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Goocleve's Works.

I. THE MINOR POEMS.

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series. No. LXI.

1892.

BERLIN: ASHER & CO., 13, UNTER DEN LINDEN.
NEW YORK: C. SCRIBNER & CO.; LEYPOLDT & HOLT.
PHILADELPHIA: J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

~~Printed~~
~~by~~
~~George~~

492

Goccleve's Works.

I. THE MINOR POEMS
IN THE PHILLIPPS MS. 8151 (CHELTENHAM)
AND THE DURHAM MS. III. 9.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY.

38684
7/10/96.

LONDON :

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY
By KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LIMITED.
PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD, W.C.

1892.

TO THE MEMORY OF
Teena Hochfort Smith,
MY MUCH-RESPECTED AND DEEPLY-REGRETTED GIRL-FRIEND,
THE LOVER OF SHAKSPERE AND BROWNING.

Extra Series.

LXI.

F. JAY & CO., LIMITED, LONDON & BUNGAY.

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The List of Hocceve's Minor Poems in the Ashburnham MS. 133 is at p. xxvii of the Forewords. Hocceve's only other work is his *Regement of Princes*.

FOREWORDS.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>§ 1. Hoccleve's Life and dated Poems,
p. vii. (The Ashburnham MS,
p. xxvii).</p> <p>§ 2. His Love of Chaucer, p. xxx.</p> | <p>§ 3. His Patrons, Associates and Character, p. xxxiv.</p> <p>§ 4. Comments on some of his Poems, Metre and Language, p. xxxix.</p> <p>§ 5. Text-copying, and Thanks to Helpers, p. xlv.</p> |
|--|--|

HOCCELEVE must have got his name, says Mr. Kirk, from the pleasant village of Hockliffe in Bedfordshire,¹ on the Roman road, Watling St., $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles S. of Woburn, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ E. of Leighton Buzzard.²

¹ At Mr. Overend's suggestion, Mr. Kirk searched the Subsidy Rolls. Those for Hocceleve's father's time seem to be lost, but earlier ones mention a Richard de Hoelyve, who may (or may not) have been the poet's grandfather.

Lay Subsidy Roll, Bedford, $\frac{7}{16}$.

† 3 Edw. II (July, 1309-10), Roll of a 25th granted to the King.
Hundred of Manshead. Hockkelyve. (28 names.)
Of Richard de Hockkelyve, 4s. $6\frac{3}{4}d$.
Of the Master of Hockkelyve, 6s. $5d$.
Sum of the whole township, 73s.

$\frac{7}{11}$.

† 8 Edw. II (July, 1314-15), Roll of a 20th and 15th granted to the King.
Township of Hoelyve.
Of the Hospital of Hoelyve, 6s. $6d$.
Of Richard de Hoelyve, 5s. $6d$.
38 names.
Sum of this township, 4l. 1s. $0\frac{1}{4}d$.

$\frac{7}{12}$.

[10 Edw. II, July, 1316-17], Roll of a 16th granted to the King.
Township of Hoelyve.
Of the Master of the Hospital, 9s.
Of Richard de Hoelyve, 6s. $5\frac{1}{2}d$.
30 names.
Sum of the township, 4l. 1s. $10d$.

$\frac{7}{13}$.

6 Edw. III (no month), a 15th and a 10th. "Hoelyve."

Only 15 names. The Master of the Hospital is mentioned, but no surname of Hoelyve. Sum 26s. $6d$.

On "Oceleve or Hocclif," Bedfordshire, Tanner says, *Vet. Mon.*, B 2, back), "Here was an hospital of a master and several brethren, as ancient as King John's Reign. It was dedicated to St. John Baptist." See too Dugdale, VI. ii. 753.

† No month given.

Mr. Stevenson suggests that Hoccleve must have been a West-countryman, as Cleves prevail in the West. We Thames folk know Cleve Lock and Mill

The chief authorities for the life of Hoccleve are his *Male Regle* in the Phillipps MS, his *Dialog with the old Beggar* in his *Regement of Princes*, his *Complaint* and *Dialog with a friend* in the Durham MS, and the entries about him in the Privy-Council Proceedings and the Patent and Pells-Issue Rolls.

In his *Dialog* (A.D. 1421-2), p. 125-6 below, Hoccleve speaks of Henry V's victories in France, and of Humfrey, Duke of Gloster, being Lieutenant of the Kingdom (125,533) while Henry was in France. This was from 10 June, 1421, to 31 August, 1422, when the King died at Vincennes. In the same poem Hoccleve says, "Of age am I fifty winter and thre." He must therefore have been born in 1368-9. The date of his englishing of *De Regimine Principum* is 1411-12; and in that poem he says, that he had been then

above Streatley and Goring; and if this Cleve could be added to the Berkshire river Ock which joins the Thames at Abingdon, we should get Oocleve. Walker's *Gazetteer*, 1801, gives:—

"*Cleeve*, Devonsh. near Culliton. *Cleeve*, Glouc., in Westbury parish. *Cleeve*, Bishop's, Glouc., 5 miles from Tewkesbury. *Cleeve Prior*, Worc., 6 miles N.E. of Evesham.

"*Cleeve*, Kent, near Ightam, or Ikham. *Cleeve*, Kent, in the Isle of Thanet. *Cleeve*, Shropsh., S. of Wem. *Cleeve*, Somers., near Bridgewater. *Cleveland*, Somers., on the sea-side, nearly opposite to the Flatholm. *Cleveland*, Yorksh., N. Riding, a tract on the borders of Durham. *Cleveland*, Worc. *Cleeve*, Old, Somersetsh., S.W. of Watchet. *Cleverton*, Wilts., near Malmesbury."

The *Hocks* are well scattered, tho most of the *Ocks* are in the West. The nearest name in sound to Hoccleve, besides the Hockliffe given above, is Hocklough in Northumberland, near Allanton. Walker gives:—

"*Hockenhall*, Chesh., near Tarvin. *Hockerevell*, Hertfordsh., near Bishop's Stortford. *Hockerrill*, Dorsetsh., near Nottingham and Broadway. *Hockerton*, Notting., N.E. of Southwell. *Hocket*, Kent, near Marden. *Hockford*, Devonsh., in Stockworthy parish. *Hockham*, Great and Little, Norf., W. of Buckenham. . . . *Hockhold*, Norfolk. *Hockley in the Hole*, Bedf., 5 miles N. of Dunstable. *Hockley in the Hole*, Essex, near S. Fambridge, in a miry road, often overflowed in the winter. It is a long range of houses, chiefly inns. *Hockridge*, Devonsh., N.W. of Exeter. *Hockring*, Norfolk, N.E. of E. Dereham. *Hockwold*, Norf., 3 miles from Brandon. *Hockworthy*, Devonsh., N. of Stamford Peverel. *Hocomb Hill*, Middlesex, between Mill Hill and Highwood Hill.

"*Ock*, a river in Berkshire, which runs into the Thames at Abingdon. *Ock*, a river in Devonshire, which runs into the Towridge, below Hatherley. . . . *Ockbrook*, 5 miles from Derby. *Ockendon*, N. and S., Essex, S. of Cranham. . . . *Ockerridge*, Gloucestersh., a hamlet to Bisley. *Ockerton*, Oxfordsh., W. of Banbury. *Ockford*, Dorsetsh., in Marchwood Vale. *Ockford*, *Chibb*, Superior and Inferior, Dorsetsh., E. of the Stour. *Ockford Fitzpaine*, Dorsetsh., 3 miles S.E. of Sturminster, Newton. *Ockham*, Surrey, S.E. of Woking. *Ockleston*, Chesh., S. of Middlewich. *Ockley*, Bucks., N.W. of Taine. *Ockley*, Worcester-sh., near Salwarp. *Ockley*, Great and Little, Northamptonsh., by Rockingham Forest. *Ockley-Park-House*, Shropsh., near Ludlow. *Ockold*, Suffolk, S. of Eye. *Ocull* and *Ocull-Pichard*, N.E. of Hereford."

24 years, come Easter, in the Privy-Seal Office.¹ He must have therefore gone into that Office in 1387-8, when he was 19 or 20 years old. Let us say 1387, and then the date fits the first document in which Hoccleve is mentioned in the *Privy-Council Proceedings and Ordinances*, 1386-1400, ed. Nicholas, 1834, vol. i, p. 88 :—

[“ Additional MS in Brit. Mus. 4596, Art. 128, a modern tran-

¹ “ In the office of the prive-seel I wone ; 802
 To write there is my custume and wone
 Unto the seel, and have twenty yere
 And foure, come Estren, and that is nere.”—Ed. Wright, p. 29.

And again, at p. 37 of the same Roxburghe Club book, and p. xvii below :—

“ What man that twenty yere and more
 In writyng hath contynued, as haue I,
 I doe wele sey it smerteth hym full sore
 In every veyne and place of his body ;
 And yen most it greveth truly,
 Of ony craft that man kan ymagine :
 Fader, in feith, it spilt hath welny me.”

Sir Harris Nicolas says, in his Preface to vol. vi of *The Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, 1837, p. cxlii—iii :

“ the Crown made several attempts to render the Privy Seal, and even the King's Signets of equal authority to the Great Seal.

“ The Privy Seal was in the Custody of the Clerk of the Privy Seal, who was sometimes called the Keeper, and afterwards Lord Privy Seal,* who was a Member of the King's Council as early as the reign of Edward the Third, and who was then, if not before, a responsible Minister of the Crown. The Signet, and perhaps the other Small Seals, which will be again alluded to, were always kept by the King's Secretary, or by the King himself.”

The King's Signet was in the custody of his Secretary, as his private letters were sign'd with it. The Clerk of the Signet wrote out such Grants or Letters Patent as past, by Bills sign'd by the King, to the Privy Seal. This Signet-seal'd copy was a Warrant to the Privy Seal ; and the Privy Seal was a Warrant to the Great Seal : Lord Coke, *Second Institute* 556 ; Nicolas, *ib.* clxxxvi—vii. Statutes checking the wrong uses of the Signet and Privy Seal for illegal grants &c. are 13 Ric. II (1389), 8 Hen. IV (1406), and 18 Hen. VI, ch. i.

As to the King's Secretary and the holder of the Privy Seal, Sir H. Nicolas says, *ib.* cxxxii—iv :

“ While learning was to be found only in the cloister, the King's Secretary was a Priest ; and a layman never appears to have held that situation until the middle of the reign of King Henry VIII. After a few years' service he was frequently promoted to the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal, and was sometimes rewarded with a Mitre Though the first of the King's Secretaries, of whom the name has been discovered, was a Member of the Council, it was not until towards the middle of Henry the Sixth's reign that they were always Privy Councillors. As the affairs of the Country were then conducted entirely by the King and his Continual or Privy Council, his Secretary, when a Member of the Council, of course shared the responsibility of the other Councillors ; but except in being one of the King's Councillors, he was a mere executive Officer, answerable only to the Sovereign himself”

script. This document is presumed to belong to about the 9th or 10th Ric. II. (22 June, 1385, to 21 June, 1387), as Sir John Clanvowe, who is mentioned therein, was retained to serve in the King's expedition into Scotland in 1385, and is supposed to have died before April 1390.]

"Sensuent les nouns des persones as quaux le Consail estoit accordez que briefs de liberate soient grantez pour les causes desouz expressees, sur les fees et annuitees a eux grantez et confermez

Monsieur Johan Clanvowe	} Par cause quilz furent ovesque le	
Monsieur Robert Whitteneye		} Roy en Escoce
Monsieur Thomas Bret		
Thomas Hocceleve ¹	} Par cause quilz sount clers en l'offise du	
Robert Frye		} prive seal. ²
Johan Hethe		
William Flete		

Hocceleve meant at first to be a priest³:—"I whilom thought Have ben a preest ; now past is the raas." *De Reg.*, p. 52, l. 1147-8. He probably entered the Privy-Seal Office till he could get a benefice

¹ The payment to Hocceleve referred to in the Privy-Council proceedings has not been found in any of the rolls for 1385-7. It may have been of a similar nature to the payment made to the Chancery clerks in 1387, in the Pells Issue Rolls for Easter, 10 Ric. II:—Payment to divers clerks of the Chancery of the *King's gift*, for their labour in copying Chancery enrolments and sending them to the Exchequer for execution.

The roll for Easter, 10 Ric. II (A.D. 1387), contains a payment of *6l. 13s. 4d.* to *Guy de Rochyff*, one of the clerks in the office of the Privy Seal, sent by order of the Lords of the Council as messenger to the King, "for certain matters touching the state of the King and the Kingdom."—R. G. Kirk.

² Mr. Kirk cannot find any entries relating to Hocceleve or his fellow-clerks in the Pells Issue Rolls of 1388-90, tho there are others relating to payments for parchment, to Chaucer, &c. :—

1388, Easter, 11 Ric. II. Payment to John Blyth (as below).

1388, Mich., 12 Ric. II. 20 October, Tuesday. To John Blyth, "pergame-narius" of Lincoln, for parchment bought of him "as well for the office of the Privy Seal, as for the Great Exchequer and the Receipt thereof," &c., 10*l.* [This is probably the ". . . . Blyth" mentioned in later entries. See Appendix].

1389, Easter, 12 Ric. II. Three payments to Blyth and another, for parchment. Two Chaucer entries.

1389, Mich., 13 Ric. II. Two payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

1390, Easter, 13 Ric. II. Three payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

1390, Mich., 14 Ric. II. Two payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

John Prophete (see p. xiv below, note 1) is described as "Clerk" only.

Payment to "the Clerks of the Chancery." (See also Easter, 11 Ric. II. They seem to have had occasional "rewards" in the same way as the Clerks in the Privy-Seal office).

³ Miss L. T. Smith says, in *Anglia* v. 15, that it may be concluded he was bred to the law. This was only because he livd in Chester's Inn.

promist him, and then meant to be ordaind and take the endowment. But no benefice came. Instead, after twelve years' office-work, Hoccleve got from Henry IV, on Nov. 12, 1399, (six weeks after his accession), the grant of £10 a year for life, or until the King should promote him to an ecclesiastical benefice, without cure of souls, worth £20 a year, in other words, quarter him on a convent¹ (see Appendix I). The first payment of this Annuity, to Michaelmas 1400, namely £8 15s. 3d., was made to Hoccleve on Dec. 13, 1400 (App. II). The Roll for Easter, 2 Hen. IV, 1401, is missing, but no doubt the poet drew his half-yearly £5, as we know he did the payment due at Michaelmas (App. III). Then in 1402 he gets his Easter £5 on April 26 (App. IV a), but out of his Michaelmas money fifteenpence is deducted (App. IV b).

In 1402, Hoccleve wrote his *Letter of Cupid*, printed in some of the black-letter Works of Chancer, and below, p. 72-91. He based it mainly on Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours*,² the first poem in vol. ii of her Works just issued for 1891, by the Old French Text Society, p. 1-27, in 826 lines, and complaind how in Albion, above all lands, men shamd tears and sighs to deceive women, and then forsook them. His date of the month of May for the poem is borrowd from Christine de Pisan: needless to say that he never alludes to her. (See Notes at the end of this volume.)

On Oct. 15, 1403, Hoccleve gets his Annuity only by giving up £1 of it to the King, and taking £9 for ten (App. V). Next half he is probably hard-up, as he draws his half-yearly Easter £5 on March 6, 1404 (App. VI). The Michaelmas-1404 and Easter-1405 Rolls contain no entry of payment to Hoccleve, and he may then have written his appeal to the Lord Chancellor, p. 58 below, for payment of his arrears; but he gets his £5 for Michaelmas 1405 and Easter 1406 (App. VII, VIII). On Aug. 14, 1406, he is paid £3 0s. 8d. for parchment, ink and red-wax that he'd bought of divers folk for work of the Privy-Seal Office (App. IX).

¹ Compare the case of Thomas Purde, one of the Privy-Seal Clerks in Henry VIII's reign, "21 May, 1509. For Thomas Purde. To have a pension which the late created abbot of the Monastery of Hyde is bound to give to a clerk of the King's nomination."—*Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic, i. 12, no. 75.

² Prof. Paul Meyer told me this.

In the last quarter of 1406, our poet wrote *La Male Regle de T. Hoccleve*, p. 25-39 below, in which he begs my namesake "my lord the Fourneval . . . þat now is tresorer" to pay him his Michaelmas £5; he dares not ask for the arrears¹ due to him, p. 38, st. 53. In this poem Hoccleve also confesses his ill-regulated youth, and says that for twenty years past he had eaten and drunk outrageously,²—ever since he 'd been in the Privy-Seal Office, if not before,—had frequented wine-houses, gone after pretty girls at the Paul's Head Tavern,³ treated em to wine and wafers, and kist em, but hadn't "done the deed" (p. 28-30), owing, no doubt, to his cowardice, which he confesses made him keep quiet and out of rows. He was well known to the taverners and cooks at Westminster Gate, paid them whatever they askt, and was cald "a verray gentil-man" (p. 31). After eating and drinking there, instead of going back to the Privy-Seal Office, he 'd take a boat; and the boatmen fought for him because he always paid so well, and they cald him "Master" (or Squire), the name of a gentleman by birth or office, which tickled his vanity.

Hoccleve's appeal of 1406 to "my lord the Fourneval" seems to have produced £5 (App. X). On 12 July, 1407, Hoccleve gets his Easter £5 (App. XI), and on 15 July £3 6s. 8d., part of £7 9s. 10½d. due to him for parchment, ink and red wax (App. XII). But at Michaelmas, no pay is forthcoming, and so, on behalf of himself and his fellow-clerks, Baillay, Hethe⁴ and Offorde, Hoccleve writes to Sub-Treasurer Somer the Balade and Roundel on pages 59-60 below, praying him to get em their pay before Christmas. This pay seems to be for salaries, not annuities. But on 16 Jan., 1408, Hoccleve gets £4 3s. 2½d., the balance of the £7 9s. 10½d. due to him for 16

¹ As Hoccleve's side-note to his past year's dues is "Annus ille fuit restrictionis annuitatum," he probably refers to the Act of 7 Henry IV (A.D. 1405), ch. 16, entitled, "Annuities graunted by the King or his Ancestors of an older date shall be payed before them that were graunted of a later date."—Pulton, 268.

² This stanza (826) is quoted from a scribbled poem on a blank leaf of Register O of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, in the 9th Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission, p. 108, col. 1.

³ On its site, with that of Paul's Brewhouse, stood afterwards the St. Paul's Coffee-house, at the corner of the entrance from St. Paul's Churchyard to Doctors' Commons.—Cunningham. ⁴ See Hethe's name, p. x above.

month's parchment, ink, and red wax (App. XIII); on 4 Feb., 1408, he is paid his half-yearly annuity of £5, due at Michaelmas, 1407. In 1408 Hoccleve also gets his Easter £5 on July 7 (App. XV), while his Michaelmas £5 is paid on Feb. 13, 1409 (App. XVI). In 1409 he surrenders his Annuity of £10, and on May 17 has a fresh grant of an Annuity of £13 6s. 8d. from Michaelmas, 1408 (App. XVII). Six days after, on May 23, he gets his first half-yearly Easter payment of his increased annuity, £6 13s. 4d. (App. XVIII), and the like sum for Michaelmas, on Nov. 22, 1409 (App. XIX).

A few days before May 1, 1410,¹ if I read the lines aright, Hoccleve writes a chirpy poem to Somer,—then Sir Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer,—from their Temple² Club, "the Court of good Company," p. 64-6 below, reminding him that he was to give em a good dinner on May-day, and had promist them £2 to buy flour or wheat. On June 23, 1410, Hoccleve is paid 22s. 2d. for 14 month's ink, parchment and red wax (App. XX); on the following July 17 he gets his Easter £6 13s. 4d., but no payment is made to him for Michaelmas (App. XXI), till July 8, 1411, when he gets his overdue £6 13s. 4d. (App. XXII). On 26 Feb., 1412, his annuity for the whole year 1411 is paid to him (App. XXIII). The Roll for Easter, 1412, is missing, and no payment to Hoccleve is on the Michaelmas Roll. So it was doubtless in 1412 that he wrote his *Regement of Princes*, or *De Regimine Principum*, to Henry, Prince of Wales, who became King Henry V on 21 March, 1413. On Nov. 5, 1412, Hoccleve is paid 32s. for parchment and ink (App. XXIV), by the hands of John Welde, afterwards his clerk.

La Male Regle of 1406 records Hoccleve's fast life. His larks, of course, required a good income, and he seems at one time to have had

¹ The date is settled in this way. The Club dinner is to be on Thursday, May 1. I ask Prof. Skeat if he can tell me in what year, after 1408, May 1 falls on Thursday; and he answers, "Yes, certainly! The Prayer-book Calendar marks May 1 as *b*. Let this be Thursday. Then *c* = Friday, *d* = Saturday, and *e* = Sunday. So the Sunday-letter is E.

The tables of years for which E is the Sunday-letter include 1410, 1421, 1427, 1432, 1438, 1449, and 1455. You can take your pick: 1410 looks probable.

Yours ever, W. W. SKEAT."

² Probably the Middle Temple, to which Chester's Inn, where Hoccleve lived, belonged. See Note, p. xviii below.

private means—see the extracts below;—but even in 1406 his “rentes annuel” “too scarce been, greet costes to susteene,” 36, 361-2 below; the return from his “manuel labour” can be hardly seen or felt; and by 1411-12, he tells us three times over in his *Regement*, that (besides his annuity) his income is but six marks, £4, a year (34/935, 36/974, 44/1217). This £4 must have included both his rents—if he had any left—and his salary from the Privy Seal. The Chief of the Office¹ probably paid his clerks himself, out of his 20s.

¹ In the earlier entries in vol. i. of the *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, the name of “le gardein de notre prive seal” is not given. Those named afterwards—but who may have been appointed earlier,—are, in 1402, April 2. Thomas Langley, Keeper of the Privy Seal.—*ib.* i. 188.

1407, Nov. 16. John Prophete¹ (i. 300-1, “Maist . . . Prophete, gardein de notre prive [seal]”: ii. 79, “John Prophete, Secretaire du Roys, notre souverain seigneure”; See. to the King in Sept. 1402.—*ib.* 78).²

1417, Feb. 15. H. Ware (ii. 204: Feb. 15, 4 Hen. V, “H. Ware, eustode privati sigilli.”)

1421, July 1. John Stafford (ii. 287: 1 Hen. VI, vi. 344), and till 1422, Dec. 16 (iii. 8).

1422, Dec. 16. William Alnewyke (iii. 8), and on 16 July, 1424 (vi. 346), and on 14 March, 1426 (vi. 348). Also frequently after he was Bp. of Norwich, as 10 March, 1427, “Episcopus Norwicensis, custos privati sigilli” (iii. 255), and in 1429 (iii. 426), &c.

1434. William Lyndewode (iv. 202, “custos privati sigilli”) and “ntriusque juris doctor,” iv. 69. (When secondary in the Privy-Seal Office, he had £40 a year, with clothing, furs and lining: see in v. 150-1 the Petition to the King, June 3, 19 Hen. VI, A.D. 1441, of “your poevere clere, Adam Moleyns, secondary in y^e office of your prive seal, for such yerly reward and clothing for y^e said office . . . as was paid and delivered to Maister William Lyndewode, late secondary in y^e said office . . . in monnaye to be understande xl. li. and clothing, furrur and lynnyng as y^e said^t William Lyndewode receyved.”)

1437. Thomas Beekington (v. 13, 313, “Th. Bekyngtoñ . . . Custos privati sigilli”; 335 (A.D. 1439, “Thomas Bekynton. legum doctor, Regis secretarius”); 337 (A.D. 1439, “Bekynton, secretario”); 350 (A.D. 1439, “Thome Bekynton, legum doctoris”), &c.

1441. Adam Moleyns (v. 151, “Rex mandavit Custodi privati sigilli sui ut acceptaret Adam Moleyns, clericum, tunc consili sui secundarium officii, custodie privati sigilli, prout et dñi Custos fuit antequam in custodia ejusdem privati sigilli sui fuit assumptus; recipiendo . . . xl li singulis annis.”) &c.

1444. Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Bath (vi. 24: Feb. 1, 22 Hen. VI: “Youre humble chapellain, Thomas, bishop of Bath, keeper of youre prive seal” [Adam Moleyns was present at the Council on Jan. 26.—*ibid.*])

1446. Bishop of Wichester (so Index, vi. 408: vi. 51, July 24, Hen. VI: “my Lord^t of Chichestre, keper of his prive seal”).

1450. Andrew Holes (vi. 93: May 17, 28 Hen. VI: “To our right trusty and welbeloved clere, Maister Andrew Holes, keper of oure prive seel”).

For particulars respecting the Privy Seal Office, says Mr. Kirk, see the

¹ He had 20s. a day.

² “Master John Prophete was appointed *Keeper of the Privy Seal* on 4 October, 8 Henry IV., 1406. See Issue Roll for Easter, 8 Hen. IV. Previously he was described as follows:—(1400). Mich. 2 Hen. IV. He is called Dean of Hereford, and had been ‘retained’ as one of the King’s councillors.

(1405). Mich. 7 Hen. IV. John Prophet or Profyt, clerk, the King’s Secretary.”—R. G. Kirk.

a day, as little as he could: no payment of salary to Hoccleve, or any of the fellow-clerks he names, is on the Issue Rolls. At any rate, whatever money he had, he spent on drinking, stuffing, and girls; and then, as no benefice or corody was given him, he tired of waiting for it, and drifted into marriage:

Harl. 4866, ff. 26, bk.
 I gasyd longë firste, & waytid faste 1451
 After some benefice, and whan non cam,
 By *proces* I me weddid¹ attë laste.
 And, God it wot, it sorë me agaste 1454
 To byndë me / where I was at my large;
 But done it was: I toke on me þat charge.
 ed. Wright, p. 53, st. 208, l. 1456.

He married for love, not money (*Reg.* 58⁷/1559-61), and after his "skittish youth" (as the old Beggar terms his own gay time, *Reg.* 22/590) settled down into poverty and sad old age: no more treating and kissing the pretty plump girls at the Paul's Head.

Here is the account he gives of his prodigality in youth, p. 156-7:

Harl. 4866, ff. 76, bk. st. 623, p. 156, ed. Wright.
 A-mong foliës alle, is non, I leue, 4355
 More þan a² man his gode ful largely
 Despende, in hopë³ men wol hym releeve.
 Whan his gode is despendid vtterly,⁴
 The indigent, men settë no thyng by. 4359
 I, Hoccleue, in swich case⁵ am gilti,—þis me
 touchith,—
 So seith pouert, which oon foole large him vouchith.

No folly is greater than for a man to spend largely, in hope that his donees 'll relieve him when he's poor. I did this.

st. 624, p. 157.

For þogh I neuer were of hy degree, 4362
 Ne had[de] mochił gode, ne gret richesse,
 3it hath þe vice of prodigalite
 Smerted me sore, & done me hevynesse.
 He þat but litil hath, may done excesse 4366
 In his degree, as wel as may þe riche,
 Thogh hir dispenses werë nat ylyche.⁶ 4368

Tho' I never had much, yet I was prodigal.

Deputy Keeper's Reports, II. 33, 34, 70; the Guide to the Public Records, by S. R. Bird; the Report of the Record Commissioners, 1837, &c. The office of Clerks of the Privy Seal was abolished by Act of 14 and 15 Victoria, c. 82. (See Deputy Keeper's Reports, XIII. 4.)

¹ I weddede me, *Reg.* ² a *Reg.*, om. H. ³ hop H, hope *Reg.* ⁴ MS. viterly.
⁵ swich a case H, suche case *Reg.* ⁶ lyche H, ylyche *Reg.*

	st. 625.	
I opend my purse	So haue I plukkid at my purses ¹ strynges,	4369
till it was empty;	And made hem often for to ² gape and gane,	
and I shall get nothing unless you, O Prince, give it me.	þat his smal stuf hath take hym to his wynges, And hath I-sworne ³ to be my welthes bane, But if releef a-way my sorwe ⁴ plane;	4373
	And whens it comē shal, can I nought gesse, Mi lorde, but it pcedde of your hynesse,	4375
	st. 626.	
I repent my mis-guided life.	I me repente of my mysrewly ⁵ lyfe :	4376
	Wherfor, in þe wey of savaciōn I hope I be ; my dotage excessyfe Hath put me to swich castigaciōn,	
If I can get help, I shall thrive for the first time.	þat indigence hath dominaciōn	4380
	On me / O, had I help, now wold I pryue ; And so ne did I neuer ⁶ ȝit in my lyue.	4382
	st. 627.	
My annuity	My yeerly guerdon, myn annuite, [ff. 77]	4383
is in arrear; I can't get paid.	That was me graunted for my long labour, Is al behynde ; I may nought payed be ; Whiche causeth me to lyne[n] in langour.	
O, Prince,	O liberal prince, ensample of honour,	4387
relieve me!	Vn-to your gracē lyke it to promoote Mi poore estat, ⁷ and to my woo beth boote.	4389
	st. 628.	
	And, worpy prince, at Cristes reuerence,	4390
	Herkeneth what I schal seyn, and be ⁸ nocht greued, But lat me stande in your beneuolence ; For if myn hertes wil wiste were and pceded,	
I desire your well-being, and your soul's health too.	How you to loue it stired is and meeved,	4394
	Ye shulden knowe / Y your honour and welþe, Triste ⁹ and desire, and eek your soules helþe, &c.	4396

Over his writing or copying work, Hocceve groans to his old Beggar, *De Reg.*, p. 36-7 :

Harl. 4866, ff. 18, bk. st. 142.

Many think copying isn't hard work.	¶ Many men, fadir, wenen þat writynges	988
	No trauaile is / þei hold it but a game :—	

¹ purs H, purses Reg. ² for H, for to Reg. ³ sworne Reg. ⁴ my sorwe away Reg. ⁵ myreuled Reg. ⁶ *Real* never as ne'er. ⁷ Hocceve's moral for the Prince, on not being paid, is that when he becomes King, he shouldn't (like his Father, understood) grant Annuities unless he's sure he can pay em; for retraction of payment kindles the hate of subjects. He'd better not grant any pensions at all, than fail to pay em, p. 172, st. 685-7, l. 4789-4809. There's a good bit of advice in l. 4893, p. 175, "No disdeyne have of the poores sentence (opinion)." ⁸ beth Reg. ⁹ Thurste Reg.

Aart hath no foo, but swich folk vnkonyng:—		
But who-so list disport hym in þat same,		
Let hym continue, and he shal fynd it grame :	992	Just let 'em have a good turn at it!
It is wel gretter labour þan it seemeth ;		
þe blyndē man of coloures al ¹ wrong deemeth.	994	
st. 143.		
¶ A writer mot thre thynges to hym knytte,	995	A copier must always
And in tho may be no dissenerance ;		
Mynde / ee ² / and hand / non may fro othir flitte,		work mind, eye, and hand together.
But in hem mot be ioynt contynuaunce.		
The mynd, al hoole with-ouren variance,	999	
On þe ee ³ and hand / awaytē mot alway,		
And þei two eek on hym ; it is no nay.	1001	
st. 144, p. 37.		
¶ Who-so schal wrytē, may nat holde a tale	1002	He can't talk to other folk, or sing,
With hym and hym / ne syngē ⁴ this ne that ;		
But alle his wittēs grete and smale		but must give all his wits to his work.
Ther must appere, and halden ⁵ hem ther-at,		
And syn he spekē ⁶ may, ne syngē ⁶ nat,	1006	
But bothē ⁷ two he nedēs moot forbere :		
His ⁸ labour to hym is the alengere. ⁹	1008	
st. 145.		
¶ Thise ¹⁰ artificers, se I day be day,	1009	Workmen
In þe hotteste of al her ¹¹ bysynesse,		
Talken and syngē, ¹² and makē game and play		talk, sing, and lark.
And forth hir labour ¹³ passith with gladnesse ;		
But we labore ¹³ in traueillous stilnesse ;	1013	We labour in silence ;
We stowpe and stare vpon þe shepēs skyn,		stoop and stare on the sheepskin.
And keepē ⁷ muste our song and ¹⁴ wordēs in.	1015	
st. 146.		
¶ Wrytyng also doth grete annoyēs thre.	1016	Our copying
Of which ful fewē folkēs ¹⁵ taken heede		
Sauf we oure self ; and þisē, lo, þei be :		
Stomak is on, whom stowpyng out of dreede		hurts our stomachs,
Annoyeth soore, and to our bakkes neede	1020	our backs
Mot it be greuous ; and þe thrid, our yen, ¹⁶		and our eyes.
Vp-on the whytē mochel for to dryen.	1022	
st. 147.		
¶ What mān þat þre and twenti ¹⁷ yere and more	1023	Any one who's copied for 20 years,
In wrytyng hath continued, as haue I,		

¹ Reg. omits 'al.' ² eye Reg. ³ On eye Reg. ⁴ 'syngē Reg., syng H. ⁵ holde Reg. ⁶ setthe speke he ne. ⁷ both H, bothe Reg. ⁸ Hir Reg., His H. ⁹ elengeer Reg. ¹⁰ This H. ¹¹ for H. ¹² syngē Reg., syng H. ¹³ labore H, labourē Reg. ¹⁴ and our Reg. ¹⁵ om. folkes Reg. ¹⁶ eyen Reg. ¹⁷ MS. xxijⁿ H, twenty Reg.

like I have, suffers for it in every bit of his body.	I dar wel sayn it smerteth ¹ hym ful sore In every ² veyne and place of his body ; And yen ³ most it greueth trewely	1027
It's nearly done for me.	Of any crafte þat man can ymagyne : Fadir, in feith, ⁴ it spilt ⁵ hath wel ny myne. ⁶	1029

In like wise, Hoccleve says to the old Beggar, *De Regit.*, p. 35 :

st. 138 (Harl. 4866).

Had I al- ways livd in poverty,	If þat I hadde of custome, or þis tyme, Lyued in indigences ⁷ wrecchednesse, The lesse heer-after schuld I sette ⁸ by me ;	960
I shouldn't feel it so much now ; but the change is strange.	But in myn agē wrastle with ⁹ hardnesse, That with hym stroglid ¹⁰ neuere in greenesse Of youth,—þat mutacion and chaunge An-othir day me seemē shulle al straunge.	964 966

st. 139.

God keep me from poverty ! I'd sooner die than live miserably.	He þat neuere knewe swetnesse of wele, Thogh he it lakke ay / lesse hym greue it shal, Than hym þat hath ben weleful yecris ¹¹ fele, And in effect hath felt no greef at al. O pouert, God me sheldē fro thy fal ! O deth, thy strok is more agreable To me þan lyue a lyf so miserable. ¹²	967 971 973
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In the *De Regimine* (A.D. 1411-12) Hoccleve tells us that he livd at Chester's Inn in the Strand,¹³ where he also was, I suppose, as a

¹ smerteth Reg., smertth H. ² enere H., every Reg. ³ than H. ⁴ feth H., feith Reg. ⁵ sete Reg. ⁶ me Reg. ⁷ indigence and Reg. ⁸ sette Reg., sit H. ⁹ in Reg. ¹⁰ neuere stroglide Reg. ¹¹ wele many yeres Reg. ¹² So again on p. 65, st. 259, l. 1811-13 :

Wold honest dethe come, and me overterve,
And of my grayē me putte in seisyne,
To all my greef that were a medicyne.

¹³ On Chester's Inn, on part of the site of Somerset House, Strand, where Hoccleve and his wife livd in 1411-12, Sir George Buck, in his Appendix to the 1615 edition of Stow's *Annales*, says, when writing of the Third University, London, p. 477 :—

“*Of Strand Inne, and of the Studies of these Innes of Chauncery*, cap. 25.

“There was also another Inne of Chauncery in the Strand, called *Chester Inne*, or *Strand Inne*, which, together with the houses of the Bishops of Chester, of Worcester, and of Landaffe, and the Church of S. Mary in the Strand, were all in the yeere of our Lorde MDXXXIX swallowed vp in the foundation of the goodly palace built by the Duke of Somerset, Uncle Maternell to K. Edward the 6. and thus much for the foundation and institution of these Innes of Chauncery. For the other matters belonging vnto them, I am able to say by mine owne experience, that in these houses of Chauncery liue and common together, Attornies, Solliciters, and Clarks belonging to the Courts, as well of mere and strict law, as of equitie and conscience. The chiefe or gouernour in every Inne of these Innes of Chauncery, is called Principall. And in these

bachelor, handy for his Club in the Temple, for John Carpenter,—both before and after he was Town-Clerk of London,—and for City life in general, which he must have given up when he ranged himself, and settled into a poor married man.

Then if we put Hoccleve's marriage and start of post-Club life in 1410-11, we have our rake as a teacher, philosopher and reformer, in the *De Regimine*¹ in 1411-12, and the Balades at p. 61 below, to

houses or colleges the Tyrones and young Gentlemen, at their coming vp are initiated to make first here an essay and a triall of the studie of the Law, which if they like, and haue a desire to proceed, they remoue shortly after to one of the Innes of Court, whereunto that house of Chauncery belongeth: for he can take no degrees in an Inne of Chauncery but such as I here last named, which bee rather seruices and procurations than aduancements and honors. Euery Inne of Court hath two or three Innes of Chauncery belonging vnto it, viz. to the middle Temple belong New Inne, and sometimes [formerly] *Strand Inne*. To the inner Temple belong Cliffords Inne, Lyons Inne, and Clements Inne. Thauies Inne and Furniuals Inne are members of Lincolns Inne. Staple Inne and Barnards Inne belong to Grays Inne." . . .

Hoccleve speaks twice of his home as a "pore cote:" *De Reg.* 31/845, 34/940.

¹ The late Thomas Wright says in his Preface to his edition of *De Regimine* for the Roxburghe Club, 1860, p. xiii.-xiv.: "Oocleue tells us that he compiled his treatise *De Regimine Principum* from three works which were very celebrated in his time. These were, in the first place, the supposititious epistle of Aristotle, addressed to Alexander the Great, and known by the title of *Secretum Secretorum*; secondly, the book of Ægidius de Columna or Colonna, entitled *De Regimine Principum*, and of which Oocleue speaks as 'Gyles of Regement of Princes'; and lastly the well-known work of Jacobus de Cessolis, or Jacques de Cessoles, entitled the 'Game of Chess Moralized,' of which Caxton's celebrated book, 'The Game of the Chess,' was a translation through the French." After the Proem, and the long account of himself by the old Beggar who advises and tells his story to Hoccleve, the poet, ~~says Mr. Wright,~~ "in his introductory part, complains of the neglect which was shown in his time to the old soldiers of the French wars of the preceding century (p. 32); of the great prevalence of covetousness among the gentry (p. 43); of the eagerness of the churchmen after rich benefices, and of the prevalence of pluralism and absenteeism (p. 51); of the mischievous influence of the aristocracy in the courts of law (p. 54); of the evil practice of betrothing children in their infancy (p. 59); and of the frequency of adultery (p. 64). When he enters upon the subject of his book, he complains of the want of truthfulness among the knights of his time (p. 82), and of the absence of righteousness in England (p. 89); he urges the prince [after, Henry V] to obey the laws when he should have become king, as one of the principal duties of royalty, and complains that in England the laws were neglected, and feuds and outrages passed unpunished. Poor men could get no justice, while rich men committed crimes with impunity (p. 102). He especially urges the prince as king to protect the free election of the bishops in the cathedral churches (p. 104). In treating of Pity he condemns the practice of granting pardons for offences, giving an illustrative anecdote of a king of 'this land'

the Prince of Wales, and p. 56-7 to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France. On March 21, 1412-13, the day of Henry V's accession, when the English lords did homage to him at Kennington, Hoccleve appears as a champion of orthodoxy and the Church, and writes the King the Balade on p. 39-40, exhorting him to be just, to govern with equity, and strengthen his Mother, Holy Church, by driving out heresy. Early in 1413 also comes the Balade on p. 47-8, about Henry V's enmity to Heresy, and his having Richard II's bones buried next to his Queen's in Westminster Abbey, one of the first things that the new King ordered to be done. On Sept. 28, 1413, Hoccleve got an *Inspeximus* and Confirmation by Henry V of his Annuity of £13 6s. 8*d.*,—provided he should not be retained by any one else,—and a grant of his arrears from Michaelmas 1412 (App. XXV). Moreover, three days after, on Dec. 1, 1413, this year's arrears were paid to Hoccleve (App. XXVI). In 1414, he has a clerk, John Welde, and by his hands gets £1 6s. 8*d.* for 9 months' parchment, ink and red wax on Jan. 17 (App. XXVII); and on May 2 his Easter £6 13s. 4*d.* (App. XXVIII), but his Michaelmas one seems not to have been paid. For 1415 both his half-yearly instalments were paid, the second on Feb. 29, 1416 (App. XXIX, XXX).

On Aug. 13, 1415, when Henry V. took ship for Harfleur, on his Agincourt campaign, Hoccleve wrote, or began, his Remonstrance with Oldecastle, p. 8-24, reproaching him for having left the Faith, for being God's foe 9/27, for having sold his soul to the Devil 10/61; bidding him return to God 16/248, praying God for him 16/265, damning to hell the heretics who 'd misled him, p. 17,

(p. 112), and advocates the punishment of death (p. 114). In the chapter on Mercy (p. 119), Hoccleve commends the merciful dispositions of John of Gaunt and his son Henry IV (p. 120). And in treating of 'largesse' and avarice, he speaks again of his own youthful prodigality, and repeats his appeal for the payment of his annuity (p. 156). He complains of the absence of liberality among lords in his time (p. 168). In speaking of Prudence, he counsels the prince, still with an eye to his own grievance, not to grant pensions unless he intends to pay them (p. 172). And, in his last chapter, when treating of Peace, he alludes to the troubles in England (p. 187); complains how unworthy people were promoted in the world before those who were worthy, while the deserving 'clerkes' of Oxford and Cambridge were neglected (p. 187); describes the melancholy state of France (p. 190); and deprecates the hostility between France and England (p. 193).

st. 35, hoping they'll be burnt here, 18/320; arguing Popish doctrines with them and calling them asses, 19/352; denouncing their rising in St. Giles's Fields in Jan. 1414, p. 20, st. 49, defending images, p. 21, rebuking communism, p. 22, st. 57-8, declaring that the orthodox 'll go to Heaven, the heretics to Hell, p. 23, st. 60, shaming Oldcastle for not fighting by Henry's side in France, p. 24, st. 63, and appealing to him to flee the Devil and humble himself to Henry V, p. 24, st. 64.

As the Balade to Henry V, on p. 62 below, begins "Victorious Kyng," I incline to put it late in 1415 or in 1416, after Henry's return to England from Agincourt. In it Hoccleve refers to a "bill" or petition by himself and two fellow-clerks—not three, as before 1408, p. 60, l. 25-6—for money for their "ful laborious" and "long service," 62/15—16, and says that if the King doesn't give em something, poverty will compel "us three to trotte vnto Newgate." It is curious that Hoccleve's 1416-Easter £6 13s. 4d. is paid to him on July 8 by three instalments thro friends,—had he borrowd from any of them?—£2 thro Jn. Burgh,¹ 6s. 8d. thro Robert Welton, and £4 6s. 8d. thro Jn. Welde, Hoccleve's clerk. Moreover, he gets 13s. 4d. as a loan from the Treasury (App. XXXI).

On Feb. 14, 1417, Hoccleve was paid, thro his clerk John Welde, £2 6s. 8d. for 4 months' ink and red wax, bought of Wm. Lucy (App. XXXII).

His 1416-Michaelmas £6 13s. 4d. is paid him on March 13, 1417 (App. XXXIII), and his 1417-Easter one on May 25, 1417 (App. XXXIV). His Michaelmas payment he takes in two instalments of £3 6s. 8d. each, on Nov. 30, 1417, and Feb. 10, 1418 (App. XXXV). In 1418, 1419, 1420, and 1421, the half-yearly payments of his Annuity are duly made within each year (App. XXXVI-VIII, XL-XLIV), and on July 10, 1419, he gets 12s. 2d. for 16 months' ink and red wax (App. XXXIX).

Yet though he was drawing his Annuity regularly during these five years 1416-21,—and "by his own hands" on 13 March and 30

¹ Was this a relative of the Benedict Burgh who finisht Lydgate's verse englishing of the *Secreta Secretorum*, now in the press for the E. E. T. Soc., edited by Mr. R. Steele of Bedford?

Nov. 1417, 8 July 1419, 17 June and 26 Nov. 1420, and 5 July and 11 Nov. 1421,—Hoccleve, poor old fellow, tells us in his pitiful *Complaint*, p. 89-106 below, written in November 1421, as I suppose, or early in 1422, how he went mad five years before, p. 96-7, st. 6-8, but then recovered, tho in Westminster Hall and London (city) his old friends turned their heads from him. And yet, tho he lookt sane, "there never stode yet, wyse man on my fete," a true saying. He seems to have gone back for a short time—till, at least, near Michaelmas 1422; see below—to the Privy-Seal Office, p. 106, st. 43, and made up his mind to take his trouble as all for the best, p. 109, st. 57. Then he gives us his *Dialog* with a Friend, in which he talks about his *Complaint*, and the evils of counterfeit and light coin, from clipping and washing, about which he says that an Act of Parliament has been past, that makes the weighing of coin necessary. This is evidently the Act of 1421 A.D., 9 Henry V, chapter xi, enacting that no coin shall be good payment unless it is of the standard weight.¹ Then Hoccleve says he means to english the Latin *Scite mori*, "Lerne for to dye" (p. 117). He is 53; his sight and mind are weakend (p. 119, st. 36), his insanity didn't come from book-study, but from his long illness (p. 121, st. 61); he has long owd a book to the Lord-Lieutenant (during Henry V's absence in France, 10 June, 1421, to H.'s death, 31 Aug. 1422), Humfrey, Duke of Gloster, and took pen and ink to begin it as soon as he heard of the Duke's second return from France. (This was

¹ 9 Henry V, ch. xi, A.D. 1421.—*Statutes*, ed. Pulton, 1636, p. 290-1.

"No English Gold shall be received in payment but by the Kings weight.

"Item, to avoid the deceits and perils which long haue continued within the Realme, by Washers, Clippers, and Counterfeitors of the money of the Realme of England, to the great losse and damage of all the people of the same Realme: The King, by the aduice and assent of all the Lords and Commons assembled in this Parliament, hath ordained and stablished, that from Christmas euen next comming, none of the King's liege people shall receive any money of English gold in payment, but by the Kings weight thereupon ordained. And because a great part of the gold now current in payment, is not of rightfull weight, nor of good alloy, the same shall be to the great losse and costs of the Kings subjects, vlesse it please him to relieue them in this case: Our Soueraigne Lord the King, of his speciall grace, hath remised and pardoned to all his liege people which, betwixt this and the said Feast of Christmas, shall cause to be coyned of new at the Kings coinage within the Tower of London their money of gold that is not of iust weight nor of good alloy, that is to say, all that to him pertaineth for this new coinage of such gold as afore. Sauing alwaies to the Master of the Mint, and to other officers of the same, that which to them reasonably pertaineth."

doubtless with Henry V and his French Queen on Feb. 3, 1421: Halle, p. 105, ed. 1809). On p. 130, Hocceve mentions the Duke's worthiness at Cherbourg (in 1418¹), his winning Constantine—seemingly in 1417²,—and his valour at the siege of Rouen, 1418 (city surrendered Jan. 19, 1419). But as the Duke likes dalliance with ladies (p. 135, st. 101), and Hocceve's friend advises him to make amends to them for the offence they took—quite wrongly, as he well says on p. 137-8—at his Letter of Cupid twenty years before, the poet resolves to english for them the tale of a true wife,—of Jereslaus or Gerelaus—from the *Gesta Romanorum*, which he accordingly does, p. 136, &c. On p. 136, st. 106, l. 739-42, Hocceve's wife turns up again; so he no doubt had some one to look after him during his long illness and madness; and tho he says nothing about his wife's care of him, we may hope fairly (if not admit) that his stanza 57, p. 154, applies here:

"In al the world / so louyng tendrenesse	394
Is noon / as is the loue of a womman,	
To hir chyld namely / & as I gesse,	
To hire housbonde also / where-of witesse	397
We weddid men may here / if þat vs lyke;	
And so byhoueth / a thanke vs to pyke."	399

If for "namely / &" in l. 396, we read "/ and namely (specially)" with MS Reg. 17 D 6, the line runs better, and the testimony to the wife's affection is more emphatic. But see p. xxxvii below.

Having finisht this first *Gesta* story, and added the Moralization which wasn't in his book, but was lent him by his friend, p. 175, Hocceve englishes the first Part of the Latin *Scite mori* or "Lerne to dye," and leaves the other three Parts alone, p. 212, st. 132,

¹ A.D. 1418. Halle's *Chronicle* (1809), p. 83: "To this siege came the duke of Gloucester, with therle of Suffolke and the lorde of Burgainy, whiche had taken the toune of Chierburgh, and wer lodged before the porte of Sainet Hillarij, nerer their enemies by fortie roddes then any other persones of the armie."

² After Henry V took Caen in 1417, and the Duke of Gloster, Lisieux, Halle says (*Chronicle*, 1809, p. 80) that

"diuerse tonnes in the country of Constantine wer surrendered to the duke of Gloucester, where he appoynted these capitaines.

"At Caenton, the lorde Botraux.	At Chiergurg [Cherbourg], the lord
At Seint Clow, Reignold West.	Grey Codner, and after his decease,
At Valoignes, Thomas Burgh.	sir water Hungerford."

except the portion which tells what joy and bliss are prepared for those who shall go hence to the heavenly city of Jerusalem, and the torment that is in Hell. Then, at the asking of his friend, who wants a tale to warn his son of fifteen against the wiles of women, Hocceleve englishes a second *Gesta* story, p. 218 &c., of the prostitute who beguiled an Emperor's son (Jonathas) of his magic Ring, Brooch, and Cloth, tho at last he got them back again: the story of Fortunatus, of which William Browne printed Hocceleve's text in his *Shepherds Pipe*,¹ 1614. The MS winds up with an Envoy of the

¹ Browne praises Hocceleve highly, and promises to print the rest of his works if this sample tale pleases. This come after the Tale. Before, Browne says, p. 177, ed. 1869:—

I will sing what I did leere
Long agon in fanineere,

Of a skilfull aged Sire,
As we tosted by the fire.

After the Tale, p. 196, Browne's *Works*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, ii. 196-8, ed. 1869:—

Willy.

By my hooke, this is a Tale
Would befitt our Whitson-ale:
B-tter cannot be, I wist,
Descant on it he that list.
And full gladly giue I wold
The best Cosset in my fold
And a Mazor for a fee,
If this song thou'lt teacheen me.
Tis so quaint and fine a lay,
That vpon our renell day
If I sung it, I might chance
(For my paines) be tooke to dance
With our Lady of the May.

And at mid-night often wake him,
And convey him from his roome
To a field of yellow broome;
Or into the Medowes where
Mints perfume the gentle Aire,
And where *Flora* spends her treasure:
There they would begin their measure.
If it chanc'd nights sable shrowds
Muffled *Ciathia* vp in cloudes,
Safely home they then would see him,
And from brakes and quagmires free
him.

There are few such swaines as he
Now adayes for harmony.

Willie?

What was he thou praisest thus?

Rogert.

Rogert will not say thee nay,
If thou deem'st it worth thy paines.
Tis a song, not many Swaines
Singen can; and though it be
Not so deckt with nycetee
Of sweet words full neatly chused
As are now by Shepherds vsed,
Yet, if well you sound the sence,
And the Morals excellence,
You shall finde it quit the while,
And excuse the homely stile.
Well I wot, the man that first
Sung this Lay, did quench his thirst,
Deeply as did euer one
In the Muses *Helicon*.
Many times he hath been seen
With the Fairies on the greene,
And to them his Pipe did sound,
Whilst they danced in a round.
Mickle solace would they make him,

Rogert.

Scholler vnto *Tityrus*:
Tityrus the branest Swaine
Euer liued on the plaine,
Taught him how to feed his Lambes,
How to cure them, and their Dams;
How to pitch the fold, and then
How he should remoue agen:
Taught him when the Corne was ripe,
How to make an oaten Pipe,
How to ioyne them, how to cut them,
When to open, when to shut them;
And with all the skill he had,
Did instruct this willing lad.

Willie.

Happy surely was that Swaine!
And he was not taught in vaine:
Many a one that prouder is,
Hau not such a song as this,

Volume to "my lady of Westmorland" by her "humble servant . . . T^s Hoccleve."

Now, assuming that the allusions and dates above given fix the date of the *Complaint* MS to the winter of 1421 or the early part of 1422, and assuming that Hoccleve, after his long illness and in his perpetual want of money, sent the MS to Lady Westmorland as soon as it was written, it is clear—say my good friends, Norroy King at Arms (G. E. Cokayne) and Horace Round (whose letter dated 1 March 1883 has just turnd up again)—that the Lady was John of Gaunt's daughter Joan (by Katherine Swinford), who was Countess of Westmoreland from 1397 to 1425, and Dowager Countess from 1425 to 1440.¹ But if any reader thinks that Hoccleve did with the Durham MS. what he did with the Phillipps, put several poems of later date with others of early ones, he can take his choice of two other Countesses of Westmoreland, Elizabeth and Margaret, before Hoccleve's death in 1450 (!), according to Norroy's pedigree printed below.²

And haue garlands for their meed,
That but iarre as *Skyltons* reed.

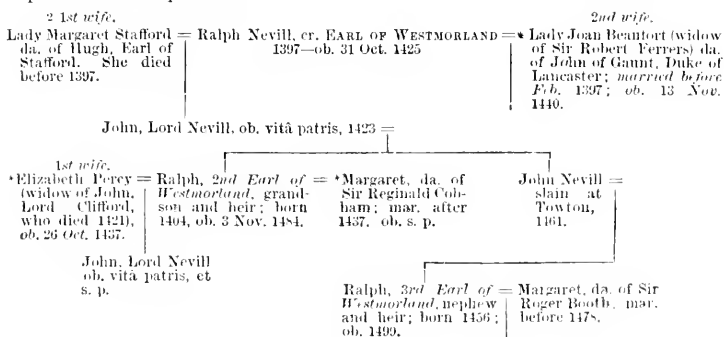
Roght.

Tis too true : But see the Sunne
Hath his journey fully run ;

And his horses all in sweate,
In the Ocean coole their heate :
Sener we our sheepe, and fold them ;
T'will be night ere we haue told them.

THOMAS OCCLEEVE, one of the priuy Seale, composed first this tale, and was neuer till now imprinted. As this shall please, I may be drawne to publish the rest of his workes, being all perfect in my hands. Hee wrote in CHAUCERS time.

¹ She was buried at Lincoln with her mother Katherine (Swinford), for whom she had founded a Chantry there in 1437-8. Her first husband died between Sept. 1410 and Sept. 1411.



* Of these three Ladies, *Joan* was Countess c. 1397 to 1410; *Elizabeth*, 1425 to 1437; *Margaret*, c. 1437 to (?).

Before Hocceve finisht his Complaint he must have written his Balade in the Ashburnham MS (see below, p. xxviii), "pour la bien venue du tresnoble Roy H. le V^e. . . hors du Roialme de France (ceestassauoir, sa darcine venue)", 3 Feb. 1421. On Feb. 29, 1422, Hocceve is paid 40s. 11½*d.* for 19 months' red wax and ink (App. XLV), and on May 25 he gets his half-year's annuity of £6 13s. 4*d.* to Easter 1422 (App. XLVI). On Aug. 31, 1422, Henry V dies, and the baby Henry VI succeeds him.

On Jan. 24, 1423, there is an Inspecimus and Confirmation, on behalf of Henry VI, of Hocceve's Annuity-grant of £13 6s. 8*d.* (App. XLVII). On Feb. 15 he gets a half-year's payment (£6 13s. 4*d.*) to Michaelmas 1422 (App. XLVIII), as *late* one of the Clerks of the Privy Seal Office; and on May 20, 1423, he gets a like payment to Easter 1423 (App. XLIX), being again described as "late one of the Clerks of the Privy Seal Office." On May 20, 1423, he is also paid 23s. 1*d.* (or 4*d.*) for parchment, ink, and red wax, bought by him of Walter Lucy, of London, for the Privy-Seal Office (App. L).

At last in 1424 comes a grant to our poor poet, now 56 or 55. On July 4, 1424, "votre tres humble clere, Thomas Hocceve de Poffice du prive seal," is granted, by the King and Privy Council, such sustenance yearly during his life in the Priory of Southwick, Hants.,¹ as Nicholas Mokkinge, late master of St. Lawrence in the Poultry,² had (Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 4604, art. 34; Privy Council Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 152, App. XLIX below). Notwithstanding the grant of this corody—which was, let us hope, worth £20 a year, (see p. xi

¹ Southwick, a parish in the hundred of Portsdown, co. Hants, 4 miles N.E. of Fareham, its post town, and 3 N. of Porchester railway station. The village is considerable, and near Bere Forest. The parish includes the manor of Aplestede. It had formerly a priory of Black Canons, in which Henry VI was married to Margaret of Anjou. At the Dissolution the revenues were returned at £257, and the site given to the Whites.—Hamilton's *Gazetteer*.

² See Dugdale, vi, Pt. I, p. 243, Nicholas Mockyng, 19th Jan., 1 Hen. IV, A.D. 1400, Master of St. Lawrence, Poultry. The Priory of Southwick was first founded by Hen. I in 1133 in the church of St. Mary Porchester, and not long after removed to Southwyke. Priors in Hocceve's time: Thomas Curteis or Cortays, 22 July, 22 Ric. II; Edward Dene, 23 Sept., 11 Hen. VI; John Soburton, on whose death Philip Stanbrok received the temporalities, Sept. 20th, 3 Edw. IV.

above, and Appendix I)—Hocleve receivd the Michaelmas half-year's payments of his Annuity, £6 13s. 4d. each, both for 1424 and 1425 (Appendix LII, LIII); after which the Southwick priory doubtless kept him in moderate comfort. And after this, unless our friend Mr. Gollancz shows that Lord Ashburnham's autograph Hocleve MS has any other dated poems besides the Cupid of 1402, and the Hen. V one of 1421, we find nothing of Hocleve's that we can assign a definite date to, except his "Balade to my gracious Lord of Yorke," the father of Edward IV (p. 49—51 below), which, as it asks that it may not be shown by Prince Edward to (his tutor) "Master Picard," was probably written between 1448, when Edward was six years old, and Hocleve's death, that Mason supposes took place in 1450. The "Balade to my maister Carpenter," on p. 63, must be an early work. See p. xxxiv below.

The Hocleve part of the Ashburnham MS 133 contains :

1. Inuocacio ad patrem :

beg. To thee / we make oure inuocacioun
Thow god / the fadir / which vn-to vs alle

20 stanzas of 7 lines each, *ababb ce*, the last ending with

And stifly graunte vs in thy cause stonde
And flitte nat / whan we take it on honde.

2. Ad filium :

beg. O blessid chyld Ihesu / what haast thow do
þat for vs shuldist soufre swich Iewyse

10 stanzas of 7, the last ending

And graunt vs grace thee to loue & drede
And yene vs heuene / whan þat we be dede.

3. Ad spiritum sanctum :

beg. Now holy goost of the hy deitee
Loue and holy communicacioun

10 stanzas of 7, the last ending

Our soules / hem to haue in gouernance
O Trinitee haue vs in remembraunce.

4. Ad beatam Virginem :

beg. Worshipful maiden to the world / Marie
Modir moost louynge vn-to al man-kynde

7 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*, ending

For whom thou preyest / god nat list denye
Thyn axynge / blessid maiden Marie.

5. Item de *beata* Virgine :

beg. Syn thou modir of grace / haast ever in mynde
Ah tho / þat vp-on thee han memorie

20 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*, ending

His passion / witnesse bere may
Remembre on þat / and preye for vs aye

6. Item de *beata* Virgine :

beg. Who so desirith to gete and conquere
The blisse of heuene! needful is a guyde

Ce feust faicte
a l'instance de
T. Marleburgh }

Prologus. 3 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*,

Fabula (story of a Monk who, by saying *Ave Maria* 50 times a day, got the Virgin a sleeveless garment; and then, by trebling the 50 Aves and adding to every tenth a Pater-Noster, got sleeves put to the garment, and afterwards became an Abbot of his monastery and went to heaven), 15 like stanzas.

7. Lepistre de Cupid, printed below from other worse MSS, p. 71-92; 68 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*.

8. Ceste balade ensuante feust faite pour la bien venue du tres-noble Roy. H. le V! (*que dieu pardoint!*) hors du Roialme de France / cestassauoir, sa dareine venue. [? 3 Feb., 1421, tho the Queen is not mentiond in it, but Henry is calld "heir and Regent of France" in accordance with his treaty with the French King: see Holinshed, *Chron.* iii. 573-4.¹]

beg. Victorious cristen Prince / our lord souereyn
Our lige lord ful dred and douted / we

5 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*, ending

To be ful greet / for why / to vs echone
Welcome be your peereles persone.

¹ "The morow after Trinitie sundaie, being the third of June [1420], the mariage was solemnised and fullie consummate betwixt the King of England and the said ladie Katharine. Herewith was the king of England named and proclaimed *heire and regent of France*." Holinshed, iii. 573, lines 23-9, ed. 1587.

"25 Also that our said father, during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this manner: *Nostre treschier fil: Henry, roy d'Engleterre, heretere de France*. And in Latine in this manner: *Praclarissimus* [for *praecarissimus*] *filius noster Henricus, rex Angliæ & heres Francia*." Holinshed, iii. 574, col. 2, lines 69-73, ed. 1587.

Stanzas 10, 11, 12 of Hoccleve's "How to Learn to Die"

(p. 180-1 below)

from Lord Ashburnham's Hoccleve MS.

They moche of his tyme han defendid
 In synne / and for thy, Chan soue ~~Can~~ - death
 Up on hem fallith / and they nat amendid
 And shal from hem lyvee Chyd & breeth
 For shee smocchly fynt hem / Chan shee sleeth
 So helle soon the soules miserable
 They to dwelt in peyne pduable

Death wolde han after a byrdil put on thee
 And thee with hir led a way she wolde
 & hadde the hand of goddes mercy be
 Tho' not with machil son to p^r lord holde
 p^r for tho' swappid Dep in synnes olde
 He spard thee / thy synnes no' forsake
 And on to my doctrine tho' thee take

More to thee profyte shal my loze
 Than chosen gold or the bootis echone
 Of philosophes / & for that the more
 ffrequently shold' fow' thy persone
 Andy sensible ensampl' thee to one
 To god / & thee the better for to the be
 The mystere of my loze / I shal thee shee be

9. Cy ensuent trois chaunceours / lune compleynante a la Dame
 monoie / & lautre, La response dele a celui qui se compleynt ; & la
 tierce / la commendacion de ma dame.

I. Roundel :

beg. Wel may I pleyne on yow lady moneye
 þat in the prison of your shap scantnesse

3 stanzas of 4, *abba*, the burden being repeated thrice—after each
 half of st. 2, and after st. 3 ;—ends

Elles I moot in right a feynt gladnesse
 Synge of yow thus / & yow accuse & seye [Wel may I, &c.]

II. La response :

beg. Hoccleue / I wole / it to thee knowen be
 I, lady Moneye / of the world goddessse

3 like stanzas, with the burden repeated as above ; ends

Hir comly body / shape as a foot bal
 And shee syngith / ful lyke a papelay.

10. A Couplet :

Aftir our song / our mirthe & our gladnesse
 Heer folwith a lessoun of heynesse.

11. *Hic incipit ars Vtilissima sciendi mori. Cum omnes homines*
 &c. : the first 96 stanzas of the Poem printed below, p. 178-203,
 with a few various readings, some being improvements.

The only other MS we have in Hoccleve's hand (almost all of it)
 is the large quarto Additional MS 24,062 in the British Museum,
 containing copies of documents, warrants, letters, &c., passing under
 the Privy Seal.¹ They are chiefly in French, a few in Latin ; and in

¹ Catalogue of Additions to the MS of the British Museum in the years
 1854—1875, vol. ii. (1877), p. 3 :—

"24,062. A large collection of forms of documents passing under the Privy
 Seal : consisting of copies of letters and warrants, *tcuipp.* Rich. II.—Hen. V. :
 chiefly in French : compiled by Thomas Hoccleyf, or Oecleve, the poet, Clerk of
 the Privy Seal, and almost wholly in his handwriting : in the following order :—

1. Table of Contents, French, ff. 2-4 b, 198—201 b.

2. Letters addressed to the Chancellor, under the following heads : "Pur
 la somnaeion du parlement," "Licence," "Grauntz," "Pardons," "Collaeions,"
 "Nominacions," "Restitueions," "Presentacions," "Ratificacions," "Sauf
 conduytz," and "de diverses natures," f. 5.

3. Warrants to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, f. 44.

4. "Au Tresorer dengleterre par soy, et au Tresorer de lostel," f. 53.

5. "As Tresorers des guerres," f. 54.

6. To the Justiciar and Chamberlain of Chester, f. 59 b.

8. To the Chamberlain and other officers of North and South Wales, f. 69 b.

9. "Pur la guerre" ; to various persons, f. 73 b.

10. To the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, f. 75.

9. Cy ensuent trois chaunceours / l'une compleynante a la Dame
monoie / & lautre, La response dele a celui qui se compleynt; & la
tierce / la commendacion de ma dame.

I. Roundel :

beg. Wel may I pleyne on yow lady moneye
pat in the prison of your sharp seantnesse

3 stanzas of 4, *abba*, the burden being repeated thrice—after each
half of st. 2, and after st. 3;—ends

Elles I moot in right a feynt gladnesse
Synge of yow thus / & yow accuse & seye [Wel may I, &c.]

II. La response :

beg. Hocelene / I wole / it to thee knowen be
I, lady Moneye / of the world goddesse

3 like stanzas, with the burden repeated as above; ends

Hir comly body / shape as a foot bal
And shee syngith / ful lyke a papelay.

10. A Couplet :

Aftir our song / our mirthe & our gladnesse
Heer folwith a lessoun of heynesse.

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Seal; consisting of copies of letters and warrants, *temp.* Rich. II.—Hen. V.;
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8. To the Chamberlain and other officers of North and South Wales, f. 69 b.
9. "Pur la guerre"; to various persons, f. 73 b.
10. To the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, f. 75.

turning over the leaves I saw only two notes in English. Article 17 of this MS contains 28 pages of copied letters, and is headed *Omnequadrium*, a title that makes you smile when you see it. On leaf 101 back, Hoccleve adds a bottom line: "4 Hie finitur calendera istius Libri *secundum* composicionem Thome Hoclyf. *facta* per manum suam ad finem libri." In the margin of leaf 124, against a French transcript in another hand, is "*secundum* copiam hocclief." The two English notes are at the foot of leaf 102 front and 194 back. At the latter place Hoccleve had left seven lines blank at the bottom of the page, and therefore writes in:—

"¶ Heere made y lepe yeer—ex negligencia &c. Witnessse on Petebat &c, in the nexte syde folwyngge, which sholde haue stonden on this syde / but how so it stonde / it is a membre of the matere precedent."

The characteristic form of Hoccleve's W in his Poems is seen in some careless writing at the foot of leaf 102 front, and leaf 194 back of this Addit. MS 24,062. Compare the facsimile of the last page of the Durham MS. in the present volume. There is a small capital R inside the W.

§ 2. *Hoccleve's Love of Chaucer.* The chief merit of Hoccleve is that he was the honourer and pupil of Chaucer. Dukes don't matter; Chaucer does. On his Master, Hoccleve has three long passages in his *De Regimine*, p. 71, p. 75-6, p. 179, ed. T. Wright,

11. "A diuerses Coillours"; collectors of customs and subsidies, f. 76 b.

12. "As Maires et autres officers ioynement," f. 79.

13. To Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Justices, "Gardeins diuerses," Escheators, Clerk of Arraigns, Constables and Captains of castles, Seneschals, Receivers, Farmers and Auditors, f. 83.

14. Letter of Charles V. of France to the town of Abbeville, Melun-sur-Seine, 19 Mar. 1368. French, f. 102 b.

15. "Lettres Patentes," for various purposes, f. 103.

16. "Lettres adresses a diuerses estatz en Guyenne," f. 115.

17. "Omnequadrium"; letters addressed to various persons for different purposes, f. 120 b.

18. "Par venir au conseil," f. 136.

19. "Par apprester monoie, chinalx et chariottes," f. 137.

20. "Missives." Under this heading are copies of letters from the King of England to various foreign princes; with a few letters addressed to the King, ff. 139 b—163 b, 168, 169, 185 b—197.

21. Papal bulls, f. 164—167 b, 170—178.

22. "Exordies et extraits des lettres"; beginnings and clauses of letters, ff. 178—185 b.

Vellum; xvth cent."

besides the two lines he puts into the mouth of the old beggar with whom he talks (p. 67, st. 267, l. 1867-8, ed. Wright):—

þou were aqneynted with Chaucer¹ pardee :
 God saue² his soule, best of any wyght!—

Harl. 4866, lf. 34.

and I think we may fairly conclude from l. 1965-6 that Hoccleve was either with Chaucer when he died, or saw him on his “bed mortel” just before his death. Hoccleve was daily at work in Westminster Palace, of which the present Westminster Hall was part, as were the present Old and New Palace Yards. On Christmas Eve, 1399, Chaucer had a lease for life of a house in the garden of the Chapel of St. Mary of Westminster (later, Henry VII’s Chapel), part of the Abbey grounds. Surely the pupil must have often visited his Master before the latter’s death; and surely his naming of “þi bed mortel” means something more than death in the writer’s absence.

st. 280:—Harl. MS. 4866, lf. 35 bk.

But weylaway ! so is myn hert[e] wo,	1958	Alas, the Glory of Eng- lish is dead,
That þe honour of Englyssh tonge is deed, Of which I wont was han conseil and reed.	1960	

st. 281.

O maister deere / and fadir reuerent,	[ll. 36]	1961	my Master Chaucer!
Mi maister Chaucer, flour of eloquence, Mirour of fructuous entendement, O vniversal fadir in science, Allas, þat þou thyn excellent prudence		1965	Why didn't he leave me his skill, on his death- bed?
In þi bed mortel mightist noght byquethe ! What eiled deth / allas ! why wold he sle the ?		1967	

st. 283.

O deth, þou didest naght harme singuleer In slaghtere of him, but al þis land it smertith ; But nathëeles / yit hast þou no power His namë sle ; his hy vertu astertith Vnslayn fro þe / whiche ay vs lytly hertyth, With bookës of his ornat endytyng, That is to al þis land enlumynyng. ³		1975	But, Death, you cannot slay his fame.
		1979	
		1981	

¹ Cancher, Harl. 4866, lf. 34 : Chaucers, MS Reg. 17 D 6. ² hanc II.

³ He goes on : “Hast þou nat eke my maister Gower slayn [1408],
Whos vertu I am insufficient
For to descreyue, I wote wel in certayn.”

- p. 75, st. 297 :—Harl. MS 4866, lf. 37.
- He would have taught me, but I was dull,
 My dere maistir—God his soule quyte !— 2077
 And fadir Chaucer, fayn wolde han me taght,
 But I was dul, and lerned lite or naight. 2079
- st. 298.
- Death has stript the land of his sweet rhetoric.
 Allas ! my worthi maister honorable, [lf. 37 bk.] 2080
 This laudes verry tresor and richesse !
 Dethe, by thi deth / bath harme irreparable
 Vnto vs doon ; hir vengeable duresse
 Despoiled hath þis land of þe swetnesse 2084
 Of rethorik / for vnto Tullius
 Was neuer man so lyk amonges vs. 2086
- st. 299.
- He was the highest in Philosophy.
 Also who was hier in philosophie 2087
 To Aristotle / in our tonge but thow ?
 The steppes of Virgile in poesie
 Thow folwedist eeke, men wot wel ynow.
 That combre-world þat þe my maistir slow, 2091
 Would I slayne were ! Deth was to hastyf,
 To renne on þe, and reuë the thi lyf. 2093
- st. 300, p. 76.
- Death regards the virtuous no more than the vicious.
 Deth hath but smal consideracion 2094
 Vnto þe vertuons, I haue espied,
 No more—as shewith the probacion)—
 Than to a vicious maister losel tried ; 2097
 Among an heep / euery man is maistried ;
 With hire / as wel þe porre / as is þe riche,
 Lerede¹ and lewde eeke / standen al yliche. Eces. ij. Moritur doctus simul & indoctus.
- st. 301 (ed. Wright). Harl. 4866, lf. 37 bk.
- Never shall England breed another Chaucer !
 She myghte han taryed hir vengeance a while 2101
 Til that some man had egal to the be.
 Nay, lat be þat ! sche knew wel þat þis yle
 May never man forth bryngë lyk to the,
 And hir officë nedës do mot she ; 2105
 God bad hir do so, I truste as for the beste ;
 O maister, maister, God þi soulë reste ! 2107
- p. 179, st. 712 :—Harl. MS 4866, lf. 87 bk.
- The firstë fyndere of our faire langage 4978
 Hath seyde in caas semblable, & othir moo, [Keep the Sabbath, and bow your heart to God: later in MS.]
 So hyly wel, þat it is my dotage
 For to expresse or touche any of thoo.
 Alasse ! my fadir fro þe worlde is goo, 4982
 My worthi maister Chaucer, hym I mene :
 Be þou aduoket for hym, heuenes quene ! 4984

¹ Lerd, Harl., Lerede, D Reg. 6.

st. 713.

As þou wel knowest, o blissid virgyne, With louyng hert and hye deuocion)	4985	
In þyne honour he wroot ful many a lyne ; O now þine helpe & þi promocioun)		he wrote much in thine honour.
To God þi Sonē make a mocion)	4989	
How he þi seruaunt was, mayden marie, [ll. 88]		
And lat his louē floure and fructifie.	4991	

st. 714.

Al-þogh his lyfe be queynt, þe résemblaunce Of him haþ in me so fresþ lyflynesse, þat, to putte othir men in rémembraunce Of his persone, I haue heere his lyknesse Do makē, to þis ende, in sothfastnesse,	4992	His likeness is so fresh in me, that I've had it painted here.
þat þei þat haue of him lest þought & mynde, By þis peynturē may ageyn him fynde.	4998	



One likes to think of Chaucer's wishing to teach the young Privy-Seal clerk, and giving him advice ; as also of the probability that the pupil was with Chaucer sometimes during his illness and at his death. (Gascoigne's making Chaucer "an awful example" is mere parsonic rot : the poet's Retraction fancied.)

In the present volume, p. 135, lines 694-7, Hoccleve cites Chaucer's Wife of Bath as his authority for saying that women don't like men to put any vice on them, attribute any evil to them. As she says,

Ne I wolde nat / of hym corrected be,
I hate hym / that my vices telleth me,
And so doo mo / god woot of vs / than I.

Wife of Bath's Prolog, D § 1, l. 661-3 Ellesmere MS, p. 185; Six-Text, p. 352.

He also adopts Chaucer's excuse when he is blamed for abusing the women he meant to defend: "I wasn't the author of these accusations, I was only the reporter of other folk's tales. What they said, I wrote, but I never said it myself," 137/760-3. Why didn't he confess that he had but adapted the poem from Christine de Pisan? The influence of Chaucer is felt all thro Hoccleve.

§ 3. *Hoccleve's Patrons, Associates, and Character.* Among Hoccleve's patrons were Henry IV (p. 47), Henry V, both when Prince of Wales¹ (p. 61) and King (p. 62), Humfrey, Duke of Gloster (p. 129), the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (p. 56), the Duke of York, father of Edward IV, who once askt the poet to send him all the balades he had left (p. 49), the Duchess of York (50/22-4), John of Gaunt (*De. Reg.* 19/512-25), the Lord Chancellor (p. 58), the Countess of Westmorland, daughter of John of Gaunt (p. 23), Lady Hereford (p. 8), Robert Chichele, probably a relative of Henry Chichele, the Archbp. of Canterbury (born *c.* 1362, died 1442), and possibly Sir John Oldecastle before his heresy so-cald (p. 8). Among his friends were Sir Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Carpenter the famous town-clerk and benefactor of London,²

¹ *Beggarr.*—"My lord the prince, knoweth he the nat?" . . .
Hoccleve. "Yis, fader, he is my goodl gracious lordl."—

De Reg., p. 66, l. 1832, 1836.

Also the Beggarr says to the poet, *ib.* 69/1899:

"My lordl the prynee is good lord the to."

² The City folk long feasted on and plunderd his charity bequest, but in 1833 founded the City of London School out of it.

The tone of the Balade on p. 63 is that of one friend to another who 'd be likely to intercede with the writer's creditors, st. 4, and not to Jn. Carpenter, Bp. of Worcester, even when he was Master of St. Anthony's School and Hospital, or Provost of Oriel (1430). Wouldn't a priest too have been cald "Sir John" instead of "Maister"?

Mr. Massey, connected with the Duke of Bedford (p. 57), and Mr. Picard, tutor to Henry V when Prince of Wales (p. 50). He belonged to a dining-club in the Temple, and the five Privy-Seal clerks he names are Prentys and Arundel (35/321), and Baillay, Hethe and Offorde (60/25-6). As yet we have entries naming only three of these clerks; Hethe (p. x above), Prentys and Arundel in the note below.¹ Whether the T. Marleburgh, at whose request Hoccleve wrote his third Virgin-poem in the Ashburnham MS (p. xxviii above), was a patron or friend, is not known.

There is so little of the country in Hoccleve's works,² that he was no doubt a cockney. I see no evidence that he had ever erost a horse;³ and he was too much of a coward (p. 30, st. 22 below) to play football or any other rough game. Meant to be a priest, he was no doubt brought up at some Monastery School, perhaps livd altogether with the monks as an acolyte. He was probably driven and lunged with a sharp curb, and kept on the dumb-jockey all day.

When he got free, and was his own master, he naturally kickt up his heels, and at 18 he seems to have turnd into a smart Government-Clerk while waiting for a benefice that he never got. He no

¹ Prentis and Arundel are mentiond in 1431—as entitled to cloth and lambur—in the *Privy-Council Proceedings and Ordinances*, 1429-36, ed. Nicolas 1835, vol. iv, p. 77,

[Additional MS in British Museum, 4606, art. 48, a modern Transcript.

“Petition to the Council, with the Answer, 14th February, 9 Hen. VI, 1431]

“Please au tressage conseil nostre tressoverain seigneur le Roy, granter une lettre de garrant desoubz le prive seal, directe as Tresorer et Barons de l'eschequer, pur fair pleine et deliu allowance a William Philippe, chivaler, tresorer de l'oustel nostre dit seigneur, en son accompt qi est arendre devant eux a cause de son dit office, des sommes ensuyantz pur certains draps et furres agnelx, achetez pur diverses clers, escuiers et henxmen a la suyt du dit houstiel, encontre le feste de Noel, l'an ix^{me} assavoir, a John Burey, Robert Felton, John Langton, John Tiphon, John de Pount, *John Prentys, John Arundell*, John Seward, Nich[olas] Sturgeon et Thomas Walbon, cleres, a chascun en price de v. virges de violet engrenez, xl^s —xx^d John Perient, Thomas Walsyngham, Thomas Bolthorpe, William Caldwell, et John Waddesworth, escuiers, a chascun d'eux, en price de draps de colour et de raye, xiiij^s —ix^d xviiij^s ix^d a William Bourgehier, Richard Veer, Thomas Beauchamp, Edward Hull, John Norbury, *Johanni Courcy*, Roberte Seint-Johan, et Hugh Malet, henxmen de la Roynes, a chascun d'eux, en price de draps de colour et de raye, et un furre de noir agnelx, ovesque le faisour de sa robe, xv^s vj^d —vj^d iiij^s.”

“(In dorso.) xiiij^s die Februarij, anno &c nono, concordatum est per consilium, quod sub privato sigillo, fiat garantum prout infra petitur.”

² The proverbial cherry-fair, *De Reg.* p. 47, l. 1289, was probably held in town.

³ Did he see the hunt in 146/184-7 below?

doubt jetted along the Strand in fine weather in the fashionable wide-sleeved cloak of the time,¹ down to the Privy-Seal Office in the Palace at Westminster, where he would see the Prince of Wales and the nobles he mentions in his works, and have a chance of talking to them. As the Strand wasn't paved till 1533, in winter the way was deep (31/193), and Hocceve took a boat from Chester's Inn (Somerset House) to Westminster, and there worked more or less. When young, he was free with his money, stuff and drank at the cook-shops and taverns at Westminster—paying whatever was asked (p. 30-1)—and instead of going back to the office² after dinner, went for an outing on the river (31/190). The watermen, seeing he was weak, called him "Maister" (31/201), which tickled his vanity—it was a term applied only to gentlemen³—and drew money from him. Then he'd adjourn to Paul's Head Tavern, close to the Cathedral, where he'd treat and kiss the girls, or to his Dinner Club in the Temple, and either at one of these places, or in his rooms at Chester's Inn, sit up drinking all night (p. 34-5, st. 39), and be loth to rise in the morning (p. 35, st. 40). And so the fun went on, as long as Hocceve had, or could borrow, money (36/369). Then came illness and debt. His rents but £4 a year (*De Reg.*), his earnings nothing (36/364-5), his pension in arrear, and his salary too. A bad look-out. To improve it, he drifted into marriage, and his only prospect was to trot to Newgate (62/8), beg, steal, or starve (*De Reg.* 65/1802). He was ashamed to beg; he wouldn't steal; so he wisht to die (*ibid.* 65/1808). When the old Beggar in *De Regimine* reproacht him for not being content with £4 a year, which wd find him in food, drink, and clothes (*De Reg.* 44/1217), he had to own to a wife—"Towe on my dystaf have I for to spymme" (*ibid.* 45/1226;

¹ The old Beggar says to Hocceve:

"I . . . not so wide a gowne have as is thyne,
So smalle y-pynched, and so fresshe and gay."—

De Reg., p. 15, l. 409-10.

² "Hoom to the prinnee seel," he says 31/188, but I suppose that "hoom" means back, and does not imply that Hocceve had rooms in the Palace.

³ See Harrison's *England*, p. 129, of my edition for the New Shakspeare Society. I recollect a little Oxford man in Lincoln's Inn Fields, who was always comforted by the cabmen calling him "Captain" when he was on the look-out for a cab: "it shows they think I'm a gentleman."

53/1458), and that the fear of poverty made him sad (*De Reg.* 42/1244). He alludes twice in his *De Reg.* to his poor cottage, 34/940, "Whan that I at home dwelle in my poore cote"; and 31/842-7:

"Servise, I wote wele, is none heritage; 841

Whan I am out of court another day,
(As I mote whan upone me hastethe age,
And that I no lenger labour may,)

Unto my poore cote—it is no nay— 845

I mote me drawe, and my fortune abide,

And suffre the storme after the mery tide. 847

As to the relations between Hoccleve and his wife, they were, I suspect—tho she was kind to him during his illness, p. 154, st. 57, and xxiii above—like those between Chaucer and his wife, only much more so. They are shown in the 104th stanza of the *Dialog*, p. 136 below, where the poor poet says that, since a woman had such power that she broke the Devil's (or Serpent's) head, it's a trifle to her to break a man's head. Therefore let no husband think it shame tho his wife breaks his head. Her "reason" (instinct) demands power over men; and tho Holy Writ says men should have rule over their wives, it is the reverse in fact; a man had better hang up his hatchet and sit down. Our fathers had to do the like (l. 748-9). Hoccleve was surely meant by nature to be under his wife's thumb, but couldn't take it out of her in chaff, as Chaucer did out of his. Mrs. Chaucer, however, wouldn't dare take such liberties with her husband as Mrs. Hoccleve would with hers. He evidently knew too what a wash at home was, 139/826.

Still, our master Chaucer tells us by the mouth of the Wife of Bath, that a woman's rule of her husband is compatible with kindness to him:

And whan that I / hadde geten vnto me,
By maistrie / al the soueraynetee,
And that he seyde / "myn owene trewe wyf,
Do as thee lust / to terme of al thy lyf;
Keepe thyn honour / and keepe eek myn estaat";
After that day / we hadden neuer debaat:
God help me so / I was to hym as kynde
As any wyf / from Denmark vnto Ynde,
And also trewe / and so was he to me.

Wife's Preamble, D, § 1, 817-825. Ellesmere MS, p. 190; Six-Text, p. 357. See, too, l. 1230-8 on the like state of things.

The same weak, sensitive, look-on-the-worst side kind of man¹ is shown in his *Complaint* and his *Dialog* with his friend in the Durham MS, below, p. 94-139. And when quite old, Hocceve is still too vain—proud, he calls it, 51/56-8—to wear spectacles, tho he is losing his sight, and injures it by not using glasses (*ibid.* p. 59-63).

But he has the merit of recognizing his weakness, his folly, and his cowardice. He makes up for these by his sentimental love of the Virgin Mary, his genuine admiration for Chaucer, his denunciation of the extravagant fashions in dress, the neglect of old soldiers, &c.² We wish he had been a better poet and a manlier fellow; but all of those who 've made fools of themselves, more or less, in their youth, will feel for the poor old versifier. If he was willing to make amends for his own faults by burning Oldecastle and heretics, and uttering moral precepts, we Radicals and Teetotallers are willing to provide a painless lethal chamber for Lordly and other Tories, and drink-suppliers—after the manner of lost dogs,—and to provide a like

¹ Still, Hocceve has an occasional touch of humour, as when he says in *De Regimine*,—p. 54, st. 213, Harl. 4866, lf. 27 bk.,—that *Nemo* is the patron who helps his fellows; no one else does:—

“But how ben þi felawës lokyd to At homë? ben not thei wel ¹ benefised?”	1485
“þis, fader, þis; þer is on elept <i>Nemo</i> , He helpeþ hem; by hym ben ² þei chericed. Nere he, þey weren porely cheveyced?”	1489
He hem auaneeth; he fully ³ hir frende is; Sauf only hym, þey han but fewe frendes.”	1491

His Roundel to Lady Money in the Ashburnham MS is also humorous; and so is his quiz of his “lady” in the same MS, which Mr. Gollancz kindly lets me print:

“Of my lady, wel me reioise I may :	}	Of my lady, &c.
Hir golden forheed is ful narw & smal,		
Hir browes been lyk to dym reed coral ;		
And as the leet / hir yen glistren ay.	4 }	
Hir bowgy cheekes been as softe as clay	}	Of my lady, &c.
With large lowes and substancial		
Hir nose / a pentice is, þat it ne shal	}	Of &c.
Reyne in hir mowth / thogh shee vp-rightes lay.		
Hir mowth is nothyng scant / with lippes gray ;		
Hir chin vmethe / may be seen at al ;	}	Of &c.
Hir comly body / shape as a foot-bal ;		
And shee syngith / ful lyke a PapeIay.		
	12 }	

“Item: She hath a sweet mouth,” as is said of Launee’s milkmaid in *The Two Gentlemen*, III. i. 320 (Cambr. ed. 1). ² Above, p. xxix n.

¹ Harl. boom ben þey not wel. ² Harl. omits “ben.” ³ fully Reg., ful Harl.

serene end for sweaters and anti-Home-Rulers. The mere idea of the thing makes one feel virtuous. There's a good deal of human nature in man. So we'll not throw stones at old Hoccleve.

§ 4. *Comments on some of Hoccleve's poems.* Setting aside the biographical poems, the most interesting question about the others is, did he write *The Mother of God* (p. 52-6 below), which, on the strength of two untrustworthy Scotch MSS, some of us at one time attributed to Chaucer? When I did so, I hadn't seen the Phillipps MS, in which this poem appears in Hoccleve's own hand among the other pieces—undoubtedly his—in the MS. Nor did I then feel the importance of the false ryme in the poem 54/64-6, the verb *honoure* being spelt *honure*, and made to ryme with *cure*,—a ryme which at once caused the German critics to declare that the poem was not Chaucer's. But as soon as I took up the Phillipps MS in Hoccleve's own hand, and then found the two other instances of this *-our -ure* ryme in its Oldcastle poem—to *honure*, wole *endure*, 15/222-4, and *peyniture*, *honure* (vb. infin.), *figure*, *creature* 21/410-15, and afterwards, two instances in *De Regimine*—*honoure* (vb. imper.), *scripture*, *creature* 21/569-72; *dishonour[e]* (3 pl. pres.), *cure*, *endure* 85/2368-71, and one in the Durham MS, *pure* adj. *honure* vb. inf. 179/27-8,¹—I gladly gave up the poem as Chaucer's, and accepted it as Hoccleve's.² It was a relief in this way, that the *Mother of God* had no mark or seal of Chaucer on it,³ and didn't fit properly into the time-order of his works; it had to be stuff in somewhere, so long as it was supposed genuine. On the other hand it seemd too good for Hoccleve, judgd by Wright's print of *De Regimine*, which he took from a second-rate complete MS (Reg. 17 D 6), instead of the better, tho still faulty Harleian 4866, which has

¹ There is at least one more—*scripture*, to *honure*—in the Ashburnham Hoccleve MS, in the first stanza of the "Fabula" of the "De beata Virgine," made at the instance of T. Marleburgh. The MS has not its leaves numberd.

² Inside lines he sometimes spells the noun *honur* 24/504, 126/577, 135/821 &c., and the adjective *honorable* 17/275, 128/632, &c. Hoccleve of course found *honur*, *honurer* in Old French, and no doubt often wrote them so himself in the French documents he copied. He has this line in the Ashburnham MS: "Honor hire / if thow wilt honored be."

³ The Virgin's *teats* too, in 54/72, didn't look like Chaucer's good taste. Her *paps* appear again in Hoccleve, in 47/112.

lost its first leaf¹ and its last. But Hoccleve's poems to the Virgin—poor tho they be—are, I think, better than his other productions, and in the *Mother of God* he undoubtedly did his best.

As the student reads Hoccleve, he will hear many echoes of Chaucer, and uses of his words and phrases.² But there is a phrase in *De Regimine* that I don't recollect having seen earlier, the original of our "I told you so!" When the Old Beggar has spent all his coin, the folk who used to flatter and give-in to him, turn on him:—

st. 103, p. 26; Harl. 4866, lf. 13 bk.
 Now seyn þey þus, "I wistē wel alway 715
 þat him destroyē wolde his fool largesse;
I tolde hym so; and euer he seyde, nay."
 And ȝit they lyen al, [a]s God me blesse . . . [MS als] 718

I also suppose Hoccleve to be the first user of "know what's what" (138/778, below).³

Perhaps the oddest word that Hoccleve uses is *delauce*, Fr. *détacé*, 172/901. He repeats it in the Ashburnham MS, "Becam I of my body delauce," in the Answer of Lady Money to Hoccleve. The Virgin is the "*feynter* of wo & stryf," 52/12; "without authority" is "*vnhad* authoritie," 115/135; "a coin-clypper" may appear first in 112/66, and 'kerfe' *sb.* in 185/203. A look thro the Glossary will show a few other unusual words; ordinarily Hoccleve is commonplace.

Of the *Double vowel for length*, Hoccleve is fond, but is not constant to it. On p. 50, l. 25 he has *haust*, in l. 37 *hast*. He has *aart*, *paart* 13/150-2; *paart* 3/104, *aart* 14/196, but *part*, *art* 3/111-12, *art* n. 126/565; *art* vb. 45/75, 46/88, 61/11; *darst* 44/40, *dar* 45/48; *haust* (*hast*) 7/225, 8/7, 9/31, 11/107, 14/200, 50/25, 125/539, 130/670, 131/699, 237/20, &c.; but *hast* 4/123, 47/115,

¹ I expect that the first leaf had an illumination of Hoccleve presenting his MS to the Prince of Wales, and that "Somme Furyows Foole Have Cutt the same" leaf off, as a later hand says of the cut-away portrait of Chaucer on leaf 139 of Harl. MS 4826.

² See 6/204, 26/22, 30/159, 37/380, 40/37, 43/18, 67/20, &c., &c.

³ Isn't Chaucer the first user of "Why" or "Well then"?

"What eyeth yow / to grueche thus and grone?

Is it for ye wolde haue my queynte alloue?

Why! taak it al / lo, haue it eury deel!

Peter, I shrewe yow / but ye loue it weel."

Wife of Bath's Preamble, D, § 1, l. 443-5. Ellesmere MS, p. 179, Six-Text, p. 346.

50/37, 71/122; *hauste* vb. i., 129/646; *haath* 126/557, &c. (but *hath* 8/244, 11/97, 103, 24/508, 65/15-17, 126/570); *maad* 72/151, 130/683, 685, 693; 139/107, &c. (but *made* 56/140, 133/770, 138/59); *taastil* (tasted) 123/485; *taaste* n. (taste) 7/214, vb. 29/123, *waar* 11/88, 36/351, 129/652, &c.; but *Bewar* 14/193, 130/680; *cuwar* 26/41; *waast* (waste) n. 36/371.

ee: *Eeues* (Eve's) 132/722; *cheertee* 48/32, 58/20, 62/7; *eerly* 31/180, 62/21; *forgeete* 68/29; *reedy* (ready) 66/41; *seelden* 30/165; *attempree* 40/13; *beeth* (be ye) 55/127, 58/18; *eerthely* 17/292-7; *eerthe* 55/90; *bleew* 144/240; *kneew* 45/50, 140/128; *kneewen* 31/196; *reeve* 12/131, 38/412, 121/414-15, 141/152; *threew* 140/132; *treeve* 33/273, 34/277, 125/540, 127/598, 134/798, 137/48, 139/92, (but *trewe* 13/163); *treewely* 121/433, 141/158. Other *u* s are: *Reule* vb. 66/66, n. 39/8; *seur* (sure) 35/320, 48/14, 61/7; *Due* adj. 39/440, 61/13; *pured* 44/36.

oo: *dooth* imper. 42/32, 43/55; *foorth* 2/60, 27/78, 41/15; *hoolly* 3/112, &c.

ou: *doumb* 38/433; *souffyse* 46/100, *souffissance* 51/70; *souffre* 34/288, 40/23, 30; *souffred* 68/51, (but *suffre* 30/151); *souffridist* 54/58, but *souffraunce* 109/384. For *high*, he has *hyly* adv. 68/49, on *hy* 1/46, *hy* adj. 39/3, 48/42.

Hoccleve's metre is poor. So long as he can count ten syllables by his fingers, he is content. He rightly apologises in 50/48 for his "Meetrynge amis," and in 57/12-13 for "how vneconnyngly My book is metrid." He constantly thwarts the natural run of his line by putting stress on a word that shouldn't bear it, or using a strong syllable as a weak one—as Browning also often does:

Duclý in his conceités balaunce 131/601,
 Ful many á man / for to taken heede 131/605,
 Now, good freend / shoue at thé cart, I yow praye 132/617,
 Right so / let it be bý wrytýnge amendid 135/700.

He turns the pronoun *hirë* her, into two syllables:

40/24, In preiudice of hire (not "to hire") by no way,
 141/53, he hirë yaf wordës confortatyf,
 143/97, he stired hirë / whan he foud hir soul [above].

Hoccleve often breaks a measure awkwardly with his pause, as in

"Wiste I what / good freend / teH on what is best" 129/552.

"Or thow auysed be wel / and wel knowe" 133/648.

"Rule him shal / no thinge shal out from him breke" 133/654.

"Thou woost wel / on wommen greet wyt & lak" 134/667.

He not only lets the metrical pause stop the cutting-off of a final *e* before a vowel or an *h*, but he keeps the *e* also in other parts of the line :

Wolde god, by my speechë and my sawe 67/21,
 To helthë *him* profytë / ne god qweeme 9/40,
 þat he were of / nat sholdë hardy be 14/189,
 From thyn Hynessë haue a tokne or tweye 38/419,
 Of giltes allë haue an excellence 45/61,
 For our behouë han so mochil wroght 46/98,
 And werre makë, & sharp résistance 26/51,
 And thus to crauë / artith me my neede 39/438,
 Shameth to wernë / as þat I byleeue 39/442,
 With his mowth madë / and off his noblesse 56/130,
 O ground and rootë of prosperitee 25/2,
 The hopë of myn exaudicioun 44/30,
 It for to seruë in his cleer brightnesse 18/308,
 So mochë is a popes auctoritee 18/315 (? So / moche is /),
 How þat his gouernancë is despysid 33/275,
 The gretter needë hath it of his cure 45/67,
 So largelichë opned is thy syde 3/88,
 If he take heedë vnto the scripture 32/235,
 Or take my way / for ferë into France 139/823.

Of the eighteen poems in the Phillipps MS, George Mason printed the six autobiographic ones in 1796: "Poems by Thomas Hoccleve, never before printed: selected from a MS in the possession of George Mason," &c. They are, (1) p. 15, the "Balade to the Lord Chancellor" (p. 58 below); (2) p. 27, "La Male Regle" (p. 25 below); (3) p. 59, the "Balade and Roundel to Somer" (p. 59-60 below); (4) p. 65, the "Balade to Sir Hy. Somer" (p. 64 below); (5) p. 71, the Balade "Au Roy" (Henry V, p. 62 below); (6) p. 73, the "Balade to my maister Carpenter" (p. 63 below), whom Mason made the Bp. of Worcester, or the Rev. John Carpenter who was afterwards Bp. of Worcester, but whom I make the more probable John Carpenter, the well-known town-clerk and benefactor of London, whose charitable bequest, after having been mainly guzzled or misapplied by the City

Corporation for centuries, was in part used to found the City of London School in 1833.

In 1602 Speght printed, in his second edition of Chaucer's Works, p. 424, Hoccleve's Balade to Henry V and the Knights of the Garter, p. 41 below, under the title of "To the Kings most noble Grace, and to the Lords and Knights of the Gartar." It was reprinted in 1687, and by Urry, &c.

In 1614, as noted above, p. xxiv, the poet William Browne reprinted Hoccleve's second *Gesta* story of Fortunatus (p. 214, &c., below) in the first Eglogue of his *Shepheards Pipe*, and W. C. Hazlitt reprinted it in his edition of Browne's Works (Roxburgh Library), ii. 178-196.

Next, about 1625, the Rev. Richard James, B.D., Fellow of Corpus Chr. Coll., Oxford, copied and annotated Hoccleve's Remonstrance with Oldecastle, p. 8 below, and evidently meant to publish it: see "The Legend and Defence of y^e Noble Knight and Martyr Sir John Oldecastel" in the James MS 34, in the Bodleian, or the Grenville MS 35 in the British Museum. This copy by James—which had mistakes—Dr. Grosart printed, with James's notes and Dedication to Lord Bourchier,¹ in his "Poems &c of Richard James B.D." 1880. Then in 1882 Miss L. T. Smith edited Hoccleve's poem from the Phillipps MS, in *Anglia*, vol. 5, with only three mistakes in the text that need be noted—*novice* for *notice*, and *lore* for *love*, st. 27, lines 4 and 6; *mighit* for *naght* in st. 36, line 7—and one in the Latin sidenote to st. 24: she left-out "vel *militaris*" after "Clericus." Next to *La Male Regle*, readers will probably be most interested in "The Court of good Company's balade to Sir Hy. Somer," p. 64.

In 1801 Dr. John Leyden printed Hoccleve's *Mother of God*, p. 52-6 below, as Chaucer's, in his edition of the *Complaynt of Scot-*

¹ The Dedication is well known for its defence of Sir John Falstaffe, and its condemnation of Shakspeare's "ignorant shilte of abusing Sir Jhon" by substituting him for Oldecastle whom he had first put into 1 *Henry II*, because Old-castle's descendants objected to it. So in the Epilog to 2 *Henry II*, Shakspeare wrote that he would "continue the Story . . . where Falstaffe shall dye of a sweat . . . For Old-Castle dyed a Martyr, and this is not the man."—See *The Centurie of Praise*, N. Sh. Soc., p. 164-5, 268-9.

lund,¹ from John of Ireland's MS in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The poem was also printed from Leyden, as Chaucer's, in the First Series of *Notes & Queries*, vol. xii, p. 140-1, Aug. 25, 1855, and by Dr. R. Morris in his Aldine edition of *Chaucer's Poetical Works*, 1866, at the end of vol. vi, from the Bodleian MS Selden B 24. Lastly (woe is me!) I printed it in 1878 from its only three known MSS in the Chaucer Society's Parallel-Texts of the Minor Poems, no. LVII, and separately, in 1880, from the Phillipps MS in no. LXI, "A One-Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems," Part II. Dr. Murray read the copy with the MS for me. The other ten Poems of the Phillipps MS appear for the first time in the present edition.

For the text of "The Letter of Cupid," 1402, p. 72, I must apologize. I forgot to look at my old notes of 1871 for the MSS of it, and used my Fairfax copy without testing it by Shirley's and other MSS. Then I had it collated with these, and Prof. Skeat toucht up the final *e*'s; but still many parts of the text were unsatisfactory, and the stanzas seemd in wrong order. Comparison with Christine de Pisan's original—of which Hoccleve's poem is but an adaptation with changes (see Notes below, p. 243), and to which our good friend Prof. Paul Meyer referd me—showd that the Fairfax man (or an earlier transcriber) had copied from a MS of which the leaves had been shuffled like a pack of cards; and last came Hoccleve's autograph MS of the poem, which Lord Ashburnham has kindly lent to our friend Mr. Israel Gollancz, who will edit it for us. This set the stanzas in right order, and improved the text, tho Mr. Gollancz's edition of it will be better, and of course the standard text.

The Durham MS I first saw in 1871 (!), on my fruitless journey north to try and see Mr. Bowes's Midland MS of Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, a MS which has never been heard of since it was in the late J. O. Halliwell's hands for use in his Glossary.² Out of this Durham MS some other "Furiows Foole" (p. xl *n.* above) has torn out the first two sheets, *a* and *b* in eights, and the good old tailor-antiquary, John Stowe, has copied a poor text in, on ten leaves of paper. The vellum part, *c—m* in eights, *n* 1—3 (p. 115 below,

¹ E. E. T. Soc., Extra Series, 8, re-edited by Dr. J. A. H. Murray.

² He told me that he borrowd it of, and returnd it to, Kirkpatrick Sharpe.

to the end) is in Hocceve's hand, and has on the last page his dedication to the Lady Westmorland, followed by his signature: see the Facsimile, with all the later scribbles on it.

On the pathos of the poor sensitive old poet's sufferings under the coldness and suspicions of his former friends, after his madness, I have already remarkt. The best parts of the Durham volume are Hocceve's englishings of the two stories from the *Gesta Romanorum*. The reader will find prose versions of them in the Society's edition by Mr. S. J. Herrtage (Extra Series, 1879, no. 33), at pages 311-22 (Merclaus, as Jereslaus is there calld) and 180-96, the latter from Addit. MS 9066, as well as Shirley's Harleian 7333, copied by Impingham. The Emperor is there calld Godfridus. The Latin originals are in Oesterley's 1872 edition of the *Gesta*,—the Wife of the Emperor (or King) Octavianus and her scoundrel brother-in-law, at p. 648-654, cap. 249, app. 53; the Magic Ring, Brooch and Cloth, at p. 466—470, cap. 120 (112), *De mulierum subtili deceptione*. The king's name is Darius; the third son's, Jonathas; the "Puella ejus concubina"—"puella satis formosa"—is unnamed. Hocceve's englishings and those of the prose *Gesta* should be read together. The whole English *Gesta* was of course printed by the Roxburghe Club in 1838, Sir F. Madden editing; and I printed the prose *Merclaus* for the Chaucer Society in 1872, no. 7 of its Second Series, Part I of the "Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," p. 55-70, in illustration of the Man of Law's Tale of Constance. Of Magic Rings and Gems, Mr. Clouston has an interesting account in my edition of John Lane's "Continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale," p. 271, 334-347, 464, and of Magic Carpets at p. 294 (Chaucer Society, 2nd Series, 1890).

Tho I've lookt thro the Index *De Morte* (besides others) in Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus*, as well as the Brit. Mus. Class Catalog of MSS about Death, I have faild to find the original of Hocceve's *Lerne to Dye*. It was, however, that of a prose version (ab. 1430-40) in the Lichfield Cathedral MS 16, which I saw years ago, and which Miss Rosa Elverson has copied out for us. This version is there attributed to St. Anselm (among whose works I can't see it), and is headed "tractatus qui scitte mori appellatur." It begins "Sybbe al

maner men desireth by kynde to haue konnyng & knewliche on þe hyze and euerlastyng wysdom," and gives Hoccleve's fourth stanza (p. 179) thus: "First, y schal teche how þou schuldest deye; and aftirward how þou schuldest lyue; and after þat how þou schuldest resceyue me by sacrement; And at þe last, how þou schuldest preysy me bysyli with a elene mynd."

Miss Elverson will edit this prose version for the Society, together with the best known englishing (from the French) of the Latin *Scite Mori*,¹ by John Gerson, properly Jean Charlier, born at Gerson. This is Caxton's "The Art & Crafte to knowe well to dye"—"translated oute of Frensshe into Englysshe by Will^m Caxton," London, 1490, folio, 13 leaves. Gerson was a contemporary of Hoccleve's, was born in 1363, and died on July 12, 1429, and "is mainly remembered in connection with his efforts to bring about a cessation of the great schism which had divided the (Roman Catholic) church since 1378. His proposal was to depose both the rival popes, and elect a third in their room—a step which was taken by the council held at Pisa in 1409, of which Gerson was a member as deputy of the University of Paris. . . . In 1419 he returned to his native country, and spent the last ten years of his life with his brother, the prior of a community of Celestine monks at Lyons, living an ascetic life, and devoting himself to religious meditation and the composition of theological and other treatises."—Blackie's *Cyclopaedia*.

In the 1502 edition, printed by Hermann at Cologne, Gerson's tract takes up only 2½ pages, and begins:

¶ Johannes Gerson de Scientia bone mortis. Si veraces fidelesque amici cuiuspiam egroti curam diligentius agant, pro ipsius vita corporali fragili & defectibili conseruanda, exigunt a nobis multo fortius deus & caritas pro salute sua spirituali sollicitudineꝝ gerere spiritualeꝝ. In hac enim extrema mortis necessitate, fidelis probatur amicus . . .

¶ Prima pars continet quatuor exhortationes. ¶ Prima exhortatio est, "Amice dilecte aut dilecta, considera nos omnes subiectos esse potenti manu dei, & ipsius voluntati omnes nos, cuiuscunque conditionis aut status, reges, principes, aut diuites & pauperes, mortis tributum soluere necesse est [end of Part 4] Hinc expediens videtur, vt in quibuslibet pauperum hospitalibus vel domibus dei statuto firmaretur, ne quis ibidem eger suscipi posset, qui non primo ingressus die confessionem faceret, vel ydoneo sacerdoti ad hoc ipsum

¹ The Addit. MS 15, 105 in the Brit. Mus. is: "Tractatulus vtilissimus de arte bene moriendi, doctoris Iacobi Carthusiensium prope Staffordiam, Incipit: 'Omnes morimur, et quasi aqua dilabimur in terram.'"

deputato, paratus confiteri se continuo penitaret, sicut in domo dei Parisiensi landabiliter obseruatur &c. Finit.

§ 5. The writing of these Forewords takes me back nearly ten years, to the time when the Phillipps MS was copied, the autumn of 1882. After a visit to my fellow-Shakspeare-editor, Mr. W. G. Stone, at his peaceful home at Walditch near Bridport, I went across to work at MSS at Cheltenham, and to stop with the family of a young-lady lover of Shakspeare and Browning, who had been helped by my Introduction to the Leopold Shakspeare and had written to me. Daily, after my work at the Hoccleve and Chaucer MSS in the Phillipps collection at Thirlestaine House, my gifted and sweet-sould young friend took me for one of the pretty walks round the town, sometimes through level meads, sometimes through Lackington churchyard, or by other paths to the Cotswold Hills,¹ talking of the writers and people she honourd, telling me of her Indian life, her work at Cheltenham College, and in the evening singing me favourite songs, such as I named in my Forewords to the "Earliest English Wills" (E. E. T. Soc., 1882, no. 78), last page. A pleasant time it was; and little did I then think that the happy and brilliant future which I lookt forward to for my young friend would be so soon ended by her sad burning, and her death a week after, on Sept. 4, 1883. The pain of that has now past, and the pleasure of the friendship remains. It mingles in my mind with the delightful summer Saturday afternoons and Sundays² last season on the river, when we dined on the bank opposite Hampton Court and teaed on Tatham's island—we, learned friends,³ gentle women, nice girls, and darling children, with their pretty ways and eager "Oh, Doctor,

¹ On one walk there, during a later short visit, the local hunt came on to the Hills; and very pretty it was to see the hounds searching the undergrowth while the red-coats watcht them, but no fox turnd out to give them a run.

² How different it was yesterday, in our narrow sculling-four!—dull sky, bare banks, hardly a boat to be seen; no fire in the lunch-room at Eelpie Island, keen cold wind for our run and walk on the bank, and dead against us all the way down. But still enjoyable, and the spurt enlivening.

³ And—talk of golden garters!—did not one man famous for folk-lore, fairies, philosophy, Hebrew, and all sorts of other things, sheen in the sunlight, when he peeld to scull bow down-stream, and disclosed to our astonisht eyes, a cream silk shirt! Could luxury further go?

I can pull *two* now. You come and see me! Mother, you come too!" "May we children have the boat *all* to ourselves? None of you grown-ups. *We* can manage her, &c. &c." Bless em all! I find life worth living. Don't you? Specially when you have an old randan and can tow and scull. (Don't mention the washing-up after picnic meals.) Well, the Phillipps copy was set, and ought to have been issued in 1883; but I kept it back till I could complete, or get completed, the copy of part of the Durham MS which some good friend had transcribed for me years before. At last, after borrowing the MS twice, by forbearing Mr. Fowler's indulgence, this was managed. And here the Text at last is, as the foregoer, I trust, of Mr. Gollancz's edition of the Ashburnham Minor Poems, and a Text of *The Regement of Princes*, when I can find out the best MS of it.¹ If any one will volunteer for the editing of this poem, it shall be committed to his charge, for I haven't time for it. Still, if no one else will do it, I will. My Circular proposing the "Lydgate and Oocleve Society" (in Ellesmere MS, Pt. IV) is dated 14 March, 1872, and says, "From the amount of work before the Early English Text Society, it is clear that they cannot hope to print Lydgate's and Oocleve's Works for something like 20 years, though these works are wanted by students at once. . . I can do Oocleve's;" and I promist that the first MS printed of him should be the Durham one of the *Complaint*, &c., printed below. But not half of the 150 men I wanted for a start, agreed to join, and so the Society never was. Still, 1892 sees a book by Lydgate and one by Hocceve issued by the Early English Text Society, and others will follow. I feel bound to try and see Hocceve cleared, and Lydgate well started, before I die.

I say thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Smith—who have long since returned to India,—to Mr. Fenwick of Thirstaine House, Cheltenham, Mr. Fowler of Bp. Hatfield's Hall, Durham, to Norroy,

¹ Mr. A. B. Rogers at Cambridge, and Miss A. F. Parker at Oxford, have examined for the Society all the *Regement* MSS with our facsimile page in the present volume, to see if any has Hocceve's most frequent *w*, and they have copied from every MS the three Chaucer stanzas p. xxxii-iii above, "The firste finder of our faire langage," &c., as a sample of each. We can thus tell which are best worth collating further, if no autograph MS is hereafter found.

Mr. Horace Round, Prof. Skeat (for looking after the final *es*, &c.), Mr. R. G. Kirk, and all other helpers, including our collators Mr. Rogers and Miss Parker, and Mr. Thomas Austin, who cut down the Oxford collations to the *Cupid*, and has made the Index and Glossary.

British Museum, Monday, 29 Feb. 1892,

7.30 p.m., under the electric light.

P.S. 28 July 1892. After seeing how many carelessnesses there are in the three MSS I have put down as Hoccleve's autograph ones, I am obliged to doubt his having written them; and I take refuge in the conclusion that the larger writing of these MSS is more probably that of his clerk John Welde, or some like man, and that the closer writing of his Dedication to Lady Westmorland, at the foot of the facsimile, is alone in Hoccleve's own hand.

APPENDIX OF HOCCELEVE DOCUMENTS,

COPIED FROM THE RECORD OFFICE
BY MR. R. E. G. KIRK.

I.

12 Nov. 1399. Grant of £10 a year to Hocceleve for life, or until he gets a benefice of £20 a year.

[Patent Roll, 1 Hen. IV., part 2, membrane 21.]

Pro Thoma Hocceleue.

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod de gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono et laudabili seruicio quod dilectus seruicus noster, Thomas Hocceleue, vnus clericorum nostrorum de officio priuati sigilli nostri, a longo tempore in officio predicto impendit, et impendet infuturum, concessimus eidem Thome, in incrementum status sui, decem libras, percipiendas annuatim ad Scaccarium nostrum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones, ad terminum vite ipsius Thome, vel quousque ipse ad beneficium ecclesiasticum, sine cura, valoris viginti librarum per annum, per nos fuerit promotus. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xij die Nouembris.

For the good service of Thos. Hocceleue, one of our Privy-Seal clerks, We (Henry IV.) have granted him £10 a year

for his life, or until we promote him to an ecclesiastical benefice (without cure of souls) worth £20 a year. 12 Nov. 1399.

*Per breue de priuato sigillo.*¹

¹ 1399. The Pells Issue Roll for Michaelmas 1 Henry IV., 1399, has no mention of Hocceleue.

1400. Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Henry IV. This roll does not contain any payment to Hocceleue.

On membranes 3 and 10, and at the end, there are payments to Richard Clifford, Clerk, *Keeper of the Privy Seal*, at the rate of 20s. a day, for his wages (*radiis*). It is also stated, on m. 1, that King Richard II. owed him £200.

Richard Clifford, Clerk, *Junior*, was Keeper of the Wardrobe of Isabella, late Queen of England; 5 August.

On m. 6 there is a payment to Geoffrey Chaucer of part of the annuity of £20 granted him by Ric. II., and confirmed by Henry IV. This is printed by Sir Harris Nicolas: see *Chaucer's Poet. Works*, ed. Morris, 1866, i. 107.

II.

13 Dec. 1400. First Payment to Hoccleve of £8 15s. 3d., being so much of his £10 Annuity, granted on Nov. 12, 1399, as was due at Michs. 1400.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 2 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xiiij^o die Decembris.

To Thos. Hoccleve, to whom, on 12 Nov. 1399, Hen. IV. granted £10 a year

for his good service,—in money paid by assignment,

for the time from 12 Nov. 1399 to

Michs. 1400.

£8. 15s. 3d.

Thome Hoccleue, cui *Domínus* Rex nunc, xij^o die *Nouembris proximo preterito*,¹ x. li. annuas, ad *Scarcarium* ad totam vitam suam, ad *terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche*, per *equales porciones percipiendas*, pro bono servicio per ipsum eidem *Domino* Regi impenso et impendo, per *litteras suas patentes concessit*; In *denarijs sibi liberatis*, per *assignacionem factam*² isto die, in *persolucionem* viij. li. xv. s. iij. d. sibi liberandam de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, tam pro rata a *predicto* xij^o die *Nouembris*, vsque *ultimum* diem *Marcij* tunc proximum sequentem, per [blank] dies, *ultimo* die et non *primo computato*, quam pro *termino Sancti Michaelis ultimo preterito*, per *breue suum* de liberate hoc *termino*. viij. li. xv. s. iij. d.³

III.

29 Nov. 1401.
£5 to Michs.

Michs. 3 Henry IV., 1401. This Roll contains a payment for the half year of 100s. on Tuesday, 29 November; m. 11.

¹ That is, "last past" before Michaelmas day.

² "*assignatio facta*;" ab. 1400-24. In later times the word "assignment" was used in the Exchequer in two senses—first, as an assignment on a particular fund or branch of the revenue; secondly, as an assignment or transfer of an annuity by the grantee to some other person; but the former seems to be the meaning in the entries relating to Hoccleve. Almost the last entry I found, throws light on this point: it states that Hoccleve had an assignment for the larger portion of his annuity, and that only a small sum was paid to him "*in money*." So that when he was paid "by assignment," which was not always the case, he may not have received the amounts on the days specified in the rolls, if the revenues on which he had his assignments had not come in; but there are no records which would help to elucidate this question. It is probable however that the assignment would not be made till the revenues were actually in hand.

³ There is a duplicate of this roll; but the roll for Easter, 2 Hen. IV., 1401, is wanting, and there is no Auditors' or Tellers' Roll for that term.

IV. a.

26 April, 1402. Payment to Hoccleve of £5, his half-year's Annuity to Easter, 1402.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 3 Henry IV.]

Die Mercurii, xxvj. die Aprilis.

Thome Hoccleue, clerico, cui Dominus Rex nunc x li. annuas ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono servicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, per assignacionem factam isto die, in persolucionem C. s. sibi liberandorum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche ultimo preterito per breue suum etc. C. s.

Thomas Hoccleue.
To whom Henry IV. granted £10 a year for his life;—
in money paid to him
to Easter 1402, £5.

IV. b.

In the next roll, Michs. 4 Henry IV., 1402, there is a payment to Thomas Oeclive of 4^l. 18^s. 9^d., part of 100^s., on Thursday, 7 December. (It is not stated why he was mulcted in 1^s. 3^d.)

7 Dec. 1402.
£4 18s. 9d.
to Michs. 1402.

V.

15 Oct. 1403. Payment to Hoccleve of £9, his year's Annuity, less £1 which he gives up to get the £9.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 5 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xv^o die Octobris.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum de officio privati sigilli, cui Dominus Rex nunc x. li. annuas, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono servicio per ipsum de longo tempore in officio predicto impenso et impendendo, vel quousque idem Thomas ad beneficium ecclesiasticum sine cura valoris xx. li. annuarum fuerit promotus, per literas suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x. li. sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro terminis Pasche et

Thomas Hoccleue.
To whom (as a Privy-Seal clerk) Hen. IV. granted £10 a year for his life (for his long services in the Privy-Seal Office) till he should get a benefice of £20 a year without cure of souls,—
in money paid to him
for and to Easter

¹ The roll for Easter, 4 Hen. IV., 1403, does not contain any payment to Hoccleve, who seems to have allowed it to get in arrear. The Auditors' and Tellers' Rolls do not help. See next entry.

and Michaelmas
1403,
less 20s. which
he gives up to
the King
in order to get the
remaining £9,—
£9.

Sancti Michaelis ultimo preteritis, deductis vero xx. s. quos dictus Thomas, de sua mera et spontanea voluntate, remisit et relaxavit dicto Domino Regi, pro solucione habenda de ix. li. residuis, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino ix. li.

VI.

6 March 1404.
£5 in advance,
due at Easter.

On the same Roll, under date of Thursday, 6 March [1404], there is another payment of 100^s. to Thomas Ooclyve for the Easter term *following*; i. e. in advance.¹

VII.

26 March 1406.
£5 to Michs. 1405.

The roll for Michaelmas, 7 Henry IV., 1405, contains the usual payment of 100^s. to "Thomas Ooclyff, Clerk," on Friday, 26 March 1406.

VIII.

13 May 1406.
£5 to Easter.

The roll for Easter, 7 Henry IV., 1406, also contains the usual entry for the half-yearly payment of Hocleve's 100^s to Easter 1406, on Thursday, 13 May.

¹ The roll for Easter is wanting, but probably contained no payment to Hocleve.

In the Auditors' Issue Roll, Easter, 5 Hen. IV., A.D. 1404, there are two payments to . . . Blith, "pergamenerius" of Lincoln, for parchment bought of him "tam pro officio priuati sigilli [et] duorum Rememoratorum de Scaccario quam pro Recepta eiusdem."

(In the roll for Easter, 12 Ric. II., these offices are described thus: "tam pro expensis officij de priuato sigillo Regis quam duorum Rememoratorum de Scaccario et pro Recepta eiusdem Scaccarij.")

John Burgh, who is mentioned in a subsequent payment to Hocleve, is here described as "one of the Clerks of the Receipt" [of the Exchequer], and as having an annuity of £20 by grant of Richard II., confirmed by Henry IV. This roll is very much decayed and damaged, and, as expected, there is no payment to Hocleve, but there is a similar payment to some one else, whose name is lost, under a grant of Ric. II. There are no Tellers' Rolls for Easter or Trinity.

The three sets of rolls for Michaelmas, 6 Henry IV., 1404, and Easter, 6 Henry IV., 1405, contain no payments to Hocleve. (Could he not get, or did he forego, payment?)

In the Michaelmas roll there is a note that Thomas, Lord of Furnyvall, the Lord Treasurer, "began in the second part" of this term; his first date being 13th December. In the Easter roll, Thomas Langley, clerk, Keeper of the Privy Seal, is entered as receiving 20s. a day, as other Keepers had done before him, "until order should be taken for his continual dwelling within the King's household"; but on 1st March he was "exonerated" from the office. John Wisbech, his clerk, is mentioned in the Tellers' Roll.

IX.

14 Aug. 1406. Payment to Hoccleve of
£3 — 8*d.* for parchment, ink, & red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Henry IV.]

Die Sabbati, xiiij. die Augusti.

<p>Thome Oecliue, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem lx. s. viij. d., quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandauit pro pergamento, incausto, [et] cera rubea, de diuersis personis per ipsum ad opus dicti Domini Regis emptis, in officio predicto; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . lx. s. viij. d.</p>	<p>To Thos. Hoccleve, Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office, for parchment, ink & red wax, bought for the Office, £3. — 8<i>d.</i></p>
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X.

The Auditors' Issue Roll for Michaelmas, 8 Henry IV., 1406, contains no payment to Hoccleve; but the Tellers' Roll has the following note: "Thome Oecle [*sic*], de x. li. annuis, per manus proprias, C. s."

. . . 1406
£5 to Michs. 1406.

XI.

The Roll next quoted contains the usual payment of Hoccleve's 100s. half-yearly, on Saturday, 12 June.

12 June 1407.
£5 to Easter.

XII.

15 July 1407. Payment to Hoccleve of
£3 6*s.* 8*d.* out of £7 9*s.* 10½*d.* due to
him for parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 8 Henry IV.]

Die Veneris xv. die Julij.

<p>Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in partem solucionis vij li. ixs. xd. ob. quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandauit, pro pergamento, incausto, cera rubea, de diuersis personis per ipsum ad opus Regis emptis, et in dicto officio a xxvij^o die Marcij anno vij^o Regis huius lucusque expenditis, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . lxxj. s. viij. d.</p>	<p>Thomas Hoccleue. To him, a Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office, in part payment of £7 9<i>s.</i> 10½<i>d.</i> for parchment, ink, and red wax, from March 27, 1406 to July 15, 1407, £3 6<i>s.</i> 8<i>d.</i></p>
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XIII.

16 Jan. 1408. Payment to Hoccleve of £4 3s. 2½*d.* on account for 16 months' parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Auditors' Issue Roll, Michs. 9 Hen. IV.]

Tuesday, 16 Jan. 1408.

£4 3s. 2½*d.*
for parchment,
from 27 March
1406 to 12 July
1407.

Payment to "Thomas Occeleve, clerk," of 4*l.* 3*s.* 2½*d.* (part of a larger sum of 7*l.* 9*s.* 10½*d.*) for parchment, ink, and red wax, from 27 March, 7 Hen. IV. (1406) to 12 July, 8 Hen. IV. (1407), by the King's command.

XIV.

4 Feb. 1408.

Saturday, 4 Feb. 1408.

Half-yearly £5
to Michs. 1407.

Payment to "Thomas Occlive, clerk," of 100*s.* for Michaelmas term, by his own hands.¹

XV.

7 July 1408.
£5 to Easter.

Easter, 9 Henry IV., 1408. Saturday, 7 July. To "Thomas Hocclive Clerk," 100*s.*

XVI.

13 Feb. 1409.
£5 to Michs.

Michs. 10 Henry IV., 1408. Wednesday, 13 February, 1409. To Thomas Occliff, 100*s.*

XVII.

17 May 1409. Grant of £13 6*s.* 8*d.* a year from Michs. 1408, to Hoccleve, instead of his former yearly £10.

[Patent Roll, 10 Hen. IV., part 2, membrane 24.]

Pro Thoma Hoccleue.

On Nov. 12, 1399,
on account of the
good service of
Thos. Hoccleve,
one of our Privy-
Seal clerks,

we granted him
£10 a year

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod cum duodecimo die Nouembris, anno regni nostri primo, de gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono et laudabili seruicio quod dilectus seruicus noster, Thomas Hoccleue, vnus clericorum nostrorum de officio priuati sigilli nostri, a longo tempore in officio predicto impenderat, et extunc impenderet: concesserimus eidem Thome, in incrementum status sui, decem libras, percipiendas annuatim ad Scaccarium nostrum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti

¹ These were not found on the Pells Issue Roll, which is incomplete.

Michaelis, per equales porciones, pro termino vite ipsius Thome, vel quousque ipse ad beneficium ecclesiasticum, sine cura, valoris viginti librarum per annum, per nos foret promotus, prout in literis nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur; Nos, de vberiori gracia nostra ac in recompensacionem dicti seruicij sui, pro eo quod idem Thomas, dictas literas nostras in Cancellariam nostram restituit cancellandas, concessimus ei viginti marcas, percipiendas ad dictum Scaccarium nostrum, a festo Sancti Michaelis ultimo preterito, singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xvij¹ die Maij.

for his life, or till we should promote him to a benefice worth £20 a year.

As Hoccleve has returned this grant to be canceled, we grant him 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) a year, from Michaelmas, 1408.

Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XVIII.

23 May 1409. Half-yearly payment to Hoccleve of £6 13s. 4d. in respect of his fresh annuity of £13 6s. 8d.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Henry IV.]

Die Veneris, xxiiij^o die Maij.

Thome Ocelyue, cui Dominus Rex nunc x.li. [for xx marcas] singulis annis, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche, per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono seruicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes concessit: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum² sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche ultimo preterito, per breue suum de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.²

To Thos. Hoccleve,

in money paid to him,

for his $\frac{1}{2}$ year's annuity to last Easter, £6 13s. 4d.

XIX.

Michs. 11 Hen. IV., 22 Nov. 1409. Thomas Oclyff or Oclyff (no further description), £6 13s. 4d. The King had granted him ten pounds [for 20 marks] a year for life, for his good service, by letters patent. (Master John Prophete is Keeper of the Privy Seal.)

22 Nov. 1409. £6 13s. 4d. to Michaelmas.

¹ xvij is written on an erasure.

² These sums are written on erasures, the amount having probably been originally written "C. s."; but the scribe omitted to alter the "x. li." at the beginning.

XX.

23 June, 1410. Payment to Hoccleve of £1 2s. 2d. for 14 months' ink, wax, and parchment.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 11 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xxij die Junij.

Thomas Hoccleue.
To him, in money by the hands of Jn. Welde, for ink, parchment, and red wax, from 21 Feb. 1409 to 24 April 1410, £1 2s. 2d.

Thome Hoccleue, Clerico in officio privati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Johannis Welde,¹ in persolucionem xxij.s. ij.d. quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandavit pro incausto, pergameno, cera rubea, per ipsam emptis et expendendis in officio predicto, videlicet, a xxj^o die Februarij anno x^o, vsque xxiiij^{ima} diem Aprilis anno xj^o vltimo preterito, per breue de privato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino xxij.s. ij.d.

XXI.

17 July 1410.
£6 13s. 4d. to
Easter.

Easter, 11 Hen. IV. Thursday, 17 July. Thomas Hocelyff. The King had granted him 20 marks [13^l. 6^s. 8^d.] a year for life, by letters patent, payable half-yearly. (He is not called Clerk here. There is no payment to him for Michaelmas, 12 Hen. IV., A.D. 1410, either in the Pells or the Auditors' Roll.)

XXII.

8 July 1411.
£6 13s. 4d. to
Michaelmas 1410.

1411, Easter,² 12 Hen. IV., 8 July. To Thomas Hocelyf^r (or Hocelyff^r), one of the Clerks, &c., 6^l. 13^s. 4^d.

XXIII.

26 Feb. 1412.
£13 6s. 8d., 1 year
to Michs. 1411.

Michs. 13 Hen. IV. (1411), 26 Feb. 1412, Friday. To Thomas Oeclyve (or Oeclyff^r), one, &c., 13^l 6^s. 8^d. for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last. This payment is also recorded in the Tellers' Roll for Hilary, 13 Hen. IV.³

¹ John Weld is afterwards described as Hoccleve's clerk. A John Wold or Wolde was keeper of the King's lions and leopards in the Tower of London; Mich., 10 Hen. IV., *et ante*.

² This, tho' call'd an Easter payment, was no doubt for Michs. 1410—see last entry, as the next payment is for the whole year 1411 (see XXVI). If not, Hoccleve was paid twice over for Easter 1411.

³ 1412, Easter, 13 Hen. IV. The Pells Issue Roll is wanting. The Auditors' Issue Roll and the Tellers' Roll are also wanting. 1412, Michs. 14 Hen. IV. No payment found. The Pells Roll seems to be imperfect, the first date being 25 January. There is no Auditors' Roll, but there is a Tellers' Roll for Michaelmas. (*See extract.*)

XXIV.

5 Nov. 1412. Payment to Hoccleve of 32s.
for parchment and ink.

[Tellers' Roll, Michs. 14 Hen. IV.]

Die Saboti, quinto die Nouembris.

[It is somewhat doubtful whether this date applies to the following entry.]

Thome Hocclyste, per manus Johannis Weld', pro pergameno et incausto emptis in officio Custodis priuati sigilli xxxij.s. ¹	To T. Hoccleve for ink &c., 32s.
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XXV.

28 Sept. 1413. Inspeximus and Confirmation by Henry V. of Hoccleve's Annuity of £13 6s. 8d., with the arrears from Michs. 1412.

[Patent Roll, 1 Henry V., part 4, membrane 25.]

De confirmacione—Hoccleue.

<i>Rec.</i> Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Inspeximus literas patentes carissimi Domini et patris nostri Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie factas in hec verba. Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos [etc. as in the Patent Roll of 10 Henry IV., 17 May, 1409, p. liv, above]	We have seen our late Father's grant of £13 6s. 8d. a year to Thos. Hoccleve,
Teste me ipso, apud Westmonasterium, decimo septimo die Maij, anno regni nostri decimo. Nos autem, de gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono seruicio nobis per prefatum Thomam impenso et impendendo, concessionem predictam, ac omnia et singula in literis predictis contenta, rata habentes et grata, ea pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, acceptamus, approbamus, et prefato Thome, tenore presencium, concedimus et confirmamus, prout litere predictae racionabiliter testantur. Ita semper quod idem Thomas, pro termino	on 17 May 1409; and on account of Hoccleve's good service to us, we approve and confirm to him the said Grant,

¹ There is also a payment to Thomas, late Lord of Furnyvall, and Sir John Pelham, late Treasurers of the Wars; also two payments to Walter Lucey for parchment for the Receipt of the Exchequer and the Privy-Seal Office. There is no reference to Hoccleve's annuity. The roll for *Hilary* term following is wanting. It may have been in that. The roll for Easter 1 Henry V., 1413, omits all reference to Hoccleve, because the annuity had not then been confirmed by the new King.

provided the said Hoccleve is not retained by any one else. And we also grant him the arrears of his said Annuity since last Michaelmas, 1412. Given 2s Sept. 1413.

vite sue, cum aliquo alio preterquam nobiscum non retineatur. Et ulterius, de vberiori gracia nostra, concessimus prefato Thome, id quod ei aretro est de annuitate sua predicta, a festo Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, habendum de dono nostro. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xxviij die Septembris.

Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XXVI.

1 Dec. 1413. Payment to Hoccleve of a year's arrear of his Annuity of £13 6s. 8d. to Michs. 1413.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Henry V.]

Die Veneris, primo die Decembris.

To Thos. Hoccleve,—a Privy-Seal clerk, to whom Henry IV. granted £13 6s. 8d. a year, which was confirmed by Henry V. on 2s Sept. last—in money paid to him,

for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last,

£13 6s. 8d.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum de officio priuati sigilli, cui Dominus Henricus, nuper Rex Anglie, xx marcas annuas ad Scaccarium suum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones percipiendas, per literas suas patentes concessit; quas quidem literas Dominus Rex nunc, xxviij^o die Septembris proximo preterito, confirmavit: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem xx marcarum, quas idem Dominus Rex nunc de vberiore gracia sua liberare mandavit, habendas de dono suo pro arrearagijs annuitatis predicte, videlicet pro terminis Pasche et Sancti Michaelis vltimis preteritis, per breue suum de liberate inter mandatu de hoc termino. xiiij.li. vj.s. viij.d.¹

XXVII.

17 Jan. 1414. Payment to Hoccleve of £1 6s. 8d., for nine months' parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 2 Hen. V.]

Die Jouis, xvij^o die Januarij.

To Thos. Occlve, paid by the hands of his clerk, Jn. Welde,

Thome Occlve, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis, per manus Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, in persolucionem xxvj. s. viij. d. quos

¹ Master John Prophete is still Keeper of the Privy Seal, and receives "wages and fees," at the rate of 20s. a day. A payment to John Welde and five companions in the Privy-Seal Office, for copying out old "truces" with foreign countries, at the rate of 6s. 8d. to each, is quoted in Devon's "Issues of the Exchequer," p. 331.

*Dominus Rex eidem Thome liberare mandavit, pro pergamenno, incausto, cera rubea, per ipsum emptis, et expenditis*¹ *in officio priuati sigilli dieti Domini Regis, videlicet, a quinto die Marcij vltimo preterito, vsque xij diem Decembris extunc proxime sequentem; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino*
xxvj s. viij d.

for parchment, ink, and red wax, expended in the Office, from 5 March 1413, to 13 Dec.

26s. 8d.

XXVIII.

1414, Easter, 2 Hen. V. 2 May, Wednesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one &c. 6^l. 13^s. 4^d.

2 May 1414.
£6 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

[Thomas Chaucers, Esquire (*seutijer*), was sent to the Dukes of Burgundy & Holland.]

XXIX.

1415, Easter, 3 Hen. V. No payment on the Pells Roll. No Auditors' Roll. (A William Hokhyrst is mentioned.) The payment seems however to have been made, as the Tellers' Roll for Trinity, 3 Henry V., contains the following undated entry—

... 1415.
£6 13s. 4d.
to Easter 1415.

“Thome Oecleve, de certo suo annuo . x. marce.”

XXX.

1415, Mich., 3 Hen. V. 29 Feb., 1416, Saturday. “To Thomas Hoccleve, one of the Clerks of the Lord the King of the Office of his Privy Seal,” for Michaelmas, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. (This is a fuller description than usual.)

29 Feb. 1416.
£6 13s. 4d.
to Michs. 1415.

XXXI.

18 July, 1416. Half-yearly payment to Hoccleve by 3 instalments, through friends, of £6 13s. 4d. to Easter, with 13s. 4d. on loan.

Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 4 Hen. V.

Die Sabbati, xvij^o die Julij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Regis, cui *Dominus Henricus nuper Rex Anglie, pater Domini Regis nunc, xx marcus ad Scaccarium suum singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones per-*

Thomas Oecleue.
To him, a Clerk of the Privy-Seal Office,

¹ Expenditis, for expensis.

paid thro'
Jn. Burgh £2,
thro' Rob.
Welton, 6s. 8d.,
thro' Jn. Welde,
Hocceve's clerk,
£1 6s. 8d.,
to Easter, 1416,

56 13s. 4d.,

and thro'
Jn. Welde,
as a loan, 13s. 4d.

cupiendas, per literas suas concessit,—quas quidem literas dictus Dominus Rex nunc confirmavit:—In denarijs sibi liberatis, videlicet, per manus Johannis Burgh,¹ xl. s.; per manus Roberti Welton,² vj. s. viij. d.; et per manus Johannis Welde,³ Clerici sui, iij. li. vj. s. viij. d., in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xiiij. s. iij. d. Eidem Thome, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus predicti Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, de prestito super huiusmodi certo suo xiiij. s. iij. d. vnde

Respondebit.

XXXII.

14 Feb. 1417. Payment to Hocceve of
£2 6s. 8d. for 4 months' ink and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 4 Hen. V.]

Die Sabbati, xiiij^o die Februarij.

To him, thro'
Jn. Welde, his
clerk,

for ink and red
wax, bought of
Walter Lucy,

Thome [Hocceve⁴], vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Regis, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Johannis Welde,⁵ clerici sui, in persolucionem xlvj. s. viij. d., quos Dominus Rex sibi liberare mandauit, pro incausto et cera rubia per ipsum emptis de Waltero Lucy, haberdassher, London', et inter xvj diem

¹ John Burgh, "Esquire," is still mentioned on m. 9 as receiving an annuity of 20*l.* under a grant of Richard II; see p. lii.

² Robert Welton is also mentioned on this Roll, m. 9 and 14, as one of the Clerks of the Receipt of the Exchequer. He had an annuity of 20*l.* by grant of Henry IV., and had been sent to Boston and Hull to oversee the customers [receivers of customs-dues], and ascertain the amounts of their receipts.

³ On 27 May, John Welde, "one of the Clerks in the Office of the Privy Seal," received 20*s.*, which the King commanded to be paid him as a reward for his labours in that Office.

⁴ Blank: no doubt meant for Hocceve.

⁵ 1418, Pells Issue Rolls, Easter, 6 Hen. V.

"Die Veneris xiiij^o die Maij. Johanni Welde et Willmo Albertyn, Clericis in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem liij. s. iij. d. eis liberandarum de regardo speciali, per ausamentum Consilij Domini Regis, eis facto pro laboribus per ipsos habitis in officio predicto per tres annos vltimos preteritos, tam apud Calesiam [Calais] quam infra regnum Anglie, absque feodo vel annuitate de Rege percepto per idem tempus; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino liij. s. iij. d."

Decembris anno secundo et iij^{tu}m diem Aprilis anno
quarto expendentis¹ in officio *predicto*; *per breue de*
priuato sigillo inter mandata de termino Pasche ultimo
preterito xlvj. s. viij. d. from 16 Dec. 1414
to 1 April, 1416, £2 6s. 8d.

XXXIII.

13 March, Saturday. Payment of the annuity for
Michaelmas, "by his own hands,"—6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 13 March 1417.
£6 13s. 4d.
to Michs. 1416.

XXXIV.

1417, Easter, 5 Hen. V. 25 May, Friday. To Thomas
Hoccleve, one &c., for Easter, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. (It does
not say that the payment was made to "his own
hands.") 25 May 1417.
£6 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

XXXV.

1417, Michs. 5 Henry V. 30 Nov. Monday. Payment
of part, "by his own hands,"—3^l. 6^s. 8^d. 30 Nov. 1417.
£3 6s. 8d.
10 Feb. Thursday. Payment of the rest, "by
his own hands,"—3^l. 6^s. 8^d.³ 10 Feb. 1418,
£3 6s. 8d.
to Michs. 1417.

XXXVI.

1418, Easter, 6 Hen. V. 1 July, Friday. Payment
to Hoccleve for Easter term,—6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 1 July, 1418,
£6 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

XXXVII.

1418, Michs. 6 Hen. V. 7 Dec., Wednesday. To
Thomas Hocclerf, one, &c., for Michaelmas, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d.
(It does *not* say "by his own hands.") 7 Dec., 1418,
£6 13s. 4d.
to Michs.

XXXVIII.

1419, Easter, 7 Hen. V. 8 July, Saturday. To Thomas
Hoccleve, one, &c., "by his own hands," for Easter,
6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 8 July, 1419,
£6 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

XXXIX.

1419, July 10. Payment of 12s. 2d. to
Hoccleve for 16 months' red wax and ink.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Hen. V.²]

¹ Sic, for *expendentis*, or *expeditis*, as in other accounts.

² John, Lord of Furnyvall, Keeper of the King's land of
Ireland, is mentioned on membrane 15.

Die Lune, x^o die Julij (1419).**Thomas****Hoccleve.**

To him, for
red wax and ink
bought of
Walter Lucy,
from March 6,
1418, to July 10,
1419,

12s. 2d.

Thome Hoccleve, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi deliberatis per manus proprias, pro cera rubea et incausto,¹ de Waltero Lucy, Ciui et haberdassher London', per ipsum emptis, et in officio predicto inter vij^{tu^m} diem Marcij anno quinto et x^m diem Julij anno vij^{mo} expenditis; per breue de priuato Sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino xij. s. ij. d.

XL.

22 Nov. 1419.
£6 13s. 4d.
to Michs., 1419.

1419, Michs. 7 Hen. V. 22 Nov. Wednesday. To Thomas Hocclyve, one, &c., for Michs., 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. (It does not say "by his own hands.")

XLI.

17 June, 1420.
£6 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

1420, Easter, 8 Hen. V. 17 June, Monday. Payment for Easter, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. "by his own hands."

XLII.

26 Nov. 1420.
£6 13s. 4d.
to Michs.

1420, Michs. 8 Hen. V. 26 Nov., Tuesday. To Thomas Oocleue, one, &c., "by his own hands," for Mich., 6^l. 13^s. 4^d.

XLIII.

5 July, 1421.
£6 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

1421, Easter, 9 Hen. V. 5 July, Saturday. Payment to Hoccleve for Easter, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. "by his own hands."

XLIV.

11 Nov. 1421.
£6 13s. 4d.
to Michs.

1421, Michs. 9 Hen. V. 11 Nov., Tuesday. Similar payment to Hoccleve, "by his own hands."

¹ The payments for *parchment* during this time were made direct to Lucy: see Pells Issue Roll, Mich. 7 Hen. V., A.D. 1419: "Die Jouis xxx^{mo} die Nouembris. Waltero Lucy, Ciui et Haberdassher London', In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, pro pergameno pro officio priuati sigilli, tempore festinacionis et necessitatis ab eo empto ad vices: per breue generale vt supra—xij. s. vj. d." In the next roll, Easter, 8 Hen. V., under date of 3 July, there is another payment to Lucy for four bundles of parchment at certain prices, for the office of the Privy Seal, and for the Receipt of the Exchequer, under a general writ.

XLV.

23 Feb. 1422. Payment to Hoccleve of 40s. 11½*d.* for 19 months' red wax and ink.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 9 Hen. V., 1421.]

Die Lune, xxij. die Februarij [1422].

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Regis, et Willelmo Alberton', Clerico in eodem officio, In denarijs eis liberatis, videlicet, per manus predicti Thome, xl.s. xj.d. ob. pro cera rubea et incauste¹ emptis de Waltero Lucy, Cini Londonie, ad opus Regis, et expensis in dicto officio, videlicet, a x^{mo} die Julij Anno vij. eiusdem Regis vsque x^m diem Februarij vltimo preteritum; et per manus dicti Willelmi, xvij.s. iij.d. tam pro pergameno per ipsum empto ad opus dicti Regis et expedito in dicto officio, tempore quo dictus Rex vltimo erat apud Eboracum et partes ibidem, quam pro solucione per ipsam nuper facta apud Ciuitatem Lincolnie diuersis personis ibidem, pro certis literis Regis portandis in Comitatum Cornubie; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino
lix.s. iij.d. ob.²

Thomas Hoccleue.
To him

40s. 11½*d.*
for red wax and ink bought for the Privy Seal Office from July 10, 1419 to Feb. 10, 1422; and to Wm. Alberton 18s. 4*d.* for parchment bought

when Hen. V. was at York, and for money paid at Lincoln for sending the King's letters to Cornwall;

£2 19s. 3½*d.*

XLVI.

25 May, 1422. Payment to Hoccleve of his half-yearly £6 13s. 4*d.* to Easter.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Hen. V.]

Die Lune, xxv. die Maij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, patris Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex, pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsam eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo, xx marcas percipiendas singulis annis ad Scaccarium suum, pro termino vite ipsius Thome, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas

To Thos. Hoccleue, Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office of Hen. IV.,

who gave him £13 6s. 8*d.* a year for life, for his good service,

¹ So, for 'incausto.'

² Among the "Liberationes" to the "ministers" of the Exchequer from 14 January to 28 March is the following entry: "Waltero Lucy de London', Haberdassher, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, pro pergameno ab eo empto, tam pro officio Thesaurarij et Camerariorum de Scaccario, quam priuati Sigilli Domini Regis xl.v.s. ij.d."

There is a duplicate of this roll.

and Hen. V. confirmed it,—

£6 2s. 7½*d.* by assignment, and 10s. 8½*d.* in money;

£6 13s. 4*d.*

suas patentes concessit, quas quidem literas dictus Dominus Rex nunc confirmavit; In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, videlicet, per assignacionem factam isto die, vj.li. ij.s. vij.d. ob., et in moneta x.s. viij.d. ob., in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberatarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche ultimo preterito; per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

XLVII.

24 Jan. 1423. Inspeximus and Confirmation by Henry VI. of Hoccleve's Annuity of £13 6s. 8*d.*

[Patent Roll, 1 Henry VI., part 2, membrane 7.]

De confirmacione—Hoccleue.

Res, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Inspeximus literas patentes carissimi Domini et patris nostri Regis Henrici quinti defuncti, de confirmacione factas in hec verba: "Henricus, Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie, et Dominus Hend',¹ Omnibus ad quos (&c., as in the Patent of 1 Hen. V., 28 Sept. 1413). In cuius rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso, apud Westmonasterium, vicesimo octavo die Septembris anno regni nostri primo." Nos autem dictas literas ipsius patris nostri, de auisamento magni Consilij nostri, approbamus, ratificamus et confirmamus, prout litere predictae rationabiliter testantur. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xxiiij die Januarij.

Per breue de priuato sigillo.

We have seen the confirmation by Henry V.

of Hoccleve's Annuity of £13 6s. 8*d.* granted by Hen. IV.

on 28 Sept. 1413.

By the advice of Our Council, We approve and confirm the same.

24 Jan. 1422-3.

XLVIII.

15 Feb. 1423. Payment to Hoccleve of a half-year's Annuity (£6 13s. 4*d.*) to Michs. 1422.

[Pells Issue Rolls, Michaelmas, 1 Henry VI.]

¹ *Sic*, for Hibernie.

Die Lune, xv^o die Februarij.

Thome Hoccleue, nuper vni clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, aui Regis nunc: cui idem nuper Rex, pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsum Thomam eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo, xx marcas percipiendas ad Scaccarium suum, singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas suas patentes concessit: quas quidem literas pater¹ Regis nunc ac idem Dominus Rex confirmauerunt: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

To Thos. Hoccleue, late a Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office, to whom Henry IV. granted £13. 6s. 8d. a year for his life,

and Henry V. and VI. confirm'd it,—in money paid

for a half-year's annuity to Michs. 1422, £6 13s. 4d.

XLIX.

20 May 1423. Payment to Hoccleve of a half-year's Annuity, £6 13s. 4d., to Easter 1423.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Hen. VI.]

Die Jouis, xx^o die Maij.²

Thome Hoccleue, nuper vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, aui Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex—pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsum Thomam eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo—xx. marcas percipiendas ad Scaccarium suum singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas suas patentes concessit: quas quidem literas Dominus Henricus nuper Rex, pater Regis nunc, ac idem Dominus Rex nunc confirmauerunt: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

Thomas Hoccleue, late a Privy-Seal clerk, to whom Henry IV. granted £13 6s. 4d. a year,

and Henry V. and VI.

confirm'd it—in money paid to for a ½ years' him annuity to

Easter, 1423, £6 13s. 4d.

¹ This is expressed more fully in the following Roll.

² This heading applies to both this and the next Hoccleve entry on this roll, but they are some distance apart.

L.

20 May 1423. Grant to Hoccleve of 23s. 1*d.* for red wax and ink, bought for the Privy-Seal Office.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Henry VI.]

Thomas Hoccleue, of the Privy-Seal Office, paid to him for red wax and ink, bought of Walter Lucy of London, for the Office, from 9 Feb. 1422 to 19 May 1423,

23s. 1*d.*

Thome Hoccleue, de officio priuati sigilli Domini Regis, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem xxiiij.s. iiij.d.¹ quos Dominus Rex nunc eidem Thome liberare mandauit pro cera rubea et incausto, per ipsum emptis de Waltero Lucy de London', et in dicto officio expendis, a ix^o die Februarij, anno ix^o Regis Henrici quinti, patris Regis nunc, vsque xix die[m] Maij vltimo preteritum, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandatu de hoc termino . . . xxiiij.s. j.d.²

LI.

4 July 1424. Grant to Hoccleve of the Corrody that the late Nicholas Mokkyng had in the Priory of Southwick, Hants.

[*Privy-Council Proceedings and Ordinances, 1422-9*, vol. iii, p. 152, ed. Nicolas, 1834.]

[Additional MS. in British Museum 4604, art. 34; a modern Transcript.—Petition to the King and Council, with the answer, 4th July, 2 Hen. VI. 1424.]

To the King and Council.

Thos. Hoccleve of the Privy-Seal Office begs you to grant him such provision for life in Southwick Priory, Hants, as the late N. Mokkyng had.

“ Au Roy, nostre tresredoute et souverain seigneur, et as tresnobles et tressages seigneurs de son Conseil.

“ Supplie votre treshumble clere, Thomas Hoccleve, de l'office du prive seal, quil plaise a voz tresnobles seignuries lui granter autiele sustenance, a prendre chascun an durante sa vie, en la priore de Suthwyk en contée de Suthampton, come Nichol Mokkyng, que mort est,—nadgaire Maistre de Saint Laurance de Ponteneye en Londres—avoit et prist en la dicte priorie quant il vesquist,³ pour Dieu et en oeuvre de charitee.

¹ *Sic.*

² “j.d.” is written over an erasure; probably a correction of the “iiij.d.” above.

³ As Hoccleve's annuity was paid to Michs. 1425, it isn't certain that this Southwick corrody was worth £20 a year so as to stop the King's annuity under the original (p. xlix) and the substituted Grants. But the Treasurer no doubt did stop it after 1425.

“H. Gloucestre. H. Cantuariensis. J. Londoniensis.
H. Wyntoniensis. Philippus Wygorniensis. Warre-
wyk. Serop. Hungerford.

“(In dorso) iiii die Julij, anno secundo, apud West-
monasterium, concessa fuit præsens supplicatio in forma
qua petitur, præsentibus dominis infrascriptis.”

4 July 1424.
Hoccleve's
petition is
granted.

LII.

1424, Michs. 3 Hen. VI. Thomas Hocclyff, late one of
the Clerks in the office of the Privy Seal, to Henry
IV., who for his good service gave him 20 marks
yearly by letters patent, confirmed by the present
King:—6^l. 13^s. 4^d. for the half-year, paid into his
own hands on Monday, 27 November.

27 Nov. 1424.
£6 13s. 4d. to
Michaelmas.

LIII.

11 Feb. 1426. Payment of Hoccleve's last
half-year's Annuity (£6 13s. 4d.) to
Michs. 1425.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 4 Hen. VI.]

Die Lune, xj^o die Februarij.

Thome Hocclyff', nuper vni Clericorum in officio
privati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, ani
Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex—pro bono et laudabili
servicio per ipsam Thomam eidem nuper Regi impenso
et impendendo—xx [marcas]¹ percipiendas singulis
annis ad Scaccarium suum durante vita sua, ad terminos
Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones,
per literas suas patentes concessit; quas quidem literas
Dominus Henricus nuper Rex Anglie, pater Regis, ac
idem Dominus Rex nunc, confirmaverunt: In denarijs
sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x
marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo,
videlicet, pro termino Sancti Michaelis ultimo preterito,
per breve de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino

To Thos. Hoc-
cleve, late one of
the Clerks in the
Privy-Seal Office,

to whom
£13 6s. 8d. a year
was granted by
Henry V.—

in money paid
to him

for his $\frac{1}{2}$ year's
Annuity to
Michs. 1425,

vj li. xiiij s. iiij d. £6 13s. 4d.

There is nothing about Hoccleve in the Pells Issue
Rolls of Easter 4 Hen. VI, 1426; Michs. 5 Hen. VI,
1426; Easter 10 Hen. VI, 1432; Easter 15 Hen. VI,

¹ Omitted.

1437 ; Easter 17 Hen. VI, 1439 ; Michaelmas 19 Hen. VI, 1440 ; Easter 20 Hen. VI, 1442 ; Easter 25 Hen. VI, 1447.

1440. In the Pells Issue Roll for Easter, 18 Hen. VI., there is a payment to "divers Clerks of the King's Privy Seal," of the King's gift, as a reward for transcribing the Agreements made with the Emperor—5 marks. And another payment to "Thomas Franck,¹ one of the Clerks, and Filacer in the office of the King's Privy Seal."² But there is no reference to Hoccleve.

The foregoing notices were obtained from the Patent Rolls and the Exchequer Rolls only by dint of searching through some hundreds of membranes—perhaps about 1500. Few, if any, of them are referred to in the meagre indexes.

¹ Or Franke.

² Was he the successor of Hoccleve? He is also mentioned in Easter 15 Hen. VI., Easter 17 Hen. VI., and Mich. 19 Hen. VI.

HOCCLEVE'S MINOR POEMS.

A.D. 1413—1446.

Phillipps MS. 8151 (formerly *Prince Henry's, Son of James I.*)
leaf 3: vellum, ab. 1450 A.D.

The Complaynte of the Virgin before the Cross.

(english by command of LADY HEREFORD)

(In 5-measure sevens, *ababb, cc.*)

[The first leaf of the MS. and of this *Complaynte* (a 1) is lost. The first 2 leavs of the Poem to 'Oldcastel,' sign. a 7, 8, have been put befor the 2nd leaf of the *Virgin Complaynte* (sign. a 2), to prevent the MS. looking incomplete. Ther was thus at least one rasealy bookseller in James I's time.]

[7]

¶ O Womman,—þat among the peple speek'	43	[sign. a 2, leaf 3]
How þat the wombe blessid was þat beer,		O Woman (<i>Luke</i> ,
And the tetes þat yaf to sowken eek'		xi. 27) who sed
The sone of god / which on hy hangith heer,—		my Womb was
What seist thou now / why comest thou no neer?	47	'blessed,' where
Why nart thou heere? / o womman, where art thou,		art thou now?
That nat ne seest my woful wombe now?	49	

[8]

¶ O Simeon / thou seidest me ful sooth	50	O Simeon, the
'The strook' that perce shal my sones herte,		sword that pierst
My soule thirle it shal' / and so it dooth :		my Son's heart
The wownde of deeth ne may I nat asterte,		(<i>Luke</i> , ii. 35
Ther may no martirdom me make smerte	54	pierces mine too!
So sore as this martree smertith me :		
So sholde he seyn / þat myn hurt mighte see.	56	

[9]

O Father and
Mother! why did
ye breed me?

¶ O. Ioachim / o deere fadir myn! 57
And seint Anne, my modir deere also!
To what entente / or to what ende or fyn
Broghten yee me foorth / þat am greeued so?
Mirthe is to me become a verray fo. 61
Your fadir Dauid / þat an harpouir was,
Conforted folk' þat stood in heuy cas. 63

[10]

Ye cannot comfort
me.

Me thynkith yee nat doon to me aright, 64
þat were his successors / syn instrument
Han yee noon left / wher-with me make light,
And me conforte, in my woful torment.
Me to doon ese / han yee no talent, 68
And knowen myn conforteless distresse:
Yee oghiten weepe for myn heuynesse. 70

[11]

O Son,

think how I must
and kist Thee!

¶ O blessid sone / on thee wole I out throwe 71
My salte teeres / for onely on thee
My look is set / o thynke / how many a throwe
Thow in myn armes lay / and on my knee
Thow sat / & haddist many a kus of me. 75
Eek thee, to sowke, on my breestes yaf y,
Thee norisshyng' faire & tendrely. 77

[12]

Now Death takes
Thee from me!

Now thee fro me, withdrawith bittir deeth, 78
And makith a wrongful disseuerance.
Thynke nat, sone / in me þat any breeth
Endure may / þat feele al this greuance;
My martirdom me hath at the outrance; 82
I needes sterue moot / syn I thee see
Shamely nakid, strecchid on a tree. 84

[13]

[leaf 4]

And this me sleeth / þat in the open day 85
Thyn hertes wownde shewith him so wyde

þat alle folk see and beholde it may,
 So largeliche opned is thy syde.
 O! wo is me, syn I nat may it hyde! 89
 And, among othre of my smerte greeues,
 Thow put art also, sone, amonges theeues, 91

[14]

As thow were an euel & wikkid wight. 92
 And, lest þat somme folk^t par auenture
 No knowleche hadde of thy persone aright,
 Thy name, Pilat hath put in scripture,
 þat knowe mighte it euery creature, 96
 For thy penance sholde nat been hid.
 O / wo is me / þat al this see betid! 98

[15]

How may myn yen, þat beholde al this, 99
 Restreyne hem for to shewe by weepyng
 Myn hertes greef / moot I nat weepe? O yis!
 Sone, if thow haddist a fadir lyuyng,
 That wolde weepe & make waymentyng, 103
 For þat he hadde paart of thy persone,
 That were a greet abreggyng of my mone. 105

[16]

But thow in eerthe / fadir haddist neuere; 106
 No wight for thee / swich cause hath for to pleyne,
 As þat haue I / shalt thow fro me disseuere,
 þat aart al heolly myn? my sorwes deepe
 Han al myn hertes ioie leid to sleepe. 110
 No wight with me, in thee, my sone, hath part:
 Hoolly of my blood¹ / deere chyld / thow art. 112

[17]

That doublith al my torment & my greef. 113
 Vn-to myn herte / it is confusion,
 Thyn harm to see / þat art to me so leef.
 Mighte nat, sone / the Redempcioun

¹ ? MS. bleed.

- Of man han bee withoute effusioⁿ 117
 Of thy blood? yis / if it had been thy lust.
 But what Thou wilt, be done! But what thow wilt be doon / souffre me must! 119
- [18]
- O deeth / so thow kythist thy bittirnesse 120
 First on my sone / & aftirward on me.
 Bittir art thow / & ful of crabbidnesse,
 Death, who hast slain my Son, That my sone hast slayn thurgh thy crueltee,
 And nat me sleest / certein, nat wole I flee. 124
 Come of / come of / & slee me heer^e, as blyue!
 slay me! Departe from him / wole I nat a lyue! 126
- [19]
- ¶ O moone / o sterres / and thow firmament! 127
 How may yee, fro wepynge yow restreyne,
 O Moon and Stars, And seen your Creatour in swich torment?
 Yee ogh^ten troublid been in euery veyne,
 And his despitous deeth / with me compleyne. 131
 Weepeth & crieth as lowde as yee may,
 weep with me! Our Creatour *with* wrong is slayn this day. 133
- [20]
- ¶ O sonne, with thy cleere bemes brighte,¹ 134
 þat seest my child nakid this nones tyde,
 Why souffrest thow him, in the open sighte
 Of the folk^e heere / vnkeuere^d abyde?
 Thou art as moche, or more, holde him to hyde, 138
 Than Sem, þat helid his Fadir Noe
 Whan he espyde þat nakid was he. 140
- [21]
- If thow his sone be / do lyk ther-to! 141
 Come of / withdrawe thy bemes brightnesse!
 Thow art to blame / but if thow so do.
 Hide his naked- For shame / hyde my sones nakidnesse!
 ness! Is ther in thee no sparele of kyndenesse? 145
 He is thy Lord. Remembre he is thy lord and Creatour!
 Now keuere him / for thy worsshipp & honour! 147

[22]

- ¶ O eerthe / what lust hast thou to susteine 148 [leaf 5, back]
 The crois on which he þat thee made, and it,
 Is hangid ? / and aournd thee with greene
 Which þat thou werist / how hast thou thee qwit
 Vn-to thy lord ? / o do this for him yit ! 152
 O ! wake for doel / & cleue thou in two,
 And al þat blood / restore me vn-to, 154 in two, and re-
 store my Son's
 blood !

[23]

- Which thou hast dronke / it myn is, & not thyn ; 155
 Or elles thus / withouten tarynge
 Tho bodyes dede / whiche in thee þat lyn, or cast out thy
 dead !
 Caste out / for they, by taast of swich dewynge,
 Hem oghte clothe ageyn in hir clothynge. 159
 Thou Caluarie / thou art namely Calvary, do this !
 Holden for to do so / to thee speke Y. 161

[24]

- O deere sone / myn deeth neighth faste, 162
 Syn to an othir / thou hast youen me
 Than vn-to thee / & how may my lyf laste, How can I live ?
 þat me yeuest any othir than thee ?
 Thogh he / whom thou me yeuest / maiden be, 166
 And thogh by iust balance / thou weye al,
 The weighte of him & thee / nat is egal. 168

[25]

- He a disciple is / & thou art a Lord ; 169 [leaf 6]
 Thou al away art gretter than he is ;
 Betwixt your mightes / is ther greet discord.
 My woful torment / doublid is by this ;
 I needes mourne moot / & fare amis ; 173 Thou seemest to
 haue severd me
 from Thee for
 ever.
 It seemeth þat thou makist departynge
 Twixt thee & me for ay / withoute endynge ; 175

[26]

- And namely / syn thou me 'womman' callist, 176 Thou calledst me
 'Woman !'
 As I to thee straunge were and vnknowe ;
 Therthugh, my sone / thou my ioie appallist ;

- Wel feele I þat deeth his vengeable bowe
 Hath bent / & me purposith doun to throwe. 180
- Of sorwe talke may I nat ynow,
 My name is changed! Syn fro¹ my name / I-doon away is now. 182
- [27]
- I am *Mara*
 (bitter); Wel may men elepe and calle me 'Mara' ! 183
- From hennes forward, so may men me cañ.
 How sholde I lenger' elept be 'Maria',
 Syn 'I', which is *Ihesus*, is fro me fañ
- my sweetness is
 turnd to gall! This day / al my swetnesse is in-to gaff 187
- Torned, syn þat 'I', which was the beautee
 Of my name / this day bynome is me. 189
- [28]
- [leaf 6, back] ¶ O Iohn, my deere freend! thow haast receyued 190
 O John, how A woful modir / and an heuy sone
 Haue I of thee / deeth hath myn othir weyued!
- can we avoid
 death? How may we two, the deeth eschue or shone?
 We dreery wighites two / wher may we wone? 194
- Thou art of confort / destitit / I see ;
 And so am I / ful careful been wee ! 196
- [29]
- Vn-to oure hertes / deeth hath sent his wownde : 197
 Noon of vs may alleggen othres peyne.
- So full of woe are
 we, So many sorwes in vs two labownde,
 We han no might, fro sorwe vs restreyne ;
 I see non othir / die moot we tweyne ; 201
- let us die! Now let vs steruen heer *par* compaignie !
 Sterue thow there / & heere wole I die. 203
- [30]
- O Angels, your
 Creator is slain! ¶ O Angels / thogh yee mourne and waile & weepe², 204
 Yee do no wrong / slayn is your Creatour
 By the folk' þat yee weren wont to keepe
 And gye & lede / they to dethes shour
 Han put him / thogh yee han wo & langour, 208

¹ ? 'me' left out, for want of power to work it in.

² Cp. Chaucer's 'wrynge & waile & weepe,' Clerk's Envoy.
Cant. Tales.

- No wondir is it / who may blame yow?
 And yit ful cheer he had hem þat him slow. 210
 [31]
- ¶ O / special loue / þat me ioyned haast 211 [leaf 7]
 Vn-to my sone / strong is thy knyttyng! O Love,
 This day ther-in fynde I a bittir taast ;
 For now the taast I feele, & the streynynge
 Of deeth / by thy deeth / feele I deeth me styng. 215 now I feel Death's
 O poore modir / what shalt thou now seye? sting!
 Poore Marie / thy wit is aweye ! 217
- [32]
- Marie? nay / but 'marred' I thee caH. 218 I am not Mary,
 So may I wel / for thou art / wel I woot, but 'marred,'
 Vessel of care & wo, & sorwes ah! a vessel of woe!
 Now thou art frosty cold / now fyry hoot ;
 And right as þat a ship, or barge, or boot, 222
 Among the wawes dryueth steerelees,
 So doost thou, woful womman, confortlees ! 224
- [33]
- And of modir / haast thou eek' lost the style : 225 Mother am I, no
 No more maist thou clept be by thy name ! more.
 ¶ O sones of Adam / al to long whyle Sons of Adam,
 Yee tarien hens / hieth hidir for shame !
 See how my sone / for your gilt & blame, 229 see my Son bleed-
 Hangith heer al bybled vp on the crois ! ing on the Cross!
 Bymeneth him in herte & cheere & vois ! 231
- [34]
- His bloody stremes, see now & beholde ! 232 [leaf 7, back]
 If yee to him han any affecciou, n,
 Now for his wo / your hertes oghten colde.
 Shewith your loue and your dilecciou ; Show your love!
 For your gilt makith he correcciou 236
 And amendes / right by his owne deeth :
 þat yee nat reewe on him, myn herte it sleeth. 238
- [35]
- A modir þat so soone / hir cote taar 239
 Or rente / sy men neuere noon or this,

For chyld / which þat shee of hir body baar,
 To yeue her tete: as my chyld, þat heere is,
 His cote hath torn / for your gilt, nat for his, 243
 And hath his blood despent in greet foyssoun ;
 And al it was for your Redempeion. 245

For your redemp-
 tion, He shed His
 blood.

¶ Cest tout.

Ceste Compleynte paramont feut translatee au
 commandement de ma dame de Hereford,
 que dieu pardoynt !

[II.]

Ceste feust faicte au temps que le Roy
 Henri le Et, (que Dieu pardoint !)
 feust a Hampton sur son primer
 passage bers Harflete.

(In 5-measure eights, *abab, cdcd.*)

[1]

[sign. a 7, leaf 1]

THE laddre of heuene / I meene charitee,
 Comandith vs / if our brothir be falle
 In to errour / to haue of him pitee,
 And seeke weyes, in our wittes alle, 4
 How we may him ageyn to vertu calle ;
 And in gretter errour ne knowe I noon
 Than thou, þat dronke haast¹ heresies galle,
 And art fro Crystes feith twynned & goon. 8

Oldcastle! thou
 hast left Christ's
 faith!

[2]

Allas ! þat thou þat were a manly knyght,
 And shoon ful cleer in famous worthynesse,
 Standynge in the fauour of euery wight,
 Haast lost the style of cristenly prowesse 12

¹ The *aa* in 'haast,' l. 7, and 'aart, paart,' l. 150, 152, occurs elsewhere. The Latin side-notes, below, are in the MS.

Among alle hem / þat stande in the cleernesse
 Of good byleeue / & no man *with* thee holdith,
 Sauf cursid caitifs, heires of dirknesse :
 For verray routhe of thee / myn herte coldith. 16

[3]

Thow haast maad a fair *permutacion*
 Fro Crystes lore to feendly doctryne ;
 From honour & fro dominacion
 Vn-to reproof and meschenous v[e]nyne ; 20
 Fro cristen folk' / to hethenly couyne ;
 Fro seuretee vn-to vnsikirnesse ;
 Fro ioie and ese / vn-to wo & pyne,
 Fro light of trouthe / vn-to dirke falsnesse. 24

[4]

O Oldecastel / allas / what eilid thee
 To slippe in to the snare of heresie ?
 Thurgh which / thow foo arte to the Trinitee,
 And to the blissid virgyne Marie, 28
 And to the Innumerable holy *compaignie*
 Of heuene / and to al holy chirche. allas !
 To longe haast thow bathid in þat folie !
 Ryse vp / & pouрге thee of thy trespas ! 32

[5]

Seynt Austyn seith / 'whiles a man abyddith
 In heresie or scisme / and list nat fle
 Ther fro / his soule / fro God he diuidith,
 And may nat saued been in no degree. 36
 For what man holdith nat the vnitee
 Of holy Chirche / neithir his bapteeume,
 Ne his almesse / how large þat it be,
 To helthe him *profy*te / ne god *qwe*eme.' 40

[6]

And yit more-ouer he seith thus also,
 'Thogh þat an *heretyk*', for Crystes name
 Shede his blood / & his lyf for Cryst forgo,
 Shall nat him sauc' / allas, the harm & shame ! 44

No one holds with thee, but cursed caitifs!

Thou hast left the light of Truth for darkness!

[sign. a 7, leaf 1, back]

Thou art God's foe!

Purge thee of thy trespas!

[MS.]

Augustinus de fide, ad Petrum: 'Firmissime tene, & nullatenus dubites, quemlibet hereticum &c. qui ecclesie catholice non tenet vnitatem, neque baptismus / neque elemosina quantumcumque copiosa / neque mors pro Christi nomine suscepta, proficere poterit ad salutem.'

- Oldcastle! obey
 the Church!
- May nat thy smert thy sturdy herte attame?
 Obeie / obeie / in the name of Jhesu!
 Thou art of merit & of honour lame;
 Conquere hem two / & thee arme in vertu! 48
- [7]
- [sign. a 8, leaf 2] If thyn hy herte, bohynge in errour,
 [MS.] To holy chirche can nat buxum be?
 De Theodosij Beholde Theodosius Emperour,
 illustris Imperatoris obedienciali Humilite / re-
 spice in historia tripartita, libro
 ixo, ubi narrat, 'Cum apud Theso-
 lonicam Ciuitatem,' &c.
- How humble & buxum vn-to god was he! 52
 No reward tooke he of his dignitee,
 But, as a lamb, to holy chirche obeide:
 In the scripture / may men rede & se
 How meekly of the Bisshop, grace he preide. 56
- [8]
- Thoffense which þat he ageyn god wroghte,
 Was nat so greet as thyn / by many fold;
 And yit ful heuy he was, & it forthoghte,
 Obeyng^t as þat holy chirche hath wold. 60
- Thou hast sold
 thy soule to the
 Devil.
- Thow þat thy soule / to the feend haast sold,
 Bye it agayn thurgh thyn obedienee!
 Thyn heresie is al to hoor and old;
 Correcte thee at Crystes reuerence! 64
- [9]
- And for thy soules helthe / do eeke so!
 Thy pryde qwenche, & thy presumpcioun!
 Wher thow hast been to Crystes feith a fo,
 Plante in thyn herte a deep contricioun, 68
- Repent!
- And hennes foorth be Crystes Champion!
 The welle of mercy renneth al in brede;
 Drynke ther-of / syn ther is swich foysoon,
 Thyn hertes botel / ther^o of fille, I rede. 72
- [10]
- [sign. a 8, or leaf 2, back] Thow haast offendid god wondirly sore;
 And natheles / if thow the wilt amende,
 [1 MS. m] Thogh thy gilt wer^t a thousand¹ tymes more,
 Ask God mercy! Axe him mercy / & he wole it thee sende. 76

Thow art vnwys / thogh̄ thow thee wys *pretende*,
 And so been alle of thyn opinioun.

To god & holy chirche thow thee bende !
 Caste out thy venym thurgh confessioun !

80 Bend thee to Holy Church!

[11]

Thow seist 'confessioun auriculeer
 Ther needith noon' / but it is the contrarie ;
 Thow lookist mis / thy sighte is nothyng cleer !

Thou objectest to Confession.

Holy writ ther-in is thyn *Aduersarie*,
 And Clerkes alle fro thy conceit varie,
 þat Crystes *partie* holden & maynteene.

84 [MS.]
Scriptum est /
'Ostendite vos sacerdotibus.'

Leue þat conceit / lest þat thow mis-carie !
 Waar of the sword of god / for it is keene.

88 Leave that conceit!

[12]

Heere, in this lyf / vn-to god mercy crie,
 And with the ax or hamer of penance
 Smyte on the stoon / slee thyn obstinacie !
 Haue of thy synnes heuy remembrance !
 Rowne in the preestes ere / & the greuance
 Of thy soule / meekly to him confesse ;
 And in the wal of heuene / is no doutance,
 Thow shalt a qwike stoon be / for thy goodnesse.

92 [MS.]
Augustinus de visitatione infirmorum dicit. 'In muro Ciuitatis superne apponendus es lapis viuus, in cuius edificio non auditur securis aut malleus. hic perferendus est strepitus / hic adiciendus est lapidi malleus / hic contorendum est totum lapidis superuacuum / strepitus peccatorum tuorum recordatio super quibus perstrepit in aure sacerdotis humillima tua confessio, &c.'

[13]

*O Oldcastel / how hath the feend thee blent !
 Where is thy knyghtly herte / art thow his thral ?
 Thow errest foule eeke in the sacrament
 Of the Auter / but how in special
 For to declare it needith nat at al ;
 It knowen is in many a Region.

100 [* sign. B 1, or leaf 8]

Now syn the feend hath youen the a fal /
 Qwyte him / let see / ryse vp & slynge him down !

104 Rise up, and sling the Devil down!

[14]

Ryse vp, a manly knyght, out of the slow
 Of heresie / o lunker' / as a wrecche
 Wher' as thow erred haast / correcte it now !
 By humblesse / thow mayst to mercy strecche.

108 Rise out of the slough of Here-sy!

Get absolution
from Holy
Church!

To holy chirche go / & ther' fecche
The holsum oyle of absolucion.
If thow of soules hurt ne shame recche,
Thow leesist heuene / and al knyghtly renown. 112

[15]

Thou refusest to
obey Prelates.

Par cas / thow to thy self shame it arettist,
Vn-to Prelatz of holy chirche obeie :
If it so be / thy conceit thow mis settist.
What man aright can / in his herte weye 116
The trouthe of that! To Ihesu Cryst, I seye,
Principally / is þat obedience.
God hath ordeyned preestes to purveye
Salue of penance / for mannes offense. 120

[16]

[sign. b. 1; ff. 8,
back]

Confess and
repent of thy
errors!

Vnto seint Petir and his successours,
And so fourth down / god hath his power lent
Go to the Preest / correcte thyn errors,
With herte contryt vn-to god y-bent! 124
Despute no more of the sacrament!
As holy chirche biddith, folwe it!
And hennes forward / as by myn assent,
Presume nat so mochil of thy wit! 128

[17]

If a Priest is
vicious,

follow him not,
but obey his
teaching.

I putte cas, a prelat or a preest
Him viciously gouerne in his lyuyng /
Thow oghtist reewe on it / whan thow it seest,
And folwe him nat / but aftir his techynge 132
Thow oghtest do / & for thyn obeyynge
Thow shalt be sauf / & if he teche amis,
Toforn god shal he yeue a rekenynge,
And þat a streit / the greet peril is his. 136

[18]

Stir no arguments
about our Faith!

Lete holy chirche medle of the doctryne
Of Crystes lawes / & of his byleeue,
And lete alle othir folke / ther-to enclyne,
And of our feith noon argumentes meue. 140

For if we mighte our feith by reson preeue,
 We sholde no meryt of our feith haue.
 But now a dayes / a Baillif or Reeue
 Or man of craft / wole in it dote or raue. 144

[19]

Some wommen eeke, thogh hir wit be thynne,
 Wele argumentes make in holy writ!
 Lewde calates! sittith down and spynne,
 And kakele of sumwhat elles, for your wit 148
 Is al to feeble to despute of it!
 To Clerkes grete / apparteneþ þat aart
 The knowleche of þat, god hath fro yow shrit;
 Stynte and leue of / for right selendre is your paart. 152

[20]

Ouræ fadres olde & modres lyued wel,
 And taghte hir children / as hem self taght were
 Of holy chireche / & axid nat a del
 ‘Why stant this word heere?’ / and ‘why this word
 there?’ 156

‘Why spake god thus / and seith thus elles where?’
 ‘Why dide he this wyse / and mighte han do thus?’
 Our fadres medled no thyng of swich gere :
 þat oghte been a good mirour to vs. 160

[21]

If land to thee be falle of heritage,
 Which þat thy fadir heeld in reste & pees,
 With title iust & trewe in al his age,
 And his fadir before him brygelees, 164
 And his and his / & so fourth / doutelees
 I am ful seur / who so wolde it thee reue,
 Thow woldest thee deffende & putte in prees;
 Thy right thow woldest nat, thy thankes, leue. 168

[22]

Right so / where as our goode fadres olde
 Possessid weræ, & hadden the seisyne
 Peisible / of Crystes feith, & no man wolde

[MS.]
 Fides non habet
 meritum, &c.

[sign. b 2, lf. 9]

Women even
 argue now about
 Holy Writ! Let
 em cackle of
 something else!

Our forefathers

never askt ques-
 tions.

No more ought
 we.

If you inherited
 land

you'd defend it
 against robbers.

[sign. b 2, lf. 9,
 back]

So our fathers
 held Christ's
 faith.

Impugne hir right: it sit vs to enlyne 172
 Ther-to / let us no ferthere ymagyne
 But as þat they dide! occupie our right;
 And in oure hertes fully determyne
 Our title good / & keepe it with our might. 176

Let us then keep
 their possession
 with all our
 might!

[23]

He who'll not
 defend his rights
 is a coward!

Who so hath right / and nat wole it deffende;
 It is no manhode / it is cowardyse:
 And as in this cas / he shal god offende
 So greuously / þat he shal nat souffyse, 180
 The maugree, for to bere in no wyse
 Fro Cryst þat right first greew / & if þat we
 Nat shuln susteene it / we been ful vnwyse:
 Him self is feith / right / trouthe, & al bontee. 184

[24]

[MS.]
 Lege Nemo.
 'Nemo Clericus
 vel militaris, vel
 cuiuslibet alterius
 condicionis de fide
 christiana publice
 turbis coadunatis
 & audientibus
 tractare conetur
 in posterum ex
 hoc tumultus &
 perfidie occasi-
 onem requirens
 &c. & ibi expres-
 satur pena in
 huiusmodi causis
 exequendis.'

The Cristen Emperour Justinian,
 As it is writen / who so list it see,
 Made a lawe deffending^t euery man,
 Of what condicion or what degree 188
 þat he were of / nat sholde hardy be
 For to despute of the feith openly;
 And there vp on / sundry peynes sette he,
 þat peril sholde eschued be therby. 192

[25]

[leaf 16]
 Oldecastle, don't
 read Holy Writ!
 Read *Lancelot*, or

Bewar Oldcastel / & for Crystes sake
 Clymbe no more / in holy writ so hie!
 Rede the storie of Lancelot de lake,
 Or Vegece of the aart of Chivalrie, 196
 The seege of Troie / or Thebes / thee applie
 To thyng þat may to thordre of knyght longe!
 To thy correccioⁿ now haaste and hie,
 For thow haast been out of ioynt al to longe. 200

the *Siege of Troy*;

[26]

or *Judges* and
Joshua:

If thee list thyng rede of auctoritee,
 To these stories sit it thee to goon:
 To Iudicium / Regum, and Iosue,

- To Iudith / & to Paralipomenon, 204
 And Machabe / & as siker as stoon,
 If þat thee list in hem bayte thyn ye,
 More autentike thing / shalt thou fynde noon,
 Ne more pertinent to Chivalrie. 208
- [27]
- Knyghtes so dide in tymes þat be past, Knights of old
 Whan they had tendrenesse of hir' office ;
 In Crystes feith they stooden stidefast ;
 And as þat the preest, hir soules Norice, 212
 Hem goostly fedde / & yaf hem the notice
 Of Crystes lore : with obediencie
 They tooke it / but now regneth swich malice, obeyd the Priest.
 That buxumnesse is put in abstinence. 216
- [28]
- O Constantyn, thou Prince of hy nobleye / [If. 10 bk.]
 O cristen Emperour / whos worthynesse
 Desdeyned nat to holy chirche obeye,
 But didest al thy peyne & bisynesse, 220
 With wel disposid spirit of meeknesse,
 The Ministres of god for to honure ;
 How thou wroughtist / hast thou so strong witnessse,
 That lyue it shal / whil the world wole endure ! 224
- [29]
- Thou took nat on thee hir correctioun,
 Ne vp on hem / thou yaf no iugement !
 Swich was to god thy good affeccioun,
 Thou seidest / ' they been goddes to vs sent ! 228
 And þat it is nothyng conuenient,
 That a man sholde goddes iuge and deeme.'
 Thou were a noble & a worthy Regent !
 Wel was byset on thee / thy diadeeme ! 232
- [30]
- Blessid be god / fro whom deryued is
 Al grace / our lige lord / which þat is now
 Our feithful cristen Prince and King / in this
 Our Henry V
 follows his steps.

- Oldeastle! Follow these Princes! Folwith thy steppes / o' for shame thow 236
 Oldeastel / thow haast longe tyme ynow
 [1 odd, this! If he 'does it no longer,' why should he be scolded? — Read 'that' for 'though' in 238.] Folwed the feend / though thow no lenger do,¹
 Do by my reed / it shal be for thy prow :
 Flee fro the Feend / folwe tho Princes two ! 240
[31]
- [leaf 11] Reward had, & consideracioun,
 Vn-to the dignitees of tho persones,
 Thow art of a scars reputacioun!
 A froward herte / haast thow for the nones ! 244
 A froward herte / haast thow for the nones !
- Bow and correct thyself! Bowe & correcte thee / come of at ones!
 Foule haast thow lost thy tyme many a day!
 For thyn vnfeith / men maken many mones ;
- Return to God! To god retourne / & with his feith dwelle ay ! 248
[32]
- Thogh god the haue souffrid regne a whyle,
 Be nat to bold / be war of his vengeance!
 He tarieth for thow sholdist reconsyle
 Thee to him / & leue thy mescreaunce. 252
 Holsum to thee / now were a variaunce
 Fro the feend to our lord god / & fro vice
 Vn-to vertu, þat were his hy plesaunce,
 And his modres, man-kyndes mediatrice. 256
[33]
- Some of thy fetheres weren plukkid late,
 And mo shuln be / thow shalt it nat asterte ;
 Thow art nat wys / ageyne god to debate!
 Debate not against God! The flood of pryde / caste out of thyn herte ! 260
 The flood of pryde / caste out of thyn herte !
 Grace is a-lyue / to god thee conuerte!
 Thow maist been his / if thee list him obeie ;
 If thow nat wilt so / sorrer shalt thow smerte,
 Than herte of man may thynke, or tonge seye ! 264
[34]
- [leaf 11, back] Almighty god / thow lord of al, and Syre,
 O Lord of all! Withouten whom is no goodnesse wroght,
 Inspire Oldeastle with Thy grace! This knyght, of thyn habundant grace enspyre !

Remembre how deere / þat thow haast him boghit ! 268

He is thyn handwerke / lord ! refuse him noghit,

He is thy handi-
work.

Thogh he thee haue agilt outrageously /

Thow þat for merey deidest, change his thoghit !

Benigne lord, enable him to mercy !

272 Fit him for
mercy !

[35]

Yee þat peruerted him / yee folke dampnable !

Yee heretikes þat han him betrayed,

Ye Heretikes that
mised this
Knight,

That manly was / worthy & honourable,

Or þat he hadde of your venym assayed,

276

I doute it nat / your wages shal be payed

Sharply / but yee correcte your trespas,

In your fals error / shul yee been outrayed,

And been enhabited with Sathanas.

280 ye shall go to
Hell !

[36]

Yee, with your sly coloured argumentes

Which þat contenen nothyng but falshode,

Han, in this Knyght, put so feendly ententes,

Ye have quencht

þat he is ouercharged with the lode

284

Which yee han leid on his good old knyghthode,

That now 'a wreechid knyght' men calle may.

The lak' of feith / hath qwenchid his manhode ;

his manhood.

His force ageyn god / naghit is at assay.

288

[37]

'Prynce of preestes' / our lige lord yee calle

[leaf 12]

In scorn / but it is a style of honour :

Ye call the King
'Prince of
Priests.'

Auctoritee of Preest excedith alle

But Priests are
abuy him.

Eerthely powers / thogh it seeme sour

292

To the taast of your detestable error.

They þat in the feith been constaunt & sad,

In seint Petres wordes han good fauour,

And fayn been to fullfille þat he bad.

296

[38]

Alle eerthely Princes and othir men,

Bysshops to obeie / commandid he.

Earthly Princes
must obey
Bishops.

Yee han no ground to holde ther ayen :

- Spiritual things
ar abuv temporal. Spirituel thynges / passe in dignitee 300
Alle the thynges temporel þat be,
As moche as dooth the soule the body.
In the scriptures, serche / & yee shul see
þat it no lees at al is hardily. 304
[39]
- The Sun and
Moon Two lightes, god made in the firmament
Of heuene / a more made he, & a lesse ;
The gretter light, to the day hath he lent,
It for to serue in his cleer brightnesse ; 308
The smaller, to the nyght in soothfastnesse
He lente also / to helpe it with his light.
- betoken Papal
authority, and
Kingly. Two dignitees they toknen in liknesse :
Auctoritee papal, and kynges might. 312
[40]
- [leaf 12, back]
As Sun to Moon,
so is Pope to
King. Looke, how moche & how greet dyuersitee
Betwixt the sonne ther is, & the moone !
So moche is a popes auctoritee
Aboue a kynges might / good is to doone 316
þat yee aryse out of *your* error soone,
þat there-in walwid han / goon is ful yore.
- If ye'll not be-
liev it, I hope ye
may be burnt ! And but yee do / god, I byseeche a boone,
þat in the fyr yee feele may the sore ! 320
[41]
- Yee þat nat sette by preestes power,
'Crystes Rebels, & foos' men may you calle.
Yee waden in *presumpcioun* to fer !
Your soules to the feend, yee foule thralle ! 324
- Ye say 'a sinful
pre I can't make
'Christ's body.'
Yee seyn, 'a preest in deedly synne falle,
If he so go to messe / he may nat make
Crystes body' / falsly yee erren alle,
þat holden so / to deepe yee ransake ! 328
[42]
- He can. As wel may a preest þat is vicious,
þat precious body make, day by day,
As may a preest / þat is ful vertuous ;

But waar the preest / his soule it hurte may, 332
 And shal, but he be cleene : it is no nay.
 Be what he be / the preest is instrument
 Of god / thurgh whos wordes / trustith this ay,
 The preest makith the blessid sacrament. 336

The Priest is only
 an instrument to
 make the Body.

[43]

Yee medle of al thyng / yee moot shoo the goos : [leaf 13]
 How knowen yee what lyf a man is ynne ?
 Your fals conceites renne aboute loos !
 If a preest synful be, & fro god twynne, 340
 Thurgh penitence he may ageyn god wynne.
 No wight may cleerly knowen it or gesse,
 þat any preest, beyng in deedly synne,
 For awe of god, dar to the messe him dresse. 344

Besides, no one
 can know that
 a Priest in sin
 dare perform
 Mass.

[44]

Yee seyn also 'ther sholde be no pope,
 But he the beste preest were vp-on lyue.'
 O ! wher-to graspen yee so fer, and grope
 Aftir swich thyng / yee mowe it neuere dryue 348
 To the knowleche / nothyng there-of stryue !
 Medle nat ther with / let al swich thyng passe !
 For if þat yee do / shul yee neuere thryue ;
 Yee been ther-in as lewde as is an asse ! 352

Ye say that 'only
 the best Priest
 should be Pope.'

Ye are asses !

[45]

Many man outward / seemeth wondir good,
 And inward is he wondir fer ther-fro :
 No man be Iuge of þat / but he be wood :
 To god longith þat knowleche, & no mo. 356
 Thogh he be right synful / sooth is also,
 The hy power þat is to him committid,
 As large as petres is / it is right so :
 Amonges feithful folk / this is admittid. 360

God alone can
 judge what a man
 is.

The Pope's power
 is as great as
 Peter's.

[46]

What is the lawe the werse of nature,
 If þat a Iuge vse it nat aright ? . [lf. 13, bk]
 No thyng / god wot / auyse him þat the cure

- Ther-of hath take / looke he do but right ; 364
 Waar / þat he nat stonde in his owne light !
 Good is, þat he his soule keepe & saue.
 Put your false opinions to flight !
 Your fals conceites, puttith to the flight,
 I rede / and Crystes merey, axe & haue ! 368
 [47]
 Yee þat pretenden folwers for to be
 Of Crystes disciples / nat lyue sholde
 Aftir the fleschly lustes / as doon yee
 Ye live in lust, and care not whose wife ye take.
 þat rekken nat / whos wyf yee take & holde : 372
 Swich lyf / the disciples nat lyue wolde,
 For cursid is the synne of aduoutrie ;
 But yee ther-in, so hardy been & bolde,
 þat yee no synne it holden, ne folie. 376
 [48]
 If yee so holy been as yee witesse
 Of your self : thanne in Crystes feith abyde !
 Christ's disciples faced death boldly.
 The disciples of Cryst had hardynesse
 For to appeere / they nat wolde hem hyde 380
 For fere of deeth / but in his cause dyde.
 They fledden nat to halkes ne to hernes.
 Ye hide in corners.
 As yee doon / þat holden the feendes syde,
 Whiche arn of dirknesse the lanternes. 384
 [49]
 Ne neuere they in forcible maneere
 [leaf 14] They never rioted as ye did of late.
 With wepnes roos / to slee folk, & assaille,
 As yee diden late in this contree heere,
 at the Rising in St. Giles's Fields, in Jan. 1414.)
 Ageyn the King, stryf to rere, & bataille. 388
 Blessid be god / of your purpos yee faille,
 And faille shuln / yee shuln nat fourth ther with !
 Yee broken meynee / yee wrecchid rascaille
 Been al to weyke / yee han ther-to no pith ! 392
 [50]
 Also yee holden ageyn pilgrimages,
 Whiche arn ful goode if þat folk wel hem vse ;
 And eeke ageyns the makynge of ymages.

What / al is nat worth þat yee elappe & muse. 396

How can yee, by reson, your self excuse

þat yee nat erren / whan yee folk^t excite

To vice / and stire hem, vertu to refuse ?

Ye excite folk to
vice.

Waar goddes strook^t / it peisith nat a lyte. 400

[51]

For to visite seintes / is vertu,

If þat it doon be for denocioun ;

and elles / good is, be ther-of eschu.

Visiting Shrines
is meritorious,

Meede wirkith in good entencioun. 404

Be cleene of lyf / & be in orisoun !

Of synne, talke nat in thy viage !

if ye behave well.

Let vertu gyde thee / fro toun to toun !

And so to man / profitith pilgrimage. 408

[52]

And to holde ageyn ymages makyng,

(Be they maad in entaille or in peynture,)

Is greet error / for they yeuen stiryng

Of thogh^tes goode / and causen men honure 412

[ll. 14, bk.]
Images stir up
good thoughts,
and make men
honour Saints,
not worship them.

The seint / after whom / maad is that figure,

And nat worsshipe it / how gay it be wroght.

For this knowith wel euery creature

þat reson hath / þat a seint is it noght. 416

[53]

Right as a spectacle helpith feeble sighte,

Whan a man on the book^t redith or writ,

And causith him to see bet than he mighte,

In which spectacle / his sighte nat abit, 420

But gooth thurgh / & on the book restith it :

The same may men of ymages seye,

Thogh^t the ymage nat the seint be / yit

The sighte vs myngith to the seint to preye. 424

[54]

Ageyn possessions / yee holden eeke,

Of holy chirche / & that is eeke error :

Your inward ye / is ful of smoke & reeke !

Ye object to the
Church holding
property.

- But Christ, while
on earth, had
Purses. While heere on eerthe / was our Saameour, 428
Whom Angels diden *seruice* & honour,
Purses had he / why? for his chirche sholde
So haue eek' aftir / as seith mine Auctour :
Yee goon al mis / al is wrong / þat yee holde ! 432
[55]
- [leaf 15] Iustinian Emperour had swich cheertee
To holy chirche / as þat seith the scripture,
þat of goodes how large or greet plentee
It hadde of yifte of any creature ? 436
Him thoghite it youe in the best mesure
þat mighte been / his herte it loued so.
Yee neuere yaf hem good, *per* auenture :
What title han yee / aght for to take hem fro ? 440
[56]
- Why should the
Church be spoild ? And if yee had aght youe hem or this tyme,
Standynge in the feith / as yee oghiten stonde,
Sholden they now / for *your* change & *your* cryme,
Despoillid been of þat they haue in honde ? 444
Nay / þat no skile is / yee shul vndirstonde,
They nyght and day labouren in prayeere
For hem that so yaf / styntith, and not fonde
To do so ? for first boght wole it be deere. 448
[57]
- Ye say 'Property
ought to be com-
mon.' ¶ Yee seyn eeke : 'goodes, *commune* oghiten be :' 452
þat ment is, in tyme of necessitee,
But nat by violence or by maistrie,
My good to take of me / or I of thee,
For þat is verray wrong & robberie. 456
[58]
- [ff. 15, bk.] If þat a man the soothe telle shal,
How þat *your* hertes in this cas been set,
Ye only want to
plunder. For to ryfle, is *your* entente final ;

Yee han be bisy longe / aboute a net, 460
 And fayn wolde han it in the watir wet,
 The fissh to take / which yee han purposid.
 But god and our lord lige hath yow let !
 It nis, ne shal been / as yee han supposid. 464

But God and the
King hav stopt
you.

[59]

Men seyn 'yee purpose hastily appeere,
 The worm for to sleen in the pesecod :'
 Come on / whan yow list / yee shul reewe it deere !
 The feend is your cheef / & our heed is god ! 468
 Thogh we had in oure handes / but a clod
 Of eerthe / at your heedes to slynge or caste,
 Were wepne ynow / or a smal twig or rod ;
 The feith of Cryst / stikith in vs so faste ! 472

Fight when you
will, we shall beat
you.

[60]

We dreden nat / we han greet auantage,
 Whethir we lyue / or elles slayn be we,
 In Crystes feith / for vp to heuenes stage,
 If we so die / our soules lift shul be ; 476
 And on þat othir part / yee feendes / yee
 In the dirke halke of Helle shul descende !
 And yit with vs abit this charitee,
 Our desir is / þat yee yow wolde amende. 480

We shall go to
Heaven.
Ye to Hell!

[61]

Yee holden many an othir error mo
 Then may be writen in a litil space,
 But lak' of leisir me commandith ho.
 Almighty god / byseeche I of his grace 484
 Enable yow to seen his blessid face,
 Which þat is o god / & persones three.
 Remembre yow / heuene is a miry place,
 And helle is ful of sharp aduersitee. 488

[leaf 16]

Yet, I pray God to
save you.

[62]

Yit, Oldcastel / for him þat his blood shadde
 Vp on the crois / to his feith torne agayn !
 Forget nat the loue / he to vs hadde,

Oldcastle!
Turn again to
Christ's fath!

- Turn not thy
 brain against the
 Faith!
- þat blisful lord / þat for alle vs / was slayn ! 492
 From hennes forward / trouble nat thy brayn
 As thou hast doon, ageyn the feith ful sore !
 Cryst, of thy soule / glad be wolde, & fayn :
 Retourne knyghtly now vn-to his lore ! 496
 [63]
- Repent !
- Why art thou not
 fighting in France
 by King Henry's
 side ? Shame on
 thee !
- Repente thee / and with him make accord !
 Conquere meryt and honour / let see,
 Looke how our cristen Prince, our lige lord,
 With many a lord & knyght beyond the See, 500
 Laboure in armes / & thou hydest thee !
 And darst nat come / & shewe thy visage !
 O, fy ! for shame / how can a knyght be
 Out of thonur of this rial viage ? 504
 [64]
- [leaf 16, bk.]
 Once, Oldecastle
 was in every fray.
- How has the Devil
 changed thee !
- Humble thee to
 our King !
- Sum tyme was no knyghtly turn no where,
 Ne no manhode shewid in no wyse,
 But Oldecastel wolde, his thanks, be there.
 How hath the cursid fiend changid thy gyse ! 508
 Flee from him ! and alle his wirkes despyse !
 And þat y-doon, vn-to our cristen kyng
 Thee hie as faste / as þat thou caust dyuyse,
 And humble eeke thee to him / for any thyng ! 512
 Cest tout.
-

[III.]

Cy ensuyt la male regle de T. Hocceleue.

[Against his ill-regulated life : eating and drinking to excess for 20 years (l. 109—112) ; treating and kissing girls, l. 145—160 ; (He confesses his cowardice in l. 169—176 ;) drinking in Taverns at Westminster, l. 179 ; (tho' still young—say 35—l. 209) going on the river, l. 190—208, and this mainly with borrowd money, l. 369—371.

Final *ë* kept up. Double vowel for tone, 'haast, aart, paart,' &c., and to give the liquid *u*, *treewe* ; *ou* used for other *u*, *souffyse*, &c., *souffre* ; *nat* for not, as always.]

[In 5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc*. Printed by G. Mason.]

[1]

O precious tresor incomparable !	[leaf 16, back]
O ground & roote of prosperitee !	O Health,
O excellent richesse commendable	
Abouen alle / þat in eerthe be !	4
Who may susteene thyn aduersitee ?	
What wight may him avante of worldly welthe,	who can have wealth without thee ?
But if he fully stande in grace of thee,	
Erthely god / piler of lyf / thow helthe ?	8

[2]

Whil thy power / and excellent vigour	9	[leaf 17]
(As was plesant vn-to thy worthynesse)		When I had thee,
Regned in me / & was my <i>gouvernour</i> ,		
Than was I wel / tho felte I no duresse,	12	
Tho farsid was I with hertes gladnesse ;		I was glad.
And now my body empty is, & bare		Now am I joyless.
Of ioie / and ful of seekly heynnesse,		
Al poore of ese / & ryche of euel fare !	16	

[3]

If þat thy fauour twynne from a wight :	17
Smal is his ese / & greet is his greuance !	
Thy loue / is lyf / thyn hate sleeth doun right !	

- I have lost Health, Who may compleyne thy disseuerance 20
 Better than I, þat, of myn ignorance,
 Vn-to seeknesse am knyht / thy mortel fo.
- and I know what penance is. Now can I knowe feeste fro penaunce ;
 And whil I was *with* thee / kowde I nat so. 24
- [4]
- I suffer daily My grief and bisy smert cotidian 25
 So me labouren & tormenten sore,
 þat what thou art now / wel remembre I can,
 And what fruyt is in keepyng of thy lore. 28
 Had I thy power knowen or this yore,
 As now thy fo compellith me to knowe,
 Nat sholde his lym han cleued to my gore,
 For al his aart / ne han me brogħt thus lowe. 32
- [5]
- [leaf 17, back] But I haue herd men seye longe ago, 33
 ‘ Prosperitee is blynd / & see ne may ’ :
 And verifie I can wel / it is so ;
 For I my self put haue it in assay. 36
 Whan I was weel / kowde I considere it? nay !
 But what / me longed aftir nouelrie,
 As yeeres yonge yemen day by day ;
 And now my smert acensith my folie. 40
- [6]
- In youth I knew not what it was to lose Health. Myn vnwar yowthe kneew nat what it wroghite, 41
 This woot I wel / whan fro thee twynned shee ;
 But of hir’ ignorance hir self shee sogħite,
 And kneew nat þat shee dwellyng was *with* thee ; 44
 For to a wight were it greet nyceete
 His lord or freend wityngly for toffende,
 Lest þat the weighite of his aduersitee
 The fool oppresse / & make of him an ende. 48
- [7]
- From hennes foorth wole I do reuerence 49
 Vn-to thy name / & holde of thee in cheeft,
 And werre make, & sharp resistence

- Ageyn thy fo & myn, þat cruel theef, 52
 þat vndir foote / me halt in mescheef,
 So thow me to thy grace reconeyle.
 O now thyn help / thy socour and releef!
 And I for ay / mis reule wole exyle. 56
- [8]
- But thy mercy excede myn offense / 57 [leaf 18]
 The keene assautes of thyn aduersarie
 Me wole oppresse with hir violence.
 No wondir / thogh thow be to me contrarie ; 60
 My lustes blynde han causid thee to varie
 Fro me / thurgh my folie & impudence ;
 Wherefore / I, wrecche / curse may & warie
 The seed and fruyt of chyldly sapience. 64
- [9]
- As for the more part / youthe is rebel 65
 Vn-to reson / & hatith her doctryne,
 Regnyng which / it may nat stande wel
 With youthe / as fer as wit can ymagyne. 68
 O / youthe / alas / why wilt thow nat encline,
 And vn-to reuled reform bowe thee ?
 Syn resoun is the verray streighte lyne
 þat ledith folk / vn-to felicitee. 72
- [10]
- Ful seelde is seen / þat youthe takith heede 73
 Of perils þat been likly for to faH ;
 For, haue he take a purpos / þat moot nede
 Been execut / no conseil wole he caH ; 76
 His owne wit, he demeth best of aH ;
 And fourth ther-with / he renneth brydillees,
 As he þat nat betwixt hony and gaH
 Can inge / ne the werre fro the pees. 80
- [11]
- AH othir mennes wittes he despisith ; 81 [leaf 18, back]
 They answeren no thyng to his entente ;
 His rakil wit only to him souffysith ;

Help me, O
 Health; and I'll
 give up misrule.

My blind lusts hav
 driven thee away.

Why will not
 Youth bow to
 Ruler?

Youth will hav its
 own way.

- His hy presumpcion nat list consente 84
 To doon as þat Salomon wroot & mente,
 þat redde men by conseil for to werke :
 Now, youthe, now / thow sore shalt repente
 Thy lightlees wittes duH, of reson derke! 88
 [12]
- My freendes seiden vn-to me ful ofte, 89
 My mis reule me cause wolde a fit ;
 And redden me, in esy wyse & softe,
 A lyte and lyte to withdrawnen it ; 92
 But þat nat mighte synke in-to my wit,
 So was the lust y-rootid in myn herte.
- And now I'm ripe And now I am so rype vn-to my pit,
 for the grave. þat scarsely I may it nat asterte. 96
 [13]
- Who-so cleer yen hath, & can nat see, 97
 Ful smal, of ye, auailith the office /
 ¶ Right so / syn reson youen is to me
 For to discerne a vertu from a vice, 100
 If I nat can with reson me cheuice,
 But wilfully fro reson me withdrawe,
 Thogh I of hir' haue no benefice,
 No wondir / ne no fauour in hir lawe. 104
 [14]
- [leaf 19] Reson me bad / & redde as for the beste, 105
 Reason bade me eat and drink moderately.
 To ete and drynke in tyme attempely ;
 But wilful youthe nat obeie leste
 Vn-to þat reed / ne sette nat ther-by. 108
 I take haue of hem bothe outrageously
 And out of tyme / nat two yeer or three,
 But .xx.^{ti} wyntir past continually,
 But for 20 years I've livd in excess.
 Excesse at borde hath leyd his knyf with me. 112
 [15]
- The custume of my repleet abstinence, 113
 My greedy mowth, Receite of swich outrage,
 And hondes two / as woot my negligence,

- Thus han me gyded / & brogħt in *seruage* 116
 Of hire þat werreith *euery* age,
 Seeknesse, y meene, riotoures whippe, And now, Sickness
has hold of me.
 Habundantly þat paieth me my wage,
 So þat me neithir daunce list, ne skippe. 120
 [16]
- The outward signe of Bachus & his lure, 121
 þat at his dore hangith day by day /
 Excitith folk / to taaste of his moisture
 So often / þat man can nat wel seyn nay. 124
 For me, I seye / I was encluyed ay
 With-uten daunger thidir for to hye me, I haunted Wine-
houses, and
drank,
 But if swich charge / vp on my bake lay,
 That I moot it forbere / as for a tyme ; 128
 [17]
- Or but I were nakidly bystad 129 [leaf 19, back]
 By force of the penylees maladie,
 For thanne in herte kowde I nat be glad,
 Ne lust had noon to Bachus hows to hie. 132
 Fy ! Lak of coyn / departith compaignie,
 And heuy purs, with herte liberal,
 Qwenchith the thirsty hete of hertes drie,
 Wher chynchy herte / hath ther-of but smal. 136
 [18]
- I dar nat telle / how þat the fresshe repeer 137
 Of venus femel lusty children deere,
 þat so goodly / so shaply were, and feir, I went after pretty
girls
 And so plesant of port & of maneere, 140
 And feede cowden al a world *with* cheere,
 And of atyr passyngly wel hyseye,
 At Poules heed me maden ofte appeere,
 To talke of mirthe / & to disporte & pleye. 144 at the Paul's Head
Tavern,
 [19]
- Ther was sweet wyn ynow thurgh-out the hous, 145 and treated em to
wine and wafers.
 And wafres thikke / for this compaignie
 þat I spak of / been sumwhat likerous,

- Where as they mowe a draght of wyn espie, 148
 Sweete / and in wirkyng hoot for the maistrie
 To warme a stomak' *with* / ther-of they dranke.
 Of course I paid for the girls. To suffre hem paie, had been no courtesie :
 That charge I tooke / to wynne loue & thanke. 152
 [20]
- [leaf 20] Of lones aart / yit touchid I no deel ; 153
 I cowde nat / & eek it was no neede :
 But I only kist em, and didn't do anything naughtier. Had I a kus / I was content ful weel,
 Bettre than I wolde han be *with* the deede : 156
 Ther-on can I but smal ; it is no dreede :
 Whan *þat* men speke of it in my *presence*,
 For shame I wexe as reed as is the gleede.
 Now wole I torne ageyn to my sentence. 160
 [21]
- Drinking wastes Of *him þat* hauntith tauerne of custume, 161
 At shorte wordes / the *profyt* is this :
 your money, and makes you talk scandal. In double wyse / his bagge it shal consume,
 And make his tonge speke of folk' amis ; 164
 For in the cuppe / seelden fownden is,
þat any wight his neigheburgh *commendith*.
 Beholde & see / what auantage is his,
þat god / his freend / & eek' *him* self, offendith. 168
 [22]
- But I was so afraid of fighting, that I kept my tongue close. But oon auantage / in this cas I haue : 169
 I was so ferd / with any man to fighte,
 Cloos kepte I me / no man durste I depraue
 But rownyngly / I spak no thyng on highte. 172
 And yit my wil was good / if *þat* I mighte,
 For lettyng of my manly cowardlyse,
þat ay of strookes impressid the wighte,
 So *þat* I durste medlen in no wyse. 176
 [23]
- [leaf 20, back] Wher was a gretter maister eek' than y, 177
 Who was better known than I among Taverners
 Or bet aqweyntid at Westmynstre yate,
 Among the tauerneres namely,

- And Cookes / whan I cam / eerly or late? 180 and Cooks at Westminster Gate?
- I pynchid nat at hem in myn acate,
 But paied hem / as þat they axe wolde ;
 Wherfore I was the welcomere algate,
 And for ' a verray gentil man ' y-holde. 184
 [24]
- And if it happid on the Someres day 185
 þat I thus at the tauerne hadde be,
 Whan I departe sholde / & go my way
 Hoom to the priuce seel / so wowed me 188
 Heete & vnlust and superfluitee
 To walke vn-to the brigge / & take a boot / I'd take a boat.
 þat nat durste I contrarie hem all three,
 But dide as þat they stired me / god woot. 192
 [25]
- And in the wyntir / for the way was deep, 193
 Vn-to the brigge I dressid me also,
 And ther the bootmen took vp-on me keep,
 For they my riot kneewen fern ago : 196
 With hem was I I-tugged to and fro,
 So wel was him / þat I with wolde fare ;
 For riot paieth largely / euere mo ;
 He styntith neuere / til his purs be bare. 200
 [26]
- Othir than ' maistir ' / callid was I neuere, 201 [leaf 21]
 Among this meynee, in myn audience.
 Me thoghþe / I was y-maad a man for euere :
 So tikelid me þat nyce reuerence, 204
 þat it me made larger^o of despense
 Than þat I thoghþt han been / o flaterie !
 The guyse of thy traiterous diligence
 Is, folk^t to mescheef^t haasten / & to hie. 208
 [27]
- Al be it þat my yeeres be but yonge / 209
 Yit haue I seen in folk^t of hy degree,
 How þat the venym of faueles tonge

I paid freely, and was held 'A regular Gentleman!'

And after drinking and feeding, instead of going to work at the Privy-Seal Office,

I'd take a boat.

In winter too, I'd have a boat,

and the Boatmen fought for me, as I paid well.

These fellows always cald me "Master," and that tickled my vanity, and made me pay em largely.

- Flattery's tongue
has ruind many
folk!
- Hath mortified hir prosperitee, 212
And broght hem in so sharp aduersitee
þat it hir lyf hath also throwe a-down.
And yit ther can no man in this contree
Vnnethe eschue this confusioun. 216
- [28]
- Many a *seruant* / vn-to his lord seith, 217
‘þat al the world spekith of him honour,’
Whan the contrarie of þat / is sooth in feith :
- Servants flatter
and lie to their
lords.
- And lightly leued is this loseungeour : 220
His hony wordes / wrappid in errour,
Blyndly conceyued been / the more harm is !
O ! thow, fauele, of lesynges Auctour,
Causist al day / thy lord to fare amis ! 224
- [29]
- [leaf 21, back]
Flatterers are
‘Enchanters’ or
Deceivers.
- The combreworldes clept been ‘*échantours*’ 225
In bookes / as þat I haue, or this, red,
That is to seye, sotil deceyuours,
By whom the peple is mis gyed & led, 228
And with plesance so fostred and fed,
þat they forgete hem self, & can nat feele
The soothe of the condicion in hem bred,
No more / than hir wit were in hire heele. 232
- [30]
- ¶ Who-so þat list in ‘the book’ of nature 233
Of beestes’ rede / ther-in he may see
(If he take heede vn-to the scripture,)
Where it spekith of mermaides in the See, 236
How þat so inly mirie syngith shee,
þat the shipman ther-with fallith a sleepe,
And by hir’ aftir deuoured is he :
From al which song, is good, men hem to keepe. 240
- [31]
- Right so the feyned wordes of plesance 241
Annoyen aftir / thogh they ples a tyme
To hem þat been vnywyse of gouernance,

- Lordes ! beeth waar / Let nat fauel yow lyme ! 244 Don't let Flattery
 If þat yee been enuolupid in cryme, entangle you !
 Yee may nat deeme / men speke of yow weel,
 Thogh fauel peynte hir tale in prose or ryme :
 Ful holsum is it / truste hir' nat a deel. 248
- [32]
- ¶ Holcote seith vp-on the book' also 249 [leaf 22]
 Of sapience / as it can testifie, Holkot, in his
 Whan þat Vlixes saillid to and fro Comment on the
 By meermaides / this was his policie, 252 *Wisdom of Solo-*
 Alle eres of men of his compaignie, Ulysses stopt his
 With wex he stoppe leet / for þat they noght men's ears against
 Hir song sholde heere / lest the armonye the Mermaids'
 Hem mighte vn-to swich deedly sleep han brogħt, 256 song,
 [33]
- And bond him self / vn-to the shippes mast : 257 and bound himself
 Lo ! thus hem alle, saued his prudence. to the ship's mast.
 The wys man is, of *peril* sore agast.
 O flaterie ! o hurkyng' pestilence ! 260
 If sum man dide his cure & diligence
 To stoppe his eres fro thy poesie, 264
 And nat wolde herkne a word of thy sentence,
 Vn-to his greef it were a remedie. 264
 [34]
- As nay / al thogh thy tonge were ago, 265
 Yit canst thow glose in contenance & cheere ;
 Thow supportist with lookes eueremo Flatterers support
 Thy lordes wordes in eche mateere, 268 all their lord's bad
 Al-thogh þat they a myte be to deere ; words.
 And thus thy gyse is priuce and appert
 With word and look' / among our lordes heere
 Preferred be / thogh ther be no dissert. 272
- [35]
- But whan the sobre / treewe, & weel auysid, 273 [leaf 22, back]
 With sad visage his lord enfourmeth pleyu, And when good
 How þat his gouernance is despysid advisers

- tell their lord ✓ Among the peple / & seith him as they seyn, 276
 As man treewe oghite vn-to his souereyn,
 to amend his goings-on, he bids them leave. Conseillynge him amende his gouernance,
The lordes herte swellith for desdeyn,
And bit him voide blyue with meschaunce. 280
 [36]
- Men setten nat by trouthe now adayes ; 281
Men loue it nat / men wole it nat cherice ;
And yit is trouthe best at all assayes.
 When þat fals fauel, soustenour of vice, 284
 Nat wite shal how hire to cheuyce,
Ful boldely shal trouthe hir' heed vp bere.
 Let not Flattery nestle in your ears ! Lordes, lest fauel / yow fro wele tryce,
No lenger souffre hir' nestlen in your ere ! 288
 [37]
- ¶ Be as be may / no more of this as now ; 289
 But to my mis reule wole I refeere.
 Wher as I was at ese weel ynow,
 Or excesse vn-to me leef was, & deere, 292
 And, or I kneew his earnestful maneere,
 My purs, of coyn had resonable wone ;
 But now, ther-in can ther but scant appeere :
 Excesse hath ny exyled hem echone. 296
 [38]
- [leaf 23] The feend and excesse been conuertible, 297
 Excess is the Devil, As enditith to me my fantasie :
This is my skile / if it be admittible :
Excesse of mete & drynke is glotonye ; 300
Glotonye awakith malencolie ;
Malencolie engendrith werre & stryfe ;
Stryf causith mortel hurt thurgh hir folie :
 and kills the soul. Thus may excesse reue a soule hir lyfe. 304
 [39]
- ¶ No force of al this / go we now to wacche 305
 By nightirtale / out of al mesure ;
 For as in þat / fynde kowde I no macche

- In al the priuce seel with me to endure ; 308
 And to the cuppe ay took I heede & cure,
 For þat the drynke apalle sholde noght.
 But whan the pot emptid was of moisture,
 To wake aftirward / can nat in my thoght. 312
- [40]
- But whan the cuppe had thus my neede sped, 313
 And sumdel more than necessitee,
 With replet spirit wente I to my bed,
 And bathid there in superfluitee. 316
- But on the morn / was wight of no degree
 So looth as I / to twynne fro my cowche :
 By aghit I woot / abyde / let me see !
 Of two / as looth / I am seur, kowde I towche. 320
- [41]
- I dar nat seyn Prentys and Arondel 321
 Me countrefete, & in swich wach go ny me ;
 But often they hir bed louen so wel,
 þat of the day / it drawith ny the pryme, 324
 Or they ryse vp / nat tell I can the tyme
 Whan they to bedde goon / it is so late.
 O helthe, lord / thow seest hem in þat cryme !
 And yit thee looth is / with hem to debate. 328
- [42]
- And why / I not / it sit nat vn-to me, 329
 þat mirour am of riot & excesse,
 To knowen of a goddes pryuetee ;
 But thus I ymagyne / and thus I gesse : 332
 Thow meeued art, of tendre gentillesse,
 Hem to forbere / and wilt hem nat chastyse,
 For they, in merthe and vertuons gladnesse,
 Lordes reconforten in sundry wyse. 336
- [43]
- But to my purpos / syn þat my seeknesse, 337
 As wel of purs as body, hath refreyned
 Me fro Tauerne / & othir wantonnesse,

No one in the
 Privy-Seal Office
 sat up drinking
 at night, like I,

or was so loth to
 rise in the morn-
 ing;

[leaf 23, back]
 tho' my fellow-
 clerks, Prentys
 and Arondel, often
 lay in bed till
 9 a.m.

But Health has
 not left them

because they
 amuse Lords.

Since illness has
 kept me from the
 Tavern,

- my name is despised. Among an heep / my name is now desteyned, 340
 My greuous hurt ful lital is compleyned,
 But they, the lak' compleyne of my despense.
 Allas þat euere knyht I was, and cheyned
 To excesse / or him dide obedience. 344
- [44]
- ✓ [leaf 21] Despenses large enhaunce a mannes loos 345
 Whil they endure / & whan they be forbore,
 His name is deed / men keepe hir mowthes cloos,
 As nat a peny had he spent tofore. 348
 My thank is qweynt / my purs, his stuf hath lore,
 And my Carkeis repleet with heuynesse.
- Hoccleue! Be moderate now! Be waar, Hoccleue / I rede thee therfore,
 And to a mene reule / thow thee dresse! 352
- [45]
- Who-so, passynge mesure, desyrith, 353
 (As þat witnessen olde Clerkes wyse,)
 Him self encombrith often sythe, & myrith ;
 Be satisfied with a middle course! And for-thy let the mene thee souffyse. 356
 If swich a conceit in thyn herte ryse,
 As thy profyt may hyndre, or thy renoun,
 If it were execut in any wyse,
 With manly resoun thriste thow it down! 360
- [46]
- Thy rents are scanty, Thy rentes annuel / as thow wel woost, 361
 To scarce been, greet costes to susteene ;
 And in thy cofre, pardee, is cold roost,
 thou earnest nothing. And of thy manuel labour, as I weene, 364
 Thy lucre is swich / þat it vnnethe is seene
 Ne felt / of yiftes seye I eek the same ;
 And stele, for the guerdoun is so keene,
 Thou dar'st not steal or beg. Ne darst thow nat / ne begge also for shame. 368
- [47]
- [leaf 24, back] Than wolde it seeme / þat thow borwid haast 369
 Thou borrowedst much. Mochil of þat þat thow haast thus despent
 In outrage & excesse, and verray waast,

- Anyse thee / for what thyng þat is lent, 372
 Of verray right / moot hoom ageyn be sent ;
 Thow ther-in haast no perpetuete.
 Thy dettes paie / lest þat thow be shent, Pay thy debis!
 And or þat thow ther-to compellid be. 376
 [48]
 Sum folk in this cas dreeden more offense 377
 Of man / for wyly wrenches of the lawe,
 Than he dooth, eithir god or conscience ;
 For by hem two, he settith nat [an] hawe. 380
 If thy conceit be swich / thow it withdrawe,
 I rede / and voide it clene out of thyn herte ;
 And first of god, and syn of man, haue awe,
 Lest þat they bothe / make thee to smerte. 384
 [49]
 Now lat this smert, warnynge to thee be ; 385
 And if thow maist heere-aftir be releued
 Of body and purs / so thow gye thee
 By wit / þat thow / no more thus be greeued. 388
 What riot is / thow taasted haast, and preued ;
 The fyr / men seyn / he dreedith þat is brent ;
 And if thow do so / thow art wel y-meued :
 Be now no lenger, fool / by myn assent ! 392
 [50]
 Ey / what is me / þat to my self, thus longe, 393 [leaf 25]
 Clappid haue I / I trowe þat I raue.
 A / nay / my poore purs / and peynes stronge.
 Han artid me speke as I spoken haue. 396
 Who-so him shapith, mercy for to craue,
 His lesson moot recorde in sundry wyse ;
 And whil my breath may in my body waue,
 To recorde it / vmethe I may souffyse. 400
 [51]
 ¶ O god ! o helthe ! vn-to thyn ordenance, 401
 Weleful lord / meekly submitte I me.
 I am contryt / & of ful repentance

- þat euere I swymmed in swich nyctee 404
 As was displesaunt to thy deitee.
- O Health, be merciful to me! Now kythe on me thy mercy & thy grace!
 It sit a god, been of his grace free;
 Foryeue / & neuere wole I eft trespase! 408
 [52]
- My body and purse are both sick. My body and purs been at oones seeke; 409
 And for hem bothe / I to thyn hy noblesse,
 As humbly as þat I can · byseeke
 With herte vnfeyned / reewe on our distresse! 412
 Pitee haue of myn harmful heuynesse!
 Releue the repentant in disese!
 Despende on me a drope of thy largesse,
 Right in this wyse / if it thee lyke & plese. 416
 [53]
- [leaf 25, back] ¶ Lo, lat my lord the Fourneval, I preye, 417
 My noble lord / þat now is tresoreer,
 From thyn Hynesse haue a tokne or tweye
 To paie me þat due is for this yeer 420
 Of my yeerly .x. fi. in theschequer,
 Nat but for Michel terme þat was last:
 I dar nat speke a word of ferne yeer,
 So is my spirit symple and sore agast. 424
 [54]
- [MS.] Annus ille fuit annus restrictionis annuitatum I kepte nat to be seen inportune 425
 In my pursuyte / I am ther-to ful looth;
 And yit þat gyse / ryf is, and commune
 Among the peple now, withouten ooth; 428
 As the shamelees cranour wole / it gooth,
 For estaat real / can nat al day werne,
 But poore shamefast man ofte is wroth;
 Therefore, for to craue, moot I lerne. 432
 [55]
- The dumb man gets no land. The prouerbe is / ‘the doumb man, no lond getith;’
 Who-so nat spekith / & with neede is bete,
 And, thurgh argġnesse / his owne self forgetith,

- No wondir / thogh an othir him forgete. 436
- Neede hath no lawe / as þat the Clerkes trete,
 And thus to craue / artith me my neede ;
 And right wole eek þat I me entremete,
 For þat I axe is due / as god me speede ! 440
- [56]
- And þat that due is / thy magnificence 441 [leaf 26]
 Shameth to werne / as þat I byleeue.
 As I saide / reewe on myn inpotence,
 þat likly am to sterue yit or eeue, 444
 But if thow in this wy[s]e me releue.
 By coyn, I gete may swich medecyne
 As may myn hurtes alle, þat me greeue,
 Exyle cleene / & voide me of pyue. 448
- I ask only for
what is due to me.
- Coin 'll cure all
my hurts.

[IV.]

Ceste balade ensuyante feust faite au tres
 noble Roy .H. le .Vt., (*que dieu par-*
doint !) le iour que les seigneurs de son
 Roialme lui firent leur homages
 a Kenyngton.

[21 March, 1412-13. In 5-measure eights, *abab bcbc.*]

[1]

- The Kyng of Kynges regnyng^t ouer al, [on leaf 26]
 Which stablissid hath in eternitee
 His hy might / þat nat varie he may ne shal,
 So constant is his blisful deitee, 4 K. Henry V.
 My lige lord / this grace yow graunte he,
 That your estaat rial / which þat this day
 Haath maad me lige to your souereyntee,
 In reule vertuous continue may.
- May God grant
you to rule virtu-
ously !
- videlicet xxj^o die
Marcij. A^o regni
vostri primo.
[1413]*

	[2]	
[leaf 26, back]	God dreede / & ficche in him <i>your</i> trust verray !	9
	Be clene in herte / & loue chastitee !	
Be just,	Be sobre / sad / iust / trouthe, obserue alway !	
	Good conseil take / & aftir it do yee !	12
	Be humble in goost / of ^r your tonge attempree ;	
pitiful, and prudent !	Pitous & merciable in special ;	
	Prudent ^r / debonaire, in mesure free ;	
	Nat ouer large / ne vn-to gold thral !	16
	[3]	
	Be to your liges also sheeld & wal !	17
	Keepe and deffende hem from aduersitee !	
	Hir wele and wo / in your grace lyth al.	
Govern with Law and Equity.	Gouerneth hem in lawe and equitee ;	20
	Conquere hir loue / & haue hem in cheertee !	
Be Holy Church's champion !	Be holy chirches Champioun eek ^r ay ;	
	Susteene hir right / souffre no thyng doon be	
	In preiudice of hir ^r , by no way !	24
	[4]	
	<i>Scilicet. ecclesiam sanctam.</i>	
Drive out heresy !	Strengthe your modir / in chacyng ^r away	25
	Therrouer / which sones of iniquitee	
	Han sowe ageyn the feith / it is no nay,	
	Yee ther-to bownde been of duetee ;	28
	Your office is it / now, for your seurtee,	
	Souffreth nat Crystes feith to take a fal !	
	Vn-to his peple / and youres, cheerly see,	
	In conseruyng ^r of your estat real !	32
	[5]	
[leaf 27]	Syn god hath sent yow wit substancial,	33
	And kynges might / vertu, putte in assay !	
	And, lige lord / thogh ^r my conceit be smal,	
	And nat my wordes peynte fressh ^r and gay,	36
	But clappe and iangle foorth, as dooth a iay,	
	Good wil to yow shal ther noon faille in me,	
I'll pray to God for you.	Byseechyng ^r vn-to god, þat, to his pay,	
	Yee may gouerne your hy dignitee.	40

[V. AND VI.]

Cestes balades ensuyantes¹ furent faites au
tresnoble Roy H. le quint, (*que dieu par-*
doint !) & au treshonorable compaignie
du Garter.

[In five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

To yow, <u>w</u> elle of honour and worthynesse, Our right cristen kyng / heir & Successour	O King, and
Vn-to Iustinians deuout tendrenesse	
In the feith of Ihesu, our Redemptour ;	4
And to yow, lordes of the garter / ' flour	Lords of the
Of Chiuadrie' / as men yow clepe & calle ;	Garter,
The lord of vertu, and of grace Auctour,	
Graunte / the fruyt of your loos nat appalle !	8 may your praize never lessen !

[2]

O Lige lord, <u>p</u> at han eek' the liknesse	9 [leaf 27, back]
Of Constantyn, thensaumple and the mirour	
To Princes alle, in loue & buxumnesse	
To holy chirehe / o verray sustenour	12 O King, upholder of our Faith against Heresy,
And piler of our feith, and werreyour	
Ageyn the heresies bittir galle,	
Do foorth / do foorth / continue your socour !	
Holde vp Crystes Baner / lat it nat falle !	16 keep on your help !

[3]

This yle, or this, had been but hethenesse,	17 But for you, we shoud hav been hethens.
Nad been of your feith the force & vigour !	
And yit, this day, the feendes fikilnesse	
Weeneth fully to cacche a tyme & hour	20
To haue on vs, your liges, a sharp shour,	
And to his seruiture / vs knytte and thralle.	

¹ There are two Balades, of 4 stanzas each, under this heading.

	But ay we truste in yow our <i>protectour</i> ; On your constance we awayten alle.	24
	[4]	
O King, forbid	Commandith þat no wight haue hardynesse, (Our worthy kyng and cristen Emperour !)	25
open disputing about the Faith !	Of the feith to despute more or lesse Openly among peple / where error Spryngith al day / & engendrith rumour. Makith swich lawe / & for aglit may befallē, Obserue it wel / ther-to been yee dettour. Dooth so / and god / in glorie shal yow stalle.	28 32
	[5] [VI. 1]	
[leaf 28] Lords of the Gar- ter, slay Christ's foes !	Y ee lordes eek shynyngē in noble fame, To whiche approped is the maintenance Of Crystes cause ! In honour of his name Shoue on / & putte his foos to the outraunce !	33 36
[MS.] ¶ quia Rex illam iustissimam partem tenet	God wolde so / so wolde eek your ligeance : To tho two prikkith yow your duetee : Who-so nat keepith this double obseruance, Of meryt & honour / nakid is he.	40
	[6] [VI. 2]	
	Your style seith / þat yee been foos to shame. Now kythe of your feith / the perseuerance In which an heep of vs arn halt & lame . Our Cristen kyng of England and France, And yee, my lordes, with your alliance, And othir feithful peple þat ther be, Truste I to god, shul qwenche al this nusance, And this land sette in hy prosperitee.	41 44 48
Quench the nuisance of Heresy !	[7] [VI. 3]	
	Conqueste of hy prowesse is for to tame The wylde woodnesse of this mescreance Right to the roote / rype yee þat same ! Sleepe nat this / but for goddes plesance And his modres / & in signifiante þat yee been of seint Georges liueree,	49 52
Act at once !		

Dooth him seruice and knyghtly obeissance !	
For Crystes cause is his / wel knowen yee !	56
[S] [VI. 4]	
Stif stande in þat / & yee shuln greene & grame	57 [leaf 28, back]
The fo to pees / & norice of distaunce ;	
That now is earnest / torne it in-to game ;	
Dampnable fro feith were variance!	60 Heresy is damnable
Lord lige / & lordes, haue in remembraunce,	
Lord of al is the blissid Trinitee,	
Of whos vertu / the mighty habundaunce	
Yow herte & strengthe in feithful vuitee ! Amen !	64
Cest tout.	

[VII.]

Ad beatam Virginem.

[In five-measure eights, *abal, bcb.*]

[1]

M odir of lyf / o cause of al our welthe,	Mother of Life!
Fyndere of grace and of our medecyne !	
Where-as an appil reftē our lyf and helthe,	from the curse of the apple
And marie[de] vs vn-to ay lastyng pyne,	4
As sones of perdicion and ruyne ;	
That matrymoyne / thy virginitee	
Dissolued / & vnbownden hath, virgyne,	
And at our large / maad vs walke free !	8 thou hast freed us.

[2]

O blessid be thou ! vessel of clemesse,	9 [leaf 21]
In whom our soules salue list habyte !	
O tree of lyf / swettest of al swetnesse,	
In thy fruyt yeue vs grace to delyte !	12 Tree of Life! let us delight in thy fruit!
And thogh thy sone, cause haue vs to smyte	

- For our giltes / yit our mediatrice,
 Stir thy Son to As thow hast euere doon / thow him excite
 have mercy on us ! Vn-to mercy / for þat is thyn office. 16
- [3]
- I am so stuft with My soule is stuffid so with stynk^t of synne, 17
 sin, that I fear þat ay it dreedith beforne thee appeere,
 thou wilt turn Lest for the filthe / which þat it is ynne,
 from me. Thow torne away thy merciable cheere, 20
 And deyne nat accepte my preyeere.
 And if my trespas heere / I nat confesse,
 How shal I doon / o Crystes modir deere
 Whan god shal iuge vs alle, more & lesse ? 24
- [4]
- Sin, why hast O why, my synnes / why, my wikkidnesses, 25
 thou robbd me With your venym / my soule slayn, han yee,
 And put in it so desperat gastnesses,
 þat mercy may ne list beholde me ? 28
 Why oppressith your heuy aduersitee
 The hope of myn exaudicioun,
 And shame in yow, maad hath so large entree,
 of the voice of þat yee the vois me reue of orisoun ? 32
 Prayer ?
- [5]
- [leaf 29, back] Allas thy shame, o thow filthy offense 33
 In the presence of shynynge holynesse !
 O shenshippe of vnclene conscience
 In the beholdynge of pured clenness ! 36
 O caitif^t soule inuolued in dirknesse !
 Where is the What wilt thou do / where is thy remedie ?
 remedy of my Who may thy mescheef and thy greef redresse,
 caitiff soul ? Syn of thy gilt / thow darst nat mercy erie ? 40
- [6]
- Lo ! blessid womman among women alle, 41
 Syn my spirit nat dar putte vp his bille,
 Thy grace ne thy mercy for to calle,
 But in his mazidnesse abydith stille, 44
 My thirsty soule / drynke may hir fille

Of sorwe, and bathe in sorwe & heuynesse : Hir ferdful shame / hir shende wole, & spille, For to hir' helthe / nat shee dar ¹ hir dresse.	48	I dare not seek my cure.
[7]		
My synnes yernen þat thyn hy pitee Fully hem kneew / for hir curacioun ; But they lothen appeere beforn thee For hir cursid abhominacion.	49	
O spryng and welle of our sauuacioun, My dirke soule of thy grace enlumyne, And keepe it fro the castigacioun That it disserued hath in helle pyne !	52	O Well of our Sal- uation, keep me out of Hell !
[8]		
If I confesse myn iniquitee, Lady / þat I wroght haue in thy presence, Wilt thou me werne thy benignitee ? If þat my gilt / & my dampnable offense Of giltes alle haue an excellence, Shal thy mercy be lesse / than it ogh̄te ? May nat thy mercy, with my gilt dispense, And pardon gete of þat þat it mis wroghte ?	57	[leaf 30] Lady, refuse me not thy grace !
[9]		
The more þat my gilt passith mesure, And stynkith in thy sones siḡhte and thyn / The gretter neede hath it, of his cure And of thyn help / wherfore, lady myn, My soule fro the net and fro thengyn Of him þat waytith it to slee / thou keepe ! His sotil snares, and cacchyng twyn, In my memorie ficchid been ful deepe.	60	
[10]		
Lady / thyn help / nat wole I me despeire, For in myn herte fully I conceyue þat thou to heuene / art the laddre & sterre By which men clymben, blisse to receyue.	64	Keep me out of the Devil's net !
[10]		
Lady / thyn help / nat wole I me despeire, For in myn herte fully I conceyue þat thou to heuene / art the laddre & sterre By which men clymben, blisse to receyue.	72	Thou art the stairs to Heaven !
[10]		
Lady / thyn help / nat wole I me despeire, For in myn herte fully I conceyue þat thou to heuene / art the laddre & sterre By which men clymben, blisse to receyue.	73	
[10]		
Lady / thyn help / nat wole I me despeire, For in myn herte fully I conceyue þat thou to heuene / art the laddre & sterre By which men clymben, blisse to receyue.	76	

¹ Why not 'dar shee nat'?

- Despeir heer'-aftir shal me nat deceyue,
 þat I ne shal ay thee byseeche of grace.
 Lady, thy might
 can win me
 pardon!
 Thy might, I woot wel, is my gilt to weyue,
 And of my trespas · pardoun me purchase. 80
- [11]
- [leaf 30, back] Thow, Crystes modir / sholdest neuere han be, 81
 Ne had our synnes causid it certayn ;
 For why / it had be no necessitee
 But for thow qwikne shuldest vs agayn, 84
 þat for our gilt original wern slayn.
 Thow art his modir / wherfore I thee preye
 To saue me / haue thow no desdayn,
 Disdain not to
 save me!
 þat of bountee & mercy art the keye ! 88
- [12]
- Euene as the moone / a mene is verraily 89
 Betwixt vs and the sonne / of whom hir light
 Shee takith / & it vniuerselly
 Yeueth vn-to the world whan it is nyght ; 92
 In swich a wyse / god, thy sone right,
 The light of grace betookt vn-to thee,
 Christ gave thee
 the light of Grace
 to lighten all folk
 with.
 For to mynistre it vn-to euery wight
 þat ther-of list enlumyned to be. 96
- [13]
- Thyn humble goost, & maydens chastitee, 97
 For our behoue han so mochil wrought
 In sundry wyse / as þat wel knowen we,
 þat thee to thanke / we souffyse noght. 100
- Thou hast turnd
 a God of Ven-
 geance into a
 Lord of Mercy.
 Thow hast vs vn-to swich a plyt I-broght,
 þat he, þat lord was sum tyme of vengeance,
 With his blood hath our synful soules boght,
 And is now lord of mercy & souffrance. 104
- [14]
- [leaf 31] Where is a streighliter way vn-to man-kynde, 105
 To god, thy sone / our soules for to lede,
 Than where as þat we may thy sone fynde
 Beforn his fadir, with his wowndes rede, 108

And the before hem / <i>mercy</i> for to grede :		Thou showest
Thy sone his body shewith al bybled ;		Christ thy paps,
And to thy sone also, thy maydenhede		and he shows God
Shewith the pappes / wher-with he was fed.	112	His womdis to get us <i>mercy</i> .
[15]		
O blessid Ihesu ! for thy modres loue ;	113	Christ and Mary,
And modir ! for the hy dileccion		
þat thou hast to thy sone in heuene aboue,		
Haueth me, bothe, in your proteccion !	116	protect me!
Plante in myn herte swich correccion,		
þat I, your grace / & your <i>mercy</i> may haue,		
And fully stande in youre affeccion,		
Or my body be clothid in his graue !	120	
Cest tout.		

[VIII.]

¶ Ceste balade ensuyante feust faite tost
apres que les osses du Roy Richard
feurent apportez a Westmouster.

[A.D. 1413. In five-measure eights, *abab, bebc.*]

[1]

Where-as þat this land wont was for to be		[leaf 31, back]
Of sad hyleeue & constant vnioñ ;		
And as þat holy chirehe vs taghte / we		
With herte buxum lerned our lessoñ ;	4	We are no longer as of old, one in Faith!
Now han we changid our condicioñ !		
Allas ! an heap of vs, the feith werreye ;		
We waden so deepe in presumpcioñ,		
þat vs nat deyneth vn-to god obeye.	8	

[2]

We rekken nat thogh Crystes lore deye ;	9	
The feend hath maad vs dronke of the poison		

We have drunk
the Devil's poison
of Heresy!

Of heresie / & lad vs a wrong weye,
þat torne shal to our confusioun, 12
But if þat left be this abusioun.

And yit, seur confort^t hane I / thynkith me :
Our lige lord, the kyng, is Champioun
For holy chirche / Crystes knyght is he ! 16

[3]

For why, o reuerent goostly fadres, yee, 17
And we, your sones eek^t, han enchesoun
Right greet / to thanke god in Trinitee,
þat of his grace / hath sent this Regioun 20
So noble an heed / looke vp, thow Albion !

But (thank God!)
Henry V. is
Heresy's foe.

God thanke / & for thy cristen Prince preye,
Syn he, fo is to this Rebellioun :
He, of thy soules helthe, is lok^t and keye ! 24

[4]

[leaf 32]

What mighten folk^t of good byleeue seye, 25
If bent were our kynges affeccion
To the wrong part / who sholde hem help parueye ?

A heretic king
might ruin our
Faith. But God
has sent us
Henry,

A kyng set in þat wrong opinioun, 28
Mighte of our feith be the subuersioun ;
But eterne god, in persones three,
Hath reyned dropes of compassioun,
And sent vs our good kyng for our cheertee ! 32

[5]

See eek^t how our Kynges benignitee 33
And louyng^t herte / his vertu can bywreye.

Who has buried

Our kyng Richard þat was / yee may wel see,
Is nat fled from his remembrance aweye. 36
My wit souffysith nat to peyse and weye

Richard II. by
his Queen in
Westminster
Abbey.

With what honour he broght is to this toun,
And with his queene at Westmynstre in thabbeye
Solempnely in Toumbe leid adoun. 40

[6]

Now god, byseeche I, in conclusioun, 41
Henri the .V.^e in ioie & hy nobleye

Regne on vs yeeres many a milioun !		May Henry V.
And where as þat men erren & forueye,	44	reign many
Walkynge blyndly in the dirk aleye		million years!
Of heresie / o lord god, preye I thee,		And God lead all
Enspire hem / þat no lenger they foleie !		Heretics to the
To feithes path / hem lede thy pitee ! Amen !	48	Faith !

[IX.]

[Balade to my gracious Lord of York.]

[Father of Edward IV. about 1448 A.D.]

[In 5-measure nines, *aab, aab, bab.*]

[1]

Go, little pamphlet, and streight thee dresse		[leaf 32, back]
Vn-to the noble rootid gentillesse		Go, little pamphlet,
Of the myghty Prince of famous honour,	3	to the Duke of
My gracious lord of york ^k / to whos noblesse		York,
Me recommande with hertes humblesse,		
As he þat haue his grace & his fauour	6	
Fownden alway / for which I am dettour		
For him to preye / & so shal my symplesse		
Hertily do / vn-to my detthes hour.	9	

[2]

Remembre his worthynesse, I charge thee,	10	
How ones at Londoñ, desired he,		who once at
Of me þat am his seruant / & shal ay,	12	London askt me to
To haue of my balades swich plentee		send him all the
As ther weren remeynyng vn-to me ;		Balades I had.
And for nat wole I ¹ / to his wil seyn nay,	15	
But fulfille it / as ferfoorth as I may,		
Be thow an owter ² of my nycetee,		
For my good lordes lust, and game, & play.	18	

¹ Again, why not 'I wole nat'?² outputter, vent.

[3]

	My lord, byseeke eek' in humble maneere,	19
	That he nat souffre thee for to appeere	
But let him not show this to his Duchessa,	In thonourable sighte, or the presence,	21
	Of the noble Princesse & lady deere,	
[leaf 33]	My gracious lady / my good lordes feere,	
	The mirour of wommanly excellence.	24
	Thy cheer' is naght / ne haast noon eloquence	
	To moustre thee before hir' yen cleere :	
	For myn honour / were holsum thyn absence.	27

[4]



	Yit ful fayn wolde I haue a messageer	28
	To recommande me, with herte enteer,	
	To hir benigne & humble wommanhede ;	30
tho I have none other to send her.	And at the tyme / haue I noon othir heer	
	But thee / & smal am I, for thee, the neer.	
	And if thou do it nat / than shal þat dede	33
	Be left / & þat nat kepte I / out of drede.	
	My Lord / nat I / shal haue of thee / poweer.	
	Axe him a licence / vp on him erie & grede !	36

[5]

	Whan þat thou hast thus doon / than aftirward	37
Also, ask Prince Edward not to let Mr. Picard see it.	Byseeche thou þat worthy Prince Edward,	
	þat he thee leye apart / for what may tyde,	39
	Lest thee beholde my Maister Picard.	
	I warne thee / þat it shal be ful hard	
	For thee & me to halte on any syde,	42
	But he espie vs / yit no force / abyde !	
But, yes, let him look at it !	Let him looke on / his herte is to me ward	
	So freendly / þat our shame wole he hyde.	45

[6]

[leaf 33, back]	If þat I in my wrytunge foleye,	46
	As I do ofte, (I can it nat withseye,)	
	Mectrynge amis / or speke vnfittyngly,	48
	Or nat by iust peys / my sentences weye,	
	And nat to the ordre of endyting' obeye,	

- And my colours sette ofte sythe awry : 51
 With al myn herte wole I buxumly,
 It to amende and to correcte, him preye ;
 For vndir his correccioun stande y. 54
- [7]
- Thow foul book^t, vn-to my lord seye also,  55
 þat pryde is vn-to me so greet a fo,
 þat the spectacle, forbedith he me, 57
 And hath y-doon of tyme yore ago ;
 And for my siglite blyue hastith me fro,
 And lakkith þat þat sholde his confort be, 60
 No wonder thogh thow haue no beautee.
 Out vp-on pryde / causer^o of my wo !
 My sighte is hurt thurgh hir aduersitee.  63
- [8]
- Now ende I thus / the holy Trinitee, 64
 And our lady / the blissid mayden free,
 My lord & lady haue in gouernance ! 66
 And graunte hem ioie & hy prosperitee,
 Nat to endure / oonly two yeer or thre,
 But a .M.t ! and if any plesance 69
 Happe mighte, on my poore souffissance,
 To his prowesse / & hir benignitee,
 My lyues ioie it were, and sustenance ! 72
- Cest tout.

I'll correct it as
he tells me.

I'm too proud to
wear spectacles,

and therefore
make faults.

May the Trinity
protect the Duke
and Duchess !

Fol. 25, Johannes Talbot, Dominus de Furnival, was first summoned to Parl^t 11 H. 4, and to many subsequent Parl^s in that reign and the next . . . T. Tyrwhitt. [Note in MS.]

Balade to Duke of York, lf. 32 bk. Prince Edw^d (after, Edw. IV), not born till about 1442. If we suppose him 6 years old (and he could not be much less to be under the tuition of Maister Picard), this poem was written in 1448. [Note in MS.]

[X.]

Ad beatam Virginem.

(Generally calld CHAUCER'S "Mother of God.")

[In 5-measure sevens, *ababb*, cc.]

[1]

Mother of God,

Modir of god / and virgyne vndeffouled! 1

Pray to Christ for
sinful me!

O blisful queene / of queenes Emperice! 1

Preye for me / þat am in synne mowled, 5

To god thy sone / punysshers' of vice, 5

þat of his mercy / thogh þat I be nyce, 5

And negligent in keepyng of his lawe, 7

His hy mercy, my soule / vn-to him drawe. 7

[2]

Mother of Mercy!

Modir of mercy / wey of indulgence, 8

þat of al vertu art superlatyf, 8

Sauer' of vs by thy beneuolence, 8

Humble lady / mayde / modir and wyf! 12

Causer of pees / feynter' of wo & stryf! 12

Present my
prayer to thy Son!

My prayer' vn-to thy sone presente, 14

Syn for my gilt I fully me repente. 14

[3]

[leaf 54, back]

Benigne confort of vs wrecches alle! 15

Be with me at my
death!

Be at myn endyng' / whan þat I shal deye! 15

O welle of pitee / vn-to thee I calle! 15

Ful of swetnesse / helpe me to weye 19

Ageyn the feend / þat with his handes tweye, 19

And his might, plukke wole / at the balance 19

To weye vs down / keepe vs from his nusance! 21

[4]

And, for thow art ensauple of chastitee, 22

And of virgynes / worsship and honour, 22

Among aH wommen blessid thow be! 22

Pray Christ to

Now speke and preye to our Sauueour, 25

þat he me sende swich grace & fauour, 26 qweuch all lust in
 þat al the hete of^t brennyng^t Leccherie me!
 He qwenche in me, blessid maiden Marie ! 28

[5]

O blessid lady / the cleer light of day ! 29
 Temple of our lord / and roote of al goodnesse !
 þat by prayere wapest cleene away
 The filthes of our synful wikkidnesse,
 Thyn hand fourth putte / & helpe my distresse, 33
 And fro temptacioun deliure me
 Of wikkid thoght / thurgh thy benignitee, 35

Deliver me from
wicked thoughts !

[6]

So þat the wil fulfild be of thy sone, 36 [leaf 35]
 And þat of the holy goost he menlunyne.
 Preye for vs, as ay hath be thy wone !
 Lady / alle swiche emprises been thyne.
 Swich an aduocatrice, who can dyuyne, 40
 As thou / right noon / our greeues to redresse :
 In thy refuyt is al our sikirnesse. 42

Pray for us, as
thou art wont !

[7]

Thow shapen art by goddes ordenance, 43
 Mene for vs, flour of humilitee :
 Ficche þat, lady, in thy remembraunce,
 Lest our fo, the feend, thurgh his sotiltee,
 þat in awayt lyth for to cacche me, 47
 Me ouercome with his treecherie.
 Vu-to my soules helthe thow me gye ! 49

Guide me to my
soul's health !

[8]

Thow art the way of our Redempcioun, 50
 For cryst of thee hath deyned for to take
 Flessh and eek^t blood / for this entencioun,
 Vp on a crois to die for our sake :
 His precious deeth made the feendes qwake, 54
 And cristen folk^t for to reioisen euere.
 From his mercy / helpe / vs we nat disseuere ! 56

Let us not depart
from His mercy !

[9]

[leaf 35, back]	Tendrelly remembre on the wo & peyne	57
Remember thy woe at His Cross,	þat thow souffridist in his passioan, Whan watir & blood, out of thyn yen tweyne, For sorwe of him, ran by this cheekes down! And syn thow knowest þat the enchesoun	61
and that He died to save mankind.	Of his deeth was / for to saue al man kynde, Modir of mercy, þat haue in thy mynde!	63

[10]

↓	Wel oghten we thee worshipe & honure,	64
	Paleys of Cryst / flour of virginitee! Syn vp on thee / was leid the charge & cure, The lord to bere, of heuene & eerthe & see, And alle thynges þat ther ynne be.	68
↑	Of heuenes kyng, thow art predestinat To hele our soules of hir seek estat.	70
Thou art destind to heal our Souls.		

[11]

Blessed be thy womb and teats!	Thy maidens wombe, in which our lord lay, Thy tetes / whiche him yaf to sowke also To our sauynge / be they blessid ay! The birthe of Cryst / our thralldom putte vs fro, Ioie & honour / be now & eueremo	71
	To him and thee / þat vn-to libertee, Fro thralldam, han vs qwit / blessid be yee!	77

[12]

[leaf 36]	By thee, lady, y-makid is the pees	78
	Betwixt Angels and men / it is no doute. Blessid be god, þat swich a modir chees! Thy gracious bountee spredith al aboute. Thogh þat oure hertes steerne been, & stoute,	82
Thou canst get forgiveness for all our sins!	Thow to thy sone canst be swich a mene, That aH our giltes he foryeneeth clene.	84

[13]

	Paradys yates opned been by thee,	85
By thee, the gates of Hell are broken.	And broken been the yates eek of helle! By thee / the world restored is pardee!	

- Of al vertu / thow art the spryng & welle!
 By thee, al bountee / shortly for to telle, 89
 In heuene & eerthe, by thyn ordenaunce
 Parformed is / our soules sustenance ! 91
 [14]
- Now, syn thow art of swich auctoritee, 92
 Lady pitous, virgyne wemmelees,
 þat our lord god nat list to werne thee
 Of thy requeste / I wot wel / doutelees
 Than spare nat / foorth thee to putte in prees 96
 To preye for vs, Crystes modir deere !
 Benygnely wole he, thyn axyng' heere. 98
 [15] Pray for us ; and
 Christ will grant
 thy prayer!
- Apostle, and freend familier of Cryst, 99 [leaf 36, back]
 And his y-chosen virgyne / seint Ion /
 Shynyng apostle / & euangelyst,
 And best beloved among hem echon !
 With our lady, preye I thee to been oon, 103 our Lady in pray-
 þat vn-to Cryst shal for vs alle preye :
 Do thus for vs / Crystes derlyng, I seye ! 105 ing to Christ for
 us !
- [16]
- Marie & Ion, heueneley gemmes tweyne ! 106 Mary and John,
 O lightes two, shynyng in the presence
 Of our lord god / now do your bysy peyne
 To wasshe away our cloudeful offense,
 So þat we mowen make resistance 110 help us against
 Ageyn the feend / & make him to bewaille
 þat your preyere may so moche auaille. 112 the Devil !
- [17]
- Yee been the two, I knowe verraily, 113
 In which the fadir god gan edifie
 (By his sone oonlygeten specially)
 To him an hows / wherfore I to yow crye,
 'Beeth leches of our synful maladie ! 117 Cure our sinful
 Preyeth to god / lord of misericorde, |
 Oure olde giltes / þat he nat recorde !' 119 malady !

[18]

Be our protec-
tion!

‘ Be yee oure help and our proteccioun, 120
 Syn, for meryt of your virginitee,
 The priuilege of his dileccioun
 In yow confermed god, vp on a tree
 Hangyng^t / and vn-to oon of yow seide he 124
 Right in this wyse / as I reherce can,
 “ Beholde ! heere, lo / thy sone, womman ! ” 126

[19]

Help us in our
need!

‘ And to þat othir / “ heer thy modir, lo ! ” 127
 Than preye I thee / þat for the greet swetnesse
 Of the hy loue / þat god, twixt yow two,
 With his mowth made / and of his noblesse
 Conioyned hath yow / thurgħ his blisfulnesse, 131
 As modir and sone, helpe vs in our neede !
 And, for our giltes, make oure hertes bleede ! 133

[20]

O Mary and John,

Vn-to yow tweyne / I my soule commende, 134
 Marie and Iohn, for my sauuacioun !

help me to make
my heart the
dwelling of the
Holy Ghost !

Helpith me þat I may my lyf amende !
 Helpith now / þat the habitacioun
 Of the holy goost, our recreacioun, 138
 Be in myn herte now and eueremore !
 And of my soule / wasshe away the sore ! Amen !

[XI.]

Ce feust mys en le liure de mouſeigneur
 Johan, lors nommez / ore Regent de
 France & Duc de Bedford.

[In 5-measure nines, *abab, bcbbc.*]

[1]

[leaf 37, back]
To the Duke of
Bedford, I pre-

Vn-to the rial egles excellence,
 I, humble Clerc, with al hertes humblesse,

This book ¹ presente / & of your reuerence	sent this Balade,
Byseeche I pardoñ and foryeuenesse,	4
þat, of myn ignorance & lewdenesse,	
Nat haue I write it in so goodly wyse	
As þat me oghite vn-to your worthynesse.	
Myn yen / hath custumed bysynesse	tho it is not good,
So daswed / þat I may no bet souffyse.	9 has dazed my eyes.

[2]

I dreede lest þat my maister Massy,	Mr. Massy too
þat is of fructuous intelligence,	
Whan he beholdith how vnconnyngly	
My book is metrid / how raw my sentence	13 will see its weak-
How feeble eek been my colours: his prudence	ness, but will (I
Shal sore encombrid been of my folie;	trust)
But yit truste I / þat his beneuolence	
Compleyne wole myn insipience	
Secretly / & what is mis / rectifie.	18 set it right.

[3]

Thow book ¹ / by licence of my lordes grace,	19
To thee speke I / and this I to thee seye :	
I charge thee / to shewe thow thy face	
Beform my seid Maistir / & to him preye	22
On my behalue / þat he peise and weye	Let him weigh my
What myn entente is, þat I speke in thee,	intent, and excuse
For rethorik ¹ hath hid fro me the keye	the want of
Of his tresor / nat deyneth hir nobleye	Rhetic.
Dele with noon so ignorant as me !	26 [leaf 38]

Cest tout.

¹ The poem, fol. 37 b. to Monsr. Johan (afterwards Duke of Bedford), and that, fol. 39 b. to the Prince (afterwards Henry V), were both sent with the book of the *Regimen of Princes*, and are added at the end of that book in MS. Reg. 17, D. XVIII. [Brit. Mus.] . . . T. Tyrwhitt (Letter pasted in the MS.).

This poem is not in MS. Reg. 17, D. VI. which the late Thos. Wright printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1860. That has only, at end, the poem on p. 61, below.

[XII.]

[Balade to my Lord the Chancellor.]

[About 1407—1410. In 5-measure eights, *abab, lcbc.*]

[1]

My Lord, *do*
 give me a Patent
 to get my arrears
 paid!

Fadir in god, benigne and reuerent,
 My lord the Chanceller / *with* al humblesse
 I, your seruant at your commandement,
 Byseeche vn-to your excellent noblesse, 4
þat my patente bere may witnesse
 That myne arrerages been granted me :
 Right as your staf / your warant wole expresse /
 Byseeche I, y, yow so my patente be. 8

[2]

You've always
 been a good lord
 to me.

I truste in yow / for euere or this han yee
 Be my good lord / and now to stynte / I gesse,
 Applied is nat your benignitee,
 Specially / syn my poore symplesse 12
 Nat hath offendid your hy worthynesse
 Wityngly ; but myn herte is euere bent
 To sheete at yow good wil / in soothfastnesse,
 Ther³-in am I ful hoot & ful feruent. 16

[3]

[leaf 38, back]

O my lord gracious, wys, and prudent !
 To me, your Clerc / beeth of your grace free !
 Let see now cacche a lust and a talent
 Me to haue in your fauour & cheertee. 20
 Ther³-on wayte I / I wayte on your bountee,
 That to so manye han shewid gentillesse.
 Let me¹ no stepchylde been / for I am he
 That hope haue in yow, confort & gladnesse. 24

Crest tout.

¹ MS. me be.

[XIII.]

Cestes Balade & chauceon ensuyantes
 feurent faites a mon Maistre .M. Somer,
 quant il estoit Souztresorer.¹

[Written between Michaelmas and Christmas, 1407 (?). In
 5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

<p>The Sonne, with his beemes of brightnesse, To man so kyndly is, & norisshynge, <i>pat</i> lakkyng' it / day nere but dirknesse : To day he yeueth his enlumynyng, And causith al fruyt for to wexe & sprynge : Now, syn <i>pat</i> sonne² may so moche auaiH, And moost with Somer is his soiournyng, That sesoun bounteous we wole assaiH.</p>	<p>The sun that nourishes man</p> <p>4</p> <p>comes most in summer.</p> <p>8</p>
--	--

[2]

<p>Glad cheerid Somer / to your gouernaille And grace / we submitte al our willyng ! To whom yee frendly been / he may nat faille But he shal haue his resonable axynge : Aftir your good lust, be the sesonyng Of our fruytes / this laste Mighelnesse, The tyme of yeer was of our seed yunynge, The lak of which / is our greet heuynesse.</p>	<p>9 [leaf 39] Then, Somer, 12 get us our Michaelmas pay ! 16</p>
--	--

[3]

<p>We truste vp-on your frendly gentillesse, Ye wole vs helpe / and been our suppo[rt]aille. Now yeue vs cause ageyn this cristemesse For to be glad / o' lord / whethir our taille Shal soone make vs with our shippes saille To port salut : if yow list / we may syng,</p>	<p>17 20 Make us glad by Christmas !</p>
--	---

¹ Somer was made a Baron of the Exchequer on Nov. 8, 1408.
 See him calld Sir Henry Somer, on p. 64.

² MS. *senne*.

And elles, moot vs bothe mourne & waille,
Til *your* fauour vs sende releenyng. 24

[4]

We 4, Hoccleve,
Baillay, Hethe and
Offorde, pray you
to get our Salaries
paid; We, your seruantes, Hoccleue & Baillay, 25
Hethe & Offorde, yow beseeeche & preye,
'Haasteth our heruest / as soone as yee may!'

For fere of stormes / our wit is awaye; 28

Were our seed Immed / wel we mighten pleye,

And vs desporte / & synge / & make game,

and then we'll sing
you this And yit this rowndel shul we synge & seye 32
In trust of yow / & honour of your name.

[5]

Rowndel: [Rowndel, or Chancon to Somer.]

[1: *Burden.*]

[leaf 39, back]
Summer! all
men ar bound to
bless thee,

Somer, *but* rypest mannes sustenance
With holsum hete of the Sonnes warmnesse,
Al kynde of man thee holden is to blesse! (3) 35

[2]

Ay thankid be thy freendly *gouernance*,

and thy glad look, And thy fressh look^t of mirthe & of gladnesse! (5) 37

Somer &c^t (6—8)

[3]

which cheers all
sad folk.

To heuy folk^t / of thee the remembrance

Is salue & oynement to hir seeknesse.

For why / we thus shul synge in Cristemesse, (11) 40

Somer &c^t (12—14.)

[XIV.]

Ceste balade ensuyante feust mise en le
fin du liure del Regiment des Princes.

[See note 1, abuv, p. 57; and p. 195-6, of T. Wright's edition
of the *De Regimine* (about 1412 A.D.), Roxb. Club, 1860.
In 5-measure eights, *abab, lcbc.*]

[1]

O litil book ^t / who gaf thee hardynesse		O Book, who gave thee boldness to go before the the Prince of Wales?
Thy wordes to pronounee in the presence		
Of kynges ympe and Princes worthynesse,		
Syn thow al nakid art of eloquence?	4	
And why approachist thow his excellence,		
Vnelothid, sauf thy kirtil bare also?		
I am right seur, his humble pacience		His patience.
Thee yeuth hardynesse to do so.	8	

[2]

But o thyng woot I wel; go wher thow go,	9	
I am so pryuce vn-to thy sentence,		
Thow haast, and art / and wilt been eucremo,		
To his hynesse of swich beneuolence!	12	Thou art full of good will to him, tho thy words be poor.
Thogh thow nat do him due reuerence		
In wordes / thy cheertee nat is the lesse.		
And if lust be, to his magnificence,		
Do by thy reed / his welthe it shal witness!	16	

[3]

Byseeche him, of his gracious noblesse,	17	Pray him to ex- cuse thy igno- rance,
Thee holde excusid of thyn innocence		
Of endytynge / and with hertes humblesse,		
If any thyng thee passe of negligence,	20	
Byseeche him of mercy and indulgence,		
And þat, for thy good wil ¹ / he be nat fo		
To thee / þat al seist of loues feruence!		
þat knowith god ² / whom no thyng is hid fro.	24	as it speaks from love, which God knows.

Cest tout.

¹ hert—ed. Wright (MS. Reg. 17, D. VI.) ² he—ed. Wright.

[XV.]

¶ Item au Roy, que dieu pardoint!

[1]

O King, give us	V ictorious Kyng, our lord ful gracious, We, humble lige men to your hynesse, Meekly byseechen yow (o kyng pitous!) Tendre pitee haue on our sharp distresse;	4
[leaf 40, back] three some money!	For, but the flood of your rial largesse Flowe vp on vs / gold hath vs in swich hate, þat of his loue and cheertee the scantnesse	
Or else we must trot into Newgate.	Wole arte vs three ¹ to trotte vn-to Newgate.	8

[2]

	Benigne lige lord! o hauene & yate Of our confort! let your hy worthynesse Oure indigences softne / & abate! In yow lyth al / yee may our greef redresse!	9 12
We don't ask for much.	The somme þat we in our biþ expresse, Is nat excessif ne outrageous;	
And we've workt long and hard for it!	Our long <i>service</i> also berith witesse, We han for it be ful laborious.	16

[3]

	O lige lord, þat han be plenteuous Vn-to your Liges / of your grace algate, Styntith nat now for to be bounteous To vs, your seruantz of the olde date!	17 20
Don't stop your bounty to your old servants,	God woot we han been ay, eerly & late, Louynge lige men to your noblesse.	
and let us turn paupers!	Lat nat the strook' of indigence vs mate, O worthy Prince! mirour of prowesse!	24

Cest tout.

¹ There were 4: Hoccleve, Baillay, Hethe and Offorde, on p. 60, l. 25-6.

[XVI.]

[Balade to my maister Carpenter.]

[In 5-measure sevens, *ababb*, *cc*.]

[1]

See heer, my maister Carpenter,¹ I yow preye,
 How many chalenges ageyn me be ;
 And I may nat deliure hem by no weye,
 So me werreyeth coynes scarsetee,
 That ny Cousin is to necessitee. 5
 For why, vn-to yow seeke I for refut,
 Which *pat* of confort am ny destitut. 7

[2]

Tho men / whos names I aboue expresse, 8
 Fayn wolden *pat* they and I euene were :
 And so wolde I / god take I to witnessse !
 I woot wel, I moot heere / or elles where
 Rekne of my dettes / & of hem answeere. 12
 Myn herte, for the dreede of god & awe,
 Fayn wolde it qwyte / & for constreynt of lawe. 14

[3]

But, by my trouthe / nat wole it betyde ! 15
 And therefore, as faire as I can & may,
 With aspen herte / I preye hem abyde,
 And me respyte / to sum lenger day.
 Some of hem grante / and some of hem seyn ' nay !' 19
 And I so sore ay dreede an aftir clap,
 That it me reueth many a sleep & nap. 21

[4]

If *pat* it lykid / vn-to your goodnesse, 22
 To be betwixt [hem] and me, swich a mene

[leaf 41]

¶ A. d B. & C. d
 D. &c. [Creditors].

¶ Ceste balade feust tendrement considere, & bone-ment execute.

Mr. Carpenter,
 I can't pay my creditors.

5

Help me!

7

8

They want their money.

12

14 And I do wish I could pay em.

15

But, upon my word, I can't.

19

Some won't giv me time. This

21

stops my sleeping.

22

[leaf 41, back]

¹ 'Carpenter' is written over an erasure, the original having probably another name, to whose owner it had been sent, as it was doubtless afterwards sent to other moneyful folk. Carpenter was no doubt the famous town-clerk of London (1417-38), its M.P. and benefactor &c., born 1370, died 1441.

Pray keep me out of gaol!	As þat I mighte kept be fro duresse! Myn heuy thoghtes wolde it voided elene. As your good plesance is / this thyng demene!	26
	How wel þat yee doon / & how soone also, I suffre ¹ may in qwenchyng of my wo.	28
	Cest tout.	

[XVII.]

Ceste balade ensuyvante feust, par la Court
de bone compaignie, enuoier a lonure
sire Henri Sommer, Chaunceller de
leschequer,² & vn de la dicte
Court.

[After 1408. In 5-measure sevens, *ababb, cc.*]

[1]

[on leaf 41, back]	Worshipful sir, and our freend special, And felawe, in this cas / we calle yow.	1
Sir Henry, your letter wants us	Your letre sent vn-to vs / cleerly / al We haue red / & vnderstanden how It is no wit to your conceit, as now,	5
to start a fresh custom.	Vse the rule foorth as we been Inne; But al an othir rule to begynne :	7

[2]

[leaf 12]	Rehercyng how, in the place of honour, The Temple / for solace / & for gladnesse, Wher as nat oghte vsid been errour Of ouer mochil waast or of excesse,	8
You tell us that our Club in the Temple	First wern we fowndid to vse largesse In our despenses / but for to exceede Reson / we han espyed / yee nat beede.	12 14

¹ It's 'souffre' before, p. 50, l. 20; 54, l. 58, and at 68, l. 51.² He was to come and preside at the Court's dinner on the Thursday following, May 1.

[3]

- ¶ Yee allegge eek^t / how a rule hath be kept 15 Also, that we were
 Or this / which was good / as yee haue herd seyn ;
 But it now late / cessid hath, & slept ;
 Which good yow thynkith / were vp take ageyn :
 And but if it so be / our Court certeyn, 19 and we ought to
 Nat likly any whyle is to endure ;
 As hath in mowthe, many a creature. 21 be so again,

[4]

- Yee wolden, þat in conseruacioun 22
 Of our^r honour / & eek^t for our profyt,
 þat thentente of our^r old fundacioun
 Obserued mighte been / & to þat plyt
 Be brogħt as it was first / & passe al qwyte 26 and have no out-
 Out of the daunger of^t outrageous waast,
 Lest with scorn & reпреef, feede vs swich taast. 28 rageous waste.

[5]

- Vn-to þat ende, .vij^e. shippes grete,¹ 29 [leaf 42, back]
 To yeue vs han yee grauntid & behigħt,
 To bye ageyn our dyner, flour or whete ;
 And besyde it / as reson wole, & right,
 Paie your lagħ / as dooth an othir wight, 33 You've promist to
 þat by mesure rulith him, and gyeth,
 And nat as he / whom outrage maistrieth. 35 give us 6 great
 Nobles to buy
 flour or wheat,
 and pay your
 score too.

[6]

- In your letre / contened is also, 36
 þat if vs list to chaunge in no maneere
 Our newe gyse, ne twynne ther-fro ;
 The firste day of May, yee wole appeere,
 (þat day yee sette be with vs in feere,) 40 And, if we'll not
 alter our new
 fashion, you'll
 dine with us on
 the 1st of May.

¹ The great Noble of Edward III. stampd with a Ship, in which he sat, bearing his shield on his left arm, and his sword in his right hand, was issued in 1344, in honour of his naval victory over the French, off Sluys, on Midsummer Day 1340. Its worth was 6s. 8d. The Ship lasted thro' all our Kings to the early days of Q. Elizabeth. The half-Noble also had the Ship; the quarter-Noble, not. See *Ruding*, p. 219.

- And to keepe it / yee wole be reedy :
This is theeffect of your *letre* soothly. 42
- [7]
- We answer : **T**o the whiche, in this wyse we answeere : 43
You're not bound Excesse for to do / be yee nat bownde,
to be extravagant. Ne noon of vs / but do as we may bere :
Vp-on swich rule, we nat vs ne grownde.
- The you've plenty Yee been discreet / thogh yee in good habownde 47
of money do as Dooth as yow thinkith for your honestee !
you think proper ! Yee, and we aH, arn at our libertee. 49
- [8]
- [leaf 43] At our laste dyner / wel knowen yee 50
At our last Dinner By our Stywardes limitaciounn,
(As custume of our Court axith to be,) And ay at our congregacion
Observed / left al exeusacion, 54
- you wer warnd to you wer warnd to Warded yee wern / for the dyner arraye
provide dinner for next Thursday. Ageyn thorsday next, & nat it delaye. 56
- [9]
- Pray don't let us Be yow nat holde aysid in swich wyse 57
go without our dinner ! As for to make vs destitut, þat day,
Of our dyner / take on yow þat empyrse,
- Put down excess, If your lust be / dryueth excesse away.
if you like ! Of wyse men / moehil / folk^t lerne may : 61
Discrecion mesurith euery thyng :
Despende aftir your plesance & lykyng^t ! 63
- [10]
- Be a pattern to us, Ensaumpleth vs / let seen / & vs miroure ; 64
As þat it seemeth good to your prudence,
Reule þat day / for the thank^t shal be youre ;
and let us drink Dooth as yow list be drawe in consequence ;¹
only what you please, We trusten in your wys experience ; 68
But keepith wel your tourn / how so befallē,
but do give us the Dinner we expect ! On thorsday next / on which we awayte alle. 70
- Cest tout.

¹ Have as much wine drawn as you think fit.

[XVIII.]

Ceste balade ensuyante feust translatee
 au commandement de mon Meistre
 Robert Chichele.

[leaf 43, back]

[In 5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

As þat I walkid in the monthe of May
 Besyde a groue in an heuy musynge,
 Floures dynerse I sy, right fressli and gay,
 And briddes herde I eek^t lustyly syng,

In May I walkt in
 a grove,

4

þat to myn herte yaf a confortynge.
 But euere o thoght me stang vn-to the herte,
 þat dye I sholde / & hadde no knowynge
 Whanne, ne whidir, I sholde hennes sterte.

and thought I
 knew not when I
 should die.

8

[2]

Thynkyng thus / byfore me I say
 A crois depeynted with a fair ymage.
 I thoghte I nas but ashes and foul clay :
 Lyf passith as a shadwe in euery age ;
 And my body yeueth no better wage
 Than synne / which the soule annoyeth sore.
 I preyde god / mercy of myn outrage,
 And shoop me / him to offende no more.

I saw a Crucifix,

9

12

16

and prayd God for
 mercy.

[3]

On god to thynke / it yeueth a delyt,
 Wel for to doon / & froo synne withdrawe ;
 But for to putte a good deede in respyt /
 Harmeth / swich delay is nat worth an hawe.
 Wolde god, by my speeche and my sawe,
 I mighte him and his modir do plesance,

17

20

[leaf 44]

Would God I
 might please him!

	And, to my meryt, folwe goddes lawe, And of merey, housbonde a purueance!	24
	[4]	
Mother of Iesus!	¹ Modir of Ihesu, (verray god and man, þat by his deeth / victorie of the feend gat,) Haue it in mynde / thow blessid womman, For the wo / which vn-to thyn herte sat In thy sones torment / forgeete it nat!	25 28
Grant me grace to be virtuous!	Grante me grace / to vertu me take, ² Synne despyse, & for to hate al that That may thy sone & thee displesid make!	32
	[5]	
Jesus, with contrite heart I crave thy pity!	Mercyful lord Ihesu / me heere, I preye, þat right vnkynde / & fals am vn-to thee! I am right swich; I may it nat withseye. With salte teeres erane I thy pitee, And herte contryt / mercy haue on me þat am thy recreant caytif traitour! By my dissertes, oghite I dampned be; But ay thy merey heetith me socour.	33 36 40
	[6]	
Lady, I trust by thy prayers to be saved.	Lady benigne / our souereyn refuyt! Seur trust haue I, to han, by thy prayeere, Of strength / & confort, so vertuous fruyt, That I shal sauf be, Crystes modir deere! My soules ship, gouerne thow, & steere! Let me nat slippe out of thy remembrance, Lest, whan þat I am rype vn-to my beere, The feend me assaille, & haue at the ontrance.	41 44 48
[leaf 44, back]		
	[7]	
Lord, I thank thee Who diedst for my guilt!	To thanke thee, lord / hyly holde I am, For my gilt / nat for thyn / þat woldest die, Who souffred euere swich a martirdam. Yit thy deeth gat of the feend the maistrie,	49 52

¹ This begins the alternate stanzas to the Virgin and Christ.² To betake myself to Virtue.

And þat, al kynde of man may testifie.	
O ! blessid be thy loue charitable,	Blessed be Thy love!
þat list so deere our synful soules bie,	
To make vs sauf / wher we weren dampnable.	56
[8]	
Now thy socour / o Heuenes Emperice,	57 Empress of Heaven, turn not thy face from me!
Fro me, wrecche, torne thow nat thy face!	
Ther as I deepe wrappid am in vice,	
Gretter neede haue I / thyn help to purchase!	60
Vn-to the souerain leche, preye of grace,	
þat he my wowndes / vouchesauf to cure,	
So þat the feend my soule nat embrace,	
Al thogh I haue agilt ouer mesure.	64
[9]	
Wel oghten we thee thanke, gracious lord,	65 Gracious Lord,
þat thee haast humbled, for to been allied	
To vs ! auctour of pees and of concord,	
On the crois was thy skin in-to blood died!	68 [leaf 15]
Allas ! why haue I me to synne applied?	
Why is my soule encombrid so with synne?	
Lord, in al þat I haue me mis gyed,	
Foryeue / & of my trespas wole I blynne.	72 forgive me, and I will stop my sin.
[10]	
Lady / wardeyn of peple fro ruyne,	73 Lady, illumine my heart!
þat sauedest Theoffe and many mo !	
Of thy grace, myn herte enlumyne !	
For, as I trowe, & woot it wel also,	76
Thy might is me to warisshe of my wo.	
Of thy benigie sone, mercy craue,	Crave mercy of thy Son!
Of þat forueyed haue I, & mis go.	
His wil is thyn / my soule keepe & saue!	80
[11]	
Lord Ihesu Cryst / I axe of thee pardoun !	81 Lord Jesus,
I yilde me to thee, lord souereyn !	
My gilt confesse I / lord / make vnioun	confess my guilt. Unite my soul to
Betwixt thee & my soule / for in veyn	84 Thine!

- My tyme haue I despendid in certeyn.
 Some of the dropes of thy precious blood
 þat the crois made as weet as is the reyn,
 Despende on me, lord merciablen & good! 88
- [12]
- Mother of Mercy,
 Sapphir! Lady! þat clept art 'modir of merey,' 89
 Noble sapphir / to me þat am ful lame
 Of vertu, and am ther-to enemy,
 [leaf 45, back] Thy welle of pitee, in thy sones name, 92
 Lete on me flowe / to pouрге my blame,
 Lest in to Despeir þat I slippe & falle!
 I call to thee to For my seurtee to keepe me fro blame,
 keep me from Of pitee, miroour, I vn-to thee calle! 96
 blame.
 [13]
- Synne, þat is to euery vertu fo, 97
 Betwixt god & me / maad hath swich debat,
 þat my soule is dampnyd for euere mo,
 Christ, I shall be But if þat merey / which hath maad thacat 100
 dand unless Of mannes soule, þat was violat
 By likerous lust & disobedience,
 For which our lord Ihesu was incarnat,
 thou helpe me! Me helpe make the feend resistance! 104
- [14]
- Lady, let not Lady! þat art of grace spryng & sours, 105
 Port in peril / solas in heynesse!
 Of thy wont bontee, keepe alway the cours!
 the Fiend oppres the Lat nat the feend, at my deeth me oppresse! 108
 me at death! Torne the crois to me, noble Princesse,
 Which vn-to euery soor is the triacle!
 Thogh my dissert be nagh't / of thy goodnesse,
 Ageyn the feendes wrenches, make obstacle! 112
- [15]
- Lord, I watch to Lord, on thy grace & pitee / myn herte ay 113
 gain thy merey! Awaitith / to purchace thy merey.
 [leaf 46] Allas! I caytif / wel I mourne may,
 Syn the feend serued often sythe haue y. 116

- It reewith me / do *with* me graciously,
 For I purpose to stynte of my synnes.
 What ageyn thee / mis take hath my body,
 My soule keepe fro the feendes gymmes ! 120 Keep me from the
 Devil's snares !
- [16]
- Blessid virgyne, ensample of al vertu,
 þat peere hast non / of wommanhode flour ! 121 Blessed Virgin,
 For the loue of thy sone, our Lord *Ihesu*,
 Strengthe vs to doon *him* seruice & honour ! 124 strengthen us to
 serue Christ !
 Lady ! be mene vn-to our Sauueour,
 þat our soules þat the feend waytith ay
 To hente / & wolde of hem be possessour,
 Ne sese hem nat in the vengeable day ! 128
- [17]
- The flessĥ / the world / & eek' the feend my fo, 129
 My wittes alle han at hir retenance :
 They to my soule doon annoy & wo.
 For why, Lord, dreede I me of thy vengeance. 132 Lord, lift my soul
 to bliss !
 With merey, my soule in-to blisse enhance !
 Worthy marchant ! saue thy marchandie,
 Which þat thow bogĥtest with dethes penance !
 Lat nat the feend haue of vs the maistrie ! 136
- [18]
- Excellent lady ! in thy thogĥt impresse 137 [leaf 46, back]
 Lady, pray thy
 Child to save us
 from the Devil's
 net !
 How & why thy chyld souffrid his tormente !
 Preye him to haue on vs swich tendrenesse,
 þat in the feendes net we be nat hent ! 140
 At the day of his steerne iugement,
 Lat nat him leese þat he by deeth bogĥte !
 I woot wel / ther-to hath he no talent :
 Mynge *him* ther-on / for thee so to doon / ogĥte ! 144
- [19]
- Whan in a man, synne growith & rypith, 145
 The fruyt of it is ful of bittirnesse ;
 But penitence cleene away it wypith,
 And to the soule yeueth greet swetnesse. 148

O Christ the Judge, mix Mercy with thy Judgment!	O sterne Iuge / with thy rightwysnesse, Medle thy mercy / and shewe vs fauour ! Vn-to our soules, maad to thy liknesse, Graunte <i>pardoun</i> of our stynkyng errour !	152
[20]		
O Queen,	O glorious qweene / to the repentaunt <i>þat</i> art refuyt / socour and medecyne ! Lat nat the foule feend make his auant, <i>þat</i> he hath thee byrest any of thyne !	153 156
pray for us, and [leaf 47]	Thurgh thy prayere, thow thy sone enclyne His merciable grace / on vs to reyne ! Be tendre of vs / o thow blissid virgyne !	160
bring us to bliss !	For if thee list / we shuln to blisse atteyne.	160

Cest tout.

[*End of the Phillipps MS.*]

[XIX.]

[Fairfax MS. 16 (Bodl. Lib. about 1430-40), leaf 40.]

¶ ¹*Litera Cupidinis, dei Amatoris,* ² *directa*
*subditis suis amatoribus.*¹

[A.D. 1402]. [Hocclyffe (in *Stowe's hand*).]

[In 68 five-measure sevens, *ababb, cc.*]

[1]

I, Cupid, whom gods, devils, and men obey,	¶ Cupido ³ / vn-to whos ⁴ comaundement the gentil kynredē / of goddis ⁵ an hy, ⁵ And pepill infernal / ben obedient, And mortel folke al / seruen besely, ⁶ The goddesse sone / Sythera soothly, ⁶ to al[le] thoo / that to our deyte ben sugetes ⁷ / hertly gretyng sende we !	1 5 7
--	--	---------------------------------

¹⁻¹ The Lettre of Cupide, god of Loue, B (Bodley MS. 638, leaf 38 bk.)
² *Amoris* T. (Tanner MS. 346, ff. 41). ³ Cupide B. ⁴ quhois S. (But few of
the after variations of spelling are given.) ⁵⁻⁵ onely S. (MS. Arch. Seld. B.
21, ff. 211 bk.) ⁶⁻⁶ of the . . . onely F, The goddesse Cithera soñ sothly S.
⁷ subditiv S.

[2]

In general, we ¹ wol[<i>len</i>] / that ye knowe, ¹	8	[leaf 40, back] I tell you that gentlewomen have so com- plained to me of men's outrages on them,
that ladies of honour / and reuerence,		
and other gentil wymen / ² haven sowe ²		
³ suche seed of ³ compleynt / in our audience,		
of men ⁴ that do hem ⁴ / outrage and offence,	12	
that yt oure eeres greueth / for ⁵ to here ;		that my ears are grievd.
so pitouse is theffecte / of this ⁶ matere.	14	

[3]

⁷ Passyng al londes / on) the litel ⁷ Ile	15	Above all, in England
that cleped ys albyon ⁸ / they most compleyn):		
⁹ they seye, that there ⁹ ys / croppe and rote of gile :		
¹⁰ soo konne tho men / dyssymule[n] ¹⁰ and feyne ¹¹		men sham crying
with stondyng dropes / ¹² on her eyen tweyne, ¹²	19	
When that her hertes / felith no distresse,		
to blynden women) / wyth her doublenesse.	21	to deceive women.

[4]

¹³ Her wordes spoken ben / so syghyngly, ¹³	22	They sigh,
wyth so pitouse ¹⁴ chere / and contynauce, ¹⁴		look pitiful,
that euery wyght ^t / that meneth tru[<i>ē</i>]ly,		
Demeth ¹⁵ that they in hert / haue suche ¹⁵ grevaunce.		
they sey, so importable / ys her penaunce,	26	and say they'll die if their ladies don't grant 'em favors,
that but her lady / lust to schew hem <i>grace</i> .		
they ryght ^t anoone / [mote] ¹⁶ sterven in the place.	28	

[5]

“ A, lady myn),” they sey / “ I yowe ensure,	29	
¹⁷ as doth ¹⁷ me grace / and I shal ever be—		and that they'll be as humble
while that my lyfe / may last[<i>en</i>] ¹⁸ and endure—		
to yow as humble / and lowe in ech degre		
as possible ys / and kepe al thing ¹⁹ secre	33	and secret as possible.

¹⁻¹ will that know 3e S. ²⁻² haue we S. ³⁻³ Herd the trew S. ⁴⁻⁴ that donne thamme S : F reads wyomen, as this MS. ⁵ so S. ⁶ thare S. ⁷⁻⁷ And passid all ye boundis of ye S. ⁸ britanne S. ⁹⁻⁹ Thai seyū thare In S. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ So can thir meñ dissymileñ S. ¹¹ seyū B. ¹²⁻¹³ In thare eyne tweyne S ; in, Speght 1602. ¹³⁻¹³ Thir wordis ben spokeñ generally S. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ a chere and countenañce S. ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ In hert that thai haue high S. ¹⁶ S inserts most ; Speght ‘must.’ ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ 3e do S. ¹⁸ lesten S. ¹⁹ thing A (Ashburnham MS) S, thing as F. S omits as.

ryghit as youre seluen¹ lyst[e] / that I do ;
and elles myn² herte³ / mote brest a-two." 35

[6]

But it's hard to
know a man's
heart.

iful herd⁴ yt is⁴ to know / a manys hert ; 36
for outwarde may⁵ no man⁵ / the trouthe deme ;
⁶when worde out of his mouthe / may non astert,⁶
but⁷ yt by reson⁷ semed / euery wight to⁷ queme ;
⁸so is hit seyde⁸ of hert / as hit wolde seme. 40

Women are
deceivd by false
appearance.

O⁹ feythful woman / ful of¹⁰ Innocence,
thou arte deceyved / be fals apparence ! 42

[7]

Women believe
men, and grant
'em favours to
save their lives.

¹¹By processe¹² moveth / oft woman¹² pite : 43
wenyng al¹³ thing were / as [pat] thise¹⁴ men¹⁴ sey,
they graunte hem grace / of hir benignite,
¹⁵for that men shulde nat / for her sake¹⁵ dey ;
and with good hert[e] / set hem in the wey 47
of blesful loue / kepe yt yf they¹⁶ konne :
thus other while¹⁷ women¹⁷ beth y-wonne. 49

[8]

And when the
man has posses-
sion of the woman,

And whann this man / the¹⁸ pot hath be¹⁸ the stele, 50
and fully is / in his possessyon,

he runs after any
other in the town,

with that woman / kepeth he not¹⁹ to dele
²⁰after, yif he may / fynde[n]²⁰ in the tovne
any woman / his blynde affeccion 54

Curse him!

On²¹ to bestowe[n] / euel²² mote he preve !
a man, for al his²³ othes / is herde to leve !²³ 56

[9]

And for that euery fals man / hath a make, 57
(as vn-to euery wight / is lyght^t to knowe,)

¹ selfe Sp., self^t F, seluen S. ² that myn S. ³ herte Sp., hert F. ⁴⁻⁴ Is It S. ⁵⁻⁵ non S. ⁶⁻⁶ Quhañ word may non out of his mouth stert S. ⁷⁻⁷ it be resoun any wight shuld S. ⁸⁻⁸ So It is S. B. ⁹ A S. ¹⁰ of Sp., om. F. ¹¹ Stanzas 7-16. These verses are omitted in the Digby MS. 181. ¹²⁻¹² womeñ movit of S, of T also. ¹³ that all S. ¹⁴ om. S. ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ That they schuld not for thare loue S. ¹⁶ he F, they S, ye F. ¹⁷ This othir quhilis S, And thus o. w. F. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ the pot hath by A S, penne F. ¹⁹ not S, no more F. ²⁰⁻²⁰ After yat . . funden S. ²¹ On A, vn F. ²² foule S. ²³⁻²³ oth . . . leue A S, beieue F.

when this traytoure / this woman hath for-sake,
 he ¹fast[e] spedeth him¹ / vn-to his felowe :
 til he be there / his hert ys on¹ a lowe ;
 hys fals deceyt / ²[ne] may him not² suffise,
 but of hys treson / telleth al³ the wise.⁴

And goes and
 tells his mates
 61
 63 all about it.

[10]

Ys this a faire avaunte / is this honoure ?
 a man him silfe ⁵accuse / thus, and diffame ?⁵
⁶[Now] ys it good / confesse him⁶ / a traytoure,
 and bringe a woman / to [a]⁷ sclaudrouse name,
 and tel⁸ how he hir body / hathe do shame ?
 No worshippe ⁹may he thus / to him⁹ conquere,
¹⁰but grete esclaundre¹⁰ / vn-to him and here !

64 Is this honour ?
 a man to confess
 he's a traitor,
 and tell how he's
 shamed a woman ?
 68
 70

[11]

¹¹[Vn] To hir ¹²name yet / was¹² yt no reprefe,
 for, al for vertu / was [it]¹³ that she wrought ;
 but he that brewed hath¹⁴ / al this myschefe,
 that spake so faire / and falsly¹⁵ inward thoght,¹⁶
 his be the sclaudre / as yt be reson¹⁷ ought ;
 and vn-to hir / [a] thank¹⁷ perpetuel,
 that in a nede¹⁸ / ¹⁹helpe can¹⁹ so wel !

71 The woman's not
 to be blamed,
 75 but the man is.
 77

[12]

²⁰Al-thogh²⁰ of men, thorgh²⁰ sleyght / and sotilte,²⁰
 a sely symple / and Innocent²¹ woman
²²betrayed ys / no wondre, sith the²² cyte
 of Troye / (as [pat] the storye telle²³ can)
 be-trayed was / thorgh²⁴ the²⁴ disceyt of man),

78 No wonder that
 an innocent
 woman is
 betrayed by man,
 82 for Troy was,

¹⁻¹ spedith him fast S (spedeth = sped'th). ²⁻² ne / may nat him S. ³ at S.
⁴ gwyce T. ⁵⁻⁵ accuseñ & defaïne S. ⁶⁻⁶ Now Is It good confesse him S, ys
 it g. c. h. selfe F. ⁷ In a S, B om. ⁸ say S. ⁹⁻⁹ thus he may him self S.
¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Bot gett a sclander S, disclaunder Sp. T. ¹¹ St. 11-16 are st. 1 to 6 in the
 Digby MS. ¹²⁻¹² name 3hit is D, nay yet was F, nay B T, na S. ¹³ om. T.
¹⁴ om. S. ¹⁵ so falsly D. ¹⁶ wrot S. ¹⁷ a thank S. ¹⁸ nede D, rede F, in soch
 a need Sp. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ can helpeñ meñ S. ²⁰⁻²⁰ Allthoug that meñ by slicht &
 subtiltee S, of men D, men F, through mens Sp. ²¹ Ignorant A S. ²²⁻²² Be-
 trayse no wonder Is, señ ye S. ²³ tel F D, tell Sp., tellen S. ²⁴ om. D.

and set on¹ fire / and [al] dovne² ouer-throwe,
and destroyd. and fynaly dystroyed / as men knowe. 84

[13]

³Betraied men not³ / Citees⁴ grete, and kynges ? 85
what wyght is yt⁵ / that kan shape remedye⁶
⁷ayens these falsly / purposed⁷ thinges ?
who can the crafte / suche craftes⁸ to espye,⁹
Men are ever ready for falsity ; but ¹⁰man, whos wytte / is euer redy¹⁰ to aplye 89
to¹¹ thyng that ¹²sovneth / in-to [hy]¹² falshe¹²de ?
Women, beth ware / of ¹³mennys sleight,¹³ I rede ! 91

[14]

And furthermore / han these¹⁴ men in vsage, 92
and when they've no chance themselves, they see a woman for them. that,¹⁵ where [as] ¹⁶they / not lykly ben¹⁷ to¹⁶ spede,
suche as [they]¹⁸ ben / with a double visage
they procuren¹⁹ / for to pursw her nede ;
he prayeth him, in his cause / to procede, 96
and largely ²⁰guerdoneth / he his²⁰ trauaylle :
lytell wote²¹ women / how men hem²² assaylle ! 98

[15]

Another wretch 'll tell a man in love, that Another wrecheli / vnto his felowe seythe : 99
' thow fissent fayre / she that the hath fired,
ys fals and²³ inconstant / and hath no feythe !
she, ²⁴for the rode of folke / ys so desired,²⁴
his girl is hired daily by others, and²⁵ as an hors / fro day to day ys hired, 103
that when thow twynnest / fro hir companye,
another cometh / and blered ys thyn ye ! 105

[16]

and when his back's turnd ' Now prikke on fast / and ride thy iourney 106
while thou art there / for she, behinde thy bake,

¹ a S. ² all S Sp. ³⁻³ men D, Betray not men B F S T. ⁴ realmes S. ⁵ hit B, om. S. ⁶ a r. S. ⁷⁻⁷ Agayne falsly porposyd T, these falsly Sp., falsly D, false hid S. ⁸ castes S. ⁹ aspie D, espy Sp., spye F. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ yt Is quho redy ay Is S. ¹¹ In S. ¹²⁻¹² sowning is to Sp., is sownynge T, vnto hie S, into hy A. ¹³⁻¹³ false men Sp. ¹⁴ othir S. ¹⁵ T inserts as, where as A. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ quhare thai beñ not likly for to S. ¹⁷ are D. ¹⁸ as D, as they B F Sp., where as T, as that S. ¹⁹ S inserts men. ²⁰⁻²⁰ to guerdouñ thair S. ²¹ know S. ²² men hem D Sp., men F. ²³ om. S. ²⁴⁻²⁴ for hir fude of folk Is so disirit S, . . desered F. ²⁵ That S.

so lyberal ys / she wol no wyght¹ with-sey,
 but smertly of another / take a snake ;²
 for thus thes wommen / faren, al the pake ; 110 she'll take a
 who so hem trusteth / hanged mot he be ! snack with
 ay³ they desyren chaunge / and nouelte !⁴ 112 as women like
 change.

[17]

⁴Wherof procedeth this / but of envye ? 113
 for he him selfe / hyre ne wynne⁵ may,
 he speketh hir reprefe / and vileyny[e],
 as mannes blabbyng⁶ tong / ys wont alway :
 thus dyuers men / ful ⁷often make⁷ assay 117
 for to ⁸distourben folke / in sondry⁸ wyse,
 for they may not / acheven⁹ her emprise. 119
 When a man can't
 win a woman,
 he abuses her.

[18]

fful many a man¹⁰ ¹¹eke / wolde¹¹ for no good, 120
 (that hath ¹²in loue / his tyme¹² spent and vsed,)
 Men wyste ¹³his lady,¹³ his axyng¹⁴ withstood,
 and¹⁵ that he ¹⁶were / of hyr pleyuly¹⁶ refused, 123 Tho' everyone
 or wast and¹⁷ ¹⁸veyn, wer / al that he hael¹⁸ mused ; knows his lady
 wherfore he can / no better¹⁹ remede¹⁹, refused him,
 but on²⁰ his lady / shapith him to lye. 126 he begins to lie
 about her.

[19]

'Euery womman,' he seyth / 'ys lyght to gete, 127 He says any
 (kan noon sey nay) / if she be wel I-soght' :²¹ woman can be
 who so may ²²han leyser²² / with her²³ to trete, got if she's well
 courted.

¹ nothing Sp. ² smacke Sp. ³ Euer Sp. ⁴ The collations markt D are from the Digby MS. 181, in the Bodleian Library. This MS. begins the poem with stanzas 11—16 of the Ashburn. version. It then has stanzas 7—16 the same as 17—26 here, then leaves out stanzas 7—10, then takes as its stanzas 17—26 the Ashb. 37-9, 50-6, and after that runs with the Fairfax, its stanzas 37—58 corresponding with Fairfax 47—68. See p. 92 below. ⁵ wenneñ S. ⁶ blabbyng D Sp., babbyng St. B, labbing S T. ⁷⁻⁷ of will mak S. ⁸⁻⁸ distrouble folk on smuder S : distourble T. ⁹ haue D, obtaine Sp. ¹⁰ Many one Sp. ¹¹⁻¹¹ wolde eke D, wald eke S. ¹²⁻¹² his tyme in love D. ¹³⁻¹³ that sithe S. ¹⁴ askyng D. ¹⁵ Ere Sp. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ war planly of hir S. ¹⁷ or S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ veyn aH that he had D A, . . . bath F. ¹⁹ none other Sp. ²⁰ onely T. ²¹ sought D. ²²⁻²² leiser haue D, leiser haue Sp., leyser haue T. ²³ thame S.

of his purpose / ne¹ shal he faile nocht,
 but he ow maddlyng² / be so depe ybroght,³ 131
 that he³ shende al / with open homelynesse,⁴
⁵that louen wymmen / nat as⁵ that, I gesse.' 133

[20]

Gentlemen should
 arm in defence of
 women.

To sclauder women / thus, what may profyte? 134
 too gentils⁶ namely / that ⁷hem armen sholde,⁷
 and in⁸ defence of wommen / hem delyte,
⁹as that⁹ the ordre / of gentillesse¹⁰ wolde :
 yf that a man / lyst gentil to be holde, 138
 he ¹¹moot flee al¹¹ that / ther-to ys contrarye :
 a sclaudryng¹² tong / is his grete aduersarye.¹³ 140

[21]

Great talkers gab
 nonsense.

A foule thing¹⁴ ys / of tonge to be lyght; 141
 for who so mychel¹⁵ clappeth¹⁶ / gabbeth ofte.
 the tonge of men¹⁷ so ¹⁸swyft¹⁸ ys / and so¹⁸ wyght,
 that whan it is areysed / vp ow lofte,
 reson yt seweth¹⁹ / so slowly and softe, 145
 that it²⁰ him neuer / ouer-take may :
 lord ! so thise men / beth trusty in asay ! 147

[22]

Tho' one woman
 is inconstant

and deceitful,

it doesn't follow
 that all are.

Al-be-hyt that man²¹ fynde / o²² woman²² nyce, 148
 In-constant, recheles / or varriable,
²³Deynouse, or proude²³ / fulfilled of malice,
 Wythouten²⁴ feyth or love / and deceyvable,
²⁵sly, queynt, and fals²⁵ / in al vnthrift²⁶ coupable, 152
 Wikked, and feers / and²⁷ ful of cruelte,
 yt foloweth nat²⁸ / that swich²⁹,²⁹ al wommen be. 154

¹ om. D. ² madnesse Sp. ³ om. S. ⁴ humylnes S. ⁵⁻⁵ And that loue nothing women as S, love D., they doten as Sp., nat as D. ⁶ To gentillesse Sp. ⁷⁻⁷ thame honour schald S. ⁸ om. D, Sp. puts 'and' after 'women.' ⁹⁻⁹ And S. ¹⁰ gentilnesse D T. ¹¹⁻¹¹ must all eschewe Sp. ¹² sclaudrous Sp., S. ¹³ MS. aduersyte. ¹⁴ vice Sp., foule wise of t. S. ¹⁵ moche D. ¹⁶ chappith and S. ¹⁷ man S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ swight and so D, swyft ys / and is F. ¹⁹ is shewed Sp., schewit S. ²⁰ it D, yf F. ²¹ men D. ²² one Sp. ²³⁻²³ Sclee queynt and false S, Deignous Sp. ²⁴ With out D. ²⁵⁻²⁵ Deynouse and proud S. ²⁶ vntrust Sp., vntriste comparable B. ²⁷ om. S, and reads fulfillit. ²⁸ not D. ²⁹ suche D.

[23]

- When that ¹the high god ¹ / Aungels formed had, 155
 a-monge hem al[le] / whether ther were noon
 that founden was / malicious and bad? Of the Angels,
wasn't one bad?
- Yis! al men woot / that ther was many oon, Yes.
 that for hir pride / fil² from heven anoon: 159
- ³shul men therefore³ / al Aungels, proude name?
 Nay! he that that⁴ susteneth / is to blame. 161 Are all angels
therefore proud?

[24]

- Of twelve apostels, oon / a traytour was: 162 Of the Apostles,
one was a traitor,
but the rest were
true.
- the remenant, yit / good[e] were and triwe.
 than⁵, yf it happe / men fynde[n], per caas,⁶
 oo⁷ womman fals / swich⁸ is good for⁹ to eschiwe,
 and deme nat¹⁰ that they¹¹ / ben al[le] vntrewe! 166 So of women.
- I se¹² wel / mennes owne¹³ fals[e]nesse,
 hem causeth women / for to trusten lesse. 168

[25]

- ¹⁴O! every man ought¹⁴ hane / an herte tendre 169 Every man ought
to think women
honourable.
- vn-to¹⁵ woman / and deme hir honourable,
 whether his shap be / outhr thikke or slender,¹⁶
 or he be badde or good / this¹⁷ ys no fable.
- every man woot / that witte hath resonable, 173 He's the son of
one.
- that of a woman / he descended¹⁸ ys:
 than ys yt shame, of hir / to speke amys! 175 It's a shame to
speak ill of her.

[26]

- A wikked tre, gode frute / may noon forth bryng; 176
 for swiche¹⁹ the frute ys / as that is the tre. As the tree, so
is the fruit.
- take hede of whom / thou took thy bygynnyng!
 lat thy moder / be Merour vnto the!
 honure hir / yf thou wolt honured be! 180 Honour your
Mother!

¹⁻¹ god the hie D. ² fet D. ³⁻³ Shuld me for them yeue Sp. ⁴ that that D, that F. ⁵ So Sp. ⁶ parcas D. ⁷ A D. ⁸ suche D, a soch good is Sp. ⁹ omr. B S T. ¹⁰ not D. ¹¹ all S. ¹² S inserts full. ¹³ owne Sp., oone F. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ Every ought to D. ¹⁵ vnto a Sp. ¹⁶ sklendre B, sklendir D. ¹⁷ it Sp. ¹⁸ destended F, discendit S, disceded Sp. ¹⁹ suche D.

Dispise thou hir nat / in no manere,
Lest that ther-by / thy wikkydnesse appere ! 182

[27]

An olde proverbe / seyde ys in englyssh : 183

It's a bad bird
that fouls its
own nest.

men seyn 'that brid or foule / ys dyshonest,
what that he¹ be / and holden ful² chirlyssh,
that vseth to defoule / his ovne neste.'

men, to say wel of wymen / ³yt is³ best, 187

Men shouldn't
abuse women.

and ⁴nat to displesen hem / ne depraue,⁴
yf that ⁵they wol hir⁵ honour / kepe and⁶ saue. 189

[28]

Women say that
Clerks write
books against
em,

These ladyes eke⁷ / ⁸compleynen hem on⁸ clerkes, 190

that ⁹they han made bokes / of hir diffame,

In which¹⁰ dispisen they / womman[e]s¹⁰ werkes,

and speken of hem / grete reprefe and shame,

and causeles yiven¹¹ hem / a wikked name : 194

thus they dyspysed ben / on¹² euery syde,

¹²and sclaudred,¹² and bylowen¹³ / on¹³ ful wyde. 196

[29]

Tho sory bokes / maken mensyon 197

on how they
betrayd David,
Solomon, &c.,

how they betrayden¹⁴ / in especial,¹⁵

adam, dauid, sampson / and salamon,

and many oon¹⁶ mo / ¹⁶who may reheresen al¹⁶

the treson / that they haue done ¹⁷and [ay] shal¹⁷ 201

¹⁸the world hir malice / may not comprehende : ¹⁸

¹⁹as that theys¹⁹ clerkes seyn / yt hath noon¹⁹ ende. 203

[30]

Ouyde in his boke²⁰ / called 'remedye 204

of loue' / grete reprefe of wommen writeth ;

wherin, I trowe, he dide / grete folye,

¹ that he D Sp., he F. ² for S. ³⁻³ Is ye S, is the D. ⁴⁻⁴ deprise thame
nor 3it d. S, not for to dispyse D B T. ⁵⁻⁵ 3e wald 3our S. ⁶ or Sp. ⁷ euer Sp.
⁸⁻⁸ complene thame of S, compleyn D. ⁹ That that D. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ they dispise
women and her Sp. ¹¹ yeve D. ¹²⁻¹² Disclaundred Sp. ¹³ blown S, belyed T.
¹⁴ betraied D, haue betrayed S. ¹⁵ especyaht D, especial Sp., special F, special
S. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ quho reherseñ schall S. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ and all S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ The world may nat ycr
malice c. S : wordle D, worde T. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ And that ve S. ²⁰ bokis B.

and every wyght / that ¹in such case delyteth.¹
 a clerkys custome ys / whan he endyteth 208
 of women, be yt prose / or² ryme, or vers,
³seye they³ ben wikke / al knowe he the revers. 210

[31]

And that boke, scolers / lerne in ⁴hir chyldehede,⁴ 211
 for they of women / ⁵be war sholde⁵ in age,
 and for to ⁶louen hem / euer ben⁶ in drede,
 syn⁷ to deceyve / is set al hire⁸ corage.
 they seyn, ⁹perylle / to cast, ys avauntage,⁹ 215
¹⁰and namely suche¹⁰ / as men ¹¹han in be wrapped,¹¹
 for many a man by woman¹² / hath myshapped.¹³ 217

[32]

¹⁴No charge, whatso / thyse clerkys¹⁴ seyn : 218
 of al hir wrong wryting / I do no cure ;
 al hir trauayle and labour¹⁵ / ys in veyn),
 For, betwex me / and my lady¹⁶ nature,
 shal nat¹⁷ be suffred / while the world may dure, 222
 these¹⁸ clerkys / by ¹⁹hir cruel¹⁹ tyranie,
²⁰thus vpon²⁰ wymmen / kythen hir maystrie. 224

[33]

Whylom ful mony²¹ of hem²² / wer in my cheyne 225
 y-tyed²³ / and now, what for vnweldy age,
 and for vnlust, may not / to love atteyne,²⁴
 and seyn, that love ys / but werray²⁵ dotage.
²⁶thus, for that they hem selfe²⁶ / lakken corage, 229
 they folke exciten²⁷ / by hir wykked sawes,
 for to rebelle²⁸ agayn²⁹ me / and my lawes. 231

¹⁻¹ on such delitteth S. ² om. D B. ³⁻³ To seye ye S. ⁴⁻⁴ ther childhode D, S om. hir ⁵⁻⁵ schuld be war S. ⁶⁻⁶ loue thame euir be S, love D. ⁷ Siuch S. ⁸ ther D. ⁹⁻⁹ of perel men should cast thauauntage Sp., tast D. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Namely of such Sp. ¹¹⁻¹¹ haue in be wrappes B, ben I-wrapped D, be-wrapped Sp., be-wrappes F. ¹² women D S. ¹³ myshapped D Sp., myshappes F B. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ Now charge Is quhat so thir clerkis S, charge is Sp., howso this B. ¹⁵ labour and tr. Sp. S. ¹⁶ om. S. ¹⁷ not D, nat A S T, noon F. ¹⁸ Thus these Sp. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ outrageous A. ²⁰⁻²⁰ on selie Sp. ²¹ many D, meny B. ²² them D. ²³ ycheined S. ²⁴ susteyne S. ²⁵ verry D, veray S. ²⁶⁻²⁶ Thus for thame seluen S, silf D. ²⁷ excerses S. ²⁸ reule S. ²⁹ ayens D.

[34]

Yet, those who
blame women
most,

But mawgre hem / that blamen wommen most, 232

suche is¹ the force / of myn impressyon,

that ²sodenly / I felle² can hir bost,

and al hir wrong / ymagynacion);

I can make 'em
love the foulest
slut

yt shal not ben / in her elleccion, 236

the foulest slutte / of al a³ tovne refuse,⁴

yf that me lyst⁵ / for al that they can muse; 238

[35]

as if she were a
duchess.

But hir in hert / as brenyngly desire, 239

as thogh^h she were / a duchesse or a quene;

so can I folkes hertys / set on fire,

and as me list hem⁶ sende / Ioy or tene.

they that to wommen / ⁷ben ywhett⁷ so kene, 243

my sharp[e] ⁸persyng strokes / how they⁸ smyte,

shul fele, and knowe / and how ⁹they kerve⁹ and byte.

[36]

Ovid too,
and other

Perdee,¹⁰ this grete¹¹ clerke / this sotil Ouyde, 246

and ¹²mony another / han¹² deceyved be

of women) / as yt knowen ys ful wyde;

Wote no man¹³ more / and that is grete deynte,

so excellent a clerk / as that was he, 250

abusers, were
trickt by women.

and other mo that koude / so¹⁴ wel preche,

betrapped wer / for aght¹⁵ they coude teche. 252

[37]

Women are up to
them and their
lies.

And trusteth wel / that yt¹⁶ is no mervaylle, 253

ffor women ¹⁷knywen / pleyedly¹⁷ hir entent;

they wiste how sotyly / they koude assayle

hem, and ¹⁸what falshode / they in hert[e]¹⁸ ment;

and ¹⁹this clerky's / they¹⁹ in hir daunger hent; 257

¹ is the D Sp., is F. ²⁻² sotelly y felle T. ³ in all the Sp., je B. ⁴ to refuse B. ⁵ lust D. ⁶ sem T. ⁷⁻⁷ yhurt S. ⁸⁻⁸ strokis persyng quho ze S. ⁹⁻⁹ ze herñ S. ¹⁰ Parde D. ¹¹ om. Sp. ¹²⁻¹² many D, m. one othir haue S. ¹³ Wote no man S, What no men F. ¹⁴ full Sp. ¹⁵ ought D. ¹⁶ ys F, it Sp. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ knewe full p. S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ yt . . . thair hert S. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ thus they clerkes Sp., haue for they S.

with oo venym / another was distroyed ;
and thus thise clerkes / often were anoyed. 259

[38]

These ladyes ne thise gentils / neuerthelesse, 260 Ladies didn't do
were noon of thoo / that wroghten in this wysse ;¹ this, but only
queans.

but swyche² filthes³ / as weren vertulesse,
they quydden thus / this olde clerkis wisse ;⁴
To⁵ clerkis, ⁶for-thy, lesse⁶ may⁷ suffyse 264 Clerks should not
than to deprave⁸ wommen / generally ; defame women.

for worshippe shul they gete / noon therby. 266

[39]

If that thise men / that louers hem pretende, 267 If these pretended
to women weren ⁹feythfull / good⁹ and trewe, lovers were true
to women,

and dreden hem / to deceyven or offende,
women, to loue hem / wolde nat eschewe ; women would
love them.

but euery day hath man / an herte¹⁰ newe : 271

what fors ys it / swich a wight to be-gile ? 273

[40]

Men beren eke this women / vpon honde, 274 Men say too that
that lyghtly / and wyth-ouen¹¹ any peyne, any man can win
women,

they ¹²wonne ben / they can¹² no wyght^t withstonde,
that his disese / list to hem compleyne : 277

¹³they been so freel / they mowe hem nat refreyne ;¹³ so frail are they.

but who so lyketh / may hem lyghtly haue,
so ben hir hertys / esy in to graue.¹⁴ 280

[41]

To¹⁵ maister Iohn de Meun / as I suppose, 281 It was a nasty
Than¹⁶ yt was / a lewde occupacion job of Jean de
Meun,

In makyng of the Romance / of the Rose,

¹ wise Sp. ² suche D. ³ fillokes S. ⁴ wise Sp. ⁵ To Sp., The F D. ⁶⁻⁶ ffor they lasse D. ⁷ might Sp. ⁸ dispraue Sp. ⁹⁻⁹ g. f. T. ¹⁰ hert F D, hurte Sp. ¹¹ wyth out D, without eny B. ¹²⁻¹² women beñ that can S. ¹³⁻¹³ They be so fre T, not D B, That haue suich merej / they may no man with-seyne S. ¹⁴ graue D Sp., craue F. ¹⁵ To D Sp., I F. ¹⁶ Then D Sp., an F.

in his *Romance of the Rose*, to devise so many tricks to deceive a poor girl.

so many a sly / ymagynacion
and perils¹ / for to rollen² vp and down, 285
so longe processe / so many a slye cautele,
for to deceyve / a sely damesele ! 287

[42]

Nat³ can I⁴ seen / ne⁴ my wytte comprēhēde, 288
that art and peyn⁵ / and sotilte [s]holde⁶ faylle
for to conquere / and sone make an ende,
⁷whan man a feble place / shal⁷ assaylle,
and ⁸soone also⁸ / to venquyssli a bataylle, 292
of whiche no wyght / dar maken⁹ resistance,
Ne hert hath noon / to stonden¹⁰ at defence ; 294

[43]

But if it takes so much trouble to deceive a woman,
surely she's more constant than some clerks say.

Than ¹¹yt moot¹¹ folowen¹¹ / of necessite, 295
syn¹² art asketh / so grete engyn and peyne
a woman ¹³to dysceve / what she¹³ be
of constance¹⁴ / they ben¹⁵ not so bareyne
¹⁶as that somme of thise / sotil clerkys feyne ;¹⁶ 299
but they ben / ¹⁷as that wommen oghten be,¹⁷
sad / constant / and fulfilled of pite.¹⁸ 301

[44]

See what a friend Medea was to the false Jason,

How frendely was / Medea to Iason 302
in the¹⁹ conquering / of the flees²⁰ of golde !
how falsly quyt he / hir affeccion,
by whom victorie he gate / as he hath²¹ wokle !
how may this man, for shame / be²² so bolde 306
to falsen²³ hir / that from his dethe and shame
him kept,²⁴ and gat him / so grete pris and name ? 308

¹ perelous T, perillis S. ² roff D. ³ Not D. ⁴⁻⁴ say ne Sp. S, ne in F. ⁵ part S. ⁶ shulde T, schuld S. ⁷⁻⁷ Whē D, Quēñ a mañ schail a f. p. S. ⁸ also soñ S. ⁹ may make Sp. ¹⁰ to make any Sp. ¹¹⁻¹¹ mote It falow S, ffolowe D. ¹² sich S, om. so. ¹³⁻¹³ for to Dissaue quho S : what so Sp. ¹⁴ confiaunce B, constaunte S. ¹⁵ he they Sp. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ As ar sum meñ Or othir subtile clerkes S. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ richt as Womeñ oucht to be S, ought to D. ¹⁸ bountee S. ¹⁹ the grete D, the om. S. ²⁰ flees D, flece Sp., fleē F, flesse S. ²¹ haue D, S om. hath. ²² durst be D. ²³ ffaylen D T. ²⁴ helped, om. him, a priss S.

[45]

- Of troye also / the traytour¹ Eneas, 309 and Dido to the
 the feythles wrecheñ / how hath he him for-swore² faithless wretch
 Eneas.
 to dido, that queen / of Cartage was,
 that him releved / of his ³smertys sore !³
 what gentillesse⁴ myght she / han doon more 313
 than⁵ she with hert vnfeyned / to hym kydde ?
 and what myschefe ⁶to hir / ther-of⁶ betydde ! 315

[46]

- In my legende of Martres⁷ / men may⁸ fynde 316 In my *Legend of*
 (who so⁹ that lyketh therin / for¹⁰ to rede,) *Martyrs* you may
 that othe in no¹¹ behest / ¹²may no man bynde ;¹² see that oaths can
 bind no man,
 of repreuable shame / han they no drede ;
 In mannes hert[e] / trouthe hath no¹³ stede ; 320
 the soyl ys noght / ther may no trouthe growe !
 to womman namely / yt is nat un-knowe.¹⁴ 322 as women know.

[47]

- Clerkes seyn also / 'ther is no malice 323 Clerks say there's
 vnto a¹⁵ womans / crabbed wykkydnesse !' no naughtiness
 like a woman's.
 O woman ! how shalt thou¹⁶ / thy self chevice,
¹⁷syn men of¹⁷ the / so ¹⁸muchel harme wytnesse ?¹⁸
 No fors ! doo forth / take¹⁹ no²⁰ heuynesse ! 327
 kepē thyñ ownē / ²¹what men clappe²¹ or crake !
 and somme of hem shul smert / I vndertake ! 329

[48]

- 'Malice' of women / what is yt to drede ? 330 But women's
 they sle no men / dystroyen²² no citees ! naughtiness
²³they not oppresen folke / ne over-lede,²³

¹ Duke D. ² forfare S. ³⁻³ hertes s. S. ⁴ gentillesse D. ⁵ Than D, That
 F B. ⁶⁻⁶ thare-of to hir S. ⁷ Cupid's or Chaueer's 'Legend of Good Women'
 [Skeat]. Speght wrongly reads 'natures.' ⁸ may men D T. ⁹ om. D. ¹⁰ om.
 D. ¹¹ othe ne Sp. S T. ¹²⁻¹² meñ may fynde S. ¹³ neuir S. ¹⁴ not vnk[n]owe
 D. ¹⁵ om. D. ¹⁶ shaltow T. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ Sith D, Sich meñ to S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ moche harñ
 alle gois S ; moche D, soch (for 'so muchel') Sp. ¹⁹ and take S. ²⁰ noon D.
 Speght's line is 'Beth ware, women, of her fikelnesse.' ²¹⁻²¹ quhat so meñ
 clepe S. ²² ne dystroy S. ²³⁻²³ ne not oppresses folk In no seyn led S.

doesn't hurt
kingdoms or set
houses on fire.

betray Empires / ¹Remes ne duecheas,¹
ne men ²bereve hir landes / ne hir Mees,^{2,3} 334
empoysone folkys / ne houses set on fire,
ne false contractes / maken for now⁴ hire ! 336

[49]

Women have, as
a rule, trust, love
and good morals.

Trust, perfyte loue / and entere⁵ charyte, 337
fervent⁶ wyl / and entenlented⁷ corage
⁸he thewes⁸ good / as ⁹yt sytt⁹ wel to be,
han women ay¹⁰ / of eustome and vsage ;
and wel they kan / a¹¹ mannes yre aswage 341
with soft[e] wordes / discreet¹² and benigne :
what they be¹³ Inward / sheweth¹⁴ outwarde sygne.

[50]

Women's hearts
are devout and
amiable.

Womman[ne]s herte / vn-to no cruelte 344
enlyned ys / but they ben charitable,
pitouse, devoute / ful of humylite,
shamefaste,¹⁵ debonarie¹⁶ / and amyable,
Dredful / and of¹⁷ hir wordes mesurable : 348
what woman thise¹⁸ / hath not, peranenture,
¹⁹Ne folweth nat¹⁹ / the wey of hir nature. 350

(If otherwise,
they're un-
natural.)

[51]

Men say that Eve
made all folk
lose their liberty.

Men seyn, 'oure first[e] moder / natheles, 351
made al man-kynde / lese²⁰ his lyberte,
and naked yt²¹ of Ioy[e] / douteles ;
²²ffor goddis hestes / disobeyed she,²²
whan she presumed / tasten of a²³ tre 355
wichcñ²⁴ god forbad / that she ne ete of sholde ;
²⁵and made the deuel ben / namore she wolde.²⁵ 357

¹⁻¹ realmis ne Duchess S, Duchesses D. ²⁻² bireven D, bereneñ landes nor thar soes S. ³ Messages, houses and lands, holdings. See *Catholicon*. ⁴ no D. ⁵ cuir S. ⁶ frauard S. ⁷ entalented D B. ⁸⁻⁸ To D, All Sp., To thewis S B T. ⁹⁻⁹ sittith D Sp. ¹⁰ euer Sp. ¹¹ they conne Sp. ¹² swete D S. ¹³ ben D. ¹⁴ they shew Sp. ¹⁵ Schamefull S. ¹⁶ debonayr D. ¹⁷ and of D Sp., of F. ¹⁸ that S. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ Followeth not Sp. ²⁰ lose D, to lese S. ²¹ him S. ²²⁻²² for that . . . hest disobeyt sehe S, heste T. ²³ the D Sp. B T. ²⁴ That Sp. ²⁵⁻²⁵ But jit ye fend that agayñ stodeñ wold S, ne wolde F.

[52]

The enviouse suellyng / that the fend, our fo, 358
 had vnto man in herte¹ / for his welthe,
 sent a serpent / and made hir for to go
 to deceyve Eve / and thus was mannes helthe²
 beraft³ him by the fende / ryght³ in a stelthe, 362
 the woman⁴ nought⁴ knowyng⁴ / of the⁵ deceyt :
 gode wote, ful⁶ fer was yt / from⁶ hir conceyt. 364

But it was the
Devil who did
this.

[53]

Wherefore I sey⁷ this / good[e] woman Eve, 365
 our fader Adam / ne deceyved nocht.
 ther may no man / for a deceyt yt preve
 proprely, but yf that she / in hir thoght
 had it compassed⁸ first / ⁹er yt was⁹ wrought ; 369
 and for swich was nat hir¹⁰ / impressyon,¹¹
 Men¹² calle / yt may,¹² no deceyt¹³ by reson. 371

Eve didn't
deceive Adam.

[54]

No¹⁴ wyght deceyveth / but he yt¹⁵ purpose ; 372
 the fende¹⁶ this deceyt cast / and nothing¹⁶ she ;
 than ys yt wronge / to demen or suppose
 that she sholde of this¹⁷ harme / the cause be.
 witeth the fende / and his¹⁸ be the¹⁸ Mawgre, 376
 and for excused / haue¹⁹ hir Innocence,
 sauf oonly that she / breeke²⁰ obedyence. 378

The Devil did.

Blame him.

[55]

And touching that²¹ / ful fewe men ther ben— 379
 Vnnethes²² any / dar I sauffy seye—
 fro day to day / as²³ that men now²³ wel seen,
 but that²⁴ the hest / of god they dysobeye :
 haue this in mynde / sires,²⁵ I yow preye ; 383

disobeys God.

¹ harte Sp., hert F D. ² wealth Sp. ³⁻³ S om. him *and reads* and ry^t : right even) D, by the fende Sp. ⁴⁻⁴ kn. no^t S. ⁵ that Sp. ⁶⁻⁶ fer It was from S. ⁷ S inserts that. ⁸ purposit S. ⁹⁻⁹ or she it Sp. ¹⁰ hir D, hit F. ¹¹ entenciouñ S. ¹²⁻¹² may call it D, may it call Sp. ¹³ disceipt of^r her Sp. ¹⁴ Ne no Sp. ¹⁵ om. Sp. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ yis desaitte . . . nat S. ¹⁷ his D, That of his harme she should Sp. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ hic S. ¹⁹ hald S. ²⁰ brake D Sp. ²¹ this Sp. ²² Vnnethe. ²³⁻²³ men mowe D, as men may all day see Sp., mow T. ²⁴ om. D. ²⁵ Seris D.

yf that ye be discreet / and resonable,
 1ye wol hir hold[en] / the¹ more excusable. 385

[56]

And when men say women are unstable,
 And where² men seyñ / in man) ys stedfastnesse, 386
 and woman) ys / of hir corage vustable,

I ask 'Wasn't Adam changeable?'

Who may of Adam / bere swiche³ witesse?
 telleth me this / was he nat chaungeable?
 they⁴ bothe weren / in a caas semblable; ⁴ 390
 sauf willyngly the feende / deceyued Eve,
 and so dide she nat Adam / by your leue. 392

[57]

Yet God

took flesh of a Virgin,

Yet was this synne⁵ / happy to man-kynde: 393
 the feende deceyved was / for al his sleyght;
 for aught⁶ he coude him / in his sleythes wynde,
⁷god, to discharge⁷ mankynde / of the weight⁸
 of⁹ his trespase, cam¹⁰ down / from the¹¹ hevenes height,
 and flessñ and blood / ¹²he tooke of A¹² virgyne,
 and suffred deth / him¹³ to delyuer of pyne! 399

[58]

and if He'd known that woman was so bad as men say she is, He'd never have been born of her.

And god, to whom / ther may no thing hyd be, 400
 yf he in woman knowe / had suche malyce
 as men of hem recorde / in generalte;
 of¹⁴ our lady, of lyfe / reparatrice,
 Nolde han be born / but ¹⁵for that¹⁵ she of vice 404
 Was woyde / and of al vertu (wel he wyste)
 endowed¹⁶ / of hir to be bore hym liste. 406

[59]

She is so full of virtues that no man can express them.

Hir heped¹⁷ vertu / hath swich¹⁸ excellence, 407
 that al to leene¹⁹ / ys mannes faculte
 to declare yt / and ther-for in suspence,

1—1 ze wold hold womeñ ye S, hir wolde D. ² whan B. ³ suche D, soch a Sp,
 4—4 boith ware cause symiable S, o case Sp. ⁵ MS. fynne. ⁶ thoñch S. ^{7—7} God
 dischargit S. ⁸ plicht S. ⁹ for S. ¹⁰ come D. ¹¹ om. S. ^{12—12} tuke of a cleyñ
 S. ¹³ man D. ¹⁴ MS. yf. ^{15—15} om. D. ¹⁶ Endewed D. ¹⁷ happy D, hicht S.
¹⁸ such D. ¹⁹ low S.

hir duë preysing / put moot nedes be ;
 but this I sey / [right] verraly, that she, 411
 next god, ¹the best frend ys¹ / that to men longeth : Next God, she is
 the key of mereye by² hir girdille hongeth. 413 man's best friend.

[60]

And of mereye / hath euery man swich³ nede, 414
 that, cessayng⁴ that / farewel the Ioy of man !
 of her power / now taketh⁵ ryght⁶ good hede !
 she mereye may / wol,⁷ and purchace kan ! Women can win
 dysplese⁸ hir nat⁹ / honureth that woman, 418 men mercy.
 and other women al[le]¹⁰ / for hir sake !
 and but ye do / your sorowe shal a-wake ! 420

[61]

Thou precieuse gemme / O martir¹¹ Margarete, 421 Witness the con-
 of¹² thy blood / draddest noon effusion ! stancy of
 thy martirdome / ¹³ne may I nat¹³ foryete !¹⁴ St. Margaret
 thou constant womman / in thy passyon the martyr.
 ouercoom¹⁵ the feendis / temptacion : 425
 and many a wyght¹⁶ / conuerted thy doctryne,
¹⁷Vnto the feith of God / holy virgyne !¹⁷ 427

[62]

But vnderstondeth / I commende hir noght 428 Her I praise,
 by encheson / of hir virginite. not for her
 trusteth ryght¹⁸ wel¹⁹ / it cam neuer in my thoght, virginity,
 for euer werre y²⁰ / ayen²¹ chastyte,
 and ever ²²shal / but this, lo, meveth me,²² 432
 hir louyng hert / and constant to hir lay, but for her
 dryve oute of my rem[em]braunce / I ne may ! 434 constancy.

¹⁻¹ is the best frende B. ² at Sp. ³ suche D. ⁴ wanting S. ⁵ takith nowe D. ⁶ here S. ⁷ weft D Sp. ⁸ Dispisc S. ⁹ not D. ¹⁰ And all othir women S. ¹¹ of martirs Sp. ¹² That of Sp. ¹³⁻¹³ may I not D. ¹⁴ Speght's line is : 'Thou louver true, thou maiden mansuete.' ¹⁵ ouercame Sp. ¹⁶ mañ S. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ From Ashb. MS. god / holy D. Speght, / holy God thou, 1602, fol. 312, back, col. 2. F B omit l. 441. ¹⁸ om. S. ¹⁹ om. 'ryght wel' Sp. ²⁰ werrey F, I werrey D S T. ²¹ A yens D. ²²⁻²² I shaft / but lo this monyth D, (lo this) Sp, lo this commend me S.

[63]

Who can find	In any boke also / where can ye fynde, (that of the werkis / ¹ or the ¹ dethe or lyfe of Ihesu speketh / or maketh any mynde,)	435
that any woman forsook Christ?	that wommen him forsook ² / for woo or stryfe? wher was ³ ther any wyght / so ententyfe ³ a-bouten ⁴ him / as women? pardee ⁵ noon!	439
But all the Apostles did.	thapostels hym forsoken ⁶ / euerychon!	441

[64]

In woman, then, lies constancy,	Womman ⁷ forsooke hym ⁸ nocht / for al the feyth of holy chirche / in womman left oonly : this is no lees / for thus ⁷ holy wryt seyeth. Lok ! and ye shal so fynde yt / hardely ; ⁸ and therefore I may ⁹ preve / wel herby, ⁹ that in womman regneth / stable constance ;	442 446
in man, change.	and in men / ys the ¹⁰ chaunge and ¹¹ variance !	448

[65]

And my true laud of women	Now holdeth this for ferme / and for no lye, that this ¹² trew / and Iust ¹² commendacion of women, tolde ¹³ / I nat ¹⁴ for flaterye, ne to cause hem ¹⁵ pride / or ¹⁶ elacion, but oonly loo / for this entencion,	449 453
is to help them to persevere in virtue,	to yeve hem corage / of perseueraunce In vertu / and ¹⁷ hir honure to enhaunce. ¹⁸	455

[66]

The more vertu / the lasse is the pride.	456
vertu so digue is / and so noble in kynde, that vice and [s]he ¹⁹ / wol not ²⁰ in feere abide :	
[s]he putteth vyce ²¹ / elene out of hi[r] mynde,	459
[s]he fleeth from him / [s]he leueth ²² him behynde !	

¹⁻¹ othir S. ² hym forsoke D, him forsook Sp. F. ³⁻³ any so Inly ententyfe S. ⁴ About D. ⁵ proued Sp., for pardee. ⁶ The Apostelis forsoke hym D, him forsoken Sp., forsoken hym F B. ⁷ om. S. ⁸ redely S. ⁹⁻⁹ prove well therby D, wel preve herby F B, therby Sp. ¹⁰ om. D. ¹¹ of Sp. ¹²⁻¹² Iust and trew S. ¹³ writt S. ¹⁴ not D, tel I for no Sp. ¹⁵ Ne bicause of Sp. ¹⁶ nor S. ¹⁷ om. D. ¹⁸ attaunce Sp. ¹⁹ she S. ²⁰ om. S. ²¹ om. S. reads clere, hir. ²² put S.

O womman / that of wertu art hostesse,¹ of which, woman
is the hostess.
gret ys thyn honor / and thy worthynesse ! 462

[67]

Than wol we thus / concluden and dyffyne : 463 Then, my
servants,
we yow comaunde / oure Ministres echon,
that redy ²been / to oure hestes² enelyne,
that, of this false³ men / our reble⁴ foon,
ye do punysshment⁵ / and that anoon ! 467
voide ⁶hem our⁶ court / and banyssh hem⁷ for euer, turn these false
rebels of men out
of my Court!
so that ⁸ther-in / they ne come more⁸ neuer. 469

[68]

ffulfilled be ⁹yt / cessyng al delay !⁹ 470
look [that]¹⁰ ther be noon / excusacion
¹¹writen in the ayer / the lusty¹¹ moneth of May, Written in May,
In oure paleys / where many A Milion
of louers trwe / han habitacion, 474
the yere of grace / Ioyful and Iocunde
A thousand and¹² foure houndred / and¹³ secounde. 476 1402.

¶ Explicit *littera Cupidinis* ¹⁴dei amatoris
*directa suis subditis.*¹⁴

(In a late hand, Stowe's?) T. hoeleve.

¹ hostresse Sp., Hostes S. ²⁻² ye be oure hestes to Sp.
³ false Sp., om. F D. ⁴ rebell Sp. ⁵ puniciouū S. ⁶⁻⁶ thaīne
3our S. ⁷ thaīne S. ⁸⁻⁸ here after therin they come D, therein
more come they Sp. ⁹⁻⁹ this precept without D S. ¹⁰ S in-
serts that. ¹¹⁻¹¹ Wretyn in the lusty D Sp. (Read 'th' ayer'
as one syllable.) ¹² om. D Sp. S. ¹³ the D. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ Explicit etc
S. *directa subditis suis amatoribus* D T, the lettre of Cupide
god of loue directed to his suggestys louers, B. [At end of
line, and of other poems, 'Lyty'; ? the rubricator, l.]

The title of the poem in Stowe's edition of 1561, Fol. cccxxvi, back, and in Speght's edition of 1602, is:

"The Letter of Cupide. This letter was made by Thomas Occloue of the office of the priuy Seale, Chaucers scholler; and was by him termed, A Treatise of the conuersation of men and women in the little Island of Albion: which gate him such hatred among the gentlewomen of the Court, that he was inforced to recant in that booke of his, called *Planctus proprius*." ¹—Speght 1602, Fol. 310, back, col. 1, at foot.

¹ The *Complaint* that follows here, from the Durham MS.

The Fairfax MS has the stanzas of the *Letter of Cupid* in the following wrong order: 1-6, 17-26, 7-9, 30-36, 47-9, 10-16, 37-9, 50-9, 40-6, 27-9, 60, 61-2, 63-4, 65-8. In the text above, the stanzas are set in the right order of Hoccleve's autograph Ashburnham MS, which was got only at the last moment, years after the Fairfax MS had been printed, and collated with a lot of other poor MSS, and when I had no hope of getting access to the Ashburnham MS.

Speght has the order of stanzas right to no. 60, but then puts 63, 64 before 61, 62. Nos. 65-8 he has right.

A partial collation of the Ashburnham MS, as well as of Shirley's MS at Trinity Coll. Cambridge, is given in the Notes below, with extracts from Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre de Cupide*, from which Hoccleve adapted his poem. Mr. Gollancz will print the Ashburnham MS as Part II of Hoccleve's *Minor Poems* for the Early English Text Society.

II. HOCCKLEVE'S COMPLAINT, &c.

DURHAM MS.

Collated in part with MS. *Arch. Seld. Supra* 53 (Bodleian Library).

Durham MS. III. 9.

After the two fly-leaves, the first 10 paper leaves of the poem—all the *Complaint*, and the beginning of the *Dialog*—are in the handwriting of John Stowe, the Chronicler.

Collation of vellum sheets: *a* and *b* in eights missing; *c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m*, in eights; *n* 1—3.

XX.

[*Durham Hocclere*: III. 9.]Thomas Hocclibe[’s Complaint.¹]

[leaf 3]

[*The Prolog.*]

(1)

A	fter that heruest Inned had his sheves, ² and that the broune ³ season ⁴ of myhelnesse was come, and gan the trees robbe of ther ⁵ leues That grene had bene ⁶ / and in lusty fresshnesse, and them ⁷ in-to colowre / of yelownesse hadd dyen ⁸ / and doune throwne vndar ⁹ foote, that chaunge sank ¹⁰ / into myne herte roote.	1 5 7	After Michaelmas, the fall of the leaves
---	---	-------------	--

(2)

	<u>for freshely brought it¹¹ / to my remembraunce,</u> <u>that stables in this worlde is there none ;</u> there is no thinge / but chaunge and variaunce ; how welthy ¹² a man be / or well be-gone, ¹³ endure it shall not / he shall it for-gon. ¹⁴ deathe ¹⁵ vnder fote / shall hym thrist adowne : that is every wites ¹⁶ / conclusyon.	8 12 14	reminded me that man’s wealth quits him, and he dies.
--	---	---------------	--

(3)

	<u>whiche for to weyue / is in no mannes¹⁷ myght,</u> <u>how riche he be / stronge, lusty, freshe, and gay.</u> ✓ and in the ende / of novembar, vpon a nyght,	15	Late in November
--	---	----	------------------

[The various readings are from the Selden MS, unless markt Dm. for the Durham MS, or St. for Stowe’s part of the Durham MS.] ¹ Pencil : later. ² W. Browne [in margin].

³ broun, Selden ; brome, Stowe. ⁴ sesoun ⁵ her ⁶ hen

⁷ hem ⁸ died ⁹ throwen vndir ¹⁰ altered from ‘sange’ in Dm.

¹¹ brouzite it [brought Dm] ¹² welthi ¹³ wel be-goon

¹⁴ for-goon ¹⁵ Deeth ¹⁶ wizes ¹⁷ mannes (mans, St.)

I lay awake
thinking.

syghenge sore / as I in my bed lay,
for this and othar thowghts¹ / whiche many a day 19
before² I toke / sleape cam none in myne eye,
so vexyd me / the thowghtfull maladye. 21

(4)

Since my last
illness,

I see well, sythen³ I with sycknes last 22
was scoured / cloudy hath bene the favoure
that shone [on]⁴ me / full bright in tymes past ;
the sonne abatid / and the derke showre 26
hildyd downe right on me / and in langour
he⁵ made [me] swyme / so that my wite⁶
to lyve / no lust hadd, ne [no]⁷ delyte. 28

(5)

I grievd so
that I was forst
to speak out.

The grefe abowte / my⁸ harte so⁹ [sore] swal 29
and bolned evar / to and to so sore,
that nedes / oute I must[e] there-with-all ;
I thowght I nolde it kepe¹⁰ cloos no more,
ne lett it in me / for to olde¹¹ and hore ; 33
and for to preve¹² / I cam of a woman,
I brast oute on the morowe / and thus began. 35

here endythe my prologe . and folowythe my
complaynt.

[The Complaint.]

(6)

[leaf 3, back]
God made me
mad.

A ll myghty god / as lykethe his goodnes, 36
visytethe folks¹³ alday / as men may se,
with lose of good / and bodily sikenes,
and amonge othar / he forgat not me ;
witnes vppon the wyld infirmytie 40
which that I had / as many a man well knewe,
and whiche me owt of my selfe¹⁴ / cast and threw. 42

¹ oþir þouztis ² Byforne ³ I sy wel sithin ⁴ shoon on
⁵ Me ⁶ spirite (for wite) ⁷ ne no [no added above the line]
⁸ myn ⁹ so sore [sore added above the line] ¹⁰ nolde / kepe it
¹¹ celde ¹² preuc : pryve St. ¹³ vesiteþ folke ¹⁴ silfe

(7)

It was so knowen to the people / and kouthē,	43	Every one knew it.
that counsell was it none / ne none be myght[e] ;		
how it with me stode / was in every mans ¹ mowthe,		
and that full sore / my fryndes ² affright[e] ;		My friends went pilgrimages for me.
they for myne helthe / pilgrimages hight[e],	47	
and sowght them ³ / some on hors and some on foote,—		
god yelde it them ³ /— to get[en] me [my] bote. ⁴	49	

(8)

<u>but althowghe the substaunce / of my memory</u>	50	I lost my memory,
<u>went[e] to pley / as for a certayne space,</u>		
yet the lorde of vertew / the kyngē of glory,		
of his highe myght / and ⁵ [his] benynge grace,		
made it to returne / <u>in-to the place</u>	54	but it came back
<u>when[ne]s it cam</u> / whiche ⁶ at all hallwe messe,		on Nov. 1,
was five yeere / neyther more ne lesse.	56	5 years ago,

(9)

And evere ⁷ sythen /—thanked be god owr lord,	57	
of his good ⁸ reconsiliacion,—		
my wyt and I / have bene of suche accorde		and has remaind.
as we were / or the alteracion		
of it was / but by my savacion,	61	
[Sith] that ⁹ tyme have I be / sore sett on fire,		
and lyved in great torment / and martire ;	63	

(10)

<u>for though that my wit / were home¹⁰ come agayne,</u>	65	
<u>men wolde it not¹¹ so vnderstond or take ;</u>		
<u>with me to dealē / hadden they dysdayne ;</u>		
a ryotows person I was / and forsake ;		
myn olde ffrindshipe / was all ovarshake ;	68	But my old friends have cut me.
no wyte ¹² withe me lyst make daliance ;		
<u>the worlde me made a straunge continaunce,</u>	70	

¹ mannes : mans St. ² frendis : frynds St. ³ hem
⁴ me my boote ⁵ and his ⁶ was St. om. was ⁷ every St.
⁸ good and gracious St. ⁹ Sith þat ¹⁰ hoom
¹¹ not : no St. ¹² wijt

(11)

[leaf 4] whiche¹ that myne herte / sore gan² torment[e]; 71
 In Westminster for ofte whan I / in westmynster hall[e],
 Hall and London and eke in london / amonge the prese³ went[e],
 I se⁴ the chere / abaten and apalle
 of them⁵ that weren woune me for to calle 75
 they turnd their to companye / her heed they caste a-wry[e],
 heads from me. when I them mette / as they not me sye. 77

(12)

As seide is in the sauter / might I say, 78
 they that me sye / fledden a-wey fro me ;
 I was forgotten. forgeten I was / all owte of mynde a-way,
 as he that dede was / from hertes cherte ;
 to a loste vessell / lickened myght I be ; 82
 for many a wyght / abowte me dwellynge,
 herd I me blame / and putte in dispreisinge. 84

(13)

Thus spake many one⁶ / and seyde by me : 85
 Folk said I should ‘all-thowghe from hym / his siknesse savage
 go mad again. with-drawne and passyd / as for a tyme be,
 Resorte it wole / namely in suche age
 as he is of’ / and thanne my visage 89
 bygan to glowe / for the woo and fere ;
 The wordis, them vnwar / cam to myn ere. 91

(14)

‘whane passinge hete is,’ quod they, ‘trustyth this, 92
 assaile hym wole⁷ agayne that maladie ;’
 and yet parde / they token them amise ;
 Yet I havn't gone none⁸ effect at all / toke there⁹ prophecie ;
 so. manie someres ben past / sithen remedye 96
 ¹⁰of that, god of his grace me purveide :
 ¹⁰thanked be god / it shope nouȝht¹¹ as they seide. 98

¹ with ² gan to St. ³ pres ⁴ sy ⁵ hem ⁶ oone
 ⁷ him wole : wole hym St. ⁸ Noon ⁹ her
¹⁰⁻¹⁰ these lines as in Seld. : transposed by St. ¹¹ shoop not'

(15)

what fall[e] shall / what men so ¹ deme or gesse,	99	
to hym that wott ² [well] <u>every mans</u> ³ <u>secre</u> ,		<i>f. 3. v.</i>
reservyd is / it is a lew[e]dnesse,		
men wyser them pretende / then they be ;		
and <u>no wight knoweth</u> / <u>be it he or she</u> ,	103	Men shouldn't pretend to know what'll happen.
<u>whom, how ne whan</u> / <u>god wole hym visete</u> ;		<i>f. 3. v.</i>
It happethe ofte ⁴ / whan men wene it lite.	105	

(16)

Some tyme I wend / as lite as any man,	106	[leaf 4, back]
for to have fall / in-to that wildenesse		
but god, whan [that] hym list / may, wole and can,		God sends sick- ness or health
helthe with-drawe / and send a wyght sycknesse ;		
Thowghe man be well this day / no sykernesse	110	
to hym bihight is / that it shall endure ;		
god hurte now can / and nowe hele and cure.	112	as He likes.

(17)

he suffrith longe / [but] at ⁵ the laste he smit ;	113	
whane that a man is / in prosperite,		
To drede a fall comynge / it is a wit ;		
who so that takethe hede / ofte <u>may se</u>		
<u>This worldis change</u> / <u>and mūtabilite</u>	117	
In sondry wyse / howe nedeth not expresse :		
To my mater / streit wole I me dresse.	119	

(18)

Men seyden, I loked / <u>as a wilde steer</u> ,	120	Men said I lookt wild,
and so my loke about I gan to throwe ;		
myne heed to hie / a-nother seide I beer,		
<u>ful bukkyshe is his brayne</u> / well may I trowe ;		that my brain was buckish,
and seyde the thirde ⁶ / and apt is in the rowe	124	
to site of them / that a resounles reed		
Can geve ⁷ / no sadnesse is in his heed.	126	

¹ ? whatso men ² woot ³ hertis ⁴ often
⁵ but at ⁶ thiridde ⁷ Can he 3oue

(19)

Chaungid had I my¹ pas / some seiden eke, 127
 for here and there / forthe stirte I as a Roo,
 none abode² / none arrest, but all brain-seke.
 A-nother spake / and of me seide also,
 and my feet and eyes never still. my feete weren aye / wayynge to and fro 131
 whane that I stonde shulde / and withe men talke,
 and that myne eyne³ / sowghten every halke. 133

(20)

I leide an ere aye to / as I by⁴ wente, 134
 So I thought and herde all / and thus in myne herte I cast :
 of longe abydyng here / I may repent[e];⁵
 leste, of hastinesse / I at the last[e]
 I'd better go away; answe-re a-myse / best is hens hye fast[e]; 138
 for yf I in this preace / a-mysse me gye,
 to harme will⁶ it me turne / and to folly[e]. 140

(21)

[leaf 5] And this I demyd well / and knew well eke, 141
 what-so-eyar I shuld answe-re or sey,
 they wold[en]⁷ not have⁸ holde it worthe a leke; *le*
 for why / as I hadd lost my tonges key,
 Kepte I me cloos / and trussyd me my wey, 145
 but I was very sad. drowpyng and hevye / and all woo bystal :
 small cawse had I / me thowght[e], to be glade. 147

(22)

My sprites / laboryd [euere] bysyly⁹ 148
 to peinte countinaunce¹⁰ / chere and loke,
 for that men spake of me / so wonderingly,
 and for the very shame / and fere I qwoke;¹¹
 thowghe myne herte had be / dypped in y^e broke, 152
 It wete and moyste I-now was of my swot,
 whiche was nowe frostye colde / now fry hoot. 154

¹ me ² Noon abood ³ yen ⁴ by: be St.⁵ may me repent ⁶ wole ⁷ wolden ⁸ han⁹ labouriden / euere ful bisily ¹⁰ countenance ¹¹ wook

(23)

And in my chamber at home when I¹ was 155 At home I lookt
 my selfe alone² / I in this wyse wrowght : in the glass,
 I streite vnto my myrrowr / and my glas, A + R
 to loke how that me / of my chere thowght[e],
 yf any [other] were³ it / than it owght[e]; 159
 for fayne wolde I / yf it had not⁴ be right,
 amendyd it / to my künynge and myght. 161

(24)

Many a sawte made I to this myrrowre, 162
 thinkynge, "yf that I loke in this manere and thought I
 amonge folke / as I now do,⁵ none errorr was all right,
 of suspecte loke / may in my face appere,
 this countenance, I am svre,⁶ and this chere, 166
 If I forthe vse / is no thinge reprevable
 to them that have / conseytes resonable." 168

(25)

And there-with-all / I thowght[e] thus anon : 169
 "men in theyr⁷ owne case / bene blynd alday, but perhaps
 as I haue hard say / many a day agon, couldn't see my
 and in that [same] plyght⁸ / I stonde may ; real state.
 how shall I doo / which is the best[e] way, 173
 my trowbled spirit / for to bringe at⁹ rest[e] ?
 yf I wist howe / fayne wolde I do the best[e]." 175

(26)

Sythen I recoveryd was / have I full ofte 176 [leaf 5, back]
 Cawse had of angre / and ympacience,
 where I borne have it¹⁰ / esely and softe,
 sufferynge wronge be done to me, and offence, I've sufferd
 and nowght¹¹ answeyrd ageyn / but kept sylence, 180 wrong,
 lest that men of me / deme would, and seyne, and held my
 'se how this man / is fallen in agayne.' 182 tongue.

¹ pat I ² aloone ³ othir were ⁴ not had bene
⁵ nowe do ⁶ sure ⁷ her ⁸ same plite ⁹ in ¹⁰ it
¹¹ not

(27)

Coming from Westminster,	As that I ones ¹ / fro westmynstar cam,	183
I thought I was a fool to show myself;	vexid full greuously / withe thowghtfull hete, thus thowght I / "a great fole I an, this pavyment / a dayes thus to bete, and in and out / labour[e] fast and swete, wonderinge / and hevynes to purchace, sythen I stand ² out / of all favour and grace."	187 189

(28)

and yet if I kept in, I should be held worse.	And then thowght I / on that othar syde : "If that I not be sene / amonge the prees, men deme wele ³ / that I myne heade hyde, and am werse than I am / it is no lees." O lorde, so my spirite / was rest[e]les, I sough[t]e ⁴ reste / and I not it found, but aye was trouble / redy at myn hond.	190 194 196
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(29)

I can't stop folks' fancies;	I may not lett a man / to ymage ferre above the mone / yf that hym lyst ; there-by the sowthe / he may not determyn[er], but by the prefe / bene thing[e]s knowne ⁴ & wiste ; many a dome / is wrappyd in the myst ; man by his dedes / and not by his lokes, shall knowne be / as it is writen in bokes.	197 201 203
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(30)

and some deem me mad still.	by taste of frewte / men may well wete and knowe what that it is / othar prefe is there none ; every man wott well that / as that I trowe, right so they / that demen my witt is gone, as yet ⁵ this day / there demythe many a one ⁶ I am not well / may, as I by them goo, taste and assay / yf it be so or noo.	204 208 210
--------------------------------	--	-------------------

¹ oones ² stone ³ wole ⁴ knowen ⁵ zit
⁶ many oon

(31)

Vpon a looke / is harde, men them to grownde	211	[leaf 6]
what a man is / <u>there-by the sothe is hid</u> ;		A man's wits oughtn't to be
whither his wittes / seke bene or sounde,		judgd by his
by <u>cowntynaunce</u> / it is not wist ne kyd ;		looks.
thowghe ¹ a man harde / have ones bene bityde,	215	
God shilde it shuld / on hym contynue alway ;		
by <u>commynge</u> / is the best assay.	217	

(32)

I mene to comon ² of thing[e]s mene,	218	
for I am but right lewde / dowt[e]les,		
and ygnoraunte / my cunnynge is full lene,		
yet <u>homly reason</u> / know I nevartheles ;		
not hope I founden be / so resonles	222	I'm not so witless
as men demen / marie, christ forbede !		as folk think.
I can no more / preve may the dede.	224	

(33)

If a man ones / fall in dronkenesse,	225	A man who gets
shall he contynewe / there-in evar mo ?		drunk once
may, thowghe a man doo / in drinkynge excesse		
so ferforthe / that not speake he ne can, ne goo,		
and his wittes / welny ben refte hym froo,	229	
and buryed in the Cuppe / he aftarward		
Comythe to hym selfe agayne / ellis were it hard ;	231	becomes sober ;

(34)

Right so / thowghe <u>my³ witt</u> / were a pilgrime,	232	and tho' I went
and went[e] <u>fer fro home</u> / he cam agayne ;		out of my mind,
God me voydyd ⁴ / of this ⁵ grevous <u>venyme</u>		God cured me.
that had enfectyd / and wildyd my brayne.		
se how the curtese leche moste sovereyne,	236	
vnto the sycke / gevythe ⁶ <u>medisyne</u>		
in nede / and hym relevythe of his peyne. ⁷	238	

¹ Thoug; ² commone ³ þat my ⁴ deuoided
⁵ the ⁶ zeueth ⁷ greuous pine

(35)

	Now let this passe / god wott, many a man	239
	semythe full wyse / by cowntenaunce and chere,	
	whiche, and he tastyd were what he can,	
	men myghten licken hym / to a fooles pere ;	
Some men look fools,	and some man lokethe / in foltyshe maner[e]	243
and yet prove wise.	as to the outward dome / and Iudgement,	
	that at the prese / discrete is and prudent.	245

(36)

[leaf 6, back]	but algates, howe so be / my countynaunce,	246
Still, tho' I look sane,	debate is now none / bytwyxt me and my wit,	
	all-thowghe there were / a dysseveraunce	
	as for a tyme / betwyxt me and it ;	
	the greater harme is myne, that nevar yet ¹	250
a wise man never stood on my feet ;	was I well lettered / prudent and discrete,	
	there nevar stole yet / wyse man on my fete.	252

(37)

	The sothe is this / suche conceit as I had,	253
and small wit as I had,	and vndarstondynge / all were it but small,	
	byfore that my wytt[e]s / wearen vnsad,	
	(thanked be owr lorde Ihesu christ of all !)	
it's less now.	suche have I now / but blowe is ny owar all	257
	the reverse / where-thorwghe is the mornynge	
	whiche cawsethe me / thus syghe ² in complaynyng.	

(38)

	sythen my good fortune / hathe changed his ³ chere,	
It's high time for me to die ;	hye time is me / to crepe in-to my grave,	261
	to lyve Ioy[e]les / what do I here ?	
	I in myne herte / can no gladnes have ;	
	I may but small sey / but yf men deme I rave,	264
	sythen othar thinge the[n] ⁴ woo / may I none grype,	
	vnto my sepulture / ame I nowe ripe.	266

¹ 3it ² sy3e ³ hir ⁴ jan

(39)

My well, adwe / farwell, my good fortune! 267 my good hap
 out of your tables / me playned have ye;
sythen well ny eny wyght / for to comune
with me lothe is / farwell prosperitie! has gone.
 I am no lengar / of your lyverye; 271
ye have me put / out of your remembraunce;¹
 adewe, my good adventure / and good chaunce! 273

(40)

And as swithe after / thus by-thowght I me: 274
 yf that I in this wyse / me despeyre, But still,
 It is purchase / of more advarsytye;
 what nedethe it / my feble wit appeire;
sythe god hathe made / myne helthe home repayre 278 I am well again,
blessed be he / and what men deme or² speke, thank God;
 suffre it, thinke I / and me not on me wreke. 280

(41)

but some dele had I / reioysynge amonge, 281 [leat 7]
 and gladnese³ also / in my spirite,
 that thowghe the people / toke them mis & wronge, and tho' folk
 me demynge / of my syck[e]nesse not quite, don't think me so,
 yet for they / compleyned / the hevvy plite 285 they feel for me.
 that they had sene me in / with tendernesse
 of hertes cherte / my grefe was the lesse. 287

(42)

In them put I no defawlte but one; 288
 that I was hole / they not ne deme kowld, They can't believe
 and day by day / they se me by them gon I'm well,
 In heate and colde / and neythar still nor lowde
 knew they me do suspectly / a dirke clowde 292
theyr⁴ syght obscuryd / with-in⁵ and with-out[e],
and for all that / were they⁶ in suche a dowt[e]. 294

¹ retenaunce ² and ³ a gladnesse ⁴ Hir⁵ withynne ⁶ ay

(43)

	Axid have ¹ they / full ofte sythe, and freined	295
tho' my fellow- clerks of the Privy-Seal have	of my fellow[e]s / of the prive seale, and preyed them to tell them / <i>wit</i> ² hert vufeynyd, how it stode wyth me / whither yll ³ or well.	
told them I am.	and they the sothe / told them every dell,	299
	but they helden / ther word[e]s not but les ; they <u>myghten</u> as well / have holden ther pes.	301

(44)

	This troubyly lyfe / hathe all to longe enduryd,	302
	not have I wylt / <u>how in my skynne to turne</u> ; but <u>now my selfe</u> / to <u>my selfe</u> have ensured, for no suche wondrynge / aftar this to morne ; as longe as my lyfe / shall in me soiorne,	306
	of suche ymaginyuge / I not ne reche ; lat them drem ⁴ as them ⁵ lyst / and speke & dreche.	

(45)

The other day a booke of consol- ation by	This othar day / a lamentacion of a wofull man / <u>in a boke I syc</u> ,	309
	to whome word[e]s / of consolation	
Reason ⁶	Reason gave ⁷ / spekyng effectually ; and well easyd / myn herte was ther-by ;	313
comforted me.	for when I had a while / in the boke red, with the speche of Reason / was I well fed.	315

(46)

[leaf 7, back] Thomas ⁶ A mournful man complained of	The hevye man / wofull and angwysshows, compleyned in this wyse / and thus seyde he : ' my lyfe is vnto me / full enconberows ; for whithar / or vnto what place I flye, <u>my wyckednesses</u> / <u>evar followe</u> ⁸ me,	316 320
	as men may se / the shadow a body swe, and in no mauer / I may them eschwe.	322

¹ Axide han ² wip ³ yuel ⁴ deem ⁵ hem⁶ added later in margin ⁷ 3af ⁸ folowen

(47)

'vexation of spirite / and torment 323 vexation,
 lake I right none / I have of them plente ;
 wondarly byttar / is my taa[s]t¹ and sent ;
 wo be the ² tyme / of my natyvyte,
 vnhappy man / that evar shuld it ³ be ! 327
 O deathe, thy strooke / a salve is of swetnes
 to them that lyven / in suche wrechednes. 329

(48)

'Gretar plesaunce / were it me to dye, 330 and wisht for
 by many folde / than for to lyve soo ; death.
 sorows so many / in me multiplie,
 that my lyfe is / to me a wery⁴ foo ;
 comfortyd / may I not be of my woo ; 334
 of my distrese / se none end I can,
 no force how sone / I stinte to be a man.' 336

(49)

Than spake Reason / 'what menythe all this fare? 337 Reason⁵
 thowghe welthe be not frindly to the yet, urg'd the Mourner
 out of thyn herte / voyde wo and care !'
 'by what skylle / how / and by what rede and wit,' Thomas⁵
 seyde this wofull man / 'myght I done it?' 341
 'wastle,' quode Reason / 'a-gayne hevynesses Reason⁵
 of the worlde / troubles, suffring and duresses. 343

(50)

'beholde how many a man / suffrethe desseas[e] 344 to look at other
 as great as thow / and all a way greater ; folks' greater ills
 and thowghe it them pinche / sharply and sese,
 yet paciently / they it suffar and bere :
 thynke here-on / and the lesse it shall the dere : 348
 suche sufferaunce is / of mans gylt clensynge,
 and them inablethe / to Ioye evarlastinge. 350

¹ laast² be be³ I⁴ verre⁵ later, in the margin.

(51)

[leaf 8]	‘ woo, hevynes / and tribulation,	351
Trouble is com- mon to all,	comon are ¹ to men ² all / & profitable. thowghe grevows be / mann[e]s temptacion, It sleythe man not / to them that ben sufferable, and to whom god[de]s stroke / is acceptable,	355
{	purveyed Ioye is / for god woundythe tho that he ordeyned hathe / to blysse to goo /	357

(52)

and should be borne	‘ Gold purgyd is / thou seyst, in the furneis,	358
	for the fyner and clenner / it shall be ; of thy disease / the wedyght and the peis bere lyghtly / for god, to prove the, scorgyd the hathe / with sharpe adversitie ;	362
	not gruche and sey / “ why susteyn I this ? ” for yf thow do / thow the takest amis ;	364

(53)

as a punishment for sin,	‘ but thus thow shuldest / thinke in thyn herte,	365
	and sey, “ to the, lorde god / I have a-gylte so sore : I moot / for myn offensis smerte as I am worthy / O lorde, I am spilt, but thow to me / thy ³ mercy graunt[e] wilt.	369
	I am full swre / thow maist it not denye ; lord, I me repent / and I the mercy crye.”	371

(54)

I took Reason's teaching to heart,	lenger I thowght[e] / red haue in this boke,	372
	but so it shope / that I ne myght[e] nowght ; ⁴ he that it owght / agayne it to ⁵ hym toke, me of his haste vnware / yet have I cawght sume of the doctryne / by reason tawght	376
	to the man / as a-bove have I sayde, where-of ⁶ I hold[e] me / full well apayde.	378

¹ aren ² me ³ þi ; the St. ⁴ nauȝt ⁵ to to, Dm.

⁶ Welȝcrof.

(55)

for evar sythen / set haue I the lesse	379	and have since put up with folks' talk of my illness.
by the peoples / ymagination,	<i>123</i>	
talkynge this and that / of my sycknesse,		
whiche came of god[de]s visytacion ;		
myght I have be found / in probation,	: 383	
not grutchynge / but have take it in soffraunce,	!	
holsome and wyse / had be my governaunce.	!	385

(56)

farwell my sorow / I caste it to the cok.	386	[leaf 8, back]
with pacience / I <u>hens-forthe thinke vnpike</u>		I'll unpick the lock of my woes,
of <u>suche thoughtfull</u> dissease and woo / the lok,		
and <u>let them out</u> / that have me made to <u>sike</u> ;		let them out,
here-aftar owr lorde god / may, yf hym lyke,	390	
make all myne olde affection resorte ;		
and in hope of that / woll I me comforte.	392	

(57)

Thrwghe ¹ gods iust dome / and his iudgement,	393	
and for my best[e] / now I take and deme,		and take my punishment for the best.
gave ² that good lorde / me my punishment :		
in welthe I toke of hym / none hede or yeme,		
hym for to please / and hym honoure and queme,	397	
and he me gave a bone / on for to knaw[e],		God gave me a bone to gnaw.
me to correcte / and of hym to have awe.	399	

(58)

he gave me wit / and he toke it away	400	
when that he se ³ / that I it mys dyspent[e],		
and gave agayne / when it was to his pay,		
he grauntyd me / my giltes to repent[e],		
and hens-forwarde / to set myne entent[e],	404	I'll now try to please God and to amend.
vnto his deitie / to do plesaunce,		
and to amend / my synfull governaunce.	406	

¹ Thoru3² 3af³ sy

(59)

I thank Him	lawde and honore / and thanke vnto the be,	407
	lorde god / that salve art / to all hevynes !	
	thanke of my welthe / and myne aduersyte,	
	thanke of myne elde / and of my sek[e]uene ;	
	and thanke be / to thyne Infinite goodnese	411
and appeal to His mercy.	for thy gyfites and benefices all[e],	
	and vnto thy merceye and grace I call[e].	413

XXI.

[Thomas Hoccleve (in Stowe's hand).]

*Dialogue with a
Friend.*[*Dialogus cum Amico.*] (later, in pencil)

(1)

[leaf 9]	A	nd, endyd my 'complaynt' / in this manere,	1
A friend knocks at my door.		one knocked / at my chambre dore sore,	
		and cryed a-lowde / 'howe, hoccleve ! arte thow here ?	

open thy dore / me thinkethe [it] full yore
sythen I the se / what, man, for god[de]s ore 5
come out / for this quartar I not the sy,
by owght I wot' / and out to hym cam I. 7

(2)

	-	This man was my good frynde / of farn a-gon,	8
		that I speke of / and thus ¹ he to me seyde :	
		'Thomas / as thow me lovest, tell a-non ²	
		what dydist thow / when I knocked and leyde	
		so fast upon thy dore' / And I obeyde 12	
I ask him in,		vnto his will / "come in," quod I, "and se."	
		and so he dyd / he streyght went in with me. 14	

(3)

		To my good frind / not thought I to make it queinte, ³	
		ne my labowre / from hym to hyde or leyne ; 16	
and read my 'Complaint' to him.		and right anon / I redd hym my 'complaynt' ;	
		and that done / thus he seyde, 'sen we twayne	
		bene here / and no mo folke / for god[de]s peyne, 19	

¹ Jus.² anoon³ quette

Thomas, soffar me speke / and be not wrothe,
for the to offend[e] / were me full lothe. 21

(4)

'That I shall saye / shall be of good entent[e]: 22
hast thou made this complaynte / forthe to goo
amonge the people / "ye, friend;" so I ment[e];
 what ells¹ / "Nay, Thomas, ware, do not soo!
 yf thou be wyse / of that mattar hoo, // 26
 reherse thou it not / ne it a-wake;
 kepe all that cloos / for thyn honours sake. 28

My friend advises
me not to make
my 'Complaint'
public,

(5)

'how it stode with the / leyde is all a-slepe; 29
 men haue forget it / it is owt of mynd;
 that thou towche there-of / I not ne kepe;
 let be; that rede I / for I can not finde
 O man to speake of it / in as good a kynde 33
 as thou hast stonde / amonge men or this day,
 stondyst thou nowe' / "A, nay," quod I, "nay, nay!" I refuse,

(6)

"Thowghe I be lewde / I not so fere-forthe dote; 36 [leaf 9, back]
 I wott what men haue seyde / and seyne of me;
 ther word[e]s have I not / as yet forgote;
 but greate marvayle have I / of yow, that ye
 no bet of my 'compleynte' / avysed be, 40
 sythen, mafey / I not redd it vnto yow
 so longe a-gone / for it was but right now. 42

(7)

"If ye toke hede / it makethe mention 43
 that men of me speke / in myne audience
 full hevely / of your entencion
 I thanke you / for of benevolence,
 wott I full well / procedith yowr sentene; 47
 but certis, good frinde / that thinge that I here,
 can I wisse / and vnto it refere. 49

as men talk of my
illness in my
hearing,

¹ ellis

(8)

“ And where as that ye / me counseile and rede, 50
 that for myne honore / showlde I by no weye
 any thinge mynge / or towche of my wildhede,
 I vnto that / annswere thus and saye :
 and I'm not
 ashamed of God's
 punishment. *A*²
 of god[de]s stroke / how so it peyse or waye, 54
 owght no man to thinke / reпреfe or shame ;
 his chastisyng / hurtilhe no maus name. 56

(9)

“ An othar thinge / ther mevithe¹ me also ; 57
 sythen my syck[e]uesse / sprad was so wyde
 that men knew well / how it stode with me tho,
 I also want men
 to know that
 Jesus has cured
 me.
 so would I now / vpon that othar syde
 wist were / how our lord Ihesu, which is gyde 61
 to all relefe / and may all hertes cure,
 relevyd hathe me / synfull creature. 63

(10)

“ had I be for an homysede yknowe, 64
 or an extorcioner / or a robbowr,
 I'm not a thief or
 a coin-clipper, or
 or for a coin² clypper / as wyde y-blowe
 as was my sykenese / or a werriowr
 a-gayne the faythe / or a falce mayntaynowr 68
 of cawsys / thowghe I had a-mendyd me,
 them to have mynged / [would] have been nicete ; 70

(11)

[leaf 10] “ And why / for tho proceden of frailtie 71
 of man hym selfe / he brewythe all[e] tho ;
 for sythen god to man / gyven³ hathe libertie,
 a wilful evil-doer,
 which chese may / for to do well or no,
 yf he myse-chese / he is his owne foo ; 75
 and to reherse his gilt / whiche hym accusethe,
 honor saythe may / there he scilence excusithe. 77

¹ menep² coin S. comon Dm.³ zoue

(12)

- “but this is / all a-nothar case sothelye : MS 78
this was the stroke of god / he gave me this ;
 and sythe he hathe / withe-drawe it curteisly,
 am I not holden [tell] it owt / O yes ;
 but yf god had this thanke / it wer amyse.¹ 82
 In feythe, frinde / [I thenke] make an open² shryfte,
and hyd[e] not / what I had of his gyfte. 84

but only a sufferer
from the stroke of
God.

(13)

- “If that a leche / curyd had me so,— 85
 as they lacken all / that science and myght,—
 a name he shulde / have had for evar mo,
 what cure he had done / to so seke a wight.
 and yet my purs / he wolde have made full lyght ; 89
 but curteys Ihesu / of his grace pacient,
 axith not / but of gilte amendement. 91

If a doctor had
cured me,

he'd have been
highly praised.

(14)

- “The benefice of god / not hyd be shuld[e] : 92
 sythen of myne hele / he gave me triacle,
 It to confese / and thanke hym, am³ I hold[e],
a me hathe shewyd his myracle ;
 sytacion is a spectacle 96
 hiche that I / beholde may and se,
 then I dyd / how great a lorde is he. 98

Surely then I
shouldn't hide
God's benefits to
me.

(15)

- “but, frind, amonge the vises that right now 99
rehersed I, one of them, dare I saye,
hathe hurt me sore / and I wot well ynow
so hathe it mo / which is feble⁴ moneye :
 many a man this day / but they gold wey[e], 103
 of men / not wole it take ne receyve,
 and yf it lake his peis / they woll⁵ it weive. 105

Among present
vices is that of

light coin.

¹ MS. anyse ² make I thenke an open ³ as Dm.

⁴ feole St. ⁵ wole

(16)

[leaf 10, back]	“how may it holde his peise / when it is waishe	106
	so that it lackethe ¹ / somewhat in thiknese ?	
	the false people / no thinge them abashe	
Folk clip coin,	to clyp it eke / in ² brede and in rowndnese,	
	in that ³ it shulde be / alweye the lesse :	110
and hurt the poor.	the pore man / amonge all othar is	
	full sore anoyed / and grevyd in this.	112

(17)

	“If it be golde and hole / that men hym profre	113
	for his labowre / or his chaffar lent,	
	take it yf him lyst / and put it in his coffre,	
	for wasshinge or clyppynge / hold hym content	
	or leve / he got none othar payment ;	117
	it semythe but small / othar is there ;	
	<u>trewthe is absent / but falsched is not fer.</u>	119

(18)

The poor are injured by coins	“how shall the pore do / yf in his holde	120
	no more money / he ne have at all,	
	par cas / but a noble / or halfpeny of golde,	
thind & clipt.	and it so thin is / and so narowe and smale,	
	that men the eschaunge eschewen ovar all ?	124
	not will it goo / but moche ⁴ he there-one lese ;	
	he mote do so / he may none other chese.	126

(19)

I have been.	“I myselfe in this case / bene have, or this,	127
	wherefore I know it / a grete dell ⁵ the bett.	
Sweaters of coin should be hung.	he that <u>in falsynge</u> of coyne / guilty is,	
	hathe great wronge / that he nere ⁶ on a ⁷ gebet ;	
	It is pitie / that he there-from is let,	131
	sythen he there-to hathe / so great title and right :	
	Reigne Iustice / and preve on them thy myght !	133

¹ lacke ² it eke it in ³ in than ; is that St.
⁴ miche ⁵ dele ⁶ nere S. ⁷ be.

(20)

"when I this wrote / many me dyd amyse ; 134
 they weyed gold / vnhad auctoritie ;
 no statute [made] was ¹ then / as [pat] now ² is ;
 but sythen golde to wey / chargid now ben we,
 Reason axith / that it obeyed be ; 138
 now tyme it is / unto weight[e]s vs draw[e],
 sythen that the parlyament / hathe made it a lawe. 140

Now an Act of Parliament makes weighing of coins needful.

(21)

"yet othar shrewes / done a worse gyn ; 141
 and tho bene they / that the coyne countarfete,
 and they that with gold / coper, cloth and tyn,
 to make all seme gold / they swinke and swete
 In hell[e] for to purchace / them a sete : 145
 If thethar lede them / theyr ³ falce covetise,
 that purchas made was / in a foltyshe wyse. 147

[leaf 11]

Counterfeiters of coin make themselves a seat in Hell.

(22)

"what cawsethe, trowe ⁴ ye / all this mischance ? 148
 what comforte gyven ⁵ is / to this vntwthe ?
 In feythe, men seyne / it is the mayntyance
 of great[e] folke / whiche is great ⁶ harme & ruthe.
 god graunt here-aftar / that ther be no slowthe,⁷ 152
 of this treason / punishment to do,
 ryght such as that is / partinent ther-to. 154

H. 7. 8.

The evil is done by the maintenance of great folk,

(23)

"they that consenten / to do that falshede, 155
 as well as the werkars / withe peyne egall
 punished ⁸ ought to be / as that I rede.
 now, manyteynors / be ware now of a fall !
 I speke of no parson / in especiall ⁹ ; 159
 In contries dyvers / is there many one
 of yow / and hathe bene ¹⁰ / many a day a-gon. 161

who ought to be punisht.

¹ made was ; was Dm. ² pat nowe ; now St. ³ her
⁴ trowen ⁵ ȝouen ⁶ a great ⁷ slouȝe ; showȝe Dm.
 ⁸ punisheid ⁹ special ¹⁰ be

(24)

False-coining
harms the king

“ Alas / that to owr Kyng[e]s preiudice, 162
and harme to all / his lige people trew[e],
Continue shall / this fowle and cursed vice
of falsynge of coyne / not begone of new[e], 165
whiche / and it forthe goo / many one shall it rew[e].
God and our Kyng / remedye all this grefe,
and the people, for to the people / it is a foule mischefe. 168

(25)

who call for ven-
geance on the
false moneyers,

“ by comon harme / is not small to set[te]; 169
that venom / ovar wyde and brod[e] spredethe :
grete merit were it / suche thinge stope and let[te],
as that the comon / in-to myschefe ledythe. 172
the voyce of the people / vengaanee on yow gredithe,
ye cursed men / ye false moneyours,
and on yowre outeris / and yowr maynteynours! 175

(26)

[leaf 11, back]
But I fear these
cursed fellows
won't be punisht.

“ O, this I drede alweye / this hevieth me 176
many a sythe / that punishment
none fall[e] shall / on this cursed meynye ;
how trewe so be / ther enditement,¹
owr lyge lorde / shall be so Immoent, 180
that vnto hym / shall hyd be y^e notice ;
vnwasshen gold / shall wasshe² a-way that vice. 182

(27)

Tho' the King 'll
be told who the
false coiners are,

“ Enformed shalbe / his lie excellence 183
by menes / whom that the lady moneye
hath rowned with / and shewyd evidence
In plate / that all wronge is that men seye
they'll trick him,
and escape.

of that false folke / my sowle dare I laye, 187
tho mens³ shullen have / no defectyve plate ;
here receyte shall be / good and fyne algate. 189

¹ enditement ; entedement St. ² waisshe ; vanyshe St.³ meenes

(28)

"Nowe in good faythe / I drede there shall be 190
 suche multitude / of that false secte
 with-in this two yere / or ellis thre,
 but yf this stynkyng errowr / be correcte,
 that so myche ¹ of this land / shall be infecte 194
 there-with, that trewth shall a-downe be throw[e],
 and that cursed falshed / it ² overgrow[e]. 196

If this evil isn't
corrected.

truth will be
overthrown.

(29)

"lo, frinde / nowe haue I myne entent vnreke 197
 of my longe tale / displese yow nowght."
 'nay, Thomas, nay / but late me to the speke :
 when thy compleynt / was to the end ybrowght,
 cam it owght in thy purpos / and thy thought, 201
 owght ell[e]s ther-with / to have made than that ?'
 "ye, certayne, frind" / 'O nowe, good Thomas, what ?'

My friend asks
what else I mean
to write.

(30)

"frinde, that I shall you tell / as blyve, y-wys : 204
 in latyn haue I sene / a small tretis[e],
 whiche 'lerne for to dye' / I-callyd is :
 a bettar restreynte / know I none fro vice : 207
 for whan that deathe / shall men ³ from hence ⁴ trice,
 but he that lesson / lerned haue or than,
 war that / for ⁵ deathe comethe, wot ther no wyght whan.

[leaf 12]

I've seen a Latin
treatise 'Learn to
die.'

(31)

"And that haue I purposed to translate, 211
 If god his grace / lyst ther-to me lene,
 sythen he of helthe / hathe openyd me the gate ;
 for where my sowle is / of vertwe all lene,
 and thrwgh my bodyes gilt / fowle ⁶ & vnclene, 215
 to clens it / some-what by translation
 of it, shall be / myne occupation. 217

and I mean to
english it.

¹ moche ² it ; is St. ³ man ⁴ hennes
⁵ for ; and St. ⁶ & fowle St.

(32)

	“for I not only / but, as that I hope,	218
This treatise 'll make men take account of their sins,	many an othar wight / eke there-by shall	
	his consyence / [ful] tenderly grope,	
	and withe hym selfe acompte, & reken of all	221
	that he hathe in his ¹ lyfe / wrowght, great & ² small,	
	while he tyme hathe / & freshe wit and vigowr,	
	and not abyde / vnto his dethes howr.	224

(33)

	“man may in this tretis / here-aftarward,	225
and not delay till they are near death.	yf that hym lyke / rede and beholde,	
	consyder and se well / that it is full hard	
	delay accompts / tyll lyfe begyne to colde ;	
	short tyme is then / of his offencis olde	229
	to make a iust / and trew[e] rekenynge ;	
	sharpnes of peyne / is there-to great hindringe.	231

(34)

[leaf 12, back]	“Not hath ³ me stiryd / my devocion	232
I do this transla- tion at the urging of a devout man,	to do this labour / ye shullan vnderstond[e],	
	but at the exitynge / and monicion	
	of a devout man / take I here on hond[e]	
	this labowr / and as I cane, ⁴ wole I fond[e]	236
	his reade, <u>thrwghe gods grace</u> , to parforme,	
	<u>thowghe</u> I be bare / of intellectu and forme.	238

(35)

	“And whan that endyd is / I nevar thinke,	239
and when it's finisht, I shall write no more.	more in englyshe aftar / be occupied ;	
	I may not labowr / as I dyd, and swinke ;	
	<u>my lust is not there-to / so well applied</u>	
	<u>as it hathe bene</u> / it is ny mortyfied ;	243
	wherefore I cesse thinke / be this done,	
	<u>the night approchethe</u> / it is fer past none.	245

¹ this² or³ corr. from 'have I,' in St.⁴ came

(36)

"Of age am I fifty winter and thre; 246 I am 53;
 Ripenesse of dethe / fast vpon me hastethe;¹
 my lymes sundell / now vvweldy be;
 all my syght apperithe faste, and wastithe,
 and my conceyte / a dayes now / not tastethe 250 my sight is im-
 as it hath done / in yeres precedent; 250 mind too.
 now all a-nother is my sentement.² [*Stowe ends.*] 252

(37) [*Hoccleve's parchment begins.*]

"More am I heuy now vp-on a day, 253 [leaf 13]
 Than I sum tyme was in dayes fyue;
 Thyng þat or this me thoghþe game & play,
 Is earnest now / ³the hony fro the hyue
 Of my spirit withdrawith wondir blyue; 257 The honey is
 Whan al is doon / al this worldes swetnesse
 At ende torneth in-to bittirnesse.⁴ 259 gone from the
 hive of my spirit.

(38)

"The fool, thurgh loue of this lyf present, ^{¶ fallitar insipiens}
 Deceyued is / but the wys man woot weel vite presentis amore &c.⁷
 How ful this world of sorwe is, and torment;
 Wherefore in it / he trustith nat a deel;
 Thogh a man this day / sitte hye on the wheel, 264
 To morwe he may be tryced from his sete;
 This hath be seen often / among the grete. 266
 The world is full
 of sorrow.

(39)

"How fair thyng / or how precious it be 267 Fair things are
 þat in the world is / it is lyk a flour, like flowers,
 To whom / nature yeuen hath beautee
 Of fressh heewe / and of ful plesant colour;
 With soote smellynge also, and odour; 271
 But as soone as it is bicomen drye,
 ffarwel colour / and the smel gymmeth⁵ dye. 273 and soon lose
 their colour and
 scent.

¹ now hastip² sentement³ A later hand (? Stowe's) has written 'then' over the line as if it were left out.⁴ 'tornithe in to bittyernisse, is repeated below in a later hand.⁵ A later hand writes 'be'gymmeth 'to.' At foot: 'hongrie men seem diyures,' &c.

(40)

[leaf 13, back] Majesty passes like a tree's shadow.	“ Rial might and eerthely magestee, Welthe of the world / and longe & faire dayes, Passen / as dooth the shadwe of a tree ; Whan deeth is come / ther be no delayes ; The worldes trust is brotil ¹ at assayes ; The wyse men / wel knowen this is sooth, They knowen / what deceit to man it dooth.	274 278 280
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(41)

Property is lent us for a time ;	“ Lond / rente / cattel / gold / honour / richesse, þat for a tyme lent been to been ouris, fforgo we shole / sonner than we gesse. Paleses / Maners / Castels grete & touris Shal vs bireft be / by deeth þat ful sour is ; Shee is the rogh besom / which shal vs aþ Sweepe out of this world / whan god list it fall.	281 285 287
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but Death soon
deprives us of it.

(42)

Isn't it wise to provide against Death ?	“ And syn þat shee shal of vs make an ende, Holsum is, hir' haue ofte in remembrance, Or shee hir messenger secknesse vs sende. ¶ Now, my freend / so good yeue yow good chaunce, Is it nat good to make a purueance Ageyn the comynge of þat messenger, That we may stande in conscience cleer ?”	288 292 294
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(43)

[leaf 14] ‘ Yes, Thomas Hoccleve ; but your brain is weak.	¶ ‘ yis, Thomas, yis / thow hast a good entente, ² But thy werk / hard is to parfouirme, I dreede ; Thy brayn, par cas / ther-to nat wole assente, And wel thow woost / it moot assente neede Or thow aboute brynge swich a deede : Now in good feith / I rede as for the beste, þat purpos caste out of thy myndes cheste.	295 299 301
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¹ *brotil*, first.

² Iohan Medwell, *Master* my lord Chamberlain, . . . *per prise* [at top]. Also, later, ‘ W. Browne.’ At foot, ‘ Thomas Carterys.’

(44)

'Thy bisy studie aboute swich mateere	302	'Your writing has made you crackt again.	f. 15
Hath causid thee / to stirte in-to the plyt			
That thou were in / <u>as fer as I can heere</u> ;			
And thogh̄ thou deeme / thou be there-of qwynt /			
Abyde / and thy purpos putte in respyt	306	'Stop work till your brain's right.'	
Til <u>þat right wel stablisshid be thy brayn</u> ;			
And ther-to thanne / I wole assente fayn.	308		

(45)

'Thogh̄ a strong fyr / þat was in an herth late,	309		
Withdrawen be / and swept away ful cleene /			
yit aftirward̄ / bothe the herth and̄ plate			Δ
Been of the fyr warm / <u>thogh̄ no fyr be seene</u>			
There as þat it was / and right so I meene :	313		
Al-thogh̄ past be the grete of thy seeknesse /			
yit lurke in thee may sum of hir warmnesse.'	315		

(46)

¶ "O, what is yow, freend̄ / benedicitee ?	316	[leaf 14, back]	
Right now, whan I yow redde my 'compleynte,'		Hoccleve re- proaches his friend:	
Made it nat mynde / it standith wel with me ?		I told you I was well.	
Myn herte with your speeche gynneth feynte.			
<u>Shuld we be now / al neewe to aqweynte,</u>	320		✓
<u>þat han so wel aqweynted be ful yore ?</u>			
<u>What / han yee now lerned a neewe lore ?</u>	322		

(47)

"Han yee lerned / your freend for to mis-truste	323	Why do you mistrust me ?	
And to his wordes / yeue no credence ?			
If your frendshipe canere so and ruste,			
Sore wole it trouble myn innocence,			
þat ay yow holden haue in existence	327		
A verray freend / certes, sore am I greued,			
That yee nat leue / how god me hath releued. ¹	329		

¹ Later, in margin: 'Ryght worshipfull Fa.' At foot, 'Hereof se . . . Thomas C.'

(48)

	“ Who so nat leeneth / what þat a man seith,	330
	Is signe þat he trustith him but lyte.	
A true friend trusts his friend.	A verray freend yeueth credence & feith	
	Vn-to his freend / what so he speke & wryte.	✓
	ffrendshipes lawe / nat worth wer' a myte,	334
	If þat vntrust / vn-to it wer' annexid ;	
	Vntrust hath many a wight ful sore vexid.	336

(49)

[leaf 15]	“ I with my seluen made foreward,	337
	Whan with the knotte of frendshipe I me knytte	
I vowd to stick to you.	Vn-to yow, þat I neuere aftirward	
	Fro þat hy bond departe wolde, or flitte ;	
	Which keepe I wole ay / o, your wordes sitte	341
	Ny to myn herte / and thogh yee me nat loue,	
	My loue fro yow / shal ther no wight shoue.	343

(50)

Tully says that Friendship lasts for ever.	“ Tullius seith / þat frendshipe verray	344
	Endurith euere / how-so men it assaiH ;	
	ffrendshipe is noon / to loue wel this day,	
	Or yeeres outhir / and aftirward faiH.	
	A freend to freend / his peyne & his trauaiH	348
	Dooth ay / frendshipe to keepe & conserue	
	Til dethes strook' þat bond a-sondir kerue.	350

(51)

Solomon says so too.	“ To this matir' accordith Salomon—	351
	yee knowe it bet than I by many fold :	
	Ones freend / and holde euere ther vp-on.	
	In your frendshipe wer' a slipir hold,	
	If it abate wolde and wexe cold,	355
	þat vn-to now hath been bothe hoot & warm ;	
	To yow wer' it reproof / and to me harm.	357

(52)

" If þat me list in this mateere dweH,¹ 358 [leaf 15, back]
 And it along / for to drawe and dilate,
Auctoritees an heep, kowde I yow teh ✓
 Of frendshipe / but stynte I moot algate, But I'll stop
 Or elles wole it be ful longe & late 362 talking,
 Or I haue endid my purposid werk^t,
ffor feeble is my conceit, & dul & derk^t. 364

(53)

" But as þat I seide eer / and sooth it is, 365
 My selendre wit feele I as sad and stable tho' my mind is
 As euere it was at any tyme or this : as firm as ever it
 Thankid be our lord Ihesu merciable !"
 " ¶ Yit, Thomas, herkne a word, and be souffrable, 369 *Hoccleve's friend.*
 And take nat my speeche in displesance ; Thomas,
 In me shalt thou fynde no variance. 371 you shall find no
 changing in me.

(54)

" I am thy freend / as þat I haue ay been, 372 I am your friend.
 And euere wole / doute it nat al,
 But truste wel, it is but seelden seen
 þat any wight / þat caght hath swich a fal
 As thy seeknesse was / þat affir shal 376
 Be of swich disposicioun and might
 As he was erst / and so seith euery wight. 378

(55)

" Of studie was engendred thy seeknesse,² 379 [leaf 16]
 And þat was hard / woldest [thow] now agayn Your illness came
 Entre into þat laborious bisynesse, from overstudy.
 Syn it thy mynde and eek thy wit had slayn ?
 Thy conceit is nat worth a payndemayn : 383
 Let be / let be/ bisye thee so no more,
 Lest thee repente / and reewe it ouersore. 385 Don't be silly
 enough to do it
 again.

¹ Later, in margin : ' Is the same ene (?) . . . he me life in.'

² In a later hand at top : ' per me peter hardy of halyfax ; then, rubd out, 'ows this bok.'

(56)

	‘ My reed procedith nat of froward wil,	386
	But it is seid of verray freendly-hede	
	ffor if so-causid seeknesse on me fil	
	As dide on the: right enene as I thee rede,	
	So wolde I do my self / it is no drede ;	390
Solomon bids you do as you're advised,	And Salomon bit / aftir conseil do ;	
	And good is it / conforme thee ther-to,	392

(57)

	‘ He þat hath ones in swich plyt y-faþ,	393
	But he wol rule him / may in slippen eft :	
	This rede I thee / for aght þat may befaþ,	
As God has cured your sickness, avoid its cause.	Syn þat seeknesse god hath thee byreft,	
	The cause eschue / for it is good left,	397
	Namely, thyng of thoghtful studie kaght,	
	Perillous is / as þat hath me been taght.	399

(58)

[leaf 16, back]	¶ ‘ Riht as a thief þat hath eschapid ones ¹	400
	The roop / no dreede hath eft his art to vse,	
	Til þat the trees him weye vp, body and bones,	
	So looth is him / his sory craft refuse /	
You love to pore on your books.	Sa farest thou / ioie hastow for to muse	404
	Vp-on thy book ^t / and ther ² -in stare & poure,	
	Til þat it thy wit / consume and deuoure.	406

(59)

	‘ I can no more / the latter ³ errour ³	407
	Wers is, rede I / than þat þat was beforn ;	
	The smert of studie / oghte be mirour ^t	
Give up your studies.	To thee / let yit thy studie be forborn.	
	Hane of my wordes / no desdeyn or scorn ;	411
	ffor þat I seye / of freendly tendernesse	
	I seye it al / as wisly god me blesse.	413

¹ Written up the side in a later hand :Know er thou knynt [knynt, p. 152]. and then thou mayst slake ;
If³ thou knynt er thou know, then hytt ys to late. (See p. 152.)

(60)

- ' If thee nat list vp-on thy self to reewe, 414 If you won't take
 Thomas, who shal reewe vpon thee, I preye? pity on yourself,
 Now do foorth, let see / and thyn harm reuewe; who will?
 And heuyer¹ / shal it peise and weye
 Than it dide eer / ther-to my lyf I leye, 418
 Which thee wolde ouer mochil harme & greene.²
 " fireend, as to þat / answer¹ I shal by leue.¹ 420 *Hoccleve answers.*

(61)

- " Where-as þat yee deemen of me, and trowe 421 [leaf 17]
 That y of studie my diseise took^t,— My insanity
 Which conceit eek^t / among the peple is sowe —
 Trustith right wel / þat neuere studie in book^t did not come from
 Was cause / why my mynde me forsook^t 425 book-study, 13
 But it² was causid of my long seeknesse, but from my long
 And othir wyse nat / in soothfastnesse. 427 illness.

(62)

- " And for-thy neuere affir this / preye y yow, 428
 Deemeth no more so / ne nat it mynge.
 That men kneew I had seeknesse / is ynow, I don't care that
 Thogh they make of the cause no serchyng: folk should know
 Ther cometh but smal fruyt of swich deemyng. 432 about it.
 To yow told haue I trewely the cause;
 Now let vs stynten heer¹ / & make a pause. 434 Let's drop it.

(63)

- " In this keepe I no replicacioun; 435
 It is nat worth / the labour is in veyn;
 Shal no stiryng or excitacioun
 Lette me of this labour, in certeyn.
 Trustith wel this pourpos is nat sodeyn; 439 As to my intended
 Vp-on my wittes stithie hath it be bete work,
 Many a day / of this no lenger trete.³ 441 I've thought
 about it long,

¹ Later scribbles at foot: 'William . . thi . . nunny ny,' &c.

² MS. is.

³ Later, at foot: 'Lord, Haue merce upon all cresten solles . . John taler . . sone frome the begⁿ,' &c.

(64)

[leaf 17, back]	“ I haue a tyme resonable abide	442
	Or that I thoghte in this laboure me ;	
	And al to preeue my self, I so dide :	
	A man in his conceit / may serchee & see	
for 5 yeeres.	In .v ^e . yeer / what he do may, pardee,	446
	And aftir þat take vp-on him, and do	
	Or leve / reson accordith heer-to.”	448

(65)

	¶ ‘ O Thomas, holdist thou it a prudence,	449
	<u>Reed</u> , <u>weyne</u> , and <u>wirke</u> aftir <u>thyn owne wit</u> ?	/
v	Seide y nat eer / þat Salomons sentence	
<i>Hoccleve's Friend.</i> Thomas, you're not wise to follow your own judgment instead of mine.	To do by reed / and by Conseil, men bit ;	
	And thou desdeynest / for to folwen it.	453
	What art thou now / presumptuous become,	
	And list nat of thy mis / been vndirnome ?”	455

(66)

	¶ “ Nay, freend / nat so / yee woot well, elles-where	
<i>Hoccleve.</i> Vnus sit tibi consiliarius inter mille	Salomon bit / ‘ oon be thy Conseillour	457
	Among a .Mii. and if þat yee were	
	As constant as yee han been or this hour,	
My friend, I feel you are wrong.	By yow wolde I be red / but swich errour	460
	In <u>your conceit</u> I feele now, sanz faille,	
	That in this cas yee can nat wel consaiH. ¹	462

(67)

[leaf 18]	“ ffor god woot / a blynd Counseillour is he	463
	Which þat conseilte shal in a mateere,	/
	If of a soothe / him list nat lerned be ;	
	And euene swich oon fynde I now nowhere. ²	
I've told you plainly how I stand.	I pleyntly told yow haue, the maneere	467
	How þat it with me standen hath / and stant ;	
	But of your trust to me ward, be ye scant.	469

¹ In the begynnyng god be my speade wythe grace & vertu [later, at bottom].

² MS. now heere.

(68)

- "Haa yee agh̄t herd of me in communyng, ✓ 470
 Wherthugh̄ yee oḡhten deeme of me amis!
 Haue I nat seid reson / to your thynkygne?"
 ¶ 'flor soothe, Thomas / to my conceit / yis;
 But euere I am agast, & dreede this, 474
 Thy wit is nat so mighty to susteene
 That labour / as thow thy self woldest weene.' 476

Haven't I spoken
reason?
Hocceleve's friend.

Yes; but your
mind won't bear
this new work.

(69)

- "ffrend, as to þat, he lyueth nat þat can 477
 Knowe / how it standith with an othir wigh̄t,
 So wel as him self / al-thogh̄ many a man
 Take on him more / than lyth in his might
 To knowe / þat man is nat ruled right 481
 þat so presumeth in his iugement:
 Before the doom / good wer' anisament." 483

Hocceleve.
Who can judge
a man's state as
well as he him-
self?

(70)

- ¶ 'Now, Thomas / by the feith I to god owe, ✓ 484
 Had I nat taastid thee / as þat I now
 Doon haue / it had been hard, maad me to trowe
 The good plyt / which I feele wel þat thow
 Art in / I woot wel thow art wel ynow, 488
 What-so men of thee ymagyne or clappe,
 Now haue I god, me thynkith, by the lappe. 490

Hocceleve's friend.
[leaf 18, back]
Well, Thomas,
I've tested you,
and believe you
are fit.

(71)

- "But al so hertly / as I can or may, 491
 Syn þat thow wilt to þat labour thee dresse,
 I preye thee / in al maneere way
 Thy wittes to conserue / in hir fresshnesse;
 Whan thow ther-to goost / take of hem the lesse; 495
 To muse longe / in an hard mateere,
 The wit of man abieth it ful deere.' 497

And, as you *will*,
write,

keep your wits
fresh,

and don't work at
too hard a subject.

(72)

- Hoccleve.* ¶ “ffreend, I nat medle of matires grete ; 498
 My brains won't stretch to that. Ther-to nat strecehe may myn intellect ;
 I neuere yit was brent with studies hete ;
 Let no man holde me ther-in suspect :
 If I lightly / nat cacche may theffect 502
 Of thyng¹ in which / laboure I me purpose,
 A dieu my studie / anoon my book¹ I close. 504

(73)

- [leaf 19] “ By stirtes / whan þat a fressh lust me takith, 505
 I shall write by starts, as the Wole I me bisye now and now a lyte ;
 fancy takes me, But whan þat my lust dullith and asslakith,
 and stop when it I stynte wole / and no lenger¹ wryte ;
 slacks. And pardee, freend / þat may nat hyndre a myte, 509
 As þat it seemeth to my symple auys ;
 Iugeth your self¹ / yee been prudent and wys.” 511

(74)

- Hoccleve's friend.* ¶ ‘Sikir, Thomas / if thow do in swich wyse 512
 Then I'm content. As þat thow seist / I am ful wel content
 þat thow vp-on thee take þat empryse
 Which þat thow has purposed and y-ment ;
 Vn-to þat ende / yeue y myn assent, 516
 Set to work, in Go now ther-to / in Ihesu Crystes name ;
 Christ's name. And as thow haast me seid / do thou þat same. 518

(75)

- ‘ I am seur þat thy disposicioun 519
 Is swich / þat thow maist more take on hoonde
 Than I first wende in myn oppinioun,
 By many fold / thankid be goddes soonde !
 Do foorth in goddes name / & nat ne woonde 523
 To make and wryte / what thyng þat thee list :
 þat I nat eer kneew / now is to me wist. 525

¹ Later scribble at top : ‘Thomas . . Tomas Gairdynmayr’ (?).

(76)

- 'And of o thyng / now wel I me remembre, 526 [leaf 19, back]
 Why thow purpouist in this book trauaiH :
 I trowe þat in the monthe of Septembre
 Now last, or nat fer from / it is no faiH,—
 No force of the time¹ / it shal nat auaiH 530
 To my mateer³ / ne it hyndre or lette,—
 Thow seidist / of a book⁴ thow wer⁵ in dette 532

But didn't you say
 that you owd a
 book

(77)

- 'Vn-to my lord / þat now is lieutenant, 533
 My lord of Gloucestre / is it nat so?'
 ¶ "Yis soothly, freend / and as by couenant
 He sholde han had it many a day ago ;
 But seeknesse and vnlust / and othir mo 537
 Han be the causes of impediment."
 ¶ 'Thomas / than this book⁴ haast thow to him ment?'

to the Lord Lien-
 tenant, the Duke
 of Gloster ?

Hoccleve.
 Yes, and he ought
 to have had it
 long ago.

(78)

- ¶ "Yee sikir, freend, ful treewe is your deemyng ; 540
 ffor him it is / þat I this book⁴ shal make.
 As blyue as þat I herde of his comyng
 ffro ffraunce / I penne and ynke gan to take,
 And my spirit I made to awake, 544
 þat longe lurkid hath in ydilnesse
 ffor any swich labour or bisynesse. 546

My new book is
 meant for him.
 As soon as I heard
 of his coming
 ¶ *scilicet de*
secundo reditu
suo de ffancia
 from France, I
 took pen and ink.

(79)

- "But of sum othir thyng / fayn trete I wolde, 547
 My noble lordes herte / with / to glade,
 As ther-to bownden am I deepe, & holde ;
 On swich mateere / by god þat me made,
 Wolde I bestowe many a balade, 551
 Wiste I what / good freend / teH on what is best,
 Me for to make / and folwe it am I prest. 553

[leaf 20]
 But I'd like to
 write something
 to gladden him
 with.

¹ MS thine ; but this is surely a writing mistake.

(80)

Next to our King Henry V.,	“Next our lord lige, our kyng victorious,	554
	In al this wyde world / lord is ther noon	
no lord has been so good to me for years as the Duke.	Vn-to me so good ne so gracious,	
	And haath been swich / yeeres ful many oon :	
	God yilde it him / as sad as any stoon	558
	His herte set is / and nat change can	
	ffro me, his humble <i>seruant</i> & his man.	560

(81)

I thought of englishing for him Vegetius on <i>Chicalry</i> ,	“ffor him I thogh̄te han translated Vegece	561
	Which tretith of the art of Chiualrie,	
	But I see his Knygh̄thode so encrece,	
	þat no thyng my labour sholde edifie,	
but he knows it all	ffor he þat art / wel can for the maistrie.	565
	Beyonde, he preened hath his worthynesse,	
Cherbourg bears witness to his valour.	And among othre / Chirburgh̄ to wisse.	567

(82)

[leaf 20, back]	“This worthy Prynce lay before þat hokl	568
He besieged it	Which was ful strong / at seege many a day,	
	And thens for to departe hath he nat wold,	
	But knygh̄tly ther' abood / vp-on his pray	
and won it.	Til he by force it wan / it is no nay.	572
	Duc henri, þat so worthy was and good,	
	ffolwith this Prince / as wel in deede as blood.	574

(83)

	¶ “Or he to Chirburgh̄ cam / in iourneyyng ¹ ,	575
And before, he won Constantine.	Of Constantyn he wan the cloos and yle,	
	ffor which / laude and honour and hy preysyng	
	Rewarden him / and qwyten him his whyle.	
	Thogh̄ he beform þat had a worthy style,	579
	yit of noble renoun is þat encrees :	
He is a famous Prince.	He is a famous Prince / doutelees !	581

¹ Chirburgh, in John Stowe's hand, in the margin.

(84)

- " ffor to reherce or tell in special 582 I cannot relate all
 Every act þat his swerd / in steel wroot there, his warlike deeds.
 And many a place / elles I woot nat al ;
 And thogh euery act come had to myn ere,
 To yepresse¹ hem / my spirit wolde han fere, 586 ✓
 Lest I his thank' par chaunce mighte abregge
Thurgh vnkonnyng / if I hem sholde allegge. 588

(85)

- " But this I seye / he callid is Humfrey 589 [leaf 21]
 Conueniently, as þat it seemeth me, He is well named
 ffor this conceit is in myn herte al-vey, 'Humfrey,'
 Bataillous Mars / in his natiuitee
 Vn-to þat name / of verray specialtee 593
 Titled him / makynge him ther-by promesse
 þat strecche he sholde in-to hy worthynesse ; 595

(86)

- " ffor humfrey / as vn-to myn intellect, 596 for that means
 'Man, make I shal' / in engliss is to seye ;² 'I shall make a
 And þat byheeste / hath taken treewe effect, man,'
 As the commune fame / can bywreye : and Common
 Who-so his worthy knyghthode / can weye 600 Fame says he
 Duely in his conceites balaunce, is one.
 Ynow hath / wher-of his renoun enhaunce. 602

(87)

- " To cronicle his actes / wer' a good deede, 603 It would be a
 ffor they ensample mighte, and encorage good deed to
 fful many a man / for to taken heede chronicle his
 How for to gouerne hem in the vsage feats, to encourage
 Of armes / it is a greet anauntage 607 other men.

¹ For 'expresse' ?² Humfrey, quasi 'homme feray' [in margin] ? in a 17th-Century hand. Other scribble: 'John, Thomas . . John . . I winsayn bene . . as . . so p ff H Hon . . Ar mo . . stoke . . gingen . . Wiylyam.'

A man before him / to haue a mirour,
Ther-in to see the path vn-to honour. 609

(88)

[leaf 21, back] " O lord / whan he cam to the seege of Roon 610
At the siege
of Ronen,
ffro Chirburgh / whether fere or cowardlyse,

So ny the walles / made him for to goon
Of the town / as he dide? I nat souffyse
To telle yow / in how knyghtly a wyse 614

Duke Humfrey
did knyghtly.

He logged him ther' / and how worthyly
He baar him / what / he is al knyght soothly. 616

(89)

¶ " Now, good freend / shoue at the cart, I yow preye ;
What thyng may I make vn-to his plesance? 618
Withouten your reed / noot I what to seye."

What can I say
to please him?

¶ ' O / no, pardee, Thomas / o. no, ascañnee.'
¶ " No, certein, freend / as now no cheuissance 621

Can I ; your conseil is to me holsum ;
As I truste in yow, mynystreth me sum." 623

(90)

¶ ' Wel Thomas / trowest thou his hy noblesse 624
Nat rekke / what mateere þat it be
He cares only for
proper things.
þat thou shalt make of?' ¶ " no, freend, as I gesse,
So þat it be mateere of honestee."

¶ ' Thomas, and thanne I wole auyse me ; 628
ffor who-so reed & conseil yeue shal,
May nat on heed / feorth renne ther-with-al. 630

(91)

[leaf 22] ' And þat¹ so noble a Prince, namely, 631
So excellent / worthy and honourable,
Shal haue / needith good auyz soothly,

Hoccleve's friend.
You must write
on a worthy
topic.

þat it may be plesant and agreable
To his noblesse / it is nat couenable 635

To wryte to a prince so famous,
But it be good mateer' and vertuouus. 637

¹ What poem.

(92)

'Thow woost wel / who shal an hous edifie,	¶ Si quis habet fundare domum, non currit ad actum.	No one begins to build a house without advice.
Gooth nat ther-to withoute auisament,		
If he be wys, <u>for with his mental ye</u>		
ffirst is it seen / <u>pourposid / cast & ment,</u>	¶ Impetnosa manus, &c.	1.13
<u>How it shal wroght been / elles al is shent.</u>	642	
Certes, for the deffaute of good foresighte,		
<u>Mis-tyden thynges / þat wel tyde mighte.</u>	644	

(93)

'This may been vn-to thee / in thy makyng	645	
A good mirour / thow wilt nat haaste, I trowe,		
Vn-to thy penne / and ther-with wirke heedlyng,		You mustn't write without taking thought,
Or thow auysed be wel / and wel knowe	648	and getting advice.
What thow shalt wryte / o, Thomas / many a throwe		
Smertith the fool / for lak ^d of good auys ;		
But no wight hath it smerted þat is wys ;	651	

(94)

'ffor wel is he waar / or he wryte or speke,	652	[leaf 22, back]
What is to do or leue / Who by prudence		
Rule him shal / no thinge shal out from him breke		
Hastily ne of rakil negligence.'		
¶ "ffrend, þat is sooth / o / now your assistance	656	True, friend, says Hoccleve,
And help / what I shal make, I now byseeche ;		advise me.
In your wys conceit / serche yee & seeche."	658	

(95)

¶ He a long tyme in a studie stood,	659	
And aftir þat, thus tolde he his entente :		
¶ 'Thomas, sauf bettre auys, I holde it good,		<i>Hoccleve's friend.</i>
Syn now the holy seson is of lente		Thomas, as it's now Lent,
In which it sit euery man him repente	663	
Of his offense / and of his wikkidnesse /		
Be heuy of thy gilt / and the confesse,	665	repent and confess your sins,

(96)

and make amends for them.	' And satisfaccion do thow for it.	666
You've often blamed women;	Thow woost wel / on wommen, greet wyt ¹ & lak' Ofte haast thow put / be waar / lest thow be qwit.	
have written a quarter-sack of words against them, that they've not forgiven or forgotten.	Thy wordes fille wolde a quarter sak, ² Which thow in whyt / depeynted haast with blak'; In hir reproof, mochil thyng haast thow write, That they nat foryeue haue / ne foryite.	672

(97)

[leaf 23] Now write in praise of them.	' Sumwhat now wryte in honour & preysynge Of hem / so maist thow do correccioun Sumdel of thyn offense and mis-berynge. Thow art cleene out of hir' affeccioun ; Now syn it is in thyn eleccioun Whethir thee list / hir loue ageyn purchase, Or stonde as thow doost / out of loue & grace /	673 677 679
--	---	-----------------------------------

(98)

It wants craft and art to please women.	' Bewar, rede I / cheese the bettre part. Truste wel this / wommen been feH and wyse ; Hem for to plesse / lyth greet craft & art. Wher no fyr maad is / may no smoke aryse ; But thow haast ofte / if thow thee wel auyse, Maad smoky brondes / and for al þat gilt, yit maist thow stonde in grace / if þat thow wilt.	680 684 686
But you can do it if		

(99)

you'll confess your guilt,	' By buxum herte & by submission To hir graces / yildinge thee coupable / Thow pardon maist haue, & remission	687
and please them.	And do vn-to hem plesance greable.	
You can't fight.	To make partie / art thow nothyng able ; Humble thy goost / be nat sturdy of herte ; Bettre than thow art / han they maad to smerte.	691 693

¹ *wyte*, blame ; not *wit*, the little brain that Hoccleve had.² A sack that holds a quarter (being a double sack), = a lot of words.—T. Austin.

(100)

'The wyf of Bathe, take I for auctrice	694	[leaf 23, back]
þat wommen han no ioie ne deyntee		Chaucer's Wife of Bath says
þat men sholde vp-on hem putte any vice ;		women don't
I woot wel so / or lyk ^t to þat, seith shee.		like men to make
By wordes writen / Thomas, yilde thee ;	698	them out vicious.
Euene as thow by scripture hem haast offendid,		As you've offend-
Right so / let it be by wrytynge amendid.'	700	ed em by writing,
		now make
		amends by it.

(101)

¶ " ffreend / thogh ^h I do so / what lust or pleisir	701	
Shal my lord haue in þat / noon / thynkith me."		
¶ ' Yis, Thomas, yis / his lust and his desir		The Duke likes
Is / as it wel sit / to his hy degree,		
ffor his desport / & mirthe in honestee,	705	dalliance with
With ladyes / to haue dalliance :		ladies. He'll
And this book ^t / wole he shewen hem par chance.	707	show em your
		book,

(102)

' And syn he thy good lord is / he be may	708	
ffor thee swich mene / þat the lightlyere		
Shuln they foryeue thee / putte in assay		and get you their
My conseil / let see / nat shal it thee dere ;		forgiveness.
So wolde I doon / if in thy plyt I were.	712	
Leye hond on thy breest / if thow wilt so do,		
Or leue / I can no more seyn ther-to.	714	

(103)

¶ ' But thogh ^h to wommen thow thyn herte bowe,	715	[leaf 24]
Axyng ^e hir graces / with greet repentance		
ffor thy giltes / thee wole I nat allowe		
To take on thee swich rule and gouernance		But you mustn't
As they thee rede wolde / for greuance	719	put yourself
So greet / ther folwe mighte of it, par cas,		under women's
That thow repente it sholdest ay, Thomas.	721	rule.

(104)

Eve beguiled
Adam, and the
serpent her.

But God said
Eve should break
the serpent's
head.

¶ ' Adam begyled was *with* Eenes reed, ¶ *Genesis Ait domi-*
And sikir so was shée by the Serpent, ¶ *mus ad serpentem /*
To whom god seide / "this womman thyn heed *ipsa conteret caput*
Breke shal / for thugh thyn enticement *lunm, &c.*
Shee hath y-broken my *commandement.*" 726
Now, syn *womman* had of the feend swich might ;
To breke a mannes¹ heed / it seemeth light. 728

(105)

So let no husband
feel shame if his
wife break his
head.

' ffor why, let noon housbonde / thynke it shame 729
Ne reproof vn-to him / ne vilenye,
Thogh his wyf do to him þat selue same.
Hir reson axith haue of men maistrie 732
Thogh holy writ witnessse and testifie ¶ *Eodem capitulo /*
Men sholde of hem han dominacioun, ¶ *Sub viri potestate eris /*
It is the reuers in probacioun. ¶ *& ipse dominabitur tui*
735

(106)

[leaf 21, back]
Hang up your
hatchet, and sit
down.

How do you and
your wife get on?

Hoccleve.
She wouldn't
like me to tell
you.

' Hange vp his hachet / & sette him adoun ;² 736
ffor *wommen* wole assente in no maneere
Vn-to þat poynt / ne þat conclusioun.
¶ Thomas / how is it twixt thee & thy feere? 739
¶ " Wel, wel, *quod* I / what list yow ther^o-of heere?
My wyf mighte haue hokir & greet desdeyn
If I sholde in swich eas / pleye a soleyu." 742

(107)

Hoccleve's friend.
If you want to
live in ease,

take patiently
all that women
say.

¶ ' Now Thomas / if thee list to lyue in ese, 743
Prolle aftir *wommennes* beneuolence.
Thogh it be dangerous / good is hem plesse,
ffor hard is it / to renne in hir^o offense.
What so they seyn / take al in pacience. 747
Bette art thow nat / than thy fadres before,
Thomas, han been / be right wel waar therefore.' 749

¹ Why is a man's head easier to break than a serpent's?

² Compare the *Wife of Bath's Prolog and Tale.*

*because
serpent
eat*

(108)

- ¶ "ffreend, hard it is / wommen to greene, I grante ; 751
 But what haue I agilt / for him þat dyde,
 Nat haue I doon why / dar I me auante,
 Out of wommenes graces slippe or slyde."
 ¶ "Yis, Thomas, yis / in thepistle of Cuyde 754
 Thow haast of hem / so largeliche said,
 That they been swart wrooth / & ful euele apaid." 756

In your
 'Epistle of Cupid'
 [in Stowe's hand]
 you've abused
 'em, and they're
 angry with you.

(109)

- ¶ "ffreend / doutelees sumwhat ther is ther-in 757
 þat sowneth but right smal to hir honour ;
 But as to þat / now, for your fadir kyn,
 Considereth / ther-of / was I noon Auctour ;
 I nas in þat eas / but a reportour ✓ 761
 Of folkes tales / as they seide / I wroot :
 I nat affermed it on hem / god woot ! 763

[leaf 25]

Hoccleve.
 But I didn't write
 that myself.

I only reported
 other folks' tales.

(110)

- "Who so þat shal reherce a mannes sawe, 764
 As þat he seith / moot he seyn & nat varie,¹
 ffor, and he do / he dooth ageyn the lawe
 Of trouthe / he may tho wordes nat contrarie.
 Who-so þat seith 'I am hir' Aduersarie, 768
 And dispreise hir condicions and port,
 ffor þat I made of hem swich a report,' / 770

Whoever reports
 a man's sayings,
 must write what
 he said.

And if any one
 says I run down
 women because I
 reported things
 of 'em in my
 'Cupid,'

(111)

- "He mis-auysed is / and eek to blame. 771
 Whan I it spak^t / I spak compleynyngly ;
 I to hem thogfite no reproof ne shame.
 What world is this / how vnderstande am I ? 774
 Looke in the same book^t / what stikith by ?
 Who so lookith aright / ther²-in may see
 þat they me oghiten haue in greet cheertee, 777

I didn't reprove
 'em.

On the contrary,

Women ought to
 hold me dear,

¹ This is Chaucer's excuse for telling his naughty Tales.

(112)

[leaf 25, back]
or I don't know
what's what.

“And elles / woot I neuere what is what. 778

The book^t concludith for hem / is no nay,
Vertuously / my good freend / dooth it nat?”

¶ ‘Thomas, I noot / for neuere it yit I say.’

“No, freend?” ¶ ‘no, Thomas’ / ¶ “Wel trowe I,
in fay; 782

If you'd read it
you'd confess
your mistake.

ffor had yee red it fully to the ende,
yee wolde seyn / it is nat as yee wende.” 784

(113)

Hoccleve's friend.
‘Well, Thomas,
do as I bid you;
please the women.

‘Thomas / how so it be / do as I seide : 785

Syn it displesith hem / amendes make.

If þat some of hem thee ther-of vpbreide,

Thow shalt be bisy ynow, I vudirtake,

Thy kut to keepe / now I thee bytake 789

God send you
their love!

To god / for I moot needs fro thee weende :

The love and thank^t of wommen / god thee seende !

(114)

Now and then I
shall visit you
before your
book's done,

‘Among, I thynke thee for to visyte 792

Or þat thy book^t fully finisshid be,

ffor looth me were / thow sholdest aght wryte

Wherthurgh / thow mightest gete any maugree ;

and see that you
don't write any-
thing to annoy
women.’

And for þat cause / I wole it ouersee ; 796

And, Thomas / now a dieu & fare weel ;

Thow fynde me shalt / al so treewe as steel.’ 798

(115)

[leaf 26]
When my friend
was gone,

Whan he was goon / I in myn herte dredde 799

Stonde out of wommennes beneuolence ;

And to fulfillen þat / þat he me redde,

I resolv'd to work
to win women's
love.

I shoop me do my peyne and diligence

To wynne hir loue by obedience. 803

Thogh I my wordes can nat wel portreye /

Lo, heer the fourme / how I hem obeye. 805

(116)

¶ My ladyes aH / as wisly god me blesse,	806	But, ladies,
Why þat yee meeued been / can I nat knowe ;		
My gilt cam neuere yit' to the ripnesse,		
Al-thogli yee for your fo / me decme & trowe ;		tho' you think
But I your freend be / byte me the crowe !	810	me your foe, I'm
I am al othir to yow / than yee weene ;		your friend, or
By my wrytynge / hath it, & shal be, scene.	812	else may the
		Crow bite me !

(117)

But natheles / I lowly me submitte	813	
To your bontees / as fer as they han place		
In yow / vn-to me, wrecche, it may wel sitte		Still, I'll beg your
To axe parloun / thogh I nat trespac ;		pardon tho' I've
Leuer is me / with pitous cheere & face,	817	never harmd you.
And meek spirit, do so / than open werre		
yee make me / & me putte atte werre. ¹	819	

(118)

A tale eek' / which I in the Romayn deedis	820	[leaf 26, back ¹]
Now late sy / in honour & plesance		And, to please
Of yow, my ladyes /—as I moot needis,		you, ladies,
Or take my way / for fere in-to ffrance,—		
Thogh I nat shapen be / to prike or prañce,—	824	
Wole I translate / and þat shal pourge, I hope,		I'll english you a
My gilt / as cleene / as keuerchiefs dooth sope.	826	tale from the
		<i>Gesta Roma-</i>
		<i>norum.</i>

¹ At foot, in a later hand : 'Hyharie' (?).² Per me gabriell curtys [in a later hand at top].

[For various readings from MS Reg. 17 D 6, see p. 243.]

XXII.

Fabula de quadam Imperatrice Romana.

(1)

The *Gesta Romanorum* says the Emperor Jereslaus

wedded the fair daughter of the King of Hungary,

In the Romain actes writen is thus : 1
 Whitom an Emperour in the Citee
 Of Roome regned, clept Iereslaus,
 Which, his noble estat & hy dignitee
 Gouverneð wysly ; & weddid had he 5
 The doghtir of the kyng of Vngarie,
 A fair lady / to enery mannes ye. 7

(2)

a virtuous and merciful woman.

And for þat beautee in womman, allone 8
 Withouten bontee, is nat commendable,
 Shee was ther-to / a vertuous persone,
 And specially pitous & merciabe
 In aH hir wirkes / which ful couenable 12
 And pertinent is / vn-to wommanhede :
 Mercy causith / good renoñ fer to sprede.¹ 14

(3)

[leaf 27]
Jereslaus resolves

to go to the Holy Land.

Now in my tale fourth wole I proceede : 15
 As þat this Emperour in his bed lay
 Vp-on a nyght / a thoght gan in him breede,
 Vn-to the holy land / to take his way ;
 And on the morwe / left² lenger delay, 19
 His wyf and his brothir / he made appeere
 Before him / and hem seide in this maneere : 21

(4)

He tells his wife.

“ My deere wyf / myn hertes ioie and hele, 22
 þat thyng þat stablisshid in myn herte is,
 I can nat hyde fro thee / ne concele,
 Ne nat ne wole / and shortly it is this :
 Vn-to the holy lond / I wole ywis ; 26

¹ b b b h h h Thomas kyngston hath Rede this gudly boke [in a later hand at the bottom of the page]. ² ? MS. lest.

- And for thy / make I thee principally
Of al thempyre / me absent / ' lady,' 28 He makes his
wife "Lady" of
the Empire,
- (5)
- "Bytakyng and committyng vn-to thee,
Of peple and land / the charge special ; 29 with charge of the
folk and land ;
And vndir thee / my brothir heer shal be
Steward of it / to rule & gouerne al
and his brother
"Steward," to
rule all
That to me and my peple, greet & smal, 33
Profitable is / by Conseil & assent
by her advice.
Algate of thee / and thyn aysament.¹ 35
- (6)
- "Al-thogh thee thynke / this purpos sodeyn,
Yit be nat heuy / but in gree it take. 36 [leaf 27, back]
With goddes grace / my comyng agēyn
Shal nat be longe to / I, for thy sake,
Wole the shorter' abood / there make. 40 He promises, for
her sake, to come
back home as soon
as he can.
Truste me weel / as blyue as þat I may,
Haaste I me wole / fro thennes away." 42
- (7)
- ¶ To whom / with spirit of humilitee,
She seide / "syn it is your good plesance 43 His wife, the
Empress,
To departe hens / & / go to þat Contree,
I take moot algates, in souffrance,
Your wil / and shal, with hertes obeissance, 47
As trewe as turtle / þat lakkith hir feere
In your absence / I shal be / my lord deere. 49 She will be as
true to him as the
turtle-dove to its
mate.
- (8)
- "fful sore I am agast, & greetly dreede 50
þat neuere yee shuln thennes with your lyf'
Retorne / almighty god yow saue & speede !"
he [to] hir' yaf wordes confortatyf,
And kiste hir' / and seide, "farewel, wyf ! 54
Be nat abasshit / ne nat dreedith, I preye ;"
And foorth he hastith him in his iourneye. 56 The Emperor
starts for the
Holy Land.

¹ Later scribble at side ; ' h h ham for . . L L L . . L L,' &c.

(9)

[leaf 28] The Empress grieves greatly at his going.	The sorwe of herte / and cheer' of heuynesse ¹ Which this good lady at his departynge Made / the book ^t nat can telle or expresse ; Wherfore / of þat haue I no knowlechyng ; Eek kepe I nat / the belle of sorwe out rynges, Thogh þat I kneew wel every circumstance Of hir' wo / & hir' heuy contenance.	57 61 63
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(10)

His brother gets proud, oppresses the poor, and robs the rich.	¶ But whan this Emperour was thus agoon, His brothirs herte was so eleuat And so proud / þat by wight ne sette he noon ; Him self forgat he / for his hy estat ; The pore & simple folk / this potestat Oppressid sore / and dide hem greet duresse ; The riche / he robbid eek ^t of hir richesse.	64 68 70
--	---	----------------------------

(11)

Worse still, he plans and strives to carry out a greater crime ; but a woman's No stops him.	And yit this wikkid man / this Seneschal, Meeued was werse / and to fulfilh it / thoghþe ; he dide his might / and his peyne total, And alle weyes / serchid he & sogþe, And to brynge it aboute he faste wroþe ; Al-thogh he faillid / at preef and assay, He was knyht vp / with a wommanly nay.	71 75 77
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(12)

[leaf 28, back] This Steward or Seneschal tries to make the Empress lie with him. She refuses,	He day by day lay / on this Emperice ² To make hir' vn-to him flessþly consente ; ¶ But shee answerde / " it wer' ouer greet vice To me / if I ther-to myn herte bente. Nay, brothir, nay / god woot, I neuere it mente,	78 82
---	---	------------------

¹ thomas . . Thomas kaye the sonne of thomas kay . . Thom-
mas Kaye the sone of Thommas Kaye . . Thomas Kaye the sonne
. . s hus' [in a later hand in the margin].

² In a later hand, at top : ' be it kouge vnto all men be thes
present Wryting.'

Ne neuere shal / I truste in goddes grace ;
 Yee goon wrong / yee mis-chosen han your place. 84

(13)

“ In al your lyf / yee neuere, ne noon othir, 85
 Shal make me consente to þat synne.

ffor shame, fy / þat yee, my lordes brothir,
 And whom þat he right feithful trust hath Inne, 89
 Sholde any swich tale / to me begynne,

and reproaches
 him for his
 treachery to his
 brother,

Which wer' ageyn his / and your honestee,
 And myn / þat am his wyf, wel knowen yee. 91

whose wife she is.

(14)

“ A treewe wyf / I lyue wole & dye ; 92
 his wole I be / to whom þat I am bownde

She will be a
 true wife to her
 husband.

Whyle he lyueth and I / withouten lye ;
 Trustith wel / it noon othir shal be fownde.”

But for al this / at every tyme & stownde 96
 he stired hire / whan he fond hir soul,

But still this bad
 Steward urges her
 to vice.

Vn-to this deede vicious and foul. 98

(15)

And whan shee sy / shee mighte haue no reste,— 99
 Nat wolde he stynte of his iniquitee,—

[leaf 29]

Shee aftir three / or foure / of the gretteste
 Of al thempire sente / and thus spake shee :

The Empress
 sends for 3 or 4
 Magnates,

¶ “ Sires / the cause / þat hath meeued me 103
 ffor yow to sende / is this / as I shal seyn,

and tells them

Of which / I sore encombred am / certeyn : 105

(16)

“ yee woot wel / þat my lord the Emperour, 106
 In his absence / hath maad me principal

that the Emperor
 made her Chief
 of the Empire,

Of thempire / and his brothir gouernour
 And Steward vndir me / for to rule al,

and his brother
 Steward, to rule

With this addicioñ / þat he nat shal 110
 Wirke / my Conseil and assent vnhad :

by her advice.

This was my lordes wil / and thus he bad ; 112

(17)

But the Steward has opprest and robd,	“ And natheles / the poore he hath oppressid, And robbid ryche folk ^t / yee woot, I trowe ;	113
and tried to do worse to her.	And werse thyng / which shal nat been expressid As now / he wolde han doon / my self it knowe ; Wherfore / vp-on the feith / which þat ye owe	117
The Magnates must imprison	To my lord / and on his part, I yow charge Enprisono him / let him nat goon at large ; ¹	119

(18)

[leaf 29, back] and fetter him	fettereth him faste” / and they answerden thus :	120
	¶ “ Ma dame / he hath doon many a wikkid deede Syn our lord wente / it wel knowe is to vs. To your <i>commandement</i> / as we moot neede / We wole obeie / but withoute dreede	124
	yee muste in this / warrante vs and allowe, Lest our lord / whan he comth / vs disallowe.”	126

(19)

	¶ “ What, Sires,” <i>quod</i> shee / “ doutith yow right noghit ; ffor if my lord kneew / as mochil as I,	128
	That he hath doon / sholde be deere boghit. þat I yow charge / wole I stande by.”	
She will stand by them. So the Magnates put the Steward in prison and in letters.	They made anoon areest on his body, And in-to prison / they him threwe & caste, And fettred him in yren bondes faste,	131 133

(20)

When he hears the Emperor is coming home,	Wher ^d he abood / til þat word comen was, How þat the Emperour was hoom comynge. Thanne he thus thoghite / “ how shal I doon / allas, Now knowe shal my lord, by enquiryng, The verray cause of myn enprisonynge,	134 138
---	--	------------

¹ Later, at foot :	ii	—	s	—	d	
	1	—	10	—	2	
	—	—	9	—	4	
			3		4	84

[1 crost thro' for 2] 2 2 10 100

S^a to to Summa totalis 42 10

Wherthurgh, his grace / I vtirly shal leese,
Or *per cas* / my lyf / I ne shal nat cheese ; 140

(21)

“In feith if I may / it shal nat be so.” 141 [leaf 30]
A messenger / as blyue ordeyned he, he sends to the
And made him / to the Emperice go, Empress,
And byseeche hir' / of hir hy[e] bontee, and begs her
Syn shee had ay been of hir grace free, 145
þat shee so mochil grace / wolde him do, to come and speak
As come / and speke a word *wiþh* him or two. 147 to him.

(22)

¶ Vn-to the dore / of his prison / shee cam ; 148
Withouten danger / shee ther-to obeide :
“What is your wil,” *quod* shee / “lo, heer' I am.” She comes.
He lookid pitously // and meekly preide,¹
“O gracious lady / reewe on me,” he seide ; 152 He prays her
“If *þat* my lord me fynde heer' in prison, to pity him.
My deeth wole it been, & confusion. 154

(23)

“My gentil lady / what shal yow profyte 155 What good 'll his
To do me of a mescheuous deeth sterte ? death do her ?
If *þat* I lyue may / wole I me qwyte
Trewely to yow / and your thank disserue. If she'll spare
What yow list me *commande* / I wole obserue, 159 him, he'll repay
And do as humbly as any man her and deserve
þat in this world lyueth / do may or can.” 161 her mercy.

(24)

And shee noon right, meeted of pitee, 162 [leaf 30, back]
Seide / “if [*þat*] I wiste *þat* of thy folie
Thow stynte woldest, & amende thee She says that if
Hens-foorth / and thee vn-to vertu applie, she can be sure
My grace wolde I nat to thee denye.” 166 he'll amend,
He seide and swor / al *þat* he cowde swere, He swears he will.
Amende he wolde / and wel aftir him bere. 168

¹ Later, at side: ‘hyghte . . Thomas . . bee.’

(25)

	¶ O noble lady / symple and Innocent,	169
Alas, she trusts him,	Trustynge vp-on his ooth and his promesse, fful wo is me / for thy wo consequent ! Often happith / wommannes tendrenesse Torneth hir' vn-to harm / and to duresse :	173
	This Emperice fond it so by preef, Whom þat forsworn man / greet harm dide, & greef.	175

(26)

sets him free,	This man shee tookt out of the prison hous,	176
	And made him bathid been, and fresshly shaue,	
clothes him,	And dide him clothe in clothes precious,	
puts him on a steed,	And a fressh Courser / eek ^t shee made him haue, And seide, " now, brothir / so god yow saue !	180
and bids him ride with her to meet the Emperor.	Takith your hors / and ryde foorth with me Toward my lord " / and foorth with hir' rood he.	182

(27)

[leaf 31] As they ride, a hart starts,	And as they riden / right in the hy way ¹ Ny a floreste / an hert before hem ran :	183
and every man rushes after it.	Ther nas but " ryde on, ryde / and hay, dogge, hay !" Euery man dooth his peyne / in what he can, The hert to suë / ther leftë no man	187
The Emperess is left alone with the Steward.	With this good lady / sauf this wikkid wight, This Steward / which brak ^t al þat he had hight.	189

(28)

	¶ Par auenture / men wole han meruailH,	190
	That damoisele / with hir' had shee noon :	
	No force of þat / the book ^t withouten faitH Makith no mynde / as mochil as of oon ;	
(This happend long ago.)	This chaunce shoop / many a yeer agoon ; That tyme par cas / was no swich array As þat in sundry Contrees is this day.	194 196

¹ Later, at top: 'within . . . from eve dep.'

(29)

Whan this knyght sy / ther was noon but they two,	197	
To themperice / he seide in this maneere :		He asks her
“It is ago fern / syn I spak' yow to		
Of loue / come on now, my lady deere,		to come into the forest and yield to his desire.
With me / in-to this prinee foreste heere,	201	
That y of yow / may haue my talent!		
Now shal be doon / þat I longe haue ment.”	203	

(30)

¶ “What, fool / took I thee nat out of prison),	204	[leaf 31, back]
No lenger' hens / than yistirday,” <i>quod</i> shee,		She reproaches him,
In trust and hope / of thy correccion,		
As thow swoor / and behightest vn-to me ;		
And now to thy folie and nycetee	208	
Retourne woldest thow / nay, doutelees		
It shal nat be / stynte and holde thy pees !	210	bids him hold his tongue,

(31)

“Ther neuere shal man / do with me þat deede,	211	
Sauf my lord themperour / which þat of right		
Licenced is ther-to / o, god forbeede,		
þat by myn honestee / sette I so light!		
Peyne thee nat ther-to / for in thy might	215	
Shal it nat be / thy wil for to <i>perfourme</i> ;		
By no way wole I me ther-to <i>confourme</i> .”	217	and absolutely refuses him.

(32)

And he answerde / and spak' vnreuerently :	218	He declares that if she won't give herself to him,
“But if þat thow / consente wilt to me		he'll hang her on a tree by her hair,
In this foreste / as swythe right wole y		
Hange thee by thyn heer / vp-on a tree,		
Wher no wight shal thee fynde / and so,” <i>quod</i> he,	222	
Of wikkid deeth / thow sterue shalt & die ;		to starve and die.
Truste on noon help at al, ne remedie.”	224	

(33)

[leaf 32]	¶ “By thy manaces / sette I nat a myte,”	225
She scorns his threats.	Shee seide / “of hem haue I no dreede at al. Thogh̄ thow me thretne / myn heed of to smyte, And do me what torment thow canst / I shal Thee werne ay þat / this for answer ¹ final	229
He shall never have her alive.	Take if thee list / for, to þat poynt me dryue, Thow neuere shalt / whyles I am on lyue.	231

(34)

	“Thow woost wel / in effect / thus seide I eer.”	232
The Steward strips the Empress to her smock, hangs her on an oak by her hair,	He strypid hir ¹ anon / left al delay, Vn-to hir smok / and heng hir ¹ by hir ¹ heer Vp-on an ook ¹ / and by hir ¹ , hir palfray He stonde leet / and foorth on deuel way	236
and rides off, the tyrant.	Rood this tirant / this man malicious, This cruel-herted man emuenymous.	238

(35)

	And whan he had his felawshipe atake,	239
Then he lies to his men,	He blew and blustred / and made heuy cheere ; And a strong lesyng ¹ / he gan to hem make ;	
and says that the Empress was carried off by force from him.	He seide, “allas / þat I nere on my beere, So wo is me / for þat my lordes feere, My lady, is me reft / by force of men.”	243
	God yeue him sorwe // and aH swiche [Amen] !	245

(36)

[leaf 32, back]	¶ O false lyer ¹ / o thow cofre and cheste ¹	246
Liar, stinking adulterer,	Of vnelennesse / o stynkyng Aduoutour In wil, seye I / and willy to inceste ;	
traitor,	O false man to god / and thow traitour To thy lord and brothir, the Emperour ;	250
	O enemy to wyfly chastitee, And in thy wirkes ful of crueltee ;	252

¹ Later, at top : ‘O false lyer.’

(37)

- ¶ O cursid feendly wrecche / why hast thou 253 devilish wretch!
 Deceyued & betrayed Innocence?
 What wilt thou seye / & how wilt thou looke, how,
 Whan thou comest / to thy Lordes presence,
 And art opposid by his excellence, 257
 How þat it *wit*h his lady hath betid[de]?
 I am seur / þat the trouthe shal been [hidde]. 259

(38)

- ffor as wel as þat to thy compaignie 260
 Thow lyedist / whan thou hem ouertookt /
 As lowde wilt thou / vn-to thy lord lye, you'll lie to your
 I woot wel / and *wit*h bokde face and lookt. Lord.
 Natheles / of this tretith nat the bookt; 264
 Wherforē to my talē wole I go,
 Of this lady / and fourth tel of hir wo. 266

(39)

- ¶ Whan þat shee so had hanged dayes three,¹ 267 [leaf 33]
 By þat forestē / rood ther on huntynge
 An Erl / þat was of a strangē contree ; An Earl, while
 Beforn whos howndes was a fox rennyng, hunting,
 And they aftir it blyuē folewyng ; 271
 And as þat they ran / they hadden a sent
 Of the lady / and thidir be they went ; 273

(40)

- And there as shee heeng / they stood at a bay. 274
 This Erl, of þat meruaillynge him greetly, sees the Empress
 Thidir him hyeth / in al þat he may ; hanging on the
 And whan he hire / there hangynge sy, oak.
 He seidē / “ womman / what art thou, & why 278
 Hangest thou in this wyse vp-on the tree?”
 ¶ “ A strange womman / sire, am I ” / *quod* shee, 280

¹ Later, at top: ‘Wh . . . Benāmen . . . benefold . . . Benianna . . . Bence e e e.’ At side: ‘Thomas, I haue my hertili comendyd vnto you of du . . .’

(41)

	“ Of fer[re] parties / how in-to this place	281
she won't tell him who she is.	I cam / god woot” / shee wolde by no way Deskeuere what shee was / ne what fallace Was doon to hire / cloos she kepte hire ay, And tolde nat o word of hire affray.	285
	Than axed hire the Erl / “ whos hors is this þat by thee standith?” // <i>quod</i> shee, “ myn it is ;”	

(42)

[leaf 33, back]	Wherby the Erl anoon right vnderstood	288
	þat it noon othir wyse mighte be, But shee sum gentil womman was of blood ;	
The Earl pities her,	And in his herte / routhe of hire had he, And seide to hire / “ if it lyke thee,	292
and offers to free her	Vn-to my wil / thee confourme and enclyne / Deliure wole I thee / out of thy pyne.	294

(43)

	“ Lo, this I meene / this is myn entente ;	295
	A yong doghtir / haue I in soothfastnesse, Of which I wolde / if þat thee list assente, Thow tooke on thee to be gouerneresse, And teche hire / as longith to a Maistresse	299
if she'll be his daughter's governess.	þat Lordes children han in governaiH ; And wel wole I thee qwyte thy trauaiH ;	301

(44)

	“ Myn entente is þat / and othir right noon.”	302
she agrees, is taken down,	¶ “ Sire,” <i>quod</i> shee / gladly wole I obeye To yow in þat” / and shee was take anoon Doun fro the tree / & shortly for to seye, With him to his Castel / shee rood hir weye ;	306
goes to the Earl's castle, and takes charge of his girl.	And of the chyld / shee tooke the gouernance, Which tordned hire affir to greet nusance.	308



(45)

Shee <i>wit</i> this yong chyld in the Chambre lay ¹	309	[leaf 3t]
Euery nyght / wher lay therl and the Contesse,		She sleeps with the child in the Earl's room.
Betwixt whos beddes brente a lampe alway ;		
And wel beloued / for hire hy goodnesse,		
Of euery wight was / bothe more and lesse,	313	
This Emperice / til vp-on a nyght,		
Giltles, hir good loos / refte a wikkid wight.	315	

(46)

¶ Ther was a Styward / in this Erles hous,	316	The Earl's Steward wants to lie with her.
þat to hire ofte had spoke of flessly loue ;		
To whom seide ay this lady gracious,		
“ Maad haue I an avow to god aboue,		
Loueres alle / fro myn herte shoue,	320	
Sauf conly him / whom, of goddes precept,		
To Loue / I holde am / and þat shal be kept.	322	

(47)

“ I truste in god / myn herte shal nat change	323	She refuses him.
ffro þat, whil my lyf shal soiourne in me.”		
¶ “ O / wilt thou so / wilt thou make it so strange ;		
Wilt thou noon othir wyse do,” <i>quod</i> he.		
¶ “ þat I seid haue / I wole holde,” <i>quod</i> shee.	327	
And whan he sy / noon othir remedie,		
He wroothly wente / out of hir compaignie.	329	He resolves to be

(48)

And fro thens foorth / compassid in his wit, ²	330	[leaf 34, back]
How to be venged / vp-on hire, & wroken.		revenged on her.
¶ And on a nyght / vnhappily shoop it,		
Left was the Erles Chambre dore vnstoken ;		
To which he com / and fond it was nat loken,	334	

¹ Later scribble at top and side : ‘ o . . of . . of the saide saide . . of the saide . . . 4,000,000,000 . . 278231459 . . . as . . of the Of . . Sy . . 400,000,000 . . 29,000,000.’

² Later letters often scribbled in margins : D, h, y, a, w, n h n, and ‘ myn . . . And for . . . where . . . hyl.’

The Steward steals into her bedroom,	And theefly in stal / this wikkid persone, Where as he fond hem slepyng euerychone.	336
	(49)	
	And he espyde / by the lampes light, The bed / where as þat lay the Emperice With therles doghtir / and as blyue right This feendly man his purposid malice Thoghite for to fulfiH and accomplice ;	337 341
cuts the throat of the Earl's child,	And so he dide / a long knyf he out drow, And ther-with-al / the mayden chyld he slow.	343
	(50)	
and puts the bloody knife into the sleeping Empress's hand.	Hir throte with þat knyf / on two he kutte ; And as this Emperice / lay slepyng, In-to hire hand / this bloody knyf he putte, ffor men sholde haue noon othir demynge, But shee had gilty been / of this murdrynge. And whan þat he / had wroght this cursidnesse, Anoon out of the Chambre / he gan him dresse.	344 348 350
	(51)	
[leaf 35] The Countess sees the knife, wakes the Earl,	¶ The Contesse affir / of hir sleep awakid, ¹ To themperices bed gan caste hir lookt, And sy the bloody knyf in hire hond nakid, And for the fere / shee tremblid and qwookt And rogged on hir lord / and him awookt, Preyyng him / to the bed he looke wolde, And there a meruailous thyng / seen he sholde.	351 355 357
	(52)	
who thinks the Empress guilty,	¶ Whan he was wel awakid of his sleep, He lookid ther-to / as shee him besoghte, And it byheeld / and of it tookt good keep, And of þat meschief / him sore forthoghite Demyng þat this cursid dede wroghte This Emperice / as þat it was ful lyk To been / and vp he threew an heuy syk,	358 362 364

¹ Later, at top and in margin : 'The Contesse . . dan (?) . . . H . . pr . . p . .'

(53)

And hire awook^t / and thus to hire he cryde, 365
 "Womman! what is þat in thyn hand I see?
 What hast thou doon, womman? for him þat dyde, and accuses her
 What wikkid spirit / hath trauaillid thee?" of the murder.
 And as soone / as þat adawid was shee, 369
 The knyf fil out of hire hond in the bed[de],
 And shee byheeld the clothes al bybled[de] / 371

(54)

And the chyld deed: "Allas!" shee cryde, "allas!"¹ [leaf 35, back]
 How may this be / god woot al / I noot how; 373
 I am nat pryuee to this heuy cas;
 The gilt is nat myn / I the chyld nat slow." She vows she
 To which spak^t the contesse / "what seist thou? 376 didn't kill the
 Excuse the nat / thou maist nat seyn nay; child.
 The knyf al bloody / in thyn hand I say." 378

(55)

And thus / vn-to hir lord / shee cryde anoon: 379
 "Slee this cursid feend / þat our chyld hath slayn!" The Countess
 Lat hire no lengere [now] on lyue goon! demands that the
 þat y neuere had hire seen / wolde I ful fayn, Empress shall
 But or shee heer cam / þat shee had be flayn! 383 be slain.
 ffor so greet wo / cam neuere to myn herte:
 Slee hire as blyue / lat nat hire asterte!" 385

(56)

Al-thogh þat shee were in this cas vengeable, 386
 ffor causes two / me thynkith it smal vice,
 Shee was in þat in partie excusable: (And surely
 ¶ Oon is / shee wende / þat the Emperice appearances
 Hire chyld had slayn of purposid malice; 390 justified her
 And so it seemed / as by liklyhede, in this.
 Al be it / þat nat were it so in dede. 392

¹ Scribbles of letters at top and in margin: 'H . . Hn . . f . .
 the loh, H H, y y y y y, h h h h h, h h, h h, non ny non,
 h h, s.'

(57)

[leaf 36]	þat othir cause / as woot euery man :	393
No love is so great as a mother's for her child;	In [al] the world / so louynge tendrenesse Is noon / as is the loue of a womman To hir chy'ld namely / & as I gesse,	
and for her hus- band, we married men may say.)	To hire housbonde also / where-of / wittnesse We weddid men may here / if þat vs lyke, And so byhoueth / a thank' vs to pyke.	397 399

(58)

	¶ Now feorth / how the erl to themperice him hadde, And how þat he gouerned þat mateere, Herkneth / with heuy cheere & wordes sadde, To hire he spak' / and seide in this maneere :	401 403
The Earl says he'll not kill the Empress.	“Womman / with my swerd / slee wolde I thee heere, Sauf for awe of god / at whos reuerence þat deede wole I putte in abstinence.	406

(59)

	“Thow haue shalt for me noon harm at al ; But who-so trustith on the curtesie Of thee / ful soone he deceyued be shal. Whan þat thow were / on a tree hangid hye, Where as thow likly haddest been to dye, Thow woost wel / ther-from I deliured thee, And with my Doghtres deeth / thow quit hast me !	407 411 413
He set her free, and in return she's kild his daughter.		

(60)

[leaf 36, back]	“Vnkynde womman / walke on forth thy way ; Hye thee hens / and neuere see my face ; ffor if þat I / heere-aftir thee see may,— Outhir in this / or eny othir place Of my lordshipe /—thow noon othir grace Shalt han / but die a deeth ful villenous, Thow wikkid womman, fals and traiterous !	414 418 420
She must go, or else be slain.		

(61)

The Empress speaks no word,	This Innocent lady / no word ageyn Spak' / for shee spoken had ynow beforn,	421
--------------------------------	--	-----

Excusynge hire / but, al was in veyn ;
 ffor whan þat shee had al y-seyd and sworn,
 Shee with the Erl and his wyf / was doun born ; 425
 And sikirly / where as þat no credence
 May been had / wysdam conseillith silence. 427

(62)

¶ What leue þat shee took^t / ne woot I nat, 428
 Or þat shee fro þat place was y-went ;—
 The booke maketh no mencion of that ;—
 But hire palfray / shee hire self hath hent,
 And so foorth roode toward the orient. 432
 O Emperice / our lord god gye thee,
 ffor yit thee folwith more aduersitee.¹ 434

(63)

As shee rood, on hir right hand / shee espyde 435 [leaf 37]
 A galwe tree / to which men a theef ledde,
 Hanged to been / and to hire horses syde
 The spore gooth / shee faste hire thidir spedde,
 ffor verray routhe hir thoghþe hire herte bledde, 439
 And to the Officers / meekly shee preide
 In this wyse / and right thus shee to hem seide : 441

(64)

“Sires, if yow list / this mannes lyf saue 442
 I reedy am / to yeue yow good meede.”
 ¶ “We wole wel,” quod they / “what shul we haue ?
 What lykith yow / for his lyf vs to beede ?
 Paieth therfore wel / and yee shul speede.” 446
 They of the paiement / accordid were ;
 Shee paide / and this man / foorth shee took^t with here.

¹ In margin, in a later hand :

Of aþe thing:s that I can fynde,

Hope dothe help the carefull mynd^t, quod Carter.

At foot : s d.

20

10 — 2

9 — 4

39 6

(65)

“Be to me treewe” / now *quod* shee, “my freend, 449
Syn fro thy deeth / deliured haue y thee.”

The rescued Thief
promises to serve
the Empress
faithfully.

¶ “Yis, certes, lady / elles to the feend,
Body and soule bytake y,” seide he ;
“Noon othir wolde I / for al cristientee, 453
Been vn-to yow” / and fourth shee rood hir way,
And on his foot / this man hire folwith ay,¹ 455

(66)

[leaf 37, back]

She sends him
to find an Inn
in a City,

Til þat they drow / vn-to a Citee ny,² 456
Whidir beform / shee bad him for to go
And take hire In / so þat shee honestly
Mighte Inned been / and he dide right so,
And taried nat his lady longe fro, 460
But ageyn hire / as blyue right this man,
To brynge hire thidir / faste wente & ran. 462

(67)

and then lives
there.

Shee cam in-to hir In / and abood there 463
Dayes dyuerse / for hire ese and reste ;
And in the Citee / fame wydewhere
Sprang / how a lady / the womanlyeste
Of cheere / port / shap / and eek^t the faireste 467
That any wight beholde mighte or see,
Was come / and Inned hire in the Citee. 469

(68)

She is courted
in vain by many
lovers.

Many a lusty man / in loues art 470
Expert and sotil / drow hem to hire In,
Weenyng han geten þat / of which no part

¹ At foot, later : li s d
 1 — 10 — 2
 9 — 4
 —————
 1 19 6

Summa totalis 39^s 6d

² In margin, in a later hand :

Thys ys Iohā Hanook ys boke, ho so ener saye naye,
the deuyll of hell bere Thomas Carter awaye !
Know er thow knyht, and then thow mayst slake ; (see p. 124)
Iff thow knyht [*MS.* kynt] er thow know, then hyt ys to late.

They gete kowde / for noon art ne gyn.
 To thententes corrupt / þat they were In, 474
 Shee wolde for no thyng / bowe & enlyne ;
 Hire hertes Castel / kowde they nat myne. 476

(69)

As fer as the boundes of honestee¹ 477 [leaf 38]
 Requeren / shee made hem disport and cheere ;
 But passynge it / for al hir sotiltee,
 ffor profre of meede / ne for faire preyeere,
 Shee change nokle hir vertuous maneeere ; 481 but nothing more.
 The lessons þat they in Ouyde had red,
 Halp hem right noght / they wenten thens vnsped. 483

(70)

¶ O. yee þat seyn / wommen be variant, 484 How silly it is
 And can nat sad been / if they been assaillid ;
 Yee been ful vnkonnynge and ignorant,
 And of the soothe / foule yee han faillid ;
 Constance is vn-to wommanhode entaillid ; 488
 Out of þat fee / they nat be dryue may ;
 Swich hir nature is / thogh sum men seyn nay, 490

(71)

They stidefast been / as fer as y woot, 491
 But it be / wher they take han a purpos
 þat naght is / which, be it neuere so hoot,
 They change / lest it hurte mighte hir loos,
 And keepen it secrete / couert & cloos, 495
 Vnexecut / thogh of hem nat a fewe
 The reuers doon / what / the feend is a shrewe. 497

(72)

Let al this passe / ther cam to the port 498 [leaf 38, back]
 Of this Citee / a ship with marchandyse
 Charged / where-of hir man made report
 To his lady / shee bad him in al wyse
 Go thidir, and see / and him wel auyse 502
 She sends to know

¹ At top, later : A nunni a A a nunni A nunni k k k (?).

what's on board
of it. What thyng ther-in was / & word hoom hire brynge,
Withoute any delay or tarynge. 504

(73)

Her man (the
Thief) finds rich
stuffs, He thidir wente / & clothes precious, 505
Amonges othir thynges / there he fond ;
fful ryche was the stuf, and plenteuous,
Of the ship / and the maistir, by the hond
he took / and seide / " ga we to the lond, 509
[Vn]To my ladyes In / shee wolde bye,
If þat yow list / sum of your marchandie." 511

(74)

and takes the
Shipman ¶ " I wole gladly " / seide the Shipman ; 512
And to the ladyes In / they bothe two
Goon / but before dressith him hir man,
And reported hire / as him oghite do,
What he had in the ship seen / and ther-to, 516
That the Shipman was comen / he hir tolde,
Axyng hire / if shee with him speke wolde. 518

(75)

[leaf 39]
to the Empress. ¶ " Yis," *quod* shee / " let him in come, I the preye." 520
He entred / and vn-to him thus spak shee :
¶ " Sire / yee han in your ship heere, y seye,
She asks him to
bring his cloths
to her. Dyuerse precious clothes / and if yee
Wolden some of hem brynge hidir to me, 523
As þat we mighte accorde, wolde y paye
In honde / and nat your paiement delaye." 525

(76)

He agrees, ¶ " Ma dame, I grante," he seide / and took his leue ;
And with him / hir *seruant* to the ship wente, 527
To whom / the shipman by the way gan meene :
but tempts her
thief-servant. ¶ " ffreend, I am set / on a certain entente,
Vn-to the whiche / if þat thou wilt assente, 530
And do thy deuer / and my Conseil hyde,
That thou me kneew / thou blisse shalt the tyde. 532

(77)

- “O, may I truste / may I truste in thee? 533
 Thow helpe me maist / and no wight but thow.
 If thow wilt so / in this necessitee,
 Gold and siluer wole I thee yene ynow.”
 ¶ “Yis,” *quod* this *seruant*, “that I make avow 537 Her thief-servant
 To god / if þat it in my power lye, agrees to take the
 Shipman's bribe,
 Myn help to thee / ne wole y nat denye. 539

(78)

- “If thow heere-aftir / fynde þat I gabbe, 540 [leaf 39, back]
 Of my promesse / thanne dokke me ;
 I neuere was yit / of my tonge a labbe ;
 þat thyng / þat me told is in priueteo,
 Keepe I can wel / be in noon aweertee, 544
 But anoon to me telle out al thy gole,
 ffor treewe and trusty / be to thee y wole.” 546 and vows to be
 true to him.

(79)

- ¶ “Grant mercy,” seide the Shipman ; “I-wis, 547
 Now feele I confort / now dar y bywreye
 To thee myn hertes seeree / which is this :
 Swich excellence of beautee is, y seye,
 In thy lady / þat but if thow purueye 551 The Shipman
 ffor me / þat y hir loue may obteene, says he must
 get hold of the
 Empress.
 fful shorte shuln my dayes been / y weene.” 553

(80)

- ¶ *Quod* this *seruant* / “looke how y may profyte 554 Her servant
 In this, let see / and me sette in the way
 How y shal do / and so shal y me qwyte,
 þat y thy thank / disserue shal for ay ;
 Al shal be doon right to thyn owne pay ; 558 promises to help
 him.
 Telle on / how wilt thow þat I me gouerne.”
 The Shipman seide / “and þat I wole as yerne : 560

(81)

[leaf 40]	¶ “ On my behalve / to thy lady weende,	561
The servant is to say that the Empress must come to the ship to see the cloths.	And to hire seye / þat in no maneere,	
	Clothes out of my ship may I hire seende ;	
	If hir good lust be, in my ship appeere,	
	Shee shal seen what hir list / <i>with</i> ful good cheere ;	565
	But out of my ship / wole y nothyng selle :	
	Right euene thus / vn-to hir seye and telle ;	567

(82)

	“ But of o thyng / thow must thee wel auyse,—	568
	Good heede ther-of take / and nat ne faiH,—	
He must bring her when the wind's fair for leaving port.	Be thow wel waar / in al maneere wyse	
	þat the wynd thanne / be good, hens to saiH ;	
	Al þat thow doost elles / may nat auaiH ;	572
	ffor lede hire hoom / wole y to my contree :	
	Lo, this is al / þat y desire of thee.”	574

(83)

	fful sooth is seid / the fals and conceitous	575
	Been soone accordid / allas ! this onhede	
	Synful shal be / wikkid and treecherous.	
	O / Emperice / god the gye and lede !	
	Thow haast, or this, had trouble greet & drede,	579
	And yit a sharp storm is vn-to thee shape ;	
	But, thankid be god / al thow shalt eschape.	581

(84)

[leaf 40, back]	¶ Now to purpos / than seide this <i>seruant</i>	582
The man swears he'll do this.	To the Shipman / “ come of, yeue me meede,	
	ffor heere y swere / and make couenaunt,	
	This shal be doon / haue there-of no dreede.”	
	He had[de], y not what / the deucl <i>him</i> speede	586
	ffor his labour / to be doon in this caas ;	
	And to his lady / dressith he his paas.	588

(85)

He tolde hire / how the Shipman wolde naght	589	Her thief-servant tells her
Deliure clothes / out of his vessel ;		
But if it lykid hire / to bye[n] aght /		
Thidir shee muste come / and he ful wel		she must go to the ship to buy cloths.
With hire wolde do / shee kneew no del	593	
Of the treson / purposid twixt hem two,		
And seide / "in goddes name / it shal be do ;	595	

(86)

"I reedy am to go / whan þat y shal,	596	she agrees.
Syn þat thow seist / it may noon othir be,		
But outhir moot y goon / or leuen al.		
Let vs go thidir as swythe," <i>quod</i> shee.		
¶ "A / nay, madame / it may nat be" / seide he,	600	
"Swich occupacion hath he this day,		
That he vn-to yow / nat entende may.	602	

(87)

"Ma dame / vs muste abyden his leisir ;	603	[leaf 41]
There-on I wole awayte bysyly ;		
And whan tyme is / yee shuln han your pleisir.		
Ofter vp-on him awayte moot y,		He waits till
To wite and knowe / wel and redily, ¹	607	
The tyme / whan we shal vs thidir dresse :		
Ma dame / for yow / this best is, y gesse."	609	

(88)

This humble lamb / this lady Innocent,	610	
Of al this treson no notice hauynge,		
Seide / "as þat thow doost / holde y me content."		
Thus hir seruant delayed hir goynge		
Til þat the wynd wel stood / the ship to brynge	614	the wind is off shore, and then takes her to the ship.
Out of the port / and thidir he hir spedde,		
And þat in haaste, he to the ship hire ledde.	616	

¹ Later scribble in margin : After my most . . . Thomas, you be a good samener (?) . . . thom . . . This bit made the . . . b ll . . . Shi.

(89)

The Shipman
sails off with the
Empress.

Whan shee withyn the Shipbord entred was, 617
 Vp gooth the sail / to the top of the mast.
 Hire man, of purpos / left on londe / allas.
Quod Shee / “nat was y waar of this forecast;”
 And ther-with-al / out to weepe shee brast, 621
 And seide, “what treson / doost thou, Shipman,
 To me?” ¶ “nay,” *quod* he, “no treson / womman,

(90)

[leaf 41, back]
and demands to
lie with her.

“Nat meene I, but thus / lo / thus wole I do, 624
 fleshly the knowe / and aftir wedde thee.”
 ¶ “A vow,” *quod* shee / “maad haue I god vn-to,
 þat neuere so / shal ther man do to me,
 She refuses. ffor thyng in this world / outake oonly he 628
 To whom y am y-bownden to / and¹ knygt;
 The labour is in vein / to speke of it.” 630

(91)

He threatens to
throw her into
the sea.

¶ “Keeppe in thy wordes / womman, I thee rede,” 631
Quod he / “considere and thynke wel, þat thou
 Of thy lyf standist in peril and drede,
 ffor in middes of the See been we now.
 To me conforme / it shal be for thy prow, 635
 Elles in-to the See wole I thee caste;
 Truste me wel / so wole y do as faste.” 637

(92)

She temporizes,

¶ “Now wel,” *quod* shee / “syn y may nat asterte 638
 My deeth / but y your entente fulfille,
 Al-thogh̄ it be greetly ageyn myn herte:
 Yit rather than þat yee me sle or kille,
 Wole y assente / so it be your wille, 642
 In the ende of the ship / for to ordeyne
 and asks him to
make a private
room for them. An honest place / and pryuee / for vs tweyne. 644

¹ MS. and and.

(93)

- “ It is nat / as I hope / your entente¹ 645 [leaf 12]
 In open sighte of folk / do *with* me so : He cannot mean
 Hard were it make me / ther-to consente, to force her before
 ffor þat / a greet encrees were of my wo ; his men.
 Yit leuer were it me / my lyf forgo. 649
 A pryuee place, as I seide / purueye
 ffor vs / þat folk see nat / how we foleye.” 651

(94)

- ¶ He in the ship / where as was his plesance, 652 The Shipman
 A place ordeyned / curtynd aboute, makes a curtained
 In-to the which / with heuy contenance, room.
 Whyles he speek^t with his meynee *with*oute,
 Shee entred hath / and anoon gan to loute 656
 To god / right on hir knees she hir prayceere
 Made / as I to yow shal rehercen heere : 658

(95)

- ¶ “ O god, our Lord, Ihesu, our Saueour, 659 The Empress
 þat fro my youthe / haast kept me to this day, prays to God to
 Curteys Ihesu / me keepe now this hour save her from
 ffrom al pollucioñ / so þat y may, pollution.
 With herte cleene / in this woful affray, 663
 My soule yilde to thy deitee ;
 Mercyful lord / of this byseeche y thee !” 665

(96)

- Nat endid was hire orison vnnethes, 666 [leaf 12, back]
 But swich a tempest / aroos in the See, A tempest splits
 þat the ship brast / and there took hire dethes the ship in two.
 They þat ther in weren / the hool meynee,
 Sauf oonly this maistir shipman / and shee : 670 All the crew
 By oon of the bordes / shee faste hire heeld, perish, but she
 Which from hire deeth was hire deffense & sheeld, 672 and the Shipman.

¹ In margin, later scribble : A nunny . . A nunn . . hou . .
 In the . . In the . . In the . . In.

(97)

The Empress is carried safely to land.	And broghte hire vp / vn-to the land saufly.	673
The Shipman is also saved.	To an othir bord / this maister shipman Eek claf / and was sauf / this fil wondirly : Many maistries our lord god do can ; And þat this lady, this noble womman Was sauf / this maistir shipman kneew no deel, Ne shee / þat he fortunad had so weel.	677 679

(98)

The Empress goes into a Nunnery,	¶ Of this shipman / spoke y no more as now ; But this lady / vn-to a Nonmerie þat was but there faste by / hir drow, Wher the ladyes / of hir compaignie Were ful glad, & of hir genterie Receyued hire / al thogh þat no notice They hadde / of hire estat of Emperice.	680 684 686
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(99)

[leaf 43] and, by God's grace, heals sick folk.	And there abood shee / a long tymes space In holy lyf / and vertuons clenness ; Vn-to whom god yaf / and shoop swich a grace, þat shee kowde hele folk of hir seeknesse, What so it were / and thidir gan hem dresse ffrom euery part / and euery Contree, They þat felten any infirmittee. ¹	687 691 693
--	--	-------------------

(100)

Her cursed brother-in-law is now a leper.	Than shoop it / he þat to the Emperour Was brothir / which this lady on a tree By hire heer vp heeng / þat cursid traitour, Mirozr of malice and iniquitee, As foul a leepre was / as mighte be : Lo, thogh god him / to wreke a whyle abyde, The fals and wikkid, qwytyth he sum tyde.	694 698 700
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¹ Later scribble in margin : 'Righte welle . . Robarte . . Robarte . . ff' hrmam.'

(101)

The knyght eek which the Erles doghtir slow—	701	The false knight who kild the Earl's daughter
The Emperice & shee / bothe sleepeynge, As I before told haue / vn-to yow—		
Was blynd and deaf / and also the tremblynge Of palesie / sore gan him wrynge :	705	is blind, deaf, and palsied.
No force how sore / swich a wreeche smerte, That to women / so cruel is of herte.	707	

(102)

¶ The thief / which to the maistir of the ship Betrayed themperice, his lady, als ffrom harm ne greef / kowde nat make a skip— God sheelde he sholde / he þat was so fals To hire / þat from the roop[e] kepte his hals—	708	[leaf 43, back] The thief-servant
Potagre and gowty / & halt he was eek ^t , And was in othir sundry wyse seek ^t .	714	is gouty and lame.
	712	

(103)

¶ The Shipman had also the franesie, þat with this Emperice / hadde ment fulfillid his foul lust of aduoutrie, Which was in him / ful hoot and ful feruent :	715	The Shipman has the frenzy.
See how aȝ hem / þat to this Innocent, This noble lady / had y-doon greuance, Our lord god qwitte / with strooke of vengeance.	719	
	721	

(104)

¶ Yee men, whos vsage is, women to greeue, And falsely deceyue hem and bytraye, No wondir is / thogh yee mis happe & cheeue : God qwyte yow wole / and your wages paye In swich[e] wyse / þat it yow shal allraye.	722	God's vengeance falls on deceivers of women.
Let goddes wreches hens-foorth yow miroure, ffor, but if yee do / yee shul bye it soure.	726	
	728	

(105)

[leaf 44]	¶ Now to the Emperour, tornë wole y,	729
When the Em- peror hears of the Holy Woman	Which, whan he herde / þat in an Abbeye Of Nonnes / was a womman so holy, And ther-to so konnyng, he herd[e] seye, That voide kowde shee / and dryue awaye	733
who heals all sicknesses,	Seeknesses aH / of what kynde or nature They weren / and hem hele wel & cure,	735

(106)

he bids his leprous brother go with him to her,	Right thus vn-to his brothir seide he tho :	736
	“To this holy womman / best is þat we, As faste as we may make vs reedy, go, Syn, so good / and so gracious is shee, þat of thy leepre / shee may cure thee.”	740
and get cured.	This was assentid / they hem haaste & hye In what they may / vn-to þat Nonnerie.	742

(107)

The Abbess and Convent meet the Emperor,	Knowen vn-to thabbesse & hir Couent	743
	How þat the Emperour / was ny comyng, Ageyn him in processioñ / arn they went, Hir seruice ful deuoutly syngyng, And dide al / þat was to swich cas longyng.	747
	And whan he in thabbeye was alight, Thus of thabbesse / he axid anoon right :	749

(108)

[leaf 44, back]	“Is ther any swich womman in this hous, As folkes hele can of hir seeknesse? Men seyn, heere is a womman merueillous : Shal it be fownden soo” / he seide, “Abbesse?”	750
and tell him they have a Woman of unequald power.	¶ And shee answerde / “Sire, in soothfastnesse A good womman / dwellyng is / with vs heere, Which in vertu / we knowen noon hir peere.”	754 756

(109)

She dide hir come anoon / to his presence ;	757	The Empress comes veild to the Emperor,
But with hir veil / hir face hid had shee,		
To been vnknowe / and dide <i>him</i> reuerence,		
As longid vn-to his hy Dignitee.		
And right as blyue / of hire axid be,	761	
“ Can yee my brothir / of his maladie		
Of leepre, cure, and of mesebrie ?	763	

(110)

“ If þat yee can / now teH on, y yow preye,	764	
ffor your labour / ful wel qwyte wole y.”		
But or þat shee / aght wolde answee & seye,		
She easte hir look about[en] / and there sy		sees his leprous brother,
The Emperoures brothir stande by,	768	
þat leepre was / and eek ^t tho othir three		
þat had hir doon so greet aduersitee,	770	

(111)

That is to seyn / the knyght, theef, and shipman ;	771	[leaf 45] and her other three betrayers,
And thanne shee spak ^t / and seide in this wyse :		
“ Sire / noon þat is heere, y cure can ;		and says she cannot cure them
I may nat take vp-on me þat emprise—		
Ther-to may nat my komynge souffyse—	775	
But if þat they / an open shrifte make		unless they con- fess their sins,
Of hire offenses dirke & synnes blake.”	777	

(112)

¶ To his brothir / than spak ^t this Emperour :	778	The Emperor bids his brother con- fess his guilt.
“ Among aH vs / thee openly confesse ;		
Spare nat to deskeuere thyn errour,		
Syn þat thow ther-by / maist, of thy seeknesse		
Cured be / telle out al thy wikkidnesse ;	782	
Be nat abasshit / it manly is to synne,		¹ ¶ <i>hmannum est</i> <i>peccare, &c¹</i>
But feendly is / longe lye ther-ynne.”	784	

¹ Later, above this : Iohn.

(113)

The Brother makes a sham confession,	ffor forme / a confessiōn made he,	785
	Swieli as it was / but how the Emperice, his lordes wyf / he heeng vp-on a tree	
but not of his sin against the Empress.	By hire heer / tolde he nat / þat cursid vice, ffor torne it sholde him / in-to preiudice	789
	And harm also / deskeuere kepte he noght, Yit aftirward / he ther-to was y-broght.	791

(114)

[leaf 45, back]	Whan þat his lewde shrifte was y-do,	792
	“Sire,” quod shee / “laboure y sholde in veyn, If aght I leide / your brothir vn-to,	
She says he has not made full shrift.	ffor he maad haath / noon hool[e] shrifte, ne pleyñ.” ¶ This Emperour vn-to him spak' ageyn :	796
	“Woost thow nat weel / thow art a foul mesel ? Telle out, let see / shryue thee cleene and wel,	798

(115)

	“Or truste me weel / for þat encheson	799
	Thow voide shalt / out of my compaignie.” ¶ “O Lord” he seide / “but if your pardoñ	
The Brother then says he can't do it unless the Em- peror 'll forgive him.	Yee me promette / I dar nat specifie O word of my gilt / I yow mercy crye.”	803
	¶ Quod themperour / “what, haast thow agilt me ?” ¶ “Certes, right greuously / my lord,” seide he.	805

(116)

	¶ “Now,” quod the Emperour / “and haast thow so ?” And of the Emperice / he thoghte nat,	807
	But weenyng / shee many a day ago, Deed had been / seide / “what offense is that ?	
The Emperor pro- mises to pardon him.	Be nat aferd / but teH on plein & plat,	810
	ffor what so þat it be / y foryene al ; Truste wel / þat y seye, y holde shal.” ¹	812

¹ Later scribble at foot, c. 1500, ‘per me wyllyam . . . per me me wyllyam Hopkins.’

(117)

Ther-with, al was his brothir herted weel :	813	[leaf 46]
Al how the Emperice had he betrayed,		The Emperor's
Before hem aH / he tolde out eurydeel ;		brother confesses
Where-of / the Emperour was sore affrayed.		his sin against the
His brothres reward / had nat been vnpayed,	817	Empress.
Nad promesse of the Emperour him bownde		
To pardoñ / for which wo was him þat stownde ;	819	

(118)

Almoost he was / out of him self certeyn ;—	820	The Emperor is
So seith the book ^t / and þat was no meruaiH.		almost beside
What lord is þat / if swich a word sodeyn		himself,
To him cam of his wyf / whos gouernaiH		
Was hires lyk ^t / but ny to sholde him faiH	824	
his wit and his good disposicion)		
ffor the sodeyn woful impression?	826	

(119)

ffor falle anoon sholde in his remembrance	827	remembering his
Hir vertuous manere and wommanhede,		wife's virtue and
hir beautee / shap / good cheere & daliance :		beauty,
Al this considered / withouten drede,		
Out of the weye of ioie / him wolde lede,	831	
The mis / of so vertuous a persone ;		
And yit nat for þat encheson) allone : ¹	833	

(120)

But also the vnkyndely treson	834	[leaf 46, back]
Of his brothir / þat him to him had qwit		and his brother's
So falsely / me thynkith by reson)		unnatural treason.
Stike right ny / vn-to his herte ogfite it,		
And causen him / ful many an heuy fit ;	838	
But nathelees / wit axith, & prudence,		
Al thyng þat fallith / take in pacience.	840	

¹ Later scribble in margin : 'spindlye (?) Rslm . . Rv 2 (?) be that . . he that my . . he that in youth no verke will vse, all . . thomas . . dden . . god . . y, d, d d M e. e' . . d . . d . . ij daye . And . . iij D . . hud . . h . . m, m.'

(121)

	¶ Now to my purpos / themperour tho spak ^t	841
	To his brothir / and thus he to him seide :	
The Emperor curses his brother,	“ Thow cursid wrecche / thow demoniak ! þat our lord god / which for vs alle deide,	
	The strook of his vengeance / vp-on thee leide,	845
	No wondir is / had y this befor ⁿ wist,	
and said he'd	Thy body sholde han the grownd swept & kist ;	847

(122)

	“ And ther-to eek / as sharp[e] punishment	848
	As þat dyuyse ther kowde any wigh ^t ,	
	Thow sholdest han y-preued by the sent ;	
	But holde wole y / þat y thee haue high ^t .”	
Then the Knight	¶ And thanne confesse him / began the knygh ^t	852
	þat the Erles doghtir slow / “ as shee sleep,”—	
	lo, thus he seide / takith now good keep ¹ —	854

(123)

[leaf 47]	¶ “ Notice noon,” seide he, “ ne knowlechyng	855
	haue y of þat lady / ne who it is,	
	But as my lord the Erl rood on huntynge	
	In a foreste ones / wel woot y this,	
confesses that his lord, the Earl, foud a lady hanging by her hair,	A fair lady he foud hangynge Iwis	859
	On a tree by hire heer / and of pitee	
	And routhe meened / hire adoun took ^t he,	861

(124)

	“ And to his Castel / with him hire he ladde,	862
	And the charge / bytook ^t to hire, and cure,	
	To keepe a yong Doghtir / which þat he hadde,	
	Hire to teche and to lerne norture.	
and put her in charge of his daughter.	But to me shoop ther / a mis-aventure ;	866
	I bisyed me / to haue by hire leyn ;	
The Knight tried to lie with her.	And al my labour / ydil was and veyn.	868

¹ Later, at foot : ‘ Thomas Onslor . . . moste.’

(125)

“ ffor any craft / þat euere kowde y do, 869 And when she
 To me shee wolde assente by no way ; refused,
 I kowde in no wyse / brynge hire ther-to ;
 hire answeere was euere oon / & that was ‘ nay,’
 Which was nothyng / vn-to my lust and pay ; 873
 Wherefore meued was y, nat a lyte,
 But ful greetly / and hire y thoghþite qwyte,¹ 875

(126)

“ And in hir bed / as shee lay on a nyght, 876 [leaf 47, back]
 This yonge maide / and shee sleepynge faste,
 I kilde the chyld / and ther-with, foorth-right
 The bloody knyf / in-to the hand y thraste he kild the Earl's
 Of the lady / for þat men sholde caste 880 bloody knife in
 And suppose / how þat no wight but shee the Lady's hand,
 Mighte of this slagþitre and murdre giltly be, 882

(127)

“ And thens / my lord maade hire voyde anoon ; 883 and she was sent
 But wher shee becam / am y nat priucee ;² away.
 God woot / þat knowleche / haue y ther-of noon.”
 ¶ Than spak the thief / “ y noot whom meene yee, Then the Thief-
 But a lady of excellent beautee 887 servant confesses
 Allone and soul / cam by the way rydyng,
 Whan for my gilt / y led was to hangynge ; 889

(128)

“ And whan þat this lady benigne & good, 890 how the Lady
 Had hir look toward me cast, and espyed
 ffrom a-fer / in what mescheef þat y stood,
 hire herte anoon / of pitee was applyed,
 Me to socoure and helpe / and hath hire hyed 894
 Vn-to the place / wher deed sholde y be,
 And payde for my lyf / and saued me ; 896 rescued him
 from death.

¹ In margin, by a later hand, c. 1500 :

‘ of all good thinges the worlde brought forth,
 a faithfull frende ys thinge moste worthe’ . . .

‘gouernor.’ (later still) ‘?shall the thynges the world brought
 forth’ . . . ‘y’ . . . ‘H. Pershe’ (?) ² ‘lay’ (later, at side).

(129)

[leaf 48]	“ And aftirward, I, as a fals traitour Ageyn hir gentillesse and hy bontee, To a shipman / which was a foul leechour, Betrayed hire / and to his Contree him shoop lede hire / this man delauce, And fer in-to the See y saw hem saiff; But what fil aftir / woot y nat sanz faiff.”	897 901 903
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And he betrayd
her to a lecherous
Shipman, who
said off with her.

(130)

The Shipman confesses that he did so,	¶ “ Swich a fair lady, certein y receyued In-to my ship ” / seide the Shipman tho, “ And thogh̄te haue hire deffoulid & deceyued Amiddes the See / but shee preide so To god / þat my desyr was y put fro ; I mighte nat acheeue my purpoos. Whan shee had preid / an hidous storm aroos,	904 908 910
---	---	-------------------------------

but a storm

(131)

	“ And shortly / of this for to speke and telle, The wynd ful sore / in the sail bleew & haf, And the wawes began to bolne & swelle, And our taklynge brast / and the ship claf In two / of seurtee loste y ny the staf ; Vndir the watir / wenten euerychone ; My self except / knowe I no sauf persone.	911 915 917
--	--	-----------------------------------

clafe his ship,

and he alone

(132)

[leaf 48, baek]	“ By a bord of the ship, heeld y me faste ; And as þat my fortune shoop þat tyde, The wawes me sauf vp-on the land easte.”	918
escaped to land.	¶ This Emperice list no lengere hyde What þat shee was / but spak / and sumdel cryde ¹ On hy / and to hem seide in this maneere : “ Now been yee cleene shryuen / freendes deere ;	922 924

The Emperess says
the four guilty
men are now
clean shryuen.

¹ In margin, later : ‘ Iohn bo . . . b b.’

(133)

“Now shul yee aH haue of me medecyne.”	925	
Shee dide hire art / & helid every wight		The Empress then cures the 4 offenders,
Of his seeknesse / & voidid al his pyne ;		
And from hire heed / shee hath hir veil y-plight,		and lifts her veil.
And hem hir face shewid anoon right.	929	
And as swythe / as the Emperour hir sy,		The Emperour sees she's his wife,
þat shee his wyf was / kneew he verrailly ;	931	

(134)

And withoutē delay / to hire he sterte,	932	
And hire embraced in his armes tweyne,		
And kiste hire often / with vnfeyned herte ;		kisses her, and weeps for joy.
But fro weepyng / he kowde him nat restreyne,		
Thogh it nat causid were of greef & peyne,	936	
But of the inward ioie which þat stownde		
He took, by-cause he had his wyfe y-fownde.	938	

(135)

¶ O / many a wrecche is in this lond, y weene /	939	[leaf 49]
þat thogh his wyf lengere had been him fro,		(Many a wretch now would be sorry to find his wife again.)
No kus / but if it had been of the spleene,		
Shee sholde han had / & forthermore also,		
ffyndyng of hire / had been to him but wo,	943	
ffor him wolde han thoght þat swich a fyndyng,		
To los sholde han him torned, and harmyng.	945	

(136)

No force of þat / my tale I now thus eende :	946	
Hoom vn-to his Paleys this Emperour		The Emperour took his wife home, and they liyd happily till they died.
And his good lady themperice weende,		
And lyueden in ioie and hy honour		
Til þat the tyme of deeth cam, and his hour,	950	
Which þat no wight eschue may, ne flee ;		
And whan god list / also dye shul we.	952	

Explicit fabula de quadam Imperatrice Romana.

(1)

My friend came	M y freend, aftir, I trowe, a wike or two	1
	That this tale endid was / hoom to me cam,	
	And seide / " Thomas / hastow almoost do ?	
	To see thy werk ^t / hidir comen y am."	
	My tale anoon y fette / and he it nam	5
and lookt thro' this tale,	In-to his hand / and it al ouersy ;	
	And aftirward / he seide thus therby :	7

(2)

[leaf 49, back]	¶ " Thomas, it is wel vn-to my lykyng ;	8
and then askt me	But is ther aght þat thow purposist seye	
	More on this tale ?" ¶ " nay, my freend / no thyng."	
	" Thomas / heere is a greet substance aweye :	
where the Mora- lizing was.	Where is the moralizynge / y yow preye,	12
	Bycome heere-of / was ther noon in the book ^t	
	Out of the which / þat thow this tale took ^t ?"	14

(3)

I'd never seen one.	¶ " No certes, freend / ther-in ne was ther noon."	15
	" Sikerly, Thomas / there-of I meruaiH ;	
So my friend went home,	Hoom wole y walke / and retourne anoon ;	
	Nat spare wole y / for so smal tranaiH,	
	And looke in my book ^t / there y shal nat faiH	19
	To fynde it / of þat tale it is parcel,	
	ffor y seen haue it ofte / & knowe it wel."	21

(4)

fetcht it, and left it with me.	He cam ther-wiþh / and it vn-to me redde,	22
	Leuyng it with me / & hoom wente ageyn ;	
	And to this moralizynge I me spedde,	
And I at once Englisht it in prose.	In prose wrytynge it / hoomly and pleyn,	
	ffor he conseilid me / do so / certeyn ;	26
	And lo / in this wyse and maneere it seith,	
	Which to þat tale is good be knyht, in feith :	28

¶ *Incipit moralizacio.*

[leaf 50]

This Emperour þat y spak' of aboue / is our lord Ihesu
 Cryst / his wyf / is the soule; Themperoures
 brothir is man / to whom god committed and bytook'
 the cure and the charge of his Empire / þat is to seyn,
 of his body / & natheles principally of the soule / but
 the wrecchid flessĥ ful often sythe stireth and excitith
 the soule vn-to synne / but the soule þat entierly loueth
 god abouen alle thynges / makith euere resistance vn-to
 synne / and takith his mightes & powers / þat is to
 seye, reson / wil / intellect and conscience, & makith
 swich inobedient flessĥ to the spirit, to been enprisoned
 in the prison of penance / til it obeye in aĥ thynges to
 reson. ¶ Themperour, þat is to seye, Cryst, is to come
 to the synnere / & thanne the flessĥ cryeth, axynge
 grace / and as often as he hath mercy / he hath hope /
 & for trust & hope of mercy / the rathere wole he synne.
 ¶ Ageyn swiche folk spekith holy scripture in this
 wyse: ¶ "Accursid is or be þat man þat synneth in
 hope" / to which the soule is often sythe enclyned /
 shee letith the flessĥ goon out of the prison of penance /
 shee wasshith & pourgith the flessĥ of the ¹filthes of
 synne / clothyng it with goode vertues, & makyng it
 ascende / and worthe vp-on the steede of charitee / to
 ryde in good wirkes and deedes / þat it may meete with
 god in the holy day of Estren / but allas and wele-
 away / often sythe the synnere offendith and trespasseth
 by the way in þat holy tyme / where-of the hert rysith /
 þat is to seyn, Delectacion of synne / and aĥ the wittes
 rennen aftir synne / and the howndes / þat is to seyn,
 the wikkid thoghthes, alway berken, & maken swich
 instigacion / þat man, þat is to seyn, the flessĥ and the
 soule, been to-gidere left with-outen any vertu / and

The Emperour is
 Christ; his
 brother, man;
 the Empire,
 man's body and
 soul.

The soul resists
 the flesh.

The flesh cries
 for mercy,

and then sins
 again.

• *Maledictus
 homo qui peccat
 in spe.*

[1 leaf 50, back]

The hownds are
 wicked thoughts.

the flessĥ appareeyunge þat / solicitith and bysyeth hire / stiryng the ful noble soule, which is Crystes spowse / vn-to synne / but nathelees the soule þat is wel beloued of god, and vn-to Cryst weddid & oned, wole nat forsake god and consente to synne / wherfore the wrecehid flessĥ despoillith often and robbith the soule of hir clothes / þat is to seyn, goode vertues / and hire hongith on an ook¹ / þat is to seyn, worldly delyt & delectacion / by the heeres / þat is to seyn / by wikkid concupiscences and desirs, til the Erl / þat is to seyn, the ¹prechour or discreet confessour, hunte in the foreste of this world with vertuons sarmonyng & prechyng / yeuyng Conseil and reed to Do goode and vertuons deedes / berkyng / þat is to seyn, pronouncyng the wordes of holy scripture / and thus the discreet Confessour or prechour ledith the lady / þat is to meene, the soule / vn-to the hows of holy chirche, for to teche & norissh the maiden / þat is to seyn / to hele the conscienee *with* the wirkes of merey. ¶ The Erl, before his bed hath a laumpe / þat is to seyn, the discreet confessour, prelat or prechour / hath alway befor the yen of his herte the laumpe of holy scripture / in which he seeth the griefs and annoyes of the soule, & tho thynges eek² þat ther-to been profitable and necessarie / þat is to seyn / drawyng or plukkyng out of it / vices / and puttyng or ympyng in it vertues. ¶ The Styward þat excited and stired hire to synne / certein, þat is pryde of lyf / which is the Styward of this world / by whom many folk been deceyued and begyled / but the soule of god beloued / wole nat consente to pryde / what ²dooth therefore worldly pryde / certein, it takith the knyf of auarice / whan shee profrith a man a purs ful of moneye / castyng it befor the yen of a man / and so shee sleeth the maiden, þat is to seyn, good conscienee / where-of

The flesh strips the soul of her clothes or virtues, and hangs her on an oak by foul desires.

[1 leaf 51]

The Earl hunting is the Preacher,

who leads the soul to Holy Church.

The Earl's lamp is that of Holy Scripture.

The bad Steward is the pride of life,

[2 leaf 51, back³]

which slays the maiden, Conscience.

³ At top, later: "Munera execant oculos Iudicium."

it is writen thus: ¶ “Yiftes or meede blynden the Iuges yen / and peruerted wyse men /” so þat equitee or euenehede mighte nat entre / but stood al a-fer / and the iugement was torned vp so down / Swiche been they þat been, or oghite been, put out of the Chirches lappe or bosom. ¶ The lady rood soul or allone / and apparceyunge a man led to the galwes, &c / This man may be led to his deeth by deedly synne wirkyng / let vs therefore do / as dide þat lady / shee smoot hir hors *with* hir spores / so sholde we do / we sholden prikke our flessĥ *with* the spores of penance / and helpe and socoure our neighburgĥ in his necessitee, nat oonly *with* goodes temporel / but also *with* goodes spirituel. ¶ Where-of seith Salomon: ¶ “wo is þat man þat lyth soul in synne / & hath no wight to be holpen by or conforted.” ¶ O hye thee, man, hye thee / arise or rere vp thyn neighburgĥ ¹þat is down fah / for the brothir þat is holpen of his brothir is lyk a strong or sad Citee / “who so oonly yeueth cold watir to his brothir to drynke / he shal nat leese his meede” / but manye vnkynde folk^r ther been, as was the thief þat betrayed his lady aftir shee had saued him from his deeth / Some men yilden euel ageyn good to hem doon / where-of spekith ysaye thus: ¶ “wo be to them þat callen good euel / and euel good.” ¶ The Maistir of the ship is the feend / by whom many folk been deceyued in the See / þat is to seyn, in this world / Aĥ thynges been vanitee, seith Ecclesiastes / but the ship is broken as ofte as any wight cheesith wilful pouert / and he þat obcieth to his Prelat in aĥ thynges for god / thanne hatith he the world and the concupiscence of it / It is impossible to plesse the world and god. ¶ The lady wente to the Abbeye / So torned the soule to holy lyf fro worldly tribulaciōis /

¶ *Munera excēcant oculos Inducunt &c* [Deut. xvi. 19].

The Thief led to the gallows, is man led to death by sin.

¶ *Ve homini peccato iacenti &c*

[1 leaf 52²]

¶ *Scriptum est, Frater qui adiuuatur a fratre &c*

Ve illis qui dicunt bonum malum, & malum bonum. [Isaiah v. 20.] The Shipman is the Devil.

Ecclesiastes [i. 2]: *Vanitas vanitatum &c*

The Abbey is a holy lile.

² At top, later: “Item to wyllyam harugh ffōr my povnd of cheres [?] ij^s.”

[1 leaf 52, back]
The soul can't be
seen by Christ
till all the senses
are shriven.

wherthugh all the wittes by whiche the soule vexed
was, and troubled / been infect with dyuerse seeknesses /
as ye / by the concupiscence of yen / heerynge / by
detraccion, ¹and so foorth / wherfore the soule may nat
openly be seen of Cryst, hir spowse / til þat all the
wittes be confessed openly / and thanne douteles the
soule may be led to the ioie of paradys, to which he vs
brynge, þat starf for our redempcion, amen.

¶ Explicit moralizatio,

XXIII.

¶ incipit ars vtilissima sciendi mori ..
Cum omnes homines naturaliter scire de-
siderant & c' ..

Learn to Die.

(1)

Since all men
desire knowledge,

Syn alle men naturelly desyre 1
To konne / o. eterne sapiencie,
O vniuersel Prince / Lord & Syre,
Auctour of nature / in whos excellence
Been hid alle the tresors of science, 5
Makere of al / and þat al seest & woost,
This axe y thee / thow lord of mightes moost, 7

I ask Thee, Lord,

(2)

to open Thy
treasure of
wisdom to me.

Thy tresor of wisdam / & the konnyng 8
Of seintes / opne thow to me, y preye,
þat y ther-of / may haue a knowlechyng ;
Enforme eek me / and vn-to me by-wreye—
Syn thow of al science berst the keye— 12
Sotil matires right¹ profownde & greete,
Of whiche / y feruently desire trete. 14

(3)

[leaf 53]

¶ “O sone myn / sauoure nat so hye, ¶ *Sapientia.* 15
But dreede / herkne / and y shal teehe thee
Thyng þat shal to thy soule fructifie ;

¹ Sotile materes A (Ashburnham MS).

A chosen yifte shalt¹ thow haue of me ;

My lore / eternel lyf shal to thee be,

The dreede of god / which the begynnyng is

Of wisdam / shalt thow lerne² / & it is this :

19 Wisdom says
the fear of God is
the beginning of
wisdom. (Ps.
xvi. 10.)
¶ *Inicium
sapientie
timor
domini.*

(4)

“ Now herkne a doctrine substancial,

¶ ffirst, how Lerne Dye / telle wole y ;

¶ The .ij.^{de} how þat a man lyue shal ;

¶ The .iiij.^{de} how a man sacramentally

Receyue me shal / wel and worthyly ;

¶ The .iiiiij.^e how with an herte cleene & pure

That a man loue me shal and honure.”

22 She'll teach,
1. how to learn to
die ;
2. how to live ;
3. how to receive
Wisdom ;
4. how to love
her.

(5)

¶ “ Tho thynges .iiiiij.^{or} good lord, haue y euere ¶ *Discipulus*

Desired for to knowe / and hem to leere ;

Vn-to myn herte ther is nothyng leuere ;

A bettir thyng / can y nat wisshen heere ;

But tellith me this / this fayn wolde y heere

What may profyte the lore of dyyng, ¶ *Ad quid prodest hac
doctrina &c.*

Syn deeth noon hauynge is / but a pryuyng ?

30
33
35

(6)

“ ffor shee, man reueth of lyf the swetnesse.”

¶ “ Sone, the art to lerne for to dye ¶ *Sapientia*

Is to the soule an excellent swetnesse,

To which y rede / thow thyn herte applie ;

Ther is noon art / þat man can specifie

So profitable / ne worthy to be

Preferred artes aH / as þat is shee.

36 [leaf 53, back]
1. The art to learn
how to die
is better than all
other arts

(7)

“ To wite and knowe / þat man is mortel,

It is commune / vn-to folkes alle ;

þat man shal nat lyue ay heer / woot he wel ;

No trust at al / may in his herte falle,

That he eschape or flee may dethes galle,

43
47

¹ shalt A, om. D.

² leere A.

But fewe þat can die / shalt thou seen ;
It is the yifte of god / best þat may been. 49

(8)

It is to have heart
and soul ready
when death
comes.

“To lerne for to die / is to han ay 50
Bothe herte and soule / redy hens to go,
That whan deeth cometh / for to cacche hir pray,
Man rype be / the lyf to twynne fro,
And hire to take / and receyue also 54
As he that the comynge of his felawe
Desirith / and is ther-of¹ glad & fawe. 56

(9)

[leaf 54]
Many take no
thought of Death,

“But more harm is / ful many oon shalt thou fynde,
þat ageyn deeth / maken no purneance ; 58
Hem lothen / deeth for to haue in hir mynde ;
þat thoght / they holden thoght of encombrance ;
worldly swetnesse / sleeth swich remembrance ; 61
And syn to die / nat lerned han they,
fro the world twynne / they wolde in no way. 63

(10)

and when they
die, they go to
Hell.

“They mochil of hir tyme / han despended 64
In synne / and for-thy / whan, vnwaarly, deeth
Vp-on hem fallith / and they nat amendid,
And shal from hem byreue wynd and breeth,
ffor shee vnreedy fynt hem / whan shee sleeth / 68
To helle goon tho soules miserable,
There to dwelle in peyne perdurable. 70

(11)

Forsake your
sins at once!

“Deeth wolde han ofte a brydil put on thee, 71
And thee with hire / led away shee wolde,
Nadde the hand of goddes mercy be.
Thow art ful² mochil / vn-to þat lord holde,
þat, for thou wrappid were in synnes olde, 75
he spared thee / thy synnes now forsake,
And vn-to my doctrine / thou thee take! 77

¹ ther-of is A.

² right A.

(12)

“ More to thee profyte shal my lore	78	[leaf 54, back]
Than chosen gold / or the bookes echone		Wisdom bids her
Of Philosophres / and for þat the more		Disciple
Feruently / sholde it stire thy persone		
Vndir sensible ensauple thee to one	82	
To god / and thee the bettre for to thewe,		
The misterie of my lore / y shal the shewe. ¹	84	

(13)

“ Beholde now ² the liknesse and figure	² inward A	85	suppose a dying
Of a man dyyng and talkyng with thee.”			man talks to him.,
¶ The disciple, of þat speeche took ¹ good cure,			
And in his conceit / bysyly soghte he,			
And ther-with-al / considere he gan, & see	89		
In him self put / the figure & liknesse			
Of a yong man of excellent fairnesse,	91		

(14)

Whom deeth so ny ransakid had, & soghit,	92	
þat he withynne a whyle sholde dye.		
And for his soules helthe / had he right noghit		a man who is not
disposid / al vnreedy hens to hye		ready for death.
Was he / and therefore he began to crye	96	
With lamentable vois / in this maneere,		
þat sorwe and pitee greet / was it to heere : ³	98	

(15)

¶ “Environd han me, dethes waymentynges,	¶ Circumdede-	[leaf 55]
Sorwes of helle han compaced me ;	ruzt me genu-	
Allas, eternel ⁴ god ! .o. kyng of kynges,	tus mortis, &c’	¶ The pains of
Wher-to was y born / in this world to be ;	⁴ eterne	Hell compass me.
O. allas / why in my natiuitee		

¹ In the Ashburnham MS the inside double-leaf of the next quire has been sewn up as the outside of the other, so that stanzas 19-24 here come before stanzas 13-18. In like wise, stanzas 25-30 here come in the Ashburnh. MS. after stanzas 31-36 here.

³ In margin, later, ? about 1500,

Before thou pretend^t any evilt in thy harte, } quod
Remember the end^t when thou shalt departe, } Carter.

- Nadde I perisshid? o, the begynnyge
Of my lyf was with sorwe & with weepyng, 105
- (16)
- “ And now myn ende comth / hens moot y go 106
With sorwe / waylyng and greet heuynesse.
- Death's presence O. deeth, thy mynde is full of bittir wo ;
Vn to an herte wont vn-to gladnesse,
And norisshid in delicat swetnesse, 110
- is horrible to me. Horrible is thy presence / and ful greuable
To him þat voug is / strong and prosperable. 112
- (17)
- “ Litol wende y so soone to han deid : 113
O cruel deeth / thy comyng is sodeyn ;
fful vnwaar was y / of thy theefly breid ;
Thow haast as in awayt / vp-on me leyn ;
Thy comyng vn-to me / was¹ vncerteyn ; 117
- But I cannot
escape it. Thow haast vp-on me stolen / and me bownde ;
Eschape y may nat now / my mortel wownde. 119
- (18)
- [leaf 55, back] “ Thow me *with* thee drawist in yren cheynes, 120
As a man dampned / wont is to be drawe
To his torment / outrageous been my peynes.
A, now for sorwe / and fere of thee & awe,
With handes clight / y crye / and wolde fawe 124
Wite the place whidir for to flee ;
But swich oon / fynde can y noon / ne see.² 126
- (19)
- “ I looke on euery syde bisyly, 127
But help is noon / help and confort been dede ;
A vois horrible of deeth / sownyng heere y,
þat seith me thus / which encessith my drede :
‘ Thow dye shalt / reson noon / ne kynrede, 131

¹ Thyn hour was vn-to me ful—A.

² A. goes on with st. 31, p. 186: ‘ Or as an arwe shot out of a bowe,’ the leaf being misplaced.

ffrendshipe / gold / ne noon othir richesse
May thee deliure / out of dethes duresse. 133

(20)

“ ‘Thyn eende is comen / comen is thyn eende,
It is decreed / ther is no resistence.’ 134 My end is come.

lord god / shal y now die / and hennes weende ?

Whethir not changed may be this sentence ; Cannot my sent-
ence be changed ?

O. lord, may it nat put been¹ in suspense ? ¹ be put A. 138

Shal y out of this world so soone go ?

Allas / wole it noon othir be than so ?² 140

(21)

“ O deeth, o deeth, greet is thy crueltee ! 141 [leaf 56]

Thyn office al to soleynty doost thow.

Is ther no grace ? lakkist thow pitee ?

Spare my youthe / of age rype ynow 144

To dye / am y nat yit / spare me now !³ ³ D adds ‘ ynow.’

How cruel þat thow art / on me nat kythe !

Take me nat out of this world so swythe !” 147

(22)

¶ Whan the disciple this complaynte had herd, 148

He thogh̄te al þat he spak̄ / nas but folie,

And in this wyse / ⁴ he hath ⁴ him answerd : ⁴⁻¹ hath vn to A. The Disciple
answers the
dying man :

¶ “ Thy wordes, freend / withouten any lye,
þat thow haast but smal lerned / testifie ; 152

Euene to aH / is dethes iugement ;

Thurḡh-out the world / strecchith hir paiement. 154

(23)

“ Deeth / fauorable is to no⁵ maner wight ; ⁵ om. no A. 155 ‘Death has no

To aH / hir self / shee delith equally ;

Shee dredith hem nat / þat been of greet might,

Ne of the olde and yonge / hath no mercy ; mercy on old or
young.

² In margin, later, c. 1500 :

Some desarve or they desyer / and yett they lacke }
that they Requyre ; } quod
Some desyre or they desarve / and yett the[y] } Carter.
gayne whylle other starve, }

The ryche & poore folk' eek' certainly 159
 She esith / shee sparith right noon estaat ;
 Al þat lyf berith / with hir chek' is maat.¹ 161


(24)

[leaf 56, back] " Ful many a wight / in youthe takith shee, 162
 It takes folk at And many ²an othir eek'² in middil age, ²⁻²oon also A.
 all ages. And some nat / til they right olde be :
 Wendist thou han been / at swich auantage
 Do you think you þat shee nat durste / han paied thee thy wage, 166
 only are to be spared? But oonly han thee spared & forborn,
 And the prophetes deid han heer-beforn? " 168

(25)

¶ Than spak' thymage / answeyng in this wyse : 169
 The supposed " Soothly thou art an heuy confortour ;
 dying man says Thow vnderstandist me nat / as the wyse :
 They þat continued han in hir errour,
 Lyuyng in synne / vn-to hir dethes hour, 173
 Worthy be dampned for þat they han wrought ;
 And how ny deeth is / they ne dreede nocht. 175

(26)

 " Tho men ful blynde been, & bestial. 176
 Of þat shal folwe / aftir this lyf present,
 fforsighte / swiche folk' han noon / at al.
 I nat bewaille dethes ingement ;
 he doesn't lament Death's judgment, But this is al the cause of my torment ; 180
 but his own unpreparedness. The harm of vndisposid deeth / y weepe ;
 I am nat reedy / in the grownd to creepe, 182

¹ At foot of leaf 56, later, c. 1590 :

The brwett of evill tonges / what woman can eschew ?
 or who can let a fowle to wytt / the thinge that is vntrew :
 quod Carter //

In margin of leaf 56 :

Since of a womans breestes I was fostered /
 Dame Nature sayth / I sholde them Love / } quod
 Why shold any man / ther-wyth by offended / } Carter //
 In generally it is gevin from hym above /

(27)

- “ I keepe¹ nat / þat y shal hennes twyne, ¹ weepe A. 183 [leaf 57]
 But of my dayes / I the harm bewaiþ,
 fruytles past / sauf *wit* bitter fruyt of syune ;
 I wrogþite in hem noþyng / þat mighte auaiþ <sup>‘I did nothing
 for my soul’s
 health.’</sup>
 To soules helthe / y dide no trauaiþ 187
 To lyue wel / but lened to the staf
 Of worldly lustes / to hem y me gaf. 189

(28)

- “ The way of trouthe y lefte / & drow to wronge ; 190
 On me nat shoon the light of rightwisnesse ;
 The soune of intellect / nat in me spronge ;
 y am weery² of my wrogþit wikkidnesse ; ² weery an A. But I am weary
 of ill-doing.
 y walkid haue, weyes of hardnesse 194
 And of *perdicion* / nat kowde y knowe
 The way of god / wikkid seed haue y sowe. 196

(29)

- “ Allas, what hath pryde profytid me, 197 Pride and riches
 have past away
 Or what am y bet / for riche richesse hepynge ?
 AH they as a shadwe passid be, ¶ *Transierunt omnia illa
 tamquam vmbra preteri-
 ens, & tamquam nunci-
 cito percurrens, & tam-
 quam nauis, &c.*
 And as a messenger faste rennynge,
 And also / as a ship þat is sayllynge
 In the wawes / & floodes of the See,
 Whos kerfe nat fownden is / whan past is shee. 203

(30)

- “ Or as a brid / which in the air þat fleeth,³ 204 [leaf 57, back]
 No preef⁴ fownde is / of the cours of his flight ; like the course of
 a bird in the air,
 No man espie can it / ne it seeth, ⁴ way A.

³ At top, in a later hand: “Post bellum auxilium: Ayde after the felde is already faught.” In margin: “fortune not favoring, thinges not *withowt* highe *consell* and wisdom enterprised, have a very vnlukey ende; and contrarie thinges donne temerously, yf she favor, have right prosperous chaunce / example, ‘Sirenus persian, a Captaine’ / What I speke lyethe in myne owen powre / but how so the thinges as I do, shall ende or be taken, standethe in the pleasur of fortune & y^e kinge.”

Sauf with his wynges / the wynd softe & light
 He betith / and cuttith their¹ / by² the might 208
 Of swiche stirynge / & foorth he fleeth his way ;
 And tookne aftir þat / no man see ther may. 210

(31)

or an arrow shot
 from a bow.

“ Or as an arwe / shot out of a bowe, 211
 Twynneth the air / which þat continually
 Agayn is closyd / þat man may nat knowe
 Where þat it paste / no wight the way sy :
 Right so / syn þat y born was / fare haue y 215
 Continually³ / y stynted for to be, ³ Anoon rigites A.
 And tokne of vertu / shewid noon in me. 217

(32)

My hope is like a
 lock of wool tost
 by the wind.

“ I am consumed in my wikkidnesse ; [¶] In malignitate pro-
 Myn hope is / as it were a wolle-loke ^{pria consumptus suu.}
 Which the wynd / vp reisith⁴ / for his lightnesse, ^{spes mea, &c)}
 Or small foom / þat desparplid is, and broke ⁴ blowe away A.
 With tempest / or as with wynd waastith smoke, 222
 Or as mynde of an oost / þat but a day
 Abit / and aftir passith foorth his way. 224

(33)

[leaf 58]

My heart is
 heavy ; my eyes
 are dim.

“ ffor why my speeche is now in bittirnesse, 225
 And my wordes / been ful of sorwe & wo ;
 Myn herte is plunged deepe in heuynesse,
 Myn yen been al dymme and dirke also.
 Who may me grante / þat y may be so 229
 As I was / whan y beautee hadde, & strengthe,
 And had befor me / many a dayes⁵ lengthe, 231
⁵ yeeres A.

(34)

“ In wiche y the harm mighte han seen befor, 232
 þat now is on me faH / I yaf no charge
 Of the good precious tyme / y haue it lorn ;
 But as the worldly wynd / bleew in my barge,
 ffioorth droof y ther-with / and leet goon at large 236

¹ their A (the air).

² with A.

- Al loos the brydil of concupiscence,
 And ageyn vertu / made y resistence.¹ 238 I gave reins to
 my lust.
- (35)
- “ My dayes I despente in vanitee ; 239
 Noon heede y tooke of hem / but leet hem passe,
 Nothyng considerynge hir precioustee,
 But heeld my self free born as a wyld asse 243 I held myself as
 Of thaftirelap / insighte had no man lasse ; free as a wild ass.
 I ouer blynd was / y nat sy ne dredde,
 With what wo / deeth wolde haaste me to bedde. 245
- (36)
- “ And now as fisshes been with hookes kaght, 246 [leaf 58, back]
 And as þat briddes / been take in a snare,
 Deth hath me hent / eschape may y naght ; But now Death
 This vnuwar woful hour / me makith bare has seizd me.
 Of my custumed ioie / and my welfare ; 250
 The tyme is past / the tyme is goon for ay ;
 No man reuoke / or calle ageyn it may. 252
- (37)
- “ So short was not the² tyme / þat is goon, ²þat A. 253
 But y, of goostly lucres / & wynnynge,
 Aughte³ haue in it purchaced many oon, ³Mighte A.
 Exceedyng in value / aȝ eerthly thynges
 Inconparably / but to his wynges 257
 The tyme hath take him / & no purueance
 There-in made I / my soule to auance. 259
- (38)
- “ Allas, I, caytif / for angwissĥ & sorwe, 260 Now I weep bitter
 My teeres trikelen / by my cheekes douu ; tears,
 No salt watir / me needith begge or borwe ;
- ¹ In margin, in a later hand : “ He lyvethe so moche the easier, who to delightes was vsed neuer.” At foot : “ Quod caret alterna requie, durable non est.
 What thing restethe not now & then amonge,
 But still traveyleth, cannot endure longe.”
 Below, in another hand : “ Be ytt knowen vnto aȝ men by these presentes that I, Wylliam Wyllon[?].”

- Myn yen flowen now in greet foysoun ;
 Allas / this is a sharp conclusioun, 264
- and mourn the
 time I've lost.
 Thogh y the tyme past / compleyne & mourne ;
 ffor al my care / wole it nat retourne.¹ 266
- (39)
- [leaf 59] " O my lord god / how laach and negligent² 267
- Why did I put
 off amendment?
 Haue y been / why haue I put in delay
 And tarynge myn amendement?
 Wher-to haue y dissumuled / welaway
 Allas / so many a fair and gracious day 271
- Haue y lost / & am³ from me goon & ronne, ³ be A.
 þat mighte in hem / my soules helthe han wonne. 273
- (40)
- " Myn hertes woful waymentacions, 274
 Who can hem telle / who can hem expresse?
 Now fallen on me accusacions
 Wondirly thikke / of my wroght wikkidnesse.
 In fleshly lust / and ydil bysynesse, 278
 Leet y⁴ my dayes / dryue foorth and slippe, ⁴ 1 leet A.
 And nat was beten / with penances whippe. 280
- (41)
- " Why sette y so myn herte in Vanitee? 281
 O, why ne had y lerned for to die?
 Why was y nat ferd of goddes maugree?
 What eilid me / to bathe in swich folie?
 Why nadde reson / goten the maistrie 285
 Of me / why? for my spirit was rebel,
 And list nat vndirstonde / to do wel. 287 .

¹ At foot, in a later hand: "Love ys the occupacyon or busines of ydell folkes, that have nothing eles to sette them selve on werke *with*-alle / Diogenes / Of wilde bestes, the backebyter is the worse; Of tame bestes, the flaterer / Dio[genes]." At side: "Beneficium dando accepit, qui digno dedit,

Himself, by geving, receyveth a benefiche.
 Who gevethe to a person worthie to have yt."

² In margin, in a later hand: "Diogenes being asked what was the moost miserable thinge in this worlde, answered, 'An aged man in extreme pouertie /'" At foot: "Vertuus and good men, the lyvelye and true ymage of god / Diogenes."

(42)

“O, alle yee þat heere been present,	288	[leaf 59, back]
Yee þat floure in Youthes lusty grennesse,		Ye who flourish in your youth,
And seen / how deeth / his bowe hath for me bent,		
And tyme couenable han / to redresse		
þat youre vnruely youthes wantonnesse	292	
Offendid hath / considereth my miserie,		consider my misery.
The stormy seson / folwith dayes merie.	294	

(43)

“Let me be your ensauple and your miro ^u r,	295	Let me be a warning to you.
Lest ye slipp ^e in-to my plyt miserable.		
With God, despende of your youthe ¹ the flour; ¹ dayes A.		
If yee me folwe / in-to peril semblable,		
Yee entre shuln / to god yee yow enable;	299	
In holy wirkes your tyme occupie,		Do holy work while you've time.
And whyle it tyme is / vices mortifie.	301	

(44)

¶ “Allas, o youthe / how art thou fro me slipt!	302	
O. god eterne / y vn-to thee conpleyne		² wrecchidnesse / in which þat A.
The wrecchidnesse / in whiche ² y am clipt;		
Lost is my youthe / y smerte in euery veyne,		My youth is lost
The gilt / þat wrought hath my synful careyne.	306	
O youthe / thy fresshennesse and iolitee		
Hatith thy soothes / be told vn-to ³ thee. ⁴	308	

(45)

“No lust had y to doon as y was taghit,	309	[leaf 60]
Ther-of had y riht ⁵ greet desdeyn & hokir; ⁶		⁵ ful A.

⁴ At foot, in a later hand: “11. Socrates being asked* ‘by what means a man myght optaine an onnest name & fame, ‘To be,’ quod he, ‘A man in deede, as he desireth to be’ /”

At side: “2. Socrates. Nothing owght to be desired of god in mennes prayers, but vnder this furme, and with thes wordes: ‘Suche thinges as bee good for us,’ withowte any further addy-cioun.” . . . “Socrates: The best sauce in the worlde for meats is to be hungrye.”

⁶ At top, in a later hand: ‘2. Hokir, Lothesome’ . . .

At foot: “8. Socrates said that soche as hadde well broken themselves to vertuus living and temperate dyet, did perceyve

* ‘asked’ is crost thro’, ‘demaunded’ is written over it.

Good counsel
I cared no more
for than an old
boot.

Whan men conseilid wel / y herde it nagh̄t :
Nat so moche / as by an old boote or cokir
Sette y ther-by / in-to myn hertes lokir 313
Entre mighte / noon holsum disciplyne ;
No wil had y / to good conseil enclyne. 315

(46)

“ Lord god, now / in a deep dych am y faH ; 316
In-to the snare of deeth / entred am y ;
Bet had it been / than thus had it¹ befaH, ¹ it had thus A.
Neuere han be born of my modres body,
But there-in han perisshid vttrily, 320
ffor y despente in pryde and in bobance
The tyme grantid² me / to do penance.” ² lent to A. 322

(47)

The Disciple says

¶ To which answerde the disciple tho : 323
“ Lo / we die alle / and as watir we slyde ¶ *Ecce, omnes*
In-to the eerthe / which þat neuere mo *morimur, &*
Retourne shal / but on a sikir syde *quasi aque*
We standen alle / for god nat wole hyde 327 *dilabimur in*
terram &c

‘ Repent ; ask
mercy, and you’ll
have it.

His mercy fro man / who-so list it craue,
Be repentant / and mercy axe & haue. 329

(48)

[leaf 60, back]

“ God haastith nat / the gilt of man to wreke, 330
But curteisly / abydyth repentance. ³ shal seye and A.

Heere me now / what y shal to thee³ speke :

ffor þat thow hast offendid / do penance ; ¶ *Age penitenciam*
Torne vn-to god / with hertes obeissance ; *de transactie, &*
conuertere ad dom-
inum.

Turn to God,

Axe him mercy / þat⁴ is al merciable, ⁴ which A.

and be saved.’

And saued shalt thow been / it⁵ is no fable.” ⁵ this A. 336

& take of the same, bothe moche more pleasure and lesse paynes, then soche as, with all highe cure and diligence, did on every syde make provision to have all thinges of pleasure.”

At side : “ Socrates. 14. As we do not put Images to making, but onely to soche workemen of whome we se some number of Images well-favordly and minonly [?] made a-fore ; So sholde we take vn[to] no persons ower frendship, but soche as we perfectly know to have tried [?] themselves faythefull and cerviceable frende to other a-fore, to other folkes.”

(49)

¶ Thymage of death answerde anon to þat :
 “ How spekist thou, man / shal y me repente,
 Shal y me torne / o man, ne seest thou nat,
 Ne takist thou noon heede ne entente
 Of dethes angwishes / þat me tormente 341
 And oppresen / so greuously and sharpe
 That y not what to do / or thynke or carpe. 343

¶ *Quis est hic sermo quem loqueris? debeo penitere; debeo me conuertere? Nonne vides angustias &c*

The supposed dying man says

‘My anguish is so sharp, I know not what to do.

(50)

“ As a partrich / þat with the hawk¹ is hent
 And streyned *with* his clees / so is agast
 þat his lyf ny from him is goon and wente :
 Right so / my wit is cleene fro me past,
 And in my mynde / is ther no thoght ne cast
 Othir than serche a way / how death eschape
 But y in veyn / ther-aftir looke and cape.¹

¶ *Quemadmodum perdrix cum sub virgibus aucupitris mox discernenda comprimitur pre angustia mortis, quodammodo exanimis redditur / sic &c*
¹ gape A.

My wits are gone.

(51)

“ Nat wole it be / for death me down oppressith ; 351
 The twynnyng of my lyf¹ / ful bittir is,
 þat hurtith me greuously / and distressith ;
 fful holsum had it be² / to me or this, ² been A.
 Penance³ han doon / for þat y wroghte amis 355
 Whyles my tyme / was in his rypnesse,
 ffor þat had been / the way of sikirnesse ; 357

[leaf 61]

Death crushes me.

(52)

“ But he þat late / to penance him taki:h,
 Whethir he verrailly or feynyngly
 Repente / he noot / vncertain it him makith.
 Wo is me / þat my lyf so synfully
 I ledde / and to correcte it / lachid y ; 362
 Ageyn my soules helthe haue y werreied,
 þat for it haue no bettre purueied. 364

¶ *Qui autem tarde penitencie se committit / dubius erit quia nescit vtrum vere vel fecte peniteat.*

Woe is me that I led a sinful life!

(53)

¶ “ Allas, to longe hath be² the taryng
 And the delay of my correccion !

¶ *O longa nimis protrahitacio emendacionis mee /*

Too long have I put off

³ Altered to ‘rePentaunce.’ Penance A.

	A good purpos / withoute begynnmynge,	<i>propositum bonum sine inchoacione &c</i>	
	Good wil / withouten operaciō,		
	Good promesse / and noon execucioñ,		369
amending.	fforth dryue amendes / fro morwe to morwe,		
	And neuere doon / þat causith al ¹ my sorwe. ² ¹ now A.		371
	(54)		
[leaf 61, back]	“O morwe, morwe / thow haast me begilt !		372
	O / whethir this miserie / nat exceede		
Alas, my gilt !	Al worldly wrecchidnesse / allas, my gilt !		
	Wel worthy is it / þat myn herte bleede,		375
	And with angwissñ and wo / me ³ fostre & feede. ³ him A.		
30 years have I lost.	See how my dayes aH ⁴ / arn slipt me fro ; ⁴ my A.		
	xxx ^{ti} . yeer of myn age / a-way been go.		378
	(55)		
	“fful wrecchidly, god woot / y haue ⁵ hem lost,		379
	And al myn owne self / is it to wyte ; ⁵ haue I A.		
	So good a piler / was y neuere, or post		
I never was vertuous for a day.	Vn-to my soule / as o day me delyte		
	In vertu / or agñt wel to god me qwyte,		383
	As þat y mighte haue doon or oghite ;		
	By agñt y woot / y neuere aftir þat sogñite.		385
	(56)		
How I shall be shamed at Doomsday !	“Lord god, how shamefully stande y shal		386
	At the doom beforñ thee and seintes aH,		
	Where y shal arted be to rekne of al		
	That y doon haue & left / whom shal y caH		
	To helpe me / o, how shal it befaH ?		390
	My torment and my wo / me haaste and hye,		
	Hens for to / twynne / as blyue shal y dye. ⁶		392

² In margin, by a later hand :

“So[crates] 21. No kinde of Labore is a thing of shame,
But ydelnes evermore worthie of blame.

So[crates] 27. What ys a-bove owre reche,
We have no thing to do with all.”

At foot : “So[crates] 28. This silver plate, and riche aray
Of purple hewe, dothe wonderous well
For disguising in a stage playe ;
Owr lyf nedethe them not a dele /”

⁶ Later scribble in margin : “Thomas, Pardy, I sayd yt not . . . O longa
nimis . . . P . . . Pr . . . r r r . . . prynt . . . nng . . . d . . . Thomas &c.”

(57)

“ O now this hour / gretter ¹ ioie & gladnesse	393	[leaf 62]
I wolde haue of a lital orisoun	1 day more A.	I'd rather now have said one prayer
By me seyde / with hertes deuout sadnesse, As the angelyk ^t salutacioun :		
Than y wolde haue / of many a milioun	397	than own millions of money.
Of gold and siluer / foule haue y me born, And synfully / þat sy nat this befor.	399	

(58)

“ Whan y mighte haue it seen / than wolde y noȝht ; How many houres haue y lost / þat neuere	401	
Retorne shuln / how mochil haue y wroȝht Ageyn my self / my lust was to perseuere		I followd vice, and left vertue.
In vicious lyf / & from it nat disseuere ;	404	
I lefte þat good was, & necessarie Vn-to my soule / and dide the contrarie.	406	

(59)

“ More than was neede or expedient,	407	
Vn-to the help of many an othir wight Entendid y / y was ful inprudēt ;		I helpt others, not myself.
I tooke noon heede / to my self aright ;		
By soules profyt / sette y nat but light ;	411	
Whan tyme was / fynde kowde y no tyme, Me to correcte / of myn offense and cryme. ²	413	

(60)

But now feele y / þat vn-to the gretnesse	414	[leaf 62, back]
Of merites celestial / had been bet		
My wittes han kept / with soules elennesse,		¶ Vere nunc cognomi quod ad magnitudi- nem pœmi- orum plus michi contulisset sollicita custodia cordis &c
Than þat left / with herte corruptly set, And ageyn deedes vertuous y-whet /	418	I ought to have cared for holy things, and kept pure.
Helpe me mighte / any mannes preyere. Thogħ .xxx ^{ti} . yeer / he preid had for me heere.	420	

² At foot, in a later hand: “So[crates] 30. Who-so eatethe drie breade with pleasure, the same nedethe no meate to hit ; and to whome no maner of drinke comethe a-misse, the same requireth none other cuppe but soche as ys redye in the waye.”

(61)

I begd my friends
to give me some
of their good
deeds,

¶ “ O, herkneth now / herkneth now alle yee 421
þat heere been / and seen my wrecchidnesse !
The tyme as þat yee seen / now faillith me ;
My freendes preide y / þat they sum alnesse
Of thabundance of hir goostly richesse 425
And wirkes goode / wolden to me dele
In my greet neede / for my soules hele ; 427

(62)

but they said No.

I am destitute.

“ And eeke in releef and amendement 428
Of my giltes / but hire answer was ‘ nay ’ ;
They seiden, ‘ ther-to yeven oure assent,
Wole we nat in no manere¹ way ¹ manere of A.
Lest it vs and yow nat souffyse may.’ 432
On every part / thus am y destitut ;
ffynde can y no socour ne refut.² 434

(63)

[leaf 63]
O God, have
mercy on me!

¶ “ O god benigne / o fadir merciable,³ 435
Beholde and reewe vp-on thy pacient !
To me, thyn handwerke / be thow socourable !
þat y greetly haue erred and mis-went,
Me wel remembrith this tyme present. 439
Allas / why stood y in myn owne light
So foule / o. lord, me now⁴ helpe of thy might ! 441
⁴ now me

² At foot, in a later hand : “ So[erates] 35. Scyence and counynge is the onely good thing of the world ; and contrarye-wyse, ignorance the onely evell thinge / ”

³ In later hands, at top : “ O god benigne, o fader merciable. . . Oratio.”

At side : “ Thomas hecker haue Red aþ Thys boke . so haue now haue [? MS. som] of my filas done . . . Thomas hecker haue Red aþ This boke. soo haue nott, haue not, haue of of. Herro . . . of Repentance with any good deed /

So[erates] 38. The begynninge ys half of the wholle.

44. Cælum non animum mutat, qui trans mare currit.

Who runneth oversee ffrom place to place,

Though he change aire, his minde is as yt was / ”

(64)

- “ How grete richesess spirituel 442 I might have
 And heuenely tresors / had y been wys, gathered heavenly
 Mighte y han gadered / and nat dide a del. treasure, but
 O good lord god / o lord of paradys, didn't.
 flul leef to me now were / and of greet prys 446
 Of satisfaccioun / the leeste deede
 Right dereworthe / were it in this neede. 448

(65)

- “ O / now the leeste crommes / þat ther faH 449 Now, I can get
 ffro the lordes bordes / and tables down, no crumb,
 Refresshe wolden me ful wel with-aH,
 But noon fynde y / of swich condicioun
 þat yeue me wole any porcioun. 453
 Y haue espyd / the frendshipe is ful streit
 Of this world / it is mirour of deceit. 455

(66)

- ¶ “ Reewe eek on me, yee aH / and pitee haue ! 456 [leaf 63, back]
 And whyles your force and vigour may laste, Do you all, while
 And tyme han eeke / or yee be ny your graue, your strength
 In-to bernes of heuene gadereth faste lasts, gather
 Tresors ceestial / þat at the¹ laste ¹atte A. 460 heavenly
 Yee may receyue / whan þat yee shul twynne treasure.
 ffrom hens / the blisse þat shal neuere blynne. 462

(67)

- “ And beeth nat voide of vertu, ne empty, 463
 Whan þat the deeth / an othir day to yow
 Approche shal / as yee may see þat y
 Am voide of deedes vertuuous right now.”
 ¶ “ ffreend,” quod the disciple / “ y see wel ynow 467 The Disciple
 Thy torment and thy greuous passioun,
 Of which / myn herte hath greet compassioun ; 469

(68)

- “ And by almighty god / I thee coniure 470
 þat thow me yeue reed / how me to gye, asks for advice
 Lest þat heer^e-aftir / y,² par auenture, ²I heer aftir A.

- how to avoid the
peril of death,
unprepared. In-to lyke *peril* / haaste may and hye,
Of vndisposid sodein deeth / and drye 474
The wo / which y considere / þat thee vexith,
wherthurgħ / myn herte sore agrysid wexith."¹ 476
(69)
- [leaf 64]
The supposed
dying man says
'Repent,
confess your sins,
do amends for
them, and give
up vice. ¶ Than spak thymage / "the best purueance, 477
And wit is / han verray contricioun
In strengthe & hele / of the mis-gouernance
Of thy lyf / and plener confessioun
Make of thy gilt / and satisfaccioun, 481
And asseeth do / and aH vices leue
þat thee mighten the blisse of heuene reue."² 483
(70)
- Behave as if you
were to die to-
day. " And so / with al thyn herte / it is³ the beste, 484
Keepe thee foorth / as þat thow this day right, ³ is it A.
Or to-morwe / or this wike atte⁴ fertheste, ⁴ at the A.
Sholdist departe fro this worides light,
And ther-with-al / enforce thow thy might, 488
As y shal seyn / in thyn herte to thynke,
And thow shalt it nat reewe ne forthynke. 490
(71)
- Suppose your soul
has been 10 years
in Purgatory, " Caste in thyn herte / as now thy soule were 491
In purgatorie / and hadde pyned be
.x. yeer in a fourneys brennyng there,
And this onoly yeer were grantid thee
flor thyn help / so beholde often & see 495
- and it is crying
to you Thy soule / in the flaumbes of fyr brennyng,
With a wrecchid vois / thus to thee crynyge :⁵ 497
- ¹ At foot, in a later hand : "Socrates exorted yung springalles, now and then earnestly to ven and behold themselves in a glasse, to the ende—yf they were beautifull and of good featur of body—they shold beware to commyt nothing vncomly for the same / yf otherwise, that the defantes of the body myght, with exereyse or finniture of the wytte, & with honneste of maners & behaueur, be redoubed."
- ² That heuenes blisse mighten thee byreue A. At right side, later : 'Cumber youre' ; at left side, 'R B A.'
- ⁵ At foot, later : "Non uiuas ut edas ; sed edas, ut uiuere possis.
Lyeue not as a glutton, styll for to eate,
But fede to maintayne lyfe by thie meate."

(72)

¶ "Of alle freendes / thow, the derwortheſte,	¶ <i>O amicorum omnium dulcissime, succurre &c^d</i>	[leaf 64, back]
Do to thy wrecchid soule help and ſocour,		
þat is al deſolat / purchace it reſte.		
See how y brenne / o, reewe on my langour ;		
Be for me ſo freendly a purueyour,	502	
þat in this hoot priſon / y no lengere		to reſcue it.
Tormentid be / lat it nat thus me dere !	504	

(73)

"The worldes fauour / cleene is fro me went ;	505	
fforſake y am / frendſhipe y can noon fynde ;		
Ther is no wight / þat to the indigent		
Puttith his helply hand / ſlipt out of mynde	¶ <i>Non est qui fidelitatem ostendat; non est qui manum porrigat egenti &c^d</i>	It is ſharp pain.
I am / in peynes ſharpe y walwe & wynde ;		
And of my wo / ther is no wight þat recchith ;		
Nat knowe y frendſhipe / or to whom it ſtrecchith.	511	

(74)

"Men ſeeken thynges / þat to hem ſelf longe,	¶ <i>Singuli que sua sunt querunt, & me in vltimis flammas deſolatam derelinquant, &c^d</i>	Let it not ſuffer long.
And me leuen in the flaumbes vengeable.		
O good freend / lat me nat thus pyne longe ! "		
¶ To which the diſciple, with cheere ſtable		
Seide / "thy lore were profitable,	516	The Diſciple approves this,
Who-ſo it hadde by experience		
As thow haast / ther-to yeue y may credence ; ¹	518	

(75)

"But thogh thy wordes ſharpe & ſtiryngē ſeeme,	519	[leaf 65]
To many a man / profyten they but lyte ;		but ſays that many men take no thought of their end,
They looke a-part / and liſt take no yeeme		
Vn-to the ende / which mighte hem profyte.		
Yen they haan / and ſeen nat worth a myte ;	523	

¹ At foot, in a later hand, "Ouidius de Ponto :

While fortune the favorethe, freendes thow haſt plentye ;
 The tyme being troublous, thow arte aſt alone :
 Thow ſeeſt Culvers haunt, howſes made white & daintye ;
 To the ruynus towre, almoſt comethe none /
 In emptie barnes, where faylethe ſubſtaunce,
 Happenethe no frende in whome is aſſurance."

And eres han also / and may nat heere ;
They weenen longe for to lyuen heere. 525

(76)

“ And for they, vndisposid deeth nat dreede,¹ 526
fforsigh̄te at al / ne haan tho wrecches noon
Of the harm / which ther-of moot folwe neede,
They deemen stonde as sikir as a stoon ;
But weel y see / by thee / so moot y goon, 530
They shuln haan cause / it for to dreede & doute,
Or þat hir lyues light / be fully oute. 532

but they'll
have cause to
fear.

(77)

When sickness comes to them,
“ Whan dethes messenger comth / sharp seeknesse, 533
ffreendes and felawes hem haaste & hye,
The seeke man to conforte of his feblesse,
And al thyng þat good is / they prophecie ; 536
They seyn / “ thogh̄ thow seeke in thy bed now lye,
Be nat agast / no dethes euel haast thow,
ffor this / thow shalt eschape wel ynow.”² 539

their friends say
they'll not die ;

(78)

[leaf 65, back] “ Thus bodyes freendes been maad enemys 540
To the soule / for whyl seeknesse greeueth
The man continually / yit so vnwys
Is he / þat his enformours he wel leeueth ;
He hopith to been hool / and he mischeeueth 544
where as he wende han recouered be ;
Vndisposid to dye / sterueth he. 546

but they perish,
unprepared.

(79)

¶ “ Right so thyn herckners and thyn Auditours, 547
Tho þat greet trust han in mannes prudence,
Nat list hir peynes putte, or hir labours,

¹ Later scribble at side : “ Hund . . . nb . . . Thomas . . . Ch . . . Thomas.” (For ‘ vndisposed deeth ’ see 200/590).

² At foot, in a later hand, “ Martialís, lib. 12 :

Yf thow wilt eschew Bytter aduventure,
And avoyde the knowinge of a pensive harte,
Sette in no one persoune wholly thie pleasure,
The lesse shalt thowe yoye, but lesse shalt thou smarte /”

To execute thyn holsum sentence ;

Thow mightist as wel keepe thy silence ; 551

They by thy wordes yenen nat a leeke."

¶ To which, thymage thus answerde & speeke :

(80)

" ffor thy, whan they in dethes net been hent,

Whan sodein wrecchidnesse hem shal assaiñ,

Whan death, as tempest sharp & violent,

With woful trouble hem shal vexe & travaill,

They shuln crie aftir help / and ther-of faiñ, 558

ffor they in hate / sapience hadde,

And despysed my reed / & heeld it badde.¹ 560

(81)

" And right as now ther been but fewe fownde, 561

þat of my wordes conpunct wole hir lyf

Correcte / ne amende in no stownde,

Nat may to hem auaille my motyft,

But they / hir synnes vsen ay foorth ryft, 565

And han no lust / fro synnes hem withdrawe,

No more / than they neuere had herd my sawe : 567

(82)

" Right so for the malice of tyme / and lak^t 568

Of goostly loue / and for the iniquitee

Of the world / vertu gooth so faste a-bak^t,

þat fewe to the death disposid be

So weel / þat list this worldes vanitee 572

Leue / and for desir of lyf / þat shal cure

Endure / coueiten hens to disseuere. 574

(83)

" But whan death on hem stelith with hir darte, 575

They vureedy / wowlid in conscience,

Nat oonly goon hens / whan they hens departe /

¹ At foot, in a later hand : " In tyme of prosperitie, a man shaft not knowe his frendes, and in aduersitie an ennemye wiff not be hidde." " Yf thow be ashamed to speeke evēñ, be more ashamed to doe the same."

¶ Ideo / cum laqueo mortis capti fuerint / cum irruerit repentina calamitas, & interitus quasi tempestas ingruerit &c^d

The dying man says that when

they cry for help, they shan't get it.

[leaf 66]
Men will not amend their lives by his words,

or give up the vanities of the world ;

so that when Death comes,

they're carried
off by force.

But they with a manere of violence
Been hent away / so þat ful greet prudence 579
They wolde han hold it / han deid as a man
And nat as a beest / þat no reson can.¹ 581

(84)

[leaf 66, back]
The cause of
their neglect is

¶ " If of this *commun* peril, thencheson² 582
Thee lyke knowe / y wole it now expresse :
The desir of honours out of reson,
The body bathynge in worldly swetnesse,
Eerthely loue / and to greet greedynesse 586
In muk^thepyng / blynden many an herte,
And causen men in-to tho perils sterte. 588

worldly pleasure,
and covetousness.

(85)

Learn by me to
avoid this end,

" If thow desire / the perils to flee 589
Of vndisposed death / my Conseil heere :
This heuy plyt / in which thow seest now me,
Reuolue ofte in thy mynde / & by me leere
flor to be waar / if thow in this maneere 593
Wilt do / it shal be thy greet auantage,
And ese thee at thy laste passage ; 595

(86)

and find death
the beginning
of eternal bliss.

" It shal vn-to thee profyte in þat hour,
þat nat oonly dye it shal nat thee gaste,
But death / eek as eende of worldly labour,
And begynnyng of blisse / ay þat shal laste /
Abyde thow shalt / and desire faste 600
With al thyn herte / it to take & receyue,
And al worldly lust leye a-part & weyue. 602

¶ Ex ea nam-
que proficies /
vt non solum
mori non ti-
meas / verum
etiam mortem
&c^d

¹ At foot, in a later hand :

"The good or eveñ fortune of añ a mans lyffe,
Ys in the good or eveñ chowsinge his frend or his wiffe."

² At top, in a later hand : "Woman cam of syd of a doog
wherfor I besech the to . . ." At side : "W. Barnabe" . . "To
the right worshipfull . . . *master* Hanna (?) . . He that hath"
. . "Thomas Carter."

(87)

- "Euery day haue of me deep remembrance¹; 603 [leaf 67]
 In-to thyn herte / let my wordes synke ;
 The sorwe and angwissli & greuouſ penance Remember my
 Which thow haast seen in me / considere / & thynke grievous punish-
 That of peril / thogh² art ful ny the brynke ; 607 ment,
 Remembre on my doom / for swich shal thyn be ;
 Myn yistirday / and this day vn-to thee. 609

(88)

- "Looke vp-on me / & thynke on this nyght ay 610 and think how
 Whyles thow lystest / o how good & blessid
 Art thow Arsenius³ / which þat alway
 This ilke hour haddest in thyn herte impressid,
 þat man / as in holy writ is witnessid, 614
 Which whan god comth and knockith at the yate,
 Wakyng him fynt / he blessid is algate ; ¶ Beatus quem
cum venerit domi-
nus & pulsauerit
&c

(89)

- Blessid is he þat thanne founden is 617 blessid is he who
is ready to die,
 Reedy to passe / for he blissfully
 Departe shal / and truste right wel this,
 Thogh deeth assaith and vexe greuouſly
 The rightwys man⁴ / or slee him sodeynly, 621
 How so he dye / he shal go to⁵ þat place ¶ Quacumque
eum morte &c
 Where-as confort is / refreshyng & grace. 623

(90)

- He shal be poured cleene & purified, 624 [leaf 67, back]
 And disposid the glorie of god to see ;
 Angels shuln keepe him / & he shal be gyed

¹ Latin scribble at top and sides: "wo . . woman, man sent woman . . Father and mother . . w . . s̄r Iohū . . th . . the Father . . A Thowsand, a hundreth, fyve and fyfty / I Love / . . . voman mast . . Vm . . women" . . "Pardye, I sayd yt not / nor never yt Intended /" . . "Barnard" (?) . . "Choos and Crave not, quod Carter."

² for "thow."

³ Arcenius A.

⁴ The good lyuer A.

⁵ he gooth vn-to A.

And led by Citeins of the hy Contree,
 And to the Court of heuene vp taken be ; 628
 And of his spirit / shal be the issyng,
 In-to eternal blisse / the entrynge.¹ 630

(91)

But where shall my wretched
 soul go? But allas / where shal my wrecchid goost <sup>▪ Sed heu me
 miserum &c</sup>
 This nyght become / whilur shal it go?
 What herbergh shal it haue / or in what coost
 Shal it arryue / who shal receyue it who?
 O! what frendshipe / shal it haue tho? 635
 O soule abiect / desolat & forsake,
 Greet cause haast thow / for fere & wo to qwake. 637

(92)

“ Wherfore y, hauyng of my self pitee,
 Amonges heuy wordes / y out shede 638
 Teres / in greet habundance & plentee ;
 But nat auailith me / it is no drede.
 Hens-foorth compleyne / weepe² & crye & grede, 642
 ffor in no wyse / changed it be may ;
 Al man-kyndes fo / stoppid hath my way. 644

(93)

[leaf 68] “ In hidles, in awyt as a Leoun³ 645
 He hath leyn / & my soule led hath he
 In-to the pit of deeth al deepe adom.
 O my lord god / this sharp aduersitee,
 To stynte of speeche / now compellith me : 649
 y may no more hens-foorth / speke & bewaiH,
 My tonge and eeke my wit / now so⁴ me faiH. 651

(94)

“ Ther is noon othir / y see wel ynow 652
 The tyme is come / as blyue y shal be deed ;

¹ Later scribble at side: “he shal be . . H. 5, 3.”

² weepe and compleyne A.

³ Later scribble at side: “Gefferye thirgood . . Ryght . .
 gefferye thir . . put to . . p p p p p p p . . put to . to the sayd
 gefferyth de vez . . th . . d d d.” ⁴ so now A.

See how my face wexith pale now,
 And my look ful dym / &¹ heny as leed ;
 Myn yen synke eeke / deepe in-to myn heed, 656
 And torne vp so down / and myn hondes two
 Wexen al stif and starke / & may nat do ; 658

(95)

“ Prikkynges of deeth me, wrecche, conpace ; ¶ Puncture
 mortis amar-
 issime me
 circumdant
 &c My pulse beats
 by starts,
 Stirtemeel gooth my pows² / and elles naght ;
 Mortel pressures / sharply me menace,
 My breeth begynneth faiH / and eeke the draght
 Of it fro fer is fet / & deepe eaght ; 663
 No lenger y now see this worldes light ; my eyes fail.
 Myn yen lost han hir office & might. 665

(96)

“ But now y see *with* myn yen mental³ 666 [leaf 68, back]
 Thestat of al⁴ an-othir world than this ;
 I am ny goon / as faste passe y shal ;
 O my lord god / a gastful sighte it is !
 Now of confort haue y greet lak⁴ & mis ; 670 I have no comfort.
 Horrible feendes and innumerable
 Awayte vp-on⁵ my soule miserable ;⁶ 672

(97)

“ The blake-faced ethiopiens 673 Black Ethiops
 surround me.
 Me enyrone / and aftir it abyde
 To hente it / whan þat it shal passen hens,
 If þat par aenture it so betyde
 þat the lot ther-of / faH vp-on hir syde ; 677
 hir viserly⁷faces, grim & hydous,
 Me putte in thoghtful dreedes encombrous. 679

¹ dun my look and as A.² pous A ; powr D.³ Later pencil writing at top : “ Thomas Wylton of kyrke Landes whare I doo moste humbly Bygge [?] that (lf. 69, top) this Byll mayd the iijth daye of may in) ye yer.”⁴ al of A. ⁵ Awayten on A.⁶ The Ashburnham MS ends.⁷ grisly Reg.

(98)

- The stern Judge
condemns me.
[¹ weyest me R.] ¶ “O streit and steerne Inge & domesman. 680
Thow weyest¹ moche / in decmynge me, wrecche,
Tho thynges whiche fewe folkes can
But smal by sette / or of hem charge or recche ;
Lo / deethes strooke haastith me hens to fecche ; 684
[² eke Reg.] My membres, shee² so thirlith & distressith,
That nature ouercome is / shee witnessith. 686

(99)

- [leaf 69] “O gastful is the iust Iuges lookynge 687
Vn-to me, now present / thurgh fere & dreede,
which sodeynly shal come / him self sheewynge.
Farewell, friends! ¶ ffar-wel, freendes & felawes / for neede ¶ *O terribilis as-*
Moot y vnclithe me of lyues weede ; *pectus iusti iudicis*
To purgatorie y shal as streight as lyne, *mhi iam presenti*
ffor myn offenses / ther to suffre pyne ; *per timorem*
subito venturus
&c^d
Nunc valete
socij &c^d . .

(100)

- “And thens twynne y nat / til maad haue y gree 694
Of the leeste ferthyng þat y men shal ;
I shall go to In whiche place y beholde and see
Affliccioun and sorwe ynow at al ;
There y no ioie see, but wo oueral : 698
fiery flames, The fyry flaumbes vp-on heighite ryse.
In which / the soules brenne in woolly wyse. 700

(101)

- “They vp now possid been / & now down throwe, 701
Right as sparcles of fyr / aboute sprede,
Whan þat a greet toun / set is on a lowe,
And al is fyred / bothe in lengthe & brede.
Wo been tho soules / in tho brondes rede, 705
ffor peyne of which torment / ful lowde & hye
They in this wyse / ful pitously crye :³ 707

where souls in
torment cry

³ Later scribble at side and foot: “Richard Lyon . . god! haue mercie vpon all Crysten soules . . and yf thou . . knewes Thou knewest . . 869 . . v . . 12” . . ‘hast’ . . ‘hayll mygh &’ . .

(102)

¶ "Now, mercy haue on our captiuitee ;	708	[leaf 69, back]
To yow our freendes / namely we preye ;		for mercy,
Wher is your help now / wher is your chiertee?		
Whidir been the promesses goon to pleye		
Of yow, our Cousins eeke / can yee portreye		
Your wordes so gayly ¹ / and effect noon		[1 gostly Reg.]
ffolwith / but al as deed is as a stoon!		

(103)

"By youre desires inordinat,		
And eeke of othir ² mo / our self han we		
Brought in-to this plyt and wrecchid estat ;	717	
Ioie han we noon / but of wo greet plentee.		and are full
Allas / why nat vp-on vs reewen yee?	719	of woe.
We dide al our might / to do yow plesance ;		
And yee no routhe han / on our sharp greuance.	721	

(104)

"fful eucler we rewarded been of yow ;	722	They reproach
We brenne / and yee the fyr nat qwenche a deel.		their friends
Allas! we nadden for our self or now		for not helping
Y-doon / we were auyssid no thyng weel ;		them.
Worldly trust is / as slipir as an eel ;	726	
Al is nat trewe / þat the worlð promettith ;		
fful wys is he / þat ther-by lital settith. ³	728	

(105)

"The leeste torment of this purgatorie	729	[leaf 70]
þat we souffren / exceedith in sharpnesse		Their torments
Tormentes aH of the ⁴ world transitorie.		are most bitter.
Heere, of torment / more is the bittirnesse		[4 this Reg.]
In an hour / then the worldes wikkidnesse	733	
May hurte or greene in an .C. ⁵ yeer :		[5 hundred Reg.]
Greet is thaffliciouz þat we han heer.	735	

³ Later scribble at side (repeated from leaf 61, p. 192 *n.* above) :

"No kinde of labore is a thinge of shame,
but idelnes evermore worthi of blame.

love is the occupacion or busines of idle Folkes, that haue no thinge
ells to sett themselves & worke with-aH." In the beginning.

(106)

- “ But aboue alle kyndes of tormentis, 736
 Of goddes blissid face the absence
 Greueth most / þat lak^t, our moost ¹ wofull sentis :¹
 ffor a memorie / leue y this sentence
 To thee / and heere y die in thy presence.” 740
- ¶ Whan the disciple sy þat he was past
 And deed / he tremblid and was sore agast ; 742

(107)

- Aboute he torned him / and thus seide he : 743
- ¶ “ Wher art thou now / o sapience eterne ?
 O / good lord, haast thou now forsaken me ?
 Wilt thou thy grace me denye and werne ?
 Thou seidest / ‘ sapience y sholde lerne ; ’ 747
 And now y am brogħt to the death almost,
 So troublid is my spirit & my goost. 749

(108)

- “ This sighte of deeth so sore me astoneth, 750
 þat wite y can vnnethe in soothfastnesse,
 But am in doute / wher the soothe woneth,
 That is to meene / if this be in liknesse
 Or in deede / swich is my mazidnesse ; 754
 But how it be / lord, y byseeche thee,
 Be my confort in this perplexitee ! 756

(109)

- “ Neuere the perils of deeth vndisposid 757
 In my lyf² kneew I, as y do now right ;
 Withyn myn herte been they deepe enclosed,
 And so sadly / ther-in picchid and pigħt,
 þat hem foryete / lyth nat in my mygħt. 761
 That gastful sighte / y hope shal profyete
 Vn-to my soules helthe / nat a lyte. 763

(110)

- “ Dwellynge place / y haue espyd, and see,
 Han we noon³ / in this wrecchid world changeable.

God's face they
never see.

[¹ Reg. 17 D vi.]

The Disciple sees
the man is dead.

He appeals to
Wisdom for help.

[leau 70, back]
The sight of death

has mazed him.

Its perils

[² self Reg.]

have sunk into
his heart.

³ -³ Nodwellynge
place, haue I
espyd, ne Han
we here Reg.]

- ffor why / vn-to þat blisful hy contree
 which nat may varie / but is permanable,
 Shape y me streeche / o lord god merciablen, 768 He prays for
 Y mercy axe / vp-on me, wrecche, reewe ! God's mercy,
 Hens forward / wole y lede a lyf al neewe. 770
- (111)
- “ Now lerne for to die / y me purpose ; 771 [leaf 71]
 Hens-foorth / penance wole y nat delaye ; and promises to
 My lyf to amende wole y me dispose ; learn how to die,
 ffor syn thoghtes of deeth / so me esmaye / by repentance
 Wel more y am seur / deeth me shal affraye 775 and amendment.
 Whan þat eschue / y shal nat hir presence ;
 O, ther thyn help / eterne sapience !¹ 777
- (112)
- “ Now wole y voide fethirbeddes softe, 778 He will give up
 The pilwes nesshe / and esy materas feather beds
 On whiche my careyne / hath tymes ofte
 Walkid and leyn / now stande I in swich cas
 þat me thynkith / al greet folie it was. 782
 Of clothyng eeke, fy on the precioustee,
 And slouthe of sleep also lettyng me. 784 and choice
 clothes,
- (113)
- “ Syn y tormentid am so greuously 785
 With thynges smale / how sorwes so grete
 Souffre mighte y, if now die sholde y,
 þat neuere or this / my synnes kowde lete !
 O, what matire / of helle fyr / the hete 789
 Mighte in me thanne fynde / certes greet,
 ffor which / my body of cold swoot is al weet. 791
- (114)
- “ Now woot I weel / what thyng þat may auaiH 792 [leaf 71, back]
 My soule / and it keepe fro perisshyng :
 By souffrance of greet labour & trauaiH,
 And exereyse of vertuous luyngge, and will take
 to labour and
 virtuous life.

¹ Later scribble in margin : “sapience . . . presence . . . softe.”

Wole y it helpe / left al taryyng,
 þat in swich an houres extremittee,
 No peyne / but reste, fynde may shee. 798

(115)

“ O holy and mercyful Sauueour,
 Of so bitter deeth / souffre me nat dye,
 Thogh̄ y be thikke wrappid in errour :

¶ *O sancte & misericors saluator, tam amare morti ne tradas me!*

He falls to the ground,

See / befor̄ thee / plat on the grownd y lye,
 Weepyng / for myn excessyf folye ; 803

And, curteys lord / of thy benignitee,
 This grace vouche-sauf to grante me, 805

(116)

and prays for punishment here

“ Aftir thy lust / be my punysshement 806

Whyle y am heere / and, good lord, nat reserue

To othir place / the chastisement

Which þat y, wrecche / heere in this world disserue !

let me abyte it heere / or þat y sterue, 810

instead of here-after.

ffor in þat place horrible / is swich sharpnesse

Of peyne / þat no wight can it expresse. 812

(117)

[leaf 72]

¶ “ O how vnwys or this haue y been ay, 813

Tho' he has here-

Syn þat deeth vndisposid and the peyne

Of purgatorie / y kowde by no way

Considere / ne how it kowde distreyne.

tofore set his heart on vain things,

Set was myn herte in othir thogh̄tes veyne, 817

þat yaf me lettynge and impediment

To thynke vp-on the perils consequent ; 819

(118)

“ But now, thurgh̄ fadirly amonestyng,

My myndes yen þat cloos were and shit /

¶ *Set nunc paterne admonitus oculos aperio, &c!*

I opne / and of tho perils am dredyng.”

he now fears Death.

¶ And sapience ansuerde anon to it :

Wisdom bids him amend while he is young,

“ My sone / to do so / it is greet wit, 824

Whiles thow yong art / & haast strengthe & force ;

Thy lyf for to correcte / thee enforce. 826

(119)

- “ Whan þat deeth cometh / which cruel and fel is, 827
 Whom thow nat maist withstonde ne withsittē /
 Help ne refuyt / is ther for thee noon ellis /
 But to the mercy of god / thee committe, and betake him to
 God's mercy.
 By no way / þat nat leue ne ommitte ; 831
 My passiouⁿ putte eeke / twixt my doom & thee,
 Lest more than neede is / adrad thow be. 833

(120)

- “ My rightwisnesse nat so mochil dreede 834 [leaf 72, back]
 þat thow fro trust and hope of mercy twynne ;
 Contrytly mercy axe / and thow shalt speede.
 Now restfullere in thy goost be withynne,
 þat ouer ferd art / thee pouрге of thy synne, 838
 Scourge thy self / with repentancees rod ;
 Begynnyng of wisdam / is dreede of god. 840 The fear of God
 is the beginning
 of wisdom.

(121)

- ¶ “ Scriptures serche / & by hem shalt thow leere 841
 þat vn-to man is it greet auantage,
 Deeth to haue ofte in mynde, in this lyf heere. 843
 If yeeres manye / and vn-to good age ¶ Si annis, inquit
 sapiens, multis vix-
 erit homo & in
 omnibus hijs letus
 fuerit memnisse
 debet tenebrosi
 temporis, &c)
 Man lyue / and in aH hem glad & sauage
 Be / good is, the dirke hour & dayes wikke
 Remembre / or þat he come to the prikke : Let him remem-
 ber Death in
 time,

(122)

- “ ffor whan þat tyme is comen, and þat hour. 848
 Repreued shal be the past vanitee ;
 Remembre therefore on thy Creatour and his Creator
 in his youth.
 In thy fressh youthe & lusty iolitee,
 Or tyme come of sharp aduersitee, 852
 And or þat yeeres approche of disese,
 In whiche thow wilt seyn / they nat thee plesē. 854

(123)

leaf 73 ^r	And, or asshen in-to hir eerthe also ¹	855
	Where-of they were / ageyn hem thidir dresse,	
	And thy spirit to god / whens it cam fro	
	Retourne / god, with al thyn herte blisse,	
	Thanke him / shewe vn-to him thy kyndenesse ;	859
The way of sal- uation is open.	fior he to thee now opned hath the way	
	Wherthurgh thou maist be saued, is no nay.	861

(124)

Few think of the unstableness of the world,	“ fful fewe been / þat so with hertes ere,	862
	Konne apparceyue thinstabilitee	
	Of the world / and konne of the deeth han fere,	
	Which þat alway lyth in awayt pryuee,	
and the ever- lasting joy of heaven.	Ne þat of the ioie and felicitee	866
	Of henene / which ay shal laste & endure,	
	Take any manere heede at al / or eure.	868

(125)

	¶ “ Lifte vp thyn yen ² / looke aboute & see	869
	Diligently / how many folkes blynde [2 MS. then]	
	In hir conceites now a dayes be ;	
They shut the eyes of their mind,	They close & shutte the yen of hir mynde ;	
	They nat keepe, in hir conceit serche & fynde	873
	Vn-to what ende / needes they shuln drawe,	
	And al for lak of dreede of god, and awe.	875

(126)

leaf 73, back]	“ They stoppe hire eres / for they nat ne keepe	876
	Heere how conuerted be / and receyue helthe ;	
	Correccion is noon / they let it sleepe ;	
and are drunk with this world's wealth. But Death shall bring them to perdition.	They been so drunken of this worldes welthe,	
	That deeth, or they be waar / right in a stelthe	880
	ffallith up-on hem / which condicioon	
	Hem cause shal hastyf perdicioon.	882

¹ Later scribble at top and side, with monograms or figures: “(?) Saued Edmedye . . . now must I die, and have not deferred . . . Harrison late ffr . . . To my approved ffrende m^r Geauen (?) . . . try and then trust, quod body^H . . . peace and Grace be with yow, frome god the father for euer and euer . . . W. W . . . W . . . n.”

(127)

“The peple now let seen innumerable	883	
þat for deeth vndisposid / lost han be /		
Considerere / and if thy wit be ther-to able /		
Noumbre of hir multitude the plentee		
Eeke of hem þat in thy tyme <i>with</i> thee	887	See how many have died during your own life,
Dwelt han / looke how þat they been take away :		
Thow seest wel / they from hens been past for ay ;	889	

(128)

“And as they heere han do / so shuln they haue.	890	
What multitude in yeeres fewe ago,		
Thee yit lyuyng / han leid been in hir graue !		
What brethren / Cousins / felawes and mo		brothers, com- panions, &c.
Of thy knowleche / beholde alle tho !	894	
Thyne eeke, with hem / hire olde synne goon is ;		
Touche vn-to hem / speke and axe hem of this,	896	

(129)

“And they with wepyng and <i>with</i> waymentyng	897	[leaf 74]
Shuln to thee seye / and thus ageyn answer :		
‘Blessid is he / þat can see the endyng,		
And synnes / þat the soule hurte & dere, ¹		
Eschne can / and hem flee and forber ;’	901	
And þat in my Conseil hath good sauour,		
Disposyng him alway vn-to þat hour.	903	

(130)

“And therefore / alle vicious thynges left,	904	Therefore prepare to die.
Weel thee dispose / and reedy make thee		
To dye / lest the tyme be thee reft		
Or þat thow be waar / for no certeintee		
Hast thow ther-of / thow art no thyng pryuee	908	
Ther-to / deeth is nat fer / right atte yate		
Shee is / be reedy for to dye algate !	910	

¹ In margin, later : “John Jarlin, & Elizabeth his welle-belovinde Witte, dme.” At foot : “Ryghte wellbeloued father and mother.”

(131)

	¶ "Right as a Marchant stondyng in a port,	911
	his ship þat charged is with marchandyse	
	To go to fer parties / for confort	
	Of him self / lookeþ / þat it in sauf wyse	
Look so to your soul before you go hence, that you may gain life ever- lasting.	Passé out / Right so, if thou wirke as the wyse,	915
	See to thy soule so / er thou hens weende,	
	þat it may han the lyf þat haath noon eende.	917
	Amen!"	

¶ Explicit illa pars / per quam sciendum est mori.

(132)

	T he othir .iiij. partes which in this booke	918
[leat 74, back] The other 3 Parts of this treatise,	Of the tretice of deeth expressid be,	
	Touche y nat dar / þat labour y forsooke,	
	ffor so greet thyng / to swich a fool as me	
I'm too great a fool	Ouer chargeable is, by my leautee,	922
	To medle with / ynow the firste part	
	ffor my smal komynge is / and symple art ;	924

(133)

	But as the .ix ^e lesson which is rad	925
	In holy chirche / vp-on all halwen day	
	witnessith / syn it ioieful is and glad	
	ffor hem þat hens shuln wel departe away,	
	And to the blisse go þat lastith ay,	929
to english in ryme, so I'll do it in prose,	Translate wole y / nat in rym, but prose.	
	ffor so it best is / as þat y suppose,	931

(134)

	How greet ioie and blisse / is shapen to hem	932
and tell of the joys of the heavenly city Jerusalem.	þat so shuln passe hens / vp to the Citee	
	Callid celestial, Ierusalem.	
	Aftir our might and possibilitee	
	Let vs considere / al thogh it so be,	936
	That for to comprehende þat gladnesse,	
	Verrailly / no wit may, ne tonge expresse.	938

¹Lo, thus is seid of þat Citee in a place / There-in
 is no sorwe / heuynesse ne waymentynge. what
 is more blisful / than þat lyf is / where no
 dreede is of pouerte / of maladie / no feeblenesse /
 there is no wight hurt / no wight wrooth / no wight
 hath enuye / ther is no bremynge or hete of ecuetyse /
 no desir of mete / noon ambicioon of honour or of
 power / no dreede of the feend / noon awaytes of
 deueles / the fere of heH / fer thens / no death of body
 ne soule / but ioieful yiftes and iocounde of immor-
 talitee / there shal neuere be discord / stryf ne debat /
 but alle thynges conuenient and accordynge / no diui-
 sion, but onhede / for ther shal been o concord of aH
 seintes / o pees & gladnesse continuel / aH thynges
 peisible / aH in quiete and reste / there is an excellent
 brightnesse and shynynge / nat this light / þat now is /
 but in so mochil cleerere / as it is bettre and more
 noble / for, as it is red / “þat Citee shal noon neede
 haue of the sonnes light / but our lord god al-mighty
 shal enlumyne it” / & the lamb is his lanterne / where
 as seintes shuln shyne as sterres in perpetuel eternitees /
 and as the shynynge of the firmament þat spredith his
 bemes vp-on many men / wherfore in þat place is no
 nyght / no dirknesses / no concours of clowdes / no
 fretynge cold / no sharpnesse / but swich attemperance
 of thynges shal be there / whiche neither ye of man
 neuere sy / ne ere herde / ne herte can thynke ne com-
 prehende / sauf of hem þat been worthy & han dis-
 serued to haue þat blisse / whos names arn writen in
 the booke of lyf / & whiche wasshid hir stoles in the
 lames blood / & been before the See of god / and
 serue him day and nyght / noon age is there / ne
 miserie or wreechidnesse of age / whyles aH shal been
 o parfyt body, o parfyt man, in the mesure of the ful
 age of Cryst / [No break in MS.]

[1 leaf 75]

No sorrow is
there, or wailing,

no envy,

no fear of hell,

no strife;

but unity,

peace,

brightness.

God lights it.

[2 leaf 75, back]

There, is no night
or cold, but joys
unthinkable;[‘robert as-
cue’, later,
at side.]no misery,
but one perfect
body in Christ.

¶ And abouen aH thynges / is to been associated to

There folk
company with
Angels,

and Saints,

and see Martyrs

[1 leaf 76]

and Virgins.

The chief of all
joys is,

to see the bright-
ness of God.

Win this reahn
by good works.

The Kingdom
of Heaven is
taken by assaults
of Virtue.

It seeks no other
prize but thee.

As Christ gave
Himself for thee,
[2 leaf 76, back]
give thyself for
Him,

the compaignies of the trones / dominacions / Principatz
& potestatz of Angels & Archangels / & to been in the
compaignie of aH the celestial and hy vertues / & to
beholde the compaignie of seintes, brightere & yeuyng
more light than the sterres / shynynge in the feith of
Patriarks / gladyng & ioyng in the hope of prophetes
deemyng the world of apostles in .xij. tribes of Israel /
& to beholde eekē the shynynge of martirs with pur-
purat corones of victorie / and to see the compaignies
of virgines weryng brighte gerlandes. [*No break in
MS.*]

¶ And for to speke of the kyng þat sittith in the
middles of hem / no vois ther-to souffisith / it may nat
be told ne expressid / that honour / þat vertu / þat
magnificence and þat glorie exceedith and passith aH
wittes & intellectes of man / and passynge aH the
seintes ioies / is to beholde the inestimable brightnesse
of þat kyng / & to be spred *with* the bemes of his
magestee / let these thynges sadly synke in-to oure
hertes / let vs vnderstande hem with ful feith / let hem
be beloued *with* alle oure hertes / let hem be goten by
the greetnesse and by the multitude of goode wirkes
and continuel / this thyng^{is} is put in the might of the
wirkere / for the kyngdam of heuene souffirith forcible
and mighty assautes of vertu. [*No break in the MS.*]

¶ O man / this thyng / þat is to seyn, the kyngdam
of heuene, seekith noon othir prys / but thyn owne
self / it is as mochil worth as thow art / yeeue thee &
thow shalt haue it / what, artow astoned or adrad of the
prys? Cryst yaf him self / to purchace thee the Regne
to god the ffadir / Right so yeeue² thow thy self / þat
thow maist been his kyngdam / and þat no synne regne
in thy mortel and deedly body / but let thy good spirit
regne in thee to purchace thee the eternal lyf. ¶ And
therefore, who-so desirith to haue the merites euere
lastynge / he moot de-lyte him to gete hem thurgh

goode and vertuous wirkes / That is the path and the
 streight way to blisse endeles / the which he vs
 grante, þat boghte vs with his precious blood. Amen!
 Amen!

by delighting in
 good works.

Now vnderstandith wel and considerith in your
 hertes, þat as mochil ioie as ther is in that
 blisful place of heuene: as greet sorwe, angwissþ and
 torment is in þat othir part in heH / to expresse hem /
 needith nat / for they been the reuers and contrarie to
 the ioies aboue named / wherby uery persone may
 resonably conceyue þat in þat place of torment the
 peynes been merueillously sharpe & grenous / And yit
 for al þat smert / if any ende sholde sue or folwe / that
 wolde yeue the soules right hy confort, and greetly
 abregge and lesne hir grief / but awayte nat aftir þat
 for it wole nat betyde / for right as the seid ioies been
 eternal and ay lastyng: so been the peynes infynyt
 and endeles / And sikirly, syn god of his hy grace and
 benigne courtesie hath yeuen vs libertee and freedam
 for to purchase by oure wirkes in this present lyfe² þat
 oon or þat othir / al standith in our choys and elec-
 cioun: to grete fooles been we / but if we² cheese the
 better part / which part, god of his infynyt goodnesse
 graunte vs alle to cheese / Amen!

As much joy as
 is in Heaven,
 so great torment
 is in Hell.

And as the joys
 are everlasting,
 [1 leaf 77]
 so are the paines
 of Hell.

We can buy
 either one
 or the other.

God grant us
 to choose the
 better part.

XXIV.

¶ *Hic additur alia fabula ad instanciam
 amici mei predilecti assiduam = = =*

[Prolog.] (1)

This booke thus to han endid had y thoght,
 But my freend made me change my cast;
 Cleene out of þat purpos hath he me broght:

1 I meant to stop
 my book here,

² MS faded

- but my friend
puest me to
- “Thomas,” he seide / “at Estren that was last,
I redde a tale / which y am agast 5
To preye thee, for the laboures sake
That thow haast had / for to translate & make ;¹ 7
- (2)
- [leaf 77, back]
english another
Tale to warn
young men
- “And yit fu. tain wolde y þat it maad were ; 8
Thensaumple of it / to yonge men mighte auaille,
And par cas / cause hem riot to forbere
The rathere / and be bettre of governaiþ ;
Youthe in no wyse / wole his thankes faiþ, 12
flessli for to chepe, femel and venal,
Payyng for it / more than worth is al. 14
- (3)
- He said,
bought women
slay the soul,
and empty the
puse.
- “þat thyng is deere and ouer deere boghit, 15
That soule sleeth / and the body destroieth,
And the purs emptith, leuyng in it noghit
Or smal / swich chaffare often sythe annoieth,
And yonge folke encombrith and accloieth, 19
Lettyng hem to purchace hem good renoun,
And haastyng hem to hir confusioun.² 21
- (4)
- And he had a
wild son of 15,
- “ffor this is þat y speke / and to this ende : 22
A sone haue y .xv. yeer of age,
ffor whom it is as wisly, god mamende,
þat y desire, in-to our langage
þat tale be translated / for Sauage 26
And wylde is he / and likly to foleye
In swich cas / now helpe if thow maist, y preye. 28
- (5)
- [leaf 78]
- “Nat fer the tale fro / which thow maad haast 29
Of themperice / this tale is, y trowe,
And is of a womman / þat was vnchaast

¹ Later scribble at foot : ‘g p d . . This balws (?).’ At back :
‘Thomas . . nn) . . M d.’

² At side, later : ‘Mr. Joclyne.’

- And deceyuable and sly / as thow shalt knowe
 By þat the lynes / thow red haue on rowe. 33
 Brynge y shal thee / the copie verray
 There-of / if thee list / seye on yee or nay." 35
- (6)
- ¶ "ffreend, looth me were nay seye vn-to yow,
 But y suppose / it may noon othir be,
 Lest wommen vn-to Magge, the good kow,
 Me likne / and thus seye / 'o, beholde & see
 The double man / o, yondir, lo, gooth he 40
 That hony first yaf / and now yeueth galle :
 He fo in herte is / vn-to wommen alle ; 42
- (7)
- " 'Til he of wommen oute¹ wordes wikke,
 He fastynge is / him seemeth ; al the day,
 Out of his mowth / lesynges swarmen thikke ;
 On wommen / no good word / affoorthe he may ;
 And if he wel speke / or wryte / is no nay, 47
 He nat meneth / as he spekith or writ :
 O lewde dotepol / straw for his wit !' 49
- (8)
- " This þat yee me now reede is al contrarie 50
 Vn-to þat yee me red han heer-before ;
 Yee senden² / syn y many an aduersarie
 Had of wommen / for y mis had me bore
 To hem or this³ : yee redden me therfore 54
 Humble me to hem / and of grace hem preye ;
 But this reed haldith al an othir weye. 56
- (9)
- " Sholde y a neewe smoke now vp reyse, 57
 And y so mochil rered haue or now
 By your sawe than were y nat to preise."
 ¶ " Thomas, to wikkid wommen wel maist thow
 Yeue hir pars / & wryte of hem euele ynow ; 61

It was a *Geste*
 story of a de-
 ceitful, unchaste
 woman.

Hoccleve con-
 sents,

lest wommen
 shoud liken him
 to Madge, the
 good cow,

and abuse him for
 telling lies all day
 about them.

[leaf 78, back]
 Hoccleve thinks
 this Tale incon-
 sistent with his
 friend's advice
 that he shal beg
 for women's
 favour.

His friend says,
 "Blaming wicked
 wommen

¹ out, *vñ*. = utter. [The proof of the next 3½ pages has been lost.]

² ! *jör* seiden.

is no shame to
good ones.

To goode women shal it be no shame,
Al thogh þat thou / vn honest women blame ; 63

(10)

“ No woman ’ll
abuse you except
those who’ve gone
wrong.”

“ fför, Thomas / thou shalt vnderstonde this, 64

No woman wole / to thee ward maligne,
But swich oon / as hath trode hir shoo amis ;
fför who so dooth / ful suspect is the signe ;
The vertuous woman / good and benigne, 68

Noon encheson but good / may han to thee
fför this tale / wryte on þar charitee ! 70

(11)

[leaf 79]
And I want the
Tale, not only for
my son, but to
rebuke women's
wantonness now.”

“ Nat oonly for my sones tendrenesse¹ 71

Coucite y / þat this tale were makid /
But to rebuke also / the wantonnesse
Of lyf of many a woman / þat is nakid
Of honestee / and with deshonour blakid ; 75

Eeke to miroure women vertuous :
What ende takith swich lyf vicious ?” 77

(12)

So Hoccleve
agrees,

¶ “ On goddes half, freend / than let the copie 78
Of þat tale / whan yow list, be me sent ;
And with good wil / wole y ther-to me hyc
Whan y there-of / take haue auisament.”

¶ He glad was ther-with-al / & wel content. 82

gets the story,
and englishes it.

The copie on the morwe sente he me :
And thus y wroot as yee may heere see. 84

¶ Explicit prologus, & incipit
fabula de quadam muliere mala.

¹ Later scribble at top and side :

“ He that in yothe no vartue (?) well ves [= use],
in age all honor will hym refuse ;
therefore better yt were, a pouer house to holde,
then to lye in preason in fetteres of golde.

Le the Ryght Ryght Reuerent fayther in god, *maister* honor,
doctor Wyllyam Willon of Kyrke-lande in the dyoule [? MS.]
afore-saie dothe all vnto the . . . thay thay thay that . . . Can
natt, nor may nott, nor yett, I thenke, shall not Lede my Lyfe
quyet-lye ; my wyfe well not lett me.”

- (13) ¹ Somtyme Reg.
- W**hilom¹ an Emperour prudent & wys* 85 [leaf 79, back]
 Regned in Rome / and hadde sones three,
 whiche he hadde in greet chiertee & greet prys ;
 And whan it shoop so / þat thinfirmittee ² ne Reg. 89
 Of deeth / which no wight may eschue or² flee,
 Him threwe down in his bed / he leet do caH and sends for his
 His sones / and before him they cam aH ; 91 sons.
- (14)
- And to the firste / he seide in this maneere : 92 To the first, he
 “ Al theritage which at the dyyuge leaves his inher-
 Of my fadir he me leftē : al in feere ited land.
 leue y thee ¶ and al þat of my byyngē To the second,
 was / with my peny / al³ my purchacyngē, ³ and R. 96 his acquired
 My second sone / byqwethe y to thee.” property.
 ¶ And to the .iiij^{de}. sone / thus seide he : 98
- (15)
- “ Vnmeeble good right noon, withouten coth, 99 To the third,
 Thee yene y may / but y to thee dyuyse three Jewels, a
 Iewelles .iiij^e. a ryng / brooch & a clooth, Ring, a Brooch,
 with whiche / and thow be gyed as the wyse, and a Cloth.
 Thow maist gete al þat oghite thee soutiÿse. 103
 who-so þat the ryng vsith for to were, The Ring 'll get
 Of alle folke the loue he shal conquere ; 105 its wearer the love
 of every one.
- (16)
- “ And who so the brooch berith on his brest, 106 [leaf 80]
 It is eek of swich vertu and swich kynde, The Brooch 'll
 That thynke vp-on what thyng him lykith best, get him whatever
 And he as blyue shal it haue & fynde. he likes.
 My wordes, sone, enprynte wel in mynde ; 110
 ¶ The clooth eke hath a merueillous nature, The Cloth
 which þat committed shal be to thy cure : 112
- (17)
- “ Who-so sit on it / if he wisse where 113 'll carry any
 In al the world to been / he sodeynly siter on it

* A few of the many differences of the worse MS. Reg. 17 D VI are given in this sheet.

wherever he wishes to go, Withoute more labour shal be there.
 Sone, tho three Iewelles byqwethe y
 To thee / vn-to this effect certeynly, 117

The third Son is to study at the University. þat to the studie of the vniuersitec
 Thow go / and þat y bidde and charge thee." 119

(18)

The Emperor dies, Whan he had thus seid¹ / the vexacioun¹ yseide Reg. 120
 Of death so haastid him, þat his spiryt
 Anoon forsooke his habitacioun
 In his body / deeth wolde no respyt
 him yene at al / he was of his lyf qwyt, 124

and is solemnly buried. And biried was with swich solempnitee
 As fil to his imperial dignitee. 126

(19)

[leaf so, back] ¶ Of the yongeste sone I telle shal, 127
 I shall tell you only of the third son, Jonathas.
 And speke no more of his brethren two,
 ffor with hem haue y nat to do² at al. ² done Reg.
 Thus spak the modir, Ionathas vn-to :
 "Syn god his wil hath of thy fadir do,³ 131
 To thy fadres wil / wole y me confourme,
 And trewely / his testament⁴ parfourme : ⁴ entente R. 133

(20)

the three Jewels. "He⁵ .iiij. Iewelles / as thow knowest weel, ⁵ Here Reg.
 A ryng / a brooch & a clooth, thee byqweeth,
 Whos vertues / he thee tolde enerydeel
 Or þat he paste hens / & yald vp the breath.
 O goode god / his departyng, his⁶ deeth ⁶ and Reg. 138
 flul greuously stikith vn-to myn herte ; ⁷ I Reg.
 But souffred moot been al / how sore it⁷ smerte." 140

(21)

"Some widows do grieve terribly, In þat cas women han swich heynesse, 141
 þat it nat lyth⁸ in my komynge aright ⁸ lith nat Reg.
 Yow telle of so greet sorwe the excesse,
 But wyse women konne take it light,
 And in short whyle⁹ putte vn-to the flight ⁹ wise R. 145

³ Sithen god hath his wille / of thy fader ydo.--Reg.

Al sorwe and wo / and cacche ageyn confort :
Now to my tale make y my resort. 147 and get comforted
again.

(22)

¶ “Thy fadres wil, my sone, as y seide eer,
wole y parfourme / haue heer the ryng^e, and go 148 [leaf 81]
Jonathas's mother
gives him the
Magie Ring,
To studie anoon / and whan þat thow art theer,
As thy fadir thee bad / do enene so ;
And as thow wilt, my blessing haue also.” 152
Shee vn-to him as swythe tooke the ryng,
And bad him keepe it weel / for any thyng^e. 154

(23)

He wente vn-to the studie general, 155 and he goes to
the University.
Wher he gat loue ynow, and aqueyntance
Right good and freendly / the ryng causynge al.
And on a day / to him befel this chance :
With a womman, a morsel of plesance, 159 He meets a wo-
man, a morsel of
pleasure,
By the streetes of the vniuersitee
As he was in his walkynge, mette he ; 161

(24)

And right as blyue he *with* hire had a tale, 162
And ther-*with*-al / sore in hir loue he brente :
Gay / fressh and pykid was shee to the sale, gay and smart,
for sale,
ffor to þat ende and to þat entente
Shee thidir cam / and bothe foorth they wente, 166
And he a pistle rowned in hire ere :
Nat woot y what / for y ne cam nat there.¹ 168

(25)

Shee was his *paramour*, shortly² to seye. ² shortly R. 169 [leaf 81, back]
and takes her
as his mistress.
This man to folkes alle was so leef,
þat they him yaf³ habundance of moneye. ³ vafe Reg.
he feestid folke / and stood at hy boncheef ;
Of the lake⁴ of good / he felte no greef, ⁴ lakke Reg. 173

¹ Later scribble at foot : “This biſt made the xth daye of
maye In the fy[r]ste yeere of the raygne of ore moste soueren
lord ky”. Above : “youth . . B . . he . . youl.”

He gets plenty
of money from
his King. Al whyles þat the ryng he with him hadde ;
But faylynge it / his frendshipe gan sadde.¹ 175

(26)

His paramour
Fellucula His paramour, which þat / y-callid was 176
ffellicula / meruailled right greetly

Of the despenses of this Ionathas,
Syn shee no peny at al with him sy ;
And on a nyght / as þat shee lay him by 180

In the bed / thus shee to him spake & seide,
And this peticion assoiH him preide : 182

(27)

prays him, ¶ " O reuerent sire / vn-to whom," quod² shee, 183
" Obeye y wole ay with hertes humblesse,

as he's had her
maidenhead, Syn / þat yee han had my virginitee, ² koth (always) Reg.
yow y byseeche, of your hy gentillesse,

to tell her where
his riches come
from. Tellith me whens comth the good & richesse 187
That yee with feesten folke / and han no stoor,

By aght y see can / ne gold ne³ tresor." ³ no coigne in Reg.

(28)

[leaf 82] " If y telle it," quod he / " par auenture 190
Thow wilt deskeuere it / & out it publisshie :

He says women
can't keep a
secret. Swich is wommannes inconstant nature,
They can nat keepe conseil worth a risshe ;
Betre is, my tonge keepe / than to wisshe 194

þat y had kept cloos þat is goon at large, ⁴ For Reg.

And⁴ repentance is thyng þat y moot charge." ⁵ 196

(29)

¶ " Nay, goode sire / haldith me nat suspect ; 197

But, as she says
she can, Douth nothyng ; y can be right seeree.
wel worthy were it me to been abiect
ffrom al good compaignie / if y," quod shee,

" Vn-to yow sholde so mis take⁶ me ; ⁶ mystake Reg. 201

Beeth nat adrad your Conseil me to shewe."

he tells her ¶ " wel," seide he / " thus it is, at wordes fewe : 203

¹ At side : " ynof." ⁵ At side : " Robert askewe . . He thd . . Lwillm."

(30)

" My fadir, the ryng which þat thow maist see 204 that his Ring
 On my fyngir / me at his dyyng¹ day ¹ endyng Reg.
 Byqweeth² / which this vertu & propretee ² Bequathe Reg.
 hath / þat the loue of men, he shal haue ay makes men
 þat werith it / and ther shal be no nay, 208 love him,
 Of what thyng þat him lykith axe & craue, and give him
 But with good wil / he shal as blyue it haue 210 all he wants.

(31)

" Thurgh þat rynges vertuous excellence : 211 [leaf 82, back]
 Thus am y ryche, and haue euere ynow."
 ¶ " Now, sire, yit a word, by your licence,
 Suffrith me for to seye and speke now : Fellicula shows
 Is it wysdam / as þat it seemeth yow, 215
 were³ it on your fyngir continually ?" ³ To were Reg.
 ¶ " what ⁴woldest thow mene," *quod* he,⁴ " ther-by ?
⁴→ wold ye my love kotū he, mene Reg.

(32)

" What peril ther-of mighte ther befah ?" 218
 ¶ " Right greet," *quod* she : " as yee in compaignye him how easily
 walke often / fro your fyngir mighte it fah, he may lose his
 Or plukkid of been⁵ in a ragerie, ⁵ be plukked of Reg. Ring off his
 And so be lost / and þat were folie. 222 finger,
 Take it me / let me been of it⁶ wardeyn ; ⁶ be therof Reg. and offers to keep
 ffor as my lyf, keepe it wole y⁷ certeyn."⁸ 224 it for him.
⁷ kepe wole I it Reg.

(33)

This Ionathas / this innocent yong man, 225 Poor innocent
 Yeuyng vn-to hir wordes / ful credence,— Jonathas gives
 As youthe nat auyssed best be can:— it her,
 The ryng hir tooke, of his insipience.
 Whan this was doon / the hete & the feruence 229

⁸ Later scribble in margin : " harye ollyie xe to caunend [?] . .
 Who seketh the renoune to haue,
 And eke the prayse of vertuous name
 Of wisdoms ways, he ought to craue
 Withe gladsom will to work the same."

and her love at
once cools,
Of loue / þat he had befor purchaced,
Was qweynt / & loues knotte¹ was vnplaced.² 231

¹ the knotte of love Reg.

(34)

[leaf 83]
and men's gifts
stop.
Men of hir yiftes for to stynte gan : 232
“A,” thoghite he / “for the ryng y nat ne bere,
ffailith my loue / fecche me, womman,”

Jonathas asks
her for the Ring
again,
Seide he, “my ryng / anoon y wole it were.”
She roos / and in-to Chambre dressith here ; 236
And whan shee there-in / hadde been a whyle,
“Allas,” quod shee / “out on falshode and gyle, 238

(35)

She declares it's
been stolen,
“The chiste is broken / and the ryng take out.” 239
And whan he herde hir complaynte and³ cry, ³ and hir R.
He was astoned sore / and made a shout,
And seide / “cursid be þat day þat y
The mette first, or with myn yen sy.” 243

She wepte, and shewid outward cheere of wo,
But in hire herte / was it no thyng so ; 245

(36)

But it was safe
in her box all
the time,
The ryng was sauf ynow / and in hir cheste 246
It was / al⁴ þat shee seide was lesyng, ⁴ And alle Reg.
As sum womman / othir whyle atte beste
Can lye and weepe / whan is hir lykyng.⁵

Jonathas tells her
not to mind.
¶ This man sy hir wo / and seide, “derlyng, 250
Weepe no more / goddes help is ny ;” ⁵ kun weepe and lye,
To him vnwist / how fals shee was and sly.⁶ 252
^{at her owen Reg.}

² Later, at side : “*Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum* :
Fortunate is he who hathe the happe
to beware by an-other mannes clappe.”

⁶ In a later hand (? c. 1500), at foot :

“A suffieyent salve for eache disease,
The cheif revenge for cruell yre,
Ys patyence, the present ease
For to delaye eche flamy fyre.”

At side :

“I count his conquest grate,
That canne, by reasons scylle,
Subdue afflictions heate,
And conquer wanton wyll.”

(37)

- He twynned thens / and hoom to his Contree, 253 [leaf 83, back]
 Vn-to his modir, the streight way he wente. Jonathas goes
 And whan shee sy / thidir comen¹ was he, ¹ that thidir home to his
 come Reg. Mother,
 ¶ "My sone," quod shee / "what was thyn entente,
 Thee fro the scoole / now for to absente? 257
 What causid thee / fro scoole hidir to² hye?" [2 the studye
 hidir Reg.]
 ¶ "Modir, right this," seide he / "nat wole y lye: 259

(38)

- "ffor soothe, modir / my ryng³ is ago; ³ The Ryng that 260 and tells her
 ye me tooke R. his paramour
 My paramour, to keepe y betooke it, has lost his Ring.
 And it is lost / for which y am ful wo;
 Sorwefully⁴ vn-to myn herte it sit." ⁴ Right greuouely Reg.
 ¶ "Sone / often haue y warned thee / & yit 264
 ffor thy profyt y warne thee, my sone;
 Vuhonest women / thow heere-aftir shone. 266

(39)

⁵ to the wole I Reg.

- "Thy brooch anon right wole y to thee⁵ fette." 267 His Mother gives
 Shee brogh̄te it him / and charged him ful deepe— him his Magic
 Brooch.
 Whan he it tooke / and on his brest it sette,—
 Bet than he dide his ryng / he sholde it keepe,
 lest he the los / bewaille⁶ sholde and weepe." 271
 To the vniuersitee / shortly to seyn, ⁶ for the losse he waile Reg. He goes back to
 In what he kowde / he haastid him ageyn.⁷ 273 the University,

(40)

- And whan he comen was / his paramour⁸ 274 [leaf 84]
 Him mette anon / and vn-to hire him tooke,
 As þat he dide erst / this yong reuelour; and takes up
 Hir conpaignie he nat a deel forsooke, again with his
 paramour
 Fellicula.
 Thogh he cause hadde / but, as with the hooke 278
 Of hir sleigh̄te / he beforn was caght & hent /
 Right so he was deceyued eft & blent. 280

⁷ At foot, later, "Thomas."⁸ In margin, later: "tho . . . Gefferye thurgood . . . Gefferye thurgood . . . Gefferye thurgood . . . Dut to th D fayde."

(41)

	And as thurgh ^h vertu of the ryng before,	281
	Of good he hadde habundance & plentee,	
	while it was <i>wit</i> him / or he hadde it lore :	
Jonathas gets much money thro his Brooch.	Right so / thurgh ^h vertu of the brocch, had he	
	What good him list / shee thogh ^h te, “ how may this be ?	
	Sum pryuee thyng / now causith this richesse :	
	As dide the ryng / heer-before, y gesse.”	287

(42)

Fellicula urges him to tell her where his money comes from.	Wondrynge heer-on / shee preide him, and besogh ^h te	
	Bysyly nygh ^t and day / þat telle he wolde	289
	The cause of this / but he an othir thogh ^h te ;	
[¹ — ¹ cloos fro hir Reg.	He mente / ¹ it cloos for him ¹ / it kept be sholde ;	
² — ² he not to hir Reg.	And a long tyme ² it was / or he ² it tolde.	292
³ wept Reg.	Shee kepte ³ ay to and to / and seide, “ allas	
⁴ she borne Reg.]	The tyme and hour / þat euere y bore ⁴ was ! ⁵	294

(43)

[leaf 84, back]	“ Truste yee nat on me, sire ? ” she seide ;	295
She says she'll sooner be slain than betray him.	“ leuer me were be slayn ⁶ in this place	⁶ dede Reg.
	By þat good lord / þat for vs alle deide,	
	Than purpose ageyn ⁷ yow any fallace.	⁷ ayenst Reg.
	Vn-to yow wole y be, my lyues space,	299
	As treewe as any woman in eerthe is	
	Vn-to a man / doutith no thyng of this.”	301

(44)

	¶ Smal may ⁸ shee do / þat can nat wel byheete,	302
	Thogh ^h nat parfoured be swich a promesse.	⁸ kan Reg.
	¶ This Ionathas thogh ^h te hir wordes ⁹ so sweete,	
	þat he was dronke of the plesant swetnesse	
He is foolishly tender, and tells her.	Of hem / and of his fooliss ^h tendrenesse, ⁹	306
	Thus vn-to hire he spak and seide tho :	
	“ Be of good confort / why weepist thou so ? ”	308

⁵ At foot, later, “ Iohn Bargain / Ann. 1551.”

⁹ swete

To hym, and of his foolish tendirnesse,

Why makest thou a^h this wo and hevynesse Reg.

(45)

¶ And shee ther-to answerde thus / sobbynge : 309 Felticula says
 "Sire," *quod* shee / "myn heynesse and dreede
 Is this / y am adrad of the leesyng
 Of your brooch / as almighty god forbeede
 It happid so" // "now, what so, god thee speede," 313
 Seide he, "woldist thou in this cas consaille?"

¶ *Quod* shee, "þat y keepe mighte it,¹ sanz faille." 315 He should let her
 keep it

(46)

He seide, "y haue a fere & dreede algate, 316 [leaf 85]
 If y so dide, thou woldest it leese,
 As thou lostist my ryng / now goon but late."

¶ "first, god preye y,"² *quod* shee / "þat y nat cheese [2 pray I god R.]
 But þat myn herte / as the cold frost may freese, 320
 Or elles be it brent / with wyldre fyr ;
 Nay / seurlly it to keepe / is my desyr." 322 safe for him.

(47)

To hir wordes / credence he yaf³ pleneer, ³ he yafe credence R. Jonathas gives
 And the brooch tooke hire / and aftir anoon, 324 her the Brooch,

Where-as he was beforn ful leef & cheer⁴ ⁴ dere Reg. and loses his
 To folke / and hadde good / al was agoon : friends.

Good and frendshipe him lakkid / ther was noon. 327

"Womman / me fecche the brooch," *quod* he, "swythe⁵ He asks for the
 In-to thy chambre for it go / now hy the!"⁶ 329 Brooch again.

(48)

Shee in-to Chambre wente / as þat he⁷ bad, ⁷ he hir Reg.

But she nat broghite / þat he sente hir fore ; 331

Shee mente it nat / but as shee had be mad,
 hir clothes hath shee al to-rent & tore, Felticula tears
 her clothes,
 And cryde, "allas / the brooch away is bore ! 334 and says the
 Brooch is gone:

ffor which y wole anoon right, with my knyf
 My self slee / y am weery of my lyfe." 336 she'll kill herself.

⁴ Later, at side : "Hoind . . ¶ God, my duty don, I humble
 commend me vnto you, trustinge In the louyng god long to
 contenieu."

(49)

[leaf 85, back] This noyse he herde / & blyue he to¹ hir ran, ¹ blive vnto R.
weenyng shee wolde han doon as shee spak^t; 337
Jonathas takes
the knife out of
her hand,
And the knyf, in al haaste þat² he can, ² as hastily as Reg.
ffrom hire tooke / & threew³ it behynde his bak^t,
And seide / “for the los / ne for the lak^t ³ caste Reg. 341
and forgives her.
Of the brooch / sorwe nat / y foryeue al;
I truste in god / þat yit vs helpe he⁴ shal.” ⁴ he vs helpe R.

(50)

He goes back
again to his
Mother,
To themperice his modir / this yong man 344
Ageyn him dressith / he⁵ wente hire vn-to. ⁵ dressed. and R.
And whan shee sy him / shee to wondre gan;
Shee thogh^te / ‘now sumwhat ther is mis-do’;
And seide / “y dreede thy Iewelles two 348
Been lost now / per cas the brooch⁶ with the ryng.”
and tells her his
Brooch is lost.
¶ “Modir,” he seide / “yee / by heuene kyng.” 350
⁶ the brooch per cas Reg.

(51)

¶ “Sone, thow woost wel / no Iewel is left 351
Vn-to thee now / but⁷ the clooth precious, ⁷ save Reg.
Which y thee take shal / thee charging eft,
The compaignie of women riotous
Thow flee / lest it be to thee so greuous 355
That thow it nat susteene shalt,⁸ ne bere :
Swich compaignie, on my blessinge, forbere!”⁹ 357
⁸ ne shalt not it sustene Reg.

(52)

[leaf 86]
and gives him his
Magic Cloth.
The clooth shee fette / and it hath¹⁰ him take,¹¹ 358
And of his lady his modir, his lecue ¹⁰ it fette . and hath it Reg.

⁹ By a later hand in the margin :

“Know er thow kyntt, and then thow mayst slake;
yf thow kyntt er thow know, then hyt ys to late, &c.”

(see pages 124, 152, above : footnotes).

“He that wyll not whan he maye,
Whan he wolde, he shall haue naye.”

At foot, upside down :

“Better hyt hys, seeten to abyde,
then hastily to clym, and hastily to clyde [glyde].”

¹¹ Later scribble at top and side : “Hary ollyeux (?) Ha Mollynex . .
This it good . . hys feyudes . . to vnderstand . . mihum . .”

He tooke / but first this forward gan he make :

¶ “Modir,” seide he / “trustith this weel, & leeu
þat y shal seyn / for sooth yee shul it preeue : 362
If y leese this clooth / neuere y your face
Hens-foorth se wole / ne yow preye of grace. 364

Jonathas says
he'll never see
his Mother again
if he loses his
Cloth.

(53)

“With goddes help / y shal do wel ynow.” 365

Hir blessing he tooke / and to studie is go ;
And as beforntold haue y vn-to yow,
his *paramour* / his priuce mortel fo,

He goes back to
the University,
and again his
paramour meets
and kisses him,

Was wont for to meete him / right euene so 369

Shee dide thanne / & made him plesant cheere :

They clippe and kisse / and walke homward in feere. 369

and takes him
home.

(54)

Whan they were entred in the hows / he spradde 372

This clooth vp-on the ground / and ther-on sit,

And bad his *paramour*, this womman badde,

To sitte also / by him adoun on it.

He bids her sit
by him on his
Cloth,

Shee dooth as þat he *commandith* and bit. 376

had shee his thoght / and vertu of the clooth

wist / to han sete on it / had shee been looth. 378

(55)

Shee for a whyle was ful sore affesid.¹ 379 [leaf 86, back]

¶ This Ionathas wisshe in his herte gan :

“wolde god þat y mighte thus been esid,

That as on this clooth y and this womman

Sitte here / as fer were, as þat neuere man 383

Or this cam” / and vnnethe had he so thoght,

But they *with* the clooth thidir weren broght 385 At once they

and then wishes
that they may
go far away.

(56)

Right to the worldes ende, as þat it were. 386 are borne to the

¶ Whan apparceyued had shee this / shee cryde world's end.

are borne to the
world's end.

¹ Later scribble at top: “Shee for a goddes wis fulli sorye sas” . . . “Th Tho y y y y.” At left side: “Wolld godd Wolld Wolld . . . stumm.”

Jonathas says
he'll leave Felli-
cula there,

As thogh shee thurgh-girt had be *with* a spere :
 " Harrow / allas þat euere shoop this tyde !
 How cam we hidir " / " nay," he seide / " abyde ; 390
 Wers is comynge / heer, soul wole y thee leue ;
 Wylde beestes thee shuln deuoure or eue, 392

(57)

because she's
stolen his Ring
and Brooch.

She vows she'll
give em back to
him if he'll take
her home,

" ffor thow my ryng and brooch haast fro me holden."
 ¶ " O reuerent Sire, haue vp-on me pitee," 394
 Quod shee / " if yee this grace do me wolden,
 As me brynge hoom ageyn to the Citee
 Where as y this day was / but if þat yee 397
 hem haue ageyn / of foul deeth do me dye ;
 Your bontee on me kythe / y mercy crye." 399

(58)

[leaf 57]

¶ This Ionathas kowde no thyng be waar,¹ 400
 Ne take ensample of the deceites tweyne
 þat shee dide him befor / but feith him² baar,
 And hire he comanded, on dethes peyne,
 ffro swiche offenses / thens-foorth hir restreyne. 404
 and swears she'll
give up ill doing.

Shee swoor, and made ther-to foreward ;
 But herkneth how shee baar hire aftirward : 406

(59)

Then she asks
how they were
carried away.

Whan shee sy and kneew þat the wratthe & ire 407
 þat he to hire had born / was goon & past,
 And al was wel : shee thoghþe him eft to fyre ;
 In hir malice ay stood shee stidefast,
 And to enquere of him / was nat agast, 411
 In so short tyme / how þat it mighte be
 That they cam thidir out of hir contree. 413

(60)

Jonathas tells
her of his Magic
Cloth,

¶ " Swich vertu hath this clooth on which we sitte,"
 Seide he / " þat where / in this world vs be list, 415
 Sodeynly *with* the thoghþt shuln thidir flitte,

¹ Later scribble at side : " This comon (?) . . William . .
 This is geff." ² ? hir

- And how thidir come / *vn-to vs vnwist*,
 As thyng fro fer / *vnknowen in the mist.*" 418
 And ther-*with* / to this womman fraudulent,
 "To sleepe," he seide / "haue I good talent ; 420 and says he wants
 to sleep

(61)

- "Let see," *quod* he / "strecche out anoon thy lappe,¹ [leaf 87, back]
 In which wole I myn heed down leye and reste." 422 on her lap.
 ¶ So was it doon / and he anoon gan nappe : He does so.
 Nappe! nay / he sleep / right wel atte beste.
 What dooth this womman / oon the fikileste 425
 Of wommen alle / but *pat* clooth *pat* lay Fellicula pulls
 Vndir *him* / shee drow lyte & lyte away. 427 the Cloth from
 under him,

(62)

- Whan shee it had al / "wolde god," *quod* shee, 428 wishes herself
 "I were as I was this day morwenyng." at home,
 And ther-*with* / this roote of iniquitee and is at once
 Had hir wiss^h / and soul lefte *him* ther slepyng. carried there.
 ¶ "O Ionathas, lyke to thy perisshyng 432
 Art thou / thy *paramour* maad hath thy berd ; (Jonathas, you're
 Whan thou wakist / cause hast thou to be ferd ; 434 trickt ;

(63)

- "But thou shalt do ful wel / thou shalt obtene 435 but you shall
 Victorie on hire / thou haast doon sum deede yet win,
 Plesant to thy modir / wel can I weene,
 ffor which our lord god / qwyte shal thy meede,
 And thee deliure out of thy woful dreede. 439
 The chyld / whom *pat* the modir vsith blesse,
 fful often sythe is esid in distresse." 441 because your
 mother has
 blesst you.)

(64)

- Whan he awook / and neithir he ne fond 442 [leaf 88]
 Womman ne clooth / he wepte bittirly, He wakes, and
 And seide, "allas / now is ther in no lond finds neither
 Man werse, I trowe, begoon / than am y!" his *paramour*
 nor his Cloth.
 On euery syde his looke he caste, and sy 446

¹ Later scribble at top: 'Recognise . . Dr.'

Nothing but bridles / in the air fleyng,
And wyld beestes / aboute him rennyng. 418

(65)

Of whos sighte / he ful sore was agrysid : 449
 Jonathas re-
 proaches himself
 He thoghite / "al this wel disserued y haue.
 What eilid me to be so euel auysid,
 That my Conseil / kowde I nat keepe & saue?
 for having playd
 the fool by trust-
 ing his secret
 to a woman.
 Who can fool pleye / who can madde or raue, 453
 But he þat to a woman his secree
 Deskeuereth / the smert cleueth now on me." 455

(66)

¶ He thens departed / as god wolde harmlees, 456
 And forth of auenture his way is went,
 But whidirward he drow / he conceitless
 Was / he nat kneew / to what place he was bent.
 and goes through
 a hot lake that
 burns the flesh
 off his feet.
 He paste a watir / which was so feruent 460
 þat flessþ vp-on his feet / lefte it him noon ;
 Al cleene was departid fro the boon. 462

(67)

¶ It shoop so þat he had a lytil glas, 463
 [leaf 88, back]
 He fills a glass
 with this water,
 Which, with þat watir / anoon filled he ;
 And whan he ferthere in his way goon was,
 Before him he beheeld and sy a tree
 and then eats
 some fruit which
 turns him into
 a leper.
 þat fair fruyt baar / and þat in greet plentee : 467
 He eet ther-of / the taast him lykid wel,
 But he ther-thurgh becam a foul mesel ; 469

(68)

ffor which, vn-to the ground, for sorwe & wo 470
 He fil / and seide / " cursid be þat day
 He curses the day
 he was born,
 þat I was born / and tyme and hour also
 þat my modir conceyued me / for ay
 Now am I lost / allas and weleaway !" 474
 And whan sundel slakid his heynesse,
 but walks on.
 He roos / and on his way he gan him dresse. 476

(69)

¶ An othir watir before him be sy,	477	He then comes to another lake,
Which for to comen in he was adrad ;		
But natheles / syn ther by / othir way,		
Ne aboute it / ther kowde noon been had :		
He thogh̄te / "so streytly am I bystad,	481	
þat thogh̄ it sore me affese or gaste,		
Assaye it wole I" / and thurgh̄ it he paste.	483	

(70)

And right as the firste watir his fless̄h ¹	484	[leaf 89]
Departed from his feet : so the secownde		and its water restores the flesh of his feet.
Restored it / and made al hool and fress̄h.		
And glad was he, and ioieful þat stownde		
Whan he felte his feet hool were and sownde.	488	
A viole of the watir of þat brooke		He fills a phial with it, and takes some of the leper- fruit.
He filde / & fruyt of the tree with him tooke.	490	

(71)

ffoorth his iourneye this Ionathas heeld ;	491	
And as þat he his looke aboute him caste,		
An-othir tree from a-fer he byheeld,		
To which he haastid and him hyed faste :		
Hungry he was / and of the fruyt he thraste	495	Then he eats the fruit of another tree, and that cures his leprosy.
In-to his mowth / and eet of it sadly,		
And of the leepre / he pouerged was ther-by.	497	

(72)

Of þat fruyt more he raḡhte / & thens is goon ;	498	He gathers some of it,
And a fair Castel from a-fer sy he,		
In compas of which / heedes many oon		
Of men ther heeng / as he mighte wel see ;		
But nat for þat / he shone nolde or flee ;	502	
He thidirward him dressith the streight way,		and walks to a Castle.
In al þat euere þat he can or may.	504	

¹ Later scribble at side: "This biH made the x (? v) daye of maye In the fy[r]st year of the rayne of kyng" . . . "Thomas" (6 times).

(73)

[leaf 89, back]	Walkyng so / two men cam <i>him</i> ageyn, ¹	505
Two men tell him that	And seiden thus / “deere freend, we yow preye, What man be yee” ¶ “Sires,” <i>quod</i> he certeyn, A leech I am / and thogh myself it seye, Can for the helthe of seeke folke wel <i>purueye</i> .”	509
the King of the Castle is a leper,	¶ They seide him / “of yondir Castel, the kyng A leepre is / and can hool be for no thyngt.	511

(74)

	“ <i>With him</i> ther hath been many a sundry leech	512
	<i>þat</i> vndertooke / him for to cure and hele	
and kills all the doctors who can't cure him.	On peyne of hire heedes / but al to seeche Hire art was / waar / <i>þat</i> thow nat <i>with him</i> dele, But if thow canst the chartre of helthe ensele,	516
	Lest <i>þat</i> thow thyn heel leese / as diden they. But thow be wys / thow fynde it shalt no pley.”	518

(75)

Jonathas says	¶ “Sires,” seide he / “yow thanke I of your reed,	519
	ffor gentilly yee han yow to me qwit ; But I nat dreede to leese myn heed ; By goddes help / ful sauf keepe I wole it, God, of his grace, swich konnyng & wit	523
he can cure the King.	hath lent me / <i>þat</i> I hope I shal him cure ; fful wel dar I me putte in auenture.”	525

(76)

[leaf 90]	They to the kynges presence han him lad ; ²	526
He gives the King fruit of the 2nd tree,	And him, of the fruyt of the second tree He yaf to ete / & bad him to be glad, And seide anon / “your helthe han shul yee.”	
and water of the 2nd lake,	Eeke of the second watir, him, yaf he	530
and cures him of his leprosy.	To drynke / and whan he tho two had receyued, His leepre from him / voided was & weyued.	532

¹ Scribble at top, “Item.”

² Scribble at top and side: “d d d d d . . and he idil . . .
And wise . . Thomas . . Thomas,” &c.

(77)

¶ The kyng / as vn-to his hy dignitee	533	The King pays Jonathas well.
Conuenient was / yaf him largely,		
And to him seide : “ if þat it lyke thee,		
Abyden heere / I more habundantly		
Thee yeue wole ” ¶ “ my lord, sikirly,”	537	
Quod he / “ fayn wolde I your pleisir fulfilH,		
And in your hy presence abyde stille ;	539	

(78)

But I no whyle may <i>with</i> yow abyde,	540	
So mochil haue I to doone elles where.”		
¶ Ionathas euery day to the See syde		Jonathas walks seaward,
Which was ny / wente / to looke & enquere		
If any ship drawynge thidir were,	544	
Which him hoom to his Contree lede mighte.		
And on a day, of shippes had he sighte,	546	

(79)

Wel / a xxx ^{ti} . toward the Castel drawe ; ¹	547	[leaf 90, back]
And atte tyme of euen-song they aH		
Arryueden / of which he was ful fawe ;		
And to the Shipmen erie he gan & caH,		and asks the Captains of 30 ships, who can take him home.
And seide / “ if it so happe mighte & fall	551	
þat some of yow, me hoom to my Contree		
Me brynge wolde / wel qwit sholde he be ;”	553	

(80)

And tokle hem whidir / þat they sholden go.	554	
¶ Oon of the shipmen foorth stirte atte laste,		One agrees to do so.
And to him seide / “ my ship, and no mo		
Of hem þat heere been / hem shape & caste		
Thidir to weende / Let see / teH on faste,”	558	
Quod the Shipman / “ þat thou for my trauaiH		
Me yeue wilt / if þat I thidir saiH.”	560	

¹ Scribble in margin : “ Thomas . . Thomas . . Thomas . . Thoma.”

(81)

	They were accorded / Ionathas fourth gooth	561
	Vn-to the kyng / to axe of him licence	
	To twynne thens / to which the kyng was looth ;	
The King agrees.	And nathelees, with his beneuolence,	
	This Ionathas from his magnificence	565
Jonathas	Departed is / and fourth to the Shipman	
	his way he takith / as swythe as he can.	567

(82)

[leaf 91]	In-to the ship he entrith / & as blyue	568
sets sail,	As wynd and wedir, good shoop for to be,	
	Thidir as he purposid him arryue,	
and lands at the city where the serpentine Felli- cula is.	They sailid fourth / & cam to the Citee	
	In which this serpentyn womman was / shee	572
	That had him terned with false deceitis ;	
	But where no remedie folwith / streit is ;	574

(83)

	Tornes been qwit / al be they goode or badde,	575
	Suntyme / thogh̄ they put been in delay.	
She thinks he's been eaten by wild beasts ;	¶ But to my purpos / shee deemed he hadde	
	Been deuoured with beestes many a day	
	Goon / shee thogh̄te / he deliured was for ay.	579
and he's so changed that no one knows him.	f̄olke of the Citee / kneew nat Ionathas,	
	So many a yeer was past / þat he ther was ;	581

(84)

	Mislykyng & thogh̄t / changed eek his face.	582
	Abouten he gooth / and for his dwellynge	
	In the Citee / he hyred him a place,	
He sets up as a physician,	And ther-in excereysid his konnyng	
	Of phisyke / to whom weren repairyng	586
and cures many sick folk.	Many a seeke wigh̄t / and aH were helid ;	
	wel was the seek man / þat with him hath delid ! ¹	588

¹ Later scribble in the margin : "In the . . h . . I . . h . . k . ." (each repeated). "This bill made the . . k k . . viz . . This bill made . . This byll made the v day of maye. This biH . . Romane."

(85)

Now shoop it thus / þat this Fellicula—	589	[leaf 91, back]
The welle of deceyuable doublenesse,		Fellicula
ffolwere of the steppes of dalida—		
Was thanne exaltat vn-to hy richesse,		
But shee was fallen in-to greet seeknesse,	593	had fallen ill,
And herde seyn / for nat mighte it been hid,		
Hlow maistreful a leche he had him kid :	595	

(86)

Messages solempne to him she sente,	596	and sends for Jonathas.
Preyyng him to do so mochil labour		
As come and seen hire / and he thidir wente.		
Whan he hir sy / þat shee his paramour		
had been, he wel kneew / and for þat, dettour	600	
To hire he was / hire he thoghþe to qwyte		
Or he wente / & no lenger it respyte ;	602	

(87)

But what þat he was / shee ne wiste nat.	603	
He sy hire vryne / & eeke felte hir pouis,		He looks at her urine, feels her pulse,
And seide / “ the soothe is this, pleyn & plat :		
A seeknesse han yee strange & merueillous,		
Which for to voide / is wondir dangerous ;	607	
To hele yow / ther is no way but oon ;		and says there's only one way to cure her.
Leeche in this world / othir can fynde noon :	609	

(88)

“ Anysith yow / whethir yow list it take ¹	610	[leaf 92]
Or nat / for y told haue yow my wit.”		
¶ “ A, Sire,” seide shee / “ for goddes sake,		She declares she'll follow it, what- ever it is.
þat way me shewe / and y shal folwen it,		
What-enere it be / for this seeknesse sit	614	
So ny myn herte / þat y woot nat how		
Me to demene / telle on, preye y yow.”	616	

¹ Later, at top : “ Ceste lettire fait le trouesme Ioure de aoulte enstre Iames et moye Poir du vinge 33^h 39^e et demⁱ et quoy et fouct farre, &c (!).” At side : “ This biþ ma le the xxth day of may In the fy[r]st yere of the rayne of.”

(89)

Jonathas says she must confess if she's stolen any thing,	“Lady, yee muste openly yow confesse ;	617
	And if ageyn good conscience & right, Any good han yee take, more or lesse, Beforn this hour of any maner wight, yilde it anoon / elles nat in the might	621
and must restore it;	Of man is it / to yeue a medecyne þat yow may hele of your seeknesse & pyne.	623

(90)

	“If any swich thyng be / telle out, y rede ;	624
then she'll be well again.	And yee shul been al hool, y yow byheete ; Elles myn art is naghit, withouten dreede.”	
	“O lord,” shee thoghite / helthe is a thyng ful sweete ; Therwith desire y souerainly to meete.	628
	Syn y it by confessioun may rekeuere, A fool am I, but I my gilt deskeuere.”	630

(91)

[leaf 92, back]	How falsly to the sone of themperour	631
She confesses how she robd Jonathas.	Ionathas / had shee doon / before hem aH, As yee han herd aboue / al þat errour Bykneew shee / o Fellicula, thee caH Wel may y so / for of the bittir gaH	635
	Thow takist the begynnyng of thy name, Thow roote of malice / and mirour of shame !	637

(92)

	¶ Than seide Ionathas / “where arn tho three Iewelles / þat yee fro the Clerk withdraw ?”	638
His Jewels are in a cofre at the foot of her bed.	¶ “Sire, in a Cofre / at my beddes feet yee Shul fynde hem / opne it / and see, preye y yow.”	
	He thoghite nat to make it qweynte and tow,	642
	And seye nay / and streyne courtesie, But with right good wil / thidir he gan hye.	644

(93)

The Cofie he opned / and hem there fond. ¹	645	Jonathas finds his Jewels there,
Who was a glad man but Ionathas, who?		
The ryng vp-on a fyngir of his hond		puts the Ring on his finger,
he putte / and the brooch on his brest also ;		the Brooch on his chest,
The clooth eeke vndir his arm heeld he tho,	649	and the Cloth under his arm.
And to hire him dressith / to doon his cure,		
Cure mortel / way to hir sepulture.	651	

(94)

he thoghte, reewe shee sholde, and forthynke ²	652	[leaf 93]
þat shee hire hadde vn-to him mis bore ;		
And of þat watir hire he yaf to drynke,		In revenge, he gives Fellicula the hot water
Which þat his flessþ / from his bones before		
had twynned / wherthurgþ he was almost lore,	656	
Nad he releued been / as yee aboue		
Han herd / and this he dide eeke for hir loue.	658	

(95)

Of the fruyt of ^t the tree he yaf hire etc,	659	and the leper- fruit.
Which þat him made in-to the leepre sterte ;		
And as blyue in hir wombe gan they frete		
And gnawe so / þat change gan hire herte.		
Now herkneþ / how it hire made smerte :	663	They burst her belly open, and her bowels fall out.
Hir wombe opned / and out fil eche entraille		
That in hire was / thus seith the booke sanz faiþ.	665	

(96)

Thus wrecchidly, lo / this gyle [wo]man ³ dyde ;	666	
And Ionathas, with tho Iewelles three,		Jonathas, with his 3 Jewels,
No lengere there thoghte to abyde,		

¹ "leyenge" added by a later hand. In the margin are also, "Lonyng brother, I dan (?) . . my haryly cudlyr (?) . . p . . all . . ifand^t . . stoope . . . This ys Jamys."

² Later, at top: "This bill made the xvij daye of^t maye In the fy[r]st year^e of^t the Rayne of kyng Edwarde the syxt, by the grace of^t god, of^t Ingland, francee, and yrelond, kyng."

³ 'guile-y woman died' it must be ; not 'this guile, man did.'

goes back to his
Mother,
and lives in joy
till he dies.

But hoom to themperice, his modir, hastith he,
Where as in ioie and in prosperitee 670
his lyf ledde he / to his dyyng day :
And so god vs graunte þat we do may ! 672

Amen.

[Moralization.]

[leaf 93, back]
The Emperour
is God.
The first Son
is the Angels.

Themperour þat y spake of aboue, is oure lord god,
þat hath .iiij. sones. ¶ By the firste sone, we
shul vndirstonde Angels / to whiche / god yaf swich
confirmacion þat they may nat synne / for aftir þat the
wikkid Angels fillen : the goode angels so sadly weren
adherent to god, and by him so confermed / þat they
mighten nat synne. ¶ By the second sone, we shul
vndirstonde Patriarks and Prophetes / to whiche god
yaf and bytook the olde lawe / þat is to seye, the lawe
of Moyses / which was meuable / for it changid by the
comynge of Cryst / ¶ To the .iiij. sone, this Emperour
yaf the Iewelles / þat is to seyn, the ryng / the brooch
& the clooth / ¶ By the ryng þat is rownd / We shul
vndirstande feith / which is rownd, *wythouten* obliquitee
or crookidnesse / and who-so hath the ryng of verray
feith / he shal haue the loue of god and of his angels.

The 2nd Son
is the Patriarchs
and Prophetes.

The 3rd Son
is Man.

The Ring is
Faith.

¶ *Si habueritis
fidem sicut gea-
num synapis &c*

¶ Where-of our Saueour spekith and seith thus : ¶ “ If
yee haue as moehil feith as is the greyn of Senefee ;
yee shuln mowe seye to this hil, passe & go / and it
shal passe ” / & therefore he þat hath the ryng of verray
feith : he shal haue al ^lthyng at his lust and plesance.
¶ God yaf also to the Cristen man a brooch / þat is to
seyn, the holy goost / and seyde / “ I shal sende to yow
the holy goost & he shal telle and informe yow of al
þat y seye ” / and if we haue the holy goost in oure
hertes / *wythouten* doute we shul han aH goodes þat
profyten to the helthe of soule / ¶ Also god yaf to the

[leaf 94]

The Brooch is
the Holy Ghost.
¶ *Mittam vobis
paraclitum &c*

Cristen man the .iiij^{de} Iewel / þat is to seyn, the precious clooth / this clooth is parfyt charitee / which god shewid vs in the Crois / he loued vs so mochil þat he deide for vs / to brynge vs to eternal blisse / therefore who-so sitteth vp-on parfyt charitee : dowteles he shal be translated out of this world / vn-to perpetuel reste.

The Cloth is perfect Charity.

¶ The seid Ionathas may be clept a Cristen man / which is sliden or fallen in-to synne. ¶ His paramour, þat is to seyn, his wrecchid flessĥ, cometh to him and meetith him / stirynge him to synne / and so he leesith the ryng of feith / which he receyued & tooke in his bapteme. ¶ Also the brooch, þat is to seyn, the holy goost, fleeth from hym by cause of his synne. ¶ The clooth eek is with³drawen from him, þat is to seye, parfyt charitee / as² often as he consentith to synne / and thus the wrecchid man dwellith or abydyth withouten help among beestes / þat is to seyn / with the feend / the world and the flessĥ. ¶ Do therefore as dide Ionathas.

The Paramour is man's wretched flesh.

[1 leaf 94, back]

¶ Ryse vp fro thy synne, ryse vp / for al to longe haast thow slept in the lappe of carnalitee or flessĥlyhede / as it is wryten : ¶ “ Aryse vp thow þat sleepist, and y shal enlumyne thee.” ¶ Right so Sampson slepte in the lappe of Dalida, and loste his strengthe. ¶ Ionathas roos and entred in-to the watir of penance / which twynneth and disseuerith the flessĥ, þat is to seyn, flessĥly affeccions / ¶ Aftirward he eet of the fruyt of sharpnesse / which changed his cheere in-to the manere of a leepre / as it is red of Cryst : ¶ “ we sy him as hauynge no chiere or contenance.” ¶ Right so of the soule, which is in bittirnesse for the wroght offense and synne. ¶ wher-of it is seid in the figure and liknesse of the soule : ¶ “ Blake y am, but y

¶ Surge qui dormis, & illuminabo te &c¹

The hot Water is Penance.

The 1st tree's fruit is Sharpnesse.

¶ Vidimus eum tamquam vultum non habentem &c²

² Later, at top: “Radufus Wilcokes.” “Ihesus,

“Ihesus, haue mercy vppon vs and this Inglish nacyon, which hath bene of christs flock an habitacioñ.”

At foot: “Thomas, late Pokes Walere (?)” and some French, upside down.

• *Nigra sum, set
formosa &c^d*
The 2nd Water
is the Holy
Communion.

[leaf 95]

• *Ego sum fons;
qui biberit &c^e*

The fruit of
the 2nd tree is
Reason.

The Ship is the
Church.

The Home is
the Kingdom of
Heaven.

—

Little poem,
beg Lady West-
morland

to receive you
as her right,
and try to please
her.

am fair" / þat is to seyn, blake in body, and fair in soule. ¶ Ionathas entred the second watir, which restored al, &c. ¶ This watir is the holy communioun aftir penitence, ¶ Wher-of spake oure ¹Saueour: ² ¶ "I am the well / who-so drynkith of þat watir, he shal nat thriste ageyn." ¶ Aftir. this Ionathas eet of the fruyt of the second tree, which restored al þat was lost, þat is to seyn, whan man is glorified in eternal lyf, and helith the kyng, þat is to seyn, resoun. and so he entrieth the ship of the chirche / and to his þaramour, þat is to seyn, his flessĥ, he purueieth watir of contricioun & fruyt of penance and sharpnesse / for which the flessĥ / þat is to seyn, carnal or flessĥly affeccion, sterueth and dieth / and the man purchaceth & getith by penitence the goodes þat were lost / and so he gooth in to his Contree, þat is to seyn, the Regne of heuene: to which, god of his grace brynge vs all. Amen!

Go, smal book^t / to the noble excellence
Of my lady / of Westmerland / and seye,
Hir humble *seruant* / with al reuerence
Him recommandith vn-to hir nobleye;
And byseeche hire / on my behalve, & preye,
Thee to receyue / for hire owne right;
And looke thow / in al manere weye
To plesse hir womanhede / do thy might.

Humble *seruant* }
to your gracious }
noblesse }

T: Hoccleue.

At foot, later, "Perlegi 1666."

² Later, at top: "Vnto the glorious Resurreccyon of the Body and the lyfe Euer lastyng." At side "radulfus Wilcook . . honorif ismilitatibus . . But, the sayd def (?)."

Summe. I am the Bell, Cho so dymlyth
 of p' Catur. he shal nat thurste any m' After
 the Jonathas ect of the foynt of the second tree
 which restored al p' Que lost p' is to seyn Chur
 um is glorified in eternal lif and helith the byng
 p' is to seyn yson, and so he curith the ship of
 the churche, and to his paine p' is to seyn his flessh
 he pronoucieth Catur of contricioun & foynt of
 penance and sharpnesse for which the flessh
 p' is to seyn carmel or flesshly affectioun freyn
 and deth, and the man purchaceth & getteth by
 penitence the gooder p' Cep left, and so he gooth
 in to his Courtye p' is to seyn the Regne of heuene
 to which god of his grace byngre be all Amen

I Ego st p' p' q
 bibeat re

I sende you this noble excellence
 of my lady of Restmeland and here
 my humble prayer with al reuerence
 him recomandeth in to his nobleye
 And byseeche him on my behalve of praye
 thee to receiue for his ordne right
 And looke the Om almanere daye
 To please my Blouynghe de thy might

Humble suint
 to your gracious
 noblesse
 J. H.

NOTES.

I.

Extracts from Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* (Mai 1399).—Œuvres Poétiques de C. de P. publiées par Maurice Roy. ii. 1—27. Soc. des Anciens Textes Français, 1891.

[The nos. of the English lines are on the left ; those of the French on the right.]

1	Cupido, roy par la grace de lui, Dieu des amans, sans aide de nullui	1
2	Regnant en l'air du ciel très reluissant	
5	Filz de Venus la deesse poissant, Sire d'amours et de tous ses obgiez,	4
6	A tous nos vrais loiaux servans subgiez,	
7	Salut, Amour, Familiarité!	
8	Savoir faisons en generalité	8
11	Qu'a nostre Court sont venues complaints Par devant nous, et moult piteuses plaintes	
9	De par toutes dames et damoiselles,	
10	Gentilz femmes, bourgoises et pucelles, Et de toutes femmes generalement, Nostre secours requerant humblement . . .	12 14
11	Si se plaignent les dessusdittes dames,	17
12	Des grans extors, . . des oultrages très griefs, Que chascun jour des desloiaux reçoivent, Qui les blasment, diffament et deçoivent.	20
15-16	Sur tous païs se complaignent de France . . .	23
18	Car a present sont plusieurs chevaliers Et escuiers mains duis et costumiers	33
21	D'elles traÿr par beaulx blandissemens.	
18	Si se faignent estre loiaux amans	36
21	Et se euevrent de diverse faintise ;	
22-5	Si vont disant que griefment les atise L'amour d'elles, qui leur cuer tient en serre, Dont l'un se plaint, a l'autre le cuer serre,	40
19, 22	L'autre pleure par semblant et souspire,	
25	Et l'autre faint que trop griefment empire	
23	Par trop amer tout soit descoulouré,	
28	Et presque mort et tout alongoré,	44
29	Et jurent fort, et promettent et mentent	
33	Estre loiaux, secrez, et puis s'en vantent . . .	46
41	Ainsi, se trop ne sont aperceües,	99
42	Sont maintes fois les dames deceües.	
41	Car simples sont, n'y pensent se bien non,	

234	Et les paye souvent de leurs dessertes ; Car, en despit de leurs males paroles,	
236	Eulx assorter d'aucunes femmes foles,	512
237,262	De pou d'onneur, males, maurenommées,	
239	Je fais yeeulz : de tel gent sont amées . . .	514
	La sont surpris et bien envelopé Ceulz qui les mieulx euident estre eschappé.	517
263	Comme il affiert sunt tel gent avoyé ;	
245	Si leur est bien tel meschief employé . . .	520
246	D'autres pluseurs, et meismement Ovide Qui tant en vult, puis diffamer les cuide ;	321
247	Et tous les clers, qui tant en ont parlé,	
252	Plus qu'autre gens en furent affolé,	
259	Non pas d'une seule mais d'un millier. . . .	325
274	Li autres dit que moult sont decevables,	271
275	Cautilleuses, faulses et pou valables. Autres dient que trop sont mençongieres,	
279	Variables, inconstans et legieres . . .	274
	Et meismement pouète si soubtil Comme Ovide, qui puis fu en exil,	387
281-3	Et Jehan de Meun ou Romant de la Rose,	
286	Quel long procès ! quel difficile chose ! . . .	390
287	Pour decepvoir sanz plus une pucelle . . .	395
291	A foible lieu faut il done grant assault ? Comment peut on de près faire grand saut ? Je ne sçay pas ce veoir ne comprendre	397
296-7	Que grant peine faille a foible lieu prendre,	400
289	Ne art, n'engin, ne grant soubtiveté.	
295	Dont convient il tout de necessité,	
296	Puis qu'art convient, grant engin et grant peine,	
297	A decevoir femme noble ou villaine,	404
298	Qu'elz ne soient mie si variables,	
299	Comme aucun dit, n'en leur fait si muables ¹ . . .	406
302	Que fut jadis Medée au faulz Jason ?	437
303	Trés loialle, et lui fist la toi-on	
304	D'or conquerir par son engin soubtil, Dont il acquist loz plus qu'autres cent mil . . .	440
308	Par elle fu renommé dessus tous, Si lui promist que loial ami doulz	441
307	Seroit tout sien, mais sa foy lui menti, Et la laissa pour autre, et s'en parti	444
311	Que fu Dido, roïne de Cartage, De grant amour et de loial corage.	
309	Vers Eneas qui, exillé de Troye, Aloit par mer las, despris et sanz joye,	448
312	Presque pery, lui et ses chevaliers ? Recueilli fu, dont lui estoit mestiers	
310	De la belle, qu'il fausement deçut	451
315	Dont a la fin celle, pour s'amistié	459

¹ Hoccleve wisely leaves out Christine's retort that the books against them weren't written by women (609-10); had they been (416), things ud have been differently put.

	Morut de dueil, dont ce fu grant pitié.	460
	Si trouvera, se vient a droit jugier,	643
330	Que le plus grant mal puet pou dommager :	
331	N'occient gent, ne blescent, ne mahagent,	
	Ne traïsons ne pourchacent n'empregnent,	
334	Feu ne bontent, ne desheritent gent,	
335	N'empoisonnent, n'embent or ne argent,	648
	Ne deçoivent d'avoir ne d'eritage,	
336	N'en faultz contras, et ne portent damage	
333	Aux royaumes, aux duchies, n'aux empires ;	
	Mal ne s'ensuit gaires, meïsmes des pères	652
 elles n'ont pas les cuers	670
	Enclins ad ce, ne a cruauté faire ;	
337-40	Car nature de femme est debonnaire, [See also 168-178.]	
346	Moult pitense, paourouse et doubtable,	
345	Humble, douce, coye, et moult charitable,	674
347	Amiable, devote, en payz honteuse,	
346	Et guerre craint, simple et religieuse,	
341	Et en courroux tost apaise son yre	677
361	. . . mais du decevement	608
351-7	Dont on blasme dame Eve nostre mere,	
354	Dont s'ensuivi de Dieu sentence amere,	610
365-6	Je di pour vray qu'oncq Adam ne deçut,	
364	Et simplement de l'anemi conçut	
363	La parole qu'il lui donna a croire,	
	Si li cuida estre loial et voire,	614
	En celle foy de lui dire s'avance ;	
367	Si ne fut donc fraude ne decepvance	
	Car simplece, sanz malice celée,	
367	Ne doit estre decepvance appellée.	618
372	Nul ne deçoit sanz cuidier decepvoir,	
371	Ou autrement decepvance n'est voir.	620
374-5	Quelz grans mauz donc en pevent estre diz ?	
	Par desservir n'ont elles paradis ?	
375	De quelz erismes les peut on accuser ? . . .	623
	Mais, qui qu'en ait mesdit ou mal escript	559
435	Je ne truis pas en livre n'en escript	
437	Qui de Jhesus parle, ou de sa vie,	
436	Ou de sa mort pourchacée d'envie . . .	562
444	N'evangile qui nul mal en tesmoigne,	565
	Mais maint grant bien, mainte haulte besoigne,	
447	Grant prudence, grant sens, et grant constance,	
	Parfaite amour, en foy grant arrestance,	
	Grant charité . . . et grant semblant en firent,	569, 71
438	Car, mort ne vif, onque ne le guerpirent.	
442	Fors des femmes fu de tous delaïssié	
	Le doulz Jhesus, navré, mort et bleicié.	
443	Toute la foy remaint en une femme	575
450	Et se j'ay dit d'elles bien et louenge,	759
451	Comme il est vray, ne l'ay fait par losange	
452	N'a celle fin que plus orgueil en aient,	
453	Mais tout a fin que toudis elles soyent	
454	Curicuses de mieulz en mieulz valoir,	

	Sanz les vices que l'en ne doit avoir ;	764
456	Car qui plus a grant vertu et bonté, En doit estre moins d' orgueil surmonté,	
457-8	Car les vertus si enchacent les vices. Et, s'il est des femmes aucunes nyces,	768
	Cest' Epistre leur puist estre dottrine, Le mal laissent : les bonnes vueillent en ce	
454	Prendre vouloir d' auoir perseuerence,	772
455,62	Si aront preu, grant honneur, joye et los Et Paradis a la fin, dire l'os,	774
463	Pour ce conclus en diffinicion,	
466-7	Que des mauvais soit fait punicion Qui les blasment . . . si soient tuit	776, 779
468	De nostre Court chacié, bani, destruit	780
464	ET COMMANDONS de fait a no maisnie	784
465	Generaument et a noz officiers	785
466 que tous ceuz maubaillis Et villemenez soient très laidement	788
467	Injuriez, punis honteusement	790
470	Accompli soit sanz faire aucun delais.	795
472-3	DOXNÉ en l'air, en nostre grant palais, Le jour de May la solempnée feste	
474	On les amans nous font mainte requeste,	
475	L' An de grace Mil trois cens quate vins Et dix et neuf, present dieux et divins	800
	CREINTIS [= Cristine].	
	Explicit l' Epistre au dieu d' amours.	828

II.

LETTER OF CUPID, p. 72—91.

COLLATION OF THE ASHBURNHAM MS 53, & SHIRLEY'S
MS TRIN. COLL. CAMB. R. 3. 20, p. 116 &c.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>72/1. comandementes Sh.
— 4. the mortel A, al mortel Sh.
— 5. the <i>om.</i> A, Sh., citheres sone
only Sh.
— 6. alle A Sh.
— 7. gretyng hertly Sh., gretynges
senden A.
73/8. wole A, wol Sh.
— 9. and A, of Sh.
— 10. esowe Sh.
— 11. Swich A, . . . of F, as Sh.
— 12. doon A, which doone Sh.
— 14. this F, hir A, þe Sh.
— 15. And passyng^t A, . . . on^d F,
vpon Sh., . . . the litel F,
this A.
— 18. can . . . dissimulen A.
— 19. on F, in A, Sh.: her F, þeyre
Sh.
— 20. herte A, feclen Sh.
— 23. and with A, a chere Sh.
— 24. trewely A, truwly Sh.
— 25. in hert that they Sh.; han
swich A.
— 26. seyne Sh.
— 27. list Sh.
— 28. most Sh.
— 29. seyn A, seyne Sh.
— 30. as doth F, Shewen A.
— 31. Whyles . . . lasten A; last
. . . or Sh.
— 32. and . . . ech F, in euery A.
— 33. al F, yche A.
74/34. ryght as F, As þat A Sh.;
lyste F, lykith A.
— 35. moot myn herte A; . . .
herte I prey Sh.
— 38. worde may non A; non astert
F, ther noon sterte A.</p> | <p>74/39. reson) . . . to F, sholde any
wight by resun A, reson
any wight sholde Sh.
— 43. moveth . . . F, women
meeued of A Sh.
— 44. as þat tho A.
— 45. they graunte F, graunten A,
Sh.
— 46. that . . . nat F, they nat
shulden A, that þey shulde
nat Sh.
— 48. of F, In Sh.; they A, ye F.
— 49. thus A, Sh., and thus F;
while þees Sh.
— 50. this F, the A Sh.; pot A
penne F; þus haþe þe
potte by stele Sh.
— 51. is in his F, of hire hath A.
— 52. kepeth . . . more F, he
keepith nat A, with her ne
kepeþe he more Sh.
— 53. after, <i>om.</i> Sh.; fynden A,
f. owher Sh.
— 55. bestowe so Sh.
— 56. þees men for alle þeyre ooþes
beon harde to leede Sh.
75/59. this woman this traytoure
Sh., this tr. the w. A.
— 60. faste . . . F, fast him spedeth
F, spedeth him fast Sh.
— 61. on a lowe F A, ouer throwe
Sh.
— 62. ne A Sh.
— 63. telleth him Sh.
— 65. to accuse A.
— 66. to . . . selfe F. confesse him
A; Nowe is þis witte /
confesse himself thraytour
Sh.</p> |
|---|--|

- 75 67. a A.
 — 68. tellen how hir body he Sh.; do F, doon A.
 — 69. he . . . him F, to him thus loo Sh.
 — 70. grete esclaundre F Sh., ful greet reпреef A; vnto F, boope to Sh.
 — 71. name yet F, nay / yit A.
 — 72. vertu F, pitee . . . it A, goode . . . it Sh.
 — 74. inwards Sh.
 — 75. sclaundre F, shame A.
 — 76. thanke A, hye thank Sh.
 — 77. whiche . . . helpen Sh.
 — 78. þat men by sl. A Sh.
 — 79. Innocent F, ignorant A.
 — 80. ys . . . sith F A, sith ys Sh.
 — 81. as þat A.
 — 82. om. the Sh.
 76 83. al A Sh.
 — 85. Betrayen A Sh.
 — „ Citees F A, Resumes Sh.
 — 86. is yt . . . shape F, is . . . shape a A Sh.
 — 87. Ageynes false & hid A, A. falsely hidde Sh.
 — 88. suche F, tho A : craftes F A, castes Sh.
 — 89. wytte . . . reddy F, wil ay reddy is A Sh.
 — 90. thinges that souneþe Sh.; hy A, hye Sh.
 — 91. beth F, be A.
 — 92. these F, the A.
 — 93. as A Sh.
 — 94. they A, þey Sh.
 — 96. om. to A.
 — 97. guerdoneth he F, him qwythith A.
 — 98. lytell wote F, Smal witen A, l. knowe Sh.
 — 99. To his felaw an othir wreche A.
 — 100. the hath F, hath thee A.
 — 102. desyrid A.
 — 106. ride F, ride on Sh.
 — 107. whylest Sh. : for. om. A.
 77 108. wol F, can A; with-sey F, sey ney Sh.
 — 109. smertly F, qwikly A; snak' A.
 — 110. thus these F, so the A.
 77/111. so . . . mot F, þat . . . oft gyled shal Sh.
 — 112. ay . . . F, For . . . nouel- lerye Sh.
 — 114. self / hyre F, self / here A.
 — 115. Repreef of her he spekth A.
 — 117. dyuers F, sundry A; of maken Sh.
 — 120. Ful . . . wolde F, For . . . wolde eke Sh.
 — 121. spent his tyme A.
 — 123. hyr pleynty F, his lady A.
 — 124. and F, or Sh.; had A.
 — 127. For euery Sh.
 — 129. leiser han A Sh.
 78 131. on maddynghe . . broght A.
 — 132. he shoulde Sh.
 — 133. which wymmen loven Sh.
 — 134. To F, And Sh.
 — 135. too F, To A.
 — 136. and in F, For þe Sh.
 — 138. yf that F, And if Sh.
 — 139. Al moot he flee þat is to it A.
 — 140. his grete F, ther-to A, mans g. Sh.
 — 141. A foul vice A, Right foule it Sh.
 — 143. men F, man A Sh.
 — 147. thise . . . in F, the . . . at A; beth F, been Sh.
 — 148. man . . . a woman Sh.
 — 151. and F, al Sh.
 — 153. and ful F, al ful Sh.
 — 154. that . . . al F, swiche alle A.
 79 156. al . . . were F, alle was A.
 — 158. al men woot F, men wel knowen A.
 — 159. that F, wheche Sh.
 — 161. he that . . . is F, which . . . is moche Sh.
 — 163. yit of hem were goode Sh.
 — 164. fynden A : happen men to fynde Sh.
 — 165. good is for tesclauwe Sh.
 — 166. deeme . . . alle A, deme it . . . al Sh.
 — 167. se . . . falsenesse A, se it . . . f. Sh.
 — 168. trusten F A, trust þe Sh.
 — 170. hir F, hem Sh.
 — 171. þe w. hir shap be thikke or ellys Sh.
 — 172. good or badde Sh.

- 79/173. enery m. w. F, For ych
wight Sh.
— 175. ys yt F, haþe he Sh. : shame
. . . speke F, shame /speke
of hir A.
— 176. forth F, out Sh.
— 179. be . . . F, þy M. vnto the
bee Sh.
— 180. thou . . . F, man shal hon-
nour þee Sh.
80/181. hir nat F, nat hire A : And
d. t. h. in Sh.
— 182. by F, thurgh A.
— 183. ys seyde in oure e. Sh.
— 184. foule F A, beest Sh.
— 185. that he F, so it A.
— 186. vseth F, wont is A.
— 187. wel . . . F, of wommen wel
A.
— 188. to displesen F, for to despise
A Sh ; ne F A, and
Sh.
— 189. they wol F Sh., hem list A.
— 190. These, *om.* A.
— 191. bokes of hir F, makynges of
Sh.
— 192. dispisen t. w. F, they lakken
wommenes A.
— 194. hem yeue A, gyf hem Sh.
— 196. belowen A.
— 197. Tho F, þeire Sh. ; sory F,
wikkid A.
— 200. may F, koude Sh.
— 201. done . . . F, edoo and yet
Sh.
— 202. the . . . not F, who may hire
by malice A ; hir F, þeyre
Sh.
— 203. as that theys F, Not the
world A, as that the Sh.
— 205. reprefe F, villanye Sh.
81/208. a F A, as Sh.
— 209. or ryme F. ryme A.
— 210. he F A, þey Sh.
— 211. hir F A, þeyre Sh.
— 213. to loue hem ever to Sh.
— 214. syn F, sithe Sh.
— 215. They ^{s. libri} A.
— 216. and, *om.* A ; suche . . .
wrapped F, sweche . . .
trapped Sh.
— 218. No F, Ye no Sh. ; thyse F,
þat the A.
— 219. I do F Sh., do we A.
81/220. labour and trauaille A.
— 221. betwixt vs A.
— 222. noon F, nat A, not Sh.
— 223. these F, *om.* A ; cruel F,
outrageous A.
— 225. my F, our A.
— 226. ytyed F, Tyd A.
— 228. ys F, nis Sh.
— 229. they F, *om.* Sh.
— 231. me . . . my F, vs . . . our, A.
82/233. myn F, oure A.
— 234. I F, We A.
— 243. þoughe that no w. bee
ewhette Sh.
— 244. persyng . . . how F, strokes
how sore A.
— 245. kerve F, brest Sh.
— 248. as it is knowen wyde Sh.
— 249. man F, men Sh.
— 251. koude F, come Sh.
— 256. they F, in herte they A.
— 257. this F, tho A, so thees, Sh.
83/258. oon v. and oþer they were,
Sh.
— 259. thise F, the A ; often F,
wel oft Sh.
— 260. thise F. *om.* A.
— 261. weren nat they / A.
— 262. as weren F, that wern A.
— 263. this F, thees Sh.
— 266. worshippe F, honour A.
— 267. thise F, tho A.
— 272. For v. o. he can abyde Sh.
— 273. a wight F, oon for A, folkes
for Sh.
— 274. this F, the A.
— 276. wonne F A, conquerd Sh.
— 278. refreyne F, restreyne A.
— 282. occupacion F, opynyoun
Sh.
84/285. Aparaylles for to tellen vp
Sh.
— 286. longe F, large Sh.
— 288. I . . . my F, we . . . our, A,
„ Nough . . . ne in . . . com-
prende Sh.
— 291. shall soo, Sh.
— 295. moot yt, Sh.
— 297. for to . . . whatever Sh.
— 299. thise F, tho A ; feyne F A,
seyne Sh.
— 304. quyt be hir F, þane q. his
Sh.
— 306. this man F, þees men Sh.

- 84/307. hir . . . his F, hem . . .
 þayre Sh.
 — 308. gat him . . . name F, grete
 . . . fane Sh.
- 85 310. wrecch F Sh., man A.
 — 311. Vnto Dido whiche Sh.
 — 312. smertys F, greetes A.
 — 313. han doon F, do A.
 — 315. therof F, of it A.
 — 316. my . . . may F, our . . . may
 men A, þe . . . may men Sh.
 — 318. no . . . F, noon / ne byheste
 may men. A.
 — 319. repreuable F, reproof ne
 of A.
 — 320. In herte of man / conceites
 trewe arn dede A.
 „ hath F, hath nowe Sh.
 — 321. nocht F, naight A, barreine
 Sh.
 „ trouthe F A, feyth Sh.
 — 322. nanely yt is F, / is hir vice
 A.
 „ nat . . . F, ful wel knowe,
 Sh.
 — 324. a womans F, wommannes
 A, þees wymmens Sh.
 — 327. No fors . . . no F, Yee /
 strab . . . noon A; no F,
 lytel Sh.
 — 328. kepe wel . . . what so Sh.
 — 331. dystroyeu no F, ne d. Sh.
- 86 335. Folke enpoysons / or h. A.
 — 339. To t. A, To al thewes, Sh.
 — 341. wel . . . a F, so wel kan þe,
 Sh.
 — 342. softe A, soft Sh.
 — 343. be . . . F, been . . . þe
 sygne Sh.
 — 344. Wommannes h. to A.
 — 347. ful amyable Sh.
 — 349. hath not thise Sh.
 — 350. Ne . . . nat I, Folwyth
 nothing A.
 — 351. firste A; natheles F A,
 neuer þe leese Sh.
 — 352. lese his F, to lese hir Sh.
 — 354. heestes F A, heest þoo Sh.
 — 355. tasten of a F, to ete of the
 A, to tasten of þe Sh.
 — 356. ne F, nat A.
 — 357. deuel . . . ne F, feend been
 / no more she A, feende
 ebee n. she Sh.
- 87/358. penvious Sh.
 — 360. for to F, to A.
 — 361. Eve to deceyve Sh.
 — 363. nocht F, nat A. made Sh.
 — 365. I sey F, we seyn A; goode
 Sh.
 — 366. ne F A, she Sh.
 — 367. may F, cane Sh.
 — 368. þat she F, she þee Sh.
 — 369. er F, or A.
 — 371. calle . . . no F, may not
 calle yt Sh.
 — 372. yt F, yt first Sh.
 — 374. to demen F, for to deeme A.
 — 375. she F A, Eve Sh.; this
 harme F Sh., þat gilt A.
 — 377. hir F, Eves Sh.
 — 379. Touchyng which / A.
 — 380. I F, We A.
 — 381. that . . . now F, men mowe
 A, that men now may Sh.
 — 383. This haue A; I F, We A.
- 88/385. hir bold F, hir holde, A,
 holde Eve Sh.
 — 391. feende F A, worne Sh.
 — 393. this F, þat A Sh.
 — 395. sleythes F, sleightes A.
 — 396. of F A, hool of Sh.
 — 397. from the F, from A Sh.
 — 399. him . . . of F A, man . . .
 frome Sh.
 — 400. to F Sh., fro A.
 — 404. that she F A, she cleen Sh.
 — 406. hir . . . bore F, hire be
 borne A, hir hir be borne
 Sh.
 — 408. leene F Sh., weyke A.
- 89/410. preysing F, laude A.
 — 411. I sey, F Sh., We Witen A.
 — 412. men F, man A Sh.
 — 415. that F Sh., it A.
 — 416. now . . . good F, it is to
 taken A.
 — 418. honureth F A, worshipeþe
 Sh.
 — 419. al F, alle A Sh.
 — 420. and . . . a F, For . . . oft
 Sh.
 — 421. O F Sh. om. A.
 — 422. blood F A, blood heere Sh.
 — 423. I F, We A.
 — 424. thou F Sh., O A.
 — 425. Ouercam A, In ouerkomyng
 Sh.

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| <p>89/427. Vn-to the feith of God /
holy virgyne A; of God
A, þou goode Sh.
— 428. I F, We A, þat I Sh.
— 429. by F, Oonly by Sh.
— 430. neuer in my F, nat in one
A, not in my Sh.
— 431. euer werre y F, ay We wer-
rey A, euer I werre Sh.
— 432. lo . . . me F, lecneth wel
ye A.
— 434. remembrance We nat may
A.
90/437. maketh F A, made Sh.
— 440. pardee as w. Sh.
— 442. Wouman F A, Wymmen
Sh.
— 444. for . . . F, holy wryt thus
Sh.; seyeth F, seith A.
— 445. shal . . . yt shoule so f. Sh.
— 446. I . . . F Sh, it may precned
be ther-by A.
— 447. stable F, al the A.
— 448. the F, al A, <i>om.</i> Sh.</p> | <p>90/451. tolde F Sh., is nat told A.
— 452. or F, ne Sh.
— 455. hir F, þeyre Sh.
— 457. digne . . . noble F Sh., noble
is / and worthy A; in
F A, of Sh.
— 458-60. he F Sh., she A.
91/461. vertu A.
— 463. wol . . . e. F, thus we wolen
conclude A; we F A,
yee Sh.
— 464. yow F A, wol Sh.
— 466. thise F, tho A.
— 467. punisshement A.
— 469. in F, ynne A; more F, <i>om.</i>
A; come more F, retourne
Sh.
— 471. that Sh.
— 472. the ayer F, their A, þeyre
Sh.
— 473. Million F A, legyoun Sh.
— 476. and . . . and F A, foure h.
yeres and Sh.</p> |
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III.

JERESLAUS'S WIFE, p. 140-178.

Some Various Readings from MS. Reg. 17 D 6, leaf 99 &c.

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| <p>140/1. actes D, leestes R.
 — 2. Whilom D, Somtyme R.
 — 3. Iereslaus D, Gerelaus R.
 — 6. Vngarie D, Hungerye R.
 — 15. foorth wole I D, wole I forth R.
 — 16. bed D, bedde R.
 — 17. gan in him D, in hym gan R.
 — 19. left R.
 — 24. hyde fro thee D, from the hide R.
 — 25. Ne nat D, Nor not R.
 141/27. for thy D, therefore R.
 — 32-3. al . . . smal D, aH, smaH R.
 — 39. longe to D, long to. I R.
 — 40. abood D, abode R.
 — 44. syn D, sithen R.
 — 53. hire D, to hir R.
 — 54. kiste . . . farewel D, left . . . now farewele R.
 — 55. nat dreedith D, drede not R.
 142/57. and D, the R.
 — 59. the boke kan not R.
 — 61. kepe R, kepte D; R <i>om.</i> out.
 143/86. þat D, no R.
 — 88. R alters this line and puts it for 91.
 — 95. Truste wele it. none other it R.
 — 97. hir, whan he fonde R.
 — 99. sy D, sawe R.
 — 100. Nat . . . stynte D, And that he ne stynte wold R.
 — 102. thempire D, the Empire R.
 — 108. thempire D, this Empire R.</p> | <p>143/109-10. al . . . shal D, aH . . . shaft R.
 — 111. vnbad . . . bad D, not hadde . . . badde R.
 144/122. it . . . is D, it is wele knowen R.
 — 125. vs warante and avowe R.
 — 127. doutith D, dredeth R.
 — 131. anoon areest D, areste anone R.
 — 136. Then thought he thus R.
 145/139. vttrily shaft I R.
 — 144. hye R, hy D.
 — 154. & D, & my R.
 — 156. of . . . deeth D, on myschenous deth to R.
 — 163. yf that I wish R.
 146/172. often it happeth. that womans R.
 — 175. did grete harm R.
 — 180. now D, goode R.
 — 181. ryde foorth D, now rideth R.
 — 187. sue D, folwe R.
 — 194. shoop D, shope R.
 147/199. ago . . . syn D, ferne agone. . . . sithen R.
 — 203. he doon D, I do R.
 — 212. But my lords the Emperour R.
 — 224. help at al D, other helpe R.
 148/225. manaces D, manace ne R.
 — 226. Koth she. of the R.
 — 229. þat this for D, this for an R.
 — 232. left al D, withouten more R.
 — 240. blusted D, blasted R.</p> |
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- 148/245. amen R, D. *om.*
 — 246. false D, thou fals R.
 — 248. willy to D, willyng to do R.
 — 250. the D, and worthy R.
 — 251. O foule enemye R.
 149/258. bettiddle Reg., betid D.
 — 259. kidde Reg., hid D.
 — 263. I . . . and þat with bold D.
 I wote wele with bolde
 R.
 — 265. go D, avein go Reg.
 — 266. forth teþ D, telle forth R.
 — 267. þat . . . had D, she so hade
 R.
 — 269. Erl D, Erle R.
 — 271. blyue D, fuþ blive R.
 — 279. the D, this R.
 — 280. quod D, koth R.
 150/281. ferre R, fer D.
 — 297. þat thee list D, the luste to
 R.
 — 307. the D, this R.
 — 308. hire aftir D, after. hir R.
 151/310. lay therl D, as lay the
 Erle R.
 — 313. was . . . This D, Was this
 R.
 — 315. good . . . reft D, goode . . .
 bereft R.
 — 320. herte D, hert to R.
 — 322. holde D, holden R.
 — 324. shal D, may R.
 — 325-6. wilt D, wolt R.
 — 328. sy D, sawe R.
 — 330. fro . . . foorth D, bisily R.
 152/338. bed . . . þat D, bedde.
 where as R.
 — 340. purposid D, purpos and R.
 — 361. him D, he hym R.
 153/366. þat D, that. that R.
 — 370. bed D, bedde R.
 — 371. bybled D, forbledde R.
 — 381. now no lenger R.
 — 383. flayn D, slayn (so in 380) R.
 — 392. that it not so were R.
 154/394. In the D, In aft the R.
 — 396. namely / & D, and namely
 R.
 — 403. He to hir spak R.
 — 409. he deceyued D, deceyued
 he R.
 — 413. qwit hast D, hast quytte R.
 — 414. walke forth R.
 — 422. for shew had seide R.
 155/430. broke R.
 — 442. saue D, to saue R.
 156/455. foot D, fete R. [leaf 167]
 — 457. Whidir D, Wherto R.
 — 460. longe his lady fro R.
 — 461. agayn D, ayenst R.
 — 466. how D, that R.
 — 467. shap . . . eek D, and shap.
 and R.
 157/475. & D, nor R.
 — 477. fer D, ferre R.
 — 480. of . . . ne D, or . . . or R.
 — 485. can D, kun R.
 — 490. her . . . thogh D, is her
 nature and yit R.
 — 494. chaunge wole. lest it myght
 hurt R.
 — 499. this D, that R.
 158/509. ga D, go R.
 — 510. Vnto my ladyes In. for she
 R.
 — 521. heere y D, I here R.
 — 526. he seide D, koth he R.
 159/535. wilt so D, wolt now R.
 — 544. in no weertee R.
 — 558. to thyn owne D, vnto thy R.
 160/569. Take goode heede therof
 R.
 — 570. thow D, right R.
 — 571. be than goode. hens forto R.
 — 572. Elles aft thy labour may
 the R.
 — 573. For I wole lede. hir home R.
 — 579. Thow hast hade or this R.
 — 583. yeve D, and yeve me R.
 — 586. had . . . deucl D, hade . . .
 fend R.
 161/590. clothes . . . his D, his
 clothes out of the R.
 — 591. to bye D, forto bey R.
 — 597. Syn þat D, Sithen R.
 — 609. this best is D, this is best R.
 — 616. hire he to the ship D. he to
 the shipman hir R.
 162/626. maad . . . I D, haue I
 made R.
 — 627. That there shaþ neuer man.
 so R.
 — 628. thyng . . . outake D, no
 thyng . . . saue R.
 — 632. wel D, this R.
 — 634. middes D, the myddes R.
 — 643. the D, your R.
 163/656. and gan anoue R.

- 163/657. she D, and R.
 — 658. Made she. as I shaft to you
 reherce R.
 — 664. deitee D, dignitee R.
 164/675. til D, shope R.
 — 683. Where. the ladyes R.
 — 689. yaf . . . a D, shope and yafe
 suche R.
 165/703. told haue D, haue tolde R.
 — 712. roop D, rope R.
 — 713. Potagre D, Potakir R.
 — 725. qwyte . . . D, wole you
 quyte R.
 — 726. swich D, suche R.
 — 728. ye shaft it bey fuff soure.
 166/732. herd D, herd R.
 — 735. hele wel D, weff hele R.
 — 741. they . . . D, and they haste
 R.
 — 746. deuoutly D, deuoutely R.
 167/757. The Abbesse hir made.
 approche his hye pre-
 sence R.
 — 758. hid D, couered R.
 — 767. about D, aboute R (therē).
 — 771. That was the knyght. the
 theef. and the shipman
 R.
 — 777. dirke D, grete R.
 — 782. Be cured. tef on R.
 — 784. is . . . D, it is. to perseuere.
 168/785. For the fourme R.
 — 795. hool D, hole R.
 — 798. Telle out D, Sey on R.
 — 803. I . . . D, mercy I you R.
 — 807. he thoghte D, thought he R.
 — 811. þat D, euer R.
 169/813. And how he . . . hade be-
 traide R.
 — 817. been vnpayed D, be delaide
 R.
 — 831. him wolde D, it wold him R.
 — 832. mis D, lakke R.
 170/841. purpos D, tale R.
 — 842. thow dem. D, and demony-
 ake R.
 — 847. han . . . D, the grounde
 haue R.
 — 848. sharp D, sharpe R.
 — 852. confesse D, to confesse R.
 — 863. And betooke hir. the charge
 and the cure R.
 — 864. a D, his R.
 — 866. there a mis D, a wikked R.
 171/872. euere D, ay R.
 — 873. vnto . . . D, to my luste nor
 R.
 — 878. the D, this R.
 — 881. And thynke. that no wight
 elles R.
 — 882. this D, that R.
 — 889. Whan that I for my gilte R.
 — 893. of D, for R.
 — 895. where I dede shuld haue
 be R.
 — 896. lyf D, gilt R.
 172/897. as D, was R.
 — 898. hy D, hir R.
 — 900. Betraide I hir R.
 — 901. him . . . D, Shope hym . . .
 delavee R.
 — 902. fer D, forthe R.
 — 904. a . . . I D, a faire gentiff
 lady I R.
 — 906. haue hire D, hir haue R.
 — 912. haf . . . claf D, lafe . . .
 clafe R.
 — 923. On . . . seide D, On curteys
 height. right R.
 173/925. haue of me D, taken R.
 — 927. seeknesse . . . his D, desese
 . . . her R.
 — 939. wrecche D, man R.
 — 941. kus D, cosse R.
 — 946. Inow thus D, is at an R.
 — 947. vnto his Paleys D, to his
 paleys goth R.
 — 948. good. lady the Emperice.
 with hym gan wende R.
 — 949. lyueden D, ledde her lyfe R.
 — 950. his D, the R.
 — 952. list D, wole R.
 MS. Reg. 17 D vi. leaves out page
 174.
 175/16. the rather D, the r. and the
 sonner R.
 — 17. scripture D, writte R.
 — 22. & makynge D. þat maken R.
 — 27. whereof D, wherfore R.
 176/14. hukyng D, Wirkyng R.
 — 30. soule wole D, soules wolen R.
 177/4. vp so down D, bakward R.
 — 26. the feend D, þis world R.
 — 34. torned D, turneth R
 178/2. infest D, effect R.
 178. R. has in margin 'Discipulus.
 Cum omnes homines n.
 s. d . . .'

178/15. so D, to R.	179/41. me D, me so R.
179/23. lerne to dye R.	— 45. ay. wote he full weft R.
— 33. But telle me this. herof wold I lere R.	180/54. hire D, hym R.
— 34. R adds to Latin 'moriendi cum mors mon habitus set priuacio esse nos- catur.'	— 57. many oon D, hym R.
— 38. swetnesse D, richesse R.	— 72. led away D, away haue ledde R.
	— 74. vnto . . holde D, to that lord yhold R.

(Collation incomplete.)

GLOSSARY.

BY MR. THOMAS AUSTIN.

- Aart, *sb.* art, 13/150, 26/32.
 Abiect, *pp.* cast off, 222/199.
 Abstinence, *sb.* putte in a., forbear from, 154/406
 Acat, acate, *sb.* purchase, 31/181, 70/100.
 Accomplice, *vb. t.* accomplish, 152/341.
 Adawid, *pp.* adawed, awakened, 153/369.
 Affese, *vb. t.* scare, 233/482.
 Affesid, *pp.* scared, 229/379.
 Affoorth, *vb. t.* bestow, 217/46.
 Ageyn, *prep.* before, in presence of, 166/745.
 Aght, aught, 22/440, 82/252.
 Agilt, *vb. int.* sin, 69/64, a-gylte, 108/366; *v. t.* sin against, 17/270, 168/804.
 Agrysid, *pp.* terrified, 196/476.
 Alleggen, *vb. t.* alleviate, 6/198.
 All halwen day, *sb.* All Souls' Day (Nov. 1), 212/926.
 Almesse, *sb.* alms, 194/424.
 Amonestyng, *sb.* warning, 208/820.
 Apalle, *vb. int.* slacken, 98/74.
 Appert, *adj.* apert, open, 33/270.
 Arettist, *vb. t.* imputest, layest, 12/113.
 Arghnesse, *sb.* timidity, reluctance, 38/435.
 Arte, *vb.* compel, constrain, 37/396, 62/8.
 Aspen, *adj.* trembling, 63/17.
 Asseeth, *sb.* expiation, penance, 196/482.
 Assoill, *vb. t.* grant, 222/182.
 Atake, *vb.* overtake, 148/239.
 Attaine, *vb. t.* ataine, subdue, 10/45.
 Attē = at the, 195/460, 196/486.
- Attempree, *adj.* temperate, 40/13.
 Auricleer, *adj.* auricular, 11/81.
 Aweertee, *sb.* cautiousness, O. Fr. *averti*, 159/544.
 Baar, *vb. t.* bare, 8/241.
 Bake, *sb.* back, 29/127.
 Bapteeme, *sb.* baptism, 9/38.
 Bayte, *vb. t.* refresh, 15/206.
 Beer, *vb. t.* bare, *imp. tense*, 1/44.
 Begilt, *pp.* ? deluded, 192/372.
 Begone, *pp.* well b., prosperous, 95/11; wers begoon, worse beset, 231/445; comp. woc-begone.
 Bete, *vb. t.* beat: 'bete this pavyment' (pavement), 102/186. Compare Fr. *battre le pavé*.
 Bille, *sb.* bill of a bird, 44/42.
 Bit, *vb.*, bad, 34/280, 229/376.
 Blent, *pp.* blinded, 225/280.
 Blyne, *adv.* quickly, 4/125, 34/280.
 Bobance, *sb.* boasting, 190/321.
 Bolne, *vb. int.* swell, rise, 172/913.
 Bolnyng, *ppl.* bolning, swelling, 10/49.
 Boncheef, *sb.* good fortune, prosperity, 221/172.
 Bote, *sb.* cure, 97/49.
 Brede, *sb.* in b., abroad, 10/70.
 Breeth, *sb.* breath, 2/80.
 Braid, *sb.* braid, attack, 182/115.
 Brid, *sb.* bird, 80/184.
 Brigge, *sb.* bridge, boat-stairs, 31/194: cp. 'y^e Quenes bredge' and 'Preuy bredge' at Westuinster, in Braun and Hogenberg's map of 1572.
 Broke, *sb.* brook, 100/152.
 Brydillees, *adj.* bridleless, 27/78.
 Brygelees, *adj.* briguelless, without disparte, 13/164.

- Bukkyshe, *adj.* flighty, skittish, unsettled, 99/123.
 But, *conj.* unless, 27/57, 190/326.
 Bybled, *pp.* bebled, bloody, 7/230.
 Bye, *rb. t.* aby, pay for, suffer for, 165/728.
 Byhecte, *rb. int.* promise, 226/302, 238/625.
 Byknew, *rb. t.* confessed, 238/634.
 Byneneth, *rb. t.* bemoan, bewail, *imper.* 7/231.
 Bynome, *pp.* of *benim*, taken away from, 6/189.
 Bytake, *rb. t.* hand over, 156/452.
 Calate, *sb. f.* drab, quean, 13/147.
 Cape, *rb. int.* gape, A., 191/350.
 Careyne, *sb.* carcass, O. Fr. *caroine*, 189/306.
 Cast, *sb.* intention, 191/348.
 Cheertee, chiertee, *sb.* affection, 22/433, 40/21, 137/777, 205/710, 219/87; comfort, 48/32.
 Chek, *sb.* check, at chess, 184/161.
 Chepe, *rb. t.* buy, 216/13.
 Cheuice, *rb.* provide, provide for, 28/101, 34/285.
 Chemissance, *sb.*, achievement, comp. *vb. cheuis*, Cursor M. l. 8329, 132/621.
 Chinchy, *adj.* niggard, 29/136.
 Chyldly, *adj.* childly, childish, 27/64.
 Citein, *sb.* citizen; comp. Fr. *citoyen*, 202/627.
 Clappe, *rb.* chatter, 21/396, 37/394, 40/37, 127/489.
 Cleo, *sb.* claw, 191/345.
 Clight, *pp.* clenched, 182/124.
 Cloudeful, *adj.* cloudy, dark, black, 55/109.
 Cokir, *sb.* high-low, 190/312.
 Cumbroworldes, *sb.* cumberworlds, useless mortals, 32/225.
 Complayne, *rb. t.* complain of, blame, Fr. *se plaindre*, 36/342, 57/17.
 Conceitless, *adj.* ignorant, 232/458.
 Compaignie, *sb.* company, attendants, companionship, 149/260, 151/329, 164/683.
 Compassid, *rb.* compassed, devised, 151/330.
 Compel, *rb. t.* compel, 26/30.
 Conpleyne, pity, Fr. *plaindre*, 36/341.
 Compunct, *pp.* touched with compunction, 199/562.
 Constance, *sb.* constancy, Fr. *constance*, 157/488.
 Cotidian, *adj.* quotidian, daily, Lat. *quotidianus*, 26/25.
 Couyne, *sb.* scoundrelism, 9/21. 'Il en seait bien toute la couyne. Hee is well acquainted with thine packing; he knows full well how the matter hath bene carried.' 1611. Cotgrave.
 Cristientee, *sb.* Christendom, O. Fr. *crestienté*, 156/453.
 Crois, *sb.* cross, Fr. *croix*, 5/149.
 Cure, *sb.* care, heed, 81/219.
 Daswed, *pp.* dazed, 57/9.
 Decynable, *adj.* deceitful, 237/590.
 Deeth, *sb.* death, 5/162.
 Delauee, *adj.* O. Fr. *deslavé*; washed away (Cotgrave), loose, lawless, 172/901.
 Deliure, *rb. t.* deliver, 154/412, 161/590.
 Demoniak, *sb.* one possessed with a devil, 170/843.
 Depraue, *rb. t.* speak ill of, scandal, slander, 30/171.
 Dere, *rb. t.* hurt, harm, 107/348.
 Dereworthe, *adj.* precious, 195/448, 197/498.
 Deskenere, *rb.* discover, let out, 150/283.
 Despende, *rb. t.* dispend, expend, spend, 8/244, 38/415, 187/239.
 Despense, *sb.* dispense, laying out, liberality, 36/342.
 Desteyned, *pp.* sullied, 36/340.
 Dever, *sb.* devoir, duty, 158/531.
 Dewynge, *sb.* dewing, moistening, 5/158.
 Deynouse, *adj.* proud, 78/150.
 Diadeeme, *sb.* diadem, 15/232.
 Do foorth, keep on, 41/15.
 Doel, *sb.* dole, pity, O. Fr. *doel*, Fr. *deuil*, 5/153.
 Doghtir, *sb.* daughter, 150/296, 152/339.
 Dokke, *rb. t.* cut off, kill, 159/541.
 Dotepol, *sb.* dodipoll, fool, 217/49.

- Doubleness, *sb.* deception, 73/21, 237/590.
 Dreche, *vb.* vex, 106/308.
 Dress, *dresse*, *vb. t.* direct, bend, 160/588, 164/691, 210/856.
 Drye, *vb. t.* suffer, 196/474.
 Doumb, *adj.* Prov:—'the doumb man, no lond getith,' *i. e.* one must speak, if one wants anything, 38/433.
 Dyuuse, *vb.* devise, 24/511.
 Erly, *adv.* early, 31/180, 62/21.
 Eerthe, *sb.* earth, 3/106, 5/148, 22/428.
 Eerthely, *adj.* earthly, 17/292, 297, 200/586.
 Egal, *adj.* equal, Fr. *egal*, 5/168; *egall*, 115/156.
 Eilid, *vb.* ailed, 9/25.
 Enable, *vb. t.* make fit for, 17/272.
 Enchantour, *sb.* enchanter, deceiver, 32/225.
 Enchesoun, *sb.* cause, reason, O. Fr. *encheson*, 48/18, 54/61, 89/429.
 Euhabit, *vb. t.* set as inhabitant, 17/280.
 Ensampl, *vb. t.* give example to, 66/64, 131/604.
 Ensele, *vb. t.* enseal, seal, 234/516.
 Entaille, *sb.* entail, intaglio, 21/410.
 Entaillid, *pp.* unalterably attached, 157/488.
 Enter, *adj.* entire, 50/29.
 Eschu, *adj.* shy, O. Fr. *eschin*, 21/403.
 Eschue, *vb. t.* avoid, O. Fr. *eschever*, 6/193, 14/192, 32/216.
 Esmaye, *vb. t.* dismay, 207/774.
 Estaat, *sb.* estate, 38/430.
 Estren, *sb.* Easter, 175/25.
 Euenhede, *sb.* evenness, fairness, 177/3.
 Exaltat, *pp.* exalted, 237/592.
 Exaudicioun, *sb.* pardon (*i. e.* God hearing him), 44/30.
 Exitynge, *sb.* exciting, urging, 118/234.
 Fallace, *sb.* outrage, O. Fr. *fullace*, 150/233, 226/298.
 Fauel, *sb.* flattery, O. Fr. *fauel*, 31/211, 32/223, 33/244.
 Fawe, *adj.* fain, 182/124, 235/549.
 Feendly, *adj.* fiendly, devilish, 149/253, 152/340.
 Feere, *in, in* company, together, 229/371.
 Felawshipe, *sb.* fellowship, company, retinue, 148/239.
 Femel, *adj.* female, Fr. *femelle*, 216/13.
 Ferdful, *adj.* fearful, timid, 45/47.
 Fern, *adv.* far, long, 31/196, 147/199.
 Fet, *pp.* fetched, 203/663.
 Feynier, *sb.* appeaser, stayer, 52/12.
 Feynyngly, *adv.* feigningly, 191/359.
 Fieche, *vb. t.* fix, 40/9, 45/72, 53/45.
 Flaumbes, *sb.* flames, O. Fr. *flambe*, 197/513, 204/699.
 Foleie, *foleye*, *vb. int.* act foolishly, be stupid, play the fool, 49/47, 50/46, 163/651.
 Foltyshe, *adj.* foolish, 104/243, 115/147.
 Folwe, *vb. t.* follow, 68/23.
 Foreward, *sb.* bargain, 230/405.
 Forthynke, *vb.* repent, 239/652.
 Forthoghte, *vb. t.* repented, 10/59.
 Forneye, *vb. int.* go out of the path, stray, Fr. *fourroyer*, 49/44, 69/79.
 Furnays, *sb.* furnace, Fr. *fournaise*, 196/493.
 Foryite, *vb. t.* forget, 134/672.
 Foysonn, *sb.* foison, abundance, Fr. *foison*, 8/244, 10/71.
 Francesie, *sb.* frenzy, Fr. *frénésie*, 165/715.
 Freend, *sb.* friend, 26/46.
 Fretynge, *adj.* fretting, vexing, 213.
 Frete, *vb. int.* fret, devour, 239/661.
 Fructifie, *vb. int.* be fruitful, 178/17.
 Fructuous, *adj.* fruitful, 57/11.
 Fyn, *sb.* fine, end, Fr. *fin*, 2/59.
 Fyut, *vb.* finds, 180/68.
 Gabbe, *vb. int.* lie, comp. O. Fr. *gaber*, 159/540.
 Galwe tree, *sb.* gibbet, 155/436; *galwes*, 177/7.
 Gaste, *vb. t.* aghast, frighten, 200/597.
 Gastful, *adj.* ghastly, dreadful, 203/669, 204/687.
 Gastness, *sb.* fearful state, 44/27.
 Genterie, *sb.* gentleness, kindness, courtesy, 164/684.

- Gere, *sb.* gear, 13/159.
 Girt, *pp.* thurgh g., struck through, 230/388.
 Gleede, *sb.* glede, glowing coal, 30/159.
 Gole, *sb.* al thy gole — ? all that is in thy mouth, Fr. *goude*, 159/545.
 Goos, *sb.* goose; Prov. 'shoo the goos,' 19/337. *Ferrer les oyes.* To spend both time and labour verie vainly. 1611. Cotgrave.
 Gouvernail, *sb.* governance, 150/300.
 Gouvernesse, *sb. f.* governess, 150/298.
 Grame, *vb. t.* vex, 43/57.
 Grede, *vb. t.* cry for, 47/109; call, 50/36, 116/173.
 Gree, *sb.* recompense, O. Fr. *gre*, 204/694.
 Greenable, *adj.* grievous, 182/111.
 Greeues, *sb.* griefs, 3/90.
 Grownde, *vb. t.* ground, base (as groundwork), 66/46.
 Grype, *vb. t.* grip, get, 104/265.
 Gye, *vb. t.* guide, 6/207, 53/49, 155/433.
 Haan, han, *vb.* have, 3 *sing.* 197/523, 198/524-7.
 Haast, *vb.* hast, 7/211, 8/7, 192/372.
 Haaste, *vb. int.* haste, 31/208, 166/741, 190/330.
 Haf, *vb. int.* heaved, 172/912.
 Halke, *sb.* recess, 20/382; dirke halke of Helle, 23/478; 100/133.
 Hals, *sb.* neck, 165/712.
 Hawe, *sb.* haw, 'not worth an h.' (used like straw), trille, 37/380, 67/20.
 Heedlynge, *adv.* headlong, hastily, 133/647.
 Heeng, *vb. int.* hung, 149/274, 164/696.
 Heer, *sb.* hair, 170/860.
 Heetith, *vb. t.* promise. 68/40.
 Helply, *adj.* helping, 197/508.
 Hente, *vb. t.* seize, 203/675.
 Heolly, hoolly, *adv.* wholly, 3/109, 112.
 Herkne, *vb. t.* hearken to, 179/22.
 Herne, *sb.* nook, recess, 20/382.
 Hertly, *adj.* hearty, 72/7.
 Hiddles, in, secretly, slyly, Fr. *en tapinois*, covertly, closely, secretly (Cotgrave), 202/645.
 Hokir, *sb.* scorn, 136/741, 189/310. The gloss has app. 'loathsomeness,' in last case.
 Honure, *vb. t.* honour, 21/412.
 Housbonde, *vb. t.* husband, 68/24.
 In, *sb.* house, dwelling, 156/458, 158/513.
 Incomparably, *adv.* incomparably, 6 syll., 187/257.
 Inne, *vb. t.* take in, house, 156/459, 469.
 Impudence, *sb.* shamelessness, 27/62.
 Issynge, *sb.* issuing, exit, comp. O. Fr. *isser*, 202/629.
 Kakele, *vb. int.* cackle, chatter, 12/148.
 Keepe, *vb. int.*, heed, reck; *weepe*, A.; 185/183.
 Kerfe, *sb.*, wake of ship, 185/203.
 Kneew, *vb.* knew, 26/44.
 Knyf, *sb.* leyd his k., set his knife by me, sat by me, 28/112.
 Komynge, *adj.* clever, skilful, 166/732.
 Kus, *sb.* kiss, 2/75, 30/155, 173/941.
 Kut, *sb.* luck, lot (bit of cut stick), 138/789: 'the cut fil to the Knight.'—Cant. Tales, Prol. 845.
 Kythe, *vb. t.* make known, bestow, show, 4/120, 38/406, 42/42, 81/224.
 Laach, *adj.*, lax, O. Fr. *lasche*, Fr. *lâche*, 188/267.
 Labbe, *sb.* blab, blabber, 159/542.
 Lache, *vb. int.* be lax, or remiss, 191/362.
 Laddre, *sb.* ladder: charity the ladder to heaven, 8/1.
 Lagh, *sb.* scot, score, 65/33.
 Lame, *adj.* lacking, wanting, 10/47, 70/90.
 Large, *adj.* liberal, Fr. *large*, 40/16; 'at our large,' in freedom, 43/8.
 Leantee, *sb.* good faith, O. Fr. *leante*, 212/922.
 Leene, *adj.* lean, poor, 88/408.
 Leepre, *sb.* leprosy, 166/740, 167/763.

- Leepre, *sb.* leper, 164/698.
 Let seen, *interj.* let us see! come!
 66/64, 211/883.
 Lewde as an asse, ignorant as an
 ass, 19/352.
 Light, *sb.* 'stand in own l.', *fig.*
 194/440.
 Lightlees, *adj.* lightless, unenlight-
 ened, 28/88.
 Lineree, *sb.* livery, 'of St. George's
 l.' a true knight, 42/54.
 Loken, *pp.* closed, locked, 151/334.
 Lokir, *sb.* locker, 190/313.
 Loos, *sb.* praise, reputation, O. Fr.
los, 36/345, 157/494.
 Los, *sb.* loss, 173/945.
 Losengeour, *sb.* losenger, flatterer,
 32/220.
 Lowe, *sb.* flame, 75/61, 204/703.
 Lyne, *vb. t.* lime with birdlime,
 33/244.
 Lyn, *vb. int.* lie, 5/157.
 Lyte, *adj.* lite, little, 21/400; 'a
 lyte and lyte,' by little and little,
 28/92, 231/427.
 Maad, *pp.* made, 9/17; 'maad hath
 thy berd,' deceived thee; comp.
 Fr. *faire la barbe à*, 231/433.
Faire barbe de foarre à. To de-
 ceive, delude, abuse. 1611. Cot-
 grave.
 Macche, *sb.* match, 34/307.
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| Welton, Robt., lxii note 2. | | Westmorland, Countess of. xxv, |
| Westminster, xxxi, 102, 183; Richard | | xxxiv, 242. |
| II.'s bones brought to the Abbey, | | York, Duke of, xxxiv, 49 , 51 note; |
| 47; Westm. Gate, xii, 30/178; | | Duchess of York, xxxiv, 50. |
| Westm. Hall, xxii, 98/72. | | |

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