buy 719, 1351.
bihest, see *behest*.
bihote, vb., promise 383, 418.
bise, busy 535, 1146; *bisie* 1168.
biseme, to beseech, become 1143.
bole, bull 119.
borow, surety, pledge, bail 1145.
bote, relief, remedy 457.
bourgis, boughs 510.
brace, to brace, strengthen 1290.
brenne, burn 356, 362, 842; p. t. *brente* 840.
brid, bird 603.
buzumnes, obedience 878.
can, know 688.
cerced, circled, made circular 716.
champartie, see note to l. 1164.
chere, cheer, countenance, face 52, 290, 298, 315, etc.
chese, to choose 214, 336.
clepe, call 804.
compas, circle; *in compaswise* 37.
compassid, encompassed, enclosed 755; *compust* 1053.
compassing, designing, plotting 871.
connyng, knowledge, skill 951.
contune, to continue 1333; p.p. *contuned* 390, *contynued* 374.
coupe, known 200. See also *koupe*.

- crop*, protuberance; top, fruit 455, 1210.
crowle, to push 534.
curen, to cover, hide 205.
curteis, courteous 1166.
- daister*, day-star 1355.
daliaunce, speech, conversation 291.
 See note to this line.
daunte, to subdue 482, 619, 1171.
debate, strife 399.
dedeli, deadly 14, 937, 945.
deinte, value, worth, esteem 1257.
demeining, demeanour 750.
demeined, behaved 1051.
departid, separated, divided, parted;
 p.p. 354; p.t. 781.
depured, purified 1225.
deuise, to devise 471, 927, etc.; to
 tell 538, 698.
devoider, dispeller 329.
differing, deferring, delay 1206.
dilacionn, delay 877.
discure, to discover 161, 629, 916.
dispitous, spiteful 761.
dole, dolefulness 551.
dome, sb. doom 1079.
donne, adj., dun, dark 30; vb., to
 darken 252.
doublenes, duplicity 441, 1158, 1245,
 1253; stanza 25 r. l. 5.
dul, vb., to become dull, feel dull
 407.
durs roughness 515.
- eft*, *efte*, again 41, 1400.
efter, *eftir*, after 233, 1251.
eqalli, equally 277.
eke, also 77, 97, 108, etc.
elde, *old*, old age 182, 187.
emprise, undertaking; teaching.
 lore? 421, 1073. See note to l.
 421.
embrace, to set on fire, inflame 846.
 See note to l. 575.
embracen, to embrace 1107, 575.
embroued, embroidered 301, 309.
culite, tell, describe 946, 1378.
emmygd, renewed, made fresh and
 new 275.
entaile, shape, form 37.
entender, is given to, inclined to
 189.
ententif, attentive 470.
entere, (entirely) devoted 220.
- environn*, adv., round about 283,
 505; postposition 1334.
er, ere, before 13, 572, etc.
estres, apartments, inner parts of a
 house 29, 549.
euer in one, at all times, continu-
 ally 25, 1333.
eueridel, adv., every deal, through-
 out 1058.
euerich, every 535.
euuous, happy 562.
exemplaire, *exemplarie*, pattern,
 model 294, 752.
expoune, to expound 304, 1389.
eyuel, vinegar, stanza 3 b, l. 5.
- fadir*, father 389.
falsed, deceived 63.
fantasie, phantasy, mind 513.
fasonn, fashion, shape 35.
feine, to feign 204, 522, 762, 911;
 to be slack 996 (see note to this
 line).
femynite, womanliness 1045.
fer, *ferre*, far 345; *ful fer* 17.
ferforp, far forth, far 1327; *as fer-
 forpe* (as) 1029.
ferse, fierce 1236.
fest, feast 464; festival 101, 473.
fine, *fin*, sb., end 411, 692, etc.
(fine), *fyne*, vb., to end (intrans.)
 372; (trans.) 910.
(fine), *fyne*, vb., to refine 1191.
fire, adj., fiery 574.
flamed, inflamed 843.
fleting, floating 53.
flitten, to remove 1248.
for, on account of, because of, out
 of 1, 2, 10, 11, 29, etc.; in spite
 of 59, 124, 823; with the par-
 ticiples 632, 934, 1366; conj., be-
 cause 68; *for þat* 408, *for cause
 þat* 953.
forcasten, *fordriuen*, to drive out of
 the right way, to toss about; *far-
 castep* 606; *fordriue* (p.p.) 609.
forseid, afore-said 1389.
forth bi pace, to pass by 230.
fortune, vb., to favour, make for-
 tunate 903, 1101; p.p. *fortuned*
 1347, 1361.
for-wrykked, crooked 84.
fonte, bird 139.
fresshli, adj., fresh 273.
fyne, see *fine*.

gan, began 10, 13, 23, 26, etc.
(often merely paraphractical).

garrement, garment 303.

gentilles, *gentillesse*, gentleness 287, 970.

gie, *quie*, to lead, guide 973, 1023.

gif, to give 597.

ginnep, begins 656.

glade, to gladden 1211; *gladest* 703; *glading* 1356.

grave, p.p., buried 239, 1039.

gre, to take at (in) *gre*, to accept in good part, graciously 1085, 1387.

gru(c)ch, to grudge, murmur 592, 1086.

guerdon, sb., reward 806.

guerdone, vb., reward 1139.

guie, see *gie*.

haloure, hallow, celebrate 100.

hatler, hotter 362.

hauteyn, haughty 323.

hest, promise 498; plural *hestis* 59 (promises); 853 (commands).

het, p.p., heated, inflamed 842.

hole, *hool*, whole, entire 97, 364, 488, 497, 857, 1227, 1317.

holi, wholly, entirely 1076, 1330; *hoolly* 630; *hoolli* 722; *holli* 1134.

homagere, one who pays homage 571.

hool, see *hole*.

huc, hue 48, 454, 616, 937.

Iblent, blent, mingled 32.

ich, *Iche*, each 748, 1007.

lewise, judgment, pain, torment 238.

Ifrove, frozen 20.

iliche, equally, equably 1202.

I-mecid, moved 669.

inli, inwardly, deeply 765, 1087.

inspeccionn, examination 278.

I persid, pierced 987.

Istelified, changed into a star, glorified 136.

I coide, void, devoid 413.

Izolde, yielded, surrendered 586.

kepe, sb., heed 13.

kipe, to make known, show 194.

koufe, acquainted with 618. See note.

kunnyng, knowledge, skill 538.

kyad, nature 177, 224, 279, 343.

laiser, leisure 393.

lak, lack, defect 150, 561, 749, 791, 820, 1137.

lase, snare, net 423.

laurer, laurel 115.

lech, leech, physician 916.

ledne, language, speech 139.

lenger, longer 390, 1297.

lere, to teach 656; to learn 297, 1021.

leuyr, liefer, rather 1012.

lich, like 46, 272, 603, 628, 784, 798, 813, 1030; *liche* 850.

lillynesse, likeness, semblance 18.

lisse, to ease, relieve 1220.

loft, on l., aloft 645.

longip, belongs 875.

lourep, looks sullen 218.

male bouche, wicked tongue, stanza 25 b, l. 7.

mausep, amazes, bewilders 682.

mede, meed, recompense 353, 415, etc.

meint, mingled 276.

meruaile, sb., marvel 267.

meruaile, *meruaile*, vb., to marvel, wonder 279, 585.

mere, to move 1245.

modir, mother 321.

mot, must 357.

ne, not 27, 68, 184, 240, 399, etc.

ne, nor 161, 178, 403, 508, 594, etc.

neueradele, in no way, by no means 426.

noise, sound 1362.

nefangilnes, newfangledness 1243.

nyl, will not 956.

nys, is not 794.

nyst, knew not 17, 1371.

obeyssance, obedience 324, 864.

of, *of grace*, in grace 490; *of right*, by right 954, 1063. See also note to l. 1319.

offencioun, offence 429, 801, 884.

ones, *onys*, once 675, 725, 925, etc.

ofer, *ofir*, or 943, 1038.

ofer next, next following 209.

overdrawe, to pass over 610.

overshake, to pass away, abate, stop 611.

- overslake*, to abate, slacken 614
(reading of L. S. Pr.).
- pantive*, snare 604.
- pensifhede*, pensiveness 2.
- peping*, crying, screaming 180.
- peraventure*, peradventure, perhaps 233, 241.
- percaus*, perhaps 237.
- perre*, jewelry 301, 310.
- persant*, piercing 328, 756, 1341.
- ple*, plea 681.
- plein*, plainly 1265; *in plein* 1390.
- plet*, to plead 686.
- port*, bearing 266, 291, 745, 901, 975.
- possid*, pushed 608.
- prefe*, sb., prove 1254.
- prese*, *pres*, sb., press, crowd 533, 545, 547.
- pris*, esteem, highest reputation 259, 621; value 1258; praise 1345, 1381.
- purid*, purified 1192.
- purveance*, purveyance 862.
- queme*, to please 1312; stanza 3 b, l. 7.
- quite*, to quit, requite 1186.
- race*, to run, rush 756.
- raced*, erased, cancelled 1238.
- rech*, care, mind 982.
- recounford*, comfort 330.
- recured*, recovered 1226.
- rede*, sb., counsel, advice 642, 688, 1366.
- rede*, vb., to advise 1151.
- regalie*, supremacy, first rank 261.
- reherse*, to relate 560, 949.
- renue*, change, remove 1182.
- rouzt*, cared 850, 939.
- secrenes*, secrecy 295.
- sehd*, seldom 212.
- semlighed*, seemliness 290.
- shene*, shining, bright 1101.
- sikines*, security, certainty 1254.
- sip*, since 369, 423, 478, etc.; *sipin* 482; *sipen* 735.
- sife*, *afte s.*, oftentimes, often 193.
- skil*, reason 1116, 1382.
- skyes*, *skies*, clouds 30, 611.
- sonachile*, sometimes 655.
- sounyssh*, sunny 271.
- sote*, *soote*, sweet 458, 540, 1264.
- sofeast*, true 974.
- sound*, to cure, heal 602, 1200.
- soune*, *soavne*, sb., sound 197, 1336.
- spere*, sphere, globe 272, 396, 716, 1344.
- spill*, to destroy, kill 439.
- stere*, to steer, guide, direct 1349.
- stert*, to escape 584.
- sterue*, *sterve*, to die 435, 791.
- stile*, writing instrument, pen 956.
- stoneip*, astounds 683.
- stromes*, rays 32, 252, 263, 326, 582, 702, 815, 1101, 1342.
- strengis*, strings 1309.
- suffrable*, suffering, enduring 1266.
- surprised*, overpowered, overcome 765, 938.
- swelt*, feel sultry 844.
- sweltre*, feel sultry 358.
- tast*, takest 602.
- tempest*, vb., to worry, disquiet 1157.
- thouzt*, heaviness 1, 1174, 1260, 1370.
- tofore*, before 32, 198, 249, 251, etc.; *toforu* 883; *toforne* 994, 1281, 1284.
- together*, together 276.
- transmue*, to transform 120.
- trete*, treaty 214.
- twyn*, to part, separate 1360.
- filke*, the same, that 81; stanza 25 a, l. 7.
- fo*, adv., then 370, 525, 1366, 1369.
- fo*, dem. pr., those 1165, 1337, 1351.
- fristti*, see note to l. 1283.
- railch*, avails 622.
- verre*, *verrai*, *verrey*, very, true 571, 980, 1001.
- viage*, voyage, journey 900.
- enfortuned*, unfortunate, luckless 389.
- enwarli*, unawares 95, 105, 617.
- voide*, to chase away 253, 1158, 1357; *to voide oute of*, to empty of, free from 331.
- oppermore*, higher up 137.
- walk*, walked 34, 247, 552, 565.
See *welk*.
- waloing*, turning restlessly 12.
- wandhope*, despair 673, 895.

waped, dismayed, dejected 401.
wawz, wave 609.
weddin, weather 395.
welke, week 1201.
welbesein, seemly, comely, of good appearance 1167.
welk, walked 140; *welke* 550.
were, wire 271.
wyquentacioun, lamentation 949.

wyt, person, creature 360, 398, 403, 553, etc.
willi, willing, ready, propitious 1348.
wirship, *worship*, dignity 342, 399.
wisse, teach 637.
wite, sb., blame 166, 208.
wite, vb., to blame 666.

COMPLEYNT.

acordyn, agree 231, 545.
aforne, before 582.
alayene, to allay 273.
albistoun, 540. See note to l. 539.
amasid, amazed, bewildered 518.
a-mong, sometimes 171.
apeyrid, impaired, injured 519.
aryete, Aries, the Ram 250.
astert, to escape 12.
astonyd, stunned 109.
a-tamyd, broached 198.
attemperance, temperance 339
 (Shirley reads *attemporaltee*).
a-treyne, between two people 234.
awise, opinion 354.

bayme, balm 431.
bedynge, bidding 468.
brend, burnt 560.
branne, to burn 543, 547, 552.
bromys, broom 417.

chere, countenance 26, 75, 180, etc.
cheucre, shiver 532.
cheuyrfoyl, honey-suckle 429.
clepe, to call 149.
commyngoun, union, uniting 253.
contue, to continue 361.
crop, top, fruit 397.

dalyaunce, conversation 340.
del, part 45.
demyu, decem 169.
departheyoun, separation 254.
depeyntyd, portrayed 79.
despitous, spiteful, contemptuous 346.
deynte, liking 107, 170.
dol, *dole*, grief 245, 317.
donne, dun, dark 366, 372.
dotous, doubting, mistrustful 343.
duesse, hardship 588.

efft, again; *efft sones*, soon again 620.
egre, sharp, acid 201.
ek, also, likewise 70, 349, 452, etc.
empyise, undertaking 160.
embrace, to burn 203. See note to *T. of Glas*, l. 575.
euerychon, every one 44.
eysel, vinegar 202.

feer, *fer*, *fyr*, fire 541, 544, 607.
feere, *in f.*, together 271.
fel, strong, biting, sharp 201.
femyngytee, womanliness 326.
feyntyse, feigning 477.
flaambe, sb., flame 542.
forderkyd, darkened 26.
for-nome, taken from, deprived 56.
forpossid, pushed about, tossed 530.
frounynd, frowning 368.
fyue, to end 280.

zaf, gave 179.
gan, began 220.
gate, gate 446.
zere, give 135; gave (=O.E. *geafon*) 177.
gilt, committed 115.
gledc, burning coal 525.
zoue, given 42.
gouuernance, discreet behaviour 328.
grevis, groves 428.

herdegramys, herd-grooms, herdsmen 418.
heyle, to hail 309.

Iferede, fired, inflamed 556.
I-wis, *I-wys*, certainly 119, 338.

I-wrcke, revenged 358.

large, sb., liberty 177.

lasse, less 616.

leche, leech, physician 55.

lemys, rays 263.

lere, to learn 333.

lyssyn, to ease, relieve 401.

mede, reward 624.

mo, moo, more 135, 143, 564.

mot, must 390, 442, 568.

moore, grimace 379

mut, mute 50.

nafe, has not 577.

ne, not 40, 85, 92, 101, 127, etc.

ne, nor 85, 113, 216, 279, 291.

neufangynnesse, newfangledness 562.

non-suffysaunce, insufficiency 125.

onbit, abideth 67.

olhyr, or 116.

out-shede, to pour out 431.

parte, to divide, share 236.

peersand, piercing 574.

pensyffed, pensiveness 510.

pes, peace 508.

pete, pity 69, etc.

plyne, to complain 51.

plouchyn, to plunge 376.

porte, bearing, demeanour 328, 334.

queme, to please 553.

recorderys, flutes, flageolets 421.

recure, to recover 93.

ror, rough 374.

scold, seldom 311.

seyne, to, to say 90, etc.

shene, bright 225.

sithe, *sithen*, *sythe*, etc., since 4, 14, etc.

skyis, clouds 372.

slen, *sloo*, to slay 139, 295.

soude, to make sound, heal 407.

sote, sweet 398, 431.

sothfastnesse, truth 92, 493, 587.

sperc, sphere 241.

sperys, *rede sp.*, reed-spears 422.

spraulynge, sprawling 21.

steer, to stir 542 (or, to manage, control? see *Leg. of G. W.*, 335).

stere, to steer, guide, restrain 6.

stilly, quietly 308.

stoundemel, hourly 524.

streitest, most straightforward (?) 336.

sundel, somewhat 197.

swor, swoon 188.

sykurnesse, security, reliableness 327.

syfes, *offte s.*, oftentimes, often 596.

tene, grief 226.

tho, then 198.

thought, trouble, heaviness 1.

to-brest, to burst 450.

to-rent, rent asunder 611.

to-tore, torn 610.

trist, sad 285.

tweye, two (things) 530.

rydyrfong, to undertake 172.

ru[r]rke (?), to unfold 196.

wene, doubt 267.

were, doubt 261.

worshepe, dignity 341, 550.

wroke, revenged 606.

wynke, close the eyes, sleep 64.

yede, went 205.

LIST OF PROPER NAMES.

TEMPLE OF GLAS.

Achilles 94, 785.	Ioue 117, 1232.
Addoum (<i>Adonis</i>) 64.	Isaude 77.
Admete 72.	Iubiter 136, 465.
Alceste 71.	Lucifer 253.
Almen 123.	Lucina 4.
Amphioum 1310.	Lucesse 101.
Amphitrioum 122.	Mars 126, 1232.
Antonyus 778.	May 184.
Autropos 782.	Medee 62.
Britayne 410.	Mercurie 130.
Caliope 1303.	Minatawre 83.
Canace 138.	Musis 133, 953.
Cartage 55.	Orpheus 1308.
Chaucer 110.	Palamoun 102.
Cirrea 703.	Pallas 248.
Citheria 701.	Paris 92.
Cleopatre 779.	Penalope 67, 407.
Crete 85.	Phebus 5, 112, 272.
Cupide 114, 321, 444, etc.	Phillis 86.
Daphne 115.	Pbilogye 130.
DeCalus 84.	Philomene 98.
Demophon 87.	Piramus 81, 780.
Diane 8.	Policene 94, Polixene 786.
Dianyre 788.	Progne 99.
Dido 56.	Rome 101.
Dorigene 410.	Sabyns 100.
Elicon 706.	Saturne 389, 1232.
Emelie 106.	Tesbie 80, Tesbe 780.
Eneas 58.	Thesus 82, 109.
Esperus 1348.	Thesiphone 958.
Europe 118.	Titan 32.
Grisildis 75, Grisilde 405.	Tristram 79.
Heleyne 93.	Troie 95.
Hercules 787.	Venus 52, 64, 127, 191, etc.
Ianuari 185.	Vulcanus 127.
Iason 63.	

COMPLEYNT.

Cupidis (gen.) 556.	Indith 300.
Dyane 250.	Phebus 240.
Fortune 42, 362, 391, 452.	Polixene 268.
Heleyne 268.	Venus 549.

ADDENDA.

Page XIII. To Prof. Zupitza's contributions to Lydgate-literature, add his paper *Zu Lydgates Isopus*, in his *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vol. 85, pp. 1—28. We find in it the version of the Trinity College MS. R. 3. 19, and the fragment in MS. Ashmole 59, besides valuable notes, and important additions to Sauerstein's edition.

Page XXIX. Thanks to the kindness of Mr. Gordon Duff, I am in a position to give a more accurate date for the fragments of Pynson's print. Mr. Gordon Duff believes its date to be about 1502—6, for the following reason. The border of the device used in Pynson's print was cut in metal, and was first used about 1500. It very soon began to get damaged, owing to the bending of the metal, and about the year 1510, the lower part broke away altogether. In the *Temple of Glas* the lower margin is slightly bent, and thus Mr. Gordon Duff is inclined to put it nearer 1502 than 1506.

Page LXXVIII, note. I am sorry that I was not sooner acquainted with Wischmann's Dissertation *Untersuchungen über das Kingis Quair*. It would have been interesting to compare Lydgate's treatment of the final *c* with that of King James.

Page XCVI. In the last volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the article on John Hoveden notices the poem in MS. Calig. A. II, entitled "The Nightyngale," and says that it is an imitation of Hoveden's shorter version of the *Philomela*. Through Prof. Napier I have become acquainted with another copy of the Caligula version, contained in MS. No. 203 of Corpus Christi College. From it, my supposition that the British Museum copy must be deficient at the beginning, has been confirmed. Two stanzas, addressed to Anne, Duchess of Buckingham, are missing at the beginning in the London MS., so that this poem has altogether 59 stanzas (see p. xev, note 3). The stanza on the death of Henry of Warwick occurs in this MS. on page 17. An entry at the beginning of the MS. rightly points out that the poem must thus have been written between 1444 and about 1446, as the title "Duchess of Buckingham" was not conferred upon Lady Anne till 1444. Both MSS. are mentioned by Tanner, p. 491, l. 11 from top.

Page XCVII. We find further information concerning John Baret in a publication of the Camden Society: *Wills and Inventories from the registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmund's and the Archdeacon of Sudbury*, ed. by Samuel Tymms, 1850. The will of John Baret is given in that work on pp. 15—44. It was drawn up in 1463, and proved May 2nd, 1467. Thus John Baret doubtless outlived Lydgate, whose share in the pension granted to them jointly must then have fallen to Baret. Some account of Baret and his tomb in St. Mary's Church, Bury St. Edmunds, is given on pp. 233—238 of Tymms's book.

Page XCIX. Through Mr. Peskett's renewed kindness I have been able to identify the "War between Cæsar and Pompey" which Skeat (*Academy*, Oct. 3, p. 286) inclines to believe is identical with the "Tragedye of Rome" in MS.

Ashmole 59. Mr. Peskett has very kindly sent me a transcript of the beginning and end which, as he rightly points out, leaves no doubt that the piece is identical with Lydgate's *Serpent of Division* (issued together with the 1590 edition of Gorboduc). The Ashmole MS. is not available to me at present, but judging from the Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS., the "Tragedye of Rome" seems to be nothing else than the Envoy to the *Falls of Princes* II, 31 (Tottel's print, fol. 66 *d*—67 *b*), followed by that to *Falls of Princes* III, 5 (Tottel, fol. 77 *a* and *b*).

Page CIX. From the new (printed) Catalogue of the British Museum I see that Lydgate's *Assemble de Dieux* had already been printed in 1498 by Wynken de Worde, at the end of an edition of the *Canterbury Tales*. See also Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 97, col. 2. This print is particularly interesting as assigning the authorship of the poem to Lydgate.—If I can trust an old note taken some time ago at Cambridge, the poem is also found in the Trinity College MS. R. 3. 19, fol. 68 *a*—97 *b*.

Page CXVII, note. Add. as two other important treatments of the Pleading between Mercy, Truth, Right and Peace, the Salutation in the "*Coventry*" *Plays*, and the *Castle of Perseverance*. Cp. also Rothschild, *Mystère du ciel Testament* I, p. LXI.

Page CXLIII. I forgot to add that in E. K.'s introduction to the *Shepherd's Calendar*, Lydgate's name is mentioned in a very laudatory manner, and that he is introduced with Gower and Chaucer in G. Harvey's *Letterbook* (ed. Scott, p. 57). Ben Jonson quotes him frequently in his *English Grammar*. Lydgate is further mentioned in the translation of Terence's *Andria* (see Collier II, 364); again, in a Latin poem before *Alciub Green's Metamorphosis* (Grosart's *Greene* IX, p. 13), and by Whetstone, in a poem on Sir James Dier (see Köppler, *Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle*, p. 31, note 1); further by T. Nashe in his *Letter to the Gentlemen Students*, before Greene's *Menaphon* (ed. Grosart, VI, 24); also in John Lane's *Continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale*, ed. Furnivall, III, 330:

"Don Chaucer, Lidgate, Sidney, Spencer dead!"

No bad company for our monk!

Note to ll. 86—90. Phyllis is also represented as having hanged herself on a filbert-tree in Lodge's *Rosalind*, signat. K₁ *a*.

Note to l. 271 (see also p. cxxxii). I am sincerely sorry that I have after all come across an earlier instance of the expression, "hair like gold wire," namely, in Layamon's *Brut*, ll. 7047, 7048, which read (Cotton Calig. A. ix):

"Seoððen com a king þe hæhte Pir :
his hæð (read *hair*) was swule swa beoð gold wir ;"

the reading of Cotton Otho C. xiii is :

"Suppe com Caper . and Pir :
þat [hadde] heer so gold wir."

Note to l. 510. The *Merry ballad of the hawthorn-tree*, attributed to Peele, illustrates well why this tree was chosen as a symbol of constant love. See Dyce's edition of Greene and Peele, 1874, p. 604 *sq*.

Note to l. 1272. Come off.] This phrase occurs further in the Salutation in the *Coventry Plays*, ed. Halliwell, p. 113; in *Mary Magdalene*, ed. Furnivall, ll. 379 and 739; in Skelton's *Magnificence* 103 and 977 (cp. Dyce's notes); in Heywood's *Four Ps*, Dodsley-Hazlitt I, 352, l. 7; in *Thersites*, ib. I, 421; in Ingelend's *Disobedient Child*, ib. II, 272, 283, 305; in *Marriage of Wit and Science*, ib. II, 376; in Bale's *Kyng Johan*, ed. Collier, p. 66; in *Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*, ed. Halliwell, p. 17, l. 7. There remains thus little doubt that, by the insertion of *off*, we get the correct reading.

Lydgate and Burgh's
Secretes of old Philisoffres.

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series, LXVI.

1894.

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A VERSION OF THE 'SECRETA SECRETORUM.'

EDITED FROM THE SLOANE MS. 2164,

with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary,

BY

ROBERT STEELE.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY
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FOREWORDS.

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§ i. THE poem, printed for the first time, which the Society offers to the public, has a double interest—as the last work of Lydgate it shows clearly the changes which have come over the language during a life-time devoted to writing—and as a translation of the *Secreta Secretorum* it brings us before one of the key-books of medieval literature.

I have endeavoured in the following pages to give some account of the *Secreta Secretorum* and its history, to summarise what is known of the authors of this translation, and, though relieved of much of the work which would otherwise have fallen upon me by the work of another editor in this series (Dr. Schick), to add some remarks on the language and peculiarities of the poem.

The text printed is that of Sloane 2464. It is the fullest and the earliest copy we possess. No emendation is made without the authority of the other MSS., and these are carefully noted.

§ ii. The *Secreta Secretorum* is attributed to Aristotle, and is said to have been written in answer to the request of Alexander. The prince, absent on an expedition, writes to the philosopher, desiring his presence, with the aim of learning that secret doctrine which the Eastern mind looks for from every teacher. Aristotle unable to go to him, and unwilling either to communicate his doctrine openly, or to disoblige his pupil and patron, writes him a treatise, '*de Regimine Principum*,' intimating at the same time that his secret teaching lies hid there under a veil. The work,

as we have it, is doubly divided—into ten books of very unequal length, and into chapters numbered consecutively.

As may be thought, no Greek text corresponding with this work has been found, though certain portions of it have been drawn from Greek sources. The work itself professes to be translated from Greek into Chaldee (which generally means Syriac) and thence into Arabic, and accordingly our earliest texts are Arabic. There are, however, signs of acquaintance with Greek names in the work. A knowledge of the connection between Æsculapius and the sun, and the descent of Aristotle from the Æsculapides are clearly shown by the choice of finding a MS. of Aristotle's dealing with health in a temple dedicated by Æsculapius to the Sun. I may be allowed to suggest too that there may be some connection between the fact that Aesclepiades did write on Alexander the Great (Arrian vii. p. 477, Ed. 1668) and this legend. The Syrian origin of our work is rendered probable by the finding of the book at Antioch (l. 443), by the attribution of the astrological chapters to Cyprian (l. 1189), who was a noted magician and a native of the Syrian Antioch in the 3rd century,—afterwards a Christian, Bishop of Carthage, saint, and martyr under Diocletian, and by the fact that Bar Hebraeus (Greg. Abulpharagus), in his *Hist. Dynast. VI.*, Oxon, pp. 56, 86, speaks of a Syriac work of Philemon on Physiognomy—translated from the Greek—and compares him to Hippocrates. Philemon I take to be Polemon, not the Philo quoted by him. I have come upon Greek sources for two different tracts in the work. Caps. xlix—li (l. 1660—1771) are a translation of a letter, “ad valetudinem tuendam,” sent by Diocles Caristes (b.c. 320) to Antigonus, which is preserved for us by Paulus Aegineta. (I quote from *Lugd. 1589. 8°.*, p. 109). Lib. X (l. 2465—2723) is founded on the work of Polemon, an early writer on Physiognomy and commentator on Aristotle. He is quoted by Origen (150) *contra Celsum*, l. (Cantab. 1677. 4°., p. 26.) His work is included by Franzius in his *Scriptores Physiognomiae Veteres.* (Altenburg, 1780. 8°). Hermogenes is Hermes Magnus, the legendary author of all science, but I cannot find the quotations in any of the works attributed to him that I know.

§ iii. *Arabic Texts.* There are two forms of the Arabic text in England, one short, as in the British Museum Add. 7453. 75v° to 76v°, and another longer, as in Bodl. MS. Laud A. 88. I have seen no other MSS. in England, though doubtless many exist, but they abound in foreign libraries. It is especially noteworthy that one of the Vatican MSS. is written in Syriac characters, when we remember that the work is compiled in Syriac from Greek sources, and translated thence by the author.

Its Arabic name is ‘**sirr alasarar.**’ I find it impossible to say, without an actual comparison of several texts, whether the shorter Arabic form is merely a part of the longer, or whether the Arabic text grew, as we shall find the Latin one did. There is some reason for holding the latter view.

Some little difficulty is caused to the student by the fact that two Johns have been translators of this book—a Syrian Christian, and a Spanish physician. I have not endeavoured to make the distinction in the sidenotes, which are intended to represent what was in Lydgate’s mind when he wrote, reserving for this introduction any discussion of the matter. We learn from the Arabic that the author of the treatise is Jahja Ibn al Batrik (or John, son of Batrik).¹ Lydgate, following the Latin texts, which confuse him with Johannes Hispalensis, calls him ‘John, a spanyol born, And Callyd sone / of Oon patricius’ (ll. 604, 609).

The author, there can be little doubt, was one of the school of Syriac Christian physicians, so celebrated in the early days of Muhammedan rule. His accuracy (relatively speaking) in dealing with medical matters, his reliance on astrology as a means of diagnosis and prognosis (a tradition brought into Europe at a later period by the school of Salerne), and his inclusion of alchemy and the occult properties of gems as a quite subordinate feature of the treatise—all these point him out as a medical man of the 8th or 9th century.

The prologue (ll. 1—133) and the two letters (134—210) are usually attributed in English works to a later translator of the book into Latin. They are, however, found in the Arabic text, which begins, ‘God prosper the Emir-al-Muminim’ (the leader of the true believers), as well as in the early Hebrew translation. In the Latin text they are headed, ‘*The prologue of a certain doctor recommending Aristotle.*’

§ iv. *The first Latin translation.* The Arabic of John, son of Batrik, was first translated into Latin by Johannes Hispalensis for ‘Teophina, queen of the Spaniards.’² The *Secreta Secretorum* is thus one of the few books which were translated directly from Arabic into Latin, without passing through the Hebrew. I have found his translation in a 14th century MS. in the British Museum (Addit. 26,770), where it occupies two small quarto leaves, and in eight other MSS. there. In the printed editions it is expanded into Caps. xxxiv to xlv, and forms the basis of lines 1261—1491 of our text. It consists of a short treatise on the rules

¹ Though the attribution of the translation to him is itself believed to be a disguise of the real compiler.

² Who appears in Sloane 405 as Charesie.

of health, and of another on the four seasons of the year. In his Introduction, Johannes quotes the Arabic title as 'tursesar,'¹ and speaks of finding the book in the Temple of the Sun, written in letters of gold, and of bearing it home to translate, as in ll. 610—637, but into Latin, not Arabic.

I have been unable to trace 'Teophine' in any of the genealogies of Spanish rulers, but Johannes Hispalensis is well known.² He was John Avendeth, a converted Jewish physician, who translated (about 1135—1142) from Arabic into Latin a number of works principally of a medical and astronomical character, and is connected with Spain by the fact that another of his works, a treatise on arithmetic, '*de algorismo*,' was translated for Raimund, Archbishop of Toledo. A monograph on his works will be found in the works of Steinschneider, and an Alchemical tract of Arabic origin bearing his name is found in the Sloane MS. 212.

§ v. *The second Latin translation.* Toward the close of the next century, another translation direct from the Arabic was made by Philip Tripolitanus (or Philip Clericus) enlarging that of Johannes Hispalensis. He used the longer Arabic text, which included, besides the above, the prologue 'in praise of Aristotle,' the letter and answer respecting Persia, the prologue of Jahja Ibn al Batrik, and the chapters on The final intention of kings, Astronomy, Precious stones and talismans, The four parts of the body, The knowledge of foods, waters, and wines, Baths, Venesection, Justice, The choice of officers, secretaries, messengers, and counsellors, and, lastly, on Physiognomy. This translation is dedicated to Guido, a man of Valence, Bishop of Tripoli, or as some copies have it, to Guido de Vere, Bishop and Metropolitan of Valence. Steinschneider in his monograph on the *Secreta Secretorum* (Jahr. f. rom. u. engl. Lit., xii. 4, p. 366) places Guido A.D. 1204, on the strength of an old deed of that year naming G. bishop of Tripoli, but this name has been otherwise ascertained to be Gaufridius. The lists of Bishops give us three bishops of Valence, called Guido (990—995, 1016—1025, 1272—1274), and one bishop of Tripoli in 1279. Förster places him about 1150 or 1210, if he was bishop of Tripoli.

¹ The forms the Arabic words *sirr alasar* assume will give some idea of the difficulty one meets with in connecting Middle Age Latin forms with their Arabic original. I have found *tuoscar*, *cirotesar*, *curoseesca*, *tynessar*, *cyretesar*, *tyralaccare*, *eyralaurar*, *dyallicrar*, *eyralaccrar*.

² See Bréchillet-Jourdain, "*Recherches sur de Aristotle.*" The reading Charesie (Sl. 405) suggests Tarasia d. of Alfonso VI, king of Leon and Castile, mother of the 1st king of Portugal, who reigned in his place 1112—1128, and died Nov. 1130. It was not unusual to style the daughter of the King of Spain, Queen. The date of this translation would then be 1128—1130, a date confirmed by the preface, which indicates that it is one of his first translations.

The question of date might be attacked in this way; there are two stories in the *Secreta Secretorum*, that of the poison-maiden, and that of the Jew and Muhammedan. If either of these are met with before the thirteenth century, it would seem to follow that the *Secreta* was translated fully at some earlier period. It requires, of course, wide experience to assert a negative, but I believe the former story first appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*,¹ and the latter in Gower.² Michael Scot († before 1235) quotes the Sec. Sec. in his Physiognomy, and there is no doubt that Roger Bacon (in 1256) knew parts of the work which were not translated by Johannes Hispalensis, for he quotes part of the second letter of Aristotle, and makes constant references to the work, as well as using the title familiarly in other connections. It was also known to Albertus Magnus (1250).

We may then attribute to the 12th or 13th century this translation, and certain parts of the shorter printed Latin text which have no Arabic original. These are ll. 330—476, 477—602, 638—735 (a distortion of the second letter of Aristotle to Alexander), and 736—973 (Of the four manners of kings touching largesse): which we may attribute to Philip of Tripoli, who was undoubtedly a Frenchman and most probably of Paris, as tradition asserts.

§ vi. *The printed Latin texts, and the versions.* From this period the work spread over Europe; and as it grew in popularity it expanded in size; chapters were added on such subjects as tournaments, others were enlarged, and translations into various languages were made. As I have before remarked, only one of these—the Hebrew—was taken from the Arabic, the others being made from Latin texts. These are numerous. I have myself examined thirty in the British Museum, and a little search would doubtless bring to light many more, both there and elsewhere. There are two main types, though every old copy differs from the others.

¹ Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* refers to the story, naming Porus as the king, and gives (wrongly) Q. Curtius as authority.

² As these stories are not told in our text, there will be no harm in summarising them here. The Queen of the South (*Nicomedia* in the early Spanish version, *India* in the Latin, *The King of India* in the Arabic and Hebrew,) fed a fair daughter on poison from the day of her birth, and sent her at maturity as a present to Alexander. Aristotle warned him of his danger, and pressed him to submit a malefactor to her embrace. As the latter died on the spot, Alexander sent her away. The other tale treats of a discussion on religion in which the Jew summarises his religious duties, and restricts his obligations to those of his own faith. The Muhammedan declares that he is bound to regard all men as brothers, whereon the Jew, who is walking, asks him to give him a ride. When the Jew is mounted he rides away, and the Muhammedan thus abandoned in the desert calls on God to assist him in the danger brought on by fulfilling his duty. Going further he comes on a lion standing beside his mule, and the rent carcase of the Jew. See the prose translation, Lamb. 501.

The shorter has about sixty chapters, the longer over one hundred. Sloane 2413 is about the best MS. The printed copies, again, following the MSS. fall into two main classes. Grenville 7925 and 520 d. 5 (2), Louvain 1485. 4°. are good examples of the shorter form: 7306. a. 16 and 520. a. 12, Paris 1520. 12°. are typical of the complete book.

There are MS. commentaries on the work attributed to Bacon,¹ Scot, and other medieval writers, who all seem to have taken it quite seriously, and to have aided in spreading its fame. A copy existed some years ago at Holkham which belonged to Edward II. But a better proof of the book's popularity exists in the number of translations. Of these there are extant a very early Spanish, four Italian, and five French independent versions from the Latin. One of the latter is said to have been made in the 12th century, and so would be of special interest; but it is not yet printed.² I believe there are also some early German translations.

§ vii. *Works founded on the 'Secreta Secretorum.'* A work of this nature, so suitable to the habits of thought of the writers of medieval times, naturally gave rise to a host of imitations and emendations. Already in the 12th century, Giraldus Cambrensis had written a work *De Instructione Principis*, which exists in MS. in the British Museum, Cotton Julius B. XIII., an epitome of it being found in Titus. C. XII. 8. It is doubtful whether this was not an independent work in its inception: but the work of Egidio Colonna *De Regimine Principum* (a copy of which exists in Bibl. Reg. 4. D. IV. 4) is clearly based on the *Secreta Secretorum* in very great measure. Hocceve's translation of this—his *Regement of Princes* or *De Regimine Principum*—is well known, and was edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1860.³ Two treatises are ascribed to Innocent III. (ob. 1216), *De Administratione Principum*, and *De Eruditione Principum*: one to Thomas Aquinas, *De Regimine Principum, ad Reg. Cypri*: and one to Guill. Peraldi, *De Eruditione Principum*. Simon

¹ In MS. Corp. Christ. 149. Bodl. (Tanner) 116, f. 1—15.

² It is attributed to Petrus de Abernun, and is found in Bibl. Nat. 25407 (olim Not. Dame 5, or 277), fol. 173^b, 196. I have met with the following lines:

<i>Princz saeiez ke icest trettez</i>	<i>Le grant, le fiz Phelippe le rei,</i>
<i>Est le scerez de sechez numcz,</i>	<i>Le fist en sa graunt vielesce</i>
<i>Ke Aristotle le philosophe ydoine,</i>	<i>Quant de cors estreit en fieblesce,</i>
<i>Le fiz Nichomache de Mucedoine,</i>	<i>Pus qu'il ne pout pas travailler</i>
<i>A sun deceple Alisandre en bone fei,</i>	<i>Ne ad rei Alisandre repeirar.</i>

and Epilogue

<i>Me ore priez, pur Dieu amur,</i>	<i>Ke de bien fere li doit sa grace:</i>
<i>En ceste fin pur le translatur</i>	<i>E a nus tuz issi le faec,</i>
<i>De cest livre, ke Pierre ad nun,</i>	<i>Ke le regne pussun merir,</i>
<i>K'estreit est de cest de Abernun,</i>	<i>Ke done a suens a sun pleisir. Amen.</i>

³ Dr. Furnivall's edition of it from the Harleian MS. 4866, for the E. E. T. S. is now ready for the printers.

Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury (ob. 1366) wrote, while secretary to Edward III., a treatise of this nature, entitled, *Speculum Edwardi III.*: and, to mention no others, Ximenes, a Spanish bishop about 1400, wrote in Spanish, *Cresta, i.e. de Regiment de Princesps*. Such a list proves the importance of the *Secreta Secretorum* in the history of literature.¹

§ viii. *The 'Secreta Secretorum' in English.* Our author's translation does not by any means stand alone in English; and perhaps a short description of its compeers may not be out of place. Excluding Gower's use of it in Bk. VII. of his *Confessio Amantis* and Hocceve's (in 1412), the first separate Englishing of known date we have is the *Secreta Secretorum in English*, addressed to Jas. Butler, Earl of Ormond, Lord Deputy of Ireland, by Jas. Young, circ. 1420. It is long and rambling, omitting parts of the work, and inserting historical examples. Holmes, from whose notes much of the preceding paragraph is taken, says that the translation exists in MS. Bodl. Rawlinson 490. It will be printed for the Society with the two other prose-renderings named below.

A portion of a prose translation begun by John Shirley, in his old age, exists in the British Museum MS. 5467, f. 211. It is taken from the French, and dedicated to Henry VI. An anonymous early prose translation is in MS. 18. A. vii, in a handwriting of about 1460, written on parchment. It is a shortened Englishing of the French text of Harleian 219, and is printed, together with another anonymous prose translation from the Latin (Lambeth MS. 501), for purposes of comparison. The latter translation seems to date from the end of the 14th century, and is thus the earliest we have. Both will be printed. Warton (II. 313) describes still another, published in 4° by Robt. and Wm. Copland in 1528, entitled, '*The Secret of Aristotyle with the Governale of Princes, and every maner of Estate, &c.*' The order of the *Sec. Sec.*, and much of its matter is made use of in *Ovia Imperialia* by Heydon, in his *Temple of Wisdom*, Lond. 1663, 8°. Lastly, the *Physiognomy* is reprinted in a tract in the British Museum 519. a. 12 (3). London, 1702, 12°.

Nor is Lydgate without a rival in his poetical treatment of the *Secreta*. Sir William Forrest (Sir, because he was a clergyman) drew up and addressed to the Protector Duke of Somerset in 1548, *the Poesye of Princely Practise* for the benefit of Edward VI. The presentation copy still exists (British Museum Bibl. Reg. 17. D. III.), adorned with a drawing of Forrest presenting his work to the young king. It is well

¹ Thos. Rudbourne, in his Winchester History, *Angl. Sacr.* I. 242, speaking of Harold, says: 'et disciplinam Aristotelis quam dedit Alexandro sequutus fuisset,' &c., a reference to the *Sec. Sec.*

written on rather poor vellum, and extends to seventy-seven folios. It is in the same measure as our text, seven-line stanzas.

§ ix. *The Manuscripts.* A very little search convinced me that it would be of little advantage to go outside the British Museum for MSS. of the poem. Not only is there an abundance of texts there earlier than can be found elsewhere, but one of them impressed itself on me as being probably a presentation copy of the original, and as having passed under the eyes of the author of the second part, the peculiar blanks left in the text confirming the idea that the scribe intended to refer to the author. The changes of the times—the Wars of the Roses—may have prevented the work ever getting into the hands for which it was designed. I therefore determined to reproduce Sloane 2464; my reasons being, first, its early date (about 1450); second, the manifest care displayed in making the copy; third, the fullness of the text.

The facsimile which accompanies this work gives a very good idea of the writing and of the kind of ornamentation employed. It is on the same scale as the MS. itself. The rubrics are put in carefully, and the vellum is of the best quality. There is, as the MS. now stands, no trace of the original owner except a small *fleur-de-lys* stamped on the vellum. This may be the Burgundy crest, and thus may connect the book with Margaret, sister of Edward IV. The following distich is written—in a seventeenth century hand, on the last folio:

“Perusing me an ye ha doone
Conduit me home to Thos. Moone.”

The other important MS. is Addit. 14,408. It is written in a northern hand, and presents some differences from Sloane 2464. I am printing some stanzas in full for the sake of comparison, and note the principal differences. It is dated 1473, and seems to represent the source of the other copies. If it had been complete, my decision in favour of Sl. 2464 would not have been so immediate; but unfortunately a page is missing, and several are injured.

HARLEIAN 4826 contains works of Lydgate and Hoccleve. ff. 52 *a* to 81 *a* contain the *Secrees*, of which unluckily one leaf is missing. It was written about 1490, on vellum, and contains some poor illuminations. As an inset it has a drawing on vellum of Lydgate presenting his ‘Pilgrim’ to Thos. Montacute, Earl of Salisbury—most probably a portrait.

ARUNDEL 59 contains works of Lydgate and Hoccleve. The ‘Secrees’ extend from fol. 90 *a* to 130 *b*, and end at stanza 352. In my judgment it was written about 1470. It is on paper, and contains a record of its

purchase by T. Wall, Windsor Herald at Arms, at a tavern in Bishopsgate, May 8th, 1528.

HARLEIAN 2251 is Stow's copy of John Shirley's MS. It ends at the same stanza as Arundel 59, and seems to have been made from the same copy. The 'Secrees' run from 188 *b* to 224 *a*. It contains a large number of minor poems of Lydgate, and Burgh's Cato major and Cato minor (attributed to Lydgate).

LANSDOWNE 285 is of incidental interest, as having been made for the Paston family. We learn from the 'Letters' that the transcriber Ebesham was paid 1*l.* a folio for it. The volume contains also a translation of Vegetius, made for Sir Thos. Berkeley in 1408. The 'Secrees' runs from 152 *a* to 196 *b*. It was written before 1469.

SLOANE 2027 paper. 'Secrees,' 53 *a*, 92 *b*.

§ x. *The text used by Lydgate.* My next duty would naturally be to decide as to the sources from which Lydgate made his translation. I am disposed to think he either used a poor Latin text alone, or that if he used a French one, he referred to the Latin as well. The French text in Harleian 219, is the sort of copy that would have been placed at Lydgate's disposal. One feature of most of the French translations is a curious mistranslation of 'dove' for 'column' (l. 98) which arose from the substitution of *columba* for *columna* in the Latin text—a mistake easily overlooked when a work was transcribed from dictation. Lydgate, besides falling into this mistake, follows the French translation in its omission of the story of the poison-maiden.

All argument on the subject is however vitiated by the fact that in Lydgate's work we have little more than the fragments of a translation, begun at various points, and brought together afterwards. A clear proof of this is the position of lines 974—1029, which form a part of chapter lxxv in the printed text 7306 *a*. 16. It seems to me that Lydgate was struck by the lines, translated them 'to see how they looked,' and laid them by; and that after his death Burgh inserted them where they now stand. It is inconceivable that a writer of Lydgate's experience would have left ll. 638—735, and 477—602, in such a muddle as they are now in, if they were finished work; or that a veteran rhymester such as he was would have left 778 : 780 in their present state.

§ xi. *Summary of its history.* Briefly stated then, the history of our poem is this. Compiled from various sources in Syriac in the 8th century, it was translated into Arabic, with a prologue recommending Aristotle, for some Muhammedan ruler by the author. It was turned into Latin by Philip of Paris in the 13th century, thence into French, and its transla-

tion into English verse was undertaken by Lydgate, at the desire of some great personage, probably Henry VI.

§ xii. *The life of Lydgate.* Dr. Schick, in his Introduction to Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, has devoted much care to making out a list including the known events and dates of Lydgate's life. In the first Appendix will be found a number of documents—some previously unpublished—which enable us to trace out Lydgate's history in his closing years. The grant of ten marks, Ap. 22, 1439 is particularly interesting as tending to confirm Schick's date (1430-38) against ten Brinck's (1424-33) for the *Falls of Princes*. John Baret, whose name was inserted by Lydgate's wish in the grants, was treasurer of the Abbey of St. Edmund's. His will is published by the Camden Society in their *Bury Wills*. He died in 1467. The only memorial of Lydgate he leaves is a copy of the *Story of Thebes*. Mr. Sydney Lee has been kind enough to call my attention to a ballad of Lydgate's mentioned by Bp. Alcock (b. 1430) in a sermon quoted in Brydge's *British Bibliographer*, ii. 533. This ballad, 'of which the refrain is "Englonde may wayle y^t ever Galand came here,"' was written, Alcock says, after the loss of France, Gascony, Guienne, and Normandy, *i. e.* 1452. It was published by Dr. Furnivall, *Ballads from MSS.* vol. i (Ballad Soc.), and in Hazlitt's *Early English Poetry*. This seems to put Lydgate's death as later than 1452. The following alterations should be made in the table, p. cxii of Dr. Schick's introduction to the *Temple of Glas*, summarising what is known of Lydgate's life and works.

- 1423. Lease of lands and pension granted to Lydgate and others on nomination of Rochford.
- 1438. Mercer's play.
- 1439. App. 22, grant of 10 marks yearly from the Customs of Ipswich.
- 1440. Easter, payment of £6 4s. 5½*d.* to collector of Customs.
May 7, grant of £7 13s. 4*d.* yearly from proceeds of the farm of Waytete.
- Michaelmas, payment of £3 16s. 8*d.* to Sheriff.
- 1441. Nov. 14, petition for change of grant.
,, 21, patent made out to Lydgate and Baret, and the survivor of them, from the revenues of the county.
Michaelmas, payment of the year.
- 1443. Michaelmas, payment of £7 13s. 4*d.*
- 1446. Oct. 2, receipt of Baret for £3 16s. 8*d.*
- 1447. Epitaphium Ducis Gloucestrie.
- 1448. Payment of £7 13s. 4*d.* to Michaelmas.
- 1449. Payment of £7 13s. 4*d.* to Michaelmas.
- 1452. Galande Ballad.

§ xiii. *The life of Benedict Burgh.* Of Burgh, Lydgate's successor, little is known. He is usually spoken of as Magister, and his degree is attributed to Oxford without reference by Wharton. He may have been one of the Masters in Grammar who never went through the Arts course. He would be a native of the village of Burgh in Essex, though we first hear of him as rector of Sandon, and vicar of Maldon, when he was presented to the former living, July 6th, 1440, by Thomas, seventh Baron de Scales. At this time he held the position of tutor to William, son of Henry Bourchier, afterwards Earl of Essex, who had married Isabel, daughter of Richard Earl of Cambridge, sister of Richard Duke of York, and aunt to Edward IV. Burgh thus became acquainted with the York family, and another of his pupils, Henry Bourchier, married the daughter of the Lord Scales, who gave Burgh the living of Sandon.¹

In Add. 29729, fol. 6 *a*, we find a short poem written by Benedict Burgh to Lydgate. It is most unfortunate that the top of it has been cut down in binding, as it would seem to have given some information connecting Lydgate with Windsor, from which we could have fixed a date. It appears to be the means by which Burgh introduced himself to the notice of the famous old writer. At this time he entertained hopes of becoming acquainted with Lydgate, and of obtaining help from him in his studies. I have added this in an Appendix [2]. We may imagine that Lydgate lent him his friendly aid and guiding criticism; and under these auspices Burgh produced the translation of Cato's Distiches,² printed by Caxton about 1478, and alluded to by him in his Forewords to his own translation. Beleigh Abbey is a mile from Maldon, and Bourchier was buried there.

Burgh resigned his living of Sandon in Sept. 1444,³ and does not seem to have held any other preferment till Oct. 19, 1450, when he became rector of Hedingham Sible, a Bourchier living in the same county. Much of this interval he spent, doubtless in company with Lydgate, and soon after his death, Burgh was called upon to complete our poem—to act as the Monk of Bury's literary executor, in fact—either by Viscount Bourchier, or even by the king himself, with whom Lydgate seems to have been a favourite. Probably the living was Burgh's

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. B. Wright, Rector of Sandon, for a copy of some entries, proving rather curiously that Burgh's predecessor was Vicar of All Saints, Maldon.

² Lond. (about) 1478. 4°. (Camb. A. B S. 48. [2 editions]), London 1558. 8°. (Mus. Brit. G. 9792).

³ His successor entered on his duties Sep. 24, 1444.

reward. Through the same influence he was appointed Archdeacon of Colchester, Feb. 10, 1465, and on Feb. 23, 1472, a prebendary of St. Paul's, his former pupil being now brother-in-law of Edward IV. In Feb. 1476, he was made a Canon of St. Stephen's at Westminster, and thereon resigned his living and prebend. This post of honour and dignity he held till his death, July 13th, 1483, the same year as witnessed the decease of his old patron, Henry Bourchier. It was while Canon of St. Stephen's that Burgh made Caxton's acquaintance, and got his translation published. Burgh's name is preserved among the benefactors of St. Stephen's (Cott. Faustina, B. viii. [1, 2]), and his benefaction must have been of some value, since the grants to the clergy present at his anniversary mass are on a fairly liberal scale.

Other works of Burgh's are, *A Christmas Game*, in *Christmas Carols*, ed. 1841 by Wright for the *Percy Society*, and in *Notes and Queries*, May 16, 1868, by Dr. Furnivall; *Aristotle's A B C*, in the *Babees Book*, edited by Dr. Furnivall for the *E. E. T. S.* 1868, and a balade in Add. 29729, following that given in our Appendix. Some of the shorter pieces attributed to Lydgate may also have been written by Burgh.

§ xiv. *Remarks on the poem.* Considered as literature, the work before us is empty of interest. It would in any case have been difficult to make poetry out of the *Secreta Secretorum*, and only in one stanza does Lydgate come near it. His work is scrappy, ill-ordered, and tedious to a remarkable degree even for him. Nor has it much bearing on the science of his time. Doubtless, if Lydgate had lived, he would have revised his work, but precisely because of his death, and the piety of his 'young follower,' who did not allow himself to alter the last writings of his dead master, we see the seven-line stanza in the making. This seems to me to be the main point of interest to us in it. Burgh's work appears to me to affect a more archaic tone than Lydgate's; of his stanzas, the prolog seems the best,—it has been printed by Halliwell in the preface to his collection of Lydgate's shorter poems. Lines 477—602 and 974—1029 were printed by Ashmole in his *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, London 1652, 4°.

§ xv. *The metre of the poem.* The work is written in Rhyme Royal, in seven-line stanzas of ten-syllable lines with rhymes *ababbc*. Dr. Schick, whose Introduction to the *Temple of Glas* is indispensable to every reader of Lydgate, enumerates five varieties of verse. Students should however be warned that its prosody is the weak point of Dr. Schick's work.

A. Five iambs, with sometimes an extra syllable at the end, and usually a well-defined caesura after the second foot :

l. 9. The lórd to plése / and his lawés to képe.

B. Lines with an extra syllable before the caesura :

l. 33. For prudent prínces / most dígne of Réveréncē.

C. The peculiar Lydgateian type in which the two accented syllables clash : l. 167. Whan thís is dóon / férthermóre in déde

D. The headless line, in which the first syllable is cut off :

l. 135. Moóst notáble / and dígne of Réueréncē.

E. Lines with trisyllabic first measure :

l. 171. Cóunt óf thēr Cítees / the fáamous Góvernáuncē.

To these I would add, that some of Lydgate's lines scan only on the assumption that they are six-measure lines :

l. 1365. Ánd thě trānslácyōun óf Thómās / mártyrd ĩn Crýstěmāsse.

l. 1496. Thě dúlněsse óf my pénnē / yōw běséchyng ténlúmýnē.

Line 1497 may be best scanned on this assumption ; but, as Schick remarks, many of Lydgate's lines scan in several different ways. I suggest, with all due deference, that as Lydgate broke nearly every rule of the Rhyme Royal, there is no reason for supposing that he kept to a five-beat measure. In fact, the greater part of the *Secrees* could be scanned on a six-beat basis with little trouble by allowing a liberal use of the pause.

Assuming that a ten-syllable verse is the normal one, I have scanned the whole of the poem, and counting no slurred syllables, I get the following results :

Lydgate in 1491 lines has		Burgh in 1239 lines has
1 14-syllable line		1 14-syllable line
2 13-syllable lines		5 13-syllable lines
46 12 " "		71 12 " "
223 11 " "		217 11 " "
287 9 " "		235 9 " "
40 8 " "		84 8 " "
2 7 " "		4 7 " "
<hr/> 601		<hr/> 617

§ xvi. *The Rhyme.* I must again refer the reader to Dr. Schick for general principles, noting here only points of special prominence in the poem. The rhyme is very good in Lydgate, and fairly good in Burgh. There is a marked assonance in l. 8 kepe : slepe : meke. l. 778, grucehyng is made to rhyme with itself ; l. 1003 kynde : Ynde : kynde ; l. 1164 degre : mutabilite : degre ; l. 1069 shrewys : the wys ; l. 1072

cherche : werche ; l. 281 desirs : cleer is. Stanza 176 is altogether in a muddle, the rhymes being *abaaacc*.

Many of the rhymes are cheap: l. 50 corage : age : outrage ; l. 286 Eyer : Repayer ; l. 615 tarye : solitarie ; l. 1112 partye : Jupartye ; l. 1419 accorde : O corde. Before concluding that Lydgate's rhymes are impure, we must bear in mind our own double pronunciation of such words as *wind* and *wan*, to suit the rhyme.

Turning to Burgh, we note in his rhyme much greater weakness. Such rhymes as l. 1527 tryvyal : equal ; l. 1597 fat : estat ; l. 1604 parfightly : body ; l. 1702 egir : wedir ; l. 1952 mesurably : body ; l. 2008 specially : remedy ; l. 2150 trewly : contrary : feithfully ; l. 2651 angry : fooly ; are hardly ever met in Lydgate. l. 1602 tyme : ffyne ; l. 1882 began : nigram ; l. 1987 venym : wyn ; l. 2136 Oon : boorn ; l. 2171 man : can : wysdam ; l. 2668 knee : slevys ; are examples of another fault uncommon in the Monk of Bury. Burgh is also markedly careless of his vowels in the rhyme. l. 2360 mynde : sende : condiscende ; and l. 2304 Rebeel : feel : Cel ; cannot ever have rhymed.

§ xvii. *General characteristics of Lydgate's language.* The most striking feature of the language is that it is so modern. The final *e* is rarely sounded in words of Old English origin, and still more rarely in those of French. The influence of the fifty years since Chaucer shows itself in this work, which should be compared with one of Lydgate's earlier poems in this respect. The plural is, more often than not, sounded as our own is, *i. e.* not sounded at all as a separate syllable, and the plural of adjectives is dropped, the *e* in *hik* seems to be plural (ll. 440, 715), but not uniformly so. French nouns are generally sounded with *e* mute (*e*), as l. 398 rwyne, l. 402 shadwe, owmbre, l. 656 folwe, l. 1309 selwe, l. 1611 malwe, l. 1807 morwe. The *e* in composition is not invariably sounded as *modeffye*, l. 1204. I had prepared some notes on the accidence of Lydgate, but the appearance of *The Temple of Glas* has rendered it unnecessary, and I accordingly reserve any remarks for the notes.

The mannerisms of Lydgate are well to the fore here. His modesty—'the Rudnesse of my style,' l. 21 ;—the phrases he repeats to fill up a line—'this to seyn,' 'set in ordre,' 'it is also of hym maad mencion,' 'by Recoord of scripture,' 'in especial,' 'lyk our entencyouns,' 'In sentence brief,' 'for short conclusyoun' ;—and the familiar metaphor 'I have no Colour, but Oonly Chalk and sable.' Burgh has well imitated his master's envoy—if indeed Lydgate did not write it himself ; it recalls some of his earlier ones in several respects.

A recent editor of Lydgate has spoken of the 'Philistine maxims' of the Secrees. I am afraid that some of us, who live on the borderland, and are often driven by the bumptiousness of the chosen people to serve a campaign under the banners of Philistia, are not the best judges on the matter. Still, it has been a pleasure to me to add to the notes such seraps of a discursive reading as will tend to show that the maxims of the *Secreta Secretorum* were the commonplaces of such Philistines as Cicero and Plutarch,—of all classical antiquity. In the case of such a work one can hope no more, nor indeed is more required.

I have to express my gratitude to the authorities and attendants of the Manuscript Room at the British Museum for their kindness and courtesy, and to acknowledge with gratitude the debt I owe—in common, I believe, with every one who seeks his advice and help—to the Director of the Society, Dr. Furnivall.

Modern School, Bedford, July 1892.

APPENDIX I.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO LYDGATE.

I. The dates of Lydgate's orders are given in Cotton. Tib. B. IX. f. 35^b. 69^b. 85^b.

Subdeacon, 17th (Nov. ?), 1389.

Deacon, 28th May, 1393.

Priest, 4th April, 1397.

II. Lease to Dan John Lydgate and others by Sir Ralph Rochford of the lands of the alien Priory of Longville Gifford, or Newenton Longville, with the pension of Spalding, formerly appertaining to the Abbey of Angers, by virtue of letters patent of Henry IV. and Henry V. to the said Sir Ralph Rochford.

Nicolas's Acts of the Privy Council, III. 40.

(MS. Cotton. Cleopatra, F. IV. f. 7.)

A.D. 1423,

Feb. 21.

xxj^o die Februarij anno primo apud Westmonasterium, presentibus dominis Ducibus Gloucestrie et Exonie, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Londoniensi Wyntoniensi et Wygorniensis Episcopis, Marchie Warrewici et Northumbrie Comitibus, Cromwell Tiptoft et Hungerford',¹ Cancellario Thesaurario et Custode privati sigilli, concessum erat quod omnia terre et tenementa pertinentia prioratui Sancte Fidis de Longville (alienigene alias dicto prioratui de Longville Gifford, alias dicto prioratui de Newenton' Longville) cum pertinentiis in regno Anglie una cum omnibus aliis maneriis terris pratis redditibus, boscis, molendinis, porcionibus, pensionibus, feodis, rectoriis, reversionibus, juribus, communis, dominiis, exitibus, emolumentis, revencionibus, et hereditacionibus quibuscumque, et pensione de Spaldyng valoris xl. li. per annum abbatie de Aungiers, dudum pertinentibus secundum formam et effectum literarum patencium dominorum Henrici quarti et

Present the Privy Council,

it was allowed that the lands and rents of the Alien Priory,

with the pension of £10 per annum of the Abbey of Angers,

¹ Dominis omitted ?

should go to
Dan John
Lydgate and
three others,

on the nomi-
nation of Sir
Ralph Roche-
ford,

given at
Dover.

Henrici quinti Regum Anglie Radulpho Rocheford' militi inde concessarum et confirmatarum dimittantur, modo ad firmam Dompno Iohanni Lidgate et Iohanni de Tofte monachis, Iohanni Glaston' et Willelmo Malton' capellanis ad nominationem prefati Radulphi Rocheford' sine aliquo inde reddendo, quousque dicto Radulpho provisum fuerit de recompensa conveniente ad terminum vite sue ad valorem annuum terrarum et tenementorum predictorum, prout sibi promissum fuit per dominum Regem defunctum patrem Regis nunc apud Doverr'.

III. A grant of 10 marks to Lydgate from the Customs at Ipswich.

Patent Roll, 17 Henry VI., p. 1, m. 7.

Pro Johanne Lydgate Monacho.

1439.
April 22.

10 marks

from the
customs

of Ipswich,

to be paid at
Michaelmas
and Easter
in equal
portions.

Rex Omnibus ad quos etc. salutem. Sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali, ac pro bono et gratuito servicio quod dilectus nobis Johannes Lydgate, Monachus Monasterij siue Abbathie de Bury Sancti Edmundi, tam Carissimo Domino et Patri nostro ac Avunculis nostris defunctis quam nobis et carissimo Avunculo nostro Humfrido Duci Gloucestrie adhuc superstiti ante hec tempora multipliciter impendit, concessimus eidem Johanni decem marcas percipiendas annuatim, pro termino vite sue, tam de antiqua et parva custumis nostris, quam de subsidio lanarum coriorum et pellium lanutarum, necnon de subsidio trium solidorum de dolio et duodecim denariorum de libra. in portu ville Gippewici per manus Custumariorum siue Collectorum custumarum et subsidiarum predictorum in portu predicto pro tempore existencium, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche, per equales porciones. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Castrum suum de Wyndesore, xxij die Aprilis.

per breve de priuato sigillo.

IV. Allowance of payment of this Grant, £6 4s. 5½d. being the proportion due at Easter 1440.

Enrolled Accounts, Exchequer (Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer),
Customs, No. 20.

Account of Walter Green and Thomas West, Collectors of Customs and Subsidies in the Port of Ipswich from Michaelmas, 18 Henry VI. to Michaelmas 19 Henry VI. Among the payments is the following :

Et Johanni Lydgate Monacho Monasterij siue Abbatie de Bury Sancti Edmundi, cui Rex xxij^{do}. die Aprilis, Anno decimo septimo, concessit decem marcas percipiendas annuatim pro termino vite sue tam de antiqua et parua custumis Regis, quam de subsidio lanarum coriorum et pellium lanutarum, necnon de subsidio trium solidorum de dolio et duodecim denariorum de libra, in portu ville Gippewici per manus Custumariorum siue Collectorum custumarum et subsidiorum predictorum in portu predicto pro tempore existencium, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche per equales porciones. videlicet de huiusmodi .x. marcis per annum a predicto .xx^{mo} ij^{do}. die Aprilis dicto Anno .xviij^{mo}.—vsque festum Pasche proximo sequentem Anno .xviij^{uo}. vj. li. iiij. s. v. d. q^a. per breue Regis irrotulatum in Memorandis de anno .xix^{no}. Regis huius termino Sancti Hillarij. Rotulo .x^{mo}. et literas patentes ipsius Johannis de receptione.

To Jn. Lydgate under the Grant of 22 April 1439.

10 marks a year, on part of his Annuity namely £6 18s. 5½d. to Easter 1440.

V. The King cancels the previous grant of A.D. 1439 of 10 marks, and grants to Lydgate £7 13s. 4d. per annum from the proceeds of the farm of Waytefee, to date from the Easter preceding.

Patent Roll, 18 Henry VI., p. 2, m. 5.

Pro Johanne Lydgate Monacho.

Rex Omnibus ad quos etc. / salutem. Sciatis quod cum Johannes Lydgate Monachus de Bury Sancti Edmundi habens ex concessione nostra decem marcas percipiendas annuatim durante vita sua de custumis de Ippeswych' per manus Custumariorum ibidem pro tempore existencium prout in literis nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius apparet in voluntate existat easdem literas in Cancellariam nostram restituere cancellandas ad effectum quod nos eidem Johanni septem libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios percipiendos annuatim pro termino vite sue de exitibus et proficuis de alba firma et feodo vulgariter nuncupato Waytefee, in Comitatus Norfolkie et Suffolcie, concedere dignemur. Nos, de gracia nostra speciali, ac pro eo quod idem Johannes dictas literas nostras in Cancellariam nostram restituit cancellandas, concessimus eidem Johanni dictos septem libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios percipiendos annuatim, durante vita sua, a festo Pasche ultimo preterito, de exitibus

1440, May 7.

£6 13s. 4d. a year for life

to be canceled for £7 13s. 4d. a year for life.

£7 13s. 4d.

through the
Abbot of
Bury St.
Edmunds.

Extractum.¹

et proficuis provenientibus de alba firma et feodo vulgariter nuncupato Waytefee predicto, per manus Abbatis de Bury Sancti Edmundi pro tempore existentis, et sic deinceps ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche per equales porciones durante vita sua predicta. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium

vij die Maij.

per ipsum Regem.

VI. An allowance to the Sheriff of £3 16s. 8d., paid to Lydgate (and Baret) on account of the grant, no. VIII.

Pipe Roll, 19 Henry VI. Norfolk and Suffolk.

Adhuc Item Norffⁿ.

For the year
* 18 Hen. VI.
1439-40.

Milo Stapilton' nuper Vicecomes de anno *precedenti** debet CCC lxxix. li. xj. s. vij. d. ob. qⁿ.

[Among his allowances is the following:]

the grant of
Nov. 21, 1441,
is quoted.

The grant
due from
Easter 1440

of £3 16s. 8d.
was paid for
Mich, 19 Hen.
VI. 1440.

Et Johanni Lidgate, Monacho de Bury Sancti Edmundi, et Johanni Baret Armigero, quibus Rex xxj^{mo} die Nouembris anno xx^{mo} concessit septem libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios percipiendos annuatim a festo Pasche anno xvij^{mo} durante vita sua et alterius eorum diucius viuentis de exitibus proficuis firmis et reuencionibus Comitatum Norffⁿ et Suffⁿ provenientibus per manus Vicecomitis eorundem Comitatum pro tempore existentis ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones— lxxvj. s. viij. d. de termino Sancti Michaelis anno xix^{mo}, per breue Regis irrotulatum in Memorandis de anno xx^{mo} Regis huius. termino Sancti Michaelis. rotulo .xxxiiij^{to}. et literas patentes ipsorum Johannis et Johannis de receptione.

VII. Petition of John Lydgate, monk of Bury, touching the invalidity of letters patent granting him £7 13s. 4d. yearly, and praying new letters patent to him and John Baret, squire. Granted.

Acts of the Privy Council, V. 156. (20 Hen. VI.)

MS. Addit. 4609, art. 27. Lydgate's Petition to the King, with the Answer.

¹ This means that an extract of this grant was sent to the Exchequer: it will probably be found in the Originalia Rolls.

Unto the King oure most gracious sovereign lord.

Besechith you mekely youre pouere and perpetuell oratour 141, Nov. 14.
 John Lydgate, monke of Bury Seint Edmond. For as moche as
 for diverses opinions had in lawe be your justices and barons of
 youre eschequer, youre *lettres patentes* grauntid to youre seid
 besecher of vij. li. xiiij. s. iiiij. d. may not take effecte to the wele £7 13s. 4d.
 and profite of youre seid besecher.

That it may please unto youre hyenesse to grante unto your
 seid besecher and to John Baret squier, youre gracioues letters
 patentes undir youre grete seal, after the forme contenue and
 effecte of a cedula to this bille annexid, and there-vpon youre
 liberate eurrant and allocate dormant in due fourme, for the
 whiche youre seid besecher shall restore youre gratioues letters
 patentes to him made of vij. li. xiiij. s. iiiij. d. to be taken be the
 handes of the Abbot of Bury into the chaunceye to be
 cancellid. And he shall pray to God for you.

Rex apud *Westmonasterium* xiiij^o die *Novembris* anno xx. The King grants the petition,
 concessit presentem billam ut petitur, et mandavit Custodi privati
 sigilli sui facere garrantum Cancellario Anglie, ut ipse desuper
 fieri faciat litteras patentes secundum tenorem copie presentibus present the Earl of Suffolk,
 annexe, presentibus *Domino Suffolcie* qui billam prosecutus est
 ac me,

Adam Moleyns.

VIII. The King's patent granting to Lydgate and Baret, and to the survivor, the sum of £7 13s. 4d. per annum.

Patent Roll, 20 Henry VI., p. 1, m. 20.

Pro Johanne Lidgate Monacho et Johanne Baret Armigero.

Rex Omnibus ad quos etc. salutem. Sciatis quod cum nos sep- 141, Nov. 21.
 timo die Maij, Anno regni nostri decimo octavo, concesserimus
 Johanni Lidgate, Monacho de Bury Sancti Edmundi, septem
 libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios, percipiendos annua- Lydgate's Annuity of £7 13s. 4d.
 tim a festo Pasche tunc ultimo preterito, durante vita sua, de
 exitibus et proficiis prononientibus de alba firma et feodo vul-
 gariter nuncupato Waytefe, per manus Abbatis de Bury Sancti
 Edmundi pro tempore existentis, et sic deinceps ad terminos
 Sancti Michaelis et Pasche per equales porciones prout in literis

to be censeld
for a like
Annuity to
him and Jn.
Baret.

nostris patentibus inde sibi confectis plenius continetur. Et quia idem Johannes in voluntate existit dictas literas nostras in Cancellariam nostram ibidem restituendi cancellandas, ad intencionem quod nos sibi ac Johanni Baret Armigero septem libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios percipiendos annuatim durante vita sua et alterius eorum diucius viuentis de exitibus proficuis firmis et reuencionibus Comitatum Norfolcie et Suffolcie concedere dignemur; Nos premissa considerantes, ac bona et gratuita seruicia que dicti Johannes et Johannes nobis impenderunt et impendent infuturum, ac pro eo quod idem Johannes Lidgate literas predictas nobis in Cancellariam predictam restituit cancellandas, de gracia nostra speciali concessimus eisdem Johanni et Johanni, septem libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios percipiendos annuatim a dicto festo Pasche durante vita sua et alterius eorum diucius viuentis, de exitibus proficuis firmis et reuencionibus Comitatum predictorum per manus Vicecomitis eorundem Comitatum pro tempore existentis, ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, xxj die Nouembris.

Per breue de priuato sigillo, et de data predicta, auctoritate Parliamenti.

IX. Payment to Michaelmas 1441.

Pipe Roll, 22 Henry VI. (1443-4)

Norfolk and Suffolk.

£7 13s. 4d. to
Michaelmas
1441.

Roger Chamberleyn, late Sheriff of the 19th year, renders account of 7^l. 13^s. 4^d. paid to John Lidgate & John Baret, as above, for the term of Easter 19 Henry VI. and the term of Michaelmas 20 Henry VI. [1441], by writ enrolled in the Memoranda of Trinity 20 Henry VI., roll 13, and their letters of acquittance.

[The writ referred to is extant in the Exchequer Memoranda Roll, on the side of the King's Remembrancer.]

X. Payment to Michaelmas 1443.

Pipe Roll, 21 Henry VI. (1442-3).

Norfolk and Suffolk.

Thomas Brewes, Sheriff (for this year), paid to John Lidgate and John Baret, as before, 7^l. 13^s. 4^d. for the term of Easter 21

Henry VI. and the term of Michaelmas 22 Henry VI. [1443], by the King's writ among the *Communia* of Trinity term 21 Henry VI., roll 5, and by the letters of acquittance of "the same John."

[The Writ referred to is extant in the Exchequer Memoranda Roll, on the side of the King's Remembrancer. It orders the Sheriff for the time being to pay the annuity from time to time, without further warrant, as the King would be satisfied with an acquittance on each occasion.]

XI. Receipt of Baret, 2nd October, 1446, published by Zupitza, *Anglia*, III. 532.

Nouerint vniuersi per presentes me Johannem Baret armigerum recepisse pro me et Johanne Lydgate Monacho de Bury sancti Edmundi, de Willelmo Tyrell, Vicecomite Norffolcie et Suffolcie, tres libras, sexdecim solidos, et quatuor [octo ?] denarios, de illis septem libris, tresdecim solidis, et quatuor denariis quos Dominus Rex per litteras suas patentes nobis concessit percipiendos annuatim ad terminum vite nostre et alterius nostrum diuicius viuentis, de exitibus, proficiis, firmis, et renencionibus Comitatum predictorum per manus Vicecomitis eorundem, qui pro tempore fuerit, ad festa Pasche et sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, videlicet pro termino Michaelis vltimo preterito ante datam presencium. De quibus vero tribus libris sexdecim solidis et octo denariis, pro termino Michaelis predicto, fateor me pro me et predicto Johanne Lydgate esse pacatum, dictumque vicecomitem inde fore quietum per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum secundo die Octobris anno regni Regis Henrici sexto post conquestum vicesimo quinto.

John Baret
receives from
Wm. Tyrell,

Sheriff of
Norfolk
(21 H. VI.),

es 16s. 8d.
on account of
himself and
Lydgate,

Oct. 2, 1446.

[This payment by Sheriff William Tyrell has not been found in the Pipe Rolls, though sundry portions of his accounts are recorded from the 26th to the 33rd year of the reign. The rolls have been searched down to 2 Edw. IV., but only two later entries have been discovered, as below.]

XII. Payment to Michaelmas 1448.

Pipe Roll, 32 Henry VI. Res. Norf., dorse.

Philip Wentworth, late Sheriff of the 26th. year, renders a further account, showing the payment to John Lidgate, monk of Bury St. Edmund's, and John Baret, Esquire, of 7^l. 13^s. 4^d., under the King's grant of 21 November 20 Henry VI., for the terms of Easter in the 26th. year and Michaelmas in the 27th year, by the King's writ in Trinity term in the 21st. year, and by letters of acquittance of "the same John."

XIII. Payment to Michaelmas 1449.

Pipe Roll, 32 Henry VI. Adhuc Item Norf., dorse.

Giles Seintlo, Esquire, late Sheriff of the 27th. year, renders a further account, showing the payment to John Lidgate, monk of Bury St. Edmund's, and John Baret, Esquire, of 7^l. 13^s. 4^d. for the terms of Easter in the 27th. year and Michaelmas in the 28th. year, by writ of Trinity term in the 21st. year, and the letters of acquittance of "the same John."

APPENDIX II.

THE IX PROPERTIES OF WYNE

per Ioh̄nen Lidgate.Additional MS. 29729, f. 16^a, Brit. Mus.

Wyne of nature hathe properties nyne :
 Comforythe coragis ; clarifieth the syght ;
 Gladdeth the herte, this lycor most devyne ;
 Hetythe the stomake, of his natural myght ;
 Sharpithe wittis ; gevith hardines in fight ;
 Clensyth wounds ; engendrithe gentyll blode.
 Licor of licor, at festis makyth men lyght,
 Scoureth y^e palat, through fyne y^e color good.

APPENDIX III. (B. M. Addit. MS. 29729.)

A POEM IN PRAISE OF LIDGATE,

WRITTEN BY BENEDICT BURGH BEFORE THEY WERE ACQUAINTED.

[Written by] Mas^r Burgh in þe prays of Iohn Lidgate * * * *
booke dwelyng at wyndSOR.

(1)

Nat dremyd I in ye mount of pernaso,	1	[fol. 6 a]
ne dranke I nevar at pegases welle,		Burgh does not begin in the usual style.
the pale pirus saw I never also		
ne wist I nevar where ye muses dwelle,		
Ne of goldyn tagus can I no thyng telle ;	5	
And to wete my lippis I cowde not atteyne		
In Cicero, or Elicon sustres tweyne.	7	

(2)

The crafte of speche that some tyme formde w[e]s	8	[was in MS.] He has not the craft of speech of
Of the famous philosophers [m]oste perfite,		n in MS.
Aristotell, Gorge, and ermogenes,		Aristotle, Gorgias, and Hermogenes,
Nat have I, so I have lelid but a lite ;		
As for my party, thowgh I repent, I may go qwite.	12	
Of tullius, franncis, & quintilian		Cicero, Petrarch, and Quintilian.
fayne wolde I lere, but I not conceyve can.	14	

(3)

The noble poete virgile the mantuan,	15	He enumerates the poets beaten by Lydgate from Homer
Omere the greke, and torqwat sovereyne,		
Naso also that sith this worlde firste be-gan		
the marvelist transformyng all best can devyne,		
Terence ye mery and pleasant theatryne,	19	
Poreyns, lucan, maryean, and orace,		
Stace, Juvenall, and the lauriate bocase,	21	to Boccacio.

(4)

All thes hathe peyne, youre Innate sapience,	22	While Lydgate lives
Ye have gadred flouris in this motli mede,		
to yow is yeven the verray price of excellence,		
thowghe they be go yet the wordis be not dede ;		Poesy is not dead.
thenlumynyd boke where in a man shall rede	26	

thes & mo, be in this londe legeble,
Ye be the same, ye¹ be the goldyn bible. [1 ye in MS.] 28

(5)

Burgh hopes
to see and
hear him. O yet I truste to be holde & see 29
this blisful booke with y^e golden clasppes seven,
ther I wyll begyne and lerne myne a. b. c. ;
that were my paradyse, that wer my heuen,
gretar filicitie can no man neven, 33
so god my sowle save 'di benedicite.'
Maister lidgate, what man be ye ? 35

(6)

[fol. 66.] Now God, my maister, preserve yow longe on lyve, 36
that yet I may be your prentice or I dye,
then sholde myne herte at ye porte of blise aryve ;
ye be the flowre and tresure of poise,
the garland of Ive, and laure of victorye. 40
by my trowghte, & I myght ben a emperour,
for your konyng I shulde your heres honor. 42

(7)

The poem
written at
Bylegh
Abbey in a
cold north
wind. Writen at thabbey of bylegh, chebri place, 43
With frosti fingers, and nothyngne pliaunt,
when from the high hille, I men ye mount Canace,
was sent in to briton the stormy persaunt
that made me loke as lede, & chaunge semblaunt, 47
And eke ye sturdi wynde of Yperborye,
Made me of chere, vnlusti sadde & sory. 49

(8)

The laste moneth that men clepe decembre, 50
When phebus share was driven a boutte y^e heven,
yf we reken a ryght & well remembre,
four tymes onys, & aftar ward seven,
that is to sey passid ther was days aleven 54
Of the moneth when this vnadvisid lettar
writ was, but *witk* your helpe here aftar bettar. 56

l. 10. This Hermogenes is the rhetorician (*see* Quintilian).

l. 17. Torqwate: can this be *Borthius* (*A. M. Torquatus Severinus*), or is it a word for *crowned*?

l. 20. Porcius is Cato (distiches), Marycan is Capella.

l. 21. Stace, Statius.

APPENDIX IV.

SPECIMENS OF ADDIT. MS. 14408, BRIT. MUS.
Stanzas 140-3 and 328-31.

Howe Aristotylle declarith to kyng Alisaundre of þe stonys.

(140)

T owchyng þe stone of filosofris olde,	974
Of weche thay make most soverayn meneyon,	
But there is oon, as aristotylle tolde,	
Which alle excellith in comperison,	
Stone of stones, most soverayne of renowne ;	978
towchyng þe vertu of this ryche thyng	
thus he wrote to þe most soverayne kyng.	980

(141)

O alisaundre, grettist of dignite,	981
And of þe worlde monarke and regent,	
And of alle nacions hast the sovereynte,	
Eche oon to obeye and be obedient ;	
And to conclude the fyne of oure entent,	985
Alle worldely tresoure breeflic schete in oon,	
is declared in vertue of this stone.	987

(142)

Thow muste fyrste conceyve in substaunce,	988
by a maner vnkouth diuision,	
Water frome eyre make a disseueraunce,	
And fyre frome eyre by a departicion ;	
Eche one preseruid from corrupcion,	992
As filosofirs aforme haue specified,	
Which by reason may not be denyed.	994

(143)

Watere frome eyre departed prudentlie,	995
Eyre frome fyre, and fyre from erthe doon,	

the crafte conceyued, deuydyd trewlie, Withouten erreure or decepcion, Put every element in his compleccion,	999
As it apertenyth to his parte, As is remembrid perfitlie in this arte.	1001
.	
(328)	
It is to be titelyd how prevyld withoute obstacle, As oolde filosofris put in remembraunce, þat in man is founde grete myracle,	2290
namyd þe lytulle worlde by autores allegaunce ; ffor many vnkouthē and dyuerse circumstaunce	2294
founde in hym, moste soverayne creature, namyd beste resonable by intelligence in sure.	2296
(329)	
He is hardy as a lyon, dredfullē as þe hare, large as þe cok, and as a hound couetous, harde as a herte in forest which doth fare ;	2297
Buxum as þe tyrtulle, as lionesse dispitous, Simple as þe lambe, lyke þe foxe malicious,	2301
Swyfte as the Roo, as bere slowe in taryeng, and lyke þe Elefaunt precious in ech thyng.	2303
(330)	
As þe asse vile and contagious, and a lytelle kyng hasty and rebelle ; Chaste as aungelle, as swyne lecherous,	2304
Meke as þe peacock, and as a bole wode and feel ; Profitable as þe bee in his hyve which is selle,	2308
ffayre as þe horse, as þe owle malicious, dombe as þe fische, and as a mouse noyous.	2310
(331)	
Note this processe in þe audith countable, Of þe remembraunce, and knowe redelie þat in beeste nor thyng vegetable	2311
No thyng may be vniuersally, But if it be founde naturally	2315
In mannes nature ; wherfor of oon accorde Olde philesofris callidy hym þe lytelle worlde.	2317

LYDGATE AND BURGH'S¹

"SECREES OF OLD PHILISOFFRES."

[*Sloane MS. 2464, British Museum.*]THE PROLOG OF A DOCTOR RECOMMENDING
ARISTOTLE.

(1)

G Od Almyghty save / and conferme our kyng	1	[fol. 1 a.] God is called upon to en- dure the king with success
In al vertu / to his encrees of glorie		
His Rewm and hym / by polityk lyving		
With dred and love / to have memorye		
Of his Enmyes / Conquest and victorye ;	5	
With sceptre and swerd / twen bothe to doo Ryght		
Afftir his lawes / to every maneer wyght.	7	

(2)

ffirst in al vertu / to sette his governaunce	8	and regal virtues.
The lord to plesse / and his lawes to kepe,		
And his legis / with hertly Obeysaunce		
In pees to kepe hem / wheer they wake or slepe ;		
To punyssh tyrauntys / & cherysshe hem that be moke	12	
With two cleer Eyen / of discrecyoun,		
As ye hem ffynde / of disposicyoun.	14	

(3)

Them that be goode / cherysshe hem in goodnesse,	15	
And them that be / froward of Corage		
Peysse the ballance / be greet Avysenesse,		
ffor love nor hate / to doon Outrage.		
Set a good mene / twen yong and Old of age.	19	
Excellent prynce / this processe to Compyle		The author excuses his poor style.
Takith at gre / the Rudnesse of my style.	21	

¹ Lydgate ends with stanza 213, line 1491, and then Burgh goes on to the end.

(4)

[fol. 1 b.]	ffirst I that am / humble Servitour	22
The writer acknowledges his imper- fections,	Of the kyng / with hool Affecyoun, Voyde of Elloquence / I haue do my labour To sette in Ordre / and execucyoun ffirst my symplesse / vndir Correccioun,	26
but has en- deavoured to obey the king's com- mands.	With ryght hool herte / in al my best entent ffor tacomplysshe / your comaundement.	28

(5)

	Unto purpoos / my labour shewys, I haue be besy / with greet dilligence To fynde the book / of al good thewys, The which is holly / entytled in sentence ffor prudent prynces / moost digne of Reuerence,	29 33
The title of the book	Callyd Secrees / of Old philisofires Of more valew / than is gold in Colfires.	35

(6)

	The which book / is notable of ffame Whylom compyled / by Arystotilees, Which in sapience / of Secrettees hath the name Conveyed a mene / atwen werre and pees, Ech thyng provyded / by vertuous encrees,	36 40
compiled by Aristotle	Set in Ordre / the tytles be wrytyng To his disciple / of macedoyne kyng /	42

(7)

[fol. 2 a.]	Callyd Alysaundre / the myghty Emperour	43
for Alex- ander,	Born by discent / Iustly to Succede, With tweyne Crownys / as trewe Enberytour Afftir his ffadir / to Regne in perce and mede, Callyd philippus / pleynly as I Rede,	47
heir of Philip of Macedon.	Thorough al grece / namyd lord and Sire, And by Conquest / hold the hool Empyre.	49

(8)

	This Alysaundre / the Crowne whan he took, Knyghtly dispoosyd / of herte and of Corage. In whoos worshepe / compyled was this book By Arystotyl / whanne he was falle in Age, Had set asyde / by vertu al Outrage,	50 54
--	--	----------

Inpotent to / Ryden and to travaylle ; ffor febyhnesse / to counsayl in bataylle.	56
(9)	
With Alisaundre / preferryd in his dayes, Was noon so greet / in his Oppynyoun, He was so trewe / founde at al assayes, prudent and wys / and of discrecyoun, And moost withal / of Reputacyoun :	57 <small>The praises of Aristotle,</small>
Grettest clerk / in Grece thoo present, And moost Sotyl / of Entendement.	61 <small>his prudence,</small>
(10)	
And with al this / his Occupacyoun Was fully set / with entieer dilligence And spiritual studye / of Contemplacyoun.	64 <small>[fol. 2 b.] his studies,</small>
Meknesse his guylde / with moderat Reuerence, Moost charytable / al slouth and negligence ffolk in myscheef / and drery to counforte ; What cuere he sauhe / the best to Repoorte.	68 <small>his charity,</small>
(11)	
And Specially / Set was his Resoun On trouthe / On feithe / and on Rightwysnesse Nat double of tounge / hatyd adulacyoun, ffals Repoort / detracyoun, ydelnesse, fforgyd talys / with oute sekirnesse, And moore in vertu / hym to magneffye, With a spirit / endewyd of propheeye.	71 <small>his truth,</small>
(12)	
Had in his tyme / prerogatyves two ffor his singuleer / vertuous excellence, Callyd philisoffre / and prophete also ; Thorough al Grece / had moost in Reuerence, And for his gracious / Celestial influence Bookys Recoorde / an Aungel was down sent, ffro god above / brought hym this present /	78
(13)	
That he shulde / the book Reherse kan, ffor his merytes / and vertuous diguite Be callyd an Aungel / Rathere than a man	82 <small>Angelic visits,</small>
	84 <small>[fol. 3 a.]</small>

ffor many myracles / of Antiquite,
 Vnkouth and straunge / and merveyllous to se, 89
 Which surmounte / by Recoord of scrypture,
 Both witt of man / and werkys of nature. 91

(14)

It is also / of hym maad mencyoun, 92
 As this stoory / pleylny doth expresse
 ffor his vertuous / dysposicyoun
 Groundid on god / Celestial of swetnesse,
 In whoos memorye / wryters bere witnessse 96
 He was Ravysshed / Contemplatyff of desir
 Vp to the hevене / lyk a dowe of ffyr. 98

taken up to
 heaven.

(15)

Dewyd in vertu / be inspyracyoun 99
 Abovyn alle othir / to his goostly awayl,
 That Alysandre / vnto subieccioun,
 brought al kyngdammys / by his wys counsayl:
 And Cronycelers / in ther Rehersayl, 103
 Al hool the world / put in Remembrance,
 And enclyned / to his Obeysaunce. 105

Alexander
 conquered
 the world by
 the aid of
 Aristotle's
 advice.

(16)

[fol. 34.] To his poweer / and Regalye 106
 He was Callyd kyng / and monarke of al,
 And by his swerl / and famous Chevalrye,
 By Aristotilees witt / in especial
 Took in his hand / of goold the Round bal 110
 To Occupyen / through his hih Renoun
 vij. Clymatys / and Septemtryoun. 112

(17)

His unquestioned power
 over Arabia,
 Greece,
 Persia,
 and Media.
 No grucehyng was / nouthir in word ne dede 113
 Ageyn his Conquest / he was so soore drad.
 Al Arabye / Greece / Perce and Mede
 Ech thynge Obeyed / what so euer he bad,
 Alle his Empryses / demenyd wern and lad 117
 By thavys / breffly in sentence,
 Of Arystotiles / witt and providence. 119

(18)

Ageyn his purpoos / there was noon Obstacle, 120
 ffadir and prynce / of philosophye

Vndir nature wrought / many greet myracle Wroot Epistelys / of prudent policye, To Alysaundre / And to his Regalye,	124	Aristotle wrote letters to Alexander,
By cleer example / be which he myght knowe To governe him / both to hihe and lowe.	126	
(19)		
Whan the kyng / his pistol has seyn, And al the fourme / Conceyved in sentence, To Arystotiles / he wrot thus ageyn	127	[fol. 4 a.]
Of gentillesse / with greet Reuerence, That he wolde / doon his dilligence,	131	to which Alexander replied.
Conceyue his menyng / and holly the matere Of his Epistel / which that sewith here.	133	

here is the fourme of the Epistil that kyng Alysaundre sent
to his maister Aristotiles.¹

(20)

R euere[n]t ffadir / doctour of discyplyne moost notable / and digne of Reuerence, Phebus the sonne / moor clerly doth nat shyue, As the Repoort / of your expert prudence Afor[n] provides / of Royal Confidence.	134	
In fewe teermys / I purpose to Reherse Thing toold to me / towchyng the lond of perce.	140	Alexander describes Persia.

(21)

first how that lond / and that Region, Alle othir Reemys / in philosophye It doth excelle / and of hih Resoun Is moost inventyff / expert in ech partye. Ther noblesse / for to magnellye fferthest procede / by cleer entendemēt ffor tacomplysshe / the ffyn of ther entent.	141	It excels in philosophy, .
	145	
	147	

(22)

Tenere[n]se ther lordshippes / and have the souereynte Ovir alle Citees / and straunge Regions, And by ther marcial / magnanymyte To sprede a brood / ther domynacyouns. Wher vpon / lyk our enteneyouns	148	[fol. 4 b.] especially in the arts of government.
	152	

¹ In margin of MS.

Alexander asks advice as to how to conquer Persia,	ffirst on this peple / I Cast me to be gynne By your Avys / this perciens for to wynne.	154
	(23)	
	And here vpon / to make no dellayes,	155
	Mawgre ther myght / and ther Rebellioun,	
and gives his own plan.	ffirst with my knyghthood / I wyl make Assayes To haue al perce / in subieccyoun, Abydyng Oonly / for short Conclusyoun	159
	With your lettrys / for my Inpartye On this matere / pleyonly to signeFFE.	161

Thanswere of Aristotilees /

(24)

Aristotle compares the matter to the problems of Alchemy;	S One Alisaundre / this matere to me is straunge, And includith / A maner of dyspayr. Peyse in thy Silff / yif it be lyght to Chawnge ffirst from the Erthe / the Watir and the Ayr, And parte the Ellementys / in ther sperys fayr.	162
	Whan this is doon / ferthermore in dede Geyn pereyens / in thy Conquest procede.	166
		168

(25)

[fol. 5 a.]	ffirst thy purpos / peyse it in ballaunce, Bothe in perce / and Septemtryoun : Comnte of ther Citees / the famous gouernaunce, And haue ther with / Consyderacyoun Be a forsyght / and Cleer inspeccyoun.	169
he advises forethought,	My counsayl is / towchyng the lond of perce, ffroom thy purpos / I Counsayl that thou Seece.	173
		175

(26)

	Be gynne no thyng / with oute greet Avys, A ground of trouthe / first that it be possyble, And I Counsayl / yif that thou be wys fforeyn Empryses / which that be terryble, Attempte hem nat / but yif it be Credyble	176
and never to attempt an emprise unlikely to succeed;	lykly on nature / by dysposicyoun ffully tacomplysshe / thyn entencyoun.	180
		182

(27)

	ffirst set a preef / in thy prudent avys In Esy wyse / by Attemperaunce,	183
--	---	-----

- And by thy Counsayl / of philisoffres wys, he advises
reliance on
good govern-
ment,
- To brynge hem Esyly / to good governaunce, 187
- Of Oon Accoord / with oute varyaunce,
- Vndir the wynges / of thy Royal bounte, 189
- Them to Cherysshe / in thy benignyte. 189
- (28)
- Yiff thou thus doo / by vertuous Repeyr, 190 [fol. 5 b.]
- God shal encrease / of gracious influence, and promises
God's bless-
ing.
- And of full trust / I-brought out of dyspeyr
- That ffynally / thy Royal excellence
- Shal first plese god / in verray existence, 194
- And thy sogettys / of hool herte and entent
- Shall hool Obeye / to thy Comaundement. 196
- (29)
- For entieer love / first groundid vpon the 197 A kingdom
Affecyoun Rootyd / on Royal confidence, founded on
love is last-
ing.
- Voyde of al Chaung / and mutabilite,
- Peysybly / in thy magnificence ;
- As monarke / prevyd in existence, 201
- lyk thy desirs / thyn herte for to queme
- mong Percyens / to were a dyademe. 203
- (30)
- Thus by wryting / as made is mencyoun, 204 By following
Aristotle's
advice Alex-
ander gained
Persia.
- Of Arystotyl / he gat al perce lond
- With al the lordshipes / and euery Royal town
- And large Citees / maad soget to his hond.
- Thus first of perce / as ye shal vnderstond, 208
- Though he be birthe / with othir londys manye
- Afftir his ffadir / was kyng of macedonye. 210
- This Rubryssh rehersith name of the philisoffre Callid philip,
born in parys, which was translator of this book.**
- (31)
- T**His philisoffre / famous and notable 211 [fol. 6 a.]
- In al his dedys / prudent & ryght-wys,
- Callyd phelip / avyse and tretable, Philip of
Paris,
- In the Citee / brought forth of parys,
- And above alle / moost excellent of prys, 215
- Haele in O thyng / souereyn avauntage,
- His toungge ffyled / expert in al language. 217 skilled in
languages,

(32)

and in Rhetoric;	In Rethoryk / he hadde experyence	218
	Of every strange / vnkouth nacyoun,	
	Thorough his sugryd / Enspyred Elloquence,	
	Kowde of ther tounge / make a translaeyoun.	
	Termys Appropryd / be interpretacyoun	222
	They were so set / by dilligent labour	
	Of Tullius gardyn / he bar away the ffour.	224

(33)

his diligence in seeking out mys- teries.	ffirst of hym sylff / he breffly doth expresse,	225
	His labour was / and his dilligence	
	Al his lyve / with wakir besynesse	
	Of Custummable / naturel providence,	
	Be disposicyoun / to have intelligence	229
	Of Secre thynges / whan I was in dowte,	
	The hyd mysteres / for to seke hem owte	231

(34)

[fol. 6 b.] Here begins the prolog of Johannes.	In this matere / was set al myn Entent	232
	And myn Inward / hertly attendaunce	
	Ther-of to have / Cleer entendement,	
	And of scryptures / Iust Reconysaunce.	
	To have with them / confederat Allyaunce	236
	I sparyd noon / What fortune did falle	
	Philisoffres to seke / hem Oon and alle.	238

(35)

He visits Arabia and India in search of wisdom.	So desirous I was / of herte and mynde,	239
	With al my wittys / to serchyn and visite	
	In Arrabia / and the ferther ynde	
	Philisoffres that cowde / hem sylff best quite,	
	And Rethoryciens / to compyle and endyte	243
	Vnkouth mysteryes / I was glad hem to se	
	By ther suppoort / to lerne Some secree.	245

(36)

I was so brent / in Cypydes ffyr	246
To knowe first / whanne I had gonne,	
With heavenly fervence / Celestial of desir	
To taste the licour / of Cytheroes tonne,	
And knowe the cleernesse / of the bryght sonne,	250

- Which in merydyen / moost Amerously doth shyne
Breest of philisoffres / be grace tenlvmyne. 252
- (37)
- Whanne I had serehyd / hihe and lowe 253 [fol. 7 a.]
In Sundry studyes / and many greet lybrarye
Of this sonne / the bryghtnesse for to knowe, After much
fruitless
search he
meets a
hermit,
I was wery / theron for to tarye,
Tyl at the laste / I fond a solytarye 257
Sytyng alloone / with lokkys hore and gray,
Which toward phebus / taught me the ryght way. 259 who instructs
him
- (38)
- The which some / of bryghtnesse perlees, 260
Compyled afrom / by an expert philisoffre,
Callyd in his tyme / Esculapides, from the
book of
Esculapius
To whom I gan / my seruise for to Offre,
ffor gold nor Silvir / hadde I noon to proffre. 264
He hold hym first / be megre of Abstynence,
Whoom I besought / with devout Reuerence, 266
- (39)
- That he wolde / goodly me Enspyre 267
In this matere / which I haue be-gonne
Toward the weye / which I moost desire,
The goldene path / direct unto the sonne,
Wheer philisoffres / as they Reherse konne, 271
Took ther laude / which that lastith euere
In parficht Clernesse / and may Eclypse neuere. 273
- (40)
- Perseveraunt / in hoope whan I stood, 274 [fol. 7 b.]
Of my Request / with feithful attendaunce,
This solitarye / whan he vnderstood
Al that I mente / with euery Circumstaunce,
I fond in hym / no strange varyaunce 278 with perfect
clearness.
To myn entent / breffly to comprehende,
In goodly wyse / he lyst to condiscende. 280
- (41)
- ffro poynt to poynt / taccomplysshe my desirs, 281
Stood in greet hoope / it shulde me prevaylle
fforthryd in the weye / wheer phebus moost cleer is,

	Voyde of dispeyr / be-Cause my travaylle Was expleyted / that no thyng did faylle.	285
	Cleer was the sonne / Watir, Erthe, and Eyer, With which graunt / moost glad in my Repayer.	287
	(42)	
	Gretly Reioysshed / both of cheer and fface, And Renewyd / with a glad Corage,	288
So he returned, thanking God, to translate this book	Retournyd ageyn / to myn owne place, Gaf thank to god / to my greet avauntage, That he me gaff / so fortunat passage	292
	In short tyme / and in so short a date This seyde book / at leyser to translate	294
	(43)	
[fol. 8 a.]	With greet studye / tacomplysshe the byddyng, And to procede / in the translaeyoun Of this book / moost notable in wryting Of Royal materis / souereyn of Renoun, Which as monarcha / of every Region,	295
	Gaff me this Charge / knelyng on my kne It to translate / fro greek in to Chalde.	301
from Greek into Chaldee and Arabic.	here the Translator resortith ageyn to set in a prologe, on this wyse. ¹	
	(44)	
	I gan Remembre / and muse in my Resoun, A Sodeyn conceyt / fyl in my ffantasye, And made a stynt / in my translaeyoun	302
Lydgate here describes	A twix two / stood in Iupartye To what party / my penne I shulde applye. Thus in a dowte / kowde nat my Sylff counforte Till I a brayde / in purpoos to Resorte	306
	(45)	
the person by whom the Latin translation was made,	To hym that drough / this processe moost devyne, Callyd in his tyme / in philoosophye Sonne, merour / and lampe tenlvyne This translaeyoun / of Royal polieye Out of Greek / and toungue of Arrabye	309
	In to latyn / a Celestial werk At Request / of this notable Clerk.	313
		315

¹ In margin of MS.

(46)

Which in thoo dayes / was of greet dignite,	316	[fol. 8 b.]
Bysshop Saeryd / in the Citee Covalence,		for Guy, bishop of Valence,
Metropolitan / of moost Auctoryte,		
By whoos Consayl / and in whoos Reuerence		
A philisoffre / expert in ech science,	320	
Callyd liberales / that been in nozambre sevene,		
Namyd philippus / myn Auctour doth hym nevene.	322	

(47)

Which took vpon hym / this vertuous labour	323	Philip of Paris,
Vndir the wynges / of humble Obedyence,		
That he of grace / wolde doon hym this ffavour,		
This hooly Guydo / ffamous in ech science,		
In whoos wurschepe / and in whoos Reuerence	327	whose epistle dedicatory to the Latin version
By whoos byddyng / as he vndirtook,		begins here.
Wroot to hym thus / the prologe of this book.	329	

(48)

Vndir your benigne / gracious suppoort,	330	
Twen hoope and dreed / Astonyd in my Symplesse,		
ffor my moost vertuous / and Singuleer counfort,		
With an exordye / groundid on meknesse,		
With quakyng penne / my conceyt to expresse,	334	
ffor lak of Rhethoryk / feerful to vnffoolde		
To your noblesse / to wryten as I wolde.	336	

(49)

I have no Colour / but Oonly Chalk and sable,	337	[fol. 9 a.]
To peynte or portreye / lyst that I shulde Erre		The bishop's fame,
Your hih Renoun / which is in-comperable ;		
Your hoolynesse / it spredith out so ferre,		
lych as the moone / passith a smal sterre :	341	
So your vertues / Reche vp to the hevene,		
To Arthurus / And the sterrys sevene.	343	

(50)

And as phebus / with his bryght beemys,	344	
The goldene wayn / thorough the world doth lede,		
ffrom Est tyl West / with his celestial streemys		
In merydien / fervent as the glede,		
Bove moone and sterrys / in cleernesse ¹ doth excede ; ¹	348	

¹⁻¹ not in MS.

virtues,	And semblaby / al men seyn the same, The vertues sprede / of your good name.	350
	(51)	
	In sondry konnynges / I Can Remembre noon, And I shulde / Reherse hem Ceryously,	351
knowledge.	But ye haue parcel / of hem euerychoon, And shokkyd hem vp / in Ordre by and by ; And lyk myn Auctour / I dar seyn trewly, And Repoorte / as it Comyth to mynde	355
	In my translacyoun / to seyn ryght as I ffynde.	357
	(52)	
[fol. 9 b.]	ffirst with Noe / ye haue expert prudence,	358
He is compared to Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joshua,	With Abraham / feith, trouthe, and Equite ; With Isaak / prevyd conflydence, And with Iacob / longanymyte ; Stabylnesse / with hardy Iosue,	362
Moses,	Tretable abydyng / Reknyn in substaunce ; With duk Moyses / long perseueraunce.	364
	(53)	
Elijah,	With helye / parflight devoeyoun,	365
David,	Of Daud / the grete benygnyte,	
Elisha,	Of Elyseus / expert perfeccyon,	
Solomon, Daniel, Job,	Witt of Salamon / with Danyel Chastite ; Suffrance of Iob / in his Infirmyte,	369
Isaiah,	Plente of language / with hooly Isaye,	
Jeremiah,	And lamentacioun / expert in Ieremye.	371
	(54)	
	And as your ffame / beryth Cleer witesse, Ye haue also / with polityk prudence	372
Cicero and	In worldly thynges / greet avysenesse, Circumspect / and vertuou dilligence, And with Tullius / sugryd Elloquence :	376
	The Repoort goth Est / West, North, and South,	
Homer.	Callyd Omerus / with the hony mouth.	378
	(55)	
[fol. 10 a.]	With alle these vertues / plenteuous in lecture,	379
His episcopal virtues,	Saddest exaunple / prevyd in sobirnesse, Day and nyght / moost wakir in scripture,	

Bryght as the sonne / day sterre of hoolynesse ;	
In moral vertues / Al vices to Represse,	383
Callyd Aurora / of spiritual doctryne,	
Namely in mateerys / hevenly and divyne.	385
(56)	
Ye wer of lyff / Egal with hooly Seyntes,	386 and holy life.
In parfight prayer / and Contemplaeyoun,	
fful Offte wepte / and made your compleyntes	
ffor Synfful wrecchys / in desolacioun,	
Disconsolat / in trybulacyoun,	390
That fro grace / and al vertu exyled,	
Ye wern ay besy / tyl they were Reconcyled.	392
(57)	
By your dilligence / notable instruceyoun,	393
ffro vicious lyff / ther corages to declyne,	
And Race away / al fals Occasyoun	How he improved the wicked.
Which ageyn vertu / shulde brynge hem to Rwyne,	
ffor gracious phebus / that doth alwey shyne	397
To forthre yow / in spiritual avayl,	
Was Alwey present / to been of your Counsayl.	399
(58)	
In liberal science / that be sevene in noumbre,	400 [fol. 10 v.]
Your studye ay stood / and your dilligence	His know- ledge of the 7 sciences,
bryght as Apollo / with oute shadwe or Owmbre,	
ffor your cleer shynyng / was soth in existence,	
Voyde of al pallyd / or Contirfeet Apparence,	404
Outward in Cheer / of pryde was no signe,	
And in your poort / to alle folk moost benygne.	406 and humility withal.
(59)	
And for ye wer / moost famous in science,	407
Conveyed by grace / and with humylite,	
Wheer euere ye wern / Abydyng in presence,	
Men seyde ther was / An Vnyuersite	To know him was a liberal education.
To yow entytled / of Antiquite,	411
As it was / Repoortyd in substance,	
To yow appropryd / be goddys Orlynamnce,	413
(60)	
With Addicioon / of the hevenly influence.	414
ffor in your tyme / was no Creature	

- That was expert / nor preferryd in sentence,
 To be comparyd / nor of lecture
 To your noblesse / and favour of nature 418
 Was nat set bak / but lykly to contvne,
 be god and grace / and favour of ffortune, 420
- (61)
- [fol. 11 a.] So to perseuere / and lastyn a long date, 421
 Prayers for
 his long life. God lyst your yeerys / for to multiplie
 Grace from abovyn / and your dispoosyd fate
 At the sevene / wellys of philosophiye,
 With Crystallyn sprynges / Ran to ech partye, 425
 That the swetnesse / of the soote streemys
 Ther lycour shadde / in to alle Reemys. 427
- (62)
- I lakke language / breffly for to telle 428
 The lawme vpclosyd / in your tresourye,
 Which that ye drank / at Elyconys welle,
 With luean, Omer / foundours of poetrye,
 And virgile / which had the Regalye, 432
 Callyd in his tyme / the singuleer Crownyd man,
 Above al othir / Poete mantvan. 434
- (63)
- Ye bar the keye / of the Secre Coffre, 435
 Callyd Registrer / of thier tresoury,
 With two prerogatives / first a philisoffre,
 And moost expert / your tyme in poetrye,
 And yif I shal / breffly Speceffye 439
 Your hihe merytes / and your magnificence
 by Iugement yove / direct to your Clemence. 441
- (64)
- [fol. 11 b.] This book in Grece / was brought to your sight 442
 In Antioche / your noblesse to delyte,
 As a Charbounce / ageyn dirknesse of nyght ;
 O Rychest Rubye / Or clerest margaryte
 Of philisoffres / and pleynly for to wryte, 446
 Sent of Assent / in their Oppynyoun
 That ye therof / shulde have inspeccyoun. 448
- This book
 had been
 given him in
 Antioch,

(65)

Off entent / it shulde be translatyd	449	and was translated from Arabic into Latin by his orders, since Latin was generally known.
ffrom Arabyk / to moor pleyn language,		
ffor latyn is moore pleyn / and moore dylatyd		
In al nacyouns / to Oold and yong of Age ;		
And for I wolde / of herte and hool Corage	453	
Obeye your byddyng / of humble Affeccyoun		
I took vpon me / this Translaeyoun.	455	

(66)

To Condiscende / in al my best entent	456	
In this matere / my labour for to shewe,		
ffirst taccomplyshhe / your Comaundement		
Yit wer me loth / Ovir myn hed to hewe,		
But for ther been / of Copyes but a fewe	460	Very few copies of the book exist;
Of this book / Reknyd in sentence,		
To doo yow plesaunce / and also Reuerence.	462	

(67)

I took vpon me / your disciple and Clerk,	463	[fol. 12 a.] but the translator on his orders will do his best :
As I Cowde / vndir Correccioun,		
To procede and gynne / vpon this werk,		
Out of Arabyk / with hool affeccyoun,		
Into latyn / make this Translaeyoun,	467	
Oonly tagreen / with al humylite,		
To your moost famous / magnanymyte.	469	

(68)

Nat woord by woord / Cause of varyaunce,	470	not a literal translation, since the languages are so different.
In this tonges / ther is greet difference ;		
But lyk my Symple / vnexpert suffysaunce,		
ffolwyn myn Auctour / in menyng and sentence,		
Ryght of hool herte / and entieer dilligence,	474	
As Arystotiles / Rehersyth by wrytyng		
In his Epistil / to Alisaundre kyng.	476	

here folowith the secun/d pistil that kyng Alysaundre sent to his maistir Aristotiles.¹

(69)

W Han Alisaundre / as is Rehersyd heer,	477	
this philisoffre / for vertues many-foold,		

¹ In margin of MS.

	Sent unto hym / a secre masseger,	
	With-oute Exskus / to come to his houshoold ;	
Aristotle unable by reason of age to go to Alex- ander.	But he ageyn / for he was feble and Oold,	481
	And inpotent / on the tothir syde,	
	And vnwckly / for to goon or Ryde.	483
	(70)	
[fol. 12 b.]	But cheef cause / why Alisaundre sente	484
	A purpoos take / and a fantasye	
	To declare pleyuly / what he mente ;	
Alexander, very desirous of knowing Aristotle's secrets ;	He wyst in soth / that in philosophye,	
	With othir secretys / of Astronome,	488
	He was expert / and moost cowde vudirstonde,	
	This was in cheef Cause / of the kynges sonde.	490
	(71)	
which were— Astrology,	Power of planetys / And mevyng of al sterrys,	491
	And of euery / hevenly intelligence,	
	Disposicioon / of pees and ek of werrys,	
	And of ech othir / straunge hyd science	
Magie,	As the sevene goddys / by ther Influence,	495
	Dispoose the Ordre / of Incantacioons,	
Alchemy,	Or of Sevene metallys / the transmutacioons,	497
	(72)	
Calculations, and Geom- aney ;	With othir Craftys / which that be secre,	498
	Calenlacioon / and Geomanceye,	
the arts of Circe and Medea ; Physiog- nomy, Pyro- maney, and Geometry.	Difformacyoons / of Circes and meede,	
	lokyng of ffaeys / and piromanceye,	
	On lond and watir / Craft of Geometrye,	502
	Heylthe and depnesse / with al experiance,	
	Therefore the kyng / desyryd his presence.	504
	(73)	
[fol. 13 a.]	But for al thys / with Inne hym Sylff a thyng,	505
Aristotle kept back some secrets :	Ther was a Secre / he kept nat do disclose,	
	Nor to puplysshe / Opynly to the kyng,	
	Takyng example / by two thynges in a Roose ;	
	first how the flour / greet swetnesse doth dispoose,	509
	Yit in the thorn / men fynde greet sharpnesse ;	
	And thus in konnyng / ther may been a lyknesse.	511

(74)

In herbe & flour / in wryting woord and stoon,	512	he wished to keep secrets from the people,
Ech hath his vertu / of god and of nature,		
But the knowyng / is hyd fro many Oon,		
And nat declaryd / to euery Creature ;		
Wherfore he Cast / twen Resoun and mesure	516	
To shape a weye / bothe the kyng to plese,		and yet to please the king.
Somwhat to vncloose / and sette his herte at Ese.	518	

(75)

Ther is of ryght / a greet difference	519	
Twen a prynees / Royal dignite		
And atwen Comouns / Rude intelligence,		The common people should not try to learn things
To whom nat longith / to medle in no degre		
Of konnynges / that shulde be kept secre ;	523	
ffor to a kynges / famous magnificence,		which belong only to kings and clerks.
And to Clerkys / which haue experience,	525	

(76)

It cordith wel / to serche Out scrypture,	526	[fol. 13 b.]
Misteryes hyd / of fowlys, beeste, and tree,		Lydgate here tells of the mysteries of nature.
And of Aungellys / moost sotyl of nature,		
Of mynerall / and fysshes in the see,		
And of stoonys / Specially of three—	530	The three stones—
Oon myneral / Anothir vegetatyff,		Mineral,
Partyd on foure / to lengthe a manny's lyff.	532	Vegetative,

(77)

Of which I Radde / among othir stoonys	533	
Ther was Oon / was Callyd Anymal,		and Animal ;
ffoure Ellementys / wrought Out for the noonys—		the last made from the 4 elements in equal proportions.
Erthe, Watir, and Eyr / And in Especial		
Ioyned with ffyr / <i>proporeyoun</i> maad Egal ;	537	
And I dar seyn / bressly, and nat tarye,		
Is noon suyeh stoon / ffound in the lapydarye.	539	

(78)

I Rad Oonys / in a philisoffre,	540	It will cure sickness of all kinds.
Ageyn ech Syknesse / of valew doth moost Cure ;		
Al the tresour / and gold in Cresus coffre,		
Nor al the stoonys / that growe be nature,		
Wrought by Crafft / or forgid by picture,	544	
PHILOSOPHERS.		

lapis et non lapis / stoon of grettest fame,
Aristotiles / gaf it the same name. 546

(79)

[fol. 14 a.] And for I haue / but litel Rad or seyn, 547

The transla-
tor's inca-
pacity To wryte or medle / of so hih materys,
ffor p^resumpeyoun / somme wolde haue disdeyn

To be so boold / or Clymbe in my disiryys,
To scale the laddere / above the nyne sperys, 551

Or medle of Rubyes / that yeve so cleer a lyght
On hooly shrynes / in the dirk nyght. 553

(80)

for dealing
with the
subject. I was nevir / noon expert Ioweler, 554

In such materys / to putte my Sylff in prees
With philisoffres / myn Eyen wer nat Cleer,

Nouthir with plato / nor with Socratees,
Except the Prynce / Aristotilees, 558

Aristotle
taught Alex-
ander,

Of philisoffres / to Alisaundre kyng
Wrot of this stoon / the merveylle in¹ werkyng, 560

(81)

as in a para-
ble, In prevy wyse / lych to his Ententys, 561

Secretys hyd / Cloos in philosophie ;
ffirst departyng / of the foure Ellementys,

how to sepa-
rate each of
the 4 ele-
ments,
how to purify
them,
and how to
combine them
again.

And afftirward / as he doth speceffye
Euerych of hem / for to Recteffye ; 565

And afftir this / lyk his Oppynyoun,
Off this foure / make a Coniunceyoun. 567

(82)

[fol. 14 b.] And² In such wyse / performe vp this stoon, 568

Seen in the Ioynyng / ther be noon Outrage ;
But the fals Erryng / hath fomnyd many Oon,

And brought hem afftir / in ful greet Rerage,
By expensys / and Outragious Costage ; 572

What ex-
penses are
incurred by
the ignorant
in their
search for
the stone ;

ffor lak of brayn / they wern maad so wood
Thyng to be-gynne / which they nat vnderstood. 574

(83)

ffor he that lyst / put in experience, 575

fforboode Secrees / I holde hym but a fool,
lyk hym that temptith / of wylful neeligence,

¹ 'in al' MS.

² Not in MS.

To stonde vp ryght / On a thre foot stool,	
Or sparyth a stewe / and fyssheth a bare-yn pool :	579
When al is doon / he get noon othir grace,	
Men wyl scorne hym / and mokke his foltyssh fface.	581
	and what reward they obtain.
(84)	
It is no Crafft / poore men tassaye,	582
It Causith Coffres / and Chestys to be bare,	
Marryth wyttes / and braynes doth Affraye ;	
Yit be wryting / this book doth declare,	
And be Resoums / lyst nat for to spare,	586
With goldeyn Resoums / in taast moost lykerous,	
Thyng per ignotum / prevyd per ignocius.	588
(85)	
Title of this book / labor philosophorum,	589
Namyd also / de Regimine principum,	[fol. 15 a.]
Of philisoffres / secreta secretorum,	
Tresour compyled / omnium virtutum,	
Rewle directorye / set up in a somme, ¹	593
As Complexiouns / in helthe and syknesse,	
Dispose them sylff / to mornyng or to gladnesse.	595
(86)	
The which book / direct to the kyng	596
Alisaundre / bothe in werre and pees,	
Iyk his Request / and Royal Comaundyng,	
fful A-Complysshed / by Aristotiles,	
ffeble for Age / and inpotent douteles,	600
Hool of Corage / and trewe in his entent,	
Tobeye his byddyng / this book he to hym sent.	602
To telle of hym the Genealogie which translated this book.	
(87)	
H E that first / this labour vndirtook,	603
Was Callyd Iohn / And of nacyoun	Johannes
A spaynol born / which began this book,	
Of euery toung / And euery Region ;	
he was expert / as maad is mencion,	607
To speke ther language / myn Auctour tellith thus,	
And Callyd some / of Oon patricius.	609
	son of Pa- tricius,

¹ MS. 'somme.'

(88)

[fol. 15 b.]	Trewe expert / and dilligent to konne,	610
	mong philisoffres / put ay hym Sylff in prees,	
who came to the Oracle of the Sun, built by Esculapius,	Cam to Oraculum / Callyd of the sonne,	
	A place bylt / by Esculapides,	
	Wheer tabyde / his Restyng place he chees,	614
	Thoughte he wolde / for a sesoun tarye,	
and found a hermit there;	Cause that he fond / A persone solitarye.	616

(89)

	Dempte he was brought / thedir by myracle,	617
and after much en- treaty was taught,	In lowly wyse / besought hym On his kne	
	To vouchesauf / to shewe in that Oracle	
	hyd merveylls / which ther wer kept Secre ;	
	And of Affecciou / and gracious pite,	621
	I ffond hym goodly / and benigne of Cheer,	
	My Requestys / at leysr for to heer.	623

(90)

	And whanne I hadde / with oute more Obstacle,	624
and given this book of Secrets,	Seyn ther thynges / with Secrees delitable,	
	That wer divyne / and Cloos in that Oracle,	
	It was a paradys / verray incomparable :	
	And for this philisoffre / was so mereyable	628
	Towardys me / and shewyd no dysdeyn,	
	Thankyng my maister / Retournyng hoom ageyn.	630

(91)

[fol. 16 a.] which he translated from Greek through Syriac into Arabic.	Aftir this labour / I gan dispoose me	631
	To procede / on this translaeyoun,	
	Out of greek tounge / and language Chalde,	
	To Arabyk afor / of hool enteneyoun,	
	That I myght / for short conclusyoun,	635
	lyk my desir / tacomplysshe and confoorme,	
	This pistil to wryte / vndir this same foorme.	637

Here is the Epistil of the translator.

(92)

I N the name of Arysotiles	638
Wel avysed / A processe to provide ;	
In his exskus / he was nat Rekkelees,	

- But Impotent / for to goon or Ryde,
 And Alleggyng / on the tothir syde,
 The kynges lettres / he wel vnderstood,
 Which for to Obeye / herte and wyl wer good. 642
 Aristotle, un-
 able to come
 to the king,
 sends him a
 letter
 of advice,
 644
- (93)
- Yif inpotence / of his vnwelydly age,
 In his desirs / put hym nat abak,
 To goon or Ryde / to lettyn his passage,
 Hool in his wyl / ther was nevir lak,
 Though his heer / was tournyd whyte fro blak ;
 Besought hym lowly / of his Royal grace,
 To take a leysyr / competent and space, 645
 excusing
 hiinself,
 651
- (94)
- In his exskus / this pistil to vnclouse ;
 And first Advertise / in Especial,
 Witt and Corage / and hym Silff dispoose,
 To leve al manerys / that be bestial,
 Vertues to folwe / that been Imperyal ;
 This to seyne / first prudently discerne,
 Twen vice and vertu / his peple to governe. 652 [fol. 16 b.]
 and teaching
 the arts of
 kingcraft.
 658
- (95)
- Off his pistil / a breek Suberypeyou,
 Set lowly vnder / to god lefft vp his cheer,
 And of hool herte / makyng this Oryson
 ffor Alysandre / And this was his preyer :
 " God that sit hihest / Above the sterrys cleer,
 Grant first our kyng / tavoyde from hym slouth,
 A fals stepmodir / And thanne begynne at trouthe." 659
 His prayer on
 Alexander's
 behall'against
 sloth,
 663 for truth,
 665
- (96)
- And of thy Counsayl / make hire cheef pryncesse,
 That she may provide / And takyn hede
 With outyn handys / by greet avysenesse,
 Outhir for favour / or for Old hatrede,
 Chace flatererys / and hem that take mede,
 And suchynges / of Custom that be double,
 And namely them / that Can sowe trouble. 670
 against
 flatterers
 and double
 tongues ;
 672
- (97)
- Whysperyng tounges / of taast moost serpentyn,
 Silvir scalyd / whoos mouth is ful of blood, 673 [fol. 17 a.]

- Aristotle
likens
flatterers to
serpents
- Smothe afore folk / to fawbyn and to shyne,
And shewe two facys / in Oon hood ;
Ther sugre is soote / ther galle doth no good, 677
Alle such shulde / be voyded from Counsayl :
- and to bees.
- A bee yevith hony / and styngeth with the tayl. 679
- (98)
- He advises
Alexander to
disregard
their counsel,
- This forseyd peple / togidere to Combyne, 680
Which be froward / of ther Condiociouns,
Though that they been / discendid of Oon lyne,
Trouthe wyl nat folwe / ther Oppynyouns ;
ffor vnto Royal / disposiyouns, 684
As I seyde Erst / Avoide fro the slouthe,
And Cheef of uertues / set in hir place trouthe. 686
- (99)
- And to directe / lyk myn Oppynyoun, 687
Whan thou hast voyded / slouthe and negligence,
And trouthe is entryd / with discreyoun,
And Conveyed / to¹ thy magnificence,
I trust ye shal / yeve hem Audieñce 691
In myn exskus / which in philisoffye
be Callyd ffadir / and in prophecye / 693
- (100)
- [fol. 17 b.]
- Have a spirit / to forñ of knowlechyng, 694
In your service / whan I first began,
Declaryd mysteryes / of the hevenly kyng,
Which excelle Resoun / and wit of man,
And how the lord / As I Reherse Can 698
ffor your sake / Sent an Aungel down
moo to enspyre / by Revelacyoun. 700
- (101)
- As it is / Repoortyd in scripture, 701
In Grekyssh bookys / Above the sterryd hevене,
Arystotiles / was Aungelyk of nature,
ffadir and ffoundour / of the sciencys sevене,
Reysed in a pyleer / wrought of ffyry levене, 705
So hih aloffte / be Revelacyoun,
Knew hevenly secretys / At his comyng down. 707

¹ 'to hym' in MS.

(102)

By whoos Counsayl / in Arrabye folk Carpe,	708.	Vows on the peacock of Alexander's chivalry.
Haddel of sevene / Clymatys domynacyoun,		
Of al the world / Emperour and monarke,		
Ynde, Ethiope / and euery nacyoun :		
And greete porrus / be poweer he Cast don,	712	
Vowes of the peacock / doon be dayes Olde		
wern a-Complysshed / by his knyghtes bolde.	714	

(103)

[fol. 18 a.]

Ther be secrees / of materys hih and lowe,	715	
Hyd in nature / Conceyled and Seere,		
Which Alisaundre / desired for to knowe		
By Aristotiles / a certeyn prevyte		
Nat speceffyed / Cloos in hym Sylff kept he,	719	
Which was delayed / Of greet providence,		
Tyl he hym sylff / come to his presence.	721	

(104)

Nnevirtheles / at Ellyconys welle,	722	
This philisoffre / by fulsom habundaunce,		
Drank grettest plente / which hym lyst nat telle ;		
I mene secretys / moost souereyn of plesaunce,		
Which to disceure / or wryte hem in substaunce,	726	Aristotle discovered his secrets under cover of dark sayings.
lyk his desirs / to servyn his entent,		
I shal so doon / he shal be ful content.	728	

(105)

By a manere / lyknesse and ffigure,	729	
Dirk Outward / mysty for to se,		
lyk a thyng / that were above nature,		
As it were seyde / in Enigmat,		
Touchyd a parcel / I mene thus parde	733	
As vudir Chaaf / is Closyd pure Corn,		
Touchyd somdel / in partye heer-to-forne.	735	End of the prologs.

Of foure maner kynges diuers of disposicion.

[fol. 18 b.]

(106)

T Her be kynges / dispoosyd by nature,	736	Kings considered from the point of view of their largesse ;
Somme that broyde / on liberallyte,		
And of hool herte / with al ther besy Cure		

the king who is careful of his reputa- tion for liberality;	Ther studye set / in largesse to be fre,	
	That ther Imperial / magnanymyte	740
	Shulde nat be spottyd / in no maner wyse, Towchying the vice / of froward Coveityse.	742

(107)

the king generous to himself and his subjects;	The philisoffre / in Ordre doth expresse,	743
	That som kyng / to hym sylff is large, And to his sogettys / shewith greet largesse, And som kyng streyght / to take On hym the Charge	
the king generous to his subjects and not to himself. The Italian opiniou;	largely to parte / and haue hym Sylff Skarce ;	747
	But ytalyens / Recorde be Wrytyng	
	large on ech party / is vertuous in a kyng.	749

(108)

the Indian opinion;	Aristotiles / writt of them in ynde,	750
	They Repoorte / that kyng is gloryous, Which to hym Sylff / is most skars of kynde, And to his sogettys / is large and plentevous ; ¹	
	Yit they of perce / be Contraryous :	754
the Persian opinion;	But to my doom / that kyng that hath the Charge	
	Is moost Comendid / that is to bothe large.	756

(109)²

[fol. 19 a.]	I mene as thus / by a dyvisioun	757
the trans- lator's opinion.	Toward hym sylff / kepe his Estat Royal	
	By attemperaunce / and by discrecioun, lyk his sogettys / in Especial,	
	As they disserve / to be liberal,	761
	Twen moche and lyte / A mene to devise Of to mekyl / And streight Coveitise.	763

(110)

A difference between pro- digality and munificence;	Ther is a maner / straunge difference,	764
	ffor lak of Resoun / twen prodigalyte	
	And in a kynges / Royal magnificence, Whan he lyst parte / of liberallite	
	To his sogettys / as they been of degre	768
	So Egally / I-holdyn the ballaunce, Ech man contente / with discreet Suffysaunce.	770

¹ 59 Ar. omits from line 753 to line 759.² Not in 2251 Harl.

(111)

Ther is a mene / peysed in ballaunce	771	
Atwixen hym / that is a greet wastour		wasting and
To kepe a meene / by attemperaunce,		
That ech thyng / be peysed be mesour,		
That foltyssh grucchyng / bryng in noon Errour,	775	grudging.
Considred first / of prynees the poweer,		
And next the merytes / of the labourer.	777	

(112)

Concludyng thus / twen good wyl and grucchyng	778	[fol. 19 b.]
Of them that been / feithful of serveyse,		Consider-
And of anothis / froward and grucchyng,		ation must
That wyl Obeye / in no maneer wyse,		be taken of
To folwe the doctryne / and the greet Empryse,	782	the merit of
To putte his body / in pereel / moost mortal,		the recipient.
And in Iupartyes / that be marcial.	784	

(113)

To alle such / A prynee of hihe noblesse	785	To whom to
Shal nat spare / his gold / nor his tresour		be liberal.
To parte with hem / Stuff of his Rychesse,		
Thing Appropyd / to every Conquerour.		
But yif fredam / Conduite his labour,	789	
That liberallyte / his Conquest doo provide,		The danger
At his moost nede / his men wyl nat abyde.	791	of illiberality.

(114)

Aristotiles / made a discripeyoun	792	
fful notable / in his wrytynges,		
Sette a maneer / of divisyoun,		
That ther be / dyuers maneer kynges ;		
Somme be large / in ther departynges	796	A king
To bothe tweyne / Seith he is moost good		should pro-
That atwen tweyne / trewly yevith his good.	798	vide for him-
		self and his
		subjects.

(115)

But he that is / streyght in his kepyng,	799	[fol. 20 a.]
lokkeith vp his tresour / in his Coffre,		
And lyst nat parte / with no maner thyng		
With his sogettys / nor no good to proffre		
In nede or myscheef / lyst no part to Offre ;	803	A covetous,
		sparing king.

- I Can nat seyn / his ffreddam to Comende,
That vnto nouthir / lyst nat to entende. 805
- (116)
- Praises of a
magnificent
king, A kyng that partyth / such as god hath sent 806
Be fortune / Or Conquest in bataylle,
To his knyghtes / or souldiours of entent,
Such at moost nede / in trouthe may awaylle,
And them Relevith / that be falle in poraylle, 810
What folwith afftir / brefly to termyne,
lyght of his noblesse / shal euer encrease & shyne. 812
- (117)
- Nature hath set / tweyne extremytees ; 813
first be a maneer / discreet providence,
That the streemys / of liberallite
and of a wise Set in good mesour / Reffreytes of prudence,
Peysed in ballaunce / So that Sapience, 817
Queen of vertues / as lady souereyne,
That such a meene / be set atwen hem tweyne. 819
- (118)
- [fol. 20 b.] first conceyved / and peysed ech Estat, 820
That ther be no / froward transgressyoun
Of wyfulnesse / nor no froward debat,
and prudent Ech thyng in Ordre / Conveyed by Resoun
one. That mesour haue / domynaeyoun, 824
As it is ryght / of trouthe and Equite,
Twen Avaryce / and prodigalyte. 826
- (119)
- And whoo that wyl / brefly in sentence 827
Trewly devyde / vertuous largesse,
froom hym hath no / polityk Aduertence,
Them to governe / of Royal gentillesse,
I dar wel seyn / brefly and expresse, 831
Of good Repoort / shortly determyne
his soune of vertues / thorough the world shal shyne 833
- (120)
- without His glory shall shine
eclipse or With oute Eclipsyng / of Ony mystes blake 834
detractioun. Or fals Repoort / of ony dirk shours,¹
Or froward tounges / that noyse or schauendre make,

¹ 59 Ar. and Harl. 2251 omit from line 835 to line 841.

- To medle netlys / with soote Roose flours :
 laureer Crownys / be maad for Conquerours 838
 In tryvmphes / trewly for to deme
 Whoo is moost wourthy / to were a dyaleme. 840
 (121)
- A kyng dispoosyd / of Royal excellence, 841 [fol. 21 a.]
 ffirst to be large / cheeffly in thynges tweyne,
 large to hym Sylff / And fire in his dyspence,
 Twen moche, litel / that wysdam to Ordeyne,
 That discrecyoun / As lady Sovereyne, 845 A discreet
 With Resoun present / At good leyseer tabyle, king shares
 That hasty wyl / medle on nouthir syde ; his largesse 847
- (122)
- Streight to hym Sylff / in such maneer wyse, 848
 Aforn Considred / his magnanymyte,
 That Royal ffredam / dispoose So the Assyse
 Toward his liges / that such Repoort may be,
 To kepe the ffrauncheyse / of liberallyte, 852
 Twen his noblesse / and his liges bothe,
 In so good meene / that nouthir of hem be wrothe. 854 between the
 noblesse and
 his subjects.
- (123)
- They of ytallye / in ther Oppynyoun, 855
 Seyn / it was / no vice in a kyng,
 Yif he be large / be distrubucyoun
 To them that been / vndir hym levying ;
 But they of perce / Recorde in ther wryting, 859
 He that is large / vnto bothe two,
 ffirst to hym Sylff / and lige men Also. 861
- (124)
- But to my doom / and to my ffantasye, 862 [fol. 21 b.]
 Seith Aristotiles / that kyng is moost comendable
 That hath largesse / in his Regalye,
 With good meenys / in vertu stonde stable,
 Trewe in his feith / not feynt nor varyable, 866
 Twen Avaryee / of trouthe and Equite,
 The vice avoyding / of prodigalyte. 868
- (125)
- Breffly the vertu / of Royal hih largesse, 869 Aristotle
 Set in A meene / of prudent governaunce, commends
 the mean
 between
 avarice and
 prodigality.

- How largesse
should be
apportioned. That ther be nouthir / skarsete nor excesse,
But a ryght Rewle / of Attemperaunce ; 873
So that mesour / weye the ballaunce,
To Recompense / of Equite and Ryght,
lyk ther merytes / to euery maneer wyght. 875
- (126)
- The evils
arising from
flatterers. Atwen trouthe / And forgyd flaterye 876
Ther is a straunge / vnkouth difference,
Contraryous poysoun / I dar wel certeffye,
To alle Estatys / of Royal excellence :
Wheer double menyng / hath ony existence, 880
Ther growth frawde / And Covert fals poysoun,
And sugryd galle / honyed with Collusoun. 882
- (127)
- [fol. 22 a.] Off Prynces Eerys / they be tabourerys, 883
The tenour Round / And mery goo the bellys ;
But with ther touch / they styng wers than brerys,
With hunger, thrust / myd tantalus dyuers wellys,
flours of proserpina / fayr and bittir smellys : 887
So semblaby / flatererys in Apparence,
Be outward sugryd / And galle in existence. 889
- (128)
- And he that wyl / be famous in largesse, 890
And haue a name / of liberallyte,
lat hym Conceyve / Afor in his noblesse,
The discertys / of hih and lowe degre,
Atwen mesour / excesse and skarsete, 894
So departe / by Attemperaunce,
That lyk discertys / Ech man haue Suffysaunce. 896
- (129)
- In the partyng / stant Wysdam and fooly, 897
but discrecioun / medle in this matere ;
Who yevith his tresour / to them that be wourthy,
And them guerdownyth / with glad face and Cheere,
As Ryght and Resoun / in tyme doth Requeere 901
In his departyng / As to myn Avys,
Suych a kyng / is provident and wys. 903
- He should
only reward
the worthy,

(130)

But whoo departith / his tresour and Rychesse	904	[fol. 22 b.]
To them that been / not wyse nor profitable,		and not the
It is Callyd / A maneer of excesse,		unwise;
Which in A kyng / is nat honourable.		
Of prudent partyng / in Corages that be stable,	908	
Ther folwith Afftir / by Repoort of Wrytyng,		
Greet laude and preys / namely in a kyng.	910	

(131)

To them that falle / in Casuel indigence,	911	he should
Be sodeyn Caas / Or in necessitye,		help those
Or infortunys / froward violence,		who fall into
Than it accordith / to Royal dignite,		undeserved
To shewe of ffredam / his liberallite :	915	poverty,
Suych a kyng / Advertisyng his Charge,		
Is to hym Sylff / and to his liges large.	917	

(132)

And his lordshippe / And al his Regionn	918	
Shal encrease / in long felicitye,		
With laude and preys / love and subieccioun,		
As Appartenyth / vnto his dignite,		
To were his Crowne / in long prosperite ;	922	
I dar afferme / and mak my Sylf wol boold,		
Suych wer Comendid / of philisoffres Oold.	924	

(133)

But yif a kyng / Contraryous of sentence,	925	[fol. 23 a.]
partith his tresour / to them that ha no nede,		
Or be nat falle / in Casuel indigence,		
but wyfully / lyst nat taken hede,		but not those
What evir he spent / Cast aforn no drede :	929	who have
This folwith therof / his tresour and his Cost,		wasted their
With-Oute laude / bothe two ar lost.	931	goods

(134)

Suych Oon gladly / wheer he wake or wynke,	932	
Escapith nat / be vanyte or veynglorye,		through
Of poverté / to fallyn in the brynke ;		vanity or
The philisoffre / put also in memorye		carelessness.
Suych fooly waast / get On him-Sylf victorye,	936	

	And Causith hym / be excessyf dispençe, folk in daungeer / of froward Indigence.	938
	(135)	
Description of a prodigal.	In his departyng / whoo is inmoderat, This to seyn / whoo is nat mesurable	939
	In his Rychesse / but disordinat, Is Callyd prodigus / which is nat honourable, Depopulator / A wastour nat tretable,	943
	Which is a name / As be Old wrytyng, Disconvenyent / to euery wourthy kyng.	945
	(136)	
[fol. 23 b.]	Aristotiles / geyn this Condiciozn, Set a Rewle / to Royal providence, Moost notable / which in Conclusyoun Shal directe / And Rewle his Clemence	946
	In long prosperyte / of Royal Reuerence, And good Repoort / which is a thyng divyne, Tressyd as phebus / thorough al the world to shyne.	950 952
	(137)	
Things un- becoming a king.	Ther is A maneer / disconvenience In Re publica / is hoolde vicious, A kyng to pleyne / vpon Indigence, Outhir in desirs / to been Avaricious, Outhir skars in keepyng / large or Coveytous, Or kepe a meene / twen vertuous plente, Atwen largesse / and prodigalyte.	953 957 959
	(138)	
	It hath be seyn / that Ovir large expence In Regionys / and many greet Cite, Hath vnwarly / brought in Indigence, Bothe in Estatys / And in the Comounte ; but hermogenes / of greet Auctoryte, Wroote in A somme / pleynly Concluding That the noblesse / of a famous King,	960 964 966
Hermogenes' opinion.		
	(139)	
[fol. 24 a.]	Vndirstondyng / breffly to Conclude, Was perfecciozn / vp lokkyd in sentence, Signed in a kyng / and the plenitude	967

Of his Royal / Crownyd magnificence,
 And hym Sylff / to have an Abstinence 971
 In his desirs / fro thyng that nat good is,
 from the tresour / and his liges goodys. 973

How Aristotil declarith to kyng Alisaundre of the stoonys.

(140)

Touchyng the stoon / of philisoffres Old, 974 The philosopher's stone.
 Of which they make / moost souereyn mencioun,
 But ther is Oon / as Aristotil toold,
 Which alle excellith / in Comparysoun,
 Stoon of stoonys / moost souereyn of Renoun ; 978
 Towchyng the vertu / of this Rychy thyng,
 Thus he wroot / to the moost souereyn kyng : 980

(141)

O Alisaundre / grettest of dignite, 981
 Of al this world / monark and Regent,
 And of al nacioans / hast the souereynte,
 Echoon to Obeye / And been Obedyent ;
 And to Conclude / the ffyn of our Entent, 985
 Al worldly tresour / breeffly shet in Oon,
 Is declaryd / in vertu of this stoon. 987

(142)

Thou must first / Conceyven in substaunce, 988 [fol. 24 b.]
 by A maneer / vnkouth divysioun,
 Watir from Eyr / by a dysseverance,¹
 And ffyr from Eyr / ²by a departysoun,²
 Echoon preseryd / ffrom Corrupecioun, 992
 As philisoffres / Aforn haue Speceffyed,
 Which by Resoun / may nat be denyed. 994

(143)

Watir from Eyr / departyd prudently, 995 and all three carefully purified.
 Eyr ffrom ffyr / And ffyr from Erthe down,
 The Craft conceyved / devyded trewly,
 With Outyn Errorr / or decepeyoun :
 Pure enery Ellement / in his Complexioun, 999
 As it partenyth / pleynly to his part,
 As is Remembryd / pertlyghtly in this Art / 1001

¹ 'deperte' in MS.

²⁻² blank in MS.

(144)

The colour of the stone is Citron for gold making,	This stoon of Colour / is Sumtyme Cytrynade	1002
	lyk the sonne / stremyd in his kynde,	
	Gold tressyd / makith hertys ful glade,	
	With moor tresour / than hath the kyng of ynde,	
	Of precious stoonys / wrought in ther dew kynde :	1006
	The Citren Colour / for the sonne bryght,	
white for silver mak- ing.	Whyte for the moone / that shyneth al the nyght.	1008

(145)

[fol. 25 a.]	This philisoffre / brought forth in parys	1009
	Which of this stoonys / wroot fully the nature,	
Philip of Paris wrote of the purifi- cation of the elements.	Al the divisyoyn / set by greet Avys,	
	And ther vpon / did his besy Cure,	
	That the perfeccioun / longe shulde endure	1013
	lyk thentent / of Aristotiles sonde,	
	Which noon but he / Cowde wel brynge on honde.	1015

(146)

ffor though the matere / Opynly nat toold	1016
Of this stoonys / what philisoffres mente,	
Aristotiles / that was expert and Oold,	
And he of parys / that forth this present sent,	
And in al his beste / feithful trewe entent,	1020
With circumstaunces / of Arrabye, ynde, and perce,	
Towehyng the stoonys / that Clerkys Can Reherse ;	1022

(147)

Hermogenes was the tutor of Philip,	Hermogines / hadde hym Sylff Alloone,	1023
	With seyde Phelip / that with hym was Secree,	
	knewh the vertu / of euery prevy stoon,	
and taught him all the virtues of stones.	As they were / dispoosyd of degree,	
	ffrom hym was hyd / noon vnkouth previtiee ;	1027
	This hermogenes / and he / knewh euery thyng	
	Of alle such vertues / as longe to a kyng.	1029

[fol. 25 b.] how kyng **Alisaundre** must prudently **Afor** conceyve in his
providence.

(148)

A king must not run into	T O eschewyn / alle excessys prudently,	1030
	And specially / al froward <i>Outragious</i> largesse,	
	Avaryce and / gadering frowardly,	

Wheer trouthe and ryght / have an enteresse. ffor he that wastith / and spendith by excesse	1034	excess of liberality,
The grete goolyys / and pocesseyouns, Wheer he hath lordshippe / and domynaciouns.	1036	
(149)		
A Rewle groundid / On discrecioun Geyn Appetites / that be bestial,	1037	or of appe- tites;
Only Conveyed / And brydlyd by Resoun To withstande lustys / that be Carnal, Geyn Avaryee / in Especial ;	1041	especially of avarice,
ffor Coveitise / with desir of Rychesse, Doth in a kyng / Avaryee Represse.	1043	
(150) ¹		
Which Causith first / in his Regalye Wilful vntrouthe / by fals <i>presumpeicoun</i> ,	1044	which causes many harm- ful things.
By extort poweer / groundid On Robberye Geyn goddys lawe / wilful destruccioun In al his werkys / for short conclusyoun,	1048	
To procede / by Recoord of scrypture, In prosperite / shal nat longe endure.	1050	
how witt of Sapience or of discrecioun may be parceyvid in a kyng or a <i>prynce</i> . ²		
(151)		
F irst that the fame / of Royal Sapience, So that Repoort / of his notable fframe Be voyde of vices / that Cleer intelligence In his Empyre / be cleer from al diffame, That no Repoort / blott not his name,	1051	[fol. 26 a.]
Nor no fals Counsayl / of folkys that be double The Cleer shyning / of his good name trouble.	1055	He bears a good name among his subjects;
	1057	
(152)		
This is to seyn / that he be quiete & peysyble, Sogettys to kepe / hem from divysioun, And nat lyghtly / to be Credyble To talys / that make discencioun. ffor wheer pees Regnyth / is al perfeccioun.	1058	is peaceable,
Kepith sogettys / as they shulde be, ffroom alle stryves / quiete and vnite.	1062	
	1064	and keeps down inter- nal strite.

¹ Omit Sl. 2027.² In margin of MS.

how a kyng shuld be Religious.

(153)

	A kyng also / shulde been of lyff,	1065
	by good example / Sad and Religious,	
He should be merciful, yet just;	Merciable / and kepe hym out of stryff,	
	And in his doomys / nat been to Rygerous,	
	Chastyse alle / that be vicious,	1069
	Namely, alle / that be founde shrewys	
	And Contrarye / vnto good thewys.	1071

(154)

[fol. 26 b.] and especially put down heretikes and enemies of holy church,	Off ful purpoos / hoolly for to werche	1072
	To Chastice hem / of Equite and Right,	
	That been Enmyes / vnto hooly Cherche,	
	On heretiques / for to preve his myght;	
	And yif ther be / Ony maner wyght,	1076
and bold lawbreakers.	Hardy in dede / of <i>presumpeoun</i> ,	
	To fiende his lawes / haue dewe Correccioun.	1078

how a kyng shulde be arrayed lych his Estat.

(155)

	T O a kynges / Royal mageste,	1079
	Array which is / Ryche and honourable,	
	pertinent / to his dignite,	
A king's demeanour and presence.	Sad of his Cheer / in his demenyng stable,	
	And of his woord / nat feynt nor varyable;	1083
	Also of his behest / trusty and ek trewe,	
	Sad as a Saphir / and alwey of Oon hewe.	1085

how this vertu Chastite apperteyneth wel in a kyng.

(156)

	N Oble prince / Considere in thy Estat Royal	1086
	how this vertu / Callyd Chastite,	
The evils of lechery in a king.	Is a vertu / and in Especial	
	With abstinence / from al dishoneste;	
	And greet Recours / of ffemynynte	1090
	pallith of prynces / the vertuous Corage,	
	And Or ther tyme / makith hem falle in Age.	1092

how it longith to a kyng oony in the yeer to shewe hym
in his Estat Royal.

(157)

- A**ffir the Custom of Royal excellence. 1093 The Romans
teach that a
king's will
be seen in
full state by
his people.
- And the vsage Ek of Rome town.
- kynges ar wont in ther magnificence.
- To shewe ther noblesse and ther hih Renoun,
- Ther lordshippe and domynaeyoun 1097
- To kepe ther Sagettys verrayly in dede,
- Vndir a yerle atwix love and drede. 1099

(158)

- So that love have a prerogatyff 1100 to retain
their love
and fear.
- To be preferryd Snyd as have poweer
- To shewe hem Syllif during al ther lyff
- Of discrecioun avoydng al daung-er:
- This to seyn ech estat in his maneer 1104
- Shal dewly with every Circumstaunce.
- As they ar bounde doon ther Observaunce. 1106

Of his dewe observaunce that longith to a kyng.¹

(159)

- A**ffir his lawes his statutys to Obeye. 1107 His lawes
must be
fulfillyng
keped.
- Payne of deth no wyght be Contrarye.
- What he Comaundeth his bydding to with-seye:
- ffor what euee from his precept varye.
- Or On his bydding be slouhe or lyst nat tarye. 1111
- Ther is no more vpon that partye
- but lyff and deth stonde in Iupartye. 1113

(160)

- Whoo so euee of presumpecioun. 1114 160. 27. 51
and his right
maintained.
- Dar attempte On any maner syde
- The kynges Ryght in his Oppynyoun
- To interupte of malyce or of pryde,
- And ther-vpon presume tal yde. 1118
- To with-stande the kynges Royal myght,
- Or ony thyng that longith to his Ryght. 1120

¹ Before (160) in MS.

how solace and disport longith to a kyng.

(161)

He should
entertain
himself with
music and
shews.

- A**nd that it longith / also to a kyng, 1121
 With Instrumentys / of hevenly Armonyne,
 ffor his dispoort / prynces Abydyng
 ffyl solempnely / with divers menstralaye,
 To Recounfoorte / and glade his Regallye 1125
 And Comownerys / with entieer dilligence,
 With Ryght hool herte / Reioysshe his presence. 1127

What appartenyth also to his glorye.

(162)

He should
keep about
hym a
splendid
court.

- T**O his noblesse / & his singuler glorye, 1128
 To haue aboute hym / many a wourthy knyght
 ffor Chevalrye / Conservith the memorye,
 And the somme / alweye to shyne bryght,
 That it shal nat / Eclypsen of his lyght; 1132
 But thorgh the world / bothe in lengthe & brede,
 As ffyry phebus / bothe shyne and sprede. 1134

[fol. 2^v. a.]

The Similitude of a Kyng.

(163)

- I**N four thynges / must considred be 1135
 Toward god / his Obedience,
 And to the peple / his liberallyte
 As they disserve / with dewe Reuerence
 The kyng taquite / in his magnificence. 1139
 As his sogettys / be goodly to hym seyn,
 Lyk ther decertys / he quyte so Ageyn. 1141

how a kyng shulde be gouernyd in al maner of wedrys.

(164)

- F**Or herthe / holsom be the Reynes, 1142
 It Causith flours / fresshly for to sprede,
 And makith medwys / And Agreeable pleynes
 To shewe ther bewte / bothe in lengthe and brede
 And Ovir moore / Whoo that takith hede, 1146
 With Oute moysture / and cherysshying of the Reyn,
 In his bewte / Comyth nouthir / flour nor greyn. 1148

Of his doore of offence
that longeth to a kynge

Who so ends of presumption
Dare attempte, On any man syde
The Dyners Wyght, in his Opprymon
To interrupte, of makys or of pryde
And then upon, presume tabys
To both stonde, the Dyners Royal myght
Or any thyng, that longeth to his Wyght,
How solace and dysport, longeth to a kynge

And that it longeth also to a kynge
With instrumentys of hevenly armonye
For his dysport, pryvies abydynge,
Full solowndy, with swete mensuralys
To reconforte, and gladd his Royallys
And comortourys, with outers diligence
With Wyght full herte, wrysshe his psonce
What apperteyneth, also to his glorie,

O his noblesse, & his singular glorie
Do haue a loute hym many a wourthy kynge
For thesedayes, comfourtys the memorys
And the some, alwey to stynd bywyght
That it shal nat schysen, of his Wyght
Wnt thowgh the word, both in lengthe & bredde
As frey phobne, bothe shyne and spredde

(165)

By a maner / Iust Similitude,	1149	The king's grace should be like the rain of heaven.
As Reyn comforteth / every Erbe and tree braunchys a-lofte / pleynty to conclude,		
So shulde a kyng / of his benignite		
Shewe hym gracyous / to hihe and lowe degre,	1153	
That every wyght / with dewe Reuerence		
Shulde with glad cheer / parte from his presence.	1155	

how a kyng shuld be mercyable.

(166)

A kyng Also / in his Estat notable,	1156	[fol. 23 <i>b</i> .]
To his sogettys / of hih and lowh degre, Shulde be gracious / and merciable,		
leve Rancour / and haue on hem pite ; preserve mercy / Considre also and se	1160	
That mercy is vertuous / in his Trone, Crownyd with gold / moost singuleer allone.	1162	

It longith to a kyng specially to kepe his promys.

(167)

A kynges promys / shulde be Iust & stable,	1163	
As a Centre / stonde in O degre, Nat Chaunge lightly / nor be varyable, And be-war / of mutabylyte.		
Woord of a kyng / myt stonde in O degre ; What that euere / that a prynce seith, The Conclusyoun / dependith vpon feith.	1167 1169	

how stodye & clergye shuld be promotyd in a kyngdome.

(168)

As the sonne / shewith in his guyse	1170	
Mong smale sterrys / with his bemys bryght, Ryght so in / the same maner wyse,		The praise of a University
An vniuersite / shewith Out his lyght In a kyngdom / As it shulde be of ryght, And by the prynce / have dewly favour,	1174	
So Clergye beryth / a-wey the flour /	1176	and of Clergy.

(169)

[fol. 29 a.] Clergy promote philosophy and trade.	Wheer is Clergye / ther is philosophye, Marchaundyse / plente and Rychesse, prudent Counsayl / diffience of Chevalrye. In ech Estat / Wysdam, gentillesse, Curtesye, ffredam / and prowesse ; And as the kyng / tencrese his name, His peple wyl folwe / and gladly doo the same.	1177 1181 1183
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how a kyng hovith to haue a leche to kepe his body.¹

(170)

The king's leech must be a good astronomer	F Or helthe of body / the kyng of hool entent Must haue lyk / to his desir Suyeh Oon / as knoweth the firmament, And is expert / A good Astronomeer, Which that knoweth / sesouns of the yeer ; As in his tyme / was Oold Cypryan, A philisoffre / and an expert man.	1184 1188 1190
--	--	--

as Cypryan was,

(171)

who knew the four qualities, and all the changes of nature.	He knewh the Cours / of planetys & disposicion, Of moyst and drye / both of heete & Coold, Chaung of the yeer / And Revolucyoun. ffor in which thyng / he was expert and boold : Of the Cours of planetys / maunfookl, And of Elementys / the Revoluciouns, Chaung of tymes / and Complexiouns.	1191 1195 1197
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(172)

[fol. 29 b.] He must point out times for sleeping and waking, and restrain the king's appetites.	And specially / in Astronomye knowe the tyme / whan he shal slepe or wake, vndir a Rewle / of philosophye, In no wyse / that he noon excesse make. He mvt also / Al surfeetyes ek forsake ; ffor Ony lust / of froward Appetyght, Counseyl of lechys / to modellye his delyght.	1198 1202 1204
--	---	--

(173)

The virtues of the planets— Saturn, Mars, the Sun, Mercury.	Satourn is Slouhe / mars malencolyous, And phebus Causith / dysposyng to gladnesse, In Rethoryk / helpith mercuryvs,	1205
--	--	------

ffor in the moone / is no stabylnesse.		and the Moon.
ffortune braydeth / ay On doubylnesse,	1209	
And sith a kyng / vpon ech partye		
Stant vpon Chaanges / ful hard hem to guye.	1211	

how a kyng shuld be gouernyd in Astronomye.

(174)

A Stronomerys / that knowe preuitees,	1212	Astronomy as a means of diagnosis.
helthe of body / discrasyng of syknesse,		
dyuers Causes / of Infirmytees,		
Wherof ffenerys / doo so greet distresse,		
Achys, gowtes / of drynkes greet excesse :	1216	
And Out of tyme / be war of long wacchyng,		
Which to the helthe / is contrarye to a kyng.	1218	

Next folowith the vtillite of the helthe of a kyng.

(175)

O Alisaundre / lych as providence	1219	[fol. 39 a.]
Of such as been / expert lechys,		
Such as been preyd / by experience,		Trust to doctors proved by experience.
And preyd Auctours / as the phesyk techys,		
Truste On the dede / And nat in gay spechys ;	1223	
Woord is but wynd / leff woord and tak the dede,		
Thyng wel expert / disservith wel his mede.	1225	

how mechil a-vayl is comprehendid in the diligence of a good leche.

(176)

A good leche / expert in A kyng	1226	The results of having a good leech.
ffor dilligent / Conservaciouns,		
A kynges helthe / be wrought in al thyng,		
So that in qualyte / be founde noon Erryng		
Nor hyndre his Appetyght / in mete nor drynk ;	1230	
Nor be discrasyd / to hyndre his Appetyght,		
Wherof nature / hath Contraryous delyght.	1232	

(177)

And O Rewle / specially shal I the teche,	1233	
Towchyng the tyme / And hour of his dyete,		The time of eating.
So he nat wante / the presence of his leche :		

To his Complexioun / as it is moost meete,
 Tyme set Atwen / Coold and heete, 1237
 With this Reward / by Resoun to expresse,
 By good avys / that he doo noon excesse. 1239

[fol. 30 b.]

A special Epistil to the Singuleer helthe of a prynce.

(178)

None of the
four humours
of man's
body should
be in excess.

NAturel philisoffres / assentyd alle in Oon, 1240
 Seyn that a man / is maad of iiij. humours,
 And they Assentyn / in wryting euerychoon
 Afftir the wedyr / Reynes, haylles, and shours,
 planetys a-loffte / and the hevenly tours. 1244
 Altir they sette / in the hevene a governaunce
 In Erthe folwyth / of helthe Attemperaunce. 1246

(179)

Of mekil excesse / folwyth Corrupcioun, 1247
 Excesse of travaylle / Causith febylnesse.
 Thought sorwe / be greet Occasyoun,
 To engendre / greet Syknesse,
 And puttith folk / in froward distresse, 1251
 That vndigestion / with Oute Remedye,
 Causith ofte sithe / by processe that they deye. 1253

To conserve hele aftir a manny's Complexion.

(180)

Aftir drynesse / and humydite, 1254
 And Chaungyng also / of Complexiouns,
 Of Etyng, drynkyng / wheer as necessarye
 Requeryth his tyme / and yif purgacyouns
 Be necessarye / Afftir the sesouns 1258
 Solve flewm / brennyng or moysture,
 To kepe a mene / A leche mvt doon his Cure. 1260

[fol. 31 a.]

**how a kyng must take keep whan he shal reste and whan
he shal sleep.**

(181)

Sleep is noryce / of digestioun, 1261
 Yiff it be take / in attemperaunce,
 Yif slogardye / yive Ony occasyoun,

Causith hevynesse / slouthe or disturbaunce		Too much sleep is harmful.
Put a man Out / of good governaunce,	1265	
Be war of wach / kepe also the date,		
To kepe a mesour / of Etyng and drynkyng late.	1267	

how a leche shal gouerne a prynce slepyng & wakyng.

(182)

Y If thou wilt been hool / & kepe þ ^e fro syknesse,	1268	
And Resiste / the strook of pestilence,		
look thou be glad / and voyde al hevynesse ;		Rules for good health.
fleen wykked Eyeris / eschewe the presence		
Of enfect placys / Causyng the violence ;	1272	
drynk good wyn / and holsom metys take,		
Walke in Clene Eyr / eschewe mystes blake.	1274	

(183)

And yf so be / lechys do the faylle,	1275	Even in the absence of leeches,
Than take good heed / and vse thynges thre,		
Temperat dyete / and temperat travaylle,		
Nat malencolyous / for noon Adversite,		
Meke in al trouble / glad in poverte,	1279	
Ryche with litel / content with suffysaunce ;		
Yif phesyk lakke / make this thy governaunce.	1281	

(184)

Afftir mete be-war / make no long sleep,	1282	[fol. 31 b.]
Heed, foot, and stomak / preserve hem ay fro Cooold.		
Be nat to pensyf / of thought take no keep,		
After thy Rente / mayntene thyn houssoold ;		
Suffre in tyme / and in thy ryght be boold,	1286	
Swere noon Othys / no man to be-gyle,		
ffor worldly Ioye / lastith here but a whyle.	1288	

(185)

Thus in two thynges / stonddith al welthe	1289	health of body and soul consists in diet and charity.
Of soule and boody / whoo so lyst hem sewe ;		
Moderat floode / yevith to man his helthe,		
And al surffetyes / doth from hym remewe,		
And Charyte / to the sowle is dewe.	1293	
Wherefore this dyete / O Alisaundre, kyng !		
To alle indifferent / is Rychest thyng.	1295	

Of the foure sesouns of ye yeer I gynne at veer.

(186)

Spring
described.

What tyme the sesoun / is Comyng of the yeer, 1296
 The hevenly bawme / Ascendyng from the Roote,
 The ffresh Sesoun / of lusty grene veer,
 Which quyketh Corages / and doth hertys boote,
 Whan Rounde buddys / appere on branchys soote, 1300
 The growyng tyme / and the yong sonne ;
 I mene the sesoun / whan veer is be gonne. 1302

(187)

[fol. 32 a.] And bright phebus / Entryth the Rammys hed, 1303
 And begymeth / Ascendyn in his spere,
 Whan the Crowne / of Aleeste whyte and Red,
 Aurora passyd / ful fresshly doth Appere ;
 ffor Ioye of which / with hevenly nootys clere, 1307
 The bryddys syngen / in ther Armonye,
 Salwe that sesoun / with sugryd mellodye. 1309

(188)

The qualities
of spring.

Twen hoot and moyst / this veer is temperat, 1310
 Havyng his moysture / of Wyntres sharp shours,
 Of somyr folwyng / to flora consecrat.
 Hath moderat heete / be Recoord of Auctours ;
 The sesoun Ordeyned / taraye with newe Clours, 1314
 As gardeyns Erbys / and to sowe seedys,
 And the lusty Silvir dewh / in the grene meedys. 1316

(189)

The night-
ingale ;
the rabbit ;
the cuckoo.

Entryng this sesoun / wyntir doth leve take, 1317
 ffrostys departyd / and molte with the sonne,
 And euery ffoul / Chosen hath his make,
 And nytyngalys / for Ioye her song hath be gonne ;
 Yonge Rabetys / be to ther Claperys Roune, 1321
 And the Cokkow / that in Wyntir dare
 In euery lay to syng / she lyst nat for to spare. 1323

(190)

[fol. 32 b.]

The lovers'
season.

Lovers of Custom / do this sesoun preyse, 1324
 And yonge folkys / flouryng in tendir Age,
 Erly a morwen / Tytan makith hem Aryse ;

So Can nature / prykke them in ther Corage,
 Walkyng by Ryvaylles / holdyng ther passage 1328
 On plesaunt hylles / so holsom is the Ayr,
 Havyng great Ioye / the wedir is so ffayr. 1330

(191)

Wherefore Alisaunlir / whoo so take hede, 1331 The moral
drawn.
 And lyst consydre / by good Avisement,
 Of our yong Age / Accounte we must in dede
 How that we hau / dyspendid ou[r] talent,
 Outhir lyk foolys / or lyk folkys prudent, 1335
 To vs commytted / whyl we haue been here,
 To for the Iuge / whan we shal appere. 1337

Next than folowith the sesoun Callid Estas.

(192)¹

Now veer is past / with al his grene levys, 1338
 Aprylle and May / with hire sharp shours,
 The silver dewh / in woodys and in grevys,
 hath spred his bawme / On bankys & on clours ;
 And next folwyth Estas / with his somyr flours, 1342 The qualities
of summer.
 As seith thes clerkys / by discrypcioun,
 Is hoot and drye / of Complexioun. 1344

(193)²

This tyme gynneth / soone vpon Barnabe : 1345 [fol. 33 a.]
Summer lasts
from St.
Barnabas till
St. Bartholo-
mew.
 Iune, Iule, August / lastith this sesoun,
 Endith in Septembre / the sonne in Virgine
 Hoot and drye / of disposicyoun,
 And Coleryk / of Complexioun, 1349
 As is Remembryd / of Auctours Olde,
 Endith with Bertylmew / with his dewys colde. 1351

(194)

Ffyr, Colour, Estas / and Juventus Age, 1352 Comparison
of Youth and
Summer.
 To-gidre Accorde / in heete and drynesse,
 And Coleryk men / Citryn of visage,
 Rough, slyh, and Angry / Summe haue gret hardynesse
 Off growing slaundre³ / fumous of hastynesse, 1356
Summer and the choleric
humour.

¹ Omitted in Harl. 4826, 14498, Ar. 59, Sl. 2027, Harl. 2251, Lansd. 285.

² Omitted Ar. 59, Harl. 2251.

³ slendre in MS.

- With smoke and ffyr / haue greet Accordauce,
ffurious of Ire / froward of dalyauce. 1358
- (195)¹
- In this sesoun / Rypith frut and Corn, 1359
A tyme ful notable / be Comendacyoun,
This tyme of yeer / Baptist Iohn was born,
Petir & Poule / suffryd passyoun,
And petrys cheynes² / wer brooke in prysoun; 1363
The feeste therof / Callyd Iammesse,
And the *translaeyoun* of Thomas / martryd in *Crystemasse*.
- (196)
- [fol. 33b.] Been at mydsoomyr / bryng hoony to ther hyvys, 1366
Summer The lyllyes whyte / Abrood ther levys sprede,
scenery. Beestys pasture / and shade hem vndir levys,
Ageyn the some / gras deyeth in the mede,
Chapelettys be maad / of Roosys whyte and Rede, 1370
And euery thyng / drawith to his Ryping,
As it faryth be man / in his Age growyng. 1372
- (197)
- Summer fruit Strawberyes, Cheryes / in gardeynes men may se 1373
and vege- Benys Rype / and pesecoddys grene,
tables. Ageyn heetys / whan men distempryd be
ffolkys gadre purslane / and letuse that be Clene.
This sesoun flora / that is of ffloours quene, 1377
Hire ffresh motlees / she tournyth now Cityrne,
The vertu of herbys / doth doun ageyn deelyne. 1379
- (198)
- In this processe / it nedith not to farye, 1380
The moral. But Oonly to god / Set thyn Inward entent,
O Alisaundre / herte and thought nat varye,
But thank the lord / of what thing / that he sent,
Povert or Rychesse / ther-with to be content; 1384
As god disposith / ther in to haue plesaunce,
As Oon in god / and god thy Suffysaunce. 1386
- (199)
- [fol. 34a.] ffor by the sentence / of Seyntes and of clerkys, 1387
Of thy discertys / afftir the Rekenyng,

¹ Omitted in 14408, Ar. 59, Sl. 2027, Harl. 2251, Lansd. 285.

² 'keyes' in MS.

And lyk the frutys / of thy good werkys,		Each shall receive the fruit of his works.
Thou shalt be guerdownyd / this soth and no lesyng,		
With pees Eternal / last at thyn Endyng,	1391	
With Cryst to Regne / in the hevenly consistorye,		
Whan thou by tryvmpe / hast of thy foon victorye.	1393	

Thanne folowith after the Thridde sesoun callid Autumpne.

(200)

T his tyme of Custom / set folkys in besynesse.	1394	
Ech tydy man / yevith him to travaylle,		Harvest time.
To Repe and mowe / and exelude ydelnesse,		
No man sparyd / and husbondys wyl not faylle		
To ryse vp erly / And calle vp the poraylle,	1398	
Blowe ther hornys / or the lارke syng,		
And Stuff ther grangys / with Corn þ ^t they hom brynge.		

(201)

The tyme by processe / voydeth the feeld of greyn,	1401	
Takith away / from braunchys ther swetnesse,		Autumn scenery.
Caused the trees / of frute to be bareyn,		
The levys falle / the wynd abroad hem dresse,		
The day, the nyght / bothe of Oon gretnesse,	1405	
The soune in libra / Egal be ballaunce,		
As is the wyl / of goddys Ordynancee.	1407	

(202)

This sesoun is dredfull / and distemperat,	1408	[fol. 31 E.]
disposed to feverys / thorough ayr of pestilence,		
Offte Chaungyng / and seeld in Oon estat,		Autumn is dangerous for sick people.
Peryllous for syknesse / and with violence ;		
Off trouble humours / doth folk ful greet offence,	1412	
ffor flewme this tyme / hath domynacion ;		
Be-war of syknesse / that gynneth in that sesoun.	1414	

(203)

Erthe, Autumpnus / and Age accordyn in Oon	1415	Comparison of Autumn and Age.
Slough, malencolye / spatlyng euere Among,		
Dul Courbyd downward / whan myght & lust is goon ;		
fful of Ire / though he be not strong,		
Soone mevyd / wheer it be right or wrong :	1419	
And thus senectus / with Autumpne doth accorde,		
He and this sesoun / drawe bothe be O corle.	1421	

(204)¹

Autumpne takith / his leve of seynt Clement, 1422
 The tyme dyuerse / and wondir varyable,
 With strange passions / sodeynly men schent,
 be seknessys / which be unkurable ;
 And for this sesoun / is unkouth & unstable, 1426
 With sodeyn Chaunges / and complexiouns to greve,
 Therfore in novembre / he takith his leve. 1428

(205)

Wherfore considre / in thyn Estat Royal, 1429
 The moral. Take the moralite / of Autumpne the sesoun,
 how it is appropryd / and in Especial
 to the thrydde age / and the complexioun
 Off the and me / for short conclusioun. 1433
 Wherfore, O Alysandre / haue in remembraunce,
 Peyse euery thyng / and kepe the in good gouernaunce.

[fol. 35 a.] **The fourthe deternynacioun of the foure sesouns of the yeer.**

(206)

Afftir heruest / whan men thresshe shevys, 1436
 Sowyn whete / gadre wyntre frute in gardynes,
 And somyr trees / be bareyn of ther levys,
 Winter occu- Men putte in Celerys / Cowche newe wynes ;
 pations. must lesyth his name / toward seint martynes 1440
 muryly drounke / whan it is through ffyn,
 And lastith tyl / the sesoun / of Seint Martyn. 1442

(207)

The dayes shorte / the nyghtes wondir longe ; 1443
 Coold and moyst / of flewme nutrytiff,
 Winter Contrary to Estas / the frostys been so stronge.
 scenery. In Rootys restith / the vertu vegetatyff,
 Grene herbys / and braunchys lost ther lyff. 1447
 The sonne this sesoun / beeyng in Aquarye,
 beestys to the bynne / for stormys dar not tarye. 1449

(208)

The division Thus the foure sesouns / devided of the yeere, 1450
 of the year. first veer whan phebus / doth in his spere aryse,
 The growyng tyme / whan buddys oute appere ;

¹ Not in MS., but in all others.

Estas folwyng / whan floures in ther guyse Sprede on ther stalkys / geyn tytan doth aryse ;	1454
Autumpne afftir / which longe doth nat tarye, And yemps endith / the Ende of februarye.	1456 <small>End of winter.</small>
(209)	
Thus four tymes / makith vs a merour Cleer Off mannys lyff / and a ful pleyn ymage.	1457 <small>[fol. 35 b.] The moral.</small>
Ver and Iuuentus / togedir haue sogeer, Estas folwith / longyng to saddere age ; To vs Autumpne / bryngeth his massage	1461
Off Senectus / Wynter last of alle, How dethys Orlogge / doth On vs calle. ¹	1463
(210)	
With veer in youthe / we hadde lustynesse, Which is inpossyble / ageyn to Recure ; Etas gaff vs strengthe / and hardynesse flouryng in ffreshnesse / not longe tendure.	1464
Autumpne afftir / bryngeth vs a ffigure Off Senectus / Wynter of Crokyd age, How al thyng passith / halt here no long Ostage.	1468 1470
(211)	
Loo Alisaundre / ye mowne se thynges tweyne, Auauntynge lying / longyng vnto Age ; Malencoly / fals demyng and disdeyne, Many passyouns / Rancour and dotage ; Ende of this lyff / terme of our viage :	1471 1475
ffor decrepitus / hath his marke sett, This world shal ende / it may nat be lett.	1477
(212)	
Thus to make / a Combynacyoun Off veer and youthe / be a manere accordaunce Off mannys sadnesse / and Estas the sesoun fflouryng in lust / tyme of most plesaunce, Autumpne and eld / with ther greet haboundaunce.	1478 <small>[fol. 36 a.] Comparison of seasons and times of life.</small>
Thanne folwith wyntir / and al doth ovir caste : So doth age for it / may not alwey laste.	1482 1484

¹ This line and the first six of the next stanza are not in Harl. 2251 or Lansd. 285.

(213)

	Off this forseyd / take the morallite,	1485
	Settith asyde / alle materys spooke in veyn :	
	The foure sesouns / shewe in ther degre,	
	first veer and Estas / next Autumpne <i>with</i> his greyn,	
	Constreynt of wyntir / <i>with</i> frostys ovir leyn,	1489
The last line written by Lydgate.	To our foure Ages / the sesouns wei applyed ;	
	deth al consumyth / which may nat be denyed.	1491

here deyed this *translatoꝝ* and nobil poete : and the yonge
folowere gan his *prologe* on this wyse.

(214)¹

Another prologue.	T Endirnesse of age / and lak of Elloquence,	1492
	this fearful matere / sayyng supportacioun,	
	me hath constreynd / to put in suspence	
	ffrom yow, my lord / to whom Recomendacioun	
	I mekly do sende / with al Subieccioun ;	1496
	The dulnesse of my penne / yow besechyng tenlumyne,	
	Which am nat / aqweynted / <i>with</i> the musys nyne.	1498

(215)

[fol. 36 b]	Wher flour of knyghthoode / the bataylle doth refuse,	1499
	what shulde the dwerff / entre in-to the place ?	
Molesty of Benedict Burgh.	bareyn in sentence / shulde hym Sylf excuse,	
	And by presumpcyoun / nat shewe out his fface.	
	Off Iohn lydgate / how shulde I the sotyl trace	1503
	ffolwe in secrees / Celestial and dyvyne,	
Praise of Lydgate.	Sith I am nat aqweynted / with the musys nyne ?	1505

(216)

	Ffrenescys sent / from the lady nature	1506
	ffor a conclusyoun / hir Iourne to Conveye,	
	As of Anthyclaudyan / Rebersyth the scripture,	
	Be sevene Sustrys / in her passage took the weye,	
	Gynnyng at grameer / as for lok and Keye,	1510
	In Ordre and <i>proporsyoun</i> / folwyng the doctryne,	
	Which was wel aqweynted / <i>with</i> the musys nyne.	1512

(217)²

The seven sciences would blame the Muses if they assisted him.	These Sevene Sustryn / <i>souereyn</i> and entieere,	1513
	Yif I my penne / to this matere doo applye,	
	The nyne musys / blame shal in maneere,	

¹ Not in 14408, Ar. 59, Harl. 2251, Lansd. 285. ² Not in Lansd. 285.

- That they vnlabouryd / stant on my partye.
 I yaff noon attendaunce / I may it nat denye. 1517
 how shulde I thanne / my matere doo Combyne,
 Which am nat / aqeynted / with the musys nyne? 1519
- (218)¹
- These Sustrys / Cheyned in parfight vnyte, 1520 [fol. 37 a.]
 departe may not / by natural resoun; The sciences
are united to
each other.
 Ech with othir / hath Eternite.
 how shulde I thanne / vse persuasiozn,
 Of my purpoos / to haue conclusyoun 1524
 In ech science / fayllyng degre and signe
 ffor lak of aqeyntaunce / of the musys nyne? 1526
- (219)
- Yif I shulde talke / in seyeneys tryvval, 1527 The trivial
sciences;
 Gynnyng at grameer / in signes and figyrys,
 Or of metrys / the feet to make equal,
 be tyme and *proporciozn* / kepyng my mesuryr,
 This lady lyst nat / to parte the tresourys 1531 he knows
neither
grammar nor
prosody,
 Of hire Substaunce / to my Childhood ineondigne,
 Which am not aqeynted / with the musys nyne. 1533
- (220)
- This mateer to Conveye / by trewe conclusyoun, 1534
 veritees of logyk / certys I must applye, nor logic,
 Wheer vndir flourys / restith the Scorpiozn,
 Which I fere / to take for my partye,
 Premysys congrewe / which can nat applye, 1538
 Of Old philisoffres / to folwe the Doctryne,
 Sith I am nat aqeynted / with the musys nyne. 1540
- (221)²
- I haue with Tully / gadryd no fressh flours, 1541 [fol. 37 b.]
 The Chaar of fironestis / to paynte in dewe manere, nor rhetoric
of Cicero or
Petrarch,
 With Petir petrarke / of Rethoryk no Colours,
 Of teermys ne sentence / in my wrytyng doth appere;
 Arismetryk nor musyk / my Dulness doo not Clere. 1545 nor arith-
metic,
nor music,
nor geome-
try,
 how shulde I thanne / by Geometrye drawe ryght lyne,
 Which am nat aqeynted / with the musys nyne? 1547

¹ Not in Lausd. 285.

² Not in 14408.

		(222)	
nor astro- nomy of Ptolemy.	Off Astronome / the Secrees invisible,		1548
	vuknowe with Tholomye / I faylle cognicioyn,		
	Which by invencyoun / to me be impossible,		
	With oute Doctours / and exposicioyn ;		
	Or of this sevene / to make a declaracioyn,		1552
	Afftir your entent / this treetys to Combyne,		
	Which am nat aqueynted / <i>with</i> the musys nyne.		1554
		(223) ¹	
He considers the difficulty of the task,	These thynges peysed / myn hand make to quake,		1555
	Thre Causys / considred in Especial ;		
	first of this book / the difficulte to take,		
the royal command,	Secunde of the <i>persone</i> / the magnificence Royal,		
	To whom I wryte / in-to tremlyng cause me fal ;		1559
	Of dirk ignoraunce / feryng the Engyne,		
	Which am nat aqueyntyd / with the musys nyne.		1561
		(224) ¹	
[fol. 38 a.]	The thrydde cause / in the Audlight countable,		1562
	Entitled and Rollyd / of my remembraunce,		
and the de- traction of his rivals ;	Is that detractours / Odyous and detestable,		
	Vnto Alleeto / knet be affyaunce,		
	With sotyl menys / shal make <i>perturbaunce</i>		1566
	Affermynge to my witt / to moche that I enclyne		
	The werk to a taste / not knowyng the musys nyne.		1568
		(225)	
and finds himself be- tween Seylla and Charyb- dis ;	Thus atwen tweyne / <i>pereel</i> of the see,		1569
	Sylla and karybdys / put in desperacioyn,		
	What to resceyve / and which for to flee,		
	Constreynd I am / to make dubytacioyn ;		
	The sharp corosye / of fretyng detraccioun		1573
	ffirst I feere / to my partye shal enclyne,		
	Sith I am nat aqueynted / <i>with</i> the musys nyne.		1575
		(226) ¹	
	The Secund <i>pereel</i> / by Computacioyn,		1576
	In which I stande / this is incertayn		
	ffeer and dreed / of Indignacioyn		
	Of your lordshipp / which doth nat disdeyn		
	Me to exhorte / to wryte in termys pleyn		1580

¹ Not in 14408, Ar. 59, Harl. 2251, Lansd. 285.

A part of Secrees / Celestial and divyne, lefft of Iohn Iydgate / wel knowyng þ ^e musys nyne.	1582	
(227)		
Thus set in pereel / fayl I my socour, Me doth counforte / a proverbe in myn entent ; " Ech tale is endyd / as it hath favour."	1583	[fol. 38 b.] but he is comforted by a proverb,
Wherefore to dreed / no lengere I wyl assent, but breefly fulfille / your Comaundement	1587	and begins thus:—
In modir toung / this matere to Combyne, Which sauff Support / knowe not the musys nyne.	1589	

how a kyng shal conserve natural hete & helthe of body.

(228)

S one Alysaundre / of helthe to be sure.	1590	
O thyng I the preye / first and principally		There are
Dewe proporcious / of heete in nature		
To Conserve / for to knowe that Redyly		two causes
In double wyse / man deyeth fynally ;	1594	of death,
Off which as by Age / Oon is natural,		natural and
The othir by fortune / As be thynges accidental.	1596	accidental;

(229)

fferthere thy body / to make moyst and fat	1597	
Afftir this sentence / folwe my doctryne.		
Moche sleep / wyl kepe the / in hih Estat,		how to keep the body in good health;
Metys swete / and wyn licour divyne,		
Merydien Reste / mylk whight and Argentyne,	1601	
Alle good Odours / and flours afftir ther tyme,		
With swete bathys / and Erbys good and ffyne.	1603	

(230)

Peuse thy tyme / numbre it parfightly,	1604	[fol. 39 a.]
And in the bath / be not Ovir longe,		
Tyme contynued / wyl feble the body,		
And alle Joyntes / wil weyke / which be stronge ;		
Drynk no wyn / but watir be ther Amonge,	1608	
And in wyntir / take watir Alchymyn,		
Which hot is of nature / to putte in thy wyn.	1610	

(231)

The malwe in somyr / And ek violet flours,	1611	
Which in nature / be coold of trewthelike and ryght,		

- To speke pleyn / and vse no Colours,
ffroom Corrupt humours / makith the body light.
- a vomit once
a month re-
commended;
- Oonys in the monyth / to have a vomight 1615
purgeth the stomak / makith it pure and clene,
That no Corruptioun / ther-Inne may be sene. 1617
- (232)
- ffurther be it knowe / to thy magnificence, 1618
That this vomight / restoryth hete natural,
Yif it be doo / with oute violence,
- its special
advantages.
- And these Comoditees / Causith in Especial,
Moystnesse good / grees wel to deffye at al 1622
Vndirstandyng / Resoun / glorye and gladnesse,
Of thyn Ennyes victorye / expellith al hevynesse. 1624
- (233)
- [fol. 39 b.] Yif thou wylt be hool / to kepe the fro Syknesse, 1625
And resyste / the strook of Aduersite,
love to se playes / voyde al hevynesse,
And put delyght / in these thynges thre ;
ffayr men and women / be delectable to the 1629
To be holde / on thy body eiene clothyng,
And of Antiquite / to se and rede wryting. 1631
- Aristotil writ in A pistil to Alisaundre which hurt the body.**
- (234)
- S**One set in a preff / in thy prudent arys, 1632
To ete and drynke / by attemperance ;
ffor afftir the sentence / of philisoffres wys,
The body doon feble / and sette in *perturbaunce*,
To Ete litel / and drynke with oute *gouvernaunce*, 1636
Sleep before mete / ovir moche travaylle,
With fretyng wratthe / gretly doon disuaylle. 1638
- (235)
- And who so wyl / breffly in sentence, 1639
Goon ageyn myght / doute or it be nede,
To ech tale / yive hasty credence,
- Things harm-
ful to the
body.
- Oftyn goon to Chaumbir / ovir oftyn to blede,
With salt metys / lyst hym Sylf to fede, 1643
Or drynk Oold Wyn / in greet foysoom,
Doth drye his blood / by natural disposicioun. 1645

(236)

In watir also / Contagious of nature, Be not bathyd / in no degree.	1646	[fol. 40 a.]
The kynde of brynstoun / is perillous I the sure, And ful replessyd / I exhorte the flesshly lustys / and bathis to fle,	1650	Avoid sul- phur baths and exercise after meals.
Rennyng afftir mete / and also rydyng, Which cause wyl / a seknesse / callyd quakyng.	1652	

(237)

In Etyng of ffyssh / make no Contynuaunce, ffor afftir the sentence / of expert Ipoeras, ffyssh / the Complexion / puttith to varyaunce, And pure blood / Corruptith in short spas, Medlyd with mylk / Causith boody and fas	1653	
With lepre / to be smet / thorough disposicioun Off vnkynde humours / by inward Corrupcioun.	1657	
	1659	

how the body is devided into foure principal parties.

(238)

O Alysaundre / peyse in a ¹ ballaunce how principal partyes / foure ther be In mannys boody / which for Remembraunce And awayl / to thy magnanymyte I shal entitle / And yif superfluyte	1660	
Of evil humours / to Ony of them enclayne, I shal the teche / A special medicyne.	1664	
	1666	

(239)

Off this Secrees / to yive the cognicioun, The first membyrd / this matere to applye, Wheer powrys Organycall / vse ther operacioun, Is the heed / And where in the fourthe partye Set In resydence / is the ffantasye, And next in Ordre / ymaginacioun, With mynde / Remembraunce and Estymacioun.	1667	[fol. 40 b.]
	1671	The first principal part is the head;
	1673	the chambers of the head;

(240)

Yif Superfluyte / or Ony evil humours Of qualitees gendre / by in-proporeyoun In the hed / be signes / and Colours,	1674	
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¹ 'a' not in MS.

	knowe thou shalt / the indisposicioun be this doctryne / and instructioun :	1678
signs of disease in the head;	The Eyen dymme / the browys wex greete, The noose thrylles shrynke / the templys doon bete.	1680
	(241)	
remedies for disease of the head.	This to Recure / A Souereyn medicyne Is Aloes / as sey doctours of fframe, Soore boylled / in dowset and swet wyn, With a Roote / of which is the name Pulgichyn / which boylle must in same Tyl tyme the wyn / half wastyd be, Which than thus vsyd / is profitable to the.	1681 1685 1687
	(242)	
[fol: 41 a]	Take these Erbys / souereyn and enticer In to thy mouth / with the swete licour, And them close there / in dewe maneer, Which distroye shal / ech Corrupt humour ; And kepe them there / tyl tyme thou savour Of amendyng / the Comodite, And expuleyoun / of Superfluyte.	1688 1692 1694
	(243)	
Another pro- fitable thing for the head.	flerthere to geve / the Enformacioun, Of mustard whyte / the seed is profitable Grounde to poudir / for conservacioun Reysed in tyme / a quantite mesurable : And yif thou be / negligent and vnstable In Eyen and brayn / in specially In these thynges / thou shalt haue gret mallady.	1695 1699 1701
	The second principal part of the body.	
	(244)	
The second principal part is the breast.	T he second part / this matere to combyne, Is the breest / which yif syknesse Doo Enfeble / in degre or signe, Toknys foure / to the / shal it expresse :	1702 1706
Signs of dis- ease in the breast.	Toung lettyd / mouth salt with bittirnesse Or ovir swet / of stomak / the mouth egir, Ache in membrys / in ech sesoun or wedir.	1706 1708

(245)

For the breest thus brosyd / vse this medicyne :	1709	[fol. 41 b.]
litel to Ete / is good phesyk,		
To make vomyth / afftir my doctryne,		
Sugre Roseet / with aloes, mastyk		A remedy.
Wel Chawyd / as sey doctours awtentyk,	1713	
Reseyved in tyme / proporeyoun and mesure,		
Off vnkouth seknesses / the breest doon Recure.	1715	

(246)

And yif so be / that these doon the faylle,	1716	
Take Sum Spice / good confortatyff,		Another
Which to the Appettight / gretly doth avaylle,		remedy.
And the body / conserveth in good lyff,		
Causeth pees / where was debat and stryff ;	1720	
Alle Corrupt humors / expelleth echoon		
With a letuarye / Callyd Dionyson.	1722	An electuary.

(247)

In foure wyses / thou shalt have gret peynes	1723	
Yif thou my counseyl / refuse in this partye ;		
Sharp feveryes / Ache in heed and Reynes :		
Enpechement / the trewth to speeffye, ¹		Four evil
Propirly to speke / the tunge which doth denye,	1727	results of
And is Occasyoun / Auctours here witnesse		disease in
Of many vnkouth / and straunge syknesse.	1729	the breast.

The Thrydde principal party of the body.

(248)

T he thrydde party / to speke in termys pleyne,	1730	[fol. 42 a]
Is the wombe / in the boody natural,		The third
Which yif evil / in degre or signe conteyne,		part of the
knowe thou mayst / by these thynges in especial :		body, the
Rednesse in the kne / the wombe bolmyth <i>wit</i> al	1734	belly.
Of kynde / causith to goon hevily,		Signs of dis-
Geyn which these medycines / take for Remedy.	1736	ease of the

(249)

Resceyve inward / sum light purgacioun,	1737	A remedy.
Which sotil and light / is of nature,		

¹ This line out in Harl. 4826 and Lansd. 285. Lines 1725 and 6 transposed in MS.

And of the breest / the confirmacioun,
 Aforeseid also / wyl it Recure ;
 And yif thow leve / these medicynes I the sure, 1741
 As Oold philisoffres / Cleerly doon expresse,
 In many foold / cause it wyl seknesse. 1743

(250)

Evil results of disease in the belly. Ache in the Rottle / And Ek in the haunches, 1744
 In bak Ioyntes / And also Reynes,
 With the flix / And many othir braunches,
 Evil digestioun / with othir divers peynes :
 This shewith experience / which nevir feynes, 1748
 Modir of konnyng / and cheef maistresse,
 As Oold philisoffres / in wryting ber witnesse. 1750

[fol. 42 b.]

The fourthe princípal parte of the body.

(251)

The fourth part of the body, the genitals. The fourthe party / this matere to combyne, 1751
 Is the genital / founde incerteyn,
 Vnto which yif corrupcioun / do enclyne,
 Signs of disease in the genitals. These be the signes / As philisoffres seyn ;
 Mete to Receyve / the stomak doth disdeyn, 1755
 To Coyllons, yerde / Rednesse doth resoorte,
 Gayn which these medycynes / doon counforte. 1757

(252)

Remedies. An Erbe namyd Apus / breffly to expresse, 1758
 With seed of ffenel / is profitable to the,
 Off Archemise the Roote / Acheen & Atracies,
 Which thus disposed / this seknesse make to fle :
 The herbe the Roote / put togidre al thre, 1762
 With white wyn / drynk it in the morwenyng,
 ffrom seknesse in genital / kepith soget and kyng. 1764

(253)

ffurther be it knowe / to thy magnificence, 1765
 That watir and wyn / take in smal quantite,
 litel to Ete / mesuryd by prudence,
 Results of disease in the genitals. Among othir / is profitable to the ;
 And yif this doctryne / of the dispysed be, 1769
 Thou shalt Renne / in Ache / of the bladder,
 Which of the stoon / seknesse wyl Engender. 1771

An Ensample how a kyng shulde be inquisitiff to knowe
diuers Oppynyouns of lechis or of phisiciens. [fol. 43 a.]

(254)

<p>FErthere I haue Rad / in storyes of Antiquite, how to Assemble / made a myghty kyng Alle phisiciens / hihest of Auctorite Of Inde and Grece / them streyghtly comazundyng Oon medicyn to teche / which ageyn al thyng Noyows to the body / were Sufficient ; To whom the Greeys / thus seyde ther entent :</p>	<p>1772 1776 1778</p>	<p>A king desires of learned physicians of India and Grece what is the best medicine.</p>
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(255)

<p>“ Whoo in helthe / to persevere wyl be sure, And Conserve / the hete natural With oute langour / longe to endure, hoot watir / to drynke / hym doth be fal : The mouthe replesshid / by proporcioun equal Tymes thre / in Aurora fastyng, Erly to drynke / is moost medicynable thyng.”</p>	<p>1779 1783 1785</p>	<p>The Greeks recommend the patient to drink hot water three mornings running.</p>
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(256)

<p>The phisiciens of ynde / in ther Oppynyoun, Seide that madicyne / moost profitable Was to vse / in dewe proporcioun, Mylk whyte / with mastursu / thynges medicynable, Receyved fastyng / moost awayllable Man to Conserve / in prosperite and welthe, Good inward disposicioun / and bodily helthe.</p>	<p>1786 1790 1792</p>	<p>The Indians recommend him to drink milk and mastursu fasting.</p>
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(257)

<p>But knowe Alisaundre / And peyse in ballaunce, That in this doctryne / myn Oppynyoun Clerly to entitle / in thy Remembraunce, Breefly is this / for ful Conclusyoun, Whoo slepith wel / be natural resoun, Tyl wombe avoyde / al pondorosite, Excludyng seknesse / stant in liberte.</p>	<p>1793 [fol. 43 b.] 1797 1799</p>	<p>Aristotle's opinion.</p>
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(258)

<p>Sleep receyved / in tyme and mesure, As resoun previth / and experience, ffrom these seknessys / the boody doth Recure,</p>	<p>1800</p>	<p>The value of seasonable sleep.</p>
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	Which previd is / by phisichal prudenece.	
	Palsy and Gowte / comyng of neeligence,	1804
	Ache from the wombe / and Joyntes echoon, ffrom trembling and quakyng / kepith membrir & boon.	
	(259)	
Three good morning medicines.	And he that vsith / in morwe these thre thynges, Alibi Aurei / thre dragmes in substaunce	1807
	Vue passes / or goode and swete Resynges, Off flewme warde / shal haue noone <i>perturbaunce</i> ;	
	The mynde hool / excludyng variaunce,	1811
	Shal be of kynde / and ygnoraunce dysdeyn, The boody ffre / from the fevir quarteyn.	1813
	(260)	
[fol. 44a.]	ffurther to entitle / in the Auldight Countable, Off thyn Remembraunce / secrees of myn doctryne,	1814
It is good to eat nuts, figs, and rue.	Notys te Ete / and fygges is profitable, Or levys of Rewe / Agreeable and flyne, Geyn al venym / souereyn medicyne ;	1818
	And breffly to conclude / in especial Alle these conserve / the heete natural.	1820
	How profitable is to knowe diuersite & kyndes of metes & drynkes.	
	(261)	
	F Erther Alysandre / be it knowe to the	1821
	That profitable is / in especial to a kyng, Of metys & drynkes / knowe dyuersite, With <i>proporeioun</i> / and tyme of Reecyvyng ;	
	ffor afftir the sentence / of philosoffres wrytyng,	1825
	Summe are sotil / groos by nature, Othir A-twen bothe / in mene kepe mesure.	1827
	(262)	
Foods which make good blood.	Blood pure Engendir / and Enlvyne	1828
	Metys smale / and sotyl in substaunce, As whete hennys / Chekenys good and fyne The boody norisse / The stomak kepe fro grevaunce ;	
Those good for labourers are unfit for others.	Groos metys / make no <i>perturbaunce</i> ,	1832
	In labouryng men / which may them deffye ; In othir / engendir malencolye,	1834

(263)

Which atwen bothe / kepe ther mesure,	1835	[fol. 44 b.]
As phisciciens / wryte of Auctoryte,		
Engendir noon flewm / by kynde of ther nature,		
Ne of humours / superfluite ;		
As geet, motown / And othir that be	1839	Hot and moist foods.
hooit and moyst / in ther operacioun		
Moost indifferent / to ech complexioun.	1841	

(264)

How be it / that Sumtyme incerteyn	1842	
These flechys be kynde / make wombe hard & drye,		
Yit newly rostyd / Receyved and newly slayn,		
Take fro the speete / and ete hastily,		
They be holsom / Resoun doth it not denye :	1846	
And breefly to conclude / this matere in sentence,		
Of fysshes the kynde / is lyk the experience.	1848	

(265)

The ffyssh litel / and of sotyl skyn,	1849	The kinds of fish.
Norysshed in watir / swet and rennyng,		
I mene as perche / with the sharp ffyn,		Perch specially mentioned as good.
be moost holsom / to man them receyvving :		
And in ded watir / bothe Oold and ying	1853	
ffissh norhisshid / is vnprofitable,		
And vnto kynde / not avayllable.	1855	

The knowyng of watrys, and which be moost profitable. [fol. 45 a.]

(266)

T how owest to wete / that watir is profitable	1856	
here in herthe / to ech Creature,		
To man, woman / and beeste vnreasonable,		
Which from Corrupeioun / the body doth recure,		
Rennyng from hillys / and erthe which is pure,	1860	Running water is good to drink, where there are no marshes.
Or neer to Citees / stillyng as perlys Rounde,		
Passyng holsom / wher mersshys do noon habounde.	1862	

(267)

Watir also / which that is moost lyght,	1863	
Swete or bittir / in ech degree and signe,		
ffrom the see / comyng of trewthe and right,		
Thorough hih hillys / As perl Argentyne,		
knowe may be / whan they be good and ffyne,	1867	

	Be signes sixe / folwyng in sentence, Prevyd be resoun / and experience :	1869
	(268)	
Different kinds of waters	Lyght of nature / to make repeticioun, Cler ther-with / and of good Odoure, Soone hoot, soone Coold / be dyuers operacioun, With oute Corrupcioun / and of good savour, White also / and of bright Colour,	1870 1874
	Of which the Contrary / by polityk prudence, Thus knowe thou mayst / bexperience.	1876
	(269)	
[fol. 45 b.] which are to be avoided.	Off slepyng wayours / watrys incertayn, Salt, bittir, and fumous / the wombe doon drye, In lowe valeys / also which be playn, be hoot and hevvy / trewth to speeffye ; Wher strengthe of phebus / renewith his partye, And watrys ther placys / kepe as they be-gan, Of them to drynke / Causeth Coleram nigram.	1877 1881 1883
	(270)	
	Watrys that renne / be many diuers londys, Be hoot, grevous / vnholsoom, and hevvy, Which tarage haue / of foreyn dyvers sondys, As by experience / previd is redily :	1884 1888
The wrong time to drink water.	Whoo drynketh watir / ffiblyth his body, Afore mete / of stomak heete with-drawith, And ful replesshid / flewme Engendrith.	1888 1890
	(271)	
	As Oolde philisoffres / Accoorde al in Oon, Sleep is norysshe / of digestion ;	1891
Do not drink water at meal times.	To drynke watir / as they seye echoon, At mete Continually / causeth Currupcioun In the stomak / and is Occasyoun Off hevynesse / slouth and disturbaunce, Which puttith a man / out of good gouernaunce.	1895 1897
	(272)	
[fol. 46 a.] Drink cold water in summer,	Thou owyst to drynke / in somyr watir Coold, Namly whan phebus / is in his hih degre ; lewk warm in wyntir / in phesyk as it is toold,	1898

Among othir / is profitable to the :		
ffor as doctours / Recoorde of Auctoryte,	1902	and warm in winter.
Coold in wyntir / in every maneer wyght,		
And hoot in somyr / destroye the Appettight.	1904	

Of knowynges of vynes, & noynges & bountes of them.

(273)

S One Alysauindir / in these secrees devyne,	1905	
ffor Chaung of Complexioun / by drynesse or ¹ humydcite,		
Profitable is / in ech degree and signe,		
Off wyn to knowe / the werkyng and propirte,		
Which receyved / where as necessite	1909	
And tyme requeryth / Afftir my doctryne,		
Geyn al syknesse / is souereyn medycyne.	1911	

(274)

Wyn of the grape / which growith evene vpright,	1912	Hill-grown wine is the best.
Ageyn hillys / to his singuleer comfort,		
Where as phebus / with flamyng bemys bright,		
Dayly vprisng / newly doth resoort,		
Is moore drye / Afftir philisoffres repoort,	1916	
Than othir which / growith naturally		
In plaecys pleyn / moyst and shadwy.	1918	

(275)

The first ² flewmatyk / as folk Oold in age,	1919	[fol. 166.]
Gretly doth profite / take by attemperauce,		Whom wine profits.
hoot and yong / puttith to damage,		
In Oold mys-humours / restorith to gouernaunce		
Superfluytees / and al disturbaunce	1923	
Puttith to flyght / and shewith to exigent,		
by cause it is / to there nature convenient.	1925	

(276)

Wyn moost Reed / and thikke be kynde,	1926	Red and thick wine engenders good blood.
Engendrith good blood / as Auctours repoort,		
Which strong and myghty / dullith the mynde,		
Take out of mesure / doth not counforte ;		
Corrupt humours / causith to Resoorte,	1930	Its ill effects if taken to excess.
To ech membrir / breffly to expresse,		
Noyeth the stomak / reyseth wyndynesse.	1932	

¹ 'of' in MS.

² to ' inserted in other MSS.

(277)

	To ech complexioun / of mannys nature,	1933
	Moost medicynable / and lycour indifferent,	
Where good wine is grown.	Is of the grape / which growith I the sure,	
	In large feeldys / to them convenient,	
	Strecchyd abroad / with oute inpediment,	1937
	With hillys and valys / Envirownyd aboute,	
	Gadryd in tyme / best lycour with outyn doute.	1939

(278)

[fol. 47 a.]	Breefly as thus / to <i>expresse</i> what I mene,	1940
A good grape for making wine.	looke they be rype / and of good swetnesse,	
	Strong in substaunce / no grenness let be sene,	
	ffrom the stok / excludid al moystnesse ;	
	And of this doctryne / to haue more redynesse,	1944
	looke of wyn of the grape / a litel departyd be	
	ffroom the kernel / for lak of humydyte.	1946

(279)

The colour of good wine;	Wyn holsom also / owith to be of Colour,	1947
	So atwen Red / and gold flyne,	
	Ponyaunt, delectable / sharp in savour,	
	Thykke at the botme / of Colour Citrine,	
	Above Cleer / with licour divine ;	1951
	Receyved in tyme / and mesurably,	
	Excludyng diseas / Comfortith the body.	1953

(280)

	ffurther Alisaundre / to <i>expresse</i> what I mene,	1954
	knowe and entitle / in thy Remembraunce,	
14 properties of good wine.	That wyn good <i>propirtees</i> / hath ffortene,	
	Off Old philisoffres / peysed in ballaunce ;	
	Enforsyng the stomak / excludith <i>perturbaunce</i> ,	1958
	ffortetieth the heete / in the body natural,	
	Good digestioun / causith in especial,	1960

(281)

[fol. 47 b.]	Conservith the stomak / from Corruptioun ;	1961
	By al the membrys / the mete doth lede,	
	Which convertyd / by <i>transmutacioun</i> ,	
	Chaungid to norsslyng / the body doon fede	
	With pure blood / of this <i>matere</i> take hede,	1965

Makith to aryse / the heete be mesure, ffroom the stomak / to the brayn by nature :	1967	
(282)		
Evyll humours destroyeth / the Colour makith reed, Coanfortith corages / Clarifieth the sight,	1968	
The toange Elloquent / And delyuer in the heed, ffroom fretyng malencolye / makith the body light, Causith good Appetight / makith hardy to fight ;	1972	
but these be vndirstande / breefly I the sure, Of wyn receyved / in tyme and mesure.	1974	
(283)		
And knowe Alisaundre / that wyn Outragiously, Out of tyme / Resceyved, and mesure,	1975	Too much of it brings about exactly contrary effects.
Of these comoditees / Cause contrary, And the body / longe to Endure, Doon not permitte / in good Chaung and mesure,	1979	
but moo of syknessys / Causith haboundaunce, That wyn mesuryd / <i>commoditees</i> in substaunce.	1981	
(284)		
Bookys also / of pheyk and medicynes, be a maneer / of Comparysoun,	1982	[fol. 48 a.]
Atween the Rembarbe / good and holsom Wynes, This lyknesse / make in disposicioon,		Comparison between wine and rhubarb.
As the rembarbe / holsom of condicioon,	1986	
Take out of mesure / is dedly and venym, ffor short conclusyoun / so holsom is wyn.	1988	

**Here specially preyseth wyn. and techith a medycyn ageyn
dronkenesse of it.¹**

(285)

I N sentence brief / to wryte in termys pleyn, Soriippys bittyr / be profitable to the, fful or fastyng / receyved incerteyn, Of humours or flewm / whan superfluite Doon habounde / in signe or degre,	1989	Of syrups.
Which in the body / cause Corrupeioon Of qualitees / shulde be in proporcioon.	1993	
	1995	

¹ In margin of MS.

(286)

The foolishness of those who neglect the help of wheaten bread, good flesh, and good wine;

- fferthere I mervaylle / in myn Oppynyoun, 1996
 How man compiled / and maad of foure humours,
 May be secke / or tende to Corrupecioun
 Whyl he may haue / special thre socours,
 Good breed of whete / flesh that wel savours, 2000
 Of tarrage / and stok / good and holsom wyne,
 Reyceyved in mesure / lycour moost divyne. 2002

(287)

[fol. 48 b.]

or who take too much food, too much work, or too much drink.

- Contrarye be / of nature to these thre, 2003
 Moche to Ete / Ovir moche travaylle,
 drynk to Receyve / in superfluite,
 Of the body / ech membre doth disvaylle ;
 but yif these / the body doon assaylle, 2007
 And of drynk / superfluite specially,
 be sotyl meenys / vse this remedy. 2009

(288)

A cure for drunkenness.

- ffirst to be washid / is profitable thyng, 2010
 In watir boylled / hoot and temperat ;
 Alltir, ovir / a ryveer rennyng,
 To be set / Arrayed to thyn estat,
 With salwys, wyllwys / Envyrround preperat, 2014
 Alltir the stomak / anoynted with-al,
 With the Onyment / callyd Sandal. 2016

(289)

Do not leave off drinking suddenly.

- Phesciciens also / preve be prudence, 2017
 How norisshyng / that tyme is the savour,
 To nature of / good spices and encence,
 Mesuryd in tyme / by dilligent labour ;
 And whoo of wyn / lyst to leve socour. 2021
 Hym behovith / by Successioun redily
 It to leve / and not Sodeynly. 2023

[fol. 49 a.]

Of the Rightwisenesse of a Kyng and of his Counseil.¹

(290)

- F**Erthere / Alysandre / gyff Advertence, 2024
 though of accoord / philisoffres expresse,
 To a prynces / lih magnificence.

The duty of a king to his subjects.

Thyng Celestial / is Rightwysnesse,

¹ In margin of MS.

Maad to conserve / the blood and Richesse	2028	
Of his sogettys / possessyouns and werkys,		
In which / his Regalye stant / as sey clerkys.	2030	
(291)		
froom god sent / for his Creaturys	2031	
Ryghtwysnesse namyd / shap of intelligence,		Righteous-
In sogettys obeysaunt / Souereyn recurys,		ness.
Which doth cause / groundid on prudence,		
Sent was / noote this sentence,	2035	
Vnto prynces / to conserve froom pillage,		
Alle sogettys / extorcious and damage.	2037	
(292)		
Men of ynde / in ther Oppynyoun	2038	The Indian
ffor this concludid / wrytyng berith wisse,		opinion of a
Off a prynce / for breef conclusyoun,		king's duties,
To his sogettys / bettir is ryghtwysnesse		
Than Aboundaunce / or plente of Richesse	2042	
In the Reem / and moore Avayllable		
Than Reyn froom hevене / A kyng resonable.	2044	
(293)		
And for they shulde / make no dysseveraunce,	2045	[fol. 49 b.]
but ther kyng / And ryghtwysness Ioye in Oon,		
Atwen hem / they made Affyaunce,		and how they
Which was thus wryte / in marbyl stoon :		made a contract
With oute ryghtwysnesse / prynce may be noon,	2049	with their kings.
And breeffly to wryte / with-oute superfluyte,		
Ryght and the Kyng / as brethryn owen to be.	2051	
(294)		
It is to the / also greet avaylle,	2052	
And accordyng / to thy magnificence,		
Oppynyouns to here / of thy counsaylle,		How a king
And benygly / to gyff audience,		should be-
To ther counsayl / giff advertence,	2056	have in his
Intitle and rolle / ech Oppynyoun,		council,
In thy remembraunce / but lerne this conclusyoun.	2058	
(295)		
Thyn entent / do nat expresse,	2059	and not allow
Which thou hast / at the begynnyng,		his own
ffor thou owyst / of verray ryghtwysnesse		opinion to be
PHILOSOPHERS.		known till
		after.

	Therof be blamyd / as witnessith wrytyng.	
	keep <i>tounge</i> in mewe / be cloos in werkyng,	2063
	Tyl tyme thou be / in purpos for avayl,	
	In effect to folwe / ther counsayl.	2065
	(296)	
[fol. 50 a.]	Conceyve the Counseyl / peyse it in ballaunce	2066
Slow in de- liberation,	Off eche <i>persone</i> / hih or lowe degre,	
	Which doth Iuge / with oute varyaunce,	
	ffor moost love / which he hath to the ;	
	And whan alle thynges / <i>determinyd</i> be	2070
rapid in action,	By thy counsayl / them put to executioun,	
	ffor to a Reem / delays Cause destruccioun.	2072
	(297)	
Delay is dangerous.	To make dellayes / namely tyme of nede,	2073
	Is greet <i>perceel</i> / as philisoffres devyse	
	Off tendir in Age / to this mateer tak he le :	
	Prudent counsayl / loke thou nat despice,	
	ffor sinne of nature / be provident and wyse.	2077
	Summe folkys / by <i>disposicioun</i>	
	Affir ther tyme / And <i>constellacioun</i> .	2079
	(298)	
	This to conclude / wrytyng I ffynde,	2080
A story of a child born in India	A lyknesse provid / by <i>experience</i>	
	Off an <i>Enfant</i> / in the Cuntre of ynde,	
	Boore in a place / where men of intelligence	
	Herborwed were / which gevyng <i>Aduertence</i>	2084
	Of this Child / to ech <i>proporcoun</i>	
	This doom gaff / by natural <i>resoun</i> .	2086
	(299)	
[fol. 50 b.]	Boore he was / vndir such signe,	2087
under fortun- ate constel- lations,	<i>Constellacioun</i> / and planete delectable,	
	That he shulde / Enlyne to doctryne,	
	be light of membrys / Curteys and Amyable,	
	lovyd of statys / to Counsayl avayllable,	2091
	Of Sevene sciencys / hauyng in sight cleer,	
son of a weaver,	Whoo's ffadir of wevyng / was an Artificeer.	2093
	(300)	
	Tyme passyd / this child grew to Age,	2094
	Weel <i>proporciownyd</i> in membrys <i>Organycalle</i> ,	

- Whoom his fladir / for worldly avauntage,
 Boonde and dysposyd / to crafft mechanycalle :
 but this Enfaunt / for no thyng myght be falle,
 2098
 lerne myght / ne for Correccioan,
 Be-cause it was / ageyn disposicioan.
 2100 who would
learn no
handicraft,
- (301)
- They took away / the brydel of A-reest,
 2101 but, left to
himself,
sought com-
pany of the
wisest,
 Hym puttyng / to folwe his owne entent,
 He sett his herte / to byde with the wyseest
 Of that Cuntre / And moost prudent,
 Which in labour / wolde be dilligent
 2105
 Hym to Enforme / in science by lecture,
 The kynde of thynges / Conteyned vnder nature.
 2107
- (302)
- The mevyng of the firmament / and al othir thynges
 2108 [fol. 51 a.]
and learnt all
knowledge,
 vnder nature / he lernyd Redily,
 Good maneris also / to governaunce of kynges,
 And by his wysdam / and sciencys fynally,
 Be-cause he was / trustyd Specially,
 2112 and became
chief of
the king's
council.
 He had the rewle / and disposicioan
 Of the kyng / and al his Regioan.
 2114
- (303)
- Contrary to this / in wryting I ffynde
 2115
 How a nobil / and a Royal kyng
 Two Children hadde / in the lond of ynde,
 Off which whan Oon / Cam to growyng,
 He was set / to liberal konnyng,
 2119 But there
was a king's
son
 Taught by mastres / of hih Auctorite,
 As a-partenyd / to his dignite.
 2121
- (304)
- But in that part / he was vntretable,
 2122
 Maystre ne fladir / myght no thyng awaylle,
 Science nor Crafft / to hym was delectable,
 but to forge / malyable mataylle :
 Put no delight / in countirfet Apparaylle,
 2126
 but dysposed / in yong and tendir Age,
 As Child bore / of vile and smal lynage.
 2128

(305)

[fol. 51 b.]	The kyng stonyd / greetly in thys partye,	2129
The king, deeply grieved, called to- gether his wise men,	Of his Reem / Assemblyd in presence Alle grettest clerkys / Comaundyng streyghtlye That they shulde doo / ther entieer dilligence Hym to Enfoorme / by ther science	2133
	Why his sone / of his disposicioon, Sauf oonly to forge / wolde take noon informacioon.	2135

(306)

who said that the stars had so ordered it at his birth.	In ther Oppynyoon / they accoordid alle in Oon, And yove this Answer / for ful conclusyoon Of his nature / what Enfaunt that wer boorn In that signe / or Constellacioon :	2136
	He shulde be / of natural resoun, dysposyd that Craft / Oonly to vse, And alle othir / vttrily refuse.	2140 2142

(307)

So that kings ought not to despise wise men of low estate.	These experymentys / Owe to meve a kyng, Nat to despise / A man I the sure, litel of stede / and litel of growyng, But afftir he spryngeth / in vertu and norture, So hym to Cherysshe / owylle of nature, Whethir he be / of hih or lowe degree, A kyng florysshying / in excellent dignitee.	2143 2147 2149
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(308)

[fol. 52 a.]	He owyth to be loyde / that vices will eschewe,	2150
Whose advice is to be trusted.	Which lovith trowthe / and counseyllith trewly, To the thy sogettys / stedfast, Iust, and trewe, And of thy wyl / Sumtyme the contrary, Which doth nat spare / to telle the feithfully, To this counsayl / yive Affyaznee, Which in thy Reem / Cause wyl good governaunce.	2154 2156

(309)

Advice as to government.	Ordre thy mateerys / afftir ther substance Set nat the last / there the first shulde be, In al nedys / with dewe Circumstaunce, To vse consayl / is profitable to the, With prevy counceyllours / prudent and secre :	2157 2161
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for good counseyl / moore doth awaylle Than of pepil / greet puissaunce in bataylle.	2163	
(310)		
ffor this entent / in wrytyng as I Rede, A greet man wys / and provident, Whoos dwellyng / was in the Reem of mede, A lettere wroot / and to his sone it sent, Of which the tenour / and the content, With the prohemye / and conclusyoun, This was with oute / varyacioun.	2164 2168 2170	A greet man's advice to his son.
(311)		
“Dere sone, it is nede / in al thy werkys To have counsayl / for thou art but O man Of qualitees contrarye / Compiled as sey clerkys ; Wherfore thy counseyl / take of hem that Can The directe / by polityk wysdam, In ech mevyng / habite or passyoun, The to reduce / by good discrecyoun.”	2171 [fol. 52 b.] 2175 2177	Two heads are better than one.
(312)		
From thyn Enemy / I counseyl the be sure ; Shewe thy poweer / And thyn victorye Vpon hym / thy ryght to Recure : But I the monysshc / first and pryneipally, ffroom hym to fle / in tyme prudently. Put not confidence / in the greetnesse Of thyn prerogatyf / and excellent hihnesse.	2178 2182 2184	How to treat enemies, weak and strong.
(313)		
Tak counseyl / in thought do not muse As it plesith / So it Receyve, The best Accepte / badde do ¹ refuse, hoo folwith thy wyl / the shal disceyve ; Wers smyt flaterieng / than poley or gleyve. Werfore perceyve / by logical resoun, Whan vudir flours / restith the scorpion.	2185 2189 2191	How to take counsel.
(314)		
Be sad of cheer / pley nat the Enfawnt, In answeere prudent / wys nat chaungable, Oon singlar man / to make thy leyf tenaunt,	2192	[fol. 53 a.] Do not trust your power into one man's hands.

¹ 'not' in some MSS.

With herte mynde / hath delectacioun,		Do not trust a covetous man,
Good to gadre / Whethir it be wrong or right,		
On whom growith / evir the Appetight	2231	
In greet Rychesse / And mony to Abounde,		
Which as a depnesse / is with oute grounde.	2233	
(320)		
Gyff no credence / to such an Officeer	2234	[fol. 54 a.]
That is Corruptyd / in his affeccioun,		or one who can be bribed.
ffor he wyl redily / Seeke mateer,		
And soone consente / to thyn destruccioun :		
Tretyng with lordys / ne cognicioun	2238	
lete hym noon have / and yif he thus offende,		
Oute of thy presence / hym vtirly suspende.	2240	
(321)		
Love that officeer / of hool herte and entieer,	2241	
Which the lovith / and is ay trefable		
To thy sogettys / tak hede of this mateer		
Them to make / to the Agreeable,		
ffroom thy service / which is not permutable ;	2245	
In whom also / these vertues may be sene		
By computacioun / folwyng here flyftene.	2247	The fifteen virtues of a good officer.
(322)		
In membrys parfight / wel to travaylle	2248	
In the Office / hym commytted twoo,		
Swyfft / vnderstandyng / gretly doth avaylle,		
with redy consceyt / wheer meen haue to doo		
That hym is Charged / to execucioun alsoo	2252	
Soone to putte / Curteys and doughty,		
ffayr spekere / with-oute flattery :	2254	
(323)		
Groundid in science / and a good Clerk,	2255	[fol. 54 b.]
Trewe of behest / hatyng lesynges,		
gentyll of condicions / trefable in eeh werk ;		
Wel mesuryd / specially in twoo thynges,		
Mete and drynk / for a-boute kynges	2259	Gluttony is detestable in a king's servant,
In-sacyable glotonye / is detestable,		
Inconvenient / and abhomynable.	2261	

(324)

	That he ¹ love worshpe / and encrese,	2262
	Above al thynges / to thy goodlyheede,	
	To gadre gold / leve besynesse,	
	ffor as a-fore reheryd / thou mayst rede	
and avarice.	Snych an Officeer / in tyme of nede	2266
	Wyl be enclnyed / be persuacioun	
	The to destroye / for Ambicioun.	2268

(325)

	That he love the / prevy and estraunge,	2269
A good officer loves wise men.	Men of worshpe / put to reuerence,	
	Which for ² Corrupt[i]on / trewthe wyl not chaunge ;	
	But to ech / be polityk prudence,	
	Graunte his labour / and his dilligence	2273
	To socoure them / which grevyd be in dispence,	
	With-oute carnalyte / makyng no difference.	2275

(326)

[fol. 55 a.]	In his purpoos / strong and perseueraunt,	2276
His bearing towards others.	With outyn dreed / to se thyn Avaylle,	
	Meke of condicioons / and no tyraunt,	
	Off thyn Rentys / knowyn the Resaylle,	
	Secreet in werkyng / sharp in travaylle,	2280
	ffroom greet spekyng / hym kepith discretly,	
	ffor moche spekyng / is signe of ffoly.	2282

(327)

	In mooche laughtir / that he nat abounde,	2283
	To thy sogettys / gracious and benigne,	
	Off repoort / ay that he be founde,	
	Trewre and stable / in ech degre and signe	
	Among the peple / trewthe to mayntene ;	2287
	To symple also / geve supportacioun,	
	And them correcte / which vse extorcioun.	2289

(328)

	It is to be tited / how prevy with oute obstacle,	2290
	As Oold philisoffres / put in Remembraunce,	
Man is called the micro- cosm.	That in man / is founde greet myracle,	
	Namyd the litel world / by Auctours allegeaunce,	
	ffor many and / vnkouth circumstaunce	2294

¹ 'He that' in MS.² 'Corrupt / on trewthe' MS.

ffounde in hym / moost souereyn creature,
 Namyd beeste resonable / be intelligence insure. 2296

(329)

He is hardy as leown / dreedful as the hare, 2297 [fol. 55 b.]
 large as a Cok / and as a hound Coveytous,
 hardy as an hert / in forest which doth fare,
 Boxsom as the turtyl / As lyownesse dispitous,
 Symple as the lamb / lyk the ffox malicious; 2301
 Swyfft as the Roo / as beere slough in taryng,
 And lyk the Ellefaunt / precious in ech thyng. 2303

The twenty-three different animals whose nature is in man.

(330)

As the Asse vyle / and Contagious, 2304
 As a litel kyng / hasty and Rebeel,
 Chaast as an Aungel / As swyn lecherous¹,
 Meeke as a pecook / as boole wood and feel;
 Profitable as the Bee / in his heve, which is his Cel, 2308
 ffair as the hors / As the howle malicious,
 Downbe as the ffysssh / And as a mows noyous. 2310

(331)

Noote this processe / in the Audith Countable, 2311
 Of thy Remembraunce / and knowe redyly,
 That in beeste / nor thyng vegetable,
 No thyng may be / vnyuersally
 But yif it be / founde naturally 2315
 In mannys nature / Wherfore of Oon Accoord
 Oold philisoffres / Callyd hym the litel woord.² 2317

The title microcosm justified.

Of a kynges Secretary.

[fol. 56 a.]

(332)

FErthere / Alysandre / Conceyve in thyn entent 2318
 Thy prevy wyse men / for to vndirstande
 In speche fair / in language prudent;
 Gay in endityng / fair wryters with hande
 looke they be / and ferthere in thy lande; 2322
 looke thy wryters / of thy secrees
 In prevy place / wysely kepe thy lettrees. 2324

The qualities of a secretary.

¹ Blank in MS.

² 'worlde' in all other MSS.

(333)

	Lyke as a Robe / fayr ¹ of greet Rychesse,	2325
	Worshippeth the body / of a myghty kyng,	
How fair language beautifieth a king's letters.	So fair language / trewth to expresse,	
	Worshippeth a lettir / with good endityng ;	
	look thy secretary / Conceyve in ech thyng	2329
	Thyn entent / and it redily	
	To execucioun / Can put wittily.	2331

(334)

	Thy hihnesse also / for to enhance,	2332
	And thy magnificence / lerne this of me ;	
How they should be rewarded.	With greet rewardys / doo them avaunce	
	Affir here merytis ² / and ther degre,	
	Which aldayes / besy and wakyng be	2336
	In thy nedys / for in them stant the warysoun	
	Of thy worshepe / thy lyf or thy destruccioun.	2338

[fol. 56 b.]

What a kynges massegeer oughte to bee.

(335)

	F Erthere Alysandre / to spede thy mateerys	2339
	ffor a-vayl / Enforce thy Corage	
The import- ance of good messengers,	ffor to haue / swyllt massegeerys,	
	Wys, redy / expert in language,	
	Moost Sufficient / for thyn Avauantage ;	2343
who are the eyes, ears, and tongues of their lord.	ffor a massegeer / As philisoffres record,	
	Is the Eye, the Ere / and toung of his loord.	2345

(336)

	His Iourne lette / which lyst for reyn ne shour,	2346
	To whom thou mayst / thy wyl also vneure,	
	Which the lounth / and thyn honour,	
	And if thou ne may / of such Oon be sewre,	
	At the leste / gentil and demewre	2350
Who should be chosen.	look he be / which wel and feithfully	
	Can bere a lettre / and repoorte trewly.	2352

(337)

Who are not to be chosen on any account.	Rakyl of toung / or moche which doth muse	2353
	To gete giffys / what tyme he is sent	
	On thy massage / hym vtirly refuse ;	

¹ A blank in MS.² 'demerytis' in MS.

And ferthermore / nevir vttir thyn entent To hym which wyl be Impotent	2357	
In al membrys / be Outragious dromknesse, ffor more than he knowith / suyche Oon wyl expresse.	2359	
(338)		
fferthere be prudence / entitle ¹ this mateer, And it Rolle / in thyn Countable mynde, That hihe Estat / ne greet Officeer, On thy message / thou vse for to sende, ffor yif he / to tresoun condiscende, Off the and thy Reem / he may be destruccioun, Whoos punysshment / I remytte to thy discrecioun.	2360	[fol. 57 a.] Send no great man on your errands, for fear of treason.
2366		

Of Equiperacioun of Sogettys and Conservacioun of Justice.²

(339)

C Onceyve dere sone / how the hous of thy mynde, be thy sogettys / and the tresour, By which thy Reem / Confermyd as I ffynde, Doth Contvne / in greet and hihe honour, lyk a gardeyn / of Redolent savour, Aboundyng in trees / and divers ffrutys, Which gryffyd on stokkys / haue many braunchys.	2367 2371 2373	How a realm profits by the justice of a king
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(340)

The braunchis sprede / the frute doth multiplie, And in Caas / lyk and comparable, Off poweer excellent / trewthe to speceffye, And of a Reem / tresour perdurable, By the prudence / famous and agreable, Off the Comownys / by polityk livyng, Grove alle vertues / to worshepe of a kyng.	2374 2378 2380	
--	--	--

(341)

In werk and woord / and al ther dedys, To be mesuryd / is Covenmable, ffroom velonye / and wrong in al ther nedys, Them to diffende / to the is portable, Pepil to governe / to the is avayllable, Afftir Custom / And Condicioun, In ther partye / vsyd of thy Regiozn.	2381 2385 2387	[fol. 57 b.] who defends them, and governs according to custom.
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¹ 'entitle' in MS.

² In margin of MS.

(342)

Choose good subordinates,	To ther Suppoort / gif them an Officeer, Which tendith not / to ther destruccioun, Good of condicioun / wys in ech mateer, In tyme pacient / vse noon extorcioun ffor to take this / for ful conclusyoun,	2388 2392
or else fear rebellion.	Yif the Contrarye / thou doo / that I the telle, Ageyn the / thy sogettys / shul rebelle.	2394

(343)

Have im- partial judges,	To encrees of thy Court / And also of thy Reem, have Iuges trewe / good and wyse, not parcial / but indifferent men, Which for lukyr / trewthe will not despyse,	2395 2399
and Courts of Appeal.	Prenotaryes / to haue / I the Advyse : ne that the Iuges / Corrupt of entent, Ageyn Iustice / gyf the Iugement.	2401

[fol. 58 a.]

Of the governaunce of Bataylle.¹

(344)

Do not fight in person.	F Erthere Alysauudre / be-hold for thyn awayl, That to thyn hihenesse / it is Conuenient, Not to contvne / werre and bataylle ; In thy persone / Conceyve myn entent, ffor Coveitise or envye / to make busschement, Or foly to fight / for presumptuousnesse, Is thyng temerarye / and noon manlynesse.	2402 2406 2408
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(345)

Find out the popular opinion of men;	Off thy Court / look thou be dilligent, ffor to here / the Comoun Oppinyoun, Thy men of Armys / dispreyse not of entent ; But of me / lerne this conclusyoun,	2409 2413
encourage your soldiers;	Gyf them fair speche / behete them warysoun, And to bataylle / entre not sodeynly,	2415
be well armed.	but thow haue Armvre / and wepne necessary.	2415

(346)

Vpon thy Enemy / renne not sodeynly, ne dispurveyed / dreede not for to flee, What tyme thou art / besegyld traytourly,	2416
---	------

¹ In margin of MS.

- ffor dysworshiþe / to thy magnanymyte,
 It is noon / lerne this of me ; 2420
- Keep wel thyn Oost / and the logge al dayes,
 Nyhe to hillys / watrys and woodyes.¹ 2422
- (347)
- Haue also greet / Aboundaunce of vitaylle, 2423 [fol. 58 b.]
 Moore than the nedith / be lyklynnesse ;
 ffreshe trompetys / greetly doon awaylle,
 Which to fight / gif greet hardynesse,
 Strengthe, vertu / Loye and lightnesse, 2427
 Vnto the Oost / which is On thy partye,
 And the meny / discourte / of thy Enemye. 2429
- (348)
- Be not al tymes / Armyd Oon Armvre, 2430
 look thou be kept / wel / with good Archeerys,
 Summe of thy people / to stand fix and sure,
 Othir to Renne vpon / to destroy Arblasteerys,
 ffair bebestys / wyl make fel as steerys, 2434
 Wherfore whan thou shalt / entre the bataylle,
 Thy people to Courte / greetly doth awaylle. 2436
- (349)
- ffle al hastynesse / in especial chydyng, 2437
 And if thorough tresorn / constreyned thou be to flee,
 To haue good hors / swift of Rennyng,
 Doth aparteyne / to thyn excellent dignitee,
 Which Save thyn Oost / shal and also thee, 2441
 ffor thy conservacioun / yf thou resort,
 To alle the puissaunce / gevith greet comfort. 2443
- (350)
- And yif thy Enemyes / gynne for to fle,
 Chase them not / ovir hastely, 2444 [fol. 59 a.]
 Holde al tyme / togidre thy meyne,
 Which shal Cause / the haue victory :
 Engynes to haue / is special remedy, 2448
 Yif thou assaylle / wyl Castel or tour,
 With maystryes to myne / and special socour. 2450

¹

¹alway

nygh hilles, watirs / & woodyes if y^u may.—14408.

(351)

poison or destroy their walls;	There watrys destroye / or ellys envemyne,	2451
	Expert in language / haue explotourys,	
have skilled spies.	Them to be-traye / be sum Sotil Engyne,	
	And to knowe / alle ther labourys,	
	A poynt of werre / thoughe vndir flourys,	2455
	Of peynted language / reste the scorpionn,	
	ffor a traytour / to be-traye is no tresoun.	2457

(352)

	Lerne this Conclusyoun / folwe my doctrine,	2458
	In poyntes of werre / take thyn awayl,	
It is better to get what is wanted without war.	And yif thou may / thorough grace which is dyvyne,	
	With oute werre / take hede to my Coznsayl,	
	Gete thyn Entent / or withe oute batayl,	2462
	Off thyn Enmyes / thou owyst, as sey clerkys,	
	ffor werre shulde be / the laste of thy werkys. ¹	2464

[fol. 59 b.]

Of the Crafft of physynomye, and the ymage of ypocras.

(353)

	F Erthere I wyl / thou knowe in this partye,	2465
	the excellent science / celestial and divine,	
Philomon, discoverer of physi- ognomy:	ffounde be philomon / I mene phisonomye,	
	Be which thou shalt / folwyng my doctryne,	
	knowe disposicioyn / in ech degree and signe,	2469
the use of the science.	Of al thy peple / by polityk prudence,	
	Which folwe sensuallyte / and which intelligence.	2471

(354)

	The qualitees to enserge / and ther naturys,	2472
	With othir Crafftys / which that be secrete,	
	Poweer of planetys / in al Creaturys,	
	Dyfformacioyns / of Circes and medee,	
	lokyng in facys / lerne this of mee,	2476
	And of membrys / to se proporcioyn,	
	Off ech wyght / declaryth the disposicioyn.	2478

(355)

	In this science / philomon Expert was,	2479
	And in al partyes / of philosophie,	
	In whoos tyme / Regnyd ypocras,	

¹ Ar. 59. and Harl. 2251 conclude here.

- Expert in phesyk / and Astronomy,
 Off whom for purpos / and ffantasye, 2483 How Hippo-
 To preve philomon / in his Iugement, ciples tried
 disciples of ypocras / thus did of entent. Philomon
 2485
- (356)
- Of moost wyse ypocras / they put in picture, 2486 [fol. 60 a.]
 The ymage / in ech proporcioyn, with a
 And to philomon / they Offryd that ffigure, picture of
 hym be-sechyng / the disposicioyn, Hippocrates,
 them to telle / with qualitees and condicioyn, 2490
 Of that man / by his experyence, 2492
 Whoos figure they / hadde there in presence.
- (357)
- Power of planetys / and Ek the sterrys, 2493 asking his
 And of every / hevenly intelligence, judgment.
 Disposicioyn of pees / and Ek of werryys,
 And of ech strange / othir science,
 As the sevene goddys / by ther influence, 2497
 Or of natural body / the transmutacioyn,
 Of which he droof / this conclusyoun. 2499
- (358)
- This man he Seide / of natural resoun, 2500 He answered
 Was a disceyvour / lovyng lecherye, that he was
 ffor which the disciples / in that sesoun, deceitful and
 hym to destroye / purpoosyd ffynally, lecherous.
 And hym rebukying / with woordys of velony, 2504 When they
 They seide "ffool / this ymage prentyd was, rebuked him
 Afftir the ffigure / of moost wyse ypocras." angrily,
 2506
- (359)
- This wyse philisoffre / of greet providence, 2507 [fol. 60 b.]
 Wel disposed / seyng on this maneer,
 With this Resoun / stood at his diffence,
 And seide "this ymage / Sovereyn and entieer,
 Is of ypocras / ffigure bright and Cleer, 2511 he answered
 Wherfore I gaff yow / not enformacioyn that he told
 Of Actual dede / but disposicioyn." not of deed,
 2513 but of natural
 dispositton,
- (360)
- The Answere yove / they passyd his presence, 2514
 And to ypocras / yove relacioyn,

- how they hadde attemptyd / the science
 Off wyse philomon / for his disposicioun,
 which Hip- Which conceyving / his owne Complexioun, 2518
 pocrates ac- Seide it was trewe / be lyknesse,
 knowledged to be true: Al that of hym / philomon did expresse. 2520
- (361)
- ffor this dere sone / I wryte in this partye, 2521
 Rewlys abreggyd / and sufficient
 therefore In the science / of phisonomye,
 kings should learn physi- Which to perceyve / looke thou be dilligent
 gnomny. In alle dowtys / which wyl the Content, 2525
 To nature, perteynyng / in substance,
 And atwen qualitees / make disseverance. 2527
- (362)
- [fol. 61 a.] In sentence breeff / to wryte to thyn honour, 2528
 And exclude / al superfluyte,
 Avoid washy- Man which is / feble of Colour
 looking men. ffor thyn avayl / looke that thou flee,
 ffor he is pleynty / tak heed vnto me, 2532
 To leccerye disposed / be nature and kynde,
 And othir evelys / many as I ffynde. 2534
- (363)
- Choose a man Man which lawleth / with wyl and herte, 2535
 who laughs heartily. Just stedfast, and trewe is of nature,
 The signs of One Who Oute of thy presence / whych wyl not sterte,
 loves you personally. But to be-holde / the deliteth in sure,
 Reed, shamedfast / witty and demevre, 2539
 Which with teerys / and syhyng makith moone,
 Whan thou hym blamyst / loughth thy persone. 2541
- (364)
- Do not trust As froom thy Enemy / fle his presence, 2542
 deformed persons, Which a-complyshed / in membrys Organychall
 Is not / and noote this sentence,
 ffor avayl / of thy excellence Royal :
 ffroom hym that is / looke thou ffal, 2546
 or marked Markyd in visage / for lerne this Conclusyoun,
 on the face. he is disceyvable / by disposicioun. 2548

(365)

Best of Complexioun / to ech Creature,	2549	[fol. 61 b.]
Is to be / breefly to expresse,		
Wel proporciownyd / and meene stature,		Description
In eyen and heerys / havynge blaknesse,		of a good
Colour meene / atwen whyte and Reednesse;	2553	appearance;
Visage rounde / boody hool and right,		
With meenesse of the heed / is good in ech wyght.	2555	

(366)

Meene in voys / nouthir to hih nor baas	2556	of the voice,
In moche speche / which doth noon Offence,		
Spekith in tyme / and doth no trespaa		
vnto the Eerys / of the Audience,		
Conveith his mateer / be resoun and prudence,	2560	
In ech Circumstaunce / vsith discrecioun,		
Suych a man / is best of complexioun.	2562	

(367)

Eerys pleyn and soffite doon signeffye	2563	of the ears,
Man to be boxom / Curteys and kynde,		
Coold of brayn / trewth to speeffye,		
And the Contrarye / conserve this in mynde,		
As Eerys sharpe / and thykke, as I ffynde,	2567	
Be evident toknys / and signes palpable,		
Of a fool / nyce and varyable.	2569	

(368)

Off heer also / whoo hath greete quantite	2570	[fol. 62 a.]
On wombe and breest / he is, I the sure,		of the hair,
Good of condicioons / in ech signe and gre,		
Merveyllous of complexioun / and singuleer in nature,		
In whoos herte / longe doth endure	2574	
Thyng a-geyn Resoun / doo vnfeithfully		
To his Rebuke / shame or velony.	2576	

(369)

Heerys blake / shewe rightwysnesse	2577	black hair,
In a man / and love and resoun,		
The rede also / be signe of floolynesse,		red hair,
lak of providence / and discrecioun,		
Of fretyng wretthe / with Onte Occasyoun,	2581	

	And Colour a-twen both / to speke breefly Of pesable man / is signe and witty.	2583
	(370)	
large eyes,	And he that hath / Eeyen Out of mesure Ovir greeete / with oute proporcioun, He is in voys / of kynde and nature, Slaw, vnshamefast / with oute subieccioun ; A-twen bothe / which kepe dymencioun,	2584 2588
colour of eyes,	Of Colour browñ / nouthir blak nor whyte, Curteys trewe / and konnyng be of right.	2590
	(371)	
[fol. 62 b.] long eyes,	Eeyen longe / and extendid visage, Signe be / of malice and Envy ; Dul of cheer / which lyst nat to rage, But as the Asse / evir casteth his Eeye To the Erthe / tak heed of this partye : He is a fool / malicious, vntretable, Hard of kynde / and not sociable.	2591 2595 2597
	(372)	
shifty eyes.	Eeyen also / which be lightly mevyng, visage long / with oute mesure, Off hasty man / vntrewe and levyng, Be signes Evident / and tooknys I the sure ; Colour reed / Causyd of blood pure, Is signe of strengthe / and greet manlynesse, Which to fight / gevith greet hardynesse.	2598 2602 2604
	(373)	
Spots round the eyes the very worst sign.	But of this mateere / looke thou heede take, That werst signe / in disposiocioun Is whan spottys / reede, whyte, or blake, Mannys Eeyes / doo enviroon, Werst of othir / with oute comparysoun ; And whoo so heer / thykke doth bere On the browys / is a shrewd spekere.	2605 2609 2611
Thick eye- brows.		
	(374)	
[fol. 63 a.] the eyebrows,	fferthere, whoo hath / moche heer dependyng A-twene the browes / is a shrewd signe, Browys large / to templys / eeh strecchyng,	2612

Signe of hym / that falsnesse wyl mayntyne ;	
Which keepe meene / tak heed of my doctryne,	2616
And in mooche heer / be not Aboindyng,	
Evident signe be / of good vnderstandyng.	2618
(375)	
Noote this mateer / Entitle it Redily,	2619
long noose / streechyng vnto the mouth,	long noses,
Tokne is of man / boold and hardy,	
And he that hath / the nature that is vnkouth,	
Cammyd nose / bore in north or south,	2623 canuse nose,
With gristil of nose / litel redily,	
Is some wroth / hoot and hasty.	2625
(376) ¹	
fferthere take heed / to my doctryne,	2626
large nose in myddys / which doth vp ryse,	large hooked nose.
Of a lyere / and greet spekyng is signe,	
As Oold philisoffres / Clerly doth devise ;	
But best he is / in ech maner wyse.	2630
That nose-thrylles / ne ² nose, I the hete,	
Ovir litel hath / ne Ovir greete.	2632
(377)	
In this mateere / ferthere to procede,	2633 [fol. 63 v.]
And it Entitle / vnto thy good grace,	
Moo of membrys / to the it is nede	
Propirtees to knowe / in special of the fface,	
Dirk ignorauce / away which wyl chace ;	2637
Which plat and pleyn / though it be specious,	
Is signe Evident / of man Envious.	2639 An envious face.
(378)	
Signes be / for ful conclusyoun,	2640
As in wrytyng / philisoffres seyn,	
Whan face kepith / dew proporcioyn,	
These dymencioans / he kepith in certeyn,	
Not engrosyd / nouthir ovir pleyn,	2644 A well-pro- portioned face.
Jawys and templys / in mene vp-rysyng,	
Which signe is / of witt / and greet vnderstandyng.	2646

¹ Not in Lausl. 285.

² 'the' in MS.

(379)

The voice,	Meene in voys / neythir to grete nor smalle,	2647
	Signe is of trewthē / and rightwysnesse,	
	Whoo spekith soone / or ony man hym calle	
	Is vnresounable / as philisoffres expresse :	
	Greet voys / signe of hastynesse,	2651
	Greet sownyng / Envyous and Angry,	
	ffair and hih / of wyldenesse and ffooly.	2653

(380)

[fol. 64 a.]	Considre / Alysaundre / be dilligent labour,	2654
moving of hands,	Whoo in talkyng / Conceyve what I mene,	
	Handys doth meve / is a disceyvoir,	
	He stant stable / from these is pure and clene ;	
small neck,	With nekke to smal / in <i>proporciozn</i> whoo be sene	2658
	Is a fool / ovir short / disceyvable,	
	And ovir gross / A lyeer detestable.	2660

(381)

"good round belly,"	And he that hath / wombe greet withoute mesure,	2661
	Proud, lecherous, is / and vnprudēt,	
	breest greet, and shuldrys / large insure,	
well shaped body,	With bak wel shape / be signes Evidēt	
	Of many wourthy / wys and providēt,	2665
	Good of vnderstandyng / hardy to fight,	
	Who hath the Contrary / is noyous to ech wyght.	2667

(382)

long arms,	Armys longe / strecchyng to the knee,	2668
	Tokne of wysdam / is and hardynesse ;	
sharp shoulders,	Shuldrys sharpe / I mene not reysed with slevys,	
	Off evyl feith / is lyklynesse,	
long fingers,	longe fyngerys / trewthē to expresse,	2672
	Crafftys to lerne / yevith <i>disposiciozn</i> ,	
	In Especial / of manual <i>Operaciozn</i> .	2674

(383)

[fol. 64 b.]	He that hath ffyngres / greet and shoort	2675
thick short fingers,	Is disposed / noote this doctryne,	
	To be a fool / nyce in his dispoort ;	
great feet,	Whoo hath greet feet / vntrewthe wyl mayntyne,	
small feet	litel and light / been evidēt signe	2679

That he is hard / of vnderstanding, And smale leggyes / be tokne of symple konnyng.	2681	and legs,
(384)		
Of leggyes and helys / be tokenyth largenesse Mighty to be / in strength of body ;	2682	
In knees also / trewth to expresse, He that is ovir / moche flesshy,		knees.
Is soffte and feble / lerne this naturally ; Whoo hath litel / is evil of wyl,	2686	
In al thynges / hasty with oute skyl.	2688	
(385)		
To al vertu / disposed, and science, Good and kynde / of Complexioun,	2689	
Is a man / havynge in sentence Signes twelve / be computacioun ; fleshe soffte / of disposioun,	2693	Twelve signs of a good man.
Or meenely sharp / and of mene stature. Twen whyte and Reed / in Colour kepith mesure.	2695	
(386)		
Swete of look / and the Eerys pleyn, Eyen menely / grete be mesure,	2696	[fol. 65 a.]
The heed not greet / but a-twen tweyn, Moche and litel / is good I the sure ; Nekke sufficient / and of good stature,	2700	
Whos shuldrys bowe / a litel mesurably, In leggis nor kneeys / be not moche flesshy.	2702	
(387)		
Cleer of voys / and eke mesurable, Palmys and ffyngrys / longe in suffysaunce, Skornys to vse / is not comendable, lawhyng visage / is good in daliaunce, vsyd in mene / With dew Circumstaunce ; ffor afftir the mateer / requerith audience, So contaunce to shewe / is good providence.	2703 2707 2709	
(388)		
Be oon in-sight / deme no man to soone, In sentence breff / folwe my doctryne, ffor hasty demyng / where men haue to doone,	2710	Note all the members,

and do not
draw con-
clusions from
one alone.

Of improvidence / is evident signe ;
And this book / breffly to termyne, 2714
In oon membir / for ful conclusyoun,
nevir deme / manny's disposicioun. 2716

(389)

[fol. 65 b.] Behoold al¹ signes / give aduertence, 2717
Which moost aboundyn / to se is avaylable,
And in mynde / by polityk prudence,
nombre of them / which be most profitable.
In party best / and moost Amyable, 2721
Which the myt graunte² the lord moost imperial
Explicit.² Aboue al hevenys / Supra celestial. Amen. 2723

(390)

Lenvoye.² Goo litel book / and mekely me excuse, 2724
To alle thoo that / shal the seen or rede,
Yf ony man / thy Rudnesse lyst accuse,
Make no diffence / but with lowlyhede
Pray hym refourme¹ wher as he seth nede : 2728
To that entent / I do the forth directe,
Wher thou faylest / that men shal the correcte. 2730

¹ 'of' MS.² Not in this MS

NOTES.

p. 1, l. 1. This Introduction is taken advantage of by some to insert the name of the king by whose orders the translation is made. Thus Shirley dedicates his translation to Henry VI, and the French translation in the king's library, printed in 1489, is dedicated to Charles VIII. The first twenty lines are Lydgate's summary of the duties of a king, founded on a couple of lines in the original, "Deus omnipotens custodiat regem nostrum ad gloriam credentium, et confirmet regnum suum ad tuendam legem divinam suam, et perdurare faciat ipsum ad exaltandum honorem et laudem bonorum."

ll. 1—300 represent the prologue in the Arabic version, with the exception of 211—231, which are due to a mistake in some Latin MSS., which substitute the name of Philip of Paris for Jahja ibn al Batrik.

p. 1, l. 8. *The lord* = God.

p. 1, l. 20. 'In your desire this processe for to here.'—*Ass. of Lad.* 27.

'I make an ende of this proses.'—*B. D. s. M.* 848.

'And shortly of this processe for to pace.'—*Leg. Ariadne* 29.

'What wise I should perform the said processe

Considiryng by gode avisement

My unconnyng and my grete simplenesse

And ayenward the straite commaundement.'—*B. D. s. M.* 158.

'Of this processe now forth will I procede.'

Balade In Feverere 22.

'Takith at gre,' 'To take at gre.'—*T. of Glas* 1085.

p. 1, l. 21. 'By ther favour and supportacioun

To take in gre this rude Translacioun.'—*B. D. s. M.* 840.

'Accept in gre this lital short tretesse.'—*C. of L.* 28.

rudness of my style.

'Thy rude langage full boystonsly unfold.'—*F. and L.* 595.

p. 1, l. 24. 'Voyde of Elloquence.'

'With tinerous herte & trembling hand of drede

Of cunning nakid, bare of eloquence.'—*C. of L.* 1.

'Destitute

Of Eloquence.'—*B. D. s. M.* 842.

p. 2, l. 33. *digne* refers to *book* in 31.

p. 2, l. 46. The Arabic and most Latin versions have 'bicornis' or 'duo cornua habuisse dicitur.' The two horns are due to the two horns with which his God-father Ammon is represented. See *Wars of Alexander*, p. 10. Ed. E. E. T. S.

p. 3, l. 77. Lydgate's text only justified him in saying that some of the philosophers had counted Aristotle a prophet.

p. 4, l. 89. *Vukouth and strange*, 'extranea opera.' See l. 219.

'Uncouth and straung.'—*Ch. Dream.* 1427.

p. 4, l. 98. *dowe*. Lat. 'columna,' which in some MSS. is *columba*. Fr. *columbe*. Shirley, *culvour*. This opinion is attributed to the peripatetics.

p. 4, l. 104. *Al hool the world*, a common use. See l. 196, &c.

'All whole in governance.—*C. of L.* 373.

'Had whole achievid th' obeysaunce.—*Ch. Dr.* 2.

'Whole your thought.—*Ch. Dr.* 498.

p. 4, l. 110. *The Round bal*. When was the orb introduced as a royal sign?

Septemtrijoun. Several MSS. speak of Alexander, 'qui dominatus fuit toti orbi, dictusque monarcha in Septentrione.' I don't see why 'in septentrione.'

p. 4, l. 112. *vij Clymatys*. The world was divided into seven climates by ancient geographers, such as Ptolemy. These were divisions answering to the length of the longest day. Thus the first climate was from the Equator to where the longest day was 12 hrs. 45 mins., and was named the Climate of Merões. The second was called from Syenes, the longest day was 13¼ hrs.; the third from Alexandria, 13¾ hrs.; the fourth Rhodes, 14¼ hrs.; the fifth Rome, 14¾ hrs.; the sixth from the Black Sea, 15¼ hrs.; and the seventh, North Germany, 15¾ hrs., the rest of the world being reputed uninhabitable. The climates south of the Equator were called anti-Meröen, &c. &c. However, more modern writers divide the space between the Equator and the Arctic Circle in twenty-four climates, allowing a half-hour difference of longest day to each climate. See *Cluverij, Introductione in Universam Geographiam*, Lib. VII.; *Amst. Elz.* 1659. 12^o p. 22; *Borrihaus in Cosmographiæ Elementa*. *Bos.* 1555. 8^o p. 121, &c. &c.

p. 5, l. 113. *gruchyng*. 'Grutching in no wyse.—*C. of L.* 960.

'Withoutin grutchinge or rebellion.—*Pilgrim.* 183 b; *Troy-Book*, Bb₄ d; *Comp. of Bk. Kt.* 554; *L. Lady* f₁ a; *T. of Glou.* 424, 879.

p. 5, l. 147. *the fyn of ther entent*.

'The fine of his entente.—*T. and C.* iii. 125.

p. 5, l. 150. *magnanymite*. This expresses a quality not readily expressible in English. Cf. Freeman's *History of William Rufus*. These were men 'quorum actiones in regiam potentiam directæ sunt.'

p. 6, l. 155. Lydgate alters his text, which expresses a desire to slay them.

p. 6, l. 160. The text might equally well be *Jupartye*, but it seems to me that the sense of *imparting* information would do better. The other texts are little guide to what Lydgate would write. The English is, 'But only thou certifië vs bi thi lettres, as thou seemest most spedfulle vnto vs'; the Latin is, 'Quidquid igitur super hoc decreveris, nobis significa tuis scriptis'; the Arabic is, 'What do you advise in this matter?'

p. 6, l. 164. Lydgate here entirely misapprehends the sense of his text, which is that if Alexander can change the air and water of that land, and the disposition of their states, then he was to fulfil his intention: meaning, 'since you can't change the nature of the country, govern it by kindness.'

p. 6, l. 166. An allusion to the spheres of the elements. See quotation in note on line 551. They were supposed to lie immediately round the earth, which was the sphere of earth, then came air, then water, and outside that fire. Then followed the planetary spheres. But *Bart. Anq. de Prop. Rerum* puts it otherwise; see my *Medieval Lore* for some account of medieval astronomy according to him.

p. 7, l. 186. *wynges*. A favourite Middle Age symbol for the protection of a king, &c., derived from Scriptural sources. See l. 324, 'wynges of humble Obedyence.'

p. 7, l. 204. Freinsheim, in his supplement to *Quintus Curtius*, Lib. I., cap. iii., had this in mind when he wrote 'Eam autem Philosophiæ partem, quæ sibi aliis que probe imperare docet, ita coluit, ut magnanimitate, prudentia, temperantia, fortitudine, quam armis et opibus instructor, tantam imperii Persici molem sribuere aggressus censeatur.'

p. 7, l. 210. The mistake of attributing this to Philip of Paris arises from a shortened Latin copy, which put Philip of Tripoli's heading, and omitted his dedicatory letter to Bishop Guido. Paris seems to have been arrived at from reading the contracted form of 'Patricii' as 'Parisii.' There is no Philip of Paris who can be found likely to have had anything to do with this work.

p. 7, l. 220. *sugryd enspyred Elloquence.* See l. 376.

'A word of sugrid eloquence.'—*C. of L.* 933.

'Of Tullius had the sugrid eloquence.'

Lydgate's balade of good conseil 100.

'sugred dytees.'—*Troy-Book* G₅ a.

'sugred eloquence.'—*Troy-Book* K₃ d.

'The sugred language.'—*Falls of Pr.* 163 d.

p. 8, l. 224. *Tullius gardyn.*

'The blosomes fresh of Tullius gardein sote.'—*C. of L.* 8.

p. 8, l. 227. *wakir goos.* *Parl. Fowles*, st. 52.

p. 8, l. 232. Lines 232 to 301 are repeated, 603—37 more compactly. The Arabic very curiously represents Jahja ibn al Batrik as searching all the temples of the *Egyptians*. The differences between the two versions show us Lydgate getting over the ground, or pausing to amplify every thought, and the results.

p. 8, l. 246. *Cupydes ffyr*, learning under the guise of love.

p. 8, l. 249. *Cytheroes tonne.* Is this a reference to the vats of sweet and bitter, of which each of us may take one? 'licour.'

'O auriate licour of Clio! to write.'—*Balade in comendacioun*, &c., 13.

p. 9, ll. 250-5, 59, 282, &c. Here the mention of the temple of the sun leads him to use the sun as a metaphor for knowledge.

'3oure stremes clere.'—*T. of Glas* 1342.

'And Phebus with his bemis clere.'—*In praise of women*, l. 26.

p. 10, l. 301. *Chalde.* Syriac. The Arabic calls it 'recent' (Roman), but gives no hint as to the leader of the faithful the translation was made for.

p. 10, l. 302. This stanza is Lydgate speaking for himself, and introducing the prolog of Philip of Tripoli.

p. 10, l. 309. ll. 310-11 depend on *hym*, 312 *et seq.* follow *drough*.

p. 10, l. 314. *Celestial*, a rather badly chosen epithet.

p. 11, l. 317. *Covaleuce.* Lydgate makes Valence into Covaleuce, for the sake of the verse.

p. 11, l. 318. Metropolitan is a misreading of Tripolitanus. Some poor MSS. have 'tropol,' which Lydgate might have conjectured into Metropolitanæ.

p. 11, l. 319, is substantially repeated in 327.

p. 11, l. 321. The seven sciences are Mathematics, Geometry, Astronomy, Music, Ethics, Physics and Metaphysics. The seven arts are Grammar, Dialectics and Rhetoric (the trivium), and Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy (the quadrivium), but the distinction was lost in Lydgate's time. The seven arts are characters in the *Court of Sapience*. See l. 1527. There were also seven prohibited arts, and seven mechanic arts—Lanificium, Armatura, Navigatio, Agricultura, Venatio, Medicina, and Theatrica.

- p. 11, l. 322. *Phillipus*, not of Paris, but of Tripoli.
- p. 11, l. 331. *Astouyd*. Astond—not Astonied—fixed, firm.
- p. 11, l. 334. *With quakyng penne*, &c., a favourite Lydgate phrase.
 ‘Quakith my penne—my spirit supposeth,
 That in my writing ye find woll offence.’
Mother of norture, 50-1, and see *T. of Glas*.
- p. 11, l. 337. *I have no Colour but oonly Chalk & sable*.
 ‘or colouris of rhetorike.’—*H. of F.* ii. 351.
- p. 11, ll. 341-8. *lych as the moone passith a smal sterre*.
 ‘As of light the somer somme shene
 Passeth the sterre.’—*Parl. of F.* 299.
 ‘As the somer somme
 Passeth the sterre with his bemes shene.’
Flour of C. 113; *T. of Glas* 251, 252.
- p. 11, l. 343. *Arthurus and the sterrys scene*. The Pole star Arcturus and the Great Bear. This is higher in the scheme of spheres than the seven planets.
- p. 11, l. 347. *ferrent as the glode*.
 ‘A thousande sighis hottir than the glode.’—*T. and C.* iv. 337.
- p. 12, l. 352. *Ceryously*, unusual for ‘in series.’
- p. 12, l. 372. The next seventy lines Lydgate builds on the following—
 ‘Allhuc in in scientis liberalibus literalissimus, in Ecclesiasticis et legibus peritissimus, in divinis et moralibus doctissimus.’ One shudders to think what might have been if he had gone through the whole work in this way.
- p. 12, l. 378. Like Chrysostom.
- p. 13, l. 384. Perhaps Lydgate had in mind the famous Aurora, a medieval compendium of divinity by Peter of Riga, a canon of Rheims (1209), and combined this reminiscence with the meaning of daybreak.
- p. 13, l. 397. The same metaphor of Phebus for clearness, &c., as in ll. 250. &c.
- p. 14, l. 414. *the hervely influence* was the favourable aspect of the stars.
 ‘The seven planets discending fro the spheres
 Whiche hath powir of al thing generable
 To rule and stere by ther gret influence
 Wedir & wind, and course variable.’—*Test. of Cres.* 147.
- p. 14, l. 424. Seven Wells of Philosophy. Who first used this figure?
- p. 14, l. 430. See l. 722.
- p. 14, l. 431. Lucan was one of the most popular poets in medieval times, due perhaps to his supernatural machinery and to the subject. He is one of the pillars in the *House of Fame*, iii. 407—16.
- p. 14, l. 442. Antioch in Greece.
- p. 14, l. 444. The Latin speaks of ‘this most precious pearl of philosophy.’ Lydgate likes a ruby better.
 ‘Geme of beaute! O earboncle shining pure!’—*Craft of Lovers* 33.
 ‘No rube riche of price.’—*C. of Love* 78.
 ‘A fyn charboncle sette saugh I,
 The stone so clere was and so bright,
 That, also soone as it was nyght,
 Men myghte seen to go for nede
 A myle or two, in lengthe and brede.’—*Rom. of Rose*.
- Neckham and Bartholomew also speak of its shining at night. See l. 552.
- p. 14, l. 447. The assonance ‘sent of assent.’

p. 15, l. 454. *humble Affeccyoun*. There is nothing of the modern sense of affection here. It is humble disposition, 'cupiens humiliter obedire.'

p. 15, l. 459. A Lydgate sentiment, taken from wood-cutting,—a dangerous and unhandy way of working, 'Yet since there were but few copies ever among the Arabs themselves, he would try to translate it.'

p. 15, l. 469. *magnanymyte*, mistake for 'magnitudinem,' your greatness.

p. 15, l. 476. This rubric is put in without any reason; the next few stanzas are a continuation of Philip of Tripoli's prologue.

p. 16, ll. 477—483. These lines are manifestly worthless. They have neither beginning nor end, and do not join to the next. Evidently put here by Burgh because there was no other place but l. 638 perhaps.

p. 16, l. 485. *a purpose take*, &c., 'took a purpose.' l. 486 is in a parenthesis. The Latin is, 'Qui postulavit ab eo, ut ad ipsum veniret et secreta quarundam artium sibi fideliter revelaret, videlicet motum, operationem et potestatem astrorum in astronomia, et artem alchemie in natura, et artem cognoscendi naturas, et operandi incantationes et celimantiam et geomantiam.'

p. 16, l. 491. See p. 79, ll. 2493—2498, where the lines are used again.

p. 16, ll. 491-3, are references to the astrological part of Alexander's secrets.

p. 16, l. 495. The seven gods are the seven planets. It is a part of Lydgate's learning to put them under this form.

The process of incantations in Lydgate's time was long and interesting. Suppose, for example, you want to bring anybody to a violent death, you will then want to call up the Evil Spirit of Mars. Get yourself up as a priest, or at least in clean linen vestments; prepare a pentacle, and trace it out with a consecrated sword; mark in the corners a number of sacred emblems, and then commence by asking God's blessing on the work. Then get a friend with you to read the proper lesson, and call up all the good spirits of the day to be near you. Then conjure Mars to appear under any form he thinks fit. If he is coming you will see a burning flame approach you, thunder and lightning will surround the circle, he will roar like mad bulls, and have stag's horns and griffin's claws. At last he will appear, either as an armed king riding on a wolf, or a woman holding a shield on her thigh, or a goat, or a horse, or a stag, or a red cloak, or as wool, or some one of a number of other shapes. Then command him to do what you will, and then order him to go quietly. Perhaps he won't, and then you have to pile on the imprecations till he is frightened. Very likely, however, he may not become visible at all, but don't think he is not there. If you leave your pentacle unwarily, you will most likely be torn to pieces. The safest thing to do is to keep on conjuring him till he comes, and then to send him away. Then you have to call all the good spirits you can to your aid, and when you feel you have sufficient near you, to leave the place and get home. Of course you have to choose a favourable spot. Near an old execution ground, or battlefield, is the best one for Mars. Some authors recommend making another pentacle beside your own, and conjuring the spirit into that, but then there is quite literally the devil to pay when you let him out.

'Sith that I se the brighte goddis seven.'—*Visage without paintynq*.

See *Test. of Cres.* 147 (note on l. 414).

'Gan thankin tho the blissful goddis seven.'—*T. and C.*, iii. 1203.

'And clerkis eke which conuin well

All this magike hight Naturell,

That craftily doe ther ententes

To maken in certain ascendentes,' &c.—*II. of Fame*, iii. 175.

p. 16, l. 497. The seven metals date from the earliest times. They are electrum (a natural alloy of gold and silver, counting as one of them), gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, and lead. Proclus, in his commentary on the *Timæus*, refers some metals to the planets: gold to the sun, silver to the moon, lead to Saturn, and iron to Mars. Olympiodorus (see *Fab. Bibl. Græc.*, V. vi.) gives the complete list: electrum to Jupiter, copper to Venus, tin to Hermes, and the others as above. When it was perfectly clear that electrum was not a metal, but an alloy, tin was assigned to Jupiter, and quicksilver was appropriated to Mercury. There does not seem to have been much distinction made between brass and copper in early times—probably they had no pure copper, but such as was found native.

p. 16, l. 498. This line repeated, l. 2473.

p. 16, l. 499. Calculations and Geomancy. Calculations were such things as our wheel of fortune, fortune-telling cards, &c. Geomancy was originally the scattering of grains of sand on the ground, and afterwards came to the scattering of blots on a sheet of paper from a pen. There were sixteen shapes to which these blots were approximated, such as Journey, Prison, Girl, Boy, Head, Fortune, &c. &c.—*H. C. Agrippæ de Oc. Phil.*, II. xlvi.

The most modern form of geomancy is tea-cup tossing, an art not lost in our womankind of the middle class.

p. 16, l. 500. See l. 2475. A Chaucer line, *K. T.* 1086.

p. 16, l. 501. Looking on faces, Physiognomy. See the story of Democritus and the maid.

Piromancy is Pyromancy, the art of prediction from fire, not only from comets, &c., but also glows in coals, and rushes of fire. There were four leading sorts of divination, 'Varro dicit divinationis quatuor esse genera, terram, aquam, aërem, signem.'—*Isidore Orig.*, VIII. 9.

Geomancy included originally the art of divination from earth tremblings, as hydromantia and aeromantia were presages from water and air respectively. These are added by Lydgate to Philip's list.

p. 17, l. 512. One does not exactly see the bearing of 'writing word.' Otherwise the remark is a commonplace of the doctrine of signatures, beginning then to be of great importance.

p. 17, l. 516. Cast. Cf. 'Cast about.'

p. 17, l. 518. *sette his herte at Ese.*

'yet sette mine herte in rest.'—*C. of L.* 1022.

'that maie her herte appese.'—*C. of L.* 397.

'In this mattir to set your herte in pese.'—*B. D. s. M.* 252.

p. 17, ll. 519—588, seem to have been composed as a sort of general summary of Lydgate's, probably sent to some person with a view to awakening curiosity as to the scope of the book. At any rate they do not come in here, and are founded partly, as ll. 988—1008 are, on cap. 67 of the Latin version.

p. 17, l. 527. The mysteries Lydgate here speaks of are such as are preserved for us by Albertus Magnus in the translations made for him from the Arabic in his *Liber Aggregationis*, of the virtues of herbs, stones, and animals. He treats first of the occult virtues of sixteen plants, and further of seven more attributed to the seven planets by Alexander the emperor, but not included in the *Secreta Secretorum*. The second book treats of the virtues of stones, of which he names forty-six, and his third treats of eighteen animals. There are very few stories of the use of fish in magic. Tobit's fish is almost unique.

p. 17, l. 530. These stones were at first compounds used in medicine; then in the time of the *Secreta*, or soon after, became theoretical expositions of alchemy, and then seemed to have been refined away. I have no doubt but that originally compounds were made from these three sources, animal, vegetable, and mineral, *e. g.* bezoar, coral, &c.; and, even in the 17th century, we find continually that people were compounding mixtures out of dung, with the idea of getting the elixir out of it. Later on, stone in alchemy did not mean stone, but compound.

p. 17, l. 530. 'Tres sunt lapides, et tres sales sunt, ex quibus totum magisterium consistit: Scilicet mineralis, plantalis, & animalis. Et sunt tres aquae, scilicet Solaris, Lunaris, & Mercurialis. Mercurius est minera, Luna planta, quia recipit in se duos colores, albedinem et rubedinem. Et Sol est animalis, quia recipit tria, scilicet constrictionem, albedinem, & rubedinem, & vocatur animal magnum.'—*Rosarium Philosophorum*, p. 259.

The *Secreta Secretorum* only speaks of two stones.

p. 17, l. 535. The word 'Element' does not bear the signification which we now attach to it, of being a presumably primary form of matter, but refers to the ancient division of bodies according to their primary qualities, hot, cold, moist and dry. These qualities could exist two by two in the simplest form of bodies imaginable, as cold and moist, which was then named Water, not as being anything resembling actual water, but because that representing these qualities was a convenient class name.

'Lapis dicitur habere quatuor elementa, quae exponit Arnolfus. Quia cum facta est solutio, dicitur unum elementum, scilicet aqua. Et cum corpus est immundum, dicitur secundum elementum, scilicet terra. Et cum est calcinata dicta terra, dicitur ignis: et cum iterum solutus est lapis, dicitur aer.'—*Rosarium Philosophorum*. (A cento from Arab chemists, not later than 13th century translation) in *Artis Auriferæ*, II., p. 288, Bas. 1572, 8°.

p. 17, l. 536. See notes on ll. 988, *et seq.* Here Lydgate may not mean 'in equal proportions,' but 'in just proportion.'

p. 17, l. 539. 'that men reden in the lapidaire.'—*II. of Fame*, iii. 262.

Many medieval collections circulated under this name. See Marbodius 'de Gemmis,' Evax, Albertus Magnus quoted above, Trithemius, Cardan, Bartholomew Anglicus, Pliny, and many others.

p. 17, l. 541. The relation of Lydgate to the alchemical revival in the reign of Henry VI. The editor has published in *The Antiquary*, Sept. 1891, a number of legal documents and commissions illustrating this revival, from which it is evident that from 1444 to 1480 there was great activity in the study of alchemy. That Lydgate himself, if the ballad is his, knew some alchemists is evident from the following extract from Harl. 2251, 20^{vo}.

'The Alkamystre / tretith of mynaralles
And of metalles / transmutaciouns,
Of sulphur, mercury / Aloms and of sallis,
And of theyre sundry / generaciouns:
What is cause / of theyr coniunxtions,
Why some be cleue / some leperons and nat able,
fixing of spirites / with sublymacions:
Thus every thyng / drawith to his semblable.'

That popular tradition associated alchemy with his name is evident from the prose treatise in Sl. 3708 being attributed to him.

The works of the celebrated alchemist, Raymund Lully, were translated into Latin, from Catalan, in London at the Priory of St. Bartholomew by Lambert G—; and the Editor's copy in MS. gives the date 6th June, 1443. Later on, alchemy grew to such a point that Henry VI. appointed three Royal

Commissions to inquire into the subject, from one of which an extract is given, showing the aim of the alchemy of the time :

1456. 34 H. VI. m. 7.

‘The king, etc., Greeting.

Know ye that in former times wise and famous Philosophers in their writings and books, under figures and coverings, have left on record and taught, that from wine, from precious stones, from oils, from vegetables, from animals, from metals, and the cores of minerals, many glorious and notable medicines can be made : and chiefly, that most precious medicine which some Philosophers have called the Mother and Empress of Medicines ; others have named it the priceless glory, others have called it the Quintessence, others the Philosophers’ Stone and Elixir of Life : of which potion the efficacy is so certain and wonderful, that by it all infirmities whatsoever are easily curable, human life is prolonged to its natural limit, and man wonderfully preserved in health and manly strength both of body and mind, in vigour of limbs, clearness of memory, and perspicacity of talent to the same period : All kinds of wounds, too, which may be cured, are healed without difficulty, and in addition it is the best and surest remedy against all kinds of poisons : with it, too, many other advantages most useful to us and to the Commonwealth of our Kingdome can be wrought, as the transmutation of metals into actual Gold and the finest Silver.’

Archbishop Neville, who died in 1470, was a great supporter of the alchemists : and one of his clients, Sir George Ripley, has left a picture of the false alchemists of the time. It seems that the sanctuary at Westminster was one of their haunting places. Ripley describes how they are hunted about the city of London :

‘Folys doe folow them at the tayle,
Promotyde to ryches wenyng to be ;’

Merchaunts and goldsmiths lay watch for them,

‘Wenyng to wyn so grete trespure
That ever in ryches they shall endure.’

But some lenders would be glad to see their goods again, and arrest the alchemists by the ‘Sarjaunts’ :

‘But when the Sarjaunts do them arrest,
Ther Paukeners be stuffed wyth Parrys balls ;
Or wyth Sygnetts of Seynt Martynes at the lest,
But as for Mony yt ys pyssyd on the walls :
Then be they led as well for them befalls
To Newgate or Ludgate as I you tell,
Because they shall in safeguard dwell.’

Then they are questioned :

“Where ys my Mony becom ?” seyth one,
“And where ys myne ?” seyth he and he.’

And the result is, they talk over their creditors :

‘Dotyng the Merchaunts, that they be fayne
To let them go, but ever in vayne :’

And off they go to Westminster, where the Archdeacon is so good to them :

‘And when they there syt at the wyne,
These Monkys (they sey) have many a pound,
Wolde God (seyth one) that som were myne ;
“Hay hoe, care away, lat the cup go rounde :”
“Drynk on,” seyth another, “the mene ys founde :
I am a Master of that Arte,
I warrant us we shall have parte.”’

And so they do, for the monks believe in them; 'some bring a mazer, and some a spoon'; and Ripley ironically advises the Abbot to support people who know so well how to bring back his monks to the pristine poverty of St. Benedict.

There is some possibility that Burgh himself may have been a student of alchemy in his later years. There is a poem in the *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* of Ashmole, attributed to the Vicar of Malden, which may have been written in the reign of Edward IV. by Burgh, who would be recognized by his best-known work, the *Distichia Mordua*, as Vicar of Malden. Ashmole himself refers the work to an otherwise unknown Andrews.

The *Secreta Secretorum* is alluded to—without showing any knowledge of it—in the Canon's Yeoman's Tale as 'Secree of secreees' (16915). In Chaucer's time no other secrets were thought of but the secrets of alchemy. It would seem that the alchemy of the *Secreta* dates back to an early period, and that it becomes prominent in the English version only because of the suppression of the remainder of the section in which it occurs, which deals with the supernatural properties of gems, and of incantations. It is, quite obviously, purely theoretical; and if it is compared with the work of Djaber Al Koufi (Geber), who wrote on alchemy at about the same time, the distinction is most clearly marked. The Aristotelian division of elements, on which the chapter in this work is founded, is purely a theoretical conception, and no one thought of isolating them in old times, more than a modern expects to isolate the ether of our physical speculations. Yet the crude notion of separating, purifying, and combining these elements is just what a man who wished to introduce the subject into a chapter on marvels would form and put down. On the other hand, if the alchemical notions are cruder, the expectations indulged were less high-flown. Gower, in the 4th book of his *Confessio Amantis* (ii. 86-7, ed. Pauli, 1857), speaks of the three stones thus, and he will explain our author best, as he is but amplifying his words.

'These olde Philosophres wyse,
By wey of kinde in sondry wise;
Thre Stones made through Clergy,
The firste, if I shall specify,
Was cleped *Vegetabilis*;
Of which the propre vertue is,
To mannes hele for to serve,
As for to keepe, and to preserve
The body fro sikenesses alle,
Till deth of kinde upon hym falle.
'The seconde Stone I the behote
Is *Lapis Animalis* hote:
The whose vertue, is propre and conth,
For Ere and Eye, and Nase and Mouth;
Whereof a man may here, and se,
And smelle and taste, in his degre.
And for to fele and for to go,
It helpeth a man, of bothe two:
The wittes five he underfongeth¹
To keepe, as it to hym belongeth.
'The thridde Stone in speciall
by name is cleped *Mincrall*,
Which the Metalles of every mine,
Attempreth, till that thei ben fine;

¹ Undertakes, takes in hand.

And pureth hem by such a wey,
 That all the vice goth away,
 Of Rust, of Styuke, and of Hardnesse;
 And when they ben of such clenness,
 This mineral, so as I finde,
 Transformeth all the firste kinde,
 And maketh hem able to conceive,
 Through his vertue, and receive
 Both in substance and in figure,
 Of Gold and Silver the nature.'

p. 17, l. 544. Much of the practical alchemy of this time was devoted to the fabrication of precious stones.

p. 18, l. 545. A literal quotation from the Latin text.

p. 18, l. 548. *medle of*. Note the Latinism. Some writers have doubted Lydgate's knowledge of Latin.
 = 'at my presumption.'

p. 18, l. 551. *abore the nyne sperys*. 'Et novem sunt coeli unum infra aliud, infra se invicem: prior ergo et superior spherarum est sphaera circumdans Deum ipsum sphaera siderum. Secunda postque jam sphaera est Saturni: et sic usque ad spheram lunae: infra quam est sphaera elementorum quattuor: quae sunt ignis, aer, aqua, et terra.'—*Sec. Sec.*, c. 76. But no two writers arrange the nine spheres alike.

p. 18, l. 552. 'Carbunculus is a precious stone, and shyneth as fyre / whose shynynge is not overcomme by night. It shyneth in derke places / and it semeth as hit were a flame.'—*Borth. Angl.*, xvi. 26. Trevisa's transl., ed. 1535, f. 228 a. It seems to be a popular error that the ruby shines by night, though by means of a properly constructed machine, a true phosphorescence of the ruby has been observed. Lydgate's idea of transferring the ruby to a shrine is, I think, good. See l. 444.

p. 18, l. 555. 'putte my sylf in prees,' to enter into contest. Cf. French *aux prises*.

'How darst thou put thyself in prees for drede?'—*F. and L.* 592.

p. 18, l. 556. A favourite metaphor drawn from initiation ceremonies in all time.

p. 18, l. 561 *et seq.* This stanza proves how much the doctrine of the four elements had been departed from in Lydgate's time. It is as who should say now, 'Separate from tin its atomic weight, atomic heat, conductivity, and other physical and chemical properties (naming them one by one): make each of these qualities equal to the corresponding one of gold, recombine them, and you will have gold.' It was equally true and impossible.

p. 18, l. 562. Cf. Canon's Yeoman's Tale, 16909—13.

p. 18, l. 570. To 'funny' a person, *i. e.* to mislead them, is a vulgarism sometimes in use in the present day. It is met, I think, somewhere in Albert Smith's books. Such remarks begin to be common in alchemical writings—before this time they were rare.

p. 18, l. 572. Outragious, l. 650, Pardoner's Tale.

p. 19, l. 578. A rather poor comparison.

p. 19, l. 579. Recalls the monastic fish-ponds, of which traces can still be seen near old abbeys.

p. 19, l. 582. These lines may have been written with the experience of Lydgate's master, and of many others, in view. There can be no doubt that Chaucer had invested money in alchemy—his bitterness shows that—and that

there was a public who knew something of the technicalities of alchemy. The statute forbidding it passed in 1403.

Chaucer's words are similar:

'Lo / swich a lucre / is in this lusty game
A mannes myrthe / it wol turne vn-to game
And empten also / grete and heuye purses
And maken folk / for to purchacen curses.'

C. Y. Tale. Ellesmere MS., 6-Text, ll. 16870—73.

p. 19, l. 588. C. Y. T. 16925, 'ignotum per ignotius.' I cannot trace this, but it is medieval divinity.

p. 19, l. 594. *Complexiouns*. See l. 1236.

p. 19, l. 603-5. There is no doubt but that either by tradition or by some separate text, perhaps a sidenote, Lydgate had become aware of Johannes Hispalensis' connection with the *Sec. Sec.* He accordingly confuses John, son of Patrick (the Syrian compiler), with John Avendeth (Hispalensis), the translator of part of the treatise for *Teophine*. The headline, p. 20, represents Lydgate's intention. Lydgate begins in the third person, and getting tired, makes an awkward change in l. 622.

p. 20, l. 613. One MS. of the *Sec. Sec.* gives Herodos, others Hermes.

p. 20, l. 637. Misled by this line, the rubricator (? Burgh) has made the following an epistle of the translator. It is really—as far as it is anything—a translation of part of the preface to the *Sec. Sec.* See cap. IV. of the English prose version (18 A. vii., Mus. Brit.).

p. 20, l. 638. Lydgate again begins in the third person, and again changes in 663, this time in a more workman-like manner. The preface begins with an equivalent for l. 655, then excuses himself for not coming (641-51), then remarks on the sin of disclosing secrets, then goes on to ll. 652-6, a summary of the objects of some of the next chapters.

p. 22, ll. 663—679, represent the advice Lydgate thought necessary for Henry VI. and his court.

p. 22, ll. 673-4. A confusion of metaphors, brought on by looking for a metaphor for everything, an instance of the error into which some of our modern poets have fallen.

p. 22, l. 680. 'togidre to combyne' is not here simply half a line put in to make up a rhyme, but seems to come in the sense. Confer version A., cap. IV., where the author speaks of the necessity of keeping the people in subjection.

p. 22, l. 687. Lydgate goes off again on a tangent, with a general idea of the first of the preceding prefaces, and does not return till l. 729.

p. 22, l. 689. 'Discrecion, prudence in right judgemente,
Whiche in a prince is thing most convenable.'

Pallas to Paris of Troie, 26.

p. 22, l. 698. These lines should come in—by sense—after 98.

p. 22, l. 700. *moo*, ? me; very unusual.

p. 22, l. 702. 'above the sterryd hevenc,' *ad empiricum coelum*, *Sec. Sec.*

p. 22, l. 703. See l. 87.

p. 22, l. 704. See note on ll. 351—321.

p. 23, l. 709. See l. 112.

p. 23, l. 712. *porrus*, Pornus, the Indian king defeated by Alexander.

p. 23, l. 713. *Vows of the peacock* were now a thing of the past.

p. 23, l. 722. Persons used to the precision of German scholarship often

speak of the ignorance of Chaucer and Lydgate, to say nothing of other poets, in speaking of Helicon as a spring. In Add. MS. 29729, we have in the Mercer's Play, fol. 132 *b*, the following lines showing their ideas :

fol. 133 *a*,
 'And percius / with his furious stede
 Smot on the roche / wher y^e musis dwell
 tyll ther sprange vp / sodenly a well
 Callid the welle / of Calyope
 Moste auctorysyd / amonges thes Cyryens
 Of which the poetes / that dwell in y^t. cunte
 And othar famous / Rethoryeyens
 And they that calid / be musycyens
 Ar wont to drynke / of that holson welle
 Which y^t. all othar / in vertue dothe exselle.'

The fact that there were springs on the mountain of Helicon, springs haunted by the Muses (for which they had Hesiod's authority), was quite sufficient for any medieval writer.

p. 23, l. 728. There was no fear of Lydgate's revealing anything that was not patent to everybody. One may hope the reader will get some pure corn out of the chaff of these 735 lines.

p. 23, l. 736. 'Reges sunt quattuor: Rex largus sibi et largus subditis: Rex avarus sibi et avarus subditis. Rex largus sibi, et largus subditis: Rex largus sibi et avarus subditis. Itali ei utique dixerunt: non est vitium in rege: si est avarus sibi et largus-subditis. Indi vero dixerunt: rex avarus sibi et subditis bonus est. Perses vero contrarium afferentes, et contradicentes Indis et Italicis dixerunt nihil valet rex qui non est largus sibi et subditis. Sed inter omnes meo iudicio pejor est ille & magis reprobandus qui est largus sibi et avarus subditis, quia regnum illius cito destruetur.'—*Sec. Sec.*

It will be seen Lydgate gets the whole thing wrong as a translation. One of the Latin editions attributed this classification to Pythagoras.

p. 23, l. 738. *with al ther besy cure.*

'But my entente and al my besie cure.'—*C. of L.* 36.

'Though all the worlde doe his busy cure.'

Balaale 'warning men,' &c., 22.

p. 24, l. 755. This must be put down again as Lydgate's idea of the advice needed by the English court of the day.

p. 25, ll. 789-91. These lines are not clear—in fact Lydgate seems to mean the very opposite of what he says.

p. 25, l. 792. ll. 736—791 apparently are a summary of the chapter on the four manners of kings—and now Lydgate harks back to the beginning again.

p. 26, l. 804. If there were any other authority for the word I would prefer to read 'fredain' from the French, whim, fancy, will, &c. There would be no difference in the MS.

p. 26, l. 814. There is no second extremity mentioned, and the whole stanza is doubled up hopelessly.

p. 26, l. 834. London fogs were as famous as they are now, before coal came there. Cf. 'Of ignorance the miste to chace away.'—*C. of L.* 25.

p. 27, l. 838. 'laureer meed of mightie conquerors.'—*Ass. of Fowles.*

p. 27, l. 855. Lydgate returns again to the subject of lines 748-56, and this time gets it nearly right.

p. 28, ll. 876-89. Lydgate's own verses—and they shine by comparison with those around them.

p. 28, l. 883. 'That tabouren in your eris many a sonn.'

Lcy. G. W. 379, 390.

- p. 28, l. 884. *The tenour Round.* The tenor bell is the great bell of a peal.
 p. 28, l. 887. *Flowers of Proserpina.* The first use of this figure?
 p. 28, l. 898. 'discretion' is object to 'medle.'
 p. 29, l. 939. 'But of his owne to large is he that list
 Give moche and lesin his gode name therfore.'

B. D. s. M. 455.

p. 30, ll. 942-3. 'Qui vero fundit bona sui regni indignis et non indigentibus: talis est depopulator reipublicae, destructor regni, incompetens regiminis: unde prodigus appellatur, eo que procul a regno est sua prudentia. Nomen vero avariciae multum dedecet regem, et disconvenit regiae majestati.'
 —*See. See.*

p. 30, l. 952. *Tressyl as plebus.* The sun's rays spoken of as his hair. A new chapter begins here, which Burgh did not recognize when settling the text.

p. 30, l. 954. *Republica* is Lydgate's own word—not found in the texts.

p. 30, l. 955. *pleyne*, border on, incline to.

p. 30, l. 966. 'Fortem, justum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficium, et liberalem esse, hae sunt regiae laudes.'—Cicero, pro rege Dejot x.

p. 30, l. 966. 'Unde inveni scriptum in preceptis magni doctoris Hermogenis: que summa & mera bonitas: claritas intellectus: et plenitudo legis: ac signum perfectionis est in rege: abstinentia a pecuniis: et possessionibus subditorum. Qua fuit causa destructionis regni Chaldaeorum: &c. &c.'—*See. See.*

noblesse has the same double meaning as nobility, an abstract and collective noun.

p. 30, l. 973. In many of the French versions there follows a translation of the other part of the chapter, giving an account of the destruction of the English instead of 'angelorum' (MSS.) or 'Chaldaeorum.' See above. It is a heading in the Lambeth MS. 501.

p. 30, ll. 974—1029. These lines are a translation of the chapter 'De lapide animali vegetabili.' As it is short, and not found in one of the texts, I add it. 'In primis O Alexander tibi tradere volo secretorum maximum secretum, et divina potentia juvet te ad perficiendum propositum, et ad celandum ad areanum. Accipe ergo lapidem animale vegetabilem et mineralem qui non est lapis, nec habet naturam lapidis, et iste lapis quodam modo assimilatur lapidibus montium minerarum et plantarum et animalium, et reperitur in quolibet loco, et in quolibet tempore, et in quolibet homine: et convertibilis est in quemlibet colorem, et in se continet omnia elementa, et dicitur minor mundus: et ego nominabo ipsum nomine suo, quo nominat ipsum vulgus scilicet terminus ovi, hoc est dicere ovum philosophorum. Divide ergo ipsum in quattuor partes, quaelibet pars habet unam naturam: deinde compone ipsum equaliter et proportionabiliter, itaque non sit in eo divisio nec repugnantia, et habebis propositum, Domino concedente. Isto modo est universalis, sed ego dividam ipsum tibi in operationes speciales: dividitur itaque in quattuor et duobus modis sit bene et sine corruptione. Quando igitur habueris aquam ex aere, et aerem ex igne, et ignem ex terra, tunc habebis plene artem. Dispone ergo substantiam aeream per discretionem, et dispone substantiam terream per humiditatem et caliditatem: donec convenient et conjungantur sic quae nec dividantur nec discrepent: et tunc adjugetur eis duas virtutes operativas, scilicet aquam et ignem: et tunc implebitur opus tuum. Quia si permiscueris aquam solum dealbabit, et si adjunxeris ignem rubescet, Domino concedente.'—*See. See.*

p. 31, l. 973. One is constantly coming across statements such as the following of the good rulers in Arabic books: 'Qutb-ad-din was generous; he

governed his people with humanity, treated merchants well, and loaded them with gifts. His subjects lived in the greatest abundance, loaded with his largesse, and fearing no damage from him.'

p. 31, l. 982. *Regent*: note the broader sense in which this word is used.

p. 31, ll. 988—994. This is incorrectly drawn up, and is corrected in the next two lines. The state of the lines in the MS. seems to point that this was the fair copy for presentation, destined to be personally corrected by Burgh.

p. 31, l. 995. The following explanation is given in the *Rosarium Philosophorum*, p. 267. 'Aristoteles in regimine principum dicit ad Alexandrum de quatuor elementis — Quando habueris aquam, id est Mercurium (perhaps mercury; perhaps the "mercury of philosophers") ex aere, id est sole (gold), et aerem ex igne, scilicet spiritum Mercurii (a volatile acid compound, corrosive sublimate, arsenic, orpiment, or the like), & ignem scilicet mercurium ex terra scilicet luna (silver), tunc plene habebis artem.'

p. 31, l. 999. See note on l. 561.

p. 32, l. 1002. Citron is simply gold coloured, with a purple tinge. 'Quandoune bonus dormitat Homerus'; and Prof. Skeat remarks in a note to his introduction to the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, on the strange alchemical scale of colour—black, red, white. This was of course the Aristotelian scale, *Arist. de Sensu et Sensibile* ii, *Barth. de Prop. Rerum*. xix. vii. f. 354 a. and all other colours were put somewhere in this scale—white, yellow, citrine, red, purple, green, black. The Arab commentators name sixteen colours, white and black, and two sevens, between red and white or black.

p. 32, ll. 1007-8. These lines represent the last lines of the Latin chapter. Mercury, or any compound of it, would make any metal of a silvery colour by 'amalgamating' its outside, while arsenic, orpiment, &c. might redden it.

p. 32, l. 1008. This verse refers to the traditional connection between the moon and silver.

p. 32, l. 1009. The side-heading was written with the names of some French alchemists in my mind, and I hoped to have identified them, but it seems there was no ground for Lydgate's line—though, of course, Philip of Tripoli may have been French, and may have been an alchemist.

p. 32, l. 1023. 'Et pater noster Hermogenes qui est triplex in philosophia.' *Sec. Sæc.* All followers of these mysteries were sons of Hermes. It may not be out of place to mention that Trismegistus does not mean 'thrice great' but thrice greatest, or greatest in three—places, things, sciences, &c.

p. 32, l. 1024. *with seyde Phelip*, with the said Philip. 'Secree' was admitted to his confidence.

p. 32, l. 1025. *precy* would be the attribute of 'vertu,' I suppose. There is a chapter in the Latin text on the virtues of stones (but see the Lambeth text), 'with circumstances of Araby, Ind, & Perse.'

p. 32, l. 1030. This stanza represents the chapter 'de intentione finali quem debent habere reges.' It is probable that in this, as in many later sections, Lydgate made a kind of skeleton, beginning to translate a chapter, and letting the one stanza stand for the whole, which later on would be finished. Very difficult to scan.

p. 33, l. 1037. This stanza stands for the chapter, 'De malis quae sequuntur ex carnali appetitu.'

p. 33, ll. 1051-78 represent the chapter, 'De sapientia regis et religione.' Book II. begins here.

p. 33, l. 1060. It is very noteworthy that nothing at all is said in any text about tale-bearers, and yet Lydgate returns to the point again and again. Had he in mind the condition of the English court? There is no doubt that 'no

wit of sapience or of discretion' could have been found in Henry VI, judged by this rule, and Benedict Burgh, who supplied the headings, and was connected with a Yorkist family, may have wished to bring this prominently forward. I may say that when the title of the section is in the margin, it is so simply for convenience, and its position implies nothing else.

p. 34, l. 1065. The title would again point to Henry—more favourably this time. The stanzas have no authority in the text, and are wholly Lydgate's. Cf. XI. of the A-text.

p. 34, l. 1079. This is the chapter 'de ornamento regis.' Lydgate makes no use of the text before him.

p. 34, l. 1085. 'Saphirus is a precious stone. & is blew in colour / mooste like to heven in faire wether & clere, & is best amonge precious stones / & most precious & most apte & able to fyingres of kinges. . . And this saphire stone is thiek and not passing bright, as Isid. saith. . . Also in Lapidario hit is sayde / that this stone doth awaye emnye, and putteth of dred & feare, & maketh a man bold & hardy, & master and victor, & maketh the harte stedfast in goodnes / and maketh meke and milde, & goodly. I wene that al this is said more in disposition than in effecte & doying. But this suffyseth at this tyme.—*Barth. Angl. de Prop. Reb.*, XVI. lxxxvii. f. 337, Ed. 1535. I don't know whether Lydgate meant that a sapphire was always of one hue, for medieval writers made it a great point that if the wearer of a sapphire lost his chastity, the sapphire lost its colour. . . Alesius of Piedmont in his *Secrets. Bas.*, 8°, f. 746, says that the sapphire easily loses its colour by fire. But perhaps Lydgate only referred to its hardness.

p. 34, l. 1086. Here two chapters of the text are omitted; see the A-text. This chapter is 'de castitate.' It urges him to be chaste, so that he does not resemble swine. The original referred to that vice, 'not so much as to be named among Christian men,' as Blackstone says.

p. 34, l. 1091. *Pallith.* The sense here is midway between the active meaning of beat and the passive of becoming vapid, and includes part of both.

p. 35, l. 1093. In the Arabic *Prairies d'Or* (tr. B. de Meynard) I find: 'Daus l'Inde, un roi . . . ne se montre au peuple qu'à des époques déterminées, et seulement pour examiner les affaires de l'état: car, dans leur idées, un roi porterait atteinte à sa dignité et n'inspirerait plus le même respect s'il se montrait constamment au peuple.'

p. 35, l. 1093. This is a part of a previously omitted chapter, 'de taciturnitate regis': the point of that chapter being advice to a king to show himself to his subjects not more than once or twice a year. This is fortified by a reference to the kingdom of the Indians, which our A-prose turns into Jews as usual, and which Lydgate, or the text he used, turns into Rome, as an example more likely to be followed than that of the Jews.

p. 35, l. 1099. *yerde.* The rod has been the symbol of authority from the time of the writer of Genesis to our own. The connection between the yard and the rod of 5½ yards, recognised as far back as Ed. L's time legally, would be an interesting study.

Vndir a yerde.

'Shewe forthe the yerde of castigacion.'—*Stedfastnesse* 26.

'Vndir your yerde egall to mine offence.'—*T. d. C.*, iii. 137.

'And mekely take her chastisement and yerde.'—*C. of L.* 363.

p. 35, l. 1103. *daunger.* Distrust, a character in the *Romance of the Rose*.

p. 35, l. 1107. The title of these stanzas seems to have been suggested by line 1106: but there is no reason in the texts for making a new heading. All other MSS. put this heading here. It might have been better to leave it out altogether.

p. 36, l. 1121. This chapter is headed, 'de solatio musicali regis.' It advises the king to make all his intimates drunk two or three times a year to hear what their private thoughts of him and his government are.

p. 36, l. 1126. Lydgate throws in this sentiment, entirely opposed to the texts, to conciliate the commoners of England. See the A.-prose for the real sentiment.

p. 36, l. 1128. This heading also is not an original division of the text, which runs on.

p. 36, l. 1130. The memory of the king who encourages it.

p. 36, l. 1135. This is part of the chapter 'In quibus consistit obedientia Domini.' 'O Alexander, obedientia dominatoris quatuor attenditur modis, in religiositate, in dilectione, in curialitate, et reverentia.' *Sec. Sec.* It will be seen that our author only began the idea and did not finish it.

p. 36, l. 1140. *seyn* = seen.

'For they han seyn hir euer so vertuous.'—*M. of Law Tale* 624.

'And whan they han this blisful mayden seyn.'—*M. of Law Tale* 172.

p. 36, l. 1142. This heading seems to have been put on the scrap of paper on which Burgh found stanzas 164 and 165. These stanzas are a part of the same chapter as the preceding one, and have no reference to how a king should be governed in different weathers, but, instead, compare the government of a king to the weather, which does good or harm to the people without their having much to say in the matter.

p. 37, l. 1154. Our author's conclusion is his own, and is much better than that of the texts, which advise the subjects 'to grin & bear it.'

p. 37, l. 1156. This represents the chapter 'de misericordia regis.' It is again merely a stanza to represent what Lydgate doubtless intended to fill in later.

Between this and the next stanza come two chapters, one advising the king to store up grain against famine time, and then to sell it to the people; the other speaking of God's revenge against man-slaying—even by a king. The first would have led at once to the dethronement of any English king, let alone the fact that Henry's government never had any money, and the second would have been peculiarly unacceptable to the nobles of that day.

p. 37, l. 1163. This represents the chapter 'de fide servanda.' It is again a skeleton battalion.

p. 37, l. 1164. The reference here is to the centre of the universe—but why in one degree? I suppose Lydgate got 'mutabylite' and filled in the other two rhymes till he could get a better one. We must remember that he did not publish this.

p. 37, l. 1170. This stands for 'Quomodo Rex debet ordinare studia.' The text of the *Sec. Sec.* dates from before universities, and so one could hardly expect to find them mentioned in it. The Latin text begins 'Prepara gynnasia.' The whole of this section is Lydgate's, the idea only being supplied by the *Sec. Sec.* See notes on l. 341.

p. 38, l. 1184. This is part of the chapter 'de hora eligendi in Astronomia.' The next hundred lines however do not follow the *Sec. Sec.* at all closely, or more properly do not translate it at all.

p. 38, l. 1189. *Cypryan*. Where did Lydgate get Cypryan from? Was this the St. Cyprian who was an astrologer at Antioch, who afterwards became a Bishop, and was martyred in the Diocletian persecution? The French and Latin texts at this place speak of *Pluto* as referring the evils our bodies suffer from, to four contrary humours. See note on l. 1240. Lydgate quotes Cyprian, 'A garden of his flowers.' See p. 80, *Eliz. Acad.*, E. E. T. S.

p. 38, l. 1191. This seems to be founded on some lines at the end of the chapter on studies. Speaking of the Greeks, he says, 'Sane puellae in domo patris familias ex magno studio sciebant cursum anni, festa futura, solemnitates mensium, cursus planetarum, causas abbreviatorias diei et noctis, revolutionem pleiadis et bootes, circulum dierum, signa stellarum, iudicia futurorum, & alia quae pertinent ad artem superiorum.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 38, l. 1198. 'O Rex clementissime, si fieri potest nec surgas, nec sedeas, nec comedas, nec bibas, nec penitus aliquid facias, sine consilio periti in astrorum arte.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 38, l. 1203 same rhyme as 1231-2.

p. 38, l. 1205. This is not in the *Sec. Sec.*, nor is it justified by the science of the time. I should prefer to read the line,

'Saturn is slouthe and malencolyous.'

And when we remember that we are dealing with fragments only we may feel ourselves free to omit Mars from the list. The following lines are from *Harl. 2251, 23 b*:

'Saturne disposithe / to malencoly
Iupiter reysethe men / to hye noblesse
Sturdy Mars / to stryfe werre and envye
Phebus to wisdom / and to highe prowesse
Mercury to change / and doublenesse
The moone makithe man / mutable and mevyng
How shulde man thanne / be stable of livyng.'

'As Ptholomeus sayth in libro de iudiciis Astrorum, he maketh a man broun and fowle, mysdoynge, slowe and heuy eleyng and sory / seldome gladd and merye or laughyng / and therfore Ptholomeus saith, they that ben subject to Saturnus, haue oft euyl drye chinnes in the hynder part of the fote. And ben yelowe of colour, and broun of heere / and sharpe in all the body, and vnsemely. And ben not skoymons of foul and stynkyng clothyng. And he loveth stynkyng beestes and vnclene / soure thynges and sharp. For of theyr complexyon Melancolyke humour hath maystry.'—*Barth. Ang. de Prop. Rerum*. VIII. xxiii, fol. 126 *b*. Ed. 1535. See also *Bapt. Porta. Coelestis Physiog.*, II. cap. 1, 4, 6, 7.

But.— 'O cruell Mars, full of Melancoly,
And of thy kind, hote, combust & dry.'

Story of Thebes iii. 1.

'Mars malencolyous.' I think it better here to add the notes about the disposition of Mars from the same source.

'And he dysposeth the soule to vustedfaste wytte and lyghtnes / to wrathe, and to boldnes, and to other coleryke passyons. And also he dysposeth and maketh able to fyrye werkes and craftes, as smythes and bakers, as Saturnus dysposeth men to be erthe tyllars, and berers of heuy bourdens. And Jupiter the contrarye dysposeth to lyght craftes: for he maketh men able to be pleders / chaungers, handlers of syluer, wryters / and other suche / as Misaelle (*Messahala*) sayth. Ca. xii.'—*B. A.* VIII. xxv. See also *Porta lib. cit.* c. 15—21.

p. 38, l. 1206. But Lydgate elsewhere says,

'And phebus Causith / dysposyng to gladnesse.'

'Also among all planetes he dysposeth most beastes to boldnesse and to lyuelynesse.'—*B. A.* VIII. xxviii.

p. 38, l. 1207. 'In Rethoryk / helpith mercuryvs.'

‘Fore Mercuriales cordatos, ingeniosos, cuncta discentes, modestos, mercatores, Grammaticos, Oratores, Physicos, Poetas, Musicos, Mathematicos, sortilegos, augures.’—*Porta lib. cit.* c. 18.

‘Vnder Mercurius is contained fortune, chaffering, & yest: & he tokeneth wysdom & wyt.’—*B. A. VIII.* xxvii.

‘With boke in hand than comes Mercurious
Right eloquent and ful of rethoric
With polite termis and delicious
With penne and inke to report alreddie
Setling songis & singing merily.
His hode was red heclid altour his croun
Like til a poete of the olde fassioun.’

Test. of Cres. 239; *T. of Glas* 132.

p. 39, l. 1208. ‘as Ptholomeus saythe, the moone maketh a man vnstable, changeable, and remeuynge aboute fro place to place.’—*B. A. VIII.* xxx. ‘item homines nullius utilitatis, qui die ac nocte desiderant ire huc illuc, nec leviter alicubi stent, instabiles, non perseverantes, habentes ex operibus legationes, aquarum et terrae amantes, voraces, extra patriam viventes,’ &c.—*Porta*, c. 45-9.

p. 39, l. 1212. This title has nothing to do with the stanza, which does not seem to be more than a collection of clauses.

p. 39, l. 1222. *the* = *thee*.

p. 39, l. 1223. *word* is but *wind*.

‘What availeth, sir, your proclamacion
of curious talking, not touching sadnes?
It is but winde.’—*Craft of Lovers*, 37.

‘Worde is but wind brought in by enuye.’—*Falls of Princes* 216, and in *Troy-Book. Temple of Glas* 1183, which see for further references.

p. 39, l. 1226. These two stanzas really should come after the next section, of which they form a part.

p. 40, l. 1236. ‘Complexioun.’ The following lines are from Harl. 2251, 23 b :

‘The sangwyne man / of bloode hathē hardynesse
Māde to be lounge / and large of expence
The flewmatyke slowe / oppressedē wīthe dulnesse
White of coloure / rude of eloquence
And sīthe there is in man / suche difference
Of complexions / diuersely tournynge
How shulde man thanne / be stable in his līvyngē.
The coleryke man sotyl / and disceyvāble
Sklandre lenē / and cytryne of coloure
Wrothe sodainly / and hastily vengeable
ffrette wīthe Ire / wīthe fury and wīthe rancour
Drye and aduste / and a grete wastour
And disposedē to many a sundry thyngē
How shulde he thanne / be stable in līvengē.
Malencolicus / of his complexiounē
Disposedē is / for to be fraudulent
Malicious frowarde / and be decepciounē
Conspyringe discorde / ay double of his entente
Whiche thynges peysede / by goode avīsemente
I dare conclude / as to my felyngē
ffewe men ben stable here / in theyr līvyngē.’

There are four complexions : sanguine, choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic, answering to the four humours, 'sanguis, cholera, phlegma, melancholia.'

p. 40, l. 1240. 'Conveniunt itaque sapientes et philosophi naturales : quod homo est compositus ex oppositis elementis : et ex quatuor contrariis humoribus : qui semper indigent alimentis et potibus : quibus si caret homo corrumpitur eius su[b]stantia : et si his superflue vtatur : vel diminute incurrit debilitatem et infirmitatem et alia inconvenientia multa. Si vero vtitur temperate : inueniet inuamen vitæ corporis fortitudinem, et totius suæ substantiæ salutem.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 40, l. 1241. 'Humorum autem genera quattuor sunt, sic sanguis, colera, flegma, et melencolia.'—*Arnoldus Villanoravus, Spec. Introd. Med. cap. iiii. (Op. Lygd. 1520, fo. 2^a).*

'Nam cum quatuor illa sint, ex quibus compactum est corpus, Terra, Ignis, Aqua, Aer, horum contra naturam abundantia, defectusque, et ex loco proprio in alienum translatio, per quam quod sibi conueniens est, non tenent, intestinam quandam seditionem et morbos inferunt.'—*Plato in Timæo, 1081, d. Ed. Francf. fo. 1602.*

'Prima statui potest ea, quæ ex primordiis conficitur, iis, quæ nonnulli elementa appellant, terram dico, aerem, aquam, ignem : sed melius fortasse dici potest, ex virtutibus confici elementorum, iisque non omnibus : humiditas enim et siccitas, et caliditas et frigiditas, materia corporum sunt compositorum.'—*Arist. de part. anim. II. i. Ed. Paris 1524, f. 6 b.*

p. 40, l. 1244. *tours*—turnings, courses of the planets, whether their movement be direct or retrograde. Their governance in heaven causes temperate health on earth.

p. 40, l. 1246. 'in corporibus medicus sanitatem non internecone caloris aut frigoris, sed proportione quaerit atque conficit.'—*Plut. de Sanit. tuenda.*

p. 40, l. 1247. *Corruptioun* means a change, not necessarily implying our meaning. Thus when we set a stick on fire we *corrupt* the wood and *generate* fire.

p. 40, l. 1254. Cicero ad. fam. 16: 'Valetudinem postulare concoctionem, iucunditatem, deambulationem moderatam, delectationem, purgationem ventris.' The ancients summed up the points of diet in the 'six non-naturals'—air, exercise and rest, food and drink, sleep and watching, swiving, and accidents of the mind.

p. 40, l. 1254. This should be called, 'What a Leech has to do.' The next seven stanzas seem to have little to do with the *Sec. Sec.* They express generally some ideas in it, but Lydgate alters very much both the form and the subject matter of the work. They correspond closely to the *Dietary*.

p. 40, ll. 1258-60. Connection of seasons and humours: flewm in autumn, see l. 1413; colera in summer, l. 1349. The following lines are taken from Harl. 2251, 23 a:

'With veer man hathe / hete and eke moysture
 Atvene bothe / by a maner attemperance
 In whiche tweyne / grete luste he dothe recure
 If colde nat put hym / in distemperance
 Thus meynthe with drede / is manne governaunce
 Ay neuer in certeyne / by recorde of writyng
 How shulde he thanne / be stable in livyng.
 Man hath with somer / drynesse and heete
 In theyre bookes / as auctours liste expresse

And whanne phebys / entrithe the Aryete
 Digeste humours / vpwarde don hem dresse
 Pooris opyn / that season of swetnesse
 And exalacions / diuersely wirkyng
 How shulde a man / be stable in his lvyng.
 Autumpne to veer / is founde contrarye
 As Galyen saithe / in al his qualitees
 Disposyng man / that seasons dothe so vary
 To many vnkouth / straunge Infirmytees
 Of canyuler dayes / takyng the proprietees
 By renoucioune / of manyfolde chaungyng
 How shulde man thanne / be stable in lvyng.
 Man hathe withe wynter / in this presente lyfe
 By disposicioone / colde and humydyte
 Whiche season is / to fleawme nutritife
 Spoylithe tree and herbe / of al theyre fresshe beaute
 Closithe, constreynethe / the poores men may see
 Causithe kyndely hete / inwarde to be werkyng
 How shal man thanne / be stable in his lvyng.

p. 40, l. 1261. *Sleep nurse of digestion.* Chaucer, *Sq. Tale*, 2nd part, l. 1.

‘Haec eadem cibus, in venas dum diditur omnes,
 Efficit, et multo sopor ille gravissimus exstat,
 Quem satur aut lassus capias: quia plurima tum se
 Corpora conturbant magno concussa labore.’

Lucretius. IV. 952; see l. 1892.

‘The ancient rule was to put a little exercise between a meal and sleep.’—*Plutarch de Is. et Os.*

‘Nos autem medicis pareamus, qui monent semper inter coenam et somnum faciendam aliquam intercapedinem: ne congestis in corpus cibis et oppresso spiritu, confestum crudo ac fervido alimento aggravemus vim concoctricem, sed respirationem & relaxationem concedamus.’—*Plut. de Sanit. tuenda*, fo. 133, d.

p. 41, l. 1267. ‘And vse neuer late / for to suppe.’

‘Suffre no surfetis.’—*Dietary* 8.

p. 41, ll. 1268-70.

‘in omni vita certissime precipitur ut perturbationes fugiamus.’—*Cicero Off.* I. 38.

‘Quando anima corpore admodum potentior est exultat in eo atque effectur, totum ipsum intrinsecus quatiens languoribus implet.’—*Plato in Timaeo*.

p. 41, l. 1268. ‘Si vis incolumen, si vis te reddere sanum

Curas tolle graves, irasci crede prophanum

Parce mero, cenato parum.’—*Schola Salernitana* (11th cent.).

‘Pars animam laqueo claudunt mortisque timorem

Morte fugant, nitroquo vocant venientia fata.’—*Ovid*, 7 Met.

p. 41, l. 1271. ‘Aer sit mundus, habitabilis, ac luminosus,

Nec sit infectus nec olens fetor cloacae.’—*Schol. Salern.*

p. 41, l. 1274. ‘Flee mystis blake / and eyre of pestilence.’—*Dietary*.

p. 41, l. 1275.

‘Si tibi deficiant medici; medici tibi fiant

Haec tria: mens laeta, requies, moderata dieta.’—*Schol. Salern.*

p. 41, l. 1278. In this stanza the only change from the *Dietary* beyond the omission of the seventh line is the substitution of ‘malencolyous’ for ‘malicious’ in the Harl. 2251 ed., which is much nearer the Latin text of Sl. 3534 than the Lamb. MS.

p. 41, l. 1282. This is the eighth stanza in the Harl. 2251 and in the Latin Dietary. It is not included in the *Babee's Book* text.

p. 41, l. 1289. This stanza is in both dietaries, with the exception of the two last lines.

p. 41, l. 1294. Lydgate evidently thought that if these precepts were not in the *Sec. Sec.* they were useful to his patron, and so runs in the old stanzas with this tag. Note the change of meaning in 'diet.'

p. 42, l. 1303. Spring begins when the sun enters Aries. This generally happens after mid-day, March 20th. In Lydgate's time the equinox fell earlier owing to the faults of the Julian Calendar. See the notes on the prose versions at this place. Their dates are not Arabic, but are due to Johannes Hispalensis.

'Spryngunge tyme is begynnunge of the yere, that begynneth whar the son is in the fyrste party of the sygne that hyghte Aries : and begynneth to passe vpwarde, toward the Northe by a ryght line, as Constantine saith in Pantegni libro quinto, capitulo tertio.'—*Barth. Angl.* IX. v.

p. 42, l. 1304. The sun now crosses the line, and every day becomes higher at noontide.

p. 42, l. 1305. The daisy opens now as early as the 9th of February. Alceste was turned into a daisy. See Skeat's note in *Legend of Good Women*.

'And aldernext was þe fressh quene
I mene Alceste, the noble trw wyfe,
And for Admete how she lost hir life,
And for hir trouth, if I shal not lie,
Hon she was turnyd to a daisie.'—*T. of Glas* 70-4.

p. 42, l. 1310. 'Ver est calidum et humidum et temperatum : aeri simile est, et excitatur in eo sanguis.'—*Sec. Sec.*

'And spryngunge tyme is betwene hotte and colde / most temperat bitwene winter and somer / meane in qualyte : and partyneth with eyther of them in qualyte.'—*Barth. Angl. loc. cit.*

This last is derived from Galen. Hippocrates said the qualities of spring were warm and moist, and thus it resembles the element air. The Latin text combines both ideas.

p. 42, l. 1322. I cannot find out what story is here alluded to. The enekoo is, of course, a migratory bird, which stays with us from April to August, and his note is a love-call peculiar to the male and to the nesting season.

p. 43, l. 1334. 'han' should be 'han'; perhaps ou[r] is on = one talent out of four entrusted to us.

'not onely my daies but fivefold talent.'—*Rem. of Lovc* 89.

p. 43, l. 1344. Complexion of summer.

'Then somer is hotte and drye / and bredeth Coleram.'—*Barth. Angl.* IX. vi.

p. 43, l. 1345. 'Aestas tunc incipit cum sol ingreditur primum punctus Cancra & continet nonaginta duos dies et horam cum dimidia : et hoc est a decima die junii usque ad decimum diem septembris.'—*Sec. Sec.*

The summer signs are Cancer, Leo, and Virgo.

'And somer hathe thre monthes ryght as spryngunge tyme / as Constantyne sayth. The fyrste monthe longeth to the sygne that hyght Cancer / and lasteth fro the xvij daye of June to the eyghtyne daye of July : The seconde whan the sonne is in Leone, and dureth from the xvij daye of July to the xvij daye of Auguste : The thyrde begynneth whan the sonne commeth in to the sygne that hyghte Virgo, and dureth fro the xvij daye of Auguste to the xvij daye of Septembre, as Constantyne sayth.'—*Barth. Angl.* IX. vi.

Summer now begins about midday on June 21st, and lasts to midnight on September 22nd. St. Barnabas Day is June 11th.

p. 43, l. 1348. See l. 1344.

‘Haec anni pars acutis morbis et biliosis est obnoxia, propter aestus bilem generantis vehementiam.’—*Wendelin Cont. Physic. Camb.* 1648, 4^o p. 605.

p. 43, l. 1351. St. Bartholomew is August 24th.

p. 43, l. 1352. ‘Colour’? Choler, or it may be that Clour is in apposition to Fire as Juventus to Age. For ‘Juventus’ read ‘Iuventus.’

p. 43, l. 1354:

‘Est et humor colerae qui competit impetuosis,
Hoc genus est hominum cupiens precellere cunctos,
Hi leviter discunt : multum comedunt : cito crescut,
Inde magnanimi sunt largi summa petentes.
Hirsutus : fallax : irascens : prodigus : andax :
Astutus : gracilis : siccus : croceique coloris.’—*Schol. Salern.*

p. 43, l. 1356. *Of growing slawndre*, slender of growth. The other MSS. read ‘slaudre,’ and as this does not follow the *Sec. Sec.*, I decided to follow their spelling. It means ‘slender,’ as the following extract shows:—

‘And the werkyng of somer by subtyltye of heate, cometh in to the holow parties of beestes, and dryeth and wasteth humours / that bene bytwene the skynne and the fleshe: and all to sheddyth theym, and maketh beestes swyfte: and so he distroyeth and wastyth superfluyte.’—*Bart. Angl.*

p. 44, l. 1361. June 24th is St. John the Baptist’s day; June 29th is St. Peter and St. Paul; August 1st is Lammass Day, St. Peter ad Vincula, when he was released from prison by an angel, and the guards were crucified for letting him go. St. Thomas à Becket was martyred on December 29th, but the time of the year being inconvenient for pilgrims, his bones were ‘translated’ to a new shrine in summer, and the anniversary was kept as his.

p. 44, ll. 1374-6. Beans and peas, purslane, and lettuce. These are not mentioned in the *Sec. Sec.* (see the prose version).

p. 45, l. 1395. *tydy man*.

‘For all the traauyle of the yere is then mooste: and corn & fruytes ben gadered and brought into bernes.’—*Bart. Angl.* IX. vii.

One may be excused for thinking some of these stanzas really good.

p. 45, l. 1405. ‘Harueste begynneth, whanne the sonne entryth and cometh in to the fyrste partye of the sygne, that hyght Libra: whan the sonne is in the ryghte lyne that hyght linea equinoctialis: for he is like ferre fro the North, and fro the South. Harueste tyme hath thre monthes, that serue it as Constantyne sayth. The fyrste begynneth, whan the sonne is in Libra: and lastyth fro the xvij daye of Septembre, to the xvij daye of Octobre: and than the sonne begynneth to withdrawe in the myd daye. The seconde month is / in whiche the sonne is in Scorpione: & lastyth fro the xvij. day of Octobre to the eyghtenth day of Nouembre. The thyrde month is, whan the sonne is in Sagittario: and lasteth fro the xvij (*sic*) daye of Nouembre, to the xvij daye of Decembre, as Constantyne sayth.’—*Bart. Angl. loc. cit.*

p. 45, l. 1407. ‘Harueste in his qualyte is contrarye to spryngyngye tyme: & therefore that time bredeth many euyll syknesses. Galen sayth that Harueste is more pestilencyall than other tymes, and more euyl in many thynges. Fyrst for chaungyng of tyme: for now he is hote, and now he is colde / also for he comyth after somer / and findeth many hote humors / that ben full hote / bicause of hete that was in somer: & the colde of harueste smytyth ayen suche humours to the inner partyes: & suffre not them to passe out of the

bodies. And so such humours rotte and brede full enyll sykenneses / & Quartayns / & Feuers that vneth ben curable.'—*Bart. Angl.*

p. 45, l. 1414. 'Autumno morbi accidunt acutissimi & funestissimi ferè.'—*Hippocrat. Aphor.*

p. 45, l. 1415. Autumn is cold and dry, which are the qualities of the element earth.

p. 46, l. 1422. St. Clement's Day, Nov. 23rd.

p. 46, l. 1425. 'unwar' is put in before 'seknessys' in some MSS.

p. 46, l. 1433. This seems to be the only personal note in the poem, and would rather point to an elderly patron.

p. 46, l. 1440. Martinmas is Nov. 11th. This stanza belongs to autumn, and not to this section at all.

p. 46, l. 1448. 'Wynter hyghte Hyems, and hath that name of Emido, goynge othre passynge: For in wynter tyme the sonne treuleth *and* passeth offer in a shorter cercle than in somer tyme. And therefore he maketh shorter dayes & lenger nightes, as Isydore sayth. And as Constantin saith, wynter begynneth, when the sonne is in the sygne that hyghte Capricornus: and is ende of the desceneyon and the lowyng of the sonne in the middaye. And then begynneth lytel & lytel to passe vpwarde agaynste the northe. Also wynter hath thre monthes that serue hym. The fyrste begynneth in Capricorne / and lasteth from the eightenthe daye of Decembre / vnto the seuenth daye of Januarii: The seconde is when the son is in Aquario, and lasteth from the senenteth day of Januarii / to the syxtenyth day of Feuerer: The thyrde month is / when the sonne is in the sygne / that hyghte Piscis, and lasteth from the syxtenyth day of Februarii / to the eyghtenth daye of Marche. And wynter is colde and moyste / and nouryshetie flewme.'—*Bart. Angl.* IX, viii.

p. 48, l. 1491. This line is one of those coincidences which look like design. I do not know that Lydgate's epitaph has been printed lately, so here it is:

'Mortuus seculo superis superstes,
Hac jacet Lidgat tumulatus urna,
Qui fuit quondam celebra Britanniae
fama Poesis.'

p. 48, l. 1495. *My lord*. One would like to have had some more personal note than this, but we may feel moderately certain that 'my lord' was Earl Bourchier.

p. 48, l. 1498. Was Burgh one of the 'masters in grammar' who were made at that time? They had not taken a degree, but were examined in Latin grammar and their power of flogging, and then granted a diploma. In that case he would not have made the acquaintance of the seven arts he commemorates in this introduction.

p. 48, l. 1506. The *Anticlandian* of Alanus de Insulis is one of the important books of medieval times. It deals with the perfect man warring against vices. Claudian had made a poem where the vicious Rutinus had opposed Stilico: Alanus, to oppose, named his poem the *Anti-Clandian*. It consists of nine books, and may be read in the *Rolls Series* in the second series of *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, ed. Wright. London, 1872, or in *Migne*, t. 210. We may brielly summarize it thus.

Nature, perceiving its failure in bringing about perfection, decides to join in one being all the virtues and excellences possible. She therefore summons all these allegorical personages, and lays before them her plan. Prudence (Phronesis) and Reason remark that none of them can give to man the highest of all gifts—a soul, and that they must ask it from God. This mission is

imposed on them, they at first refuse it, but Concord gets them to accept it. A car is made for them by the seven liberal arts, to which five horses representing the senses are yoked. Grammar lays the framework, Logic makes the axles of the wheels, Rhetoric adorns the frame with gems and flowers of silver, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy make the wheels, and Reason drives the chariot.

They pass through the air, the clouds, the home of the evil spirits of the air, the spheres of the planets, and arrive at the firmament, when Reason faints, and the senses become useless. Theology appears, and on the condition that Reason and the senses—except that of hearing—are abandoned, offers to guide Phronesis. The firmament, the empyrean heavens, the dwellings of saints, angels, and the Mother of God are next described. Here Prudence faints, but Faith revives her, and explains the mysteries of human destiny, grace, &c.

God now orders Intelligence to frame a model of a soul such as was asked for, and making it, it is sent to Nature, who makes a body which Harmony, Music, and Arithmetic fit for and join to the soul. All the allegorical divinities add a gift—even Nobility and Fortune bring theirs—which Wisdom checks and moderates.

But Hell learning of this new creation resolves to destroy it, and Allecto unites all the vices against it. After a long battle the new man puts them all to flight, and inaugurates upon the earth the reign of Justice and Happiness.

p. 49, l. 1536. Repeated later as l. 2191.

p. 49, l. 1541. Francis is mother of Philology, in Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, II. 114, IX. 893.

p. 49, l. 1541. See l. 224.

p. 49, l. 1542. In the Anticlaudian, Rhetoric is described as carving and adorning the car of Phronesis with flowers and with inlaid work of silver.

p. 49, l. 1543. Who is this Petir? Burgh knew that Petrarch (1304—1374) was called Francis. (See his ballad in the Introduction.) Petrarch wrote some declamations which were regarded as models of rhetoric in the middle age.

p. 50, l. 1558. This might refer to a royal command, but most probably is a flattery of the Bourchiers, just as the first poem in the *Babe's Book* was written for noble, not for royal children. May that poem not have been written by Burgh?

p. 50, l. 1565. Allecto is the head of the infernal army raised against the perfect man in the Anticlaudian.

p. 51, l. 1608. 'Aqua and vino si misceatur, prodest: et quae inter diluti usum bibitur, ipsum dilutum reddit minus noxium.'—*Plutarch de Sanit. tuenda*. ed. Franc. 1620, f. 132.

p. 51, l. 1609. Water Alchymyn is prepared from Cumin.

p. 51, l. 1611. A side-note in Harl. 2251, quotes from Horace

'Et gravi

Malvae salubres corpori.'—*Ep.* 2. 48.

'Utere lactucis et mollibus utere malvis.'—*Mart.*, 3. 87.

p. 52, l. 1615. This is recommended by Hippocrates. In the prose editions I hope to investigate the relationship between this work and the schools of Arab and Greek medicine.

p. 52, l. 1625. Cf. lines 1268-70.

p. 52, l. 1638. The same thought as in l. 1248.

p. 53, l. 1648. This refers to sulphur baths. 'Balnea sulfureae aquae intrare.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 53, l. 1653. 'Regula Hippocratis est: si quis repletus vel constipatus balneum intrabit: ille dolorem vel intestinorum certissime incurrere potest. Si quis coiverit ventre repleto, paralysim incurreret. Nec post cibum quis currat vel equitet nimium. Qui simul lac and pisces sepe comedunt, lepram incurrunt. Vinum et lac similia operantur.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 53, l. 1655. 'Rhasis discommends all fish, and says they breed viscosities, slimy nutriment, litle and humourous nourishment.'—Burton, *Anat. of Mel.*, Part 1. ii., 2. 1.

p. 53, l. 1660. This is the beginning of the letter of Diocles (pp. 109-12, Paulus Aeginetus, *Op. Med.* Lugd., 1589. 8vo.). It is practically identical with one written by Antonius Musa (physician to the Emperor Augustus) to Maecenas. The letter was a favourite of our early English ancestors. See a copy in *Leechdoms*, &c.

p. 53, l. 1661. 'Homini corpus in quatuor parteis diducimus, caput scilicet, thoracem, ventrem, et vesicam.'—*Diocles.*

p. 53, l. 1669. 'Powrys Organycall' is the Virtus Animalis of medieval writers.

p. 53, l. 1670. 'The brayne . . . is distinguished and departed in thre celles or dennes: . . . welche physytiens calle Ventriculos, small wombes. In the formeste celle and wombe imagination is conformed and made, in the middle, reason, in the hyndermeste, recordation and minde. . . . For in the fyrste, shappe and lyknesse of thynges that ben felte, is gendered in the fantasie or in the imagination. Than the shap and lyknesse is sende to the mydell celle, and there ben domes made. And at the laste after dome of reson, that shappe and lyknesse is sende into the celle and wombe of Puppis, and betake to the vertue of mynde.'—*Bart. Angl. de rerum propr.*, lib. v. 3, f. 35.

p. 54, l. 1678. 'Quando ergo congregantur superfluitates poteris scire per haec signa, quae sunt; tenebrositas oculorum; gravitas superciliarum, repercussiones temporum; tremitus aurium, inclusio narium.'—*Sec. Sec.*

'Vertigo, capitis dolor, superciliarum gravitas; aures sonant. tempora saliunt, oculi mane illacrymant, caligantque, nares oppletae odorem non sentiunt, dentium gingivae attolluntur.'—*Diocles.*

'Cum a capite morbus oritur, solet capitis dolor tentari, tunc supercilia gravantur, tempora saliunt, aures sonant, oculi lachrymantur, nares repletae odorem non sentiunt.'—*Ant. Musa ad Maecen.* Nor. 4vo., 1538.

p. 54, l. 1682. 'Aloes,' wormwode (18 A. vij.), 'ellicentim, that is Eufrazy' (Lamb. 501), foenci, herbam perforatam (Latin versions), aloyne (Harl. 219, French).

p. 54, l. 1683. 'Dowset and swet wyn.' 'In vino dulci.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 54, l. 1685. 'Pulgielyn.' Pulegium, pennyroyal, pudding grass.

p. 54, l. 1687. 'Quum ergo ex his aliquod accilit caput purgari oportet, nullo quidem medicamento, sed vel hyssopi, vel origani summitatibus tritis, quae in ollula cum musto, aut sapae heminae dimidio deferbuerint, atque hoc absorbens jejunos os colluet, et gargarizando humores ex alto deducet,' &c.—*Diocles.*

'Hyssopi autem coronae bubulae fasciculum deferre facies, inde aquam ore continebis, tum caput calide habueris, ut fluat pituita.'—*Ant. Musa ad Maecen.*

p. 54, l. 1696. 'Et utatur in cibo suo grano sinapis.'—*Sec. Sec.*

'Optime facit etiam, si sinapi malsa calida dilutum jejunos absorbens gargarizet, pituitamque ex capite eliciat.'—*Diocles.*

p. 54, l. 1706.—'Tounge lettyd.' 'Lingua fit ponderosa: os salsum: in officio cibum acerbum sentit; ac dolore n tussis.'—*Sec. Sec.*

‘Cum autem a thorace morbus nascitur, incipit caput sudare, linguaque sit gravior, aut os amarum, aut tonsillae dolent, oscitatio sequitur sine somno et quiete, gravitas corporis, animi dolor, prurigo corporis, brachia manusque intremiscunt, subitoque tussis arida.’—*Ant. Musa ad Maecen.*

p. 55. l. 1711. ‘Vitabis vicium, si vomeris sive jejunos, sive post coenam, vel in balneo, plus autem prodest si jejunos bilem ejeceris, eam enim dicimus matrem morborum.’—*Ant. Musa ad Maecen.*

‘Succurrendum est prudenter hoc modo, vomitus quam optime fieri potest, post coenam sine repletionem, sineque medicamento citari debet: utiles sunt et vomitiones ante cibum, quas Graeci Syrmaismos appellant. Oportet autem eum qui sic vomet, radicales tenuis praesumere, nasturtium, erucam, sinapi, et portulicam, mox aqua tepida superbibita vomere.’—*Diocles.*

‘Oportet igitur dimittere de comestione; et uti vomitu: et post vomitum sumere zucharam rosarum cum ligno aloes et masticare, et post comestionem sumere ad magnitudinem unius nucis de electuario enison, quod est confectum ex ligno aloes and causergam.’—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 55. l. 1712. Etiam uti oportet rosato aceto, vino trito, linguam asperam melle fricet, vel mentae folio, reliqua diligenti medico permittenda sunt.’—*Ant. Musa ad Maecen.*

p. 55. l. 1716. A reminiscence of l. 1275.

p. 55. l. 1721. The body being made up of four humours, diseases were caused by these becoming corrupt, or by any one of them being in excess.

p. 55. l. 1722. ‘Dionysoon.’ Dyanisum, an electuary made of Aloes and Tansy (Lamb. 501). ‘Le quele est fait de aloe, galingale, and grasegrun’ (Harl. 219). See its composition in *Villanovanus Antidotarium*, fol. 247b. Op. 1520 fo.

p. 55. l. 1726-7. This is not found in the Latin nor in Diocles, but is in the French and in 18 A. vij.

p. 55. l. 1730. In some copies of the *Sec. Sec.* there is a division ‘the eyes’ instead of this.

p. 55. l. 1734. ‘Rednesse in the kne.’ ‘Genuum dolor, inflatio, rigor.’—*Sec. Sec.* ‘pe knees wexe grete’ (18 A. vij.).

p. 56. l. 1744. ‘Incurret in dolorem juncturarum, & tergi, in fluxum ventris, corruptionem digestionis, & oppilationem epatis.’—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 56, l. 1755. ‘Pleni ex cibo modico esse videntur.’—*Diocles.* ‘Tepet appetitus.’—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 56. l. 1758. ‘Haec vitia sic emendantur; Foeniculum et appinum vino austero madefacito, vel earum herbarum radices conteres, ex vino ciathis duobus tantundem aquae calidae vel dauci seminis, et myrrhae pusillum tritum in vino, ut supra scripsi, et bibe. Vel radices asparagi, vel herbam erraticam, vel serpillum decoque, eam aquam vino mistam bibe.’—*Ant. Musa ad Maecen.*

‘Oportet illud qui hoc sentit hoc facere ut herbam accipiat qua dicitur camomilla; et herbam qua dicitur melilotum; et de earum radicibus: ponat radices et herbas in vino albo odorifero; et sumat ex eo quolibet mane’—*Sec. Sec.*

‘Itaque foeniculi apique radices, vino albo odorato madefacito, atque huius diluti cyathos duos, mane jejuno singulis diebus propinabis cum aqua dauci, smyrnii, helenij, quodcumque horum habueris, nam omnia proficiunt: adhaec aqua ciceris macerati cum vino idem efficit.’—*Diocles.*

‘Il te convient prendre vne herbe appellee apus, et de la graine de fenoi, & de la racine de archemisce, ou dautre herbe appellee

achen, & tiacres, & ouec celles herbes met les racins en bon vin blanc, et de ce vin boy chacun matin ouec vu poy de awe et de mel.—Harl. 219.

p. 56, l. 1760. A marginal note in Harl. 2251 gives 'Archemise = wing-wort' (wormwood): 'Apus is smallage' (water-parsley): 'Acheen, sainacle' (sanicle). 'Attracies is blessed thistle.' A Latin MS. reads 'achen, araneg, arraunce.'

p. 56, l. 1765. Same as l. 1618.

p. 56, l. 1766. 'Ita qua sit temperatum cum aqua & melle, et abstineat a nimia comestione.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 57, l. 1784. 'Thre' is altered from two in all the texts: for the sake of the verse doubtless.

p. 57, l. 1786. 'Medus vero affirmavit: quod jejuno stomacho prodest multum sumere de granis milii.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 57, l. 1788. 'Greek' is an error; it is in the Latin 'Sane Indus indicavit et dixit,' but some copies give the name Sanages the Greek. Cf. Aug. Müller, *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.*, xxxiv. 544.

p. 57, l. 1789. Mylk seems to be a mistake of Burgh's. 18 A. vij. reads: 'who so ete the graynes of whyt mylle fastyng with water cresses;,' 'mil blanc' (Harl. 219). Mastursu is then a mistake for nasturtium. Yet Pliny, 25. 8, says: 'Arcades quidem non medicaminibus uti, sed lacte circa ver.' I had proposed another meaning for mastursu from the Arabic.

p. 58, l. 1808. 'Alibi Aurei' was for long a trouble to me. It is simply a mistake. 18 A. vij. has 'who so ete the morwe of alibi Amei 7 dragines, and of swete grapis and Reysynes,' &c. The French has no such words; and on turning to the Latin we find 'et qui comedit quolibet mane septem dragmas vnae passae bonae dulcedinis,' which makes it clear that the words are misunderstandings of the reading of a contracted Latin text.

p. 58, l. 1809. 'Passa uva est uva sicca solem passa.' Blanchart's *Lexicon*, p. 472. Uva is a gooseberry sometimes.

p. 58, l. 1818. 'Allea, nux, ruta, pira, raffanus, et tyriaca

Haec sunt antidota contra mortale venenum.'—*Sch. Sal.*

Avicenna says that figs, nuts, and rue make a medicine against all poisons. Aristotle quotes the old story about the weasel fighting with the serpent, first eating rue to arm himself against poison, in the *De Animalibus*. Villanova recommends figs, rue, and sweet almonds.

p. 58, l. 1820. This line stands for a chapter of the Latin text, 'de custodia caloris naturalis.'

p. 58, l. 1828. Enlmyne is an adjective used of blood.

p. 59, l. 1835. A comparison of this line with l. 1827 shows the wide limits writers of the measure allowed themselves.

p. 59, l. 1851. Perch is Burgh's own favourite, since there is no mention of such fish in his texts.

The *Schol. Salern.* says:

'Si pisces molles sunt, magno corpore tolle:

Si pisces duri, parvi sunt plus valituri

Lucius, et perca, saxaulis, et albica, tenea,

Gormus, plagitia, cum carpa, galbio, truca.'

Perch was a favourite in the days of Ausonius. *Etdyllium*, IX. 115—

'Nec te delicias mensarum Perca silebo,

Annigenos inter pisces dignande, marinis.'

p. 59, l. 1853. This seems contrary to experience. The texts only speak

of hard-skinned fish, and besides, the stews were all dead water, and yet there was no objection to the monks eating the fish in them.

p. 60, p. 1868. 'Signa quidem bonarum aquarum sunt haec, levitas, claritas, bonus color; quando facile calescunt et facile frigescent; in talibus enim delectatur natura.'—*Sec. Sec.*

The six are difficult to make out, and unfortunately 18 A. vij. is defective here.

p. 60, l. 1886. 'Tarage haue of foreyu dyvers soudys': 'quia continent in se particulas terreas.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 60, l. 1892. The same as l. 1261.

p. 61, l. 1919. 'Primum vinum valet senibus et hominibus abundantibus in humiditate et flegmate: nocet vero juvenibus et calidis hominibus Primum ergo calefacit et liberat a superfluitatibus frigidis et grossis.'—*Sec. Sec.*

'to' should be read in, here. The last clause in l. 1924 does not seem to have much meaning in this connection.

p. 62, l. 1950. The first part of this line refers to the lees at the bottom: 'cujus fex est in fundo depressa.'

p. 62, l. 1955. 'Quia confortat stomachum: calorem corroborat naturalem: juvat digestionem: conservat a corruptione: ducit cibum: decoquit & perducit ipsum purificatum ad omnia membra quae reguntur: et decoquit ipsum cibum in eisdem membris, donec convertatur in sanguinem substantialem: tunc ascendit ad cervicem cum calore temperato: reddit caput securum ab infortuitis casibus: insuper cor letificat: colorem rubefacit: linguam reddit expeditam: liberat a eris: et hominem facit audacem: et excitat ad omnia appetitum: et multa alia bona facit.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 63, l. 1969. A Lydgate line. See Appendix II., 2.

p. 63, l. 1970. 'Linguam reddit expeditam: liberat a eris.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 64, l. 1996. This is attributed to Hippocrates in Lamb. 501. In a Latin text: 'Sapiens quidem aristos bonum vinum commendavit ubi dixit: mirum est de homine qualiter potest infirmari vel mori: cujus cibus est panis optimi frumenti, et carnes commendabiles, et potus bonae vitis.' The root idea of this sentiment is in *Galen de san. tu. I. 12., de maras. 2.*

p. 64, l. 1997. See l. 1241.

p. 64, l. 2010. 'Et illum qui inebriatur vino ultra modo sumpto: ut abluat se cum aqua calida; et sedeat super flumina eurentium aquarum; et habeat salices atque mirtum; et ungere debet corpus suum cum sandalo confecto; et fumigare cum incensis frigidis et odoriferis. Haec est quidem ebrietatis optima medicina.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 64, l. 2014. 'Salwys' in apposition to 'wyllwys.' 'Sallies' is still a dialect name for osier willows.

p. 64, l. 2016. Sandal—'Triasendale' (18 A. vij.), an electuary of which the composition may be found in *Villanovanus*, f. 249b. Op. Om. 1520 fo.

p. 64, l. 2021-3 represent a chapter 'Quomodo vini potu est derelinquendus.' Eastern medicine lays stress on continuity of habit, and of making gradual changes—here it recommends taking to raisin water, and so on.

p. 64, l. 2023. Here a great gap occurs. The whole of the magic and alchemy comes between this and the next line, which begins Book III. of the *Sec. Sec.*

p. 64, l. 2024. The English version (18 A. vij.) nearest to Burgh's text runs thus: 'Dere sone, rightwisnes may not ben onyr preysid, for it is of þe propir nature of glorious God, and it is made to sustene all Rewmes for helpe of his servauntis, and rightwisnes owith to kepe the royalle blood, and the richesse

of the possessione of sugetis, and governe hem in alle her nedes ; and what lord doth thus, he is in that case like unto God.'

p. 65, l. 2031. A very involved stanza. It means 'Justice, sent from God to his creatures, made of understanding, a sovereign help to obedient subjects, was sent to princes that they might save their subjects from pillage.'

p. 65, l. 2049. 'Et fuit inventum scriptum in uno lapidem in lingua chaldaea: quod rex & intellectus sunt fratres alter altero indigens: nec sufficit unus sine reliquo.'—*Sec. Sec.* Burgh's stanza points to a contract between people and king—an idea not in any of the texts.

p. 65, l. 2052. Another gap occurs here in the text Burgh uses. This line begins Book IV. de consulariis. The Latin advises the king to have five counsellors (like the five senses), and to listen to their advice separately.

p. 66, l. 2087. Burgh it seems had not the signs mentioned in his text. The Latin says: 'fuit ergo genesis in Venere & in Marte in gradu suo existente Geminis cum Libra. Sydera vero contraria et pessima nondum erat orta: ostendit ergo genesis, quod puer futurus erat sapiens, curialis, velocis manus, boni consilii, diligendus a regibus.'—*Sec. Sec.* How Lydgate would have worked this up! I believe the story comes from Ptolemy's Centiloquium, but I have not verified my reference.

p. 66, l. 2092. 'Insight' should be one word.

p. 67, l. 2126. See l. 404.

p. 68, l. 2150. This stanza describing the properties of a good counsellor is out of place here, and should come after l. 2240.

p. 69, l. 2163. Harl. 2251 has in the margin here, 'Parva sunt arma foris, nisi sit consilium domi.'—Cicero [de off. I. xxij.].

p. 69, l. 2164. 'Et in libro cujusdam medorum mandatum est filio suo: fili, necessarium est tibi habere consilium, quoniam unus es in hominibus. Consule ergo illum qui poterit liberare a potentia: et noli parere inimico: sed quantumcumque poteris, in ipso tuam victoriam manifesta: et in quolibet tempore, cave tibi a potentia inimici.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 69, l. 2178. The quotation marks should be on this stanza; it forms part of the Mede's letter.

p. 69, l. 2188. Either of these readings would do; the meaning of the stanza is: 'take counsel; you are not bound to act on it, and you must weigh it well in any case.'

p. 69, l. 2191. The same as l. 1536.

p. 69, l. 2192. This seems to have been a not uncommon fault in 'divine right' kings. 'Sollicite & diligenter moneo & do tibi optimum consilium, nunquam constituas bajulum in regimine loci tui.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 70, l. 2203 begins a new chapter in the texts. 'Experienta circa bajulos.'

p. 70, l. 2206. The counsellor would be put in a corner; if he advises the king to spend his own money, he does not honour him sufficiently; on the other hand, if he advises him to take his subjects', he is an enemy—so nothing is left for the counsellor but to offer the king his own money.

p. 70, l. 2212. Burgh had to translate here a curious phrase, which he misunderstands. 'Si ergo inducet te ad distributionem eorum quae sunt in thesauro tuo, et ostendat hoc esse expediens, scias quod nullum caput pretii ponit in te.' *Sec. Sec.* Lamb. 501 translates it, 'wete you þat he puttys yn þe no good lernynge.'

p. 70 l. 2213-4 are not in the text.

p. 70, l. 2221-3. 'Ut pote eligens et volens confusionem sui operis pro tua gloria.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 71, l. 2248. The first mark of a good counsellor. l. 2250. The second. The third—good memory, and the fourth—powers of observation, are omitted. l. 2253. The fifth, 'curialis,' &c. l. 2255. The sixth, he should be specially skilled in arithmetic, which is the ground of all science. l. 2256. The seventh. l. 2258. The eighth.

p. 72, l. 2262. The ninth. l. 2264. The tenth. l. 2269. The eleventh. l. 2276. The twelfth. l. 2279. The thirteenth. l. 2281. The fourteenth. l. 2283. The fifteenth.

p. 72, l. 2290. Another chapter begins here. 'Quod homo sit minor mundus.'

p. 73, l. 2299. One cannot account for this line; the text is 'durus et austerus ut coruus,' and all the translations are right. Did Burgh read *cornus*, and make a shot at 'hart,' 'horned animal'?

p. 73, l. 2304. The Latin for 'contagious' is *stolidus*, 'boystous,' 'rude,' in the versions.

p. 73, l. 2305. 'Litel kyng,' 'regulus,' 'parvus rex,' 'rutel.' Fr. 'rambe,' the wren.

'The wren, the wren, the king of all birds,'

is school-boy language all over the world.

p. 73, l. 2311. A favourite phrase of Burgh's. See li. 1562, 1894.

p. 73, l. 2317. After this comes in the texts a chapter on having servants of the same faith as oneself, with the story of the Jew and the Magian. 'Enchanter of the Orient,' Lamb. 501 calls him. In mediæval Europe such advice was needless, and was dropped out in the shorter texts.

p. 73, l. 2318. This begins the fifth book of the *Sec. Sec.*

p. 74, l. 2336-8. Burgh misunderstands his text, which advises the king to make his secretaries feel that their security and prospects depend on his welfare.

p. 74, l. 2339. Beginning of Book VI. 'de nuntiis.'

p. 74, l. 2346. This line seems to be a shot at a translation of a line which the versions omitted: 'quia forte est juxta noctem, et ejus intentio in alio est.' The picture is of the king suddenly calling on one of his lords, charging him with his embassy, and expecting him to set off on the moment. One must leave out the line if one wishes to follow the sense.

p. 75, l. 2358. The king is warned of the Persian custom of making all ambassadors drunk.

p. 75, l. 2367. This seventh book, 'de subditis domus propriae,' seems to refer to the treatment of the king's personal following as distinct from the general body of his subjects.

p. 75, l. 2368. Chaucer is quoting from the *Sec. Sec.* in his *L. of G. W.*, 379, and seq. 390.

'He must thinkin it is his liegeman
As is his tresour, and his golde in cofer
This is the sentence of the philosopher.'

p. 76, l. 2395. The complaint as to Judges being partial is later than the old translations. It is found in 18 A. vij., but not in Lamb. 501.

p. 76, l. 2401. Book 8, 'de ordine & multitudine bellatorum,' with its tale of the wonderful horn figured by Kircher from the Vatican MS., is omitted in 18 A. vij and here. See Lamb. 501 for a translation of it.

This begins book 9: 'de bello.'

p. 76, l. 2404. The semicolon should be at the end of the next line.

p. 78, l. 2456. Burgh uses this metaphor again. See lines 1536 and 2191.

p. 78, l. 2465. This begins book 10 on physiognomy. It has always attracted attention, and of late years has been much studied. I hope to enter in some detail on the connection between this work and the genuine treatises of Polemon and of Aristotle. I am disposed, after some study, to attribute the whole of the remainder of the poem to Lydgate, with perhaps touches by Burgh. There would be more likelihood of this, since in many MSS. this book stands by itself as a separate work, and since it has indeed been printed as such. Sl. 3469 treats the Latin text as a separate work, and the fact of two of our MSS. omitting this part of the poem shows that there was something to mark it off from the rest of Burgh's work. The Envoi is distinctly, as I have elsewhere remarked, Lydgatian.

p. 78, l. 2466. If the remainder is Lydgatian, this stanza seems Burgh's. Compare the line-endings of 2466 and 1581; 2468 and 1539; 2469 and 1525.

p. 78, l. 2473. A Lydgate line, l. 498.

p. 78, l. 2474. A Lydgate line, l. 491.

p. 78, l. 2475. A line Lydgate has taken from Chaucer (*K. T.*, 1086), and used before, l. 500.

p. 78, l. 2476. See l. 501.

p. 78, l. 2479. This is the well-known story of Zopyrus and Socrates. See *Cic. de fato*, 5, 10. *Tusc. IV.* 37, 80. *Alexand. Aphrod. de fato*. 6. *Euseb. prep. ev. VI.* 9, 22. Polemon was the only writer on physiognomy known to the Arabs, and Socrates is not very different in its Arabic form from Hippocrates, who was far better known.

Some Arabic texts give the name as Aelimas.

p. 79, l. 2493. This stanza is identical with stanza 71, ll. 491-7, with the exception of l. 2499.

p. 80, l. 2518. Hippocrates said that what Philomon had said was true of his disposition, but that he had combatted his nature.

p. 80, l. 2530. 'Fuge ergo ab omni homine livido et flavo quoniam declivis est ad vitia et luxuriam.'—*Sec. Sec.* One of the Hebrew texts adds: 'Inspice tibi Germanos has ultimas proprietates possidentes, scilicet stultitiam, perfidiam, et impudentiam.'

p. 80, l. 2542. 'Cave et precave ab homine infortunato et diminuto in aliquo membro sicut cavendum est ab inimico.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 80, l. 2546-8. Not in the text.

p. 81, l. 2556. 'Et raritas verborum nisi cum necesse fuerit, mediocritas in sonoritate vocis et subtilitate.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 81, l. 2563. The Latin treats of 'hairs,' but Lydgate (or Burgh) has connected with a sentence on ears in l. 2567: 'Qui habet aures magnas est valde fatuus.' The text for the hair is: 'Capilli autem plani et suaves significant mansuetudinem & frigiditates cerebri: multitudo vero capillorum super utroque humero significat stultitiam et fatuitatem.'

p. 81, l. 2570. This is altogether different from the Latin text. 'Multos etiam habere pilos in ventre et pectore declarat horribilitatem, et singularitatem naturae, et diminutionem apprehensionis, et amorem injuriarum.' Probably our poet allowed his personal knowledge to correct his text.

p. 81, l. 2578. 'Love of resoun' would agree better with the texts.

p. 82, l. 2586. 'In-voys,' 'invidus est, inverecondus, piger, inobediens, et precipue si sint lividi.'

p. 82, l. 2590. Insert a comma after curteys.

p. 82, l. 2593. 'Qui vero habet oculos similes oculis asini, insipiens est, et duræ naturæ.'

p. 82, l. 2600. 'Levyng'; 'fraudentus, latro, et infidelis.'

p. 82, l. 2611. The Latin is 'significat ineptitudinem (or impeditiōnem) loquendi': 'evyl manere of spekyng.' Lamb. 501.

p. 83, l. 2615. No foundation in text for this.

p. 83, l. 2621. 'Probus et audax.'

p. 83, l. 2623. 'Simus est impetuus.'

p. 83, l. 2625. 'Valde iracundus.'

p. 83, l. 2628. 'Verbosus et mendax.'

p. 83, l. 2637. 'Of ignoranne the miste to elace away.'—*C. of L.* 25.

p. 83, l. 2638. 'Facies plana carens tumorositate (rugis) significat litigi-
osum, discolum, injuriosum, et inmundum.'

p. 83, l. 2644. 'Qui vero habet faciem mediocrem in genis et temporibus
vergētem ad pinguedinem: est verax, amans, intelligens, atque sapiens,
servitialis bene dispositus ac ingeniosus.'

p. 84, l. 2647. Here should come the passage about the ears, which our
poet has transposed.

Grossa vox et sonora significat bellicosus et eloquens.

Mediocris „ sapiens, providus, verax, justus.

Velox in verbis „ improbus, stolidus, importunus, mendax.

Grossa „ iracundus et præcipitans, malæ naturæ.

Dulcis „ invidus et suspiciosus.

Pulchritudo vocis „ stoliditatem, insipientiam, et magnanimita-
tem.

p. 84, l. 2660. 'Qui vero habet collum grossum est stolidus, et comestor
magnus.'—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 84, l. 2670. 'Elevationes vero humerorum est signum asperitatis naturæ,
et infidelitatis.'

p. 84, l. 2678. 'Pedes vero carnosus et grossi significant fatuitatem et
amorem injuriæ.'

p. 85, l. 2680. 'Pedes vero parvi et leves significant audaciam et forti-
tudinem (æduritiem).'

p. 85, l. 2682. Largeness is subject to betokenyth.

p. 85, l. 2684. In knees follows flesshy.

p. 85, l. 2687. 'Steps' should be inserted after 'hath' (without MS.
authority). 'Et cui passus sunt breves est impetuus et suspiciosus, impotens
in operibus, & malæ voluptatis.'

p. 85, l. 2710. This piece of advice is found in all writers on physiognomy,
especially in the ancient ones, such as Aristotle himself, and Rhasis.

Additional Note.

Land 416 and 673 in the Bodleian have 'pourpartie' for inpartye in l. 160.
Ashmole 46 reads as our MS., from which it is probably a copy written by the
same hand.

GLOSSARY.

abovyn, 100, 423, above
 abrayde, 308, sprang up
 accoord, 187, agreement
 accordith, 914, 1415, agree
 accordaunce, 1357, agreement
 achen, 1760, sanicle
 afor, 634
 afor, 138, 261, 849, 892 } before
 affecyoun, 23, 198, 454, 466, 621, relation to, affection
 ageyn, 114 &c. 630, before, and opposite to
 aldayes, 2336, 2421, always
 amerously, 257, bitterly
 apus, 1758, water-parsley
 archemise, 1760, wormwood; arthemise would be nearly the correct name for the plant
 assayes, 59, 157, tests, trials
 atracies, 1760, blessed thistle
 attemperance, 184, 759, 773, 872, 895, 1246, 1261, temperance, due combination of qualities in correct proportion
 atwen, 39, 521, &c.)
 atwix, 305, 1099, &c.) between
 atwixen, 772, &c.)
 avysecl, 639 } prudent, foreseeing
 avyse, 213 }
 avyisement, 1332, counsel
 avyseness, 17, 374, 668, prudence
 avys, 154, 176, 183, 902, 1011, 1239, prudence, advice

 baas, 2556, low
 bolnyth, 1734, swelleth
 boote, 1299, repair, remedy
 brede, 1133, breadth
 brosyd, 1709, bruised, injured
 broyde, 737, border
 brynstoun, 1648, sulphur
 bussment, 2406, ambush

caas, 912, chance
 cammyd, 2623, crooked
 carpe, 708, say, speak
 caste, 153, 516, 2213, reckon
 casuel, 911, 927, by chance
 celerys, 1439, cellars
 ceryonsly, 352, in series
 chawyd, 1713, chewed
 cherysshe, 12, 15, 189, &c., hold dear
 chevyssh, 2210, procure
 clapyrys, 1321, rabbit-burrows
 clours, 1314, 1341, colours
 confortatyff, 1717, strengthening
 congrew, 1538, congruous
 contagious, 1646, 2304, harmful
 confirfeet, 404, 2126, manufactured
 contvne, 419, continue
 counfort, 69, 307, 332, 1150, to strengthen
 courbyd, 1417, curved, bent
 covейtise, 742, 763, 1042, 2406, covetousness
 covennable, 2382, suitable

 dar, 355, 538, 923, 1322, 1449, dare
 decertys, 1141
 discertys, 893, 896, 1388, } deserts
 declync, 394, draw off
 deffye, 1623, 1833, digest
 delyver, 1970, limber, nimble
 demenyd, 117, governed, cf. demesne
 dempte, 617, deemed
 depnesse, 2233, quagmire
 dewyd, 99, endued
 digne, 33, 135, worthy
 discrase, 1213, 1231, to make up one's mind
 disenre, 726, discover
 doon, in Burgh is practically used as we now use the unemphatic 'do,' cf. 1635, 1680, 1993, &c.
 donn, 996, done

downbe, 2310, dumb
 dowset, 1683, dulcet, sweet
 dragmes, 1808, drachms
 dyspayr, dispeyr, 163, 192, 284, in-
 equality

egir, 1707, bitter
 empryses, 117, 179, undertakings, 782,
 enterprises

encence, 2019, incense, sweet herbs
 enforme, 2133, inform, to mould or
 form

enserge, 2472, ensearch, search out

entende, 805, listen

entendement, 63, understanding

equiperacioun, 2367, r. equality

erst, 685, before

euerychoon, 353, 1242 } each

euerych, 565 }

exordye, 333, exordium

expert, 358, proved

expleyted, 285, filled, completed

exploitourys, 2452, *exploratores*, spies

feel, 2307 } fell

fel, 2434 }

fervence, 248, fervour

fervent, 347, hot

feynt, 866, feigned

flix, 1746, flux

fooly, 897, folly

folytssh, 581, 775, foolish

foly, 2407, fool-like

forthre, 398, to assist

forthryd, 283, assisted

fourtie, 1670, foremost

foysoun, 1644, abundance

gentillesse, 130, 830, 1180, gentleness,
 nobility

glede, 347, burning coal

gre, 21, will

grees, 1622, grease

grucchyng, 113, 775, 780, 778, grudg-
 ing

gryffyd, 2373, grafted

guerdownyth, 900, 1390, rewardeth

herborwed, 2084, harboured, lodged,
 entertained

holly, 32, wholly

hovith, 1184, r. behoveth

incondigne, 1532, unworthy, because
 untrained

inpartye, 160. See Notes; if the word
 is real jupartye, it can only be in a
 very extended sense

invoys, 2586, envious

ioweler, 554, jeweller

joye, 2046, enjoy

jupartye, 305, 784, 1113, jeopardy,
 hazard

keep, 1284, 9, 11 }

kepyng, 799, 957 } as in housekeeping

kynde, 752, nature

large, 749, 857, 917, liberal

largesse, 739, 745, 864, 869, liberality

lecture, 379, 417, reading

lefft, 660, left

legis, 10, 851, lieges

lepre, 1658, leprosy

lesyng, 1390, 2256, lying

lesyth, 1440, loseth

letnary, 1722, electuary

levene, 705, flash of lightning

levyng, 2600, unbelieving

liges, 851, 853, 917, lieges, subjects

litel, 547 } little

lyte, 762 }

longanymte, 361, Lat.: *longanimitas*,
 constancy

lukyr, 2398, lucre

lyst, 338, lest, 280, 422, 575, &c., 2021,
 like

lyve, 227, life

massageer, 479, 2341, &c., messenger

mawgre, 156, in spite of

maystryes, 2450 (*magisteria*), works
 showing in them the master's skill

mede, 670, reward, bribe

medle, 522, 548, 552, 837, 847, 898,
 1657, mingle

meenesse, 2533, mediocrity

megre, 265, meagre

mekyl, 763, 1247 } much

mechyl, 1226, r. }

mewe, 2062, cage, coop

molte, 1318, melted

morwe, 1807

morwen, 1326 } morning

morwening, 1763 }

motlees, 1378, livery

mowne, 1471, must, should

murily, 1441, ripely, in fitting time

mvt, 1167, 1260, must, ought, 2722,
 (optative) may

myshumours, 1922, corrupted humours
from whence arose diseases

namely, 385, &c., especially
nevene, 322, name
noblesse, 145, 966, nobility
nyce, 2569, foolish

O, 216, 1164, 1421, one, 445, or
onyment, 2016, ointment
oost, 2421, 2428, host
organycalle, 2095 }
organyehall, 2543 } natural
orlogge, 1463, cloek, horloge
ostage, 1470, lodging
outrage, 18, 54, 569, excess, conceit
outrageous, 572, excessive
outrageously, 1975, superfluously
owmbre, 402, shadow
owylle, 2147, of will

pallith, 1091 }
pallyd, 404 } beats down, weakens
parficht, 273, 365, 386, 1520, perfect
perlees, 260, peerless
peseecoddis, 1374, pease
peyse, 17, 164, 169, 771, 774, 817, 820,
1435, weigh
phisichal, 1803, physical
pistel, 127
pistel, 476 r., 637, 652, 659 } letter
plat, 2638, flat
pleyne, 955, border on
polityk, 3, 373, statesmanlike
pondorosite, 1798, weight
pouraylle, 810, 1398, O.-F. *pouraille*,
poor people
povert, 1384
poverte, 934, 1279 } poverty
preef, 183
preff, 1632 } proof
preve, 2017 }
prees, 554, 611, a press, a crowd
prenotaryes, 2399, prothonotaries
preperat, 2014, prepared
preys, 910, 920, 1324 } praise
prys, 215 }
processe, 20, 639, 1253, 1380, Lat. :
processus, narrative. Cf. proses
prohenye, 2169, procin
provyde, 40, 138, 639, 667, 790, foresee
purslane, 1378, a pot herb, formerly
much used, of the genus *Portulaca*
pyleer, 705, pillar

quarteyn, 1813, quartain, the ague
queme, 202, to please
quyketh, 1299, gives life to

rakyl, 2353, hasty, rash
recurys, 2033, O.-F. *recours*, recourse
reffreytes, 816, springs
rembarbe, 1984, rhubarb
repayer, 287, O.-F. *repairer*, from Lat.
repariare, restore to one's country
replleshyd, 1649, 1783, replenished,
full
rerage, 571, arrears
resaylle, 2279, receipts
resynges, 1809, raisins
reysed, 705, raised, 1698, received
reyseth, 1932, raiseth
rolle, 2057, enroll
roseet, 1712, roseate
rotte, 1744, ? knee-cap, from L. *rotula*
ryvaylles, 1328, banks

saeryd, 317, consecrated
salwys-wyllwys, 2014, sallow willows,
osiers
schent, 1424, break
seece, 175, cease
sekirmesse, 75, security
sewith, 133, followeth
seyn, 127, 547, 625, 1140, seen, 349,
355, 357, 538, 657, say
shokked, 354, stored; cf. shocks of
corn
sith, 1210, 1253, 1505, chanee
skornys, 2705, gibes, 'flouts and
sneers'
slandre, 1356, slender
sogeer, 1459, sojourn
sondys, 1886, sands
soote, 677, 837, 1300, sweet
sorippys, 1990, syrups
sowdiours, 808, mercenaries
spatlyng, 1416, spitting
stani, 897, 1211, 1799, stand
stewe, 579, fish-pond
stillyng, 1861, distilling in drops
stok, 1943, 2000, 2373, place, body
stynt, 304, stay, stand
sugryd, 220, 376, 882, 889, 1309,
sugared, sweetened

tabourerys, 883, drummers
tabyde, 614, &c., to abide
t'accomplysshe, 182, &c., to accomplish
t'agreen, 468, to agree

tarage, 1886, 2001, ? flavour tarye, 538, 2302, tarry t'assaye, 582, to assay temperat, 1277, 1310, modified, pro- portioned t'enlmyne, 252, 311, 14, to illumine termyne, 811, to end, to determine th'answere, 161 r., the answer th'avys, 118, the advice thewys, 31, 1071, manners, virtues t'obeye, 602, to obey the t'othir, 642, the other tonne, 249, tun, vessel tours, 1244, circles tressyd, 952, 1003, from tress	tretable, 213, 363, 943, 2242, O.-F. <i>traitable</i> , tractable verray, 194, 627, 1098, true wakir, 227, 381, watchful warysoun, 2337, 2413, protection, remedy, cure wayours, 1877, horse-ponds (O.-F. <i>gayoir</i>) wepne, 2415, weapons wheer, 932, 1419, whether withseye, 1109, withstand, gainsay wood, 573, mad wurschepe, 327, honour
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