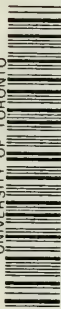


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Speculum Gy de Wlaŋewyke.

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1898.

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Speculum Gy de Warewyke

An English Poem

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

HERE FOR THE FIRST TIME PRINTED

AND FIRST EDITED FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS

BY

GEORGIANA LEA MORRILL, A.M., PH.D.

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TO THE MEMORY OF
Professor Julius Zupitza
AND TO
Professor Eugen Kölbing
GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE following edition of the *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* is indebted for its origin to the kindness of the late Professor Julius Zupitza. The preparation of the volume was begun under Professor Zupitza's immediate direction and personal guidance and was interrupted only by his sad and unexpected death. The name Zupitza, to-day at once an inspiration and a lament, recalls a central figure in English scholarship. Whatever is of worth in these pages, should reverently and gratefully bear tribute to connection with the master student.

The text of the poem has been carefully arranged from six manuscripts on basis of the Auchinleck MS. and was printed in May 1896, an edition having been already completed in German and in English. In harmony with the suggestion of Dr. Furnivall, the work does not present a distinctively critical text, but it aims to mark fidelity to its original, and to avoid arbitrary changes by which a picturesque meaning would be lost or an interesting philological form obscured. Full material for such a text, subject to the judgment of the individual student, is offered in the decisive readings of the various manuscripts of the *Speculum* and in its critical notes. The arrangement of the Introduction needs no explanation. It will be seen that Part I contains a description of the manuscripts of the poem and a critical investigation of its texts. Part II is limited to the examination of its sources and its genesis with reference to history and literature, and particularly to the Guy of Warwick romances. Part III treats of the language, and the metrical and inflectional forms used by the poet, his dialect, and the chronology and authorship of the poem.

It is recognized, that in some decisions there is ground for other opinions than those adopted in these pages. I am aware that there are three readings of no great importance, that might contradict the pedigree of the manuscripts as it stands at present. The question is

open to the friendly opinion of the public. The peculiarly individual development of each of the texts has rendered the arrangement of the genealogical tables one of marked delicacy. Some points could have been discussed more briefly than I have judged¹ advisable. Others could have been treated with greater fulness. The enumeration of the Biblical sources of the various passages is not complete, but has received additional references in the explanatory notes. The chapter on inflection could have been enriched by other appropriate illustrations, the phonology with more complete comparison with other M.E. texts, and the analysis of the relationship of the various Guy of Warwick manuscripts could have been more exhaustive, but additional expansion was believed to be beyond the scope of the volume. The present edition seems to set forth the main peculiarities of the poem.

Adequate recognition will, it is trusted, be conceded the *Speculum*, not merely through reverence for antiquity and susceptibility to romance, but through an instinct for the preservation of what is in itself of individual merit. The poem, a quaint conceit of an author of the M.E. period, has an æsthetic value, preserving traces of the *naïve* vigour of pre-conquest literature, and reflecting the culture of the mediæval poet. It is a fair example of the homily of the thirteenth century and gives testimony to the theological status of that period of English life; but, in general tendency, incorporating an episode in the career of the marvellous hero of Warwick, it links itself with the metrical romance. Its text possesses philological interest in its vocabulary through the introduction of rare words, and through its phonology as marked in its rime. The volume opens to the public for the first time manuscripts of unique interest.

I have here to thank the friends² of the *Speculum*—among them the most distinguished scholars of the day—for the unselfish interest with which this edition has been favoured. Although foreshadowed by calamity in the loss of Professor Zupitza's genial counsel, my book has matured in auspicious atmosphere through the helpfulness of Professor Kölbing. Professor Kölbing's generosity placed before me his exact and beautiful *fac simile* of one of my texts,³ when

¹ Some allowance must be made for the difficulty of transferring this work from the German edition. Traces of German training, chiefly at the University of Berlin, must be attributed to their proper source.

² Thanks are due to the skill and patience of the printers, Messrs. Richard Clay and Sons, and particularly the kindness of Mr. Archibald of their office, for careful execution of trying work.

³ This edition has been prepared from the MSS. as consulted by the editor.

access to the original was impossible. Putting aside more important work of his own, he showed me the great kindness of reading most carefully many pages of my proof, and he has aided me from the earliest beginning of my work with judicious suggestions, marking the excellence of his skilful and varied scholarship. I have also had the advantage of consultation with Mr. Donald of Gray's Inn. I am deeply indebted for clerical and other service rendered by Mr. Donald. Mention should be made of Zupitza's pupil, Professor Schick, to whom, in April 1894, the interests of my work were intrusted. Traces of Professor Schick's influence, direct and indirect, will be recognized in the Introduction and in the arrangement of the text. I share with all students of English the debt to Professor Wülker and Professor Sievers through their noble contributions¹ to philological investigation, but my obligation is enhanced by the benefit of direct instruction in lecture hall. I am grateful for a few valuable words from Dr. Furnivall, Mr. Henry Bradley, and my earlier critic, Mrs. Truman J. Backus.

Gratitude is to be extended for the courtesy of the officers and attendants in the various libraries² where I have had the pleasure of study upon the *Speculum*. I wish to express my obligation to Mr. Bickley and Mr. Herbert of the British Museum, for aid in determining the age of the manuscripts and for other assistance; to Mr. Clark of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; and to the librarian of the Princeton University Library, Dr. Richardson, editor of *Liber De Viris Inlustribus*.

I am indebted to Professor J. Ulrich of the University of Zürich, who, having announced³ in *Englische Studien* his intention of publishing this text from the MSS., yielded in my favour any prior claim to editorship.

GEORGIANA LEA MORRILL.

London, May 1896.

¹ The editor is indebted to the valuable works of Professor Skeat, Mr. Gollancz, and Professor Morsbach, editions of special importance to the student of this period of English literary history, and expresses thanks to Miss Edith Luther for kind interest in the *Speculum*.

² Here are to be included the *Königliche Bibliothek*, Berlin, the University Library, Cambridge, England, the Library of the Lambeth Palace, and the Astor Library and the Columbia University Library, New York City.

³ In *Englische Studien*, vol. vii, p. 183.

[The editor begs to state, that a single text of the six employed in the *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* appeared in Horstmann's *Yorkshire Writers*, Vol. II, after the preparation of this edition had been completed, and after the present text had been printed. She believes it to be unnecessary to add, that, on the authority of the most eminent critics, the print of one manuscript alone without reference to the oldest and best transcript is of comparatively small value. Owing to circumstances for which neither editor nor publisher is responsible, interruption of nearly two years occurred in work upon the *Speculum*, after the edition was at press. The volume has been otherwise retarded by the author's absence in America during the printing of the book.]

INTRODUCTION TO THE *SPECULUM*

“sothe stories ben stoken vp and straught out of mynde
and swolowet into swym by swiftenes of yeres.

. . . olde stories of stithe, þat astate helde,
may be solas to sum

. þat suet after,
to ken all the crafte, how þe case felle,
by lokying of letturs, þat lefte were of olde.”¹

Part I.

CHAPTER I.

THE GUY OF WARWICK SAGA AS ADAPTED TO THE
SPECULUM.§ 1. *The Argument of the Main Guy Legend.*

THE history of Guy the Earl, in whom the romance and the chivalric glory of Warwick early came to the distinction of letters, has never been fully made clear. His conquests have been magnificently immortalized in verse and tale, and his exploits have become so intimately the poetical treasure² of centuries, that the immediate and objective facts of his achievement have been obliterated, and the traces of his true development have been concealed. Yet the documents preserving the incidents of his career have been scrutinized by critics so keen and so illustrious, that to say of Guy of Warwick what is unique and unexpected seems not possible. The tradition marking his romantic life is assimilated with landscape³ and history in name and event, so that an impression of actual presence is firmly engendered, and to the visitor of modern Warwick Guy is invested with the same proud claim to English fatherhood that is the inheritance of that bright English gem Sidney. To doubt the

¹ From the *Destruction of Troy*, verses 11, 12, and 21 ff.

² The most exquisite of parchment folios preserve the history of Guy. Incrusted with gorgeous illumination, the Guy documents are in themselves a priceless treasure, as is assured by those of the Royal Library alone.

³ “On a ryuere syde hys hows he hadde
(A full holy lyff he there ladde)
Besydes Warwyke, þat was hys,
And Gybbe clyf clepyd ys.”—Auch. 22, v. 10, 527 ff.

genuineness of Guy's adventures impresses one as involving a suggestion of insincerity. The discovery of decisive facts might add to the interest of the romance, localizing current theories in clear-cut environment, but it could not modify the sentiment emanating from Guy the hero. In publishing pseudo-Guy manuscript the *Speculum* deals with fresh material and endeavours to establish the reality of much-debated tradition, but it does not succeed in enlarging the probability of the tale. The Guy history must be regarded as an exotic from the misty shadow-land¹ of fairy knighthood. Guy is the Prince of Romance, brave, strong, beautiful.

In the memory of the people the main current of history was of striking importance. Influenced by the barbaric splendour of the mediæval epic, the conspicuous element in Guy's career centered in warfare. To the English folk of the thirteenth century, as no doubt to their fathers of a more remote period, Guy was known as the conqueror of giant and Saracen, the slayer of boar and dragon. He was famed for romantic connection with the estate of the hereditary Earl of Warwick, and for valiant adventure far from his birthplace. He suddenly appeared in Winchester, found England in extraordinary political condition, and restored civil authority to its earlier vigour. The English, helpless and passive under a foreign enemy, elected Guy leader and gave battle to returning adversaries. The knight single-handed commanded a British victory. Weak points of this conception of Guy were detected, and a later growth presented the legend in a new aspect in English life.

The after-glow in the tradition is the reflection of letters, not the "twilight of ancient memory." A touch of the fanciful illuminates the saga. Not the hero but the heroine becomes the central luminary. Felice, the gracious lady of knighthood, one of the earliest of mediæval women and one of the most lovely, gives character to the narrative. Guy, the subordinate figure, establishes his constancy to Felice by submission. He voluntarily accepts exile, and masks himself as ally to the oppressed. This episode marks "tragic night" for Guy and Felice, the "struggle of might and beauty" in a "world of adversity." In another sense it ushers in the dawn of modern literature² in England. These primitive germs have been circulated

¹ Cf. Mr. Jacobs's interpretation in the introduction to *Old French Romances*.

² The history was "reprinted at the Renaissance, read under Elizabeth," and plays taken from it "supplied matter for popular *Chap Books*, written for the love of the people of merry England."—Jusserand, *A Literary History of the English People*.

under the name Guy. The early Guy poetry continued to be in favour through adaptations emanating from the original names, and ultimately the evolution of a Guy fiction proceeded in prose rather than in verse. Prose writers obtained for Guy the qualities predominant in the novel, or the elements of a genuine tragedy.

A half light of ecclesiastical feeling touches the legend. Guy, the sovereign representative of honour and chivalry, is also the obedient servant of the church. The influence of mediæval Christianity is active, prescribing penitence and penance as atonement for sin. In this influence the province of the *Speculum* is to be accorded. The poem reflects the most charming elements of the main tradition, the religious and the romantic as emanating from Felice. It turns a hallowed religious light on the storied regions of beautiful Warwickshire; it transfigures with a fine spirit of devotion any harshness attending the history of Felice; and, while seeming to encroach upon a distinctly Zupitza province,—for Zupitza's service is almost inseparable from the Guy of Warwick texts,—it exists as an independent literary product. The reader will be stimulated to analyze the relationship of the *Speculum* to the main legend from study of the argument and purpose of the poet as sketched in the following section.

§ 2. *The Motif of the Speculum.*

“See where he rides, our Knight!
Within his eyes the light
Of battle, and youth's gold about his brow.”

The *Speculum* presents its hero to the reader at the very point at which the attractiveness of his history culminates. Here Guy's character, a beacon shining at the opening of a national literature, would embody all that is lofty in generous purity and patriotism. In this attitude alone is he designated in the *Speculum*. All dull experiences and all tedious accessories¹ are banished; the *Speculum* exists only as exponent of romantic and chivalric charm. A few words summon its bright picture.

In time of Æthelstan of England a gentle lady, Felice, lived at the castle of Warwick. Guy, enraptured with this sweetest vision, fostered a hope that he might for her sake make chivalric vow of eternal fealty. He pondered in his heart how he could find deeds of greatest prowess. With devout prayer, guided by the idealized vision of his lady, Guy rode forth in dauntless courage to deed and

¹ See ten Brink, *Eng. Lit.*, vol. i., pp. 246, 247.

to warfare. He did not cease to seek a chance to win a royal accolade. And when the hour of battle came, the sword was drawn in brave fight, and the foe was brought to naught in manful battle. God that guideth all kept Guy in safety, and granted him victory.

The months passed on; Guy's journey was perilous; giants, dragons, and a Saracen host fell in his way. Still his heart did not fail. Felice was ever before him. His bed, a cold stone, was to him the soft and dewy grass. Sleet and snow were the sweet and tender winds; heavy skies, the sunny Maytime. Guy kept faith with devout prayer, and honour came; fair ladies courted his smile; wealth was added to him, the lordship of distant lands, and by the will of God Guy became the most faultless hero of all the earth.

In great joyance he went to England and held bridal with Felice within the castellated walls of Warwick. Title and honour through God of grace descended to Guy, and the days passed merrily. Then it seemed that earth's blisses were complete.

Forty happy days¹ passed; Guy lived joyously with Felice. Then his heart saddened: he recalled the homes darkened, the thousands sleeping in death through his aspiration for honour and for empty title. Remorse gnawed his soul. Repentance and confession alone would atone for this bloody past. Guy had never spared one minute for his soul's health. Sacrifice must compensate for dreadful slaughter. A brief parting from Felice, a farewell to castle tower and to home, and Guy again wandered forth. His robe was grey. He wore a pilgrim's garb. No glittering sword was at his side. With bent head he left home and fatherland. He would visit the sepulchre of Him who parted with life for sinful man's resurrection. Guy forsook the world and served God ever more (*Speculum*, verses 27—36). He lived all in God's law (v. 38). Meanwhile Felice at home sorrowed comfortless. She found consolation only in Divine meditation and in prayer. She daily fed the poor.

Guy in his stern zeal seeks² spiritual counsel (*Speculum*, verses 45—64). He turns to Alquin (46—48), Dean of a brotherhood, who led his life in holiness (39—42), and asks counsel to free his soul from the world's guile (52—64). Alquin in joy praises Christ (65—67), grants Guy's prayer, and as spiritual guide shows moral qualities to be discriminated (68—80). The friar-hermit teaches

¹ The length of the period in number of days varies in different accounts.

² The transition to the present tense occurs in these paragraphs through the deliberate purpose of the editor.

how to shun the world that "is too much with us." He classifies the virtues and the vices upon well-known standards (81—136) and unfolds a discourse, whose theological tenets will obtain permit to heaven. The knight is directed as to the means of acquiring true wisdom through the saving grace of pain (137—198). His creed is outlined, and he is instructed through reverence to quell rebellious disobedience (199—250). Guy's incentive to endeavour is offered in a picture of the dreadful hour of doom (250—284). Encouragement is bestowed in promises of heaven-bliss; for it is not God's fault, if man commit sin (285—322).

Charity, love to man, is depicted as a prudential motive to the rapture of seeing the eternal God (323—346), an experience already rejoiced in by Abraham and by Moses (347—368), and by other saintly spirits (369—400). The peacefulness of a pure life is contrasted with the terrors of condemnation (401—458). The solace of hope is held forth to Guy (459—496) through the service of prayer and of reading the Holy Scriptures. When we read, God speaks with us; we speak with God, when we pray (497—510). This is followed by instruction regarding peace (511—522), a plea that Guy be merciful (523—550), and an entreaty that he bear misfortune with forgiving spirit (551—568), with patience (569—622), and in humility (623—634).

After a reference to the fall of Lucifer (635—656) and a renewed exposition of humility and compunction of heart (657—698), a vivid description of *gostli siht* (699—752) is supplemented by a petition for spiritual growth through confession (753—784). The various types of shame are classified (785—812). A *naïve* exposition of the Scriptural *wassheþ, and beþ clene* (813—850) introduces an appeal for the achievement of good (851—918). The sermon to Guy concludes with an exhortation to almsgiving (919—946), with practical application through the story of the woman and her miraculous cruse of oil (947—1028), designed to inflame benevolence in the spirit of the penitent knight. Alquin invokes Christ's blessing and calls for the succour and comfort of the Heaven Queen, the Holy Mary (1029—1034).

Guy may be depicted as again going steadfastly forward, continuing his pilgrimage. At last age creeps over the knight, and an old man¹ he drags his way to England. The giant Colbrand worsted, England freed, the weary pilgrim wandered to home, but not to

¹ Cf. *The Vision of Sir Launfal*, II. 2, 3 ff.

friends. Alone in solitary cave in pious meditation he lived till death came, and he and Felice were again together. Their faithful spirits were united in peaceful rest.

Thus the narrative suggested by the title of the present volume is briefly outlined. The *Speculum* opens with terse verses, conveying the purpose of the poem (1—26). A friar-hermit then instructs Guy of Warwick (68 ff.) and unfolds the discourse closely outlined in immediate connection with the introductory theme.

In presenting Guy as the subject of theological study, the poet advances an independent moral purpose. He would inculcate the doctrine of the development of power through actual experience, as based upon definite human choice.¹ Guy, craving immortal blessedness, touched a vital theme in the development of character. He would choose eternal life, renounce earth, and win heaven. The problem of earthly choice is the crux untouched by the strong “grasp of centuries,” for the Victorian poet² also discovers the “gracious lights” of earth only,—

“when a soul has seen
By the means of Evil, that the Good is best.”

CHAPTER II.

TITLE AND LITERARY NOTICES OF THE POEM.

§ 1. *Study of the Title of the Poem.*

1. THE title under which the poem of the present edition appears, *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*, is extant in the MS. 525 of the Harleian collection, fol. 53. That *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* designated the text at the period of its authorship, or even that the poet ascribed title to his composition, contemporary history does not determine. Four manuscripts add nothing in proof, three being incomplete. The MS. Bibl. Reg. 17 B. XVII. confirms preference for the element *Speculum*.

Speculum Gy de Warewyke incorporates the exact form of the parchment, but the colophon as justified by the narrative may be

¹ See particularly the *Speculum*, verses 215—220.

² The mediæval poet brings to mind incidents where the soul is surprised at the judgment, as depicted in Robert Browning's *Easter Day*, sections xvi and xx. Compare v. 551 with 31—32 of the *Speculum*:

“There stood I”
Choosing the wor'ld”

interpreted to read *Speculum Gy[donis] de Warewyke,¹ heremite,² secundum Alquinum*. This modification is not necessary, as is indicated, if punctuation be inserted in the seemingly inaccurate title. *Speculum: Gy de Warewyke* presents a mediæval aspect of the Guy doctrine; it was a received tradition, that the stalwart conqueror of Colbrand was "England's mirror and all the world's wonder." Was it not his high destiny, "to hold, as 'twere, the mirror³ up to Nature; to show virtue her own feature"? The exact reading of the scribe admits of varied interpretation, subject to individual speculation, whether it be rendered *Mirror to Guy* or *Mirror of Guy*, glorious "myroure" in whom to "sen al" his "socour," or uphold for emulation a national hero as a mirror reflecting an ideal line of conduct. The *Speculum* mirrors the knight himself in his exalted religious consecration. In the idealized glorification of the poet Guy, no longer mortal, becomes *Speculum sine maculâ*:

"Thou mirror,
In whom, as in the splendour of the sun,
All shapes look glorious, which thou gazest on!"

That the poet availed himself of mediæval licence, departed from the rigid application of verses 505, 506, and portrayed his warrior as example to all the world, *A cheef mirour of al the jete,⁴ An exemplarie, & mirroure,⁵ Mirroure of wit, ground of gouernaunce,⁶ the MS. itself assumes. Similar appearance⁷ repeats itself in the person of the English Sidney, "glorious star" of Penshurst, in intellectual and moral characteristics also "lively pattern . . . lovely joy born into the world to show our age a sample of ancient virtue" in chivalric soldiership and princely gentlemanliness. The poetical Mirror⁸ is explained again through the language of Langland, v. 181, CXII.; Spenser, *Shepheardes Calendar* for October, v. 93; *Henry V.* ii. Chor. 6; *Gorboduc*, Act I. sc. 3, v. 798.*

The excellence of the title in any of its interpretations is evident. Embodying characteristic features of the poem whose hero is Guy of Warwick and in harmony with a popular mediæval phase of literature, *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* places the associated text in

¹ The significance of the bracket (]) uniting *Warewyke* and *heremite* seems to be purely connective, and not indicative of couplet formation; cf. Chap. III. 6.

² Mediæval genitive equivalent to *heremita*.

³ *Hamlet*, III. ii. 20. ⁴ Ch., *The Book of the Duchesse*, v. 974.

⁵ Lyd., *Temple of Glas*, v. 294. ⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 754.

⁷ Pico della Mirandola was likewise Phoenix to his age among his contemporaries.

⁸ See *Temple of Glas* 974, with note to 294, p. 92, and Chaucer *Against Women Unconstaunt*, v. 8: *Right as a mirour nothing may enpresse*.

its natural environment. The interest of the episode centres in the valiant knight Guy of Warwick, and the name *Speculum* gives to the homily-romance with which the poem is clothed, it is not to be denied, a mediæval charm. In literary worth Guy's sweet English "sarmoun" gains by association with the greater romance. It gains in historical and philological interest through the factor *Speculum*, for thus it links itself with the period of its composition. The term *Speculum* was, in the estimate of Lorentz,¹ applicable to Alcuin's *De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber*. Lorentz maintains, that the *Liber* was devised as a mirror, and that to the mind of Alcuin it existed as a *Speculum*, where Count Guido could see *was er zu thun und was er zu lassen habe*.² Lorentz thus paraphrases liberally the passage, *Caput V.*, lines 5 f. of Alcuin's work, underlying verses 505, 506 united with 71—74 of the present text. Paulin Paris, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 1866, Tom. IV., p. 315, refers to the *Liber* in the following words: *qu'il lui servit de miroir, où il verroit d'un coup d'œil ce qu'il auroit à faire, et ce qu'il auroit à éviter*. Yet nowhere is the *Liber* formally termed *Speculum*. But the argument of Lorentz had been anticipated by some hundreds of years, and had been practically applied to the English version addressed to Guy of Warwick. The title *Speculum* is amply supported by the subject-matter of the poem, and *Speculum*, it is believed, could not have been without worth in the sympathies of a mediæval poet.

2. In its brief literary connection the tenth poem of the Auchinleck folio has attained recognition as *Epistola Alcuini*. Kölbinger, *Englische Studien*, vol. vii., p. 183, Morley, *English Writers*, vol. iii., p. 281, and Zupitza in private correspondence with the editor, have given sanction to that title. The eminent authority of so illustrious a triumvirate in letters, and the prestige of literary and printed notice, would, at momentary glance, seem to make additional search for the lost heading of the Auchinleck poem unnecessary. But *Epistola Alcuini* names Alcuin's *De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber* and other treatises³ ascribed to Alcuin. The following MSS., each an *Epistola*

¹ Lorentz, Professor of History at the University of Halle, author of *Alcuin's Leben, ein Beitrag zur Staats-Kirchen- und Culturgeschichte der Karoling. Zeit*, Halle, 1829, translated by Jane Mary Slee, *The Life of Alcuin*, and published in 1837. See p. 199.

² The exact passage, *Liber V.*, is translated as follows: "Here lies the knowledge of true blessedness; for therein, as in a mirror, man may consider himself, what he is and whither he goes," applied by West in *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools*, 1893, pp. 115 f.

³ See *Alcuini Epistolæ*, ed. Jaffé-Dummler in *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, pp. 131—897.

Alcuini, obliterate the claims of an English poem to the title *Epistola*: Bodl. MS. *E Musæo* 214, formerly numbered 68, fol. 51 *b*—fol. 68 *b*; Bodl. 3558.5, *Catalogus Bernardi* of the Bodleian Library; Cotton Vesp. A. XIV.; *Epistola Alcuini Levite*, i. e. *Diaconi, qui illie in quibusdam epistolis nuncupatur Albinus cum versibus in fine*; Bibl. Reg. 5. E. IV. and Bibl. Reg. 6. A. XI. (cf. Book Index); and the *Epistola ad Eulaliam*, etc. Apart from primary grounds for discarding *Epistola Alcuini*, the co-existence of numerous distinct works having legitimate claim upon that title, the form itself is not exact. It could be employed only at the cost of the testimony of the poem concerning its contemporary history. Morley's title correctly applied should read *Epistola Alquini* or *Alquyni*. Historically and on basis of the MS. *Alquyn* is the orthography demanded by a work of the period of the *Speculum*; cf. ten Br., *Ch.* § 103; Sievers, § 208; Sweet, *N.E. Gr.* § 779. The name of the Dean is in O.E. *Allwine*, *Eallwine*; Latin period *Alcuinus*; M.E. *Alquin* or *Alquyn*.¹ The poet writes of the author Alquin, *Alquyn* in MSS. A₂DII₁H₂R: *Alquin was his rihte name*, v. 39. Even Latin MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries do not hesitate to adopt the orthography Alquin, Alquyn (the distinction *i*, *y* having no philological weight; cf. ten Br. § 9 and § 22; Morsb. § 112) in transcripts of the works of Alcuinus Albinus Flaccus; cf. *Epistola Alquini*, MS. Bibl. Reg. 5. E. iv.; MS. Bibl. Reg. 6. A. xi.; and Lambeth MS. 378, where *in librum alquini*, *Pro alquino*, etc. occur.

Apart from the misconception liable to result through confliction among texts bearing the same title, the English poem, distinct and individual in character, a new creation, merits distinctive recognition and a specific place in literature. Its value rests neither in its connection with Alcuinus, nor in his theological views. It does not incorporate the philosophy of the schools of Charlemagne. Its interest centres in that vivid personality, that illustrious knight Gy de Warewyke. *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* belongs to the field of literary history, not to theology. It is a member of that greater Romance cycle, whose brilliant hero is Sir Gy.

3. Warton's title ranks the discourse among poems of the ballad order. *Guy and Alquine* has the merit of granting its poem environment in the English Guy legend, classifying it, through analogy, with

¹ Over forms of Alcuin's name compare Schönefelder in his monograph, *Alcuin et Charlemagne*, p. 4, and Pertz, *Monum. Germ. Script.*, I, p. 632; over its significance, see Hamelin, *Essai sur la vie et les ouvrages d'Alcuin* (1873), p. 10.

*Guy and Colbronde, Guy and Phelis, Guy and Amarant.*¹ Warton was probably indebted to some MSS. Catalogue for the suggestion, perhaps in connection with the heading of the *Catalogue of the Arundel MSS.*, vol. ii, edition of 1832, naming the poem *Gy Earl of Warwyke and Dekne Alquyne.*² Warton's title is without authority historical or manuscript. Equally ungrounded is Scott's (also Laing's) title. As "A Moralization upon certain Latin Texts," apparently an invention of Scott (or of Leyden, cf. § 2) to characterize the subject-matter of the selection, it figures in *Sir Tristrem* and also in *A Penni worth of Witte*, etc.

4. The merit accredited to the genus *Speculum* in mediæval literary history is testified to with eloquent voice through its popularity. Hundreds of varieties of the general type are locked up in MS. collections throughout the world. *Speculum Stultorum*, ed. Wright, 1872, depicted in satire English foibles of the 12th century through Nigel Wireker, and the 14th century is resplendent with a glittering array of *Specula*. The position of the *Speculum* in that period is in the technique of theology.³ The following list of theological *Specula* from MS. works has been collected, but the various Christian attributes associated with the *Speculum* are surprisingly numerous. The *Speculum* links with itself *humane salvationis* in a large family of virtues. It is *Speculum Confessionis, Christianorum, Mundi, Philosophie, Religionum, Speculatorum, Innocentie Devotorum, Contemplationis* (a *Ladder of Perfection*), *Peccatoris*. It is a *Christian Mirror, a Mirror for Maydens, Of Penance, Of Sinners, Of Leved Men and Women, Of Chastite,*⁴ *Of the Sacrament, Of Penance, Le Mironer des Dames, Le Miroir du Monde, Die Sprighel der soulen . . . van Jan iof Weert*, a heterogeneous collection⁵ indeed, elaborate attributes of a unique type of literature. The *Specula* include all the tenets of Christian doctrine and embrace all aspects of life inspiring to the 14th century mind. The spiritual history of the 15th century is enriched by the exquisite seriousness of a *Speculum of 7 gyftus of the holi gost*, MS. Ff. iv. 9, Camb. Univ.,

¹ Percy's *Reliques*. Edition of Walford, 1880. Part II, pp. 329 ff. and 331 ff.

² Also description of *The Index to the Arundel and Burney MSS. in the British Museum*.

³ This distinction applicable to the generic *Speculum* is irrespective of the subject-matter of the individual text.

⁴ The *Mirroure of Chaastitce*, MSS. Harl. 2322, 2325.

⁵ For MSS. *Specula* compare MSS. Harl. 113, 116, 953, 1255, 1706, 1713, 2339, 2388, 6581, etc.; Add. MSS. 17,539, 22,283, 25,089, 29,951; Royal MSS. 16 E v.; 8 F X.; 5 B IX., etc.

of a *Myroure to deuot peple*, MS. Gg. I. 6, and by a *Speculum etatis hominis*, MS. Gg. IV. 32, whose mirror is depicted twelve times in twelve distinct circles to reflect the twelve ages of man. Bonaventure's "boke that is clepid" *Myroure of the blissid Lij of Jesu Crist* has disseminated its truths through manifold translations,¹ and was printed by Caxton. In MS. Arundel 112, also MS. Arundel 120, the text is embalmed in a paper 4to. of the 15th century entitled: "*The myroure of the blessed lyffe of oure Lorde Ihesu Criste*, translated from the Latin of Bonaventura with some additions by the translator, and a Treatise at the end on the Body of Christ against the Lollards." A Bodleian MS. is an *Apology for a looking-glass* by Apuleius against Æmilian, in English verse. Harley MS. 3277 contributes a paper book, *A Looking glasse for Looueres*, "wherein are conteyned two sortes of amorous passions, the one expressing the trewe estate and perturbations of hym that is overgon with love; the other a flatt defyance to love and his lawes," containing "78 passions or chapters of prose verse." In 1509 the *Ship of Fooles* dimmed the fair radiance of the theological *Speculum* by the profane *Mirour of good Manners*. So late as the 17thth century is still to be found the ubiquitous *Speculum*, a spectrum for laymen in the *Mirror for Martyrs* (1601), from the hand of Weever. In *Speculum Cape-Gownorum*, of the Advocates' Library, are "Observations and Reflections upon the late sermons of some that would be thought Goliahs for the Church of England." London, 1682. Berjeau published, 1861, *reproduit, en Fac-simile, Le plus ancien Monument de la xylographie et de la typographie réuni, Speculum Humane Salvationis*.

The various *Mirrors* belong to a later period. These descendants of the *Speculum* have imbued new life into earlier saintly themes, and *Speculum* no longer suggests *dedly synnes, confessiones* and bands *clericorum* (Arund. 452) for the religious life of the soul, a *Speculum Conscientie*,² but names worldly activity and profane subjects in its rank and file of *Princely Deedes* (1598), *Constant Penelopes* (cf. Percy's *Reliques*), and *Mirrors of Knighthood*, not to forget Gower's *Speculum* of "Virtues and Vices," *i. e.* *Meditantis*, and that most "dolefully dreary"³ *Mirror for Magistrates* (London, 1563), Gascoigne's *The Steel Glas* (1576), his *Glass of Government*, and the

¹ Cf. Add. MSS. 11,565, 19,901, 21,106, 22,558, 30,031; Sloane MS. 1785; Cot. Tib. 6, VII.; Harl. 435, 2241, etc.

² Cf. MSS. Harl. 5398; Sloane 3551.

³ Cf. Lowell, *The Old English Dramatists*, "Marlowe," p. 30.

looking-glass of Thomas Lodge and Robert Green: *A Looking Glasse for London and England*. Here could be numbered from every age all those *Specula*, in whose “immortal flowers of poesy,”—

. “As in a mirror, we perceive
The highest reaches of a human wit.”—*Tamburlaine*.

§ 2. *Literary History of the Manuscripts.*

Specific mention of the *Speculum* is to be found in a brief and inexact description of its Auchinleck text,¹ published by Sir Walter Scott² in 1804 through the “Introduction”³ to *Sir Tristrem*,⁴ Appendix IV., p. cxii., and reprinted in various subsequent editions,⁵ in 1811 and 1819 under the same numbering of the page, in 1806,⁶ p. cviii., in 1833, p. 113. After 1811 *Sir Tristrem* was included with its Introduction in the collective editions of Scott’s *Poetical Works*, notice of the *Speculum* being printed often with the pagination 112. Compare the edition of 1868, mentioned by Kölbing, *Engl. Stud.* vii., p. 178.

In 1857 David Laing, in his “preface” to *A Penni worth of Witte, Florice and Blauncheflour*,⁷ etc., incorporated Scott’s Intro-

¹ This description plays a minor part as a single detail in a general sketch of the various texts comprising the Auchinleck folio. Scott’s summary is still offered in the *MSS. Catalogue* of the Advocates’ Library, classifying the Auch. MS.

² Reference to the life of Sir Walter Scott, as employed in this edition, is afforded by *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, by John Gibson Lockhart, The Riverside Press, 1881, and by Richard H. Hutton’s *Sir Walter Scott in Morley’s English Men of Letters*, 1878.

³ Material for this “Introduction” seems to have been collected by John Leyden (d. 1811 in India), the eminent Oriental scholar (cf. Hutton, pp. 65, 66), and the faithful ally of Scott in the transcription of *Sir Tristrem*; cf. Lockhart, vol. ii., p. 54. Leyden aided Scott in the preparation of the *Border Minstrelsy* (see Lockhart, vol. ii., p. 46), and it was Leyden who prepared the bulky transcript of *King Arthur*, a fragment of seven thousand lines (*Life of Scott*, vol. ii., pp. 60, 61), used by Ellis in his *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*. Leyden published, on his own responsibility, *The Complaynt of Scotland* (written 1648) in 1802.

⁴ *Sir Tristrem; a Metrical Romance of the Thirteenth Century*; by Thomas of Erceuldoune, called the Rhymer. Edited from the Auchinleck MS. by Walter Scott, Esq., Advocate, Edinburgh. This work was published the second of May, 1804.

⁵ The edition of 1804 comprised but one hundred and fifty copies, to be sold at two guineas a volume. These are now broadly scattered and are difficult of access. Indebtedness is due to the British Museum for the copy used in the preparation of this edition.

⁶ Seven hundred and fifty copies of the subsequent edition in 1806 were necessary to satisfy the public demand. These editions heralded that ill-fated connection with Ballantyne, the *Alliborontiphoscophornio* of Scott.

⁷ *A Penni worth of Witte: Florice and Blauncheflour: and other Pieces of Ancient English Poetry*, “Selected from The Auchinleck Manuscript. Printed at Edinburgh, For the Abbotsford Club.” 1857. Laing’s edition is also with

duction without attributing it to its direct source. Notice of this poem in its Auch. MS. stands on p. xiv., numbered 11, and called "A Moralization upon certain Latin texts," thus retaining Scott's title, and failing to correct his defective enumeration as preserved in *Sir Tristrem*. For recognition of later date the *Speculum* is indebted to Eugen Kölbing, in his exhaustive study of the Romance selections preserved in the Auchinleck MS., *Englische Studien*, vol. vii., pp. 178 ff. Here, p. 183, designated "Epistola Alcuini," occurs the only entirely reliable account of the *Speculum*. Kölbing prints the first ten verses of the poem and the remaining portions of the twenty-five imperfect lines, ll. 1007—1031. The Auchinleck text received casual notice by Warton and by Morley. In Warton's *History of English Poetry*, edited by Hazlitt, vol. ii., p. 29, the *Speculum* is classified as "Guy and Alquin" in a list that, Warton claims, includes the "principal pieces" of the Auchinleck MS. Morley gives a table of the contents of the folio, naming the *Speculum* "Epistola Alcuini," in *English Writers*, vol. iii., p. 281.

But the earliest known reference to the poem, apart from meagre statistics, was furnished by Ritson,¹ two years earlier than the appearance of *Sir Tristrem*. In *Ancient English Metrical Romanceës*,² London, 1802, vol. i., pp. xcii. and xciii., Ritson connects with the Canticum Colbrondi (*Geste, Guy and Colbronde*, Percy, *Reliques*, vol. iii., Part 4, page 26; see also pp. 145, 152, and Percy's Folio MS., vol. ii., pp. 509 ff.), "the cream" of the Guy romance,³ an "old English poem" of the Harley MS. 525, *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* per Alquinum *heremitam* (according to Ritson). Thirty-five lines beginning this MS. were printed in *Germania*, vol. xxi., pp. 366-7, in

difficulty accessible. The *Speculum* is indebted to the copy in the library of the British Museum.

¹ The attitude of his contemporaries toward Ritson, "the ill-conditioned antiquary of vegetarian principles," is well known. He was tolerated only by Scott. Leyden's stanzas, characteristic of Ritson, may be recalled:

"That dwarf, he is so fell of mode,
Tho ye shold drynk his hert blode,
Gode wold 3e never finde."

"That dwarf, he ben beardless and bare,
And weaselblowen ben al his hair,
Like an ympe or elfe;
And in this world beth al and hale,
Ben nothyng that he loveth an dele
Safe his owen selfe."

² Of this first edition, the Königlische Bibliothek, Berlin, has preserved the copy referred to in this issue.

³ Scott, see Lockhart, II., p. 63.

an article by Prof. Kölbing. Here Kölbing, calling attention to the importance of the Auchinleck text in the Guy of Warwick question, enumerates the other MSS. of the British Museum, the Arundel MS. 140, and the Harleian MS. 1731, but does not mention MS. Dd 11 and MS. Bibl. Reg. 17 B xvii.

Of the various MSS. of the *Speculum* the Harley MS. 525 has represented its text to the general public. This MS. has received the weight of attention in print, and apparently from Harley 525 interest has developed in other transcripts of the same text. The striking feature of the title, the introduction of the name *Guy of Warwick*, and, indeed, the fact of the existence of a title¹ in connection with what is apparently a complete poem,² having introduction, conclusion, and colophon, in a well preserved and beautifully written parchment, explain the popularity of MS. Harley 525. Interest in the Auchinleck MS. was awakened through its association with important Romance texts of the same MS. volume. MSS. Harley 1731 and Arund. 140 have received scanty notice, and no printed mention of MSS. Dd 11, 89, and MS. Reg. 17 B. xvii., has been discovered outside of MSS. Catalogues. There is likewise no account to be found of Worseley 67 of this group of texts.

Notices of a hitherto unprinted poem form naturally no imposing list, yet for nearly a century the *Speculum* has been before the public. Its history is nearly contemporaneous with the printed record of the Auchinleck MS. itself. That folio was mentioned first in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*; cf. *Engl. Stud.*, vii., p. 178. It is described as a whole, or in application to some individual work, with greater or less regard for detail and accuracy, in the various editions of the Auchinleck texts. Kölbing's valuable publications, *Sir Beues, Arthour and Merlin, Amis and Amiloun, Tristrem*, etc., Zupitza's *Guy of Warwick* (see edition 1875-76), Mall's *The Harrowing of Hell*, the shorter poems through medium of the *Englische Studien*, the editions of Laing, Ritson, and Turnbull, edited privately and for the Maitland Club or the Abbotsford Club, may be consulted,³ as well as Ellis in *Early English Pronunciation*, vol. ii., pp. 448, 449. So early as the date of Ritson's arrangement of its table of contents in 1792, the youthful Scott,⁴ with a "great meikle

¹ Other MSS. have no marked individuality in MS. relationship, and could be mistaken in each instance for a continuation of a preceding text, except in case of MS. D. ² The most conspicuous MSS. are not otherwise complete.

³ This list is by no means complete.

⁴ The correspondence between Scott and Ellis began March 27, 1801, but

northorn¹ to rout on," was scouring the Highlands for ancient lays, and searching for "auld Thomas o' Twizzlehope," seeking for the information, that would culminate later in the interchange of enthusiastic letters between the bard of the *Border Minstrelsy* and George Ellis over the identity of Thomas of Erceldoune. Possibly to that year (1792) might be ascribed Scott's earliest study of the Auchinleck texts.

If the date of the publication of the greater romances become the standard, then the *Speculum*, in contrast with the broader popularity of the greater Guy history, has not been late in attaining to the dignity of a distinct edition. *Sir Gij* was completed only in 1891, and *Sir Beues* first in 1894. Bibliography of the poem in its connection with the Guy of Warwick tradition would follow each century of the history of printing in England, beginning with Copland's fragmentary edition, placed in 1560, and ending only with the present decade.

CHAPTER III.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* has been preserved in the following manuscripts, of which to this date there have been no prints :

Auchinleck.

1. A₁. MS. Auchinleck, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. A parchment folio of the early fourteenth century; c. 1327—1340. Concerning the contents of this valuable romance² MS. Kölbing

Scott's search for Thomas the Rhymer was under way earlier. In June 1795, Scott, through zeal in literary affairs, had been appointed one of the curators of the Advocates' Library, colleague of David Hume, Lockhart, I., p. 271.

¹ Cf. Shortreed through Lockhart, I. 230.

² *Romance* in application to contents. The Auchinleck MS., it will be recalled, is a repository for a vast treasure of M.E. romance. It contains the first English version of the Guy of Warwick legend (*Sir Gij of Warwicke*, Auch., Nos. 22, 23, ed. Zupitza), as well as transcripts of *Sir Beues* (ed. Kölbing), *Sir Tristrem* (ed. Scott and Kölbing), *Florice and Blancheflour* (ed. Hausknecht), *Floris and Blauncheftur*; cf. also *Flóres Saga ok Blankiǫtúr*, Icelandic version edited by Kölbing), *King Horn* (ed. Wissmann), *Arthour and Merlin* (ed. Kölbing), *Amis and Amiloun* (ed. Kölbing), *The Legend of Gregory*, named one of the "pearls of M.E. literature" (cf. Schulz, *Die englische Gregorlegende nach dem Auchinleck MS.*; Holtermann, *Ueber Sprache . . . der . . . Gregoriuslegende*; and Neussell, *Ueber . . . mittellengl. Bearbeitung der Saga von Gregorius*), and thirty-six other selections, chiefly romance poems, whose popularity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is undisputed. They are the "romances of prys" named in Chaucer's often quoted lines, *Sir Thopas* (ed. Skeat), 2087—2089, etc., and a portion of them denounced by Ascham a century later in the

has treated in detail in *Englische Studien*, vol. vii., pp. 178 ff., with reference to the tenth selection, p. 183. The handwriting, distinct and beautiful, is larger than that of other scribes represented in the Auchinleck transcripts and is not to be found elsewhere in the folio; cf. also Scott, *Sir Tristrem*,¹ p. cxiii. The present text is written in carefully outlined double columns, so cramped in space that sometimes the last word, syllable, or letter of the poetical verse is placed above or below the metrical line: lines 66, 113, 267, 277, etc. In its original condition the poem occupied fol. 39a—fol. 48b. There is no title. Folio headings and fol. 48b with concluding lines, ll. 1032—1034, are lost through mutilation² of the MS. for illuminations. On fol. 48a parts of twenty-five lines, ll. 1007—1031, have been cut unevenly from the parchment. Subdivision into chapter or section is not indicated. Capitals are used, but they occur without uniformity. Lines 1, 137, 161, and 277 are marked off by large brilliantly coloured introductory letters. Latin quotations are in red ink. The letter beginning each line is ornamented with red. On the margin to the left, recurring frequently at unequal intervals and without reference to subject-matter, is the character ‘¶’ in red: lines 9, 17, 23, 27, etc. Each leaf contains at the top the lower portion of a Roman numeral, ‘xv,’ in blue ink.

Lines 179, 180; 421, 422; 551, 552; 645, 646; 925, 926, are omitted. The last word of line 232 was not written; *pylt* is supplied in this edition from MS. A₂. There are a few erasures: lines 33, 178, 197, 202, 249, etc. Line 268 occurs a second time, apparently in order to give to *her* a final *-e*, *here*, but the second reading is not

Scholemaster, pp. 79, 80 (reprint of Arber), and again by Nash in Greene's *Menaphon*. The “pleasure” of the “booke” “in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter, & bold bawdrye,” killing men “without any quarel,” such baseness as “the single head of an Englishman is not hable to invent,” becomes through Nash the work of “bable booke-mungers,” who “endeavor but to repaire the ruinous wals of Venus court,” “to imitate a fresh the fantastieall dreames of those exiled Abbie lubbers from whose idle pens proceeded those worne out impressions of the feigned no where acts of Arthur of the rounde table, Arthur of little Brittain, Sir Tristram,” etc. He does not “forbeare laughing” in “reding Bevis of Hampton” at “the scambling shyft he makes to end his verses a like”; cf. also Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, pp. 307, 308.

¹ Compare the preceding section for the corresponding pagination of this citation in the various editions of *Sir Tristrem*, and in Laing's *A Penni worth of Witte*, etc. “It (the tenth selection) is written in a different and larger hand than the preceding and following articles,” says Scott.

² Cf. *Legende Catholice*, “A Lytle Boke of Seyntlie Gestes, Imprinted at Edinburgh in the Year of the Incarnation, MDCCCXL,” p. vi., where the editor wishes that the “Vandal” of these “Hagiologies” had been “qualified to chant shrill treble within the choir of the Sistine chapel.”

retained, the line being crossed out. A word, syllable, or letter is occasionally written above the line within the verse: lines 47, 71, 101, 164, 178, etc.

MS. A₁ has some peculiarities in orthography and dialect. To be noted is a redundant final *-h*: *þeih* 25, 80, 104, 170, 184, etc.; *norch* 348.—*d* in the function of *þ*: *wid* 84, 93, 181, 334, 370, 372, etc.; *þerwid* 147; *widinne* 118, etc.; and *widoute(n)* 252, 258, 277, 278, 302, etc.—*z* represents voiceless *s* in plural forms, and at the end and in the middle of a word: *uertuz* (plu.) 71, 79, 325, etc.; in the middle of a word: *lezcoun* 58, 138; *murszere* 284; at the end of the word: *trespaz*: *soluz* 686; *voiz*¹ 446. An abbreviated form occurs: *fint* 785, *tit* 807; cf. also *Streinþe* 305 through vocalization of O.E. *g*. The *-ie* of *mieknesse* 85, although illustrated also in N.E. *thief*, is still not the usual orthography of this word in M.E.; cf. Stratmann, *M.E. Dict.* A₁ has a predilection for the grammatical form *wole*, often where MS. D has *sal(l)*: *wole* or *wolt* 3, 5, 11, 16, 19, 27, 28, etc. Grammatical mannerisms peculiar to A₁ are: *ou* 2, 816, 824, 848, etc.; *beyþere* 952; *þeih* and *hij* are employed side by side: *þeih* 192, 271, 272, 295, 297, 298, etc.; *hij* 186, 267, 277, 279, 280, 281, etc.; *mait* occurs in rime with *caiht* 882. A dialectical peculiarity is the use of *seide*, *saide* in *R*, replacing *sede* of the original: lines 140, 168, 494, etc.; cf. *Ipotis*, *seyple*: (*dede*) 285, 461. Various instances occur, where the copyist marked his dialect through the method of representing O.E. *y*, *ȝ*, umlaut of *u*, *û*: *puite*: *luite* 924; *duire*: *fire* 252; *ipult*: *gilt* 888; *much*: *-liche* 386, 672, etc. In some details the vocabulary of A₁ is interesting. *ac* is almost uniformly translated in other MSS. of the *Speculum*; cf. 4, 13, 102, etc.; *heinen* is found 627. *emcristene* 9, 334, etc., *þisternesse* 114, 306, 731, etc., and *þolemod* 574, 666, etc., are specially the individual property of A₁, although existing in isolated examples in the other texts.

A portion of a Roman numeral fifteen at the top of each folio indicates the position of the *Speculum* in the early arrangement of the Auchinleck transcripts. If *The Legend of Pope Gregory*, bearing the original number VI., the first transcript of the present MS., be numbered 1, the *Speculum* is in natural sequence the tenth collection. This classification presupposes the loss of five poems before the first of the original collection. The numbering 11 employed by Scott and Laing in designating this poem, is due to the unexplained omission

¹ See ten Brink, *Verskunst*, § 109, Anm.

of No. 6 in the enumeration of the Auchinleck texts, forming "Appendix IV." of the "Introduction" to *Sir Tristrem*. No. 5 immediately precedes No. 7, and No. 6 is not accounted for in Scott's list. The original numbers follow each other in natural order without interruption.

Although not free from error, yet MS. A₁, the oldest MS. and approximately complete, has transmitted relatively the most correct text. For these reasons it will become the basis of the following edition. Concerning its arrangement as determining the nature of this volume, see chapter v, § 3.

Bibl. Reg. 17 B XVII.

2. R. MS. Bibl. Reg. 17 B XVII., Library of the British Museum, London. On vellum, a small quarto; c. 1370—1400. The *Speculum* is found fol. 19a—fol. 36a. It is without heading. A concluding note runs: *Explicit hic speculum vtile istius mundi*. The leaf is written in single column, and there is irregularity in the introduction of capitals. Coloured initial letters designate important passages of the poem. The Latin passages are, *primâ manu* Mr. Herbert affirms, in black ink on the margin to the right of the body of the text. They are sometimes inclosed with red lines. The poem is complete without breaks of any kind. Lines 45 and 46 are omitted; lines 571 and 572 are transposed; lines 272 and 548 introduce new readings.

Among palaeographical characteristics it will be noted, that, in addition to its customary function, *o* becomes often a purely graphical representative of *e* of other MSS. That *o* in this development, corresponding to a normal M.E. *e*, may preserve an essential integral principle of language, is suggested by the forms *hom* and *hore*, O.E. *heom*, *heora* : *hom* 25, 100, 106, 150, etc.; *hore* (poss. plu.) 103, 169, 188, 265, 298, 308, 434, etc.; *hom selue* 443, 485, etc. An interesting dialectical feature of MS. R is the use in unaccentuated position in the inflection of substantives and verbs of *-is*, *-es*, *-id*, *-us*, *-ul*.—*disciplis* 570, but *londus* (plu.) 163; *beris* (3. sing.) 663; *faris* 673; *metis* 549; *lastis* 746; *wasshis* 820; *sittes* 255; *saies* 567; *lyes* 713; *wratthus* 806 are found. To be added also are in the pp. or pret.: *zarkid* 300; *martrid* 610; *honourid* 632; *foulid* 832; *shewid* 361; *tholyd* (*-id*) 590, 594, 605, etc.; *deud* (3 sing. pret.) 528, 531. The inflectional syllable is not expressed: (*þou*) *dos* 103; (*hit*) *dos* 112; *bes* (*he*) 128; *Gos* (imp.) 448; *shon* : *won* 106, etc.; *vertuz* is

preserved by R (cf. § 1) 79, 325. A Northern *tīl* replaces (*in*)to 271; *hethen*, *henne* 297. Note also the couplet *reide : saiede* 494. MS. R adds to the vocabulary of the poem a translation of *pīsternesse* in the word *merkenes* 114, 306, 731, etc.

The *Speculum* stands third in a collection of works, many of which are attributed to the authorship of Richard Rolle, the Hermit of Hampole. The last of these is based upon selections from *The Pricke of Conscience*. Mr. Herbert of the Museum called attention to the numbering of the *Speculum* in the *Old Catalogue* published in 1734. There the first three poems, numbered 1, practically 1, 2, and 3, are regarded as a single work. Thus the *Speculum* is not recognized as an individual poem. Number 2 of the *Catalogue* is virtually number 4, fol. 36*b*—fol. 49*a*, and begins: *Alle mighty god*, etc.

Harleian 1731.

3. H₁. MS. Harleian 1731, Library of the British Museum. A paper MS., quarto; c. 1440—1460. This text is contained on fol. 134*a*—fol. 148*b*. It opens without title, and ends l. 910, fol. 148*b*, it is to be conjectured, through the loss of two leaves, that contained the remaining verses of the poem. It is written in single columns. The majuscule beginning each line is in black ink, ornamented with red. Large initials showily coloured in red begin lines 1 and 137. The Latin texts are in red. A significant hand in black, partly outlined in red, points out from the margin l. 109: “pride wraþ and enuye.” Other references to pride, ll. 635—638, fol. 144*b*, 1—4, are emphasized by means of red interlineations.

Lines 7, 8 and 641, 642 are omitted. Entirely original readings are conveyed by lines 133, 136, 205, 206, 403, 404, 442, 447, 448, 479, 507, 508, 514, 591, 592, and 606; 409 is slightly changed. H₁ shows much diversity in text, and often alters the verse apparently on its own responsibility.

The *Speculum* comprises with the “Pryke of conyence, composed by R., the Hermit of Hampole,” an “old English book;” cf. *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.* A half-effaced note on the fly-leaf has been with difficulty deciphered to read as follows:

Memorandum quod quinto die julij Anno Domini M^l.cccc^{mo}.lxxii^o
Ricardus Reder de petyrsfeld deliberavit commissario generali diocesis
Wintoniensis iij libros.

A brief description of these three books follows in the customary method of the mediæval period, *viz.* by quoting in each instance the

words beginning the second line of the second folio of the volume. The record for the third book is as follows: Tercij libri 2° folio, "And Also hov merciful." Turning to the second folio of Harleian MS. 1731, the second line stands: "And al so how mercyful god ys at al assay," confirming the characterization of *H*₁ as the third of the three books delivered to the Commissary-General of the Diocese of Winchester. Richard Ryder was suspected of Lollardism; cf. *Catalogue of MSS.* in the Harleian Collection.

Arundel 140.

4. **A₂.** MS. Arundel 140, Library of the British Museum. On paper, folio; c. 1420—1430. The handwriting is small and is throughout profusely enriched with flourishes. In general characteristics it suggests a text written soon after the middle of the fourteenth century, but water-marks of the paper determine otherwise and on the authority of careful palæographers place its transcript in the fifteenth¹ century. The *Speculum*, written in double columns, extends from fol. 147*a* to fol. 151*d*. The MS. does not record title and concludes abruptly l. 892, fol. 151*d*, probably on account of a missing leaf that contained the end of the poem. Capitals occur without conformity to rule. *A*₂ begins with a large red letter, and Latin texts are in red.

In addition to the missing conclusion, ll. 893—1034, lines as follows are omitted: 55, 56, 140, 181, 182, 261, 262, 648—653, 678, 679, 840—845. Ll. 141 and 142 are interpolated between ll. 82 and 83, but appear again in normal sequence preceded a second time by l. 82, in place of the omitted line 140 (*vide supra*). Lines 465, 466 omitted after 464 are interpolated between lines 470 and 471. Lines 75 and 76 are transposed. Lines 251 and 834 introduce new readings.

Although MS. *A*₂ does not record title, the poem² is described as *Gy Earl of Warwyke and Dekne Alquyne* in *Index to Arundel and Burney MSS.* and *Catalogue of the Arundel MSS.* in the British Museum, vol. i., 1834. It is preceded by *The Pricke of Conscience*. *A*₂ is much worn. The leaves are ragged and uneven. The ink is often faded. In some instances individual words are almost illegible. Sometimes a correction in very black ink distinguishes letter or mono-

¹ Difference of opinion exists regarding the period of *A*₂. Some authorities place the text 1450—1480.

² *A*₂ is further classified as "a religious tale in verse."

syllable. At the top of folio 148 *d* a representation of the word *Iesu* is to be found. At the bottom of the same folio the line beginning fol. 149*a* is transcribed. In orthography preference for *-i* (*-y*) in place of *-e* in inflectional endings is to be recorded.

Dd 11. 89.

5. D. MS. Dd 11. 89, University Library, Cambridge. Parchment, quarto, written in single columns; *c.* 1440—1450. This is the first notice in print of Dd 11. The present text, the fourth in the collection, begins fol. 162*b* and ends fol. 179*b*. It is without title. There is a comprehensive gap, ll. 407—475. A capital is occasionally found at the beginning of a line. Capitals introducing lines 1 and 137 are illuminated. Latin texts are in red. Opposite each, on the margin near the edge of the leaf, suggesting irregularity on the part of the copyist, is the key-word or introductory letter in red.

In addition to the loss of verses through the break at the middle of the text, the following lines are omitted: 342, 534, 535, 679, 738. Lines 376, 790, and 925, 926 differ from the versions of other MSS. Lines 167, 168, 201, 202, 303, 304 are transposed, and the Latin text following line 338 is interpolated between 345 and 346.

Dd 11 is immediately preceded by “*þe prykke of conciense.*” On fol. 162*a*, near the bottom of the page, is to be read: “Here endeþe þe sermon þat a clerk made þat was cleput Alquyn To Gwy of Warwyk.” This shows impress of the preceding statement: “Here endeþe þe tretys þat ys cald þe prykke off conciense.” MS. D betrays carelessness in transcription. At times the scribe might have been without intelligent appreciation of his prototype.

Noteworthy graphically is the service of the same character, apparently þ not only for þ and *y*, but for ʒ of other MSS. Varnhagen, *Anglia*, vol. iv., p. 182, footnote, mentions a similar usage in the Cambridge University MS. Gg. I. 1. Dialectical peculiarities of *D* are interesting. In orthography, the tendency to drop or to add an initial *h* is characteristic of *D*. A redundant *h* is prefixed: *Habraham* (also in H₂) 347; *habyde* 676; *heye* (O.E. *éage*) 827; *herþe* (*eorþe* in A₁) 296, 375; *halmisede* 934.—*h* is omitted¹: *is* (for *his*) 227.—*wh* is employed for *h*: *where* for *were* 59.—*w* for *wh*: *wyche* 80, 140, 287.—*D* uses *f* for *v* (*u* in A₁): *lofe* 697; *lefeþ* 733.—*g* represents *ch* of A₁: *cage* 903; *knowlage* 509; *knowlaging* 725.—An inorganic ʒ is added in the curious form *maytʒ* 1020, 1021, possibly

¹ See also Skeat's illustrations from *Havelok*, p. xxxvii.

through analogy with *mayzt* 863, 864. Compare also *mayt* (*maid*) 344, 881, 882.—*vole* of *A*₁ is replaced by *sall* (*sal*) 27, 28, 77, 79, 101, 119, 167, 283, 285, 324, 328 (*sul* 265), etc. *D* introduces forms like *gul* (O.E. *gól*) 29, 40, 57, etc.; *gede* (O.E. *god*, but cf. *ged dede*, *Anec. Lit.*, 96) 494; *dude* 895; *pute* : *lute* 924; *god hyd* 379; *boys* (i. e. *bush*) 359, 363, 368. Conspicuous grammatical properties are illustrated in MS. *D* : *kyd* 178; *es* 3, 4, 146, 193, etc.; *chastyn* (inf.) 181; *wemmyd* (pp.) 366; *be tokenes* (3. sing.) 363; *bedes* (1. plur.) 504; *Mit* for *Milte* 291. *D* retains *suffrand* 587, 597. The vocabulary of *D* often paraphrases reading of other texts, (1) with words of the same general significance : *cheyse* (*shed* *A*₁) 217; *creatures* (*shaftes* *A*₁) 781; *þole þi mode* (*þolemod* *A*₁) 574. (2) Through words of different significance : *vnneþe* (*anuied* *A*₁) 124; *bodyly* (*mannes* *A*₁) 388; *mekenesse* (*soþnes* *A*₁) 664. Study of the dialectical peculiarities of this transcript results in the conclusion that MS. *D* was written by a northern scribe, possibly by a Scotchman.

Harleian 525.

6. *H*₂. MS. Harleian 525, Library of the British Museum. See Kölbing, *Germania*, vol. xxi., pp. 366, 367. Parchment; quarto of the latter years¹ of the first half of the fifteenth century, c. 1440—1450. *H*₂ is written in single columns. The handwriting, uniformly clear and exact, recalls the Auchinleck transcript. Near the conclusion it varies in size, but there is no indication of a second copyist. Beginning fol. 44*a* and ending fol. 53*a* is the poem of the present issue. Fol. 44*a* is without title. Written in two lines on fol. 53*a* is the colophon : *Explicit Speculum Gy* (not the expected *Gydonis*) *de Warewyke* (the final *-e* very faint and almost illegible) *heremite secundum* (expanded by Ritson to read *per*; by Kölbing,² *et*) *Alquinum*, see *A. E. M. Romanceës*, i. xcii., and *Germania*, xxi. 367. *heremite* is written immediately below *Warewyke*. The two words are united by a bracket (]). Every verse begins with a capital letter. Instead of the customary introductory illuminated majuscule, large four-cornered blank spaces were left at lines 1, 161, and 283, apparently for illuminations. In the space line 1 a small capital has been inserted, and a small minuscule in each of the other spaces, probably for the instruction of the illuminator. Latin texts are in black.

¹ 1480—1500 is the limit ascribed to *H*₂ by some authorities. The period is with difficulty exactly defined.

² It should be recalled, that Kölbing's note dates an early period in his work, 1876; Ritson's, 1802.

The twelve lines concluding the poem, ll. 829—840, contain an apostrophe to the Virgin. An extensive gap, ll. 459—814, and the omission of lines 841—1034 characterize MS. H₂. Numerous illustrations of the omission of characteristic readings are as follows: lines 11, 12, 197, 198, 251, 252, 295—300, 305, 306, 309, 310, 357, 358, 435—444, 451, 452, 823—826. Lines 108, 133, 283, 323, 328, 342, 378 (328 in H₂ and 790 in A₁), and 447, 448 have adopted original readings. Lines 111, 112 are transposed. Lines 819, 820, omitted in the normal sequence of the poem, are interpolated between 828, 829. Two lines are interpolated after 160 and 454 respectively, one after 138, one after 322, and three after 4. It may be noted that MSS. D and H₂ often coincide in readings so far as l. 400. Although copyist's errors are few, yet in the transmission of the text, H₂ is in some degree a revision of the original. H₂ deviates through paraphrase of the true text, through use of synonyms of terms offered by other MSS., and it alters the poem by means of omission, amplification, and circumlocution. Illustration occurs as follows: *Waryed gostys* 447 are to suffer, not *hote* (A₁), but *helle fyre* 282, in the *pytte* (*stronge* A₁, *stynkyng* H₁ *fyre*) of *helle* 449, condemned with *angry eye* 446, at the *daye of* (*heie* A₁) *dome* 415. In plea for charity Guy is appealed to as generous friend: *ffrende so free* 323. Compare also *formeste* (*forme* A₁) 223; *lethere* (*foule* A₁) 72; *to thys goodnesse* (*hem* A₁) 100; *Vucerteynnesse* (*pisternesse* A₁) 114; *maye he be* (*worþ he* A₁) 128. See variants 133, 138, 160, 343, etc.

The inflectional system is governed by uniform laws illustrated in terminations transmitting *-y* for the normal *-e* in unaccented syllables as follows: *godys* (gen.) 38, 81, 139, etc.; *slewthys* 121; *fudyrys* 254, 255; *Londys* (plu.), *rentys* 152, 163; *metys* 155; *synnys* 91; *thewys* 97; *thewys*: *shrewis* 102; *Saryd* 128; *wykkyd* 116, 122; *fallyn* (inf.) 170; *betyn* 175; *suffyr* 176, 184; *ekyn* 188; *Herkenythe* (imp. plu.) 1, 137; *Wasshythe* 816; *bryngyþe* (3. sing.) 114; *makyþe* 124. Redundant *h* begins a word: *Habraham* (cf. D) 347.—Initial *h* is omitted: *ys* (for *his*) 227.—*f* occurs for *u* (*v*) of A₁: *leffe* 424.—Metathesis exists in *tharlle* 238. H₂ belonged earlier to the Cotton collection. It was in possession of Robert Cotton and bears his autograph.

Besides the MSS. already enumerated, some have been traced that, in description at least, belong in this chapter. MSS. W and B may be introduced with some certainty as giving information regarding the poem.

Worseley 67.

7. W. Worseley 67. See Edward Bernard in *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti*, 1697. Under *Librorum Manuscriptorum viri nobilis quo maxime merito speramus, Henrici Worseley de Hospitio Lincolensi apud Londinum Catalogus*, p. 213, is to be found what seems to be a reference to the *Speculum*. Number 67, also 6915, classifies an old "book." Its contents are: *Alquin's Advice to Gwy Earl of Warwyk*, and a "treatise¹ in English verse," the *Prykke of conscyence*, standing first in the book. The second selection is incomplete.

This heading, *Alquin's Advice to Gwy*, in English (M.E.), the form *Alquin* in this specific connection, and particularly the attendance of that Aclates of the poem² of this volume, the faithful "Prykke of conscyence," serve tangibly to link W with MSS. of the *Speculum*, but the associated text has not been hitherto discovered.

The search³ for the MSS. of the Worseley collection, as well as the actual investigation of a large number of the fifty MSS.⁴ of *The Pricke of Conscience*,⁵ has been without practical result in the discovery of the Worseley MSS. collectively, or of the "book" numbered 67. The libraries of Lincoln's Inn, of Lincoln Cathedral,⁶ of Lambeth Palace, the Bodleian Library, the collections of the

¹ Clue to the history of MS. W and MS. B has not been contributed by the *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford*, Edinburgh, 1838, *A Catalogue of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates*, Edinburgh, 1838, Laing's *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Society of the Writers to H. M. Signet in Scotland*, Hiekes' *Thesaurus or Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Libri duo*, nor from the *List of Manuscript Books in the Collection of David Laing*, nor in any of Laing's numerous editions of M.E. poetry; see, for example, *Select Remains of the Ancient popular Poetry of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1822, *Early Popular Scottish Poetry* re-edited by W. Carew Hazlitt, London, 1895, nor in Stenhouse's *Lyric Poetry*, 1853, Halliwell's various editions, cf. *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, 1841, nor in the editions of Ellis, Robson, Ritson, or Weber.

² See §§ 3—5 of this chapter.

³ Search, direct and indirect, for possible MSS. of the *Speculum* in libraries of England, Scotland, Germany and France, has been exhaustive and painstaking. Vast labour, and untiring industry and patience, have not been rewarded in the discovery of MSS. beyond the record of the accompanying pages. The undoubted popularity of the poem in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries suggested the possibility of many transcripts of the original.

⁴ See *On Twenty-five MSS. of Richard Rolle's "Pricke of Conscience,"* "Eighteen of them in the British Museum, four in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the Corser MS., and two in Lichfield Cathedral Library," by Karl D. Bülbring, M.A., Ph.D., published for the Philological Society, London, 1889—90, p. 1.

⁵ Professor Bülbring's list does not include the transcript MS. Dd 11, 89, of the University Library, Cambridge, nor the Lambeth MSS. *Stimulus Conscientiæ* or the *prykke of Conscience*, Nos. 260 (4) and 491 (6); see p. 2.

⁶ Both are suggested by the element *de Hospitio Lincolensi* of Bernard's description of Worseley's collection, p. 213.

British Museum, seem none of them to have been the depository of Worseley's books. That in the disposal of the MSS. by auction, Worseley 67 could have passed into the Harleian collection of MSS., could have been numbered anew in that union, and could have become public in *Catalogue* and history as Harley 1731, might be conjectured through some coincidences in the description of the two MSS.; cf. § 3. If that be the case, MS. W has already been described and has been introduced into this work as MS. H₁.

With less reasonableness another MS., Bodley 1731, may be discussed in this connection.

Bodley 1731.

8. B. Bodley 1731. *Disputatio inter priorem aliquem & spiritum Guidonis*. See Ritson, *A. E. Metrical Romanceës*, I., p. xciii., edition of 1802. A title of this character, introduced in connection with a description of MS. Harl. 525, suggested at once a transcript of the *Speculum*, but thus far MS. B has proved to be "an empty name," a title existing only on Ritson's page.

Granting the existence of a corresponding text, coincidence in numbering recalls a second time the Harley MS. 1731, and it is to be conceded that Ritson may simply have referred to the MS. H₁. Some confusion in the heading might be assumed to have arisen on ground of erratic orthography,¹ for which Ritson was famed, or through his proverbial inaccuracy.² *aliquem* could be reconciled as a typographical error.

On the other hand, Ritson's description may be accounted for on the hypothesis of a manuscript of a different type, but fulfilling quite rationally the conditions of the title. Although the conclusive MS. has not come to light, yet the theory is strengthened through analogy with MS. Bodley 3903, named also by Ritson in the *A. E. Metrical Romanceës*, I., p. xciii. Bodley 3903 bears now the signature Fairfax 23. Here is another Guido, the *dramatis persona* of

¹ "Ballantyne," says Scott, "groans in spirit over the peculiarities of his (Ritson's) orthography, which hath seldom been equalled since the days of Elphinstone, the ingenious author of the mode of spelling according to the pronunciation," etc., Lockhart, II., p. 81.

² To Ritson's notable inaccuracy Scott refers writing of "many curious facts and quotations, which the poor defunct (*i. e.* Ritson) had the power of assembling to an astonishing degree, without being able to combine anything like a narrative, or even to deduce one useful inference," Lockhart, II., p. 122. Schick adds a word, *Temple of Glas*, p. cxlviii., asserting that Ritson copied "without understanding from headings of MSS. and entries in *Catalogues*,"—and mingled them in new combinations, could probably be added.

a mediæval vision literature, in which the disembodied spirit of Guido of Alet holds communion with a certain friar. Its hero has nothing in common with Guy of Warwick but the name Guy. The *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, vol. xiii. (1887), p. 81 ff., in an article by Brandes entitled *Guido von Alet* and referring to *Arut Buschmans Mirakel, von W. Seelman herausgeg.*, *Jahrbuch*, vol. vi., 32 ff., treats of literature of this character. Wright discussed the question forty-four years earlier in *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, "an Essay on the Legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise, current during the Middle Ages;" cf. pp. 45-47. The purpose of this dialogue is to enforce the doctrine of transubstantiation. Another branch of the legend¹ is illustrated in Dr. Anne Leonard's Zürich dissertation, *Zwei mittelenglische Geschichten aus der Hölle*, Zürich, 1891, and the cycle of purgatorial literature is enriched by *The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham* (Arber reprint) with its list of *Gesta Purgatoris*, p. 14. Albrecht Wagner² in *Tundale*, "das mittelenglische Gedicht über die Vision des Tundalus," "auf Grund von vier Handschriften," pp. iii. ff., cites arguments basing the source of this comprehensive mediæval type in the *Divine Comedy*. He supports his theory on works of Labitte, *La divine comédie avant Dante in Études littéraires*, I., pp. 193-263, and Ozanam, *Dante et la philosophie catholique au treizième siècle*.

MSS. of the Guido controversy are abundant. Many copies of the fundamental Latin text exist, and an English metrical version³ is extant in MS. Tiberius E vii., to be dated 1350-60. A prose version exists in the Vernon MS. The opening lines of Fairfax 23 are :

"*Incipit disputatio inter quendam priorem et spiritum gwidonis. Augustinus in libro de fide ad petrum dicit : 'miraculum est, quicquam arduum uel insolitum super facultatem hominis.'*"

Compare with this passage the opening sentence of the Berlin MS., Königliche Bibliothek, MS. germ. Quart. 404, Bl. 85a-111b of the fifteenth century :

¹ See Furnivall, *Pol., Relig. and Love Poems*, E. E. Text Society, 1866, pp. 93 ff.; Horstmann, *Altengl. Legenden, Neue Folge*, pp. 367 ff.; Halliwell, *Thornton Romances*, p. xxv.; and Halliwell, *Dictionary*.

² Wagner claims for Tundale, *eine wahre Sturmflut von lateinischen Handschriften und alten Drucken über Oesterreich, Italien, die Schweiz, Frankreich, Belgien, England, und Irland*; cf. *Visio Tundali* lateinisch u. aldeutsch, Erlangen, 1882, pp. x. ff. He finds also Spanish, Provençal, Swedish, and Icelandic versions, discussed by Mussafia in *Sulla Visione di Tundalo*, Wiener Sitzungsberichte, philos.-hist. Cl., Bd. 67, pp. 157 ff.

³ Cf. *De Spiritu Guidonis*, Vesp. E 1., Vesp. A VI., and Add. MSS. 22,233.

“Also also sunte Augustinus seghet in deme boke van deme geloven to sunte Peter: Eyn wonder is dat geheiten, dat wonderliken schút boven de naturliken krefften und boven menslike wonder,” etc.

The corresponding passage is furnished by the Vernon MS., fol. 363. It begins: “For as muche as seint Austin seiþ to Peter in þe Booc of be leewe,” etc. The metrical version, MS. Tiber. E. vii., ll. 2 ff., reads:

“and saint Austin, þe doctur dere,
and oþer maisters mare & myn,
sais, þat men grete mede may wyn,” etc.

This Guido¹ leaves no doubt about himself, v. Bl. 99a: “bin ich Gowido verlost van der pine des vegevers veir jar dan sich borde.” The tradition is followed with fidelity in English. MS. Vernon reads: “ich am þe spirit of Gy & his soule, þat nou late was ded”; MS. Tiber. E. vii.:

“þe roice answerd to him in hy
and said: I am spirit of Gy,
þe whilk ze wate was newly dede,” etc.

It is quite as probable that the Guy of MS. B belongs to this family, as that his prior be identified with Alquin of the *Speculum*. The inference that MSS. Bodley 1731 and 3903, *i. e.* Fairfax 23, are the same, is not ungrounded, but their identity has not been proved, and the use of the term Bodley in both connections cannot be indicated to be other than accidental.

Another theory originates in the prolific literature of the tradition.² It is possible to explain Bodley 1731 as a composite title representing several MSS., but not belonging necessarily³ to any of them, a title without an individual text, one of that “jumble”⁴ described by Schick, *Temple of Glas*, p. cxlviii. ff., and Lockhart, II., p. 122. It might result not merely from “splitting up one work into several” (Schick, p. cli.), but from the uniting of the titles of the “split portions” of several works into a single heading without definite MS. For Ritson, the “dogmatical little word-catcher,” nothing would be easier than to invent such a visionary title.

¹ Guido is a “child of the time,” see Arnt Buschman, p. 41: *Ich bin eyn geist, ein eristenmensehen*, etc.

² See *Sprachforschung*. Seelman enumerates seventeen texts of the *Mirakel*.

³ Harl. 2379 is a *Liber de Spiritu Guidonis: Narratio Legendaria de confabulatione habita inter Animam pradieti Guidonis civis de Alestey (que distat ab Arenion 21 miliarijs)*, and states *Guido obiit 1323*. Cotton Vesp. E 1. ends: *explicit . . . disputacio mirabilis inter priorem . . . et inter spiritum . . . Guydonis*.

⁴ Scott writes of Ritson’s *Essay on Romance and Minstrelsy*, cf. Lockhart, II., p. 122, that it reminds one of “a heap of rubbish, which had either turned out unfit for the architect’s purpose or beyond his skill to make use of.”

The material is richly provided through a multitude of the paradisc-purgatory texts.¹ MS. Cotton Vespasian E. I., fol. 219 ff., is a “*disputatio mirabilis inter priorem . . . et inter spiritum . . .*, whose hero is *Guydo*.” Number 16, Bibliothek des Gymnasiums Carolinum, Osnabrück; Papierhs. . . D, 76, is a veritable “*Disputatio inter priorem et spiritum Gwidonis*.” A Kiel MS., “Universitäts-Bibliothek, Miscellan. hs. 38, Bl. 175 ff., is “*spiritus Gwidonis . . . et . . . priorem quendam*” (Ritson’s *aliquem*?). The Darmstadt MS. 106 is: *eyne disputatie tuschen eyne prior . . . ind eyne geiste . . . Gwido heisch*.

Whether Ritson’s Bodley 1731 be actual or imaginary, whether it be but Harl. 1731, or Worseley 67 classified as Harl. 1731 or not, is not clear. That the three be but descriptions of the same MS., and that recognized as MS. Harl. 1731, there is at present no absolute proof. MS. B cannot be traced.

CHAPTER IV.

GENEALOGICAL HISTORY OF THE TEXTS.

I. GROUP Y.

§ 1. MSS. H_2 and D in distinction from MSS. $A_1A_2H_1R$.

1. Resemblances between MSS. D and H_2 .

Of approximately the same age, but differing often in peculiarities of dialect, D and H_2 are undeniably connected in MS. development. Noteworthy is the conspicuous *lacuna* occurring simultaneously in both MSS. Lines 459—475 are wanting, the break marking practically the conclusion of MS. H_2 . Of the fifty-one lines, 407—458, omitted in MS. D , twelve are also deficient in MS. H_2 . Otherwise coincidences marking the relationship of D and H_2 are chiefly mutilations characterizing the individual word. In this investigation it must be recalled, that the comparison represents but 400 lines, the last reading to be ascribed to the texts in common being line 399.

Among the more conspicuous resemblances² is that to be found

¹ For the Swedish version see J. A. Ahlstrand in the *Samlingar* utg. af Svenska Fornskrift Sällskapet I. Ll. f. *Guidonis siels openbarelse*.

² It will be assumed as understood, that in this discussion only the more conspicuous instances of the mutilation of the archetype are to be regarded as affording conclusive evidence, determinative of the main results of the argument. Naturally nothing else could be possible.

in line 180, where inversion of the adverbial phrase occurs in both *D* and *H*₂: þe better for he (þey *H*₂) sull (shulde *H*₂) hym knowe, in distinction from *For þei schold hym þe better knowe* of MSS. *A*₂*H*₁*R*. Line 381 reads *cler and clene*, contrary to *clene and cler* of the fundamental text. Line 393 describes the *sonn* as feminine, preserving *here*, in harmony with the older Germanic (O.E., O.H.G.) usage instead of *his* of MSS. *A*₁*H*₁*R*. Line 186 replaces *haue* with *suffri* (*suffyr* *H*₂), 195 *blisse* with *wele*, and 266 *turment* with *tournement*. The texts are identical twice in modification resulting from the dialect of the scribes, through the reproduction of *his* by *is* (*ys*), line 227, and *wouh* by *wowe*, line 302, in opposition to all the other MSS. Alterations in individual words occur as follows:

v. 1 to] vnto *D.H*₂. 32 þe] þis. 141 it] I. 172 And] He. 182 þat] þe. 186 haue] suffri. 195 blisse] wele. 227 his] is. 257 on] at. 266 turment] tournament. 283 nouþe] now. 302 wouh] wowe. 318 ouer] in. It is unimportant as decisive evidence, that lines 167 and 280 translate *Ac* of MS. *A*₁ *and*, and interpret *here* 308 as *þaire*.

MSS. *D* and *H*₂ agree through various omissions from the fundamental text. Conspicuous is the loss of *Nay*, line 398, and of so important a word as *sinful* in line 149. Other MSS. contribute the following readings lost to MSS. *D* and *H*₂:

v. 8 þu] *om.* *D.H*₂ (l. *om.* *H*₁). 23 For] *om.* 31 Hou] *om.* 40 he was] *om.* 41 he] *om.* 149 sinful] *om.* 183 And] *om.* 308 al] *om.* 327 wite] *om.* 398 *Nay*] *om.*

On the other hand, *D* and *H*₂ preserve at the same time mutilations not familiar in other texts. Compare coincidences in *D* and *H*₂ as follows:

v. 196 abouten] all abouten *D H*₂. 207 shalt] shalt man. 224 singyn] first synne. 321 þe] For the (so). 373 and 391 telle] tell it. 399 preued] proued wele. 138 introduces a redundant þe.

With these combinations must be considered all readings in which *D* and *H*₂ harmonize with other MSS., particularly in alterations that unite also peculiarities of MS. *A*₂; cf. § 2. Minor instances of agreement justify the conclusions of the preceding paragraphs, pointing to a common source for MSS. *D* and *H*₂.

2. Differences between MSS. *D* and *H*₂.

MSS. *D* and *H*₂ preserving common errors that might be derived from a single source, deviate in important particulars, suggesting

that neither text is dependent on the other. MS. H_2 is often corrupt to a degree not shared by MS. D.

a. That MS. D does not have its origin in MS. H_2 , is evident from lines interpolated in H_2 , that are not to be found in D , e. g. between 4 and 5; 138, 139; 160, 161; 322, 323; from transpositions of H_2 alone, 111, 112; in the omissions not shared by D , lines 11, 12; 197, 198; 295—300; 309, 310; and in revised readings, lines 108, 133, 283, 323, 328, 378. In H_2 lines 829—1034 of the original text are wanting, and a false conclusion not extant in D appears in place of lines 1022—1034. D is complete in this part of the poem, preserving the true conclusion shared by A_1 and R of the opposing group. These two MSS. differ also in the following instances, where MS. D has often preserved the correct reading:

D not derived from H_2 : v. 8 god ouer] wele god abovyn H_2 . 18 In] In to H_2 . 19 wole] shall. 21 Ne for] For noo. 22 þe] his. 25 þeih don god] Iesu criste. 26 bouhte] abouzte. 27 while] stounde. 30 Gy] Sire Gy. 31 On] Vppe on. 35 And] He. 37 in] be. 45 was wel] sone was full. 46 þerfore] And alle. 49 On] Vpon. 52 wel] om. 54 us] ouyr vs. 57 Make me] Doo me make. 59 my delit] grete delyte. 61 foule] false. 62 lad] be lyed. while] A while. 63 wole] wolde. 64 þe world] hym. 66 And] And swythe. 72 foule] lethere. 73 don] mynn. 75 now] nowe hem. 84 þe] me. 87 ful] and full. 90 vse] doo welle. 96 lyf] lyffe also. 98 Whar þurw] Where with. reche] Areche. 99 so] thus. 101 wicke] othere. 125 Offte] Welofte. 127 turne] flee. 137 sarmoun] lessounne. 138 tell] rede. in my lesczoun] be resounne. 142 reche] Areche. 152 As] om. 157 Hele] Helthe. 158 And] om. of] also of. 160 worþ] wyll be. 162 muche] ryzt mochill. 166 halt] haue. 173 And] For. 174 For] om. synn] A synne. 178 kudde] shewythe. 181 He wole] om. 187 seknesse] stronge syknyss. 188 And] om. 189 leuest] be leue. 192 wo] sorowe. 195 þe] þys. 204 is] ther ys. 209 had] ne hadde. 212 3if] gaffe. 213 made] shope. owen] om. 217 of] om. 225 wite] wyte ryzte. 229 And] om. 258 wid oute nay] for soþe too saye. 259 þat] þat afore. 261 þer] Hedyr. adoun] downe. 262 a] ony. 263 nele] þan wyll. 264 man] men. 265 He shal] They shulle þan. fonge] take. 267 onne] þan on. 273 bileuen] be leuyn. 275 Austin] austyn he. 281 duire] þere endure. 292 tellen] telle 3ow halffe ne. 314 owen] om. 329 Hit is loue] Loue welle. 332 þing] om. most] mvste nedys. 335 god] om. 337 If] For yffe. ful] om. 338 wolt]

mvste nedys. *uides*] *tu vides*. 375 Bodiliche] Godlyche. 379 a þing] ys. 390 grete] moche. 392 lef þu] be leue. 396 bodilich] boldelyche. eize] *om.* him] *om.* 397 on] in. 401 þis] yt. 402 ise] here se.

The list might be increased from numberless individual faults for which H_2 alone bears the responsibility.

β. On the other hand, MS. H_2 did not have its origin in MS. D. This is indicated by an altered verse in MS. D, line 376, and in the transposition of lines 167 and 168; 201, 202; 303, 304. D has the following readings, not shared with H_2 :

H_2 not derived from D : v. 2 And] *om.* D. 10 do] do so. 24 and] þen. 27 and 28 wole] sal(l). 35 his] eke hys. 40 gode] riȝt gude. 48 kepen] wyten. qued] dede. 53 And] anon. 58 lescoun] a lessoun. 63 þer of] þer for. 70 Alþere] Erle. wole] schal. 71 for to] to þe. 80 Whiche] þe wyche. 82 be my] I þe. 89 ore] lore. 91 sinne] synne haue. 94 wyll be þi] with dede. 95 charyte] chaste. 101 wole] sall. 113 þis] *om.* 119 wole] sall. 124 man] men. anuied] vnneþe. 130 þurw] *om.* 140 þat] *om.* 144 rod] þe rode. 149 Thys ys] It es. 154 faire and bold] and faire bold. 156 litel] leþe. 160 after] *om.* 168 hem] whum. 176 Or] Oper. 178 hym] man. 182 hem] hym. 183 Many an] A man. hem] hym. 188 all it is] all. here] þaire ioy and. 192 liuede] lybbeþe. 193 þou] es. 194 maitou] þou myȝt ful. 200 wyll] sal. 206 þre] And þre. 212 gaffe] ȝif þe. 214 of his] and heȝe. 215 ȝaf] ȝif. 217 yuel] of euel. for] cheyse. 218 þe] þat. 222 wole] wollen to. 226 yt] he. 230 him] *om.* 232 pylt] put. 236 aftyr] sippen. 238 in] to. 241 don] idon. 242 his] hym. 244 he] hem. 250 Tyll it] Forto. 254 into] to. ffadyrys ryche] awne fader. 278 point] apoynt. 284 i wole ȝou] *om.* 289 hadde] haue. 312 þov] it. 320 bi] *om.* 321 the] so. 335 Man] þan. 346 wel] *om.* 355 hym] now. 356 of] al of. 359 on] of. 362 And] In. 377 witen] I wyte. 383 breme] beme. 384 here] þaire. 387 sitte] schyne. 388 euere] euereche. mannes] bodyly. 401 þanne] How.

Numerous variations notably distinct in character are sufficient to show that MSS. D and H_2 are not to be ascribed either to the other for ultimate source, but that rather they both descend from a common original represented by $D H_2$.

§ 2. MSS. A_2 ($D H_2$).

Some instances occur in which A_2 unites with D and H_2 in reproducing the same antecedent text. Readings pointing to a

common original for MSS. A_2 .D. H_2 , apart from the testimony of important coincidences between D and H_2 , shown in the preceding section to go back to a common source, are as follows for lines 1—406, 814—828, the portion of the poem covered by the parallel texts.

v. 45: Off him] þare of A_2 .D. H_2 . 105 is hit] it is. 167 Ac] And. 168 erere] are (eere H_2). 820 doþ] þe. Compare also line 190, where individuality in grouping is marked by divergence common to each of the MSS. of the group, suggesting defect of prototype and an attempted restoration by the individual scribes of Y . Z , on the other hand, preserves one form, *e. g.* *miht*.

Group Y is distinguished by readings in which mutilation is represented in a slight modification of the basis of the classification through the individuality of the rendering of a single MS. Recalling the tendency of the copyist of the *Speculum* to leave personal impress on his MS. in emendations originating with himself, it will be recognized that the unity of the grouping Y is not necessarily interrupted by divergence on the part of a single member. Such instances are as follows, where two of the MSS. seem to be derived from the source (A_2 .D. H_2), common to the three, while A_1 . H_1 .R (group Z), the opposing element, exists intact:

v. 51 Alquin] sire alquyn A_2 .D. frere Alquyne H_2 . 217 shed] for A_2 . H_2 . cheyse D. 321 þe] þe more A_2 . H_2 . so D. 393 sunne his] sonn here D. H_2 . sonnes A_2 . *Perhaps in verse 100: wolt hem to, where A_2 reads wylt heuen to, D wylt þese to, and H_2 wylte to thys. Both A_2 and H_2 attest to irregularity in the transmission of text Z .*

To these readings can be added all those instances, in which group Y , on one side, is united in internal relationship in opposition to group Z intact on the other, A_2 .D. H_2 against A_1 . H_1 .R; cf. § 5. This grouping is confirmed by coincidences between single combining pairs of MSS. comprising Y , and suggestive of an archetype (A_2 .D. H_2) common to the three texts. The noteworthy agreement marking D and H_2 has been studied, § 1. Coincidence less striking is to be recognized in MSS. A_2 and H_2 .

§ 3. Study of MSS. A_2 and H_2 .

1. Resemblances between the MSS.

Resemblance between A_2 and H_2 occurs in line 154, where H_2 and A_2 offer *faire and bold* instead of the correct version, and *faire*

bold. A_2H_2 substitute *hell* for *hote*, line 282, and add *eke* 311, not found in $A_1A_2DH_1R$. A_2 and H_2 , line 815, read *euene* for *ene* of A_1H_1 . Other points of resemblance are as follows :

v. 40 And] *om.* A_2H_2 . 46 þerfore] And. 68 His] þi. 73 don] *om.* 114 man] a man. 149 þis] þis is. 174 a] *om.* 176 pine] paynes. 257 þider] Hedere. 274 men] man. 331 euere] *om.* 372 imeind] I menged. 393 þat] *om.* 456 him] *om.*

2. Differences between the MSS.

Abundant proof contradicts any supposition of the origin of A_2 in H_2 , or of H_2 in A_2 . A_2 could not have been transcribed from H_2 , the younger MS. omitting passages extant in A_2 . H_2 preserves verses of which A_2 presents no knowledge. A_2 then cannot be conceived as having passed directly to the hands of the scribe of H_2 . H_2 shows no impress of the confusion in verses 82 and 140 with the interpolation after 82 characterizing A_2 . H_2 preserves lines 55, 56; 181, 182; 261, 262; omitted in A_2 . Compare the following minor instances, where H_2 has often the correct version :

MS. H_2 not derived from MS. A_2 : v. 18 þurw his] at a A_2 . 23 þer] þei. 24 foule] fals A_2 . 35 his] all his. 38 al] wele. 53 And] I. 74 on] o þynge. 77 at] *om.* 85 hope] *om.* 94 wyll be þi] to. 97 þewes] vertues. 108 telle] schewe. 128 he] þei. 131 þurw] for. 133 behouythe] I rede. 138 wyll rede] shall say. 143 þat] And þat. 150 it were] *om.* 167 and rede] *om.* 264 þat] *om.* 272 þeih] *om.* 275 austyn he] poul. 308 For al] For. 312 But] For. 353 grette] sawe. 381 clere] *om.* 387 And] *om.* he] it. so neuer so. 388 Hit] 3it it. 389 hire] *om.* 393 3af] *om.* here] *om.* 394 tyme] *om.* 395 þane] so. 419 here] *om.* 432 3e] þei. 434 for] to. 441 And] *om.* 446 angry] *om.* 449 evene] *om.* pytte] payne. The list might be increased by additional illustration marking the character of MSS. A_2 and H_2 .

§ 4. Relationship between A_2 and D .

1. Coincidences in A_2 and D .

MSS. A_2D . form a connecting link in the relationship developing the group Y. Line 51 reads for both *sire alquyn* instead of *Alquin* of group Z. *chirche* replacing *clerk*, l. 667, is a marked characteristic of resemblance linking the two texts. A_2 and D combine in the

version *mynde* for *mil* (689) of A_1, H_1 . In addition to the omission of line 679 common to both, other modifications occur as follows :

v. 6 to god] of god A_2, D . 13 Ac] And. 45 war] I war. 53 And] I. 66 he] *om.* 101 þe] *om.* 127 man] a man. 160 ibouht] aboutht (aboute *D*). 168 erere] are. 226 bouht] a bouzt. 241 Ac] And. 299 þe] *om.* 306 þisternesse] dirkenese. 315 Ac] And. 321 inwardlichere] inwordelich. 336 Wher] Wheþere. 350 and as] and. 353 on] *om.* (407—475 mark the comprehensive break in *D*.) 480 out] *om.* 507 hit wolen] willen it. 538 Or] Ouþer. 624 And] *om.* 625 wole] nyll. 628 in none] in no. 635 And] For. 675 a] *om.* 684 hit] þat. 689 mid] mynde. 725 gon] agone. 729 riht] ariht. 731 þisternesse] derkenes. 790 me] to me. 804 wole] nyl. 811 is] is þe. 812 man] men. 834 he shal] schall he. 870 and] or. 880 many] man.

Intimate resemblance is marked in line 791 in distinction from the version of group *Z*: *sinne wrouht] foule synne Iwrouzt*.

2. Differences between A_2 and *D*.

a. A_2 not derived from *D*: That A_2 preserving the oldest MS. of group *Y* cannot, for this reason, have originated in MS. *D* nor in MSS. D, H_2 singly or combined, is obvious. Nor is it necessary to give detailed proof, that neither of the younger MS. versions can be the source of the other. The independent character of MS. H_2 is clear from § 1 of this chapter. The same section shows also the indebtedness of D, H_2 to some common source. That that original is not A_2 is evident from the omission in that MS. of lines 55, 56; 181, 182; 261, 262; preserved in MSS. D, H_2 , and of lines 648—653; 678; 840—845 of the original, for which MS. *D* is authority, where H_2 is practically at an end. The transposition of lines 75, 76 in A_2 is not recorded in D, H_2 , and the altered readings 140, 141, 142, relatively to 82 with interpolations caused D, H_2 no difficulty. Instances occur, where A_2 preserves individual errors and *D* and H_2 retain the correct versions. Some of these passages are indicated in the sections to follow :

β. *D* not derived from A_2 : v. 18 þurw his] at a A_2 . 24 foule] fals. 59 my ioye] ioy. 74 on] o þynge. 85 hope] *om.* Many similar examples of irregularity in relationship make it evident that none of the MSS. of this group was antecedent for any other. It is fair to attribute them to a common source (A_2, D, H_2).

A_2 and H_2 sharing with *D* a common source, bear trace of the

original from which the group *Y* was generated. That A_2 was not the source of *a*, the transcript common to $D.H_2$, and that *a* did not serve as original for A_2 is obvious from comparison of the two groups of coincidences, *D* and H_2 on one hand § 1, and A_2 and H_2 , § 3 on the other. Characteristic readings are in each group so uniformly distinct, that the only hypothesis possible must be the supposition of a common source for A_2 and $a = DH_2$, $Y = A_2.D.H_2$. This grouping is represented by some pair of its MSS. throughout the poem. The existence of a group of MSS. *Y* involves the explanation of a corresponding group *Z*, to become the subject of the investigation in the section to follow.

II. GROUP Z.

§ 5. Two Groups of Manuscripts.

These six existing texts enumerated in the foregoing chapter may be considered to be subdivided into two groups, a group *Z* embracing MSS. $A_1.H_1.R$, and a group *Y* embracing MSS. $A_2.D.H_2$. Determinative in this classification are the following coincidences, $A_1.H_1.R$ on one side, and $A_2.D.H_2$ on the other :

v. 40 *A om.*] *A* ($A_2.D.H_2$) *Y*. 45 *Off him*] *þare of Y*. 182 *þat*] *þe Y*. 200 *And om.*] *And Y*. 222 *man*] *he Y*. 240 *for euer*] *euer Y*. 299 *þe*] *om. Y*. 303 *kointise*] *qweyntise Y*. 381 *clene*] *cler Y*. From line 407 the continued omission of one MS. of group *Y* must be recalled, *Z* being intact. Otherwise the classification remains uninterrupted. 454 *whij*] *om. Y*. 480 *out*] *om. Y*. 624 *And*] *om. Y*. 667 *clerk*] *chirche Y*. 675 *a*] *om. Y*. 684 *hit*] *þat Y*. 725 *gon*] *agone Y*. 729 *riht*] *ariht Y*. 791 *sinne*] *foule synne Y*. 804 *wole*] *nyl Y*. 812 *man*] *men Y*. 820 *doþ*] *þe Y*. 870 *and*] *or Y*. 880 *many*] *om. Y*.

In support of this grouping the transposition of lines 673 and 674 occurs in each of the three members of group *Z*, the normal sequence being preserved in the grouping *Y*. Line 679 is omitted entirely in group *Y*.

These readings, offsetting each other, and in each instance characteristic of a distinct grouping, seem proof that neither group is derived directly from the other. This hypothesis is confirmed by numerous characteristic modifications, interpolations, or omissions distinguishing individual pairs of manuscripts. It may be assumed that both groups are to be referred to a common source $A_1H_1R A_2DH_2 = U$, which was perhaps the original text.

§ 6. MSS. A_1 (H_1R).

Group Z is characterized by readings in which group Y is in opposition through a slight alteration in the principle on which the classification is based, cf. § 2. Z is an integral group in the following instances, agreeing by means of the readings introduced below :

v. 51 *Alquin*. 217 *shed*. 321 *þe* (*unmodified*). 393 *sunne his*. 100 *wolt hem to*. Group Z deviates slightly, l. 105, in the omission of *hit* in *R*, where otherwise the two groups are intact. In 167, group Y are unanimous in the use of *And*, while H_1R translate *Ac* of A_1 , by the redaction *But*, a characteristic reading of H_1R not in opposition to the group Z; cf. § 6. Similarly 188 omits *it*, the value of group Z being uninfluenced. 250 has difficulty with an added *to* in *Y*. The line reads in *D* *For to com* instead of the *Tyll it came to* of A_2H_2 , in opposition to group Z, *Til hit com*.

The integral character of group Z is preserved in additional readings :

v. 79 *i wole*] *I wyll* (*with added word*) A_2H_2 . *I sal D*. 94 *shal be þi*] *altered* $A_2D.H_2$. 297 *parten*] *altered* $A_2D.H_2$. 321 *þe*] *altered* $A_2D.H_2$. 353 *as on*] *altered* $A_2D.H_2$. 381 *cler*] *altered* $A_2D.H_2$. 399 *preued*] *altered* $A_2D.H_2$. 449 *fyr*] *altered* A_2H_2 . *D om*. 550 *to þe*] *altered* *Y*. 559 *in þouht*] *altered* *Y*. 602 *vilte*] *wyte* A_2 . *vilanie?* *D*. 858 *þe*] *is þe* A_2 . *þi D*. 872 *or*] and A_2 . *oþer D*.

To these may be added other passages, which, though varying in some detail, yet do not in general detract from the force of the argument: lines 168, 188, etc. With these coincidences are to be considered those presenting intimate connection within the limits of its immediate group.

§ 7. MSS. H_1 and *R* in opposition to MSS. $A_1 A_2 D H_2$.

1. Coincidences in MSS. H_1 and *R*.

It is obvious that intimate relationship must characterize *R* and H_1 in common. Although separated by an interval of seventy-five years on general estimate, and at variance in important details, by which each MS. is characterized by mistakes introduced on its own responsibility, yet it must be admitted, that the transcripts *R* and H_1 in noteworthy instances unite in combinations not accounted for in remaining texts. The omission of lines 737—740 is shared in common

by the MSS. Absolutely in opposition to MSS. $A_1.A_2.D.H_2$, are coincidences in the version of entire lines often broadly different from the same lines in other texts.¹ R and H_1 , for instance, omit the line 792, *In word, in dede, and in þouht*, and substitute in its place line 838 of the original text, *Loply (Lodely R) and fele (foule R) many oon*. The line 342, omitted in MS. D, is enriched by *with eghen* in $H_1.R$, of which MSS. $A_1.A_2.H_2$ retain no trace; cf. as follows:

342: þat þou may alday with eghen se. (R)
whom þou maiste see eche day wiþ yeze. (H_1)

The relationship between R and H_1 is attested to by line 488, where the original text has been omitted, and in its place a different version supplied:

488: Whil that thou may go & se. (R)
Whilst þou maiste goo & see. (H_1)
Loke, þat þu þe bise. (A_1A_2D , om. in H_1R)

A similar variation exists in line 790, where A_1 and A_2 , the two most reliable texts, are answerable for a good reading: *Sitteþ stille, and herkneþ me*. R and H_1 have preserved: *Herken and I wil telle þe*. A modification occurs, line 808, through the insertion of *fire brenne (fjyre burne H_1)*. 831 alters *wasshe ($A_1.A_2.D$)* to *to wasshe hem*. 716 contributes the version: *I wil 3ow (þe R) telle whi & wharfore*. Inversion occurs in both: 671 *bere he] he bere*. Often of minor importance as conclusive proof, yet offering convincing evidence of coincidence in individual words, are illustrations as follows:

R and H_1 agree in introducing a word differing from texts $A_1.A_2.D.H_1$: v. 4 *and* 736 *swiþe] ful $H_1.R$* . 791 (I)*wrou3t] don $H_1.R$* . 242 *3af] had*. 366 *ene] bene*. 466 *rede] spede*. 168 *erere] bifore*. Of the same general significance are: 178 *kudde] kyþeþ*. 190 *miht] maist*. 198 *lihtliche] ly3tly*. 293 *also] as*. 309 *mid] with*. 330 *in] &*. 414 *þe] Al*. 496 *þat] þis*. 497 *þe] þis*. 530 *Off] On*. 725 *knowelaching] knowynge*. 909 *leten and fle] leue and fle R, leue and flye H_1* . *But* translates *Ac* of MS. A_1 in the following instances, where MSS. $A_2.D.H_2$ read invariably *and* or *for* or omit the word. *But* ($H_1 R$) 13, 167, 280, 463, 467, 471, 615, 623, 660, 893. H_1 and R share the translation with A_2 , where that MS. seems to have stumbled upon the same interpretation: 583, 619,

¹ In general the arrangement of the examples under § 7 is in the order of their importance.

830, 835, 849. But also belongs to $H_1.R$ shared with H_2 : 241, 293, 315, 347, 434.

(β) A word is added that is wanting entirely in the opposing MSS.: v. 394 *om.*] *sipe* $H_1.R$. 452 *om.*] *haue*. 702 *om.*] *childe*. 553, 689 *om.*] *þere*. 678 *om.*] *al*. 907 *om.*] *þen*. Less important in the argument are the following instances: 106 *om.*] *For*. 378 *om.*] *and*. 801 *om.*] *for*. 830 *om.*] *haue*.

(γ) MSS. $A_1.A_2.D.H_2$ contain a word not recorded in H_1 and R : v. 190 *þu sek*] *Seek* $H_1.R$. 242 *his*] *om.* 339 *For men*] *Men* (*Man* H_1). 394 *swich*] *om.* 410 *ne*] *om.* 524 *Nu*] *om.* 582 *ne*] *om.* 617 *þi*] *om.* 812 *þat*] *om.* 840 *ne*] *om.*

To these coincidences may be added all those variations of a trifling character, which though differing slightly, yet may represent a common source: *he* is replaced by *þei* 833, 834; *miht* by *maiste* 859, 864; *Nas þat* by *þat was* 214; *noht* by *wil no3* H_1 , *wil not* R 312. The list is to be increased by the common readings distinguishing the three MSS. $A_1.H_1.R$; see §§ 5, 6.

2. Differences between MSS. H_1 and R .

Incontrovertible points of coincidence between MSS. R and H_1 are counterbalanced by instances of deviation, suggesting that R and H_1 may be ascribed to a common source rather than to a relationship one from the other.

a. MS. H_1 not the source of MS. R : R , the older of the two MSS., cannot be derived from MS. H_1 . MS. R preserves individual defects not shared by MS. H_1 . Compare lines 6, 9, 15, 34, 84, 107, 129, etc. It contains lines omitted in MS. H_1 , omits interpolated passages, and makes frequent alterations of the original as follows: lines 204—206; 403, 404; 447, 448; 507, 508; 591, 592; etc. Omissions in MS. H_1 , where MS. R retains the correct reading, are: 7, 8; 133; 136; 272; 479, 572; etc.; cf. chap. iii. 3.

β. MS. R not the source of MS. H_1 : Equally impossible is it that MS. H_1 find source in MS. R . Lines 45 and 46, transcribed by H_1 , are omitted in MS. R . Line 272 of R alters the original reading. A multitude of minor examples confirm the testimony of these verses. That H_1 is not derived from R , is shown by the accompanying instances, where H_1 has in general preserved the correct reading, although at times both MSS. deviate from the original.

v. 12 to *om.*] to R . 20 *Ne shaltu*] *þou shalt not*. 22 *weye*] *lawe*. 26 *ful om.*] *ful*. 31 *on*] *in*. 38 *liuede al in*] *leued wel alle*.

51 þe] þat. 58 don hit write] write hit. 74 on] bothe one. 84 þey] þese thre. 102 beþ noht gode] are swithe. 114 men] mony. to] vnto. derkenes] merkenes. 116 *and* 121 sleuþe(s)] slownes. 117 wel] ful. 124 anuied] fro mynde. 136 3e wil] þai wil. 160 shal be] mot be. 161 falle] bifalle. 177 3e here] þou here now. (loue)rede] (I) rede. 182 hem] hom to. 185 *and om.*] *and*. 193 if] if þou. 194 wel] þo better. 196 abouten] hit thorou. 199 Now I wil here of] Here I wil a while. 201 man] more. 220 3ifte] might. 226 haþ] was ful. 232 he was] was he. 235 for] for þat. 237 bimonie hym] fro hym tane. 241 þurw] for. 244 man] monkynde. 248 *And þus om.* deiede] with harde deth. 263 nele] wil. 265 He] þai. 271 go] wende. into] til. 278 point] ende. 285 sumwhat] now forthe. 288 eke see] al so sene. 291 3it myzt it] hit might. 297 þat *om.*] þat. 306 ony derknes] merkenes. 315 lat hit noht come] trow þou wel. 316 any] non. 317 he þat] who so. 327 be] may be. 338 his] þat is hisse. 340 myne] my hyne. 387 sitte] is sett. 389 hire] hit. 399 þat] *and þat*. 410 ifiled] fyled right. 412 þe] *and þo*. 415 heic] grete. 423 Comeþ] Comes now. 434 al] þat. 435 turne] hym turne. 440 his fet] fete did hom to seke. 452 3e] for 3e han. 456 Off] On. doþ] wolde. 459 Sein] For seynt. 470 He] 3it. shal] shalt þou. 471 soþfast] stedfast. haue] haue þou. 493 in drede] I þe reide. 500 lesezoun] gods lessone. 502 goddede] blissed dede. 530 wolde] wolde hym. 535 misdop] haue misdone to. 536 hit] so hit. 553 Nym] Take mon. 590 suffrerð] for mon he tholyd. 591 was þerto] þere was. 597 eurei] ilk a. 599 a] ony. 612 may ben] is. 616 þe] *om.* 617 manhede] mon. 618 wreche of wrongful dede] vengauce a non. 623 art so stout] so proude art. 624 *and herte]* stoute of hert. 643 *And so]* So. *and some]* men. 644 inome] taken. 645 þen be] Now be. 648 Or] Or ellis. 649 founde] tane. 665 muche] neuer so mikel. 668 þat] his. 677 humilite] verray humylite. 678 Away] Alle. 682 wel] ful. 683 of him] *om.* 688 comferti] confort in hye. 689 mid] with. 693 man] a mon.

This comprehensive enumeration of mutilations defacing MS. R seems to indicate beyond all doubt, that H_1 is not derived from R. H_1 could hardly represent a scribe so critical, that he would perfect his text to a degree of exactness indicated in the version of H_1 as outlined in the preceding paragraphs. On the contrary, the transcript H_1 has already established a reputation for erratic readings.

The list of coincidences of MSS. H_1 R must be augmented by the

distinct readings of $A_1.H_1.R.$, proving beyond doubt the nearness of the connection. To the differences between the texts could be added those of a trifling character, showing that it is impossible for H_1 to have been derived from R . H_1 and R must then form a class by themselves, to be accounted for as representing a theoretical MS. H_1R not hitherto discovered.

§ 8. *Agreement of A_1R within the Group Z.*

Common readings pointing to a relationship $A_1.R$ are as follows :

v. 8 þu *om.*] þu $A_1.R.$ 26 hem] *om.* 70 Alþere] Aller. 411 saiþe] seide. 507 willen it] hit wolen. 518 þe] *om.* 563 wele] it. 625 nyll] wole. 635 For (But)] And. 695 sinne] his sinne. 700 nyl] wole. 715 for lore] ilore. 759 I wrouȝt] wrouht. 768 I schryue] shriue. 773 ifounde] founde. 815 euene (bidene)] ene. 876 þu] þat þu. Here may be included the large number of coincidences, in which the only representative of group Y is the MS. D : 915, 916, 919—921, 924, 931—933, 937, 938, 939, 945—948, 951, 952, 954—956, 964, 969, 970, 973, 974, 977, 980, 983, 993, 995, 999, 1000, 1001, 1004, 1005, 1011, 1024, 1031.

A_1 is naturally not copied from R , the younger MS. Neither is R a copy of A_1 . This truth is shown as follows :

R not from A_1 . v. 22 weye] lawe R . 102 beþ noht gode] are swithe. 116 sleuþe] slownes. 124 anuiel] fro mynde. 237 binomen him] fro hym tane. See additional instances to the end of the poem.

Considerable difference between A_1 and R proves that R cannot have been derived from the older MS. A_1 . It is equally impossible that transcript (*b*) retaining correct readings transmitted to H_1 and R alike, but not reproduced in A_1 , be derived from A_1 ; cf. ll. 179, 180; 551, 552; 644—646. The list of individual mistakes in A_1 , where H_1 and R preserve the correct reading, is sufficiently imposing to corroborate the conclusion that neither R nor its source was derived from A_1 . Hence it must be concluded, that A_1 and R , forming with H_1 a MSS. group, go back to a source now lost, but represented by A_1 (H_1R).

§ 9. Agreement of $A_1 H_1$ within the Group Z.

MSS. A_1 and H_1 agree¹ in unimportant coincidences. 711 and 712 alter the pronouns *pou* and *pe* to *ze* and *zou*; 791 substitutes *pouh* for *zef*. Other minor details are as follows:

v. 17 caught] *ikauht* A_1, H_1 . 149 *pis is*] *pis*. (407—475 *om. in D*). 413 *pat*] *pis*. 450 *And om.*] *And* (459—814 *om. in H_2*). 549 *Sweche (D.R)*] *Alswich*. 664 (Latin) “*qui*” *om. (A_2, R)*] *qui*. 689 *mynde (A_2, D)*] *mid*. 713 *pe*] *pat*. 731 *derkenes*] *piesternesse*. 763 *may*] *miht*. 812 *men*] *man*. 826 *no om.*] *no*. 829 *Many (A_2, R)*] *Many on*. 862 *nouþere do*] *don noþer*. A_1, H_1 agree in opposition to *D.R.* after the conclusion of A_2 : v. 892; 893 *ne om.* 900 *pe*. 904 *bipenke*.

None of these three MSS. comprising Group Z is directly or indirectly the antecedent of another. A_1 because the oldest text cannot have been derived from *R* or H_1 , nor can *R* have been derived from the younger text H_1 . Were this not the case, numerous instances of mutilation in A_1 or in H_1 occur, where the third MS. contributes the original reading. Equally impossible is it that *R* or H_1 has origin in A_1 ; cf. § 5. Instances exist, where H_1 or *R* conveys the correct reading lost in the other MSS. respectively. The results of the argument of § 7 indicate that H_1 and *R* propagate characteristics of a distinct source *b*. Since none of the three MS. texts is derived from any other of the same group, then it must be assumed that they return to a common original $A_1 H_1 R$.

Two groups of MSS. have thus been discovered, each connected in internal characteristics through its representative texts. Additional coincidences indicate other development, suggesting that some scribe had access to more than one MS., and that he modeled his transcript according to the readings of the two texts, with reference at times to one MS., at times to the other. Relationship seems to be indicated between H_2 and *R*.

§ 10. Coincidences in $H_2 R$.

In addition to conditions thus indicated, MSS. H_2, R give evidence of common relationship. Both H_2 and *R* add to the text of the other MSS. *grete*, verses 246 and 380, *ryzt* 171, *yt* 208, *pe* 229, *pæne*

¹ The agreement $A_1 H_1$ is introduced on authority of Professor Schick. This relationship must involve with it other conclusions important in the arrangement of genealogical tables.

261. Both read *pou noht forzete*, instead of *nis noht forzete*, line 193. Both read in 265, *They shulle take here*, replacing *He shal fonge his*. H_2 and R supply *Chastyse hem*, line 181, for *chasten* of A_1 . Minor resemblances corroborate these conclusions :

v. 74 Bote] But 3yffe H_2 .R. 80 on] on a. 134 bi] with. 159 pis] ytte. 161 falle] be fall. 162 þat] *om.* 171 halt þer mide] holte þere with 1yzt. 175 mot] mvste. 194 iwite] wete. 208 do] yt doo. 263 nele] wyll. 293 Ae] Butt. 304 And] *om.* 318 Hap] He hathe. 355 him sauh] sawe hym. 360 ibrent] brente. 385 wel] wel *om.* 389 Inwardliche] Inwardly. 432 þat] 3e. 817 Kindeliche] Kendely.

The greater age of R removes it from the question of source for H_2 . The numberless independent readings vouched for by H_2 (cf. § 1) make it evident that H_2 is not copied immediately from MS. R . It seems possible that the scribe of the transcript used by H_2 may have had knowledge of that employed by the scribe of R , particularly since MS. D ascribed with H_2 to a common source marks also an indirect connection with MS. R .

§ 11. The MS. D .

The MS. D united with the MS. H_2 preserves traces of influence binding it to the MS. R , as the accompanying illustrations will indicate. Both D and R supply *beme* for the original text *breme*, line 383. Both introduces the reading, line 893, *es for no loue no for no* instead of *nis for loue ne for* (*acord*). D and R read *syttes* for *is*, line 908. Other corrupt forms justify the same theory :

v. 33 he] þer he D . R . 58 in] in a. 65 þo] þen. 68 i wole] he wold. 84 bi leue] leue. 165 low] ful lowe. ful] *om.* 174 do] ido. 508 fonge] fonde.¹

Lines 107, 133, 145, 149, 274, 289, 344, 549, 757, 771, 785, 857, 866, 885, 900 confirm these conclusions. That, however, MS. D has no very intimate connection with MS. R , is indicated by the number and quality of the readings preserved with A_1 in opposition to differences numerous in comparison with the instances of agreement with R ; cf. preceding section, and also lines 944, 963, 967, 978, 987, 990, 996, 1000, 1004, 1020, 1021.

¹ The reading of 508 justified by rime and context seems to confirm the hypothesis, that D and R correct mutilations of MSS. A_1 . A_2 . H_1 . R . by the form intended by the poet.

§ 12. *The Relationship H_1H_2 .*

A relationship $H_1.H_2$ is to be traced in these two texts, justifying the supposition that the scribe of $D.H_2$ had also access to a MS. employed by $H_1.R$ in the grouping Z . H_1 and H_2 in common preserve the line 175, *he motte (mvste) be betym* in place of *he mot hit beten*. Other verses preserve corrupt passages confirming this relationship. A single word is added in $H_1.H_2$ in a number of instances, where it is omitted elsewhere :

v. 120 *wel $H_1.H_2$. 204 per is. 268 and 402 here. 280 pe. 290 maner. 423 fere]* in *fere*.

A word is altered in opposition to the readings of $A_1.A_2.D.R$:
v. 23 *it]* per $H_1.H_2$. 55 *par]* for. 112 *ful]* *myche*. 160 *eft]* after. 178 *hem]* *him*. 214 *heihe]* *his*. 236 *sippen]* after. 243 *eke]* also. 372 *pe]* *his*. 407 *nu]* *wel*. 817 *ofte]* *oftentyme*.

The investigation suggests a connection $H_1.H_2$ between the two pairs of closely related MSS. $H_1.R$ and $D.H_2$, not to be explained on the ground that either member of the two groupings is the source direct or indirect of the other. Nor has a single MS. of the four offered source for any other. See §§ 1, 7.

The imposing breaks in MSS. group $H_2.D$ remove from this group a possibility of origin for the two opposing elements $H_1.R$. The omission of lines 45 and 46 in R and the individual errors of the single MS. gives proof as follows :

H_2 not derived from MS. R : v. 13 *pis]* *om.* R . 19 *Al]* *om.* 20 *Ne shaltu]* *þou shalt not*. 22 *weye]* *lawe*. 26 *hem]* *ful*. 27 *Her of]* *om.* 31 *on]* *in*. 36 *in his seruise]* *serued hym* after. 38 *liuede al in]* *leued wel alle*. 41 *and]* *om.* 58 *don]* *om.* 84 *þise]* *þese thre*. 102 *noht gode]* *swithe. ac]* *om.* 105 *hit]* *om.* 114 *Vucerteynnesse]* *merkēnes*. 137 *lessounne]* *sarmoun*.

A common grouping is not to be ascribed directly to the four MSS., whereby all return to a common original, as will be recognized by the few and unimportant relationships shared by these MSS. in common, as well as by the character of the divergence.

§ 13. *MSS. $D H_1 H_2 R$.*

v. 18 *and]* *om.* $D.H_1.H_2.R$. 69 *nu]* *om.* 146 *Nis]* *Es*. 214 *Nas]* *was*. 327 *hu]* *whāt*. 399 *ishewed]* *schewed*.

Here the common relationship $D.H_1.H_2.R$ ends. It does not seem to be sufficiently marked to justify inference of common ancestry, through direct descent for the four MSS. that it comprises.

It is, however, to be supposed, that the mutilations of some common original propagated in the two groups of texts may have distributed themselves in course of development among the later MSS. In some instances agreement among three of the MSS. in question would seem to be derived from a theoretical H_1RDH_2 , particularly in the combination of $H_1.H_2.R$. The disagreement of D in these instances could be explained, as it must be in other relationships, by the hypothesis, that the scribe of D used more than one MS. and supplied necessary corrections. On the other hand, it must be remembered, that the corrupt text H_2 gives proof of diligent conjectural emendation from the hand of some individual scribe, irrespective of other MSS.

Group $D.H_1.R$ appears line 198 (l. *om.* in H_2). l. 198 substitutes *Ful* for *Wel*, 293 *wol 3yf* for *3if*, and in the Latin text 554 includes the complete quotation. Other coincidences occur, chiefly omissions from $D.H_1.R$. See as follows minor coincidences :

v. 202 it] and $D.H.R$. 221 a ($A_2.H_2$)] *om.* 295 ifere ($A_1.A_2$)] in fere. 395 þanne] *om.* Other instances are in opposition to $A_1.A_2$ only. 557 do] do to. 604 on] in a. 633 þeih] he. 716 and *om.*] and. 723 ful iwis] altered. 803 iwrouht] wro3t. 843 Hij] þay. 875 ne *om.*] ne.

On the other hand the following coincidences do not suggest additional hypotheses regarding the genesis of the MSS. The grouping is confined to three of the MSS. investigated. The fragmentary condition of MSS. D and H_2 is to be recalled in the examination of the following illustrations :

Group $D.H_2.R$. v. 4 Ac] Bot $D.H_2.R$. 65 þo] *om.* 80 alle] *om.* 134 his mihte] all his my3t. 179 here holde] holde here.

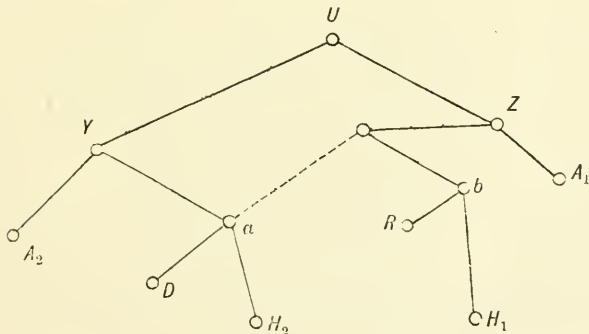
Group $D.H_1.H_2$. v. 46 he *om.*] he $D.H_1.H_2$. 125 swiche] *om.* 175 hit] *om.* 185 As] *om.* 320 þu] *om.*

Group $H_1.H_2.R$. v. 132 ne] *om.* $H_1.H_2.R$. 160 ibouht] bo3te. 173 mot] moste. 230 gan (was)] dide hym. 241 And] But. 249 Ibiried] Biryed. 260 a] *om.* 273 euere] for euer. 276 reuliche] ful reuliche. 293, 315, 347, 434 Ac] But. 336 Wher] If. 348 and *om.*] and. 362 þat ilke] þat. 411 self] him self. 423 fere] in fere. 424 þat] þat to. 455 nele] wil.

Conclusions derived from this investigation may be briefly summarized. The two principal groups Y and Z are already classified. A_1 and A_2 , MSS. representing each of the groups, are the purest texts, and are most nearly alike. H_1 and R show some close relationship

setting them apart in a distinct group. D and H_2 belong in a class by themselves. A general agreement is to be marked between these two secondary groups, but they are not derived one from the other, and they do not represent directly a common source. The group $H_1 R$ offers no difficulty. Of the group $D H_2$, D is a more exact text than H_2 . H_2 is often miserably corrupt, and is the farthest removed from the original. The differences between D and H_2 are to be accounted for in various ways. Some MS. or MSS. must exist between the transcript D and the transcript H_2 . The original of H_2 was undoubtedly defective, and H_2 or its antecedent text attempted to correct the errors of its prototype and to preserve a complete poem. The original not being at hand, the copyist tacked on the spurious conclusion characteristic of H_2 . The fact of the break in D and H_2 at approximately the same portion of the poem suggests that D had also access to a defective copy. Both MSS. D and H_2 could be referred to a theoretical MS. (a) fulfilling these conditions. MS. (a), a member of group Y , introduced mutilations transmitted in MSS. $H_1 R$, suggesting that its copyist used also a theoretical MS. representative of (b). MS. D corrected its copy, hence D is at times more or less identical with the original English text. This conjecture seems to explain best the general condition of these MSS.

Collecting the results obtained through each of these separate arguments, the pedigree of the texts of the six MSS. of the *Speculum*, as developed in the course of this investigation, formulates itself into the following genealogical table. It will not be attempted to prove that one or two texts stood between any two of the combining MSS. It is to be believed that MS. H_2 had in its development the combined results of the association of MSS. representing two distinct groups of texts.



CHAPTER V.

PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE EDITION.

§ 1. *The Classification of the MSS.*

THE younger and less complete representatives of the MSS. groups classified in the preceding chapter, MSS. H_1 and H_2 with texts often diverging from the original and at times independent in reading, are too imperfect to become the basis of an edition, provided others better adapted to the relationship are to be found. H_2 , a late MS. offering a complete poem, not merely introduces new readings and an independent conclusion, but is conspicuous through two unexplained *lacunæ*, comprehending more than half the fundamental text. MS. H_1 has lost its concluding pages. MS. D related to H_2 in the same branch of the family, an older member of the group, is deficient through a break of sixty-eight lines in the middle of the poem and is thus unfitted to become standard for reference. Yet it is not impossible, that these three younger texts may have obtained respectively a reading lost in an older and in some ways a more exact transcript.

MS. R supplying defective portions of the later transcripts preserves also impure readings and dialectical forms not to be reconciled with the original poem. Moreover it seems to be of inferior value, in that it represents a development of a more corrupt branch of the original; cf. MS. H_1 most nearly related. A_2 though imperfect in places, shows little trace of emendation and merits high esteem, but A_2 is also unfortunately incomplete. It has lost not only its conclusion but the one hundred and twenty lines preceding, apparently through no fault of its copyist; cf. chap. iii., 4. MS. A_1 on the other hand deserves in general preference over MSS. A_2 .D. H_1 . H_2 .R. MS. A_1 is the oldest transcript. Without important breaks and without interpolations, it offers a version approximately correct. That it is an excellent text, and stands nearest the original in distinction from the other MSS., is assured in its freedom¹ from copyist's errors on the testimony of the parchment, and in the regularity with which it preserves uniform dialectical forms. The fundamental text then, basis of this edition, must be MS. A_1 .

¹ Yet it must be borne in mind that a scribe who is too intent on his spelling (cf. MS. H_2) and the neatness of his text may give too little attention to his context and the import of what he is writing.

§ 2. *Criticism of Texts.*

Of the two groups of MSS. extant as classified in the preceding chapter, Group Z, represented by MSS. A₁ and R, illustrative of the earlier texts, and by a younger MS. H₁, deserves as a whole precedence over Y. This is clear from the preceding chapter, where, from the readings introduced, it is shown that Z has preserved often the purer text. Group Z contains the two oldest MSS.; Z provides the conclusion, although the same occurs on the authority of one MS. of group Y. A MS. from group Z becomes basis of the edition. That is to say, group Z contains the better readings, and on the whole the fewer erratic forms.

Interpolations of MSS. A₁DH₁H₂R in combined proof are not generally later and corrupt readings, but rather omissions from MS. A₁. Although that MS. preserves the oldest text prepared with considerable exactness, without marked errors detrimental to the main poem, it has simplified its material in passages where even H₁ and H₂, later¹ and often corrupt MSS., combine with better texts in preserving readings lost in MS. A₁. Other texts of the Auchinleck collection are thus shortened and partly altered; cf. Külbing, *Sir Beues*, p. xli, with reference to *Arthur and Merlin*, p. cliii, and to Bülbring, *Engl. Studien*, vol. xvi, pp. 251 ff. On the other hand the general value and significance of MS. A₁ seems not to be affected by these omissions. That these are first readings and omissions from A₁ is clear. They are introduced in harmonious connection with the subject-matter, and they develop the thought in a way that makes them important to the principal action of the poem. Each of the following couplets adds force to the passage illustrated, and there is nothing in the poet's style to contradict the appropriateness of the reading. Lines inserted after 178 begin a well-defined climax that culminates in line 187. Lines 551, 552 are logically significant in connective and introductory (*i. e.* to paragraph) sense. They, like lines 645, 646, contain vigorous personal application of the truth expounded and add to the dramatic effect of the passage. Lines 645, 646:

“ Nowe be þou were, þou proude gome,
þat þou ne be in pryde enome.”

Peculiarly representative of the poet, and forcible in the genesis of the poem is the interpolation of one member of group Z, lines 639—640:

¹ For a later MS. may be a good copy of a MS. older than any now extant.

“Out of heuen, þat was so bryȝte,
Into helle for pride he toke his flyȝte.”¹

Rounding the sentence, in harmony with the context, and characteristic of the style of the poet² is the contribution of group Z following line 420 :

“Which shal not be to hem vncowþe,
For god shal sey it with his mowþe :
‘*Venite, benedicti patris mei.*’”

Lines following 160 in MS. H₂ seem in keeping with the dramatic earnestness of the poet :

“Where be thoo þat thynkyþe þere vpon ?
I cane nott telle, be seynte John !”

But the textual merit of group Y on basis of its MS. diverging most broadly from the original does not support the introduction of readings of H₂, however well justified they may seem through sentiment. Similarly H₂ in line 323 seems to preserve the meaning of the poet in *Herken now my ffrendle so free*. A preferred reading is also that of H₁R in l. 790, *Herken & I wil telle þe*, supported by MS. D, a member of the opposing group beginning *Harkeneþ* ; but the wisdom of conservatism has limited the development of these theories to the form of suggestions only.

Particularly at variance with the text are those interpolations that have the tendency to perfect the metre by the substitution of lines of see-saw regularity. The serenity of the verse is consequently marred by a harsh and senseless jingle in contrast with the *naïve* natural grace of the main poem ; cf. lines 4—5, 323—324, 454—455, 507—508, and numerous alterations of the entire line, especially in MS. H₂, but also in MS. H₁. In contrast to the freedom and beauty of the original verse these additions are of no value in the textual criticism and are to be rejected as undesirable redaction. Such lines, quoted without reference to the specific MS., are illustrated as follows : 132, 251, 272, 283, 440, 442, 514, 606, 688, 696, etc.

Undoubtedly in minor features³ an individual MS. may be correct in reading ; thus MSS. D and R have preserved *fonde* (*fonge* A₁),

¹ Regarding the position of this interpolation as a unit in the integral poem, the editor recognizes grounds for difference of opinion, and in the introduction of the passage is, like Lydgate, open to correction.

² The tendency of the poet to clinch his statement with a final expression in summary of his thought is to be marked in this poem.

³ The discussion of other passages on basis of the two groups of texts might seem desirable in this chapter. The alteration of pronouns by the different MSS. respectively is occasion for investigation, but here the poet himself was

l. 508 satisfactory, as rime and meaning indicate. Line 1029, *he* as preserved by *R* is necessary to the full line, and line 350, *as* and *hem* make two syllables too many for regular scansion; so *nu* in l. 69 is a syllable too much for the metre. *þo*, line 342, and *nost* line 347, are necessary to the meaning.

The testimony of five MSS. for *wyll*, line 2, also *how*, line 267, would perhaps be in opposition to the Auchinleck readings *may* and *what*. To the editor the poetical charm of the Auchinleck rendering was reason for the retention of what may be granted to be on authority of the MSS., a desirable textual alteration.

The question of the legitimacy of the reading of *god*, MSS. *A*₂*D*, *god* *H*₁, *om.* *H*₂, lines 6 and 21, is respectfully submitted to the student of textual criticism.

The *Speculum* of this issue would not credit itself as submitting rigorously a critical text. Placing material for thought before its public, it would become groundwork for the investigation of the student of philology.

§ 3. The Arrangement of the Edition.

The *Speculum*, as here set forth on basis of MS. *A*₁, seeks to correct palpable errors¹ extant in the fundamental text. Any attempt at restoration² of *A*₁ is governed by the readings³ of MSS. *A*₂, *D*, *H*₁, *H*₂, *R*, collated separately or with reference to a group-combination. Although members of the family *Z* preserve nearly complete versions of the original, yet in instance of variance in the MSS., preference is often given to a representative of the group *Y*. In general a substituted reading presents forms of *A*₂, the MS.

not always exact. Other points have claims to attention, but minor interpolations will generally be recognized as such. The reader is referred to the notes on the poem and the chapter over metre for other questions connected with the criticism of the texts.

¹ Errors in MS. *A*₁ are chiefly accidental, illustrative of omission rather than of interpolation.

² Deficiency is to be recognized through verses that interfere with the scansion, or in instances in which the MSS. are self-contradictory or support one another in obvious error or in mutilation of the archetype.

³ Avoidable errors in the younger MSS. are notably comprehensive, particularly in MS. *D*. Among them all haplography and dittography are not common. MS. *A*₂ is probably answerable for an instance of *skipping* in verses 81 ff. and 140 ff. (chap. III, 4), due probably to *homeoteleuton*. Interpolation and attempt at explanation of unintelligible forms must be attributed to *H*₂. Intentional error accredited to *mala fides* is to be noted. The scribe often adapts a sentence to a blunder originating with himself or tries to make sense of what he does not understand. Particularly have instances of anacoluthon taxed the grammarian; cf. verses 623—627.

second in excellence, or *D*, a MS. affording at times a good text, and often reproducing the original. Hence MS. *D* supplies lines 1007—1034, imperfect in MS. *A*₁ through injury to the MS. and wanting in MS. *A*₂ through loss of leaves. [*pylt*], line 232, has been contributed by *A*₂, where *put* of *D* is manifestly a mutilation of the first text. On the other hand, MS. *R* alone preserves [*he*] added line 1029, and necessary to perfect metre on basis of the normal type *A*. Undoubted blunders of the copyist having been rectified and absolute deficiencies supplied, MS. *A*₁ has been scrupulously followed. The sources of the present text as thus constructed have been differentiated through the following symbols, by which every deviation from the immediate MS. may be recognized :

(1) Customary italic type, that represents the expansion of a form contracted in the MS. : *hem* 25, *Iesu* 34, *euere* 44, *uertuz* 71, etc., all illustrative of usual methods of MS. abbreviation. (2) Brackets, embracing individual letters, syllables, words, or lines, which have been supplied from other MSS. as conjectural emendations of scribal errors ; thus *þisel*[*f*][*e*], verse 10, indicates that [*e*] has been added as the reading of at least three of the MSS., and that the inflectional and metrical value of the verse is improved by the conjecture. On the other hand, while the verse might metrically represent the type *C* (described chap. xi.), the suffix places it in the normal type *A*, in agreement with laws presupposed to belong to the *Speculum*. [*nost*], line 347, indicates that an entire word, deficient in MS. *A*₁, has been inserted within the verse. On this principle the three verses lost in *A*₁, 1032—1034, are embraced in brackets, showing that this portion of the text is borrowed from MS. *D*. (3) Parentheses, inclosing a word that should be omitted in text *A*₁, as inconsistent with meaning, grammatical or metrical form, or historical development. (4) Notes at the bottom of the page, strictly limited to palæographical modifications, important generally to execution alone. So a few instances of dittography are marked in foot-notes, pp. 34, 38, and 40, etc. A foot-note indicates that *per*, l. 33, is written over erasure in *A*₁, and that *to*, verse 71, is above the line.

Two necessarily single words united in the MS. (*i. e.* *A*₁) have been separated. A hyphen identifies the elements of a single word written apart in the MS. Punctuation, paragraphing by the setting in of the line, the introduction of capital letters beginning proper names (*Alquin* 51, *Iudas* 129, *Gregory* 667) or opening the verse,

have been regulated in conformity with harmonious literary usage. Large initial letters correspond to the illuminated capitals of the parchment. The sign ¶ in the MS. is reproduced on the printed page by the same character in the position, relatively to the text, that it occupies on the leaf of the folio. Owing to the abundant failure in the coincidence of the logical and technical paragraphing as presented in the parchment (see lines 9, 48, 57, etc.), the MS. paragraph is not marked by the mechanical setting-in of the line, as is regarded expedient in *Sir Beues*. See also Kölbing, p. xlii., and *Guy of Warwick*, 15th century edition, p. vii. The *Speculum* makes no attempt to introduce the inflectional final *-e*, even when warranted by associated forms, except as an occasional aid to symmetry in metre. Where double thesis can be avoided by the apocope or syncope of the unaccented *-e*, that *-e*, though expressed, is usually to be regarded as silent.

Below the text on each page are given in full the readings of MSS. A₂, D, H₁, H₂, R, arranged as variants and following the leading Auchinleck text in alphabetical order. The orthography is always that of the MS. that first deviates from MS. A₁, be it MS. A₂, D, H₁, H₂, or R. It is hoped that no form conveying difference of meaning has been omitted. Variations purely orthographical or phonetical have in general not been represented. Yet in a few instances graphical or phonetic modifications that seem of peculiar interest are cited among genuine variants, as, for instance: *where*, for *were*, l. 59 in *D*; *boys*, *bush*, l. 363 in *D*; *herth*, *eorþe* in *A*₁, l. 375 in *D*; *hyere*, O.E. *hēr*, l. 452 in *A*₂, *H*₁. Numberless spirals, curves, twists, and flourishes, and the line crossing *h* or *l* have in general been treated as ornaments, unless the metrical quality of the verse or the inflection demands a final *-e* or *-n*. It is intended, that the variants reproduce exactly the forms of the MSS. without emendations or conjectural readings. An exception is the variant to 524 in *H*₁, *su[m]what*. A conjecture is also permitted, where minuscules were apparently confused with others having a superficial resemblance to them; cf. variant 602 in *D*, where *-te* seems confused with *-ie*, *vilante* for *vilanie*, and 563, *-is* for *-rs*, *doist* for *dorst*?. The variants bear no alteration in orthography. Punctuation must be looked on as irrespective of the MSS.

The side-notes of the page contain the abstract of the subject-matter; the headlines, a briefer abstract. Alcuin's *Liber* contributes chapter headings in Latin. These are written in italic type on the margin opposite to that containing the brief paraphrase.

Important in the preparation of the edition are the notes, in purpose critical as well as explanatory. Here various textual readings have been discussed and difficult passages, idioms, and usages of the period have been studied through parallel selections from Romance poems and the various homilies of the century. A list of the archaic words of the text, with meanings and verse numbers, is collected in the glossary. If the single word occur more than three times in the same meaning, the sign *etc.* after the third number indicates the fact.

Diacritical marks are introduced into the chapters of the Introduction as follows: a circumflex accent (^) indicates a long syllable in a word of O.E. derivation; a macron (-), a long syllable in a M.E. word or a loan-word of foreign origin; a breve (˘) marks the short syllable in an O.E. or a M.E. word; two dots above a vowel (¨) show that it is to be sounded, below (˙), that it is silent; primary stress is denoted by the acute accent (´); secondary stress, by the grave accent (`); the metrical pause, by a period (.); a colon (:), is written between the members of a rhyming couplet; marks of parenthesis () inclose a form not of value in the immediate discussion; < is equivalent to "derived from"; an asterisk (*), a theoretical form.

Apart from reference to the well-known dictionaries¹ of Murray, Bosworth-Toller, Stratmann-Bradley, Kluge, Skeat, Paul's *Grundriss*, Sievers's *Ag. Grammatik*, and the *M.E. Grammatik* of Morsbach, the *Speculum* is frequently indebted to the following works: ²

E. A. Abbott, *A Shakespearian Grammar*.

B. ten Brink, *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst*. Leipzig, 1884.

K. Brugmann, *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, Wright, Conway, Rouse, London, 1888—93.

B. Carstens, *Zur Dialectbestimmung des mittlenglischen Sir Firumbras*. Eine Lautuntersuchung. Kiel, 1884.

E. Kölbing, *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. London, 1885—94. (Early English Text Soc., Extra Series, Nos. XLVI., XLVIII., LXV.).

G. Menze, *Der ostmittelländische Dialekt*. I. Vokalismus. Cöthen, 1889.

F. Pabst, *Die Sprache der me. Reimchronik des R. von Gloucester*. Berlin, 1889.

¹ These authorities necessary to the specialist in the most primary English study, are too familiar to demand specific description.

² Reference in the following edition to any work of the subjoined list will hereafter often cite merely the author's surname, with number of the page quoted for illustration, but without naming specific title.

A. Pogatscher, *Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen*, 1888.

J. Schick, *Lydgate's Temple of Glas*. London, 1891 (Early English Text Soc., Extra Series, No. LX.).

W. Skeat, *Principles of English Etymology*. Oxford, 1887–91.

O. Wilda, *Über die örtliche Verbreitung der 12-zeil. Schweifreime in England*.

J. Zupitza,¹ *Alt- und mittenglisches Übungsbuch*. Wien, 1889.

Part II.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE RELATION OF THE *SPECULUM* TO THE GUY OF WARWICK ROMANCES.

“Bove all the knightis that euer weare or shal
Sir Guy of Warwick beares the coronal.”²

THE *Speculum* represents the modernized form³ of the Guy saga, the third working⁴ of the material as illustrated in the Copland⁵ Guy

¹ Naturally frequent reference will be made to Zupitza's editions of the various Guy of Warwick MSS. (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, Nos. XXV., XXVI., XLII., XLIX., and *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Cl. der kais. Academie der Wiss.*, LXXIV., p. 549), and to Wülker's, Körting's, and ten Brink's histories of English literature.

² Selected from the MS. of Lane's Lydgate's *Guy of Warwick*, *The renowned historie of Sir Gwy, Eurl of Warwick*, “surnamed Heremite, begun by Don Lydgatt, monck of St. Edmundes Berye,” reworked by John Lane in 1622, but never printed; cf. the Harleian MS. 5243, Lane's Lydgatt's Gwy. It was described and commended by Phillips, the nephew of John Milton. Concerning the “corrected Historie of Sir Gwy,” see also Zupitza, *Sitzungsber.*, p. 645, and Turnbull in his edition of the Auchinleck Guy: *The Romances of Sir Guy of Warwick*, Edinburgh, 1840.

³ Compare date and relative character of material. Minute discussion will be reserved for another occasion.

⁴ Cf. Zupitza, *Zur Literaturgeschichte des Guy von Warwick*, Wien, 1873, pp. 632, 635. Lydgate's Guy is probably in one sense an independent text, and the editor would not specify the *Speculum* as necessarily a third working of the fundamental legend.

⁵ Intermediate in period between the Copland and Lydgate Guys must be recalled the Wynkyn de Worde edition, dated in the Museum collection, 1500; the French text printed à Paris, 1525; a later edition (in French) of 1550; and possibly the fragment printed by Sir T. Phillips, Middle Hill, 1838; cf. Museum text. The brief fragment, three leaves (*Fragmenta Vetus*) of the W. de Worde edition preserved in the British Museum, Add. MS. 14,408, and the fourth leaf to be found in the Douce Collection 20 of the Bodley MSS., belongs probably to the series associated with *Robert the deuyll* of 1510, prose stories printed by Wynkyn de Worde; cf. Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, p. 64.

or in Lydgate's *Guy*. Yet it is to be remembered that the poem of this issue is earlier than the Lydgate text¹ of 1423, or Copland's print² of 1560 by the Museum estimate. The *Speculum* supplements the main *Guy* legend. A chapter lost from some intact version, it is closely interwoven with the thread of the fundamental romance. The "sarmoun" blends with the tale as recorded by Lydgate, the *Lyff of Guy of Warwick*,³ at the point at which Lydgate's *Guy* :—

. "kam to an hermytage,
where he fond on dwellyng in wyldirnesse. str. 63⁸
64 To hym he drouh besechyng hym of grace."⁴

This "on dwellyng in wyldirnesse" might be recognized as "Alquin," and the "besechyng hym of grace" the plea for "sarmoun" over morality. The event occurred, as in the *Speculum*, when þe world . . he . . forsok (v. 33), after *Guy* had already :—

. . . "spedde hym forth for love of Crist Jesu. str. 24
25 Forsook the world onknowe to euery wight,
Of hih perfeccyoun to leuen in penaunce,
"lefft wyff and kyn and bekam goddis knyght,
whom for to serve was set all his plesauce,
content with lytel (Crist was his suffysaunce)."

Central point⁵ of contact determining absolutely immediate time and date of the interview resulting in the discourse to *Guy* is not definitely chronicled. Conditions of the *Speculum* in source and working display youth⁶ rapt to some celestial ecstasy of renunciation. Intuitively a period of irresolution calling for the defining of purpose and determination comes to mind, marking the hour of farewell to Felice, the period of victory over earthly passion. Here belong Alquin's words of courage to the weak soul. The *Speculum* suggests

¹ Schiek, *Temple of Glas*, pp. civ. and cxii. See Zupitza's date, 1420, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 648.

² The Museum text employed in the arrangement of this edition having lost its first leaves is without date; but compare Copland's prints, *Syr Beuys of Hampton*, *Syr Degore*, *Syr Isumbras*, *The Knight of the Swanne*, etc. of 1550. Copland concludes his task with: *Finis. Laus Deo omnipotenti*. Jusserand dates Copland's print "about 1560," p. 64.

³ For Lydgate's version see Zupitza, *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-hist. Cl. der kais. Academie der Wiss.* (Berlin, 1874), lxxiv, p. 649, *Acta Guidonis Warwicensis*, "A plesante songe of the valiant actes of Guy of War wicke."

⁴ *Sitzungsberichte* (*vide supra*), p. 661, und *Uebungsbuch*, p. 111.

⁵ Though infinitely suggestive of the greater subject, this poem purports to attain only to the dignity of the episode. The ten thousand verses (practically 8043, Herbing, p. 12) of more perfect texts have no claim to recognition in the compact exposition of the *Speculum*. Hence comparisons here introduced are in each instance outward from the *Speculum* to associated texts, rather than inward, tracing only the main theme in the brief composition.

⁶ Eighteenth century authority is as follows: "You are young and meanly boru."—*Chap Book*, 1796.

the young energy of a knight in the glow of vigorous manhood. The appropriate passage of Lydgate's version, characterizing a life nearing its "dim goal," is inconsistent with the hypothesis embodied in the *Speculum*, yet in this detail the anachronism¹ could be ascribed to the poetical application of the same incident under diverse treatment of remote ages and different authorship. "So the profound secret purpose of a noble life draws into itself the memories of past joy and past sorrow, and yields them again with chronology lost."²

Alquin fills the rôle of hermit³ in another of his functions, in that he becomes Guy's spiritual physician: *i shal nu ben þi leche*, verse 69; *hele of soule i may ou teche*, verse 2. So in Copland's *Guy*, a hermit serves in office of medical adviser:⁴

1259 "There was a monke behelde him well,
That could of leche craft some dell."—Copl. p. 15.

1269 "That Hermite in a little stound
Looked to Guy and healed his wound."—Copl. p. 15.

The service of hermit as guide, adviser, and healer, is testified to in different versions of the legend. Ample occasion is offered in the early texts for the skill of the physician⁵ as counsellor in virtue, but the *Speculum* advances a step beyond other poems in providing tangible personality for a traditional type⁶ of mediæval development. The hermit is distinctly named "Alquin."

The sermon also fits well into the narrative, as printed by Copland,⁷ in *The Booke of the moste victoryous Prynce, Guy of Warwick* (Imprynted at London in Lothburye, ouer agaynst Saynt Margarit's Church by Wylliam Copland):

¹ For Lydgate's well-known tendency to anachronism, see *Schick*, pp. cxxxv, cxxxvi.

² Dr. Henry Van Dyke, *The Story of the other Wise Man*, p. 69.

³ Accounts of Guy's acquaintance with hermits, details of his life history, his "last Will and Testament," his epitaph are abundant; nothing is lacking in the tale, but the name of a hermit never occurs. Alquin is not mentioned.

⁴ Compare *Three Early English Metrical Romances*, vol. 1, p. xxxii: "For there were none heremytes in tho dayes, but that they had been men of worshyp and of prowesse, and the heremytes helde grete housholde, and refresshyd peple that were in distresse."

⁵ Thus Sir Launcelot came to a "heremyt" and besought aid: *he prayd hym for Goddes sake of socour* (*vide ante*, p. xxx.).

⁶ The historian Josephus (b. 37 A.D.) records in the *Life* "by his own Hand" "Tryal" of the doctrines of a famous Master Bannus (the *Talmud* names Bani, of "Christ's Disciples"), that led the "Life of a Hermite in Caves and Solitudes."

⁷ It is to be noted that the Copland print is without pagination and line-numbers. Parallel passages in Zupitza's *Guy of Warwick*, published in 1875 (E. E. T. S., XXV, XXVI), are often marked at the left of quotations from Copland.

“And as he rode, by the way
Besyde he saw a fayre abbay.
Thyther guy rode well, I wote,
And there he founde a noble Abbote.”—Copl. p. 14.

Copland notes often a visit to a hermit, opportunity for “besech-
yng of sarmoun,” cf. as follows :

“and the priestes and Clarkes met him with precessyon
Singing: *te Deum Laudamus*.”—Copl. p. 212.

“To Arderne yede he fast,
and an Ermitage he founde at last,
that stoode in wood wylde.”—Copl. p. 214.

“To an Hermite then rode he
And sayde: ‘Hermite, come and go with me.’” . . .
.
.
.

“The Hermyte sayd: ‘gladly perfay.’
To that Forrest he went with guy.”—Copl. p. 14.

1247 “To an Hermite then rode Guy,
That he knew before truely.
That Hermite in a little stound
Looked to Guy

1269 When he was whole of the Hermite thare,
His leau he tooke and forth gan fare.”—Copl. p. 15.

Other MSS. versions of the legend enroll pleadings with hermits.
MS. Ff. 2, 38, reads as follows (cf. above):

“He went to an abbey,
That was a lytill besyde þe wey.
The abbot sone he fonde there
And spake to hym on hys manere.”—Ff. 2, 38, v. 1219 ff.

“Besydes Warwykk go he can
To an ermyte, þat he knewe or þan.”—Auch. v. 10,525.

The language of the entreaty¹ in various accounts of the inter-
view, attests to the symmetry of the development in the various
texts, if not to the uniformity of the coincidence in method of
address :

G. '75, 1223. “Guy sayd: ‘Syr, for charitee.’”—Copl. p. 14.

“‘Sur,’ he sayd, ‘saue þe.
I the bydd, þur charite.’”—Ff. 2, 38, v. 1225.

“þat þu wole, þar charite.”—Auch. 10, v. 55.

“*Sire cher, par charite.*”—Aug. 28, fol. v. a.

¹ The selection proves the uniform conformity of MSS. of different origin to an accepted usage, rather than a striking idiosyncrasy of the Guy texts; *par charite*, common in address to hermits, presents also forms of entreaty under strong emotion: *Sir Beues*, MS. S, verse 1420, and MS. E, 4004, read :

v. 1420: Tel me now þur charyte.

v. 3164: For charite! she seide.

v. 4004: And cryede hym mercy þur charyte.

In the different MSS. the motive ascribed to Guy was the same¹:

“and euer Guy had gode in his thought.”—Copl. p. 206, v. 10.

“Therfor y am purposed in thought
In goddis seruyse now to goo,
To acquite some-what, that y haue mysdoe.”—Caius, v. 7426.

“in his mynde bethoughte him anone,
That all his lif he wolde chaunge tho,
and in goddis seruyse he wolde him do.”—Caius, v. 7406.

“All earthly Pleasure he for Heaven forsook.”²—Epitaph of Guy.

“He thoghte pere wyth all hys myzt,
To serue hym bothe day and nyght.”—Ff. 2, v. 7143.

“All thys worlde y wyll forsake,
And penaunce for my synnes take.
Wende y wyll yn goddys seruyse.”—Ff. 2, 7179 ff.

“He pouzt wip dreeri mode:
For Iesu loue, our saueour,
Neuer no dede he gode.”—Auch. 22, v. 16 ff.

“To bote min sinnes ichill wende,
Barfot to mi liues ende.”—Auch. 22, v. 10 f.

Corresponding passages in the *Speculum* read:

“on a time he stod in pouht:
pe wordes blisse him pouhte noht.”—Auch. 10, v. 31, 32.

“(And) louede god and his lore,
And in his seruisse was euere more.”—Auch. 10, v. 35, 36.

Amplification³ explanatory of the suggestive lines 31—36 of the *Speculum* is supplied by Copland, who describes Guy’s self-

¹ A later text explains Guy’s motive: At the very height of Guy’s glory, being exalted to his father’s dignities, Conscience biddeth him repent of all his former sins, so Guy resolved to travel to the Holy Land like a Pilgrim. “Ah, Phillis,” said he, “I have spent much time in honouring thee and to win thy favour, but never spared one minute for my soul’s health in honouring the Lord.” After exchange of rings and melting kisses, he departed like a stranger from his own habitation, taking neither money nor scrip with him, and but a small quantity of herbs and roots.—Chap Book, *History of Guy*, of which there seem to be at least twelve editions, one bearing the date 1783; the twelfth appeared in 1790; another was printed for “the company of walking stationers,” 1796.

Another account enumerates details as follows: Ruminating on past actions of his Life, and the showers of Blood he had spilt in seeking after Honour, it made him extremely pensive. He spoke with Felice: “For thy sake, dear Lady, have I waded through Seas of Blood, and with this Hand laid many Thousands sleeping in their silent graves, and spent all the Days of my blooming Youth in seeking that empty Title called Honour.” Then after a sad farewell Guy travelled many weary Steps on the Land, pursued his pilgrimage through hardship and danger in the Holy Land with great Devotion. Selected from *The History of the famous Exploits of Guy Earl of Warwick*. Printed for Charles Bates at the Sun and Bible in Pye Corner, near St. Sepulchre’s Church.

² Cf. Bettesworth’s *Guy*, “Epitaph of Guy and Felice.”

³ Weight of the argument based on this parallel is enhanced, if the relative length of the *Speculum* and of the other texts of these selections is to be regarded comparatively.

abnegation with its ulterior motive.¹ Guy reveals to Felice the reproach of his stricken conscience. Copland states that Guy had:—

- “bethought him tho,
how he had done many a man wo,
7135 and slayne many a man with his honde,
Brent and destroyed many a Lande.
7143 Forth his lyfe therefore guy thought,
to serue Jesu Crist that him bought.
7147 ‘With penance amende shall I
that I haue sinned with my body.’”

The prose version adds: “I am determined to travel for the welfare of my soul, not as before upon my Horse in Armour, but in a Gown of Grey, a Palmer’s weed.” Then Guy journeys toward the Holy Land, where once Jerusalem’s fair city stood.

The *Speculum* in its function of episode makes no further claim to the absolute facts of the greater romance, yet into the suggestiveness of its brief verses it compresses the striking incidents of the fundamental tale. Its service is greater. The spirit of the associated romance is transmitted to the *Speculum*, and is transfused by subtle magic into the very essence of the poem.

The *Speculum*, shaped to the conception of English² tradition, is

¹ Guy expresses his purpose, in words paraphrasing the record of the *Gesta Romanorum*: “To purchase Heaven I will go pass through Hell.”

² Whether the origin of the tradition bearing the name Guy be British or Welsh, as in the associated Arthour romance, Saracen, according to Ritson, German, or French, brought from the far East (Herbing, p. 889), as the Furnivall-Hales-Percy text intimates, the immediate Guy typified in this version is English, and the ultimate *motif* is English in the presentation of a national hero. The ballad assumes:

“An *English-man* I was by Birth;
In Faith of Christ a Christian.”
“It was an *English-man* all this did do.”

Moreover, the distinguishing characteristics of the tale are to be traced to English ground. So the battle with Colbrand was on English soil, according to the poet:

“and when Guy was on *English* syde,
Unto worke he gan ryde.”
“En Engleterre feu ieo ne.
En une ville de Wallingford,
Qu’est pres de Ocenford.”

Guy’s national reputation was English; cf. Rowlands’s *Guy*. *The famous History of Guy, Earle of Warwick*, “Great Gvy of Warwick our famous Country man,” by Samuel Rowlands, London, (“printed for Edward Brewster at the sign of the Crane in St. Paul’s Churchyard,” 1682, and published in Glasgow for the Hunterian Club; Edinburgh print of 1836) asserts that:

“Great Hercules, if he had breathed on ground,
When *English* Guy of Warwick liv’d renownel,
There would have been a combat twixt them two.”

The French version of 1525 describes Guy as of English origin: “*Cy com-*

likewise moulded skilfully to a historical groundwork of facts diametrically opposed in nature and origin. Count Guido,¹ *Guido Comes*, knight of renown, active in war, holding at Tours positions of honour and trust,² appeals to Alcuin, Dean³ of the order of St. Martin⁴ 796—804, cultured priest of the school of the palace, preceptor of one greater than Count Guido, superior to youthful neophytes, beloved teacher of the king and emperor⁵ Charlemagne, a humble⁶ servant consecrated to righteousness. Inspired with religious exaltation through purpose of chivalric glorification of God, Count Guido pleaded for a homily⁷ to deepen spiritual consecration under the austerity of war, *Spec.* 49—64 and *Liber*. The devoted friar responded with an exposition of virtue, the *Liber* popular during many ages. There is some ground for believing that the vigilant Count became successor to Alcuin,⁸ and to the period of his death was Abbot of the monastery of St. Martin of Tours. The tradition continues to embody with consistent fidelity historical facts of Count Guido's life, for, on authority of Lydgate:—

mence Guy de Warwick chevalier D'AGLETEREE, qui en son temps fit plusieurs prouesses et conquestes en ALLEMAIGNE," etc.

That England claimed the warrior chief seems evidenced in the "address" of the same edition of Rowlands. The first address is "To the Noble English Nation;" the second, "To the Honorable Ladies of England."

¹ In similar guise the exploits of Charlemagne and his retinue of brave warriors are glorified in *Fyrunbras*, or the *Song of Roland* in its various versions, and the victories of King Arthur in his "table round" of noble verse.

² Cf. *Liber*, *Epistola Nuneupatoria*, and *Speculum*, verses 27—36. See Adamson under Alcuin in *Dictionary of National Biography* for facts regarding Albinus Flaccus.

³ As presiding officer of the monastic school Alcuin delighted to be called *Dean*, simple deacon, Migne, vol. i. p. 31, § xxiv.: *beatus Alcuinus in epistolis suis nunquam se monachum, sed vel levitem, vel, quod illo tempore idem significabat diaconum inseribat*, cf. *Speculum*, v. 41.

⁴ *Speculum*, verses 37—44.

⁵ Alcuin, *Carissime in Christo preceptor* (Ep. 124), was inseparable from Charlemagne in pedagogy, theology, struggles, battles, beloved teacher, theologian, and author. See Schönfelder, *Alcuin*, 1873.

⁶ *humillissimus* is the epithet selected by Alcuin in epitomizing his own character; see *MS. Arundel* 218, fol. 2, where Alcuin is described as *humillissimus levitus in Dro felicitas*, and Monnier, *Alcuin et Charlemagne*, p. 344, *Sa religion et son humilité étaient mal à l'aise au milieu de tout de richesse*. See also Monnier, *Alcuin et son influence littéraire religieuse et politique sur les Franks*, Paris, 1853.

⁷ A sermon book was not inconsistent with the times of the great teacher. This form of homily was continued in Germany in ecclesiastical legislation until the close of the fifteenth century; see *Charles I. or Life of Charlemagne*, pp. 85, 86; Werner, *Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert*, 1876, p. 252, and, for the English homily, ten Brink, I. 49, 290, 291; Morley, vol. iii. pp. 350—352.

⁸ Alcuin held the highest monastic benefice. As Abbot he enforced the rigorous dispensation of the Benedictine Order; cf. *Ep.* 43.

“the same hermyte with inne a lytel space
 by deth is passed the flyn of his labour,
 affter whos day Guy was his successour.” str. 64⁵

Lydgate adds a conclusion suggestive of the reward of piety, interpreting the influence of the discourse, be it *Speculum* or *Liber*, and applicable equally to Count Guido¹ and to Guy. For the “*historie*” affirms, that Guy of Warwick lived *more and more encreasyng in vertu*, 64¹.

The poet thus originates magnificent phantasmagoria. In reckless disregard for local tradition he endows with life a hero of fiction. He bestows on him actual name, rank in actual history, and more than “local habitation.” He places him in France. He honours him with conspicuous position in a prominent monastery.² He associates him as friend and contemporary of an honoured prelate. He oversteps the limits of time, and places Guy’s existence in a definite period a hundred years earlier than the age in which his splendid achievements are uniformly supposed to have enriched his name with glory.³ In localizing a popular legend, Guy of Warwick is accounted for as an actual hero, Guido of Tours. He lived in the eighth century. The theory of a specific personality for Guy of Warwick is also that of Cornubiensis (Cambrens), Walter of Exeter,⁴ Dugdale the historian of Warwickshire, and of Peter Langtoft. If testimony of the *Speculum* be regarded as unauthentic, the delusion, involving the same sense of the reality of the doughty warrior, is

¹ The life of the knight was modelled after that of his preceptor. Over the serenity and the spirituality of Alcuin, see West, *Alcuin and the Rise of Christian Schools*, 1893, pp. 115 ff.

² The school of the Abbey was, second to the *schola palatina*, the most celebrated in France. Large numbers of distinguished pupils assembled there, among them many foreign students; see Schönfelder, p. 29. It became also a xenodochium for the reception of pilgrims. Not only did Charles I. pass much time in Tours, the queen Luitgarda dying there, but he was constantly patron of the Abbey; Jaffe, *Ep.* 53; Monnier, *Alcuin et Charlemagne*, p. 344; West, p. 64.

³ Guy’s achievement with the famed dragon is described as follows:

“Valiant Guy bestirs his hands,
 The Dragon back did shrink.
 The giant . . . quaking stands
 And knew not what to think.
 Guy gets the victory at last,
 Which made great Rumbo glad.
 He was full glad the fight was fit,
 For he before was sad:
 The grateful Lion Guy did greet;
 When he to him did goe,
 And thankfully did lick his feet.”

The heroic History of Guy, Earle of Warwick, by Humphrey Crouch, printed for Bell at the East end of the Christ Church, 1655.

⁴ Herbing, “*Ueber die Hss. des Guy von W.*,” p. 4.

heightened by the revelations of Warwick Castle through the display,¹ in hall and oratory, of trophies testifying to the prowess of some scion of the house of Warwick,² nominally the “mightie earle,” and through the statue³ itself at Guy’s cliff.

Early literature of the hero ascribes a most realistic actuality to Guy, for example, the ancient ballad,⁴ *Bagford Ballads*, vol. ii. p. 19. It describes Guy as one, “Who (for the love of fair Phillis) became a hermit, and died in a Cave of a craggy Rock, a Mile distant from Warwick.”

“And then I lived a hermit’s life
A mile or more out of the town.”

The ballad claims :

“My body in Warwick yet doth lye,
though now it is consumed to Mould.
My statue⁵ was engraven in stone.”

The work is commended in the preface as a theme of wonder for ages long anterior to our own, as portraying the very “locality of the spot” where Guy lived and died. Epitaphs⁶ of Guy and Felice record the burial of a knight :

“Whose great achievements oft perform’d
Has through Earth’s Globe immortalized his Name,
And given him a never-dying fame.”

¹ It will be recalled that the exhibition comprises shield, breast-plate, helmet, walking-staff, tilting-pole, and porridge-pot belonging to Guy, the slipper of *pat sweete ping*, Felice, and various trophies of contest in tusks of slaughtered boar, ribs of the Dun cow, diagram of the green dragon, *et cetera*, monuments “of lasting Fame of the noble Heroic Champion.”

² Confusion will not arise between the house of Guy and that of the present representative of the name and title Warwick, whose descent is traced to the biographer of Sidney (*Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney*, London, 1652), Elizabeth’s favourite, Fulke Greville.

³ The figure of Guy in the Magdalen chapel is at least in stature worthy the “defender of distressed innocence,” comments *The Tourist’s Guide to Warwick*, p. 46. In this statue, *diabolice stature*, Guy is, *non homo ! immo potius spiritus diaboli*, says one.

⁴ “A pleasant song of the Valiant Deeds of Chivalry achieved by that Noble Knight, Sir Guy of Warwick,” “printed at the Angel in Duck-lane, London: where any chapman may be furnished with them, or any other books at reasonable rates.” Compare *Roxburghe Ballads*, press mark III. 50, 708.

⁵ This statue, according to Dugdale, was erected in honour of Guy of Beauchamp.

⁶ Effete philistinism alone would doubt the authenticity of the following noble epitaph, honouring the hero of the Dun cow and the green dragon :

“Under this marble lies a pair,
Scarce such another in the world there are,
Like him so valiant, or like her so fair.
His actions thro’ the world have spread his fame,
And to the highest honours raised his name ;
For conjugal affection and chaste love
She’s only equalled by the blest above.
Below they all perfections did possess,
And now enjoy consummate happiness.”

Finis.

The assumed identity of Guy of Warwick and of Count Guido is adopted, whether inadvertently or with deliberate intent, in later Latin MSS. of the original *Liber* of Alcuin, absolutely irrespective of the *Speculum*; see MS. e Musaeo¹ 214, formerly No. 68, *Epistola Alcuini leuice Guidoni comiti Warrewici ad eius requisicionem*, fol. 51b—fol. 68b, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, date *circa* 1450. That, however, the union of Guy and Guido into a single homogeneous unit be justified as historical, independent study of the *dramatis personae* of the legend and of the *Liber* will aid to disclose. The part played by Count Guido of Tours, under the name of Guy of Warwick, will be considered in the two chapters to follow, in an attempt to interpret the history of the two warriors.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCERNING GUY, EARL OF WARWICK.

“Come! See the noble Deeds of Warwick’s Knight,
Whose worth within this history is placed
Like Diamonds, when they’re in Gold inchas’d²!”

KÖLBING, in *Germania*, vol. xxi. pp. 366, 367, discredits the legitimacy of the impersonation of Count Guido of Tours in the rôle of Guy of Warwick, on ground of the anachronism of the one hundred years marking the brilliant piece of bravado characteristic of each of the two men. The English hero is, it must be conceded, of uncertain lineage. Kölbings presents the popular verdict with reference to the period of the proud exploits of Guy the knight.³ In this aspect the objective point of the narrative is contributed in

¹ This Latin MS. is a small quarto described in the *Catalogus Bernardi: Catalogi bibl. MSS. Anglicæ et Hibernæ* (cf. chap. III. 8): see the same Catalogue, Alb. Alcuinus Flaccus, *De Virtutibus & Fitiis Epistola Ejusdem ad Guidonem Comitum Warwicensem*.

² Selected from the Bettesworth Guy, “at the sign of the Red lion on London-bridge,” of 1706, a work dedicated to Mr. Zachariah Heywood, and containing notes from a mysterious unknown.

³ The various editions of Guy’s history, popular during the 18th century, comprise large numbers of “Chap Books,” in series combining numerous fascinating tales, *Patient Grissel, History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome, The Friar and the Boy*, etc. The edition of 1706 contains a “Full and True Account” of Guy’s “many Famous and Valiant Actions Remarkable and Brave Exploits, and Noble and Renowned Victories,” the history of “his Courtship to fair Phælicæ—and the many difficulties and Hazards he went through to obtain her Love,” “extracted from Authentick Records, and the whole Illustrated with Cuts suitable to the History.” Printed by W. O. for E. B., and sold by A. Bettesworth. A fifth edition was published in 1711, a seventh in 1733, and a twelfth, London, 81 Shoe Lane, is without date. The volume is

the combat by which the pilgrim, Guy, killed¹ the notable “Gyant of Denmark² :

“that is more dread himselfe alone,
than a thousande armed Knightes.”—Copl. p. 202, v. 29.
“Colbronde his name is tolde.”—Copl. p. 203, v. 3.

About this nucleus has accumulated a cycle of chivalric gests,³ attributed to Guy, but none of these rival that by which :

“Guy’s courage made the haughty Colebron yeld,
And all the Danish army fly the field !”

illustrated with thirteen graphic works of art, the last representing the funeral hearse of the departed heir to glory.

The Bates Guy passed through many editions and was sold for three pence by Charles Bates and Sarah Bates at the Sun and Bible in Guilt-spurr-street, later by Charles Bates at the same stand, where any person may be furnished with all. The Bates Guy seems to have seen numerous editions, one of which has been traced to the date 1680. See print for *Bal. Soc.*, 1871, p. xvii.

Another version printed in Aldermay Churchyard, London, passed through various editions between the years 1780 and 1850. It was sold for two pence. It includes the famous old song, and concludes with an epitaph. It is found in *Garlands and Histories* of 1783. A revised text of the Bettesworth Guy, with a frontispiece, a “*Fac-simile*” of the Statne of Guy in the chapel at Guy’s Cliff, was printed by C. Whittingham for John Merriew (Warwick), 1821; and a second revised text is ascribed to J. Beck. It was sold by all booksellers in Leamington and Warwick.

¹ *Sir Beues* [ed. Kölling], MS. M of the 15th century, claims for *Myles*, son of *Sir Beues*, the later ownership of Colbrand’s sword; cf. verses 4169—4170, opening question of analogy with Arthurian *Excalibur*, or finding prototype in the “old mighty sword” of Beowulf :

“And Myles had Colbrandy’s brond,
That som tyme had Rouland.”

² Cf. Ritson’s version, *A. Eng. M. R.*, vol. iii. p. 348.

³ The palpable success of great Guy, “exemplarie sparek of christian love,” is measured by his biographers in various ephemeristic encomiums. Such was his valour in “Quarrels found out for his Recreation,” “great Achievements oft performed in fight,” that :

“Pagans trembled at the name of Guy !
His greatest Foes he always made retire,
And those that saw him, could not but admire.
Nor was there any monstrous Gyant who
He did not both Engage and Conquer too :
For Gyants, Dragons, Boar and Dunsmore Cow
To Guy’s all-conquering Arm were forc’d to bow.
No man could better Love nor better Fight.”

The figure of Guy was so imposing that England felt justified in believing “that his glory reached the further corners of the earth.” “Jews, Turks, and Infidels, became acquainted with his name” (Aldermay Guy).

“Erl of Warwyk, named oon the beste knyht
That was tho dayes”—*Lydgate*, l. 335.

Even royalty of the English realm did honour to the champion, but modest Guy refused honours, saying: “I am a mortal man, and have set the vain world at defiance.”

“At his very birth he looked like a hero,” and his “brave Teutonic victories in instances of wicked machinations of evil mind” :

“[Have] through Earth’s Globe immortalized his Name.”

This brilliant struggle, the legendary theme, about which the romance¹ has centered, is that described by Mannyng in the *History of England*,² derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*, of the 12th century, and from de Langtoft's French version of this work, see p. 31 :

“Anlaf³ sent messengers unto Athelstan
 And bad him yeld the lond, or find another man
 To fight with Colibrant

 That was Guy of Warwick, as the boke sais,
 Ther he slough Colibrant with hache Daneis.”

Such are the records in the various editions of *The History of the famous Exploits of Guy Earl of Warwick*: “His Encountering and Overcoming Monstrous Gyants, and Champions, and his killing the Dun Cow of Dunsmore-Heath, with many other Gallant achievements performed by him in his life, and the manner of his Death.” This marvellous version is parodied in the metrical satire, “Guy's Porridge Pot with the Dun Cow roasted whole: An epic Poem, in twenty-five Books. Carefully corrected, and enlarged with many new Passages and additional notes in second edition,” Oxford, 1809, ascribed by a pencilling in the Museum copy to the authorship of Landor. The note reads: “By my townsman (Warwick) Walter Savage Landor *versus* Carr,” and is signed Dr. Parker.

¹ One of the early accounts describes the event: “Finding his head crowned with silver hairs, after many years travel, he (*i. e.* Guy) resolved to lay his aged body in his native country, and therefore returning from the Holy Land, he came to England, where he found the nation in great distress, the Danes having invaded the land, burning cities and towns, plundering the country, killing men, women, and children, insomuch that King Athelstone was forced to take refuge in his invincible city of Winchester. The Danes drew all their forces hither, and desired that an Englishman might combat with a Dane, and that side to lose the whole, whose champion was defeated. On this, mighty Colbron singled himself from the Danes, and entering upon Morn Hill near Winchester breathing venomous words, calling the English cowardly dogs, that he would make their carcases food for the ravens. Guy hearing proud Colbron could no longer forbear, but on his knees begged the king for a combat. The king liking the courage of the pilgrim bid him go and prosper. Guy walked out the North Gate to Morn Hill, where the giant was, and fought most manfully. He was so nimble, and laid about him like a great dragon, so that he brought the giant to ground.”—*The History of Guy Earl of Warwick* (Chap-Book, 1796), p. 21.

Another account explains that: “after the king had been worsted in the combats of the Danes, Colbron, a mighty Gyant of the Danes, advanced to the Walls, bidding Defiance to the English king.” When Guy approached, the king said: “Alas, poor Pilgrim, thy aged Limbs are not able to contend with him.” “Doubt not, Sire,” was Guy's reply, “but the justness of your Cause will add Strength to those Arms which have been used to Conquer.” All the English warriors thronged to the walls to behold the event. When Guy had conquered “they on the Wall set up such a shout that echoed to the Clouds.” Cf. Bettesworth's Guy.

We learn that “Guy conquered and was entertained with Trumpets, Drums, and other Martial Music.”

“*Te Deum ont en haut chante
 Grand ioye font en la cite.*”—Aug. 77. v. a.

² This repository of British fabulous history, *Cronicon sive Historia Britonum*, compiled by the Welsh Monk (Bishop of St. Asaph, d. 1154), was printed in 1508 and translated into English 1718.

³ O.N. Ólafr. Cf. *Bat. of B.*, l. 50.

Account of the tumultuous departure of the terrified Danes is enrolled by the MS.¹ Cod. Aug. 87. 4. fol. 80 :

. “Hastinement hors se vont,
Passent la mer en lor dromond :
En Danemarche² sont arivez
Mournes et matz et adoelez.”

This inspiring contest places the romance on a historical basis. Colbrand's fight symbolizes the Battle of Brunanburh, commemorated in the poem from the *Chronicle*, the *Battle of Brunanburh*,³ the song of Æthelstan's Victory, see edition of Wülker, Grein's *Bibliothek der ays. Poesie*, i. p. 37. The *Chronicle* vouches for the date of the fight (cf. Zupitza's *Übungsbuch*, p. 27), *An. DCCCCXXXVII.*, although Plummer, in an edition of *Two Saxon Chronicles*, p. 37, dates this battle 938. An old document of the king Æthelstan gives *DCCCCXXXVIII, in quo anno bellum factum est in loco qui bruninga feld dicitur*, cf. Birch, *Cantabularium*, Sax, vol. II. p. viii. 937 is the date universally associated with the contest, see Green, *History of the English People*, vol. i. p. 80 ; Morley, *English Writers*, vol. iii. p. 276. The legend is dated by Lydgate as follows :

“Fro Cristis birthe complet nyne hundred yeer
twenty and sevene by computacioun.”

The legendary accounts of the fray place Guy's achievement on the same page of history, and unite Guy's master victory with the reign of the English king Æthelstan,⁴ 925—941, definitely stated by the song :

“King Athelstone⁵ that tyme was king,
and, when he heard of Guy's coming,
He went and met Guy for fayne.
they kist and wept for ioye certayne.”—Copl. p. 31.

¹ MS. Cod. Aug. 87. 4 is described as *uralt französisches Liederbuch*, Herbing, *Ueber die Handschrift des Guy von Warwick auf der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*.

² *ofer deop water. difelin* (Dublin) *secan*.—*Æthelstan*, 109, 110.

³ With this century is also associated the Apocryphal poem *Judith* on authority of Groth, *Composition und Alter der Altenglischen Exodus*, 1883 ; Kluge, *Beiträge*, vol. ix. pp. 448, 449 ; Luick, *Beiträge*, vol. xi. pp. 490, 491 ; Lichtenstein, *Zeitschrift für d. Alterthum*, vol. xvi. p. 327 ; Vigfússon and Powell, etc., *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, lv., make *Judith* of the same century, perhaps contemporary with the conflict of Guy, or even descriptive of the same *Battle of Brunanburh*, Cook, *Judith*, pp. 2, 8, 11.

⁴ Ælfred's "golden-haired grandson" grown to manhood. In childhood he was girded by his king with "sword set in golden scabbard, and a gem-studded belt." Æthelstan's glorious reign attained to the ambitious standard marked for descendants of the race of Ælfred, Green's *History of the English People*, vol. i. p. 79.

⁵ There is no mistaking the romancer's period for the immortal Guy: "In the sixth Year of the Reign of King Edgar the Great, this our famous Guy was

So also the Drewry print of the early 18th century: "In the blessed time when Athelstone¹ wore the crown of the English nation, Sir Guy, Warwick's mirror . . . was the chief hero of the age." An old song of the *Valiant Deeds of Chivalry by the Noble Knight, Sir Guy of Warwick*, to the tune, "Was ever man?" permits Guy to speak for himself:

"When Athelstone wore the Crown,
I lived here upon the Earth.
Sometime I was of Warwick earl."

Collateral evidence, the Chronicle,² substantiates romance: *Her æpelstan³ cyning . eorla dryhten . beorna beahgifa . his broþor*

born in the City of Warwick." The tradition is modified a little in the Bates Guy, and at variance with the 14th century versions: "In the Reign of *Edgar*, surnamed *Athelstone*, King of the West-Saxons, was born Guyrolous Cassibilanius, vulgarly called *Guy of Warwick*."

¹ The period is in every detail of the story avowedly that of Æthelstan. Thus the tale narrates that in hour of sorrow, Phillis "sold jewels and costly robes with which she used to grace King Æthelstone's court" (Aldermarj Guy). The same text ascribes to Æthelstan the honour of placing in Warwick Castle a representation of the fatal dragon whose head was cut off through Guy's bravery. "The king caused the picture of the dragon, 30 feet in length, to be worked in cloth of arras." It is reported that: "King Athelstone, his Queen, and the chief Nobles and Barons of the land," were present at Guy's wedding. The estate bequeathed to Guy by Earl Roland, when he "resigns this Life for Immortality," is "confirmed by Royal Athelstone."

² "A pleasant song of the Valiant Deeds of Chivalry achieved by that Knight Sir Guy of Warwick" reads:

"Nine hundred twenty Years and odd
After our Savior Christ his Birth,
When king Athelstone wore the Crowne,
I lived here upon the Earth."

Thus the ballad supports Lydgate in placing the battle ten years earlier than the accepted date, cf. *The Old Song* enriching the Roxburghe *Ballads*, vol. ii. p. 19: "Ancient Songs and Ballads written on various subjects, and printed between the years 1660 and 1700, chiefly collected by Robert Earl of Oxford, and purchased at the sale of the late Mr. West's library, 1773, and bound in 1774, Museum copy press mark III. 50.708." The public learns that:

"These venerable ancient song-inditers
Soar'd many a pitch above our modern writers;
Their words no shuffling double meaning knew:
Their speech was homely, but their hearts were true."

³ Cf. *Uebungsbuch*, p. 27, or *A. S. Chronicle*, Grein's *Bibliothek der ags. poesie*, ed. Wülker, I. p. 374. Compare Tennyson's translation:

"Athelstan King,
Lord among Earls,
Bracelet-bestower . . .
.
. . . with his brother,
Edmund Atheling,
Gaining a lifelong
Glory in battle,
Slew with the sword-edge
There by Brunanburh," *etc.*

*éac. eadmund æþeling . . . sweorda écgum, ymbe brunanburh. bordweal clufan.*¹ Graphic details of the vigorous pen picture,² native characteristics of the skill of the O.E. poet, are lost to the M.E. poem. The mysticism of chivalry replaces the vivid energy of the ancient warrior. The later interest centers in the romantic and sentimental story of Felice. In these immediate details O.E. history does not support M.E. narrative. Fact does not fail in providing the contest. It is described by a series of historians, Wigornensis, Dunelmensis, Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Brompton, Gaimar, but its valiant Warrior Guy is not once mentioned. Guy, the memorable hero, is deficient in every O.E. reference to the battle. On the other hand the M.E. historian did not hesitate to add to the account of the contest manifold embellishments of his own invention.

The working of the material into the Guy tradition seems not to have been coincident with the event. Lydgate alone on ground of traditional literature, an unreliable authority, on support of unreliable historian, ascribes specific source to the M.E. Guy saga. The earliest literary form is attributed by Lydgate to Cornubiensis in a:—

“translacioun
out of the latyn maad by the cronycleer
callyd of old Gerard Cornubyence. str. 72⁴
the XI. chapitle of his historyal book.” str. 73³

Lydgate's authority is Hearne, *Chronicon sive Annales prioratus de Dunstable*, Appendix XI. *Girardi sive Giraldi Cornubiensis historia Guidonis de Warwick, e col. MS. in Bibliotheca Collegii Magdalenensis descripta* (Oxford). Cornubiensis has been identified as Giraldus Cambrensis (1146—1216), author of a *History of England*, see Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*. Fabyan, *New Chronicles of England and France*, p. 185, quotes Lydgate's verse as follows: *called of olde Gyrrardus Cambrense*. Morley, to the contrary, *English Writers*, vol. iii. p. 276, ascribes the romance to Walter of Exeter, a Cornish Franciscan named by Bale, *Catalogus II.*, p. 44: *Gualterus de Excestria: apud S. Carocum in Cornubia manens vitam scripsit Guidonis, inclyti olim Warwicensis comitis, libro uno*. A. Tanner, *Die Sage von Guy von Warwick*, pp. 33—34, tries to prove that

¹ Historical point of the saga is the battle by which the W. S. king Æthelstan with his brother Edmund, aided by the Mercians, defeated the Danes, combined in forces with the Scotch, at a place, probably Brunanburh, on the western coast of England, in the year 937 (?), Green, *Conquest of England*, p. 254; Wülker, *Grundriss*, 339—342.

² Guy's combat recalls to the editor the *Battle of Malden* with its Viking hero rather than the *Battle of Brunanburh*.

Gualterus Excestriensis and Giraldus Cambrensis, *alias* Girardus Cornubiensis (Gerald de Barri?), are the same historian. Herbing ascribes the legend of Guy to Walter of Exeter (*Ueber die Hss. von Guy*, etc.). Tanner believes that the historian lived in the 12th century. Thus a history is supposed to have been written in the 12th century in which Guy of Warwick is represented as an actual hero, alive in 927, during the reign of Æthelstan, and active in the Battle of Brunanburh. The hero is thus placed in the 12th century, where he has the support, if not of history,¹ again of romance.

Guy has generally been regarded as purely a hero of fiction. Grisse, *Die grossen Sagenkreise des Mittelalters*, traces in the legend a development of the Arthurian saga, in which Guy names Gawain. Guy is described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as the product of Old English traditions, to which literary form was given by an Anglo-Norman poet; ten Brink, p. 180, agrees in ascribing the work in its first treatment to an Anglo-Norman poet; Zupitza, *Guy of W.*, p. 1, decides that the M.E. versions of the Romances of Guy of Warwick are from the French. This is virtually the opinion of Jusserand,² *The English Novel in the time of Shakespeare*, pp. 38, 39, 40. Here *Guy of Warwick* is included in the long list of "poems translated or imitated from French romances," the "awakening" in the palace which the Norman enchanter had doomed to temporary sleep. The author of an article on "Ancient Metrical Romances," *Percy's Reliques*, p. 291, also A. Tanner, p. 47, explain: "These stories were of English invention." "French originals were amplifications of the old English story." The editor, "Introduction" to *Guy and Colbronde*, Hales-Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, vol. ii. pp. 509 ff., find the oldest literary form of the Guy history to be purely romance, in literary composition the work of a monk. Guy's desertion of his wife, his asceticism, his remorse, that he has,

"Abbeys brente and citees tane" (MS. Ff. 2. 38),

his penance, are a theme for the sympathies of a monk. He finds the origin of the romance within cloister walls for the amusement and instruction of the brotherhood. Oesterley, *Gest. Rom.*, p. 261, is of the same opinion. A. Tanner (*Sage von Guy von Warwick*, pp. 37, 38) investigates the question, and concludes that Guy of Warwick, his historic warfare, and all his interesting circle are the

¹ George Ellis's attempt to identify Guy and Egil is not successful; cf. Turner, Warton, Herbing, and *Egilli Skallagrimii*, ed. Schlegel.

² See also *A Lit. Hist. of the Engl. People*, p. 224.

product of a wandering minstrel,¹ sung in palace hall or cathedral priory, the material later disseminated as historical fact. He cites in support of this theory an incident from Warton (*History of Engl. Poetry*), where Prior Alexander de Herriard entertained his guest, Adam de Arleton, with the song of Danish Colebrand sung by a minstrel.² Tanner's view is confirmed by the essay on the metrical romance (*Percy's Reliques*, p. 290): "The stories of Guy and Bevis were probably the invention of English minstrels." Ritson (*A.E. M.R.*, vol. I. p. xciii) also quotes Warton: "*canticum Colbrondi* was sung by a juggler in 1333." Grässe (*vide supra*) finds it one of a cycle of heroic song.

ten Brink, *Gesch. der Eng. Lit.*, p. 180, followed by Körting, *Grundriss*, 89, bases the saga upon "popular traditions of the Middle Ages," and explains Guy's marvellous history as a composite of "local traditions, historical reminiscences, current, fabulous, and romantic themes, and pure invention," a combination of religious and worldly motives delightful to an Age of Chivalry. ten Brink further, p. 246, explains that "probably the poet made use of English local traditions, in which things separated in time and place had already blended." Jusserand, p. 40, virtually similar, claims that all "who had won glory" in England or for England, all "whose fame lingered in ballads and popular songs" served to adorn the metrical

¹ Concerning the songs of the monks of a religious house of Eastern England, see ten Brink, *Gesch. der Eng. Lit.*, vol. i. p. 148; and Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Sonnet*, XXX:

"Merie sungen muneches binnen Ely,
Tha Cnut chyning reu ther by;
Roweth, enihtes, noer the land,
And here we thes muneches sang."

"A pleasant music floats along the mere,
From monks in Ely chanting service high,
. . . as Canute the king is rowing by;
. . . draw near,
That we the sweet songs of the monks may hear.

Heart touched
The royal minstrel
Gives to the rapture an accordant Rhyme.
. sternest Clime
And rudest Age are subject to the thrill
Of heaven-descended piety and song."

² See *Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. vi. p. 733; *Hudibras*, Part I, canto 2, l. 300; Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), p. 57: "antique Eng. romance was sung to the harp at Christmas dinners and brideals"; Corbet, *Iter Borcale* (1582—1635):

"May all the ballads be called in and deye
Which sung the warrs of Colebrand and Sir Guy."

tale, and were regarded as "personal ancestors" of English nobility. In this attempt to give England a national hero and romance a historical background, the chivalric element rules with the poet. A desire must be recognized to idealize the superior merit of resignation to the world and of unwavering piety.

In general, then, it will be seen that the weight of the material of the romance is to be regarded as purely legendary and romantic. Tanner supports his theory of romance origin on basis of the analogy with the romance literature with which the Guy of Warwick is associated: *Hornchild*, *Ipotis*, *Sir Tristrem*, and universally *Sir Bevis*,¹ a link by no means to be disregarded. To this day the marvellous exploits of Guy and Bevis are indissolubly united. They present no longer their normal development, but stand for figurative exemplification of prodigious strength; cf. James Russell Lowell in his *Last Poems*, p. 15:

"Methinks no dragon of the fens
Flashed huger scales against the sky,
Roused by Sir Bevis or Sir Guy. . . ."

Sir Beves, Kölbing, p. xxxvii, contributes illustrations attesting to the popularity of the combined elements Guy and Beves. Apart from the oft quoted *Sir Thopas*, v. 188, the partnership occurs *Richard Coer de Lion*, v. 6661; *Speculum Vitæ, Englische Studien*, vol. vii. p. 469, v. 37, 39; *Generides*, A, v. 13 ff. They are joined in various different commentaries, for instance, Taine, *Hist. of Engl. Lit.*, vol. i., p. 100: Arthur, Horn, Beves, Guy of Warwick, "every prince and every people"; cf. Percy's explanation, ten Brink's, etc. In general, then, a purely romantic character² must be ascribed the fundamental Guy saga, but that under this popular exterior an actual hero may have been extolled is not impossible.

That this underlying magnate of the romantic world be Count Guido, the investigation from the Guy of Warwick side of the argument does not affirm. Equally ineffectual is an attempt to place the period of the *Speculum*, as represented by Guy, in the time of Guido. The best authority for the date of the literary form of

¹ *Sir Beves* goes so far as to cite an exploit of Guy of Warwick, in the contemporary Auchinleck MS., v. 2607:

"& Gij of Warwick, ich vnderstonde,
Slou3 a dragoun in Norþ-Homberlonde."

² The metrical tale assumes but a slightly different exterior in the various romances. The main features are the same throughout: a valiant knight, a relentless lady to be won, a world of fight, seas of blood, the knight applauded and rewarded. Cf. *King Horn*, *Sir Beves*, etc.

the saga places it in the 12th century; cf. *Gesta Romanorum*. To transfer Guy to the battlefield of Brunanburh, there is only the voice of the romancer in authority. The four hundred years between *Liber* and romance are not explained in Guy's history.

The MSS. do not aid in the annihilation of time and distance.¹ The oldest of these is Norman, the Wolfenbüttel Codex, 87. 4, *Augusteorum Guelferbyt.* of the late 13th century. To this century belong the French MSS. 24, 32 in the Bodleian Library. Remaining French MSS. and all the English transcripts are the work of later centuries, the Auchinleck version (No. 23, 24), contemporary with the *Speculum*, being followed by the Caius, Ff. 2. 38 (cf. Zupitza), the Lydgate and the Lane-Lydgate texts. Further, over date see *Chronology of the Speculum*, chap. xv.

That Guy is English and not French, united testimony from all sources evidences, and the poems and tales, the authority most largely quoted, confirm. Generally the scenes of the romance are located in Winchester. Different versions name the exact locality under various names. Winchester is the town of Lydgate and the ballads. Copland places Guy in Wallingford: "*To Wallinford Guy him drew;*" if he were to be located in the Brunanburh fight, then Guy was an Englishman of Lincoln.

A will o' the wisp ever to be pursued, never to be grasped, the investigation² of the Guy saga finds only probabilities, never a certainty of relationship. Not one of the lesser of these is the coincidence between the history of Guido and that of Guy. But the investigation has failed to provide historical certainty for the facts proffered by the *Speculum*.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING GUIDO, COUNT OF TOURS,

" whose fame
Is couching now with pantherized intent."³

COUNT GUIDO was a brilliant light in the local history of Tours, but his splendid deeds seem to have cast no glorifying rays beyond

¹ For lists of Guy of Warwick MSS. see Winneberger, *Ueber d. Hss.-Verhält. des Altfr. Guy de W.*, pp. 2, 3, A. Tanner, *Die Sage*, etc., pp. 49—54, and Zupitza, pp. 1, 2 of Introduction.

² In the study see Day and Decker's play, 1618—1619, Pepys I. 522, and the Spanish romance *Tirante el blanco*.

³ *Lines to R. J. Tennant*, from the authorship of Hallam, immortalized in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*.

his own epoch and his own land. Unlike other great commanders, benefactors to home and country, no glowing records illumine his achievements to modern gaze. As an educational medium Count Guido has not contributed forcefully to a later civilization among progressive nations,

“His soul well-knit and all his battles won.”

Yet he was conqueror, hero, patriot, and, greatest of all, he possessed a spirit moulded to noble steadiness of purpose and well-balanced in moral force. Count Guido was in real life the benign type and example of the warrior of God in the eternal tragedy of battle.

Important features delineating the history of Count Guido during the lifetime of Alcuin are epitomized in the terse statement of Monnier, *Alcuin et Charlemagne*, p. 35, with reference to the *Liber ad Guidonem: Alcuin l'écrivit pour le comte Widon ou Gui, gouverneur de la marche de Bretagne et directeur des biens de saint Martin. Ce seigneur désirait avoir une règle de conduite, qu'il pût suivre au milieu de la carrière des armes.*¹ Hamelin, *Essai*² *sur la vie et les ouvrages d'Alcuin*, pp. 102—103, adds: *Il composa ce manuel à la demande du comte Gui, qui, vivant dans le métier des armes, désirait avoir des instructions sur l'art de mériter la gloire éternelle . . . Dans ce livre du guerrier, dans ce livre du grand seigneur, Alcuin prêche la charité, la modestie, la miséricorde, . . . la pratique constante de toutes les vertus.* Completing the picture is the description of Paris, *Histoire Littéraire de la France, publiée*³ *sous la direction de M. Paulin Paris*, 1866, Tome iv., p. 315: *Ce seigneur (i. e. Widon ou Gui) engagé dans le tumulte des armes et des autres affaires temporelles, l'avoir demandé à l'auteur, à qu'il paroît, etc.*

These succinct passages summarize comprehensive facts⁴ in personal character and experience. They prepare for revelation of wonderful military prosperity. Count Guido's chosen pursuit was war. He was esteemed as warrior. Alcuin adapted his counsel to Guido's pursuit, *occupationi, quam te in bellicis rebus habere, Liber*, line 2. A lesser Cæsar, he first conquered the land he was to govern: *Britanniam ingressus, totamque perlustrans, in deditionem accepit*, Mgn.⁵ II., col. 444. This illustrious advance of Guido into

¹ Selected from the second edition of Monnier's work, Paris, 1864, published with some fragments of a hitherto unedited commentary on Matthew, and some other articles of Alcuin not printed earlier.

² *Thèse pour le Doctorat présentée à la Faculté des Lettres.*

³ Published first M.DCC.XXXVIII.

⁴ Cf. *Vita Alcuini*, Jaffé, p. 28; Ceillier, *Hist.*, vol. xii., p. 187.

⁵ *Monitum Prævium*, Tom. Sec., p. 5; *Epistola*, vol. ii., col. 643.

Britannia, the subdual of the entire province, with surrender of arms and governmental documents, the glory of adding a province and a people to the territory of Charlemagne, this is for the life of Count Guido the great distinguishing event. Here a battle of Brunanburh, a struggle with Colbrand, is provided, a foe supplied, an Æthelston replaced by a Charlemagne, the conditions of the English saga duplicated on French soil. Not more generously has the valour of Guy of Warwick been sung in English verse, than has the conquest of Guido and the French Britannia been sounded in French history. The chroniclist delights to return to the event: *totamque perlustrans, Britanniæ provincia subiugata, arma ducum in traditionem accepit*, is the refrain of the record of every political event of the day. Cf. Andrea DV Chesne, *Historiæ Francorum Scriptores*,¹ Tom. II. III.; Martin Bouquet, *Receueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, MDCCCLXIV, Tom. V. VI.; and numerous chronicles of the period: *Annales de Gestis Caroli Magni Chroniques sur les Gestes de Charlem.*, *De Rebus Gestis Ludovici pii*, and selections *Ex Chronico Elmonensi*, *Ex Chronico Britannico* (Probat, *Hist. Britannicæ*), *Ex Miraculis Sancti Benedicti*, *Ex Sigeberti Chronico*, *Ex Hernianni Chronico*. Records are contributed by Pertz, *Monumenta Germ. Hist.* MDCCXVI, fol. I., see 80, *Annales Francorum*, *Annales Bertiani*, *Capitularia Caroli*, *Croniques de S. Denis*, &c. The military exploit is without parallel in the age. Various accounts describe conquests over a Saracen foe, *Annales Breves ab Christ.*, DCCVII—DCCXC, p. 40 and p. 59 of a report of the year *Caroli Magni* 798. Here are enrolled statistics of an expedition to the Balearic Islands, laid waste a year earlier by the Saracens.² In the defence proffered by the French, and successful, *cum Dei auxilio*, Count Guido has

¹ *Opera ac Studio Andreæ DV Chesne.*

² That the Saracen proselytes of a pseudo-prophet, having conquered Persian host, Grecian phalanx, and Roman cohort, and planted 'standard on the pillars of Hercules' (cf. Washington Irving, *Mahomet and his Successors*, p. 150), dreamed to the day of Alcuin (approximately 800) of the subjection of Europe against the powerful Charlemagne, is to be inferred from the historian's narrative testifying to the incursions of a Saracen foe. That, however, it was again a struggle after the rich treasure of the famed Abbey of Tours, is not probable. It will be recalled that the repulse of the Saracens, completed by Charles Martel in 732, against the accomplished Arab general Abdel Rham, was a final defeat (cf. Freeman, *General Sketch*, p. 119). The Battle of Tours repelled Moslem power with its fierce propagandism, prevented Saracen ascendancy in the extreme West, and ended the limitless incursions marked by the burning of the great library at Alexandria, and the military subjugation of the Visigoths succeeding Saracen entry into southern Gaul under El Haur in 710 (cf. also Fisher, *Outlines of General History*, p. 229).

part. *Wido (Guido, p. 59)¹ Comes ac Præfectus, qui in marca Britannicæ præsidebat, & una cum sociis Comitibus Britanniam ingressus, totamque perlustrans, in deditionem accepit; & Regi de Saxonia reuersa arma Ducum, qui se dediderunt, inscripsis Singulorum nominibus præsentauit. Nam his se & terram & populum omnis cuiusque illorum tradidit, & tota Britannorum provincia, quod nunquam antea à Francis fuerat, à Francis subiugata est.*

The exact year of this glorious conquest² is not to be stated. For a decade following its occurrence vigilant annals keep fresh its splendour. The description occurs in *Annales de Gestis Caroli imperatoris*, pp. 79, 250, etc.: *ad quem Wido Comes, . . . Nam sociis Comes ille suis compluribus ipsam hoc anno penitus terram lustrauerat omnem, corda domans belli terrore ferocia.* Compare also Bouquet, V., p. 214, *Annales Francorum*, p. 349, etc., the latter confirming the identity of the hero with the words: *Wido Comes, qui marcam contra Britones tenebat.* Both historians quoted note an undated definite period, *hoc anno, eodem anno.* The Chronicle seems to have been completed DCCXCI. French Britain must have been in the hands of Guido so early as the date of the writing of the *Liber*, probably earlier. Note also *Ex Hermannii Chronico*, p. 365: *Britannia Cismarina per Wittonem Ducem Caroli subijcitur; Ex Sigeberti Chronico*, p. 378: *Baleares insule auxilio Francorum à Saracenis defensantur per Widonem Karoli Ducem Brittones vincuntur, & in deditionem recipiuntur; Chroniques sur les Gestes de Charlem., Livre I., p. 247: Après retourna en France, . . . la chapele s'en ala pour yeerner: lu celebra la sollempnitè de la Nativité & de la Resurrection. Là vint . . . euens Guis . . . qui gardes des marches de Bretagne . . . avoit cherchies toutes les contrées des Bretons . . .*

A single defeat is chronicled. The foe congratulates itself on a double glory, in that added to the victory, a powerful adversary, *Guido Comes* has been put to flight: *Guido Cenomannensis Comes sperans cum fortitudine magna vincere in fugam versus est; Brit. Arm., p. 219. Guido Cenoman., Comes, a Lamberte in fugam vertitur; Ex Eutropii Presbyt., Tract. p. 298.*

Werner ascribes the death of the Count to 814, but another record

¹ In the identity of the circumstances detailed, it is curious, that here again fact corresponds to tradition in the Guy history. Both Guys, the legendary Guy and the real Guido, are accredited with conquests against Saracen enemies.

² See *Vita Karoli Magni*, pp. 50, 59, 79; *Eginhardi Annales*, p. 214; *Sur les Gestes de Charlemagne*, Liv. I., ch. xi., pp. 247, 248; *Annales Laurissenses*, p. 186.

seems to be connected with Guido. The history of the year 834 contains notice of the lamented death of a Count Guido, killed in a brave fight in defence of the Abbey.¹ In a battle incited by counts Odo and Lambert many illustrious men were slaughtered, among them perhaps Alcuin's Guido.² Dv Chesne, *Historiæ*, etc., Tom. III., p. 445, states that a priest escaping announced a cruel fight, and reported to the monks the death of their Abbot: *Teutonem denique Abbatem*³ *S. Martini, Gvilonem Comitem Cenoman . . . mortem appetiisse*.—*Ex Mirac. s. Benedicti*, p. 213. Great lamentation arose among the sorely afflicted brotherhood, to be read of to this day, a thousand years⁴ after these monks on the sunny plains of the Loire sent cries to heaven in bereavement and loss: *Quo nuncio graviter afflicti Fratres, ad Dominum exorandum pro tanta Christiani populi cæde se intentissime conferunt*. The same record is repeated by Bouquet, *Historiens*, etc., Tom. VI., p. 241; *Ec Chronico Engolismensi apud Labbeum*, p. 323; *Ex Chronico Brit. in Probat, Hist. Brit.*, p. 351, and *Ec Mirac. S. Benedicti Abbatis*, p. 313. Details of the painful circumstance are to be found *De Rebus Gestis Ludovici Pii*, Liber V., p. 584: *Wido Comes Cenoman. a Ludovico Imperatore . . . mittitur ad inquirendum . . . de beneficiis Ecclesiæ*. The announcement of Guido's death follows: *Guido Comes occiditur pugnando*. Yet through the sacrifice of the valued life of the brave nobleman, the purpose of the mission was accomplished. The Chronicle completes the story: *Quædam Beneficia Ecclesiæ Cenomanicæ restituntur*. Facts relative to his life are otherwise as limited as they are definite.

That Guido of these historians⁵ and Guido of the *Liber* are at times identical, is indicated in statistics contributed occasionally by

¹ It will be recalled that St. Martin names the founder of monasticism among the Gauls. Relics of St. Martin were enshrined in a church adjoining the monastery. See Ruskin's account of the saint in *Our Fathers have Told Us*, pp. 23—33.

² Alcuin wrote the life of the presiding saint of his monastery, St. Martin.

³ Fridugis was the pupil named by Alcuin to become his successor, in active superintendence of the Abbey.

⁴ Yet from modern literature the history of Count Guido seems to have died with the man. Shadow of inevitable destiny, his aspirations, his battles, the lament of friars, leave but a blank page.

⁵ To the Guido of the *Liber* possibility must be conceded of a semi-romantic character introduced by Alcuinus. The type of work illustrated in the *Epistola Nuncupatoria* was popular in the 8th century, and it would be a natural tendency to idealize in the connection, the citizen first in rank as warrior, governor, and patron of the Abbey. Alcuin would thus at the same time pay a graceful compliment to an influential neighbour and follow a popular type of religious literature, where means of attractive form was limited, as in case of the young priests of the Abbey.

Migne and by Alcuin in the *Liber*. The source is chiefly the *Annales*¹ *Loiseliiani ad annum DCCXCIX*, and details are repeated in some instances in Lorentz's *Alcuini Leben*. Name and associated title are made definite: *Guido (i. e. Wido) Comes*, Mgn. II., col. 444, lines 2, 3; col. 614, line 1; *Wido Landgraf*, Lorz., p. 199. Various positions of honour and responsibility devolved upon Count Guido: *Wido Comes ac Præfectus Brit. limitis*, Eginh. p. 214; *comes qui in Marca Britannie præsidebat*, Mgn. I., col. 396, note; *Marca Britannie præsidens*, Mgn. I., p. 162; *Markgraf der britannischen Mark*, Lorentz, p. 199; *Rebus St. Martini præfectus*, Mgn. I., col. 276.

Not merely in public relationship is Count Guido introduced. In private capacity he is presented as a loyal citizen. In personal character he was a man of perfect life²; he was an incorrupt judge, a trustworthy witness, a faithful ambassador: *Illorum vita a viro perfecto et iudice incorrupto et misso fidei Widone audiri potest, qui eorum omnia scrutans agnovit, quid egissent vel qualiter vixissent*, Mgn. I., col. 62; II., col. 444; *judicium ac iudicorum æquitate et misericordiæ sedulitate*, Mgn. II., col. 614; *Wido advocatus, Ec Eutropii Presbyteri Tract.*, p. 298. Count Guido was revered by his Abbot and Dean. Alcuin appointed him umpire in settlement of a dissension between *episcopum Aurelianensem et fratres Turonenses*, cited in *Epistola* 195, Mgn. I., col. 437. More than once he served as arbitrator in matters of altercation. *In testem vocatur innocentie fratrum sancti Martini*, Mgn. I., col. 163. In a vague way Guy of Warwick was also champion of the oppressed; cf. the delivery of the fifteen sons of the aged man in *Guy and Amarant* (Percy's *Reliques*), and numerous instances of the adaptation of semi-selfish motives to an imaginary good, in contrast to this of Guido, based on justice and consecrated zeal.

That Guido had earned the esteem of Alcuin, is evidenced in the history³ of the *Liber*, a laborious task of affection, undertaken in the

¹ Access to these annals has been impossible.

² Froben writes of the man; *virii perfecti, ac iudicis incorrupti, atque Missi fidelis*, Fr. II., p. 5. See also *Diplomata Ludovici Pii Imp.*, p. 834.

³ Rigid austerity is ascribed to the old age of Alcuin. He forbade his pupils to read the philosophy and poetry of ancient Greece and Rome. To replace the lost texts he multiplied trustworthy copies of religious works. The fame of the school was great for MSS. remarkable for neatness and elegance. Discouragement of secular learning was general at this period; cf. Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great*, pp. 100, 122, and Hallam, *Middle Ages*, chap. ix., part 2. Hraban (d. 856) permitted "a slight tincture of the classical literature," as subsidiary to the religious discipline of the *Scriptoria*.

feeble years¹ of the aged teacher. In enumeration of the works completed *ad extremum vite*, the aged preceptor mentions *Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis ad Widonem sive Wittonem*. The reverential confidence manifested by the Count toward Alcuin is evident in the request for a book to serve as guide for the development of the religious life in period of warfare. To the earnestness and to the practical aspiration of Guido, the words of his entreaty may attest: *postulabat, ut doctrinas vite Christianæ suæque conditioni, ac . . . convenientes . . . , ut inter secularia negotia . . . libellum . . . , ad quem assidue suos actus examinare seque ad æternæ beatitudinis studium excitare posset*, *Mon. Præc.*, p. 5. Conditions of the entreaty have been found reproduced in the experience of the life of Guy, but the quality of the fervour described in the two episodes is not identical. The *Speculum* portrays mystic purpose, the goal a visionary good. The zeal of Guido is genuine, the seriousness of scholastic growth, and it lacks nothing in definiteness and loyalty to faith.

The immediate home of Guido (Guy's castle?) may have been discovered. *Annales Bert.* (p. 91) accounts for a villa,² a country-seat occupied by Count Guido. It bears the name *Vendopera: Wido quidem comes per plures annos tenuerat*. This villa was probably in the neighbourhood of Tours. The Count was a resident of the *Marca Britannicæ*, possibly of the town of Tours. *Britannia* is mentioned as *cismarina*, giving assurance of French environment and not of English, should possibility of doubt arise. In this province was situated the Abbey of St. Martin: *Marca Britannicæ cismarinæ, in qua sita civitas et monasterium Turonense*, *Mgn. II.*, col. 444. Alcuin himself (*Mgn.*, p. 659) locates *episcopatus Turonensis, in Gallia*, *Mgn. II.*, col. 659, 660. The name of the villa calls up a picture of summer days outside of the city, amid broad sunny meadows and invigorating breezes; but during the harvest season of active labour, it is not easy to separate Guido from the neighbourhood of the Abbey, with its inspiring master and its administrations "of the honey of the sacred writings."³

¹ Alcuin's retreat to the monastery was devised for purposes of rest from active pursuits; Alcuin's own plea to Charlemagne was: "Grant, I pray you, that a weary man may repose himself, that he may pray daily for you, and that he may prepare himself by confession and tears to appear before the eternal judge."

² See *Hinemari Remensis Annales*, p. 469: "*villa que Vendopera dicebatur, quam piæ memoriæ Hludovicus imperator sancto Petro tradiderat, et Wido, quidem comes per plures annos tenuerat . . .*"

³ Alcuin in letter to Charlemagne writes: "To some I administer the honey

Like Guy of Warwick, the fame of Guido was enshrined in metrical composition.¹ Apparently to Count Guido is the following selection from *Carmina Historica, MS. Bibliothecæ Petavij*:

Super Guidonem.

“*Insequor ipse libros, dumque vaco studiis.*
Spiritus obtineat, quam meruit melius.
Cuius eram Turonensis, ego de nomine Guido,
Gentis Patriciæ, me modo Remis habet,” etc.

Data of Count Guido's career may be briefly summarized. The exact boundaries of his life are not to be discovered. In 800, approximately the date of the *Liber*, Guido (Wido, Witto, Guy) was possibly in middle life. His achievements, the number and variety of his pursuits, and the offices of honour that he filled, suggest for the period of Alcuin's deanship a man at the height of a prosperous career. The vigour, the activity, and the enthusiasm at this time universally ascribed to Guido, are the *insignia* of one not well advanced in years. In his own century Count Guido seems to have been an imposing figure. In the multitude of affairs in which he was active, his position was uniformly first. In claims of descent his rank socially was hereditary count. In governmental office he presided over the Marca Britannia. In military service he was commander. In legal administration he was judge. In theological assembly he was representative. His connection with the venerable

of the sacred writings; others I try to inebriate with the wine of the ancient classics. I begin the nourishment of some with the apples of grammatical subtlety: I strive to illuminate many by the arrangement of the stars, as from the painted roof of a lofty palace.” This bit of poetical prose, worthy an Elizabethan in graceful selection of terms, is introduced by Craik into his *History of Eng. Lit. and Lang.*, vol. i., p. 46. See *Epistola* 78, Jaffé, p. 345: “. . . sanetarum nella scripturarum ministrare satago; alios vetere antiquarum disciplinarum mero inaberiare studeo; alios grammaticæ subtilitatis enutrire pomis incipiam; quosdam stellarum ordine . . . eeu pietor, euilibet magnificare domus culmina . . . inluminare gestio.” See Longfellow, *Outre Mer* (1882), p. 77.

¹ See *Poete Saxonici Annal.*, DCXCIX., Lib. III.; *De Gestis Caroli Magni*, l. 537 ff.:

“*Ad quem (Carolo) Wido Comes cui Bretonum regiones*
Commisæ fuerant, gentis tam sepe rebellis
Detulit arma Ducum, proprio quæ nomine quisque
Inscripto dederat:
Francis servire coacti.
Nam sociis Comes ille suis compluribus ipsam
Hoc anno penitus terram lustraverat omnem,
Corda domans belli terrore feroeia grandi.
Et jam perpetuo Bretones jure subacti
Pararent”

Abbey during the lifetime of Alcuin was that of patron. His death was grievously mourned with every manifestation of reverence and affection.

Corresponding details mark the life of Guy the Earl. Event corresponds with event in the history of both warriors, yet these two chivalric soldiers of an earlier generation are not the same individual. They present two types, that of the vigorous man of affairs, and that of the dreamer of an imaginary world. Guy of Warwick is not Guy of Tours. Guido, the statesman of profound religious conviction, valiant warrior, honoured citizen, has not been identified with Guy the visionary, Guy the ascetic, the misanthrope, the unpractical knight of tradition. Alcuin is not represented in that high priest of romance, the hermit. It is impossible to explain the intervening years that, according to best reports, exist between the deeds ascribed to the two warriors. The desired unit, a missing link, is not to be discovered in any descendant or friend¹ of Guido the Count, nor is there a trace of reason in carrying Guy back through the century and placing him in the age of Count Guido. Unless some magician with Divine gift grant to Count Guido the roseate glamour of the romancer, and to Guy of Warwick the plain and simple atmosphere of earnest unselfish patriotism and good citizenship, the poet has placed Guido of Tours in a family to which he has no claims of relationship, and Guy of Warwick in a country not his by inheritance.

*Practical Interpretation of the Speculum in Application to
Guy of Warwick and Guido of Tours.*

In the search for the beautiful ideal of knighthood essential features are provided in the bravery, the religious zeal, and probably in the gallantry of Guido the Count. But in his career there is mirrored not even a reflection of the chivalric atmosphere, that

¹ Alcuin's Guido cannot be brought into connection with any of the numerous Guidos of his generation. A relationship cannot be traced to Guido, Bishop of Spoleto, to the four hereditary dukes of France, Guidos living at that time, nor to Guido of Soissons, of Rouen, of Auxerre, of Modena; nor is he represented in the fifteen Guidos, dukes, bishops and archbishops distinguished in the 10th century. Gui de Burgagne, celebrating in chanson the expeditions of Charlemagne, seems not to have known Guido of Tours. In none of the distinguished lines of bishops, archbishops, artists, poets, warriors, bearing the family name Guido, has been discovered trace of heredity, direct or indirect, for Guido of Warwick and of Tours. See Wattenbach, *Geschichte des Mittelalters*, and Försternann, *Namenbuch*.

should environ kinsman to Guy the knight. No beautiful Felice, no sovereign lady, guides the voluntary self-abnegation of the Count. What Guizot says of organized feudalism may be applied to Guy of Warwick. He lived in a Utopia without a date, a drama for which we find in the past neither theatre nor actors. To the true dignity of a lordly Guy, there exists but a tiny germ warmed into activity in the tale of Alexius. Guido the Count typifies, to the contrary, the man who dares to be just, as well as generous. Not a zealot, nor a fanatic, Guido's life is eloquent in deeds, not in dreams.

The *Speculum*, deprived of the glamour of romantic environment, the legitimate inheritance neither of legendary hero nor of historical nobleman, simply an English poem of the 13th century, remains for consideration. The popular *Liber* was adapted to his people by some pious representative of the clergy.¹ This is the explanation for the tenth selection of the Auchinleck folio. A little worldliness tingled in the blood of this priest. His keen poetic sense directed him to grasp at an artistic setting to enliven the monotony of a task imposed in response to conscience and to duty. Sensitive to the charms of poetical art as well as to the atmosphere of his times, fresh from tales of Arthur, of Guy, of Benes, of Ipotis, he grasped at the religious sacrifice ennobled in the primitive Alexius history. Stimulated by zeal for the souls of his flock he attempted to convey interest by giving a sensational exterior to the hackneyed truths of the Dean of the Holy Martin. The element selected to embody his ideal was the bold hero, Sir Guy, the renowned Earl of Warwick. Seeing with the imagination as well as with the material sense, the mediæval poet attempted to establish an easy relationship between romance and theology. Breathing the atmosphere of thought and of knowledge, he lived also the joyous life natural to taste, to culture, and to a clear conscience. His religious nature satisfied, it is not inharmonious that he should execute his task with such ardour, with such skilful adaptation of subject matter that the resulting *sarmoun* should link itself inseparably with literature of two types, and that the imitation should be so clever that hearer and reader alike should be deceived.

The poet's eye for effect, his *naïve* technique, his regard for connection, combined with the sensitiveness of his personality, heighten the impression of a romance of palpable beauty in main

¹ See Morley, *English Writers*, vol. iii., p. 364.

facts. The *Speculum* stands as the intense utterance of a poetical temperament, responsive at once to nature and to art, but in touch with earnest daily life. Such utterance meets nature in the reminder that "art is but the masque for nature." Dante speaks for Guido of Warwick and of Tours :

"Thus hath one Guido from another ta'en
The praise of speech."

CHAPTER IX.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF THE *SPECULUM*.

"Ut of latin ðis song is dragen on engleis speche."

De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber of Alcuin¹ (*Alcuinus, Flaccus Albinus*) followed with much fidelity is the underlying fundamental source of the *Speculum* in its main outlines. The treatise in its first issue appeared in the edition of A. Du Chesne, Paris, 1617. It was reprinted by Froben and Migne: *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Abbatis, Caroli Magni Regis ac Imperatoris, Magistri Opera*.² "Cvra ac stvdio Frobenii, S. R. I. Principis et Abbatis ad S. Emmeramvm Ratisbonæ, Tomi Secvndi, Volvmen primvm, M.DCC.LXXVII." The *Liber* is to be found, p. 128 ff. The print of Migne is contained in column 615 ff. of the second volume of Alcuin's works, the one hundred and first of the Series, *Patrologiæ Cursus, Completus* (CI), 1851: *B. Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Opera Omnia*, J. P. Migne.

Alcuin's advice³ to Count Guido furnished material for numerous Latin MSS. preserved to-day in the libraries of Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Ireland, Scotland, and for many transcripts of greater or less degree of completion and accuracy in libraries of England. Two fragmentary translations⁴ in English at the transition stage of the language are extant. One of these, a MS. of the Library of the

¹ Glosses representing the *Alcuini Exhortatio* are printed in the well-known Wright-Wülker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, London, 1884, pp. 86 and 87.

² This work is characterized further as follows: *Post primam editionem, a viro clarissimo D. Andrea Qcrectano curatam, de novo collecta, multis locis emendata, et opvsevlis primvm repertis plvrimvm avcta, variisqve modis illustrata*, etc.

³ See the supplement to *Bibliothèque des Pères Bigne Anciennes leçons de Canisius*, ed. Basnage, Tom. ii., and Ceillier, *Histoire des Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclésiastiques*, Tom. xii. p. 187.

⁴ The *Kentish Glosses* preserved in the Cotton MS. Vesp. D vi, printed in Wright's *Vocabularies*, suggest to the reader a possible Englishing of the *Liber* in the ninth century. Regarding these *Alcuini Capitula Theologica ad Guidonem*,

Cambridge University, MS. II. 1. 33, has not been favoured with an edition.¹ MS. Vesp. D XIV, fol. 104 a ff. was printed by Assmann in *Anglia*, vol. xi. pp. 371 ff. Several facts of correspondence and some instances of omission make it probable that the *Speculum* was constructed directly from a later MS. Deficiency in the poetical treatment of the portion of the subject allotted to the vices (*de Vitiis*), in comparison with the exactness of the discussion of the virtues (*de Virtutibus*) suggests a fragmentary MS. of the original. Although the divergences are at times such as might be involved in shaping a Latin treatise into a metrical composition, with allowance for emotional personal interest, and a conception somewhat dramatic in execution, yet the *Speculum* demands the explanation of a sort of underplot of dramatic fancy, filling out the bleak details of the Latin outline. The poetical orthodoxy of the 13th and 14th centuries required for the complete discharge of duty the narration of the thrilling incident of the first sin, the account of the terrifying horror of the great day of doom, and the expression of the promises of the delights of paradise. To the intense personality of the poet the *Speculum* is indebted for the virtue of the enlivening episode important according to latter-day standards.

Through the individuality of the poet the *Speculum* became alive to the influence of a second source interwoven with the first, and giving tone-quality to the entire work. The real action of the poem centers in the knight Guy. The glorification of Guy of the main Guy of Warwick saga in its current English form, is parallel with the deification of Alexius in the redaction by Konrad von Würzburg. Alexius too left bride and palace to serve God through pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The *Speculum*, as an episode in the main tale, is indebted to a second source in value almost equal with the first, the *Liber*. The origin of the Guy history is prominent in the study of the relationship of Alcuin and his *Liber*. The presentation of various episodes of traditional or scriptural origin is also important in the genesis of the *Speculum*. The differentiation of these sources in their various forms may be classified in three elemental groups :

Comitem isdem litteris in quibus etiam non nullæ voces Sax. glossatæ ; see also Zupitza, Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, Neue Folge, Bd. ix.

¹ The chapter *De Scripturarum Lectione* was printed from MS. I by Whelock in *Notes upon Bede's Ec. Hist.*, 1643, p. 173, but without connection with the MS. It is also quoted in notes to the second of Soames's Brandon Lectures, MDCCCXXX, *An Inquiry into the Doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 92—93. See also *Cat. of MSS. of the University*.

1. The direct source, the *Liber*, offering frame-work for the complete text.

2. The legendary source, the *motif* directing the work, the Guy saga permeating the entire poem and with delicate subtlety giving personality to the Alexius tale. Thus there exists a link with the literature of Germany, Italy, and Greece, as well as of France, whether it be represented in England or on the continent.

3. Material employed by the poet, derived from various sources, apart from the *Liber* and the Guy saga. Here is to be included the tradition of the bush, the incident of Adam and his fall, of Abraham's interview with the angels, and details borrowed from the Scriptures.

De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber.

I. *Main Resemblances between Liber and Speculum.*

Epistola Alquini.

“What man that claymeth gentil for to be,
Must alle his wittes dresse
Vertu to sewe, and vyces for to fle.
For unto vertu longeth dignitee.”¹ . . .

The *Liber*, as reproduced by Froben and by Migne, contains a list of chapters, *Capita*, a dedication with an introduction, *Epistola Nuncupatoria*, predicting the discussion to follow, a treatise on morality described as *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, and a peroration, *Peroratio*. The different MSS. of the *Liber* are comparatively exact in preserving uniformly the same features, and the *Speculum* incorporates these details with some degree of fulness. It is to be noted, however, that the *Speculum* is authority for a modification of the order of arrangement. The *Epistola Nuncupatoria* of the *Liber* precedes the metrical table of *Capita*. The *Speculum* thus repeats the peculiarities of a single MS., of many brought to the test, namely, MS. *Bibl. Reg.* 6 A. XI. Here the same inversion occurs; there is here, as in the poem, deficiency in the treatise *De Vitiis*, and an appeal invoking divine blessing concludes the MS. text, similar to that marking the *Speculum* in common with numerous M.E. poems of approximately the same date. MS. *Bibl. Reg.* 6 A. XI., as represented by the *Speculum* in method of composition and application of materials, will frequently become the source of the comparison to follow in these pages. This text may be described as follows:

¹ Cf. *Gentillesse, Moral Balade of Chaucer*, Skeat, *The Minor Poems*, p. 195.

MS. *Bibl. Reg.* 6 A. XI., Library of the British Museum. On parchment; of the twelfth¹ century. This text begins on fol. 109 *b*, line 28, and ends fol. 120 *b*, line 15. It concludes abruptly with *Capitulum xxxv.*, *De quatuor uirtutibus*, and is followed by a distinct treatise, *De elemosina*, beginning fol. 120 *b*, line 16. Line 28, fol. 109 *b* reads: "Incipit epistola alcuini quam edidit ad Widonem Comitem." The MS. is occasionally glossed. The leaf is ornamented² on the margin to the left.

Further in comparisons important to this issue, the O.E. texts of the *Liber* will be employed as follows:

1. V. MS. Cotton, Vespasian D XIV. 14, of the Museum Library. On parchment: of the twelfth century, Nehab: *Der altenglische Cato*, Berlin, 1879, p. 41. A description of MS. Vesp. D is to be found in the *Catalogue* of Wanley, Hickes *Thesaurus*, Part II., p. 243, quoted in the third volume of the Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa; Angelsächs. Homilien und Heiligenleben*³ (edited by Dr. Assmann), p. 246: *Codex membranaceus in Octavo partim Latine, partim Saxonice diversis temporibus scriptus*. MS. Vesp. D is described by Hickes as *Capita quedam Theologica excerpta ex libro Alcuini*, and has been printed by Dr. Assmann in *Anglia*, vol. xi. p. 371, as *Uebersetzung von Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber ad Widonem Comitem*. The text occurs third in a volume described as: *Miscellan. Saxonica*. It occupies fol. 104 *a*—118 *b*. The introduction, the lists of vices and virtues, the discussion of the vices, and the *peroration*, are wanting. Sixteen chapters of the original *Liber* are reproduced with marked fidelity.

2. I. MS. Ii. 33, University Library, Cambridge. A small quarto on vellum; probably of the 12th century. MS. Ii has as a whole neither been printed nor received literary notice in print to the date of the present article. As "Theological Extracts from Alcuin's Address to Count Guido of Warwick," it is noted somewhat vaguely in the *Catalogue* of the MSS. of the University Library. Introduction, lists of chapters, discussion of vices, and conclusion are deficient. It contains frequent glosses in Latin. In the history of the transition of the language, MS. Ii may stand a few years nearer the period of the Conquest than does MS. Vesp. D. This fact is at

¹ The *Catalogue* ascribes the MS. to the eleventh century.

² The decoration consists of grotesque faces in outline, following the text on the left margin.

³ For information regarding MS. Vesp. D, the editor is indebted to a communication from Dr. Assmann, dated Jan. 12, 1895.

once obvious by the large number of weakened inflectional endings presented by *Vesp. D* in contrast with *Ii*. A librarian's note places this MS. "between the earlier copy of Lazamon, MS. Cot. Cal. A. IX. and the later years of the Abingdon Chronicle." The importance of this testimony will be recognized by the reader.

In the study of the sources of the *Speculum*, the almost slavish exactness of the O.E. translation renders it of little service toward the history of the *Speculum*. The fragmentary condition of the two copies of the O.E. *Liber*, at about the same stage of completion represented in the *Speculum*, as the *Liber* introduces the question as to the character of the MSS. employed respectively by the author of the *Speculum* and by the translator of the *Liber*. That the *Speculum* be derived from an English *Liber* of the period of the Conquest would seem an impossibility; cf. Morsb. § 1, Anm. 1. The link between the two redactions might be explained on supposition that the poet and the translator had access to the same Latin transcript of the original; the divergence in the texts would not seem unnatural, if it be considered that the poet's interest centred in the gallant and romantic warrior, while the translator's zeal found inspiration in the serene orthodoxy of the preceptor of Charlemagne.

The coincidences between *Liber* and *Speculum* are unmistakable in the main outlines of the two compositions. Although the general sequence is not the same, correspondences are significant.

1. *Dedication.*

*Dilectissimo Filio suo Widoni Comiti humilis¹ leuita alchwinus salutem,*² MS. R, fol. 109 *b*, l. 29, is reproduced³ in the records of the *Speculum*, verses 27—64 of the history of the knight Guy of Warwick. The names of the heroes⁴ are identical, *Guy* in both

¹ The expansion of contracted forms is indicated by the regular type.

² Line 28, fol. 109 *b* reads: *Incipit epistola alquini quam edidit ad Widonem Comitem.*

³ Similar features are preserved in MS. Bibl. Reg. 5. E. IV. described: *Alcuini sive Aluini Angli ad Guidonem de Virtutibus Liber*, a parchment MS. attributed to the 13th century. This MS. is without heading, and begins *D[ilectissimo filio Widoni . . . etc., fol. 97 b.* Near the top of the folio is written: *Alcuinus sive Albinus clarissimus.* The peroration is wanting. The text ends fol. 110 *b*: *Explicit liber Aluini leuite ad Widonem Comitem (vide supra, Note).* At the conclusion of the volume is a note: *Thy Will be dun 6 lordc. Bonum est mihi, Domine.* A bit of a musical staff is inserted into the fly-leaf of the MS.

⁴ References occur to folio and line numbering of MS. Bibl. Reg. 6 A. XI. A small number to the right of a word and above it marks the beginning of a line. The orthography is that of the MS. Bibl. Reg. 6 A. XI.

homilies, verse 30 of the *Speculum* and *Guido* represented in the dative *Widoni* (= *Guidoni*). *comes, comiti* (*vide ante*) is *þe eorl*, verses 29, 45, 50, 65, etc. *levita* is *Dekne* (see Georges, *Lateinisches Wörterbuch*, under *levita*), verse 41. Other correspondences are: *alchwinus* : *Alquin* 39; *salutem* : *grete þe wel* 52. *Dilectissimo filio* is at least implied in *fader myn*, v. 52, and is remotely suggested by *leue broþer*, v. 73.

2. *Capitula huius Libri*.¹

The *capitula* enumerated by Alcuin, are metrically arranged in the list of *þewes* of the *Speculum*, verses 79—130. The arrangement *De Virtutibus* occurs in both instances first. It is noticeable that of the seventeen moral graces (nominally eighteen) virtually classified in the *Liber*, two are omitted entirely in the enumeration and in the discussion of the *Speculum*, e. g. xvi. *De jeiunio*, and xviiij. *De castitate*; two are inverted in this enumeration, e. g. xij. *De penitentia*, and xj. *De confessione*. Verbal correspondences are not exact in three instances of the classification, e. g. v. *De lectionis studio*, replaced by *mieknesse*, ix. *De pacientia*, *Loue of herte* (*ful of þite*), and xv. (12 of the *Speculum*) *De timore domini*, is inadequately presented in *penaunce*. Otherwise the list of *þewes* of the 'Introduction' to the *Speculum* is the same as that *De Virtutibus* of the *Liber*, and exists in the same order, as the subjoined table will indicate. The orthography of MS. Bibl. Reg. 6 B. XI. is in general preserved. The number of the chapter in the sequence of the *Liber* is inclosed in marks of parenthesis.

DE VIRTUTIBUS.

LIBER.			SPECULUM.
<i>Virtutes.</i>			<i>þewes to heuene reche.</i>
i. De sapientia	1.	(1) Wisdom	v. 81
ij. De fide	2.	(2) Trewe bileue	83
iiij. De caritate	3.	(3) charite	83
iiij. De spe	4.	(4) Stedefast hope	85
		mieknesse	85
v. De lectionis studio.	14.	(5) (reding of lesczoun)	(500)
vj. De pace	5.	(6) Pes	86
vij. De misericordia	6.	(7) merci	86
viiij. De indulgentia	7.	(8) forþifnes	86

¹ Cf. MS. Bibl. Reg. 5. E. IV.

<i>LIBER.</i>		<i>SPECULUM.</i>	
ix. De pacientia	8. (9)	Loue of herte, ful of pite (god suffrance)	87 (571)
x. De humilitate	9. (10)	verray humilite	88
xi. De <i>compunctiōe cordis</i>	10. (11)	repentaunce	91
xij. De confessione	12. (12)	shrifte of mouþe	94
xiiij. De penitentia	11. (13)	sorwe at þin herte rote	93
xiiiij. De <i>non tardando conuerti ad dominum</i>		(sped þe faste) (In gode weyes) penaunce	(865) (865) 92
xv. De timore <i>domini</i>	15. (14)	(Drede of god)	(883)
xvi. De jeiunio			
xvij. De elemosinis	13. (15)	almes dede and charite	95
xviiij. De castitate			

The presentation in the *Speculum* of the second division of the table of contents of the *Liber* is by no means so exact as that of the first portion. The enumeration of the vices is incomplete, and the order of the original is not observed. From the following table it will be evident, that of the sixteen vices considered in the *Liber* (properly fourteen; cf. xxvj and xxvij) again two are deficient, *e. g.* xxiiiij (6) *De iracundia*, and xxxiiiij (16) *De cenodoxia*, and no attempt is made to preserve the sequence of the *Liber*. *Wicke sleuþe* 116 does not occur in Alcuin's list. In the parallel to follow, Roman numerals represent the *Liber*, Arabic the *Speculum*. Parentheses indicate the sequence of the *Liber*. Otherwise the order of the *Speculum* is illustrated.

DE VITIIS.

<i>Vitia.</i>		<i>wicke þewes.</i>	
xix. (1) De fraude cauenda	5. (1)	tricherie	v. 110
xx. (2) De iudiciibus	4. (2)	Fals iugement	110
xxj. (3) De falsis testibus	6. (3)	Fals witnesse	111
xxij. (4) De inuidia	3. (4)	enuie	109
xxiiij. (5) De superbia	1. (5)	Pride ¹	109
xxv. (6) De iracundia			
xxvj. (7) De humana laude <i>non querenda</i>	7. (7)	þis worldes blisse Loue not to muche	113
xxvij. (8) De perseuerantia <i>boni operis</i>			

¹ See *Caput xxxv. & primo de Superbia.*

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xxvij. (9) De viij ^{to} uiticijs ¹ principalibus	(9) þe wicke þewes	101
xxviiij. (10) De gula	9. (10) glotonye	115
xxix. (11) De fornicatione	10. (11) leccherie	116
xxx. (12) De auaricia	8. (12) Auarice	115
xxxi. (13) De ira	2. (13) wrappþe	109
xxxij. (14) De accidia	11. (14) Accedie	117
xxxiiij. (15) De tristicia	12. (15) Wanhope	126
xxxiiij. (16) De cenodoxia <i>id est</i> uana gloria ²		

3. *Epistola Nuncupatoria*.

Counterpart of the *Epistola Nuncupatoria* is to be traced in the *Speculum* as follows :

(a) Certain entreaties and promises are recorded in both texts :

<i>Liber.</i>	<i>Speculum.</i>
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fol. 109 b, l. 30 : Memor petitionis v. 46. wille to him bar.
³¹tue.

fol. 109 b, l. 31 : qua me obnixe v. 47. tok his red.
fla³²gitasti.

fol. 110 a, l. 1 : exhortamentum v. 53. preie þe for godes loue.
(aliquid . . . exhortamentum,
Pero).

fol. 110 a, l. 4 : tam honeste pe- v. 59. were my ioye.
ticioni. v. 60. a gret profyt.

fol. 109 b, l. 31 : promissionis mee. v. 68. His preie i wole do.
(sicut petisti, *Pero*).

(b) Both Guido (also Guy) and Guy of Warwick had been occupied with war and the affairs of the world. The facts recorded in the *Liber* and in the various descriptions of Count Guido, the friend of Alcuin, are of the nature of those associated with Guy of Warwick in the marvellous versions of his famous exploits. The *Speculum* does not claim to convey a record of the military achievements of the knight, but all that portion of his history is written between the lines of the present poem. The Latin treatise describes a hero of the character of Guy of Warwick, and provides ground in practical life for deeds corresponding to those for which Guy was famed.

¹ Read *octo uiticijs*.

² *id est uana gloria is glossed.*

fol. 109 *b*, l. 32 : tue occupationi, quam te in bellicis (becillis in the MS.) rebus habere nouimus.—fol. 110 *a*, l. 9 : sciens te in multis secularium rerum cogitatio¹⁰nibus occupatum. Unde precor sanctum salutis tue (vestrae, Froben) desiderium.—l. 11 : animus exterioribus fatig¹²atus molestiis.

The design of the *Speculum* in the conception of the identity of *þe eorl*, the genuine Guy of Warwick, and Guy of the *Liber*, is clear :

v. 29 : an eorl of gode fame.—v. 32 : þe worldes blisse.—v. 33 : þe world . . . he forsok.—v. 61 : þe world . . .—v. 62 : Haþ me lad . . .—v. 64 : þe world forsake.

The resemblance becomes more evident after reference to the English legends (edited by Zupitza) :

Sir Gij. Auch. MS. :

Hou he hadde euer ben strong werrou. str. 21, v. 7.
 . . . in wer shade mannes blode
 Wiþ mani a griseli woude . . .

Caius MS. :

That he come neuere in noo fighte. v. 7401.

MS. Ff. 2. 38 :

And how he had many slane
 And castels and toures many tane. v. 7135.

(c) The wish of each knight is the same and is recorded in practically the same words :

brevi sermone conscribere. v. 57 : Make me a god sarmoun.
 And don hit write in lesc-
 zoun.

huius sermonis. v. 137 : Herkne to my sarmoun.

The peroration (cf. Froben) strengthens the impression of the request : *Hæc tibi brevi sermone . . . dictavi*, l. 1.

(d) Both texts mention the purpose of this discourse :

fol. 110 *a*, l. 1 : ut haberes (*habeas*, Froben) iugiter ²*inter manus* (in manibus) paterne admonicionis sententias, in quibus teipsum ³*considerare* potuisses (*debnisses*, Fr.), atque ad eterne beatitudinis excitare studium.—l. 11 : ut animus . . . habeat, in quo gaudeat, seem to correspond to v. 56 : in amendement of me.—v. 59 : ioye and delit.—v. 60 : a gret profyt.—v. 48 : To kepen his soule from the qued.

(e) That the request was granted, each author is authority :

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1, 2: sicut petisti, dictavi (Peroratio). v. 68: His preie i wole do.
v. 69: i shal ben þi leche.

(f) The *Speculum* proceeds to outline details characteristic of the discourse:

v. 70: Aller furst i wole þe teche,
Faire uertuz for to take.

v. 73: þat maitou noht don, leue broþer,
Bote þu knowe on and oþer,
I shal þe now shewe boþe.

v. 77: And at the beste i wole biginne.

Compare with these verses selections from Chapter XXXV. *De quatuor uirtutibus*, fol. 120 a, l. 19: *Primo sciendum est, quid sit uirtus*, and under *Peroratio Operis* (cf. Froben) l. 3: *in quo possis teipsum considerare, quid cavere, vel quid agere debeas*.

It is interesting to find the counterpart of *par charite*, v. 55; l. 14 of the *Liber, Epistola Nuncupatoria*, reads: (tamen certissime scito) *sanctæ caritatis (vigore eosdem esse dictatos)*.

4. Discussion of Alcuin's Moral Virtues.

It has been seen, that the *Speculum* preserves characteristic features of the *Liber*. The following abstract will show from the body of the discussion, that the narrative sets forth faithfully the main conception of that treatise. The passages incorporated indicate not merely, that the parallel versions correspond, but that they are often identical. The discussion of the *Epistola*¹ proper, *i. e.* the *Liber de Virtutibus*, is briefly epitomized in the *Speculum*. The exactness of the redaction is apparent from the fact that the coinciding passages exist in both texts almost line for line, so far as the connection is adduced. The accompanying tables will affirm that, although mechanical subdivision is lacking, as true poetic feeling would dictate for a metrical composition, yet verses 137—922 may be regarded as divided into sixteen minor parts corresponding to sixteen of the eighteen (nominally eighteen) chapters of the *Liber de Virtutibus*. The digression to be noted in the discussion as in the list of virtues, is the omission of Chapters XVI. and XVIII., *De jeunio* and *De castitate*. Chapter XVII. is represented in

¹ Concerning the literature of the *Epistola*, see ten Brink, *Eng. Lit.*, vol. i. p. 115, with reference to the *motif* of the Alexander saga: *Epistola Alexandri ad Magistrum suum Aristotelem*, etc.

name only. Chapters I. III. IV. V. XIII. and XV. bear the closest relationship to the *Liber*. The O.E. version of the *Liber* (cf. Assmann, *Anglia*, vol. xi. p. 371), *Uebersetzung von Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber ad Widonem Comitem*, Vesp. D. 14 (fol. 104 a) will become a third element in the comparison. The more important instances of agreement are indicated on the pages to follow.

The method of arrangement needs no explanation. Each of the three texts follows its manuscript. Capitals and punctuation have been used irrespective of original, but the orthography of the MSS. is in general not altered. Occasionally a variant representing the Cambridge MS. I. is to be noted. At times the reading of Froben (Fr.) indicates the *Liber* in its current version. Otherwise the readings of the editions of Froben and of Migne have not been introduced into these pages. Dr. Assmann follows the Vespasian MS. with exactness.

Epistola¹ Alcuini
ad Guidonem³ Comitē
De Virtutibus

MS. BIBL. REG. 6 A. XI.

Capitulum i.

[fol. 110 b.] *De sapientia.*

1. 1. Primo (primum, *Fr.*⁵) omnium querendam est homini, que sit vera scientia.
 11. 4, 5. Sapientia perfecta est deum colere.
 11. 5, 6. Quia in his duobus uita beata adquiratur, sicut psalmista ait:
 1. 6. Diuerse a malo, & fac bonum.
 1. 7. Hec (non, *Fr.*) etiam sufficit cuiquam mala non facere.
 1. 7. Nisi etiam & bona faciat.
 1. 10. Virtus boni operis fructus eterne beatitudinis.

Capitulum ii.

De fide.

1. 11. Sed hec cognitio diuinitatis & scientia ueritatis, per fidem descendit ad ueritatem.
 1. 21. In preceptis uero Dei caritas optinet principatum.

sine qua nemo deo placet.

1. 21. In preceptis uero Dei caritas optinet principatum.

Speculum
Gy de Warewyke
De Virtutibus

MS. AUCH. 10.

Verses 70, 74, 139—198.

Wisdom (v. 139).

- v. 70. Aller furst i wole þe teache.
 v. 74. Bote þu knowe on and ober.
 v. 82. Vse wel . . .
 v. 139. (*also* 81) Wisdom in godes drede.
 v. 141. Twele þinges it wole þe teache,
 v. 142. Whar þurw þu miht to heuene reche:
 v. 143. (Pat is), lat þi sinne, and do god.
 v. 145. Ac to late þi sienze al onliche,
 v. 146. Nis noht inouth, sikerliche.
 v. 147. þu most dou god forþ þerwid,
 v. 148. If þu wolt haue merci and griþ.

Verses 201—218.

þi bilene (v. 201).

- v. 203. Man, þi bilene shal be so:
 v. 204. Pat o god is and no mo.

Verses 324—346.

Of charite (v. 324).

- v. 325. Off alle uertuz hit is hext,

Liber² Alcuini
ad Guidonem³ Comitē
De Virtutibus

MS. COT. VESP. D. 14.

[1.]

De Scientia.

1. Ærest calre þinzen æghwylce mæn is to secene, hwæt seo soðe wisdom [is] (*sciences*, I. 4)
 5. (*And*) seo fullfremede snytere is, þæt man soðe þeowiþe.
 6. þurh þa twa þinþ hyð þæt eadige lif be-ætota, swa se sealmscop ewað.
 7. Ʒecerr fram yfele and do soð.
 8. Buten twecne ne nætþ name mæn to ecere hæle Ʒehelþen, þæt he yfeles Ʒeswica, 9bute he soð do⁶; he hyð eadig on eadnesse.
 13. . . . Ʒodes woecas is wæstne . . . ecan eadþnesse.

[2.]

De Fide.

14. Ac þeos oncuwdrnyssse hære Ʒodcundnyssse and þere soðfæstnyssse wisdom is to leornian þurh þone rihtne Ʒeleafe.

[3.]

*De Caritate.*⁶

27. On callen Ʒodes bebodan seo soðe lufe hæfð þone caldrorton.

¹ Selections from MS. Bibl. Reg. 6 A. XI. in the Museum.

² Compared with MS. Vesp. D. 14. in the Museum, introduced here with an occasional variant from Camb. MS. li. I. 33.

³ MS. Widonem.

⁶ De uera Karitate in *It.*? om. in *V.*

Epistola.

1. 21. *Sine cuius perfectione nichil deo placere posse.* Paulus testatur.
 v. 326. And godes wille hit is next.
 v. 345. (his self) Sein Fowel (*and*) heretp witnesse.
 1. 25. *Diligens Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, & ex tota anima tua, & ex tuo ipso.* In pouht, *in* dede, *and* in speking.
 1. 26. *Addit quoque: Secundum autem, Fr.* simile est huic.
 1. 26. *Diligens proximum tuum, sicut te ipsum.* In hoc cogit²⁵ oscent omnes.
 [fol. 111a]. 1. 1. *Qui diligit deum (Dominum, Fr.) diligit & proximum suum (om. Fr.)*
 1. 2. *Sciat omnem christianum recte proximum dici.*

Capitulum .iiij.

De spe.

1. 11. *Nemo igitur quavis ingenti peccatorum pondere prematur, de bonitate diuine pietatis desperare debet.*
 v. 468. pouh man be charged, sikerli
 v. 469. Wid grette simnes heate and sore,
 v. 470. *He ne stal desperare neuere* be more...
 1. 13. *sed spe certe misericordie illius indulgentiam sibi confidit¹⁴,anis deprecari lacrimis.*
 v. 471. Ac soþfast hope haue, to winne
 v. 472. Godes merci of his simne
 v. 473. þurw shrifte of moupe *and* repent-
 auwe.
 v. 475. þif þu dost þus, bi day and niht...
 v. 461. Hope to god, *and* do god,
 v. 465. For alone to hope, widoute goddede,
 v. 466. Is ydel hope, (so god me rede).
 (cotidianis.)
 1. 14. *Quam recte sperare possunt, si ab actione prauu operis cessabant.*

¹ MS. *V las* dritten.

² *Here MS. I reads:* calra þinre heortan.

Speculum.

- v. 326. And godes wille hit is next.
 v. 345. (his self) Sein Fowel (*and*) heretp witnesse.
 v. 329. (Hit is), loue god ouer alle þing,
 v. 330. In pouht, *in* dede, *and* in speking.
 v. 332. An oþer þing þu most do:
 v. 333. þu most loue, hu so hit be,
 v. 334. þin emeristene forþ wid þe.
 v. 337. If þu louest god ful wiwis,
 v. 338. þu most louen alle his.
 v. 341. (But þu) loue þe existene þat bi þe
 be...

Verses 459—478.

Hope to god (p. 461).

- v. 468. pouh man be charged, sikerli
 v. 469. Wid grette simnes heate and sore,
 v. 470. *He ne stal desperare neuere* be more...
 v. 471. Ac soþfast hope haue, to winne
 v. 472. Godes merci of his simne
 v. 473. þurw shrifte of moupe *and* repent-
 auwe.
 v. 475. þif þu dost þus, bi day and niht...
 v. 461. Hope to god, *and* do god,
 v. 465. For alone to hope, widoute goddede,
 v. 466. Is ydel hope, (so god me rede).

Liber.

28. (Huten) þære fullfremednyssso 3ode maht
 lichþen ne moeþ 29 Paulus se apostol
 þass eweð (*sede* L)
 33. Lufe þinne drihten¹ 3od of² ealre þinne
 sawle, ³ *and* of eallen þine mode.
 34. Oðer is þyssen 3elle:
 35. Lufe þinne nexte swa swa þe sylle.
 42. On þan onenaweð man, þat 3e byð
 mine þeþnes.
 45. Se þe 3od lufþe,
 45. he eac lufþe his þone nextan.
 47. Wyte he swyðe rihtlice ælene Cristene
 man beon his nexte.
 [A.]
De Spe.
 61. Ne secal nan man, þe he seo ofsett
 mid unþeame byrdene his synnen, 3 ortreo
 wizen heo þære æwfeastnyssso þære godeundan
 mildheortnyssso.
 63. ac mid wifdeudan⁴ hyste *and* mid deoþ
 hwanlice tearen him forþyfouysse biddan . . .
 (mid deoþhwanlice.)
 64-5. Forþan þe swyþerihlice he moeþ him
 forþyfouysso wenen . . . þære yðle worean . . .
 3 ormaetre *in* L. 4 god *in* L.

Epistola.

Capitulum .v.

De lectione.¹

1. 21. *Sanciarum lectio scripturarum diuine est . . . In his²² enim quasi in quodam speculo homo seipsum considerare potest, qualis sit, et uel quo tendat.*

1. 24. *Qui nult cum deo semper²⁵ esse, frequenter debet orare, frequenter & leggere.*

1. 25. *nam cum oramus, ipsi cum deo loquimur.*

1. 26. *Cum uero legimus, Deus nobiscum loquitur.*

Capitulum .vi.

[fol. 111 b.] *De preceptis pacis.²*

1. 5. *Saluator ad patrem rediens quasi speciale donum (munus, Fr.) discipulis pacis dedit "precepta dicens.*

1. 9. "Beati pacifici," *quoniam filii dei uocabuntur.*

1. 9. *En filius dei incepit uocari, qui pat³er eius esse iam cepit.*

Speculum.

Verses 497—510.

Reading of lezeoun (v. 500).

v. 505. *Holi writ is oure myroure,*
v. 506. *In whom we sen al vire socour. . . .*

v. 497. *Man, if þu wolt þe world forsake,*

v. 499. *þu most ben ofte in orison*

v. 500. *And in reding of lezeoun.*

v. 503. *And we wif him, ful iwis,*

v. 504. *Whan we him bisekep þat rilht is,*

v. 501. *Wif us god spekeþ, whan we rede*

v. 502. *Off him and of his goddede.*

Verses 511—522.

Pes and louc (v. 514).

v. 517. *For lestu Crist lit seiþ ful wel :*

Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei uocabuntur.

v. 522. *For godes children men shal hem calle !*

v. 520. *Iblessed be, þat makeþ pes.*

Verses 523—550, 567, 568.

Of merci (v. 524).

v. 526. *Man, þu most ben merciabile.*

v. 549. "Alswich met as þu metest me,

v. 550. *Alswich i wole mete to þe."*

v. 567. . . . "He þat wole no merci haue,

¹ *De lectionis studio, Fr.*

Liber.

[5.]

De Scripturarum Lectione.

76. *On þan halþen ʒewriten se mann hine sylfne maef ʒeawriþen swa swa on hwylcen seawre.*

81. *Se þe wyle sinle mid ʒode beon,*

81. *He secal him oft ʒebiddan and he secal oft halþe ʒewriten readan.*

82. *Forþan þe þonne we us ʒebiddað, we spekað to ʒode.*

83. *And þonne we halþe bech redað, ʒod specð to us.*

[6.]

De Pace.

100. *Se hærend . . . sealde . . . bebodan and pass ewep.*

104. *Eadige byð þa ʒesibsume forþan þe heo byð godes bearn ʒecelede.*

106. *se byð ʒodes bearn ʒeeceid se þe wyle ʒesibsum beon.*

[7.]

De Misericordia.

126. *Mildheortnyssc is swaðe helic god [Beo fære se hærend sylf ewað].*

130. *Ac forlete se man nu þa hwilwendlice scylde to þan, þæt he ʒecarnige to onfone þæt ece ʒod.*

² *De pace, Fr.*

Epistola.

1. 29. Quo modo a deo misericordiam expectat, qui erit³⁰ delis est in conseruos suos?
 1. 31. Ad³² misericordie opus optimo nos in euanglio dominus exemplo roborauit, ubi ait.

Capitulum cxiij.

[fol. 112 a.] *De indulgentia.*

1. 12. (Dominus in euangelio dicit): Dimitte, et dimittetur nobis.

Capitulum xc.

De patientia.

1. 27. In patientia enim uestra (dicatur in euanglio) possidebitis animas uestras.
 1. 27. In omni enim²⁸ uita humana patientia necessaria est.
 1. 29. & patienter tribulationes, que nobis enentent,³⁰ sufferre necesse est.
 1. 28. Sicut itaque patienter sufferre debemus iniuriis ab aliis in nos delatas ita,

[fol. 112 b.] 1. 11. Sine¹² ferro uel flammis martyres esse¹³ possunt, si patientiam ueraciter in animo ser¹⁵ uamus eum proximis nostris.

Speculum.

- v. 559. And þu, þat art so eruel in þouht
 v. 560. And wolt to merci herke noht,
 v. 561. What wole hit helpe in eny stede
 v. 562. þe holi patermaster bede?
 v. 568. On ydel dop he mewei cræne."
 v. 565. And þe holi bok of sobnesse
 v. 566. þerof þerof god witnesse
 v. 567. And seip: (He þæt wole no mæreihaue).

Verses 551—566.

Forþifencesse (v. 683).

- v. 555. (þu seist: "Swete Lord,) forþine þu me,
 v. 556. þat i haue gilt aþeines þe,
 v. 557. kint as i do alle þo,
 v. 558. þat me hauen oult misdo.

Verses 568—622.

Of god sufferance (v. 571).

- In patientia uestra possidebitis animas uestras.*
 v. 568. (And) bad hem þen of god sufferance
 v. 571. (And) bad hem þen of god sufferance
 v. 572. In alle manere destrourance,
 v. 585. And, þif þe falleþ traual on houde,
 v. 587. Off al þis þu most sufferant be.
 v. 599. (And), þif a man þurw his power,
 v. 600. Dop þe wrong on corþe her,
 v. 612. þen here polemod,
 v. 613. To suffer wrong and vnriht.

v. 610. He may be martyr, teweliche,
 v. 611. Witoute sheding of mannes blod,
 v. 612. þat may þen here polemod. . . .

Liber.

136. Hwu meiz se him ænigne millheortnyssse wenen to þode, se þe byð wæhtreow on his etenþeowres?

140. Drihten syf us eac swyðe æðelice trymade to mildheortnyssse weorcan on þan zedspelle, þa þa he ewaðð.

[8.]

De Indulgentia.

160. (Drihten ewaðð): Forþfæð, þonne byð eow forþfeten.

[9.]

De Patientia.

185. þurh cower zedýld ze mugen habben cower sawle hæle.
 186. On callen þæs mannes life zedýld is neodþearflice to habbene . . . swa us is eac neod þearf, þæt we eall þa broca and þa zeswyne, þe us on . . . arefenen.
 187. swa we seulen zedýldelice arefrenen þa teonen þe us oðre mænu doð.

209. We muze beon martires btæn irene and leze, zif ze þa zedýld soðfastlice on ure mode zehæaldæð mid uren þan nextan.

Epistola.

Capitulum .i.

De uera¹ humilitate.

- l. 16. Quanta sit uirtus,² uera humilitas facile ex uerbis domini agnoscitur.³
 l. 17. (Quis) qui se exaltat, humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat, exaltabitur.
 l. 18. Humilitatis passibus ad celi culmina conscenditur.
 l. 19. qui deus excelsus non superbia sed humilitate attingitur.
 l. 25. Per superbiam mirabilis angelorum creatura cecidit de celo.
 [fol. 113 a.] l. 5. Qui (enim) sine humilitate bona opera agit, in uento⁶ puluerem portat.

Capitulum .xj.

De compunctione cordis.

- l. 15. Compunctio cordis ex humilitatis uirtute nascitur.
 l. 15. De compunctione conf¹⁶essio peccatorum¹⁷ delictorum. De penitencia uera prouentus . . . indulgentia.
 [fol. 113 b.] De confessione.
 l. 8. Ore a tunc confessio agit ad salutem.
 l. 10. Qui autem confessus fuerit & reliquit ea, misericordiam consequetur.

¹ om. in Fr.

² uerba humilitatis uirtus. Fr.

³ cognoscitur. Fr.

Speculum.

Verses 623—678.

- Pe uerba of humilitate (v. 658).
 v. 657. Ac, if þu cunpest knowe and se þe uerba of humilitate!
 v. 658. Þe uerba of humilitate!
 v. 630. *Qui se exaltat, humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat, exaltabitur.*
 v. 631. Þe milde þurw his humilitate,
 v. 632. Ful heite honoured þeili sholen he,
 v. 633. For þeili sholen he drawen on heih
 v. 634. And wronye god swiþe weih.
 v. 635. And pride, it is so foul a last,
 v. 636. Þat out of heuene he was east.
 v. 664. *Qui sine humilitate uirtutes ceteras congruat, est quasi, qui in vento puluerem portat.*

Verses 679—752.

Aford of trespac (v. 685).

- v. 679. A god þing is humilite!
 v. 680. Off him comep veray charite,
 v. 681. And penance, and eke shrift.
 v. 683. And of him forþifnesse of sinne.

Verses 753—784.

To Shrifte (v. 761).

- v. 768. Loke, þat þu be ofte shrine,
 v. 774. For hit may hele dedli wounde,—
 v. 795. And ne sparest for shame ne for eije,
 v. 796. þat þu hit nilt in shrifte seie,
 v. 797. Off god þu nilt wel litliche
 v. 798. Forþifnesse haue, sikertliche.

Liber.

[10.]

De Humilitate.

216. We maþen onenawen, . . . hwu mycel þæt maþin is eadmodnyssse.
 217. Eic⁴ þe hine sylfne upp ahefð, he byð 3e admodod.
 219. Wid eadmodnyssse stapen we muþen to heofone helnyssse 3e steon.
 220. Þone heine 3od ne maþ 3 hine man þurh ofermeta 3erecen, ac þurh eadmodnyssse.
 231. Þurh oferhyde seo wunderlice 3esecaft ænþen fooll of heofone.
 253. Se þe buten eadmodnyssse 3od deð, he byð 3elle þan þe on mycele winde dust beteð.

[11.]

De Compunctioe Cordis.

268. Seo onþredernyssse þes mannes heortan cunneð of eadmodnyssse.
And of þære onþredernyssse ondetnyssse, and of þære andetnyssse cunneð seo deaðbote, and of þære soðe deaðbote eunneð seo forþifnyssse þære sylten.

[12.]

De Confessione Peccatorum.

309. Seo andetnyssse þes munðes beenneð þære sawle to hele.
 312. Se þe leo 3eandetteð and forleteð, some he beþytt 3odes mildheortnyssse.
 4 *Li peccas . . . acle man . . . achweðeð*

Epistola.

*Capitulum .xiiij.**De penitentia.*

l. 31. Cuius ipse Saluator in euangelio uirtutem ostendit ³²dicens:

[fol. 114 a.] l. 3. Lauamini (dicit) Dominas per ysayam prophetam) & mundi estote. Lauatur itaque, & mundus est, qui et pertertia plangit, et iterum flenda non admittit.

6. Lauatur, & non est mundus, qui plangit quod gessit & post lacrimas (crasura) delicta reuertitur.

l. 6. Fili, peccasti, dicitur in scriptura sancta, ne ⁷adicius iterum, . . . sed de pristinus deprecare, ut remittantur.

l. 22. In hac ²³ita tantum penitencie (penitenti, Fr.) patet libertas. Post mortem uero nulla correctionis est ²³licentia.

Speculum.

Verses 815—850.*Wille to lete sinne* (v. 839).

v. 815. Iesu spak and seide ene.

(v. 814. *Lauamini, et mundi estote.*)

v. 816. Wasshep ou, and bep cleue.

v. 839. 3if pu hast wille to leue pi sinne,

v. 841. Of pin eizen je hote teres,

v. 843. Hij wolen make god acord

v. 845. And make je cleue of pi sinne.

v. 825. Summe wasshep, ac noht ariht,

v. 827. Pe hote teres of mannes eize,

v. 818. Makep clannere pan any lize.

v. 837. Man, pouh pu hane sinne don,

v. 839. 3if pu hast wille to leue pi sinne,

v. 840. Pat pu no more ne come perinne,

v. 841. Of pin eizen je hote teres . . .

v. 845. (And) make je cleue of pi sinne.

v. 859. While pu art on line, pu miht worche

v. 860. Godes werkes of holi churelie,

v. 861. And, certes, whan pat pu art ded,

v. 862. Panne waitou don noþer god ne quod.

*Capitulum .xiiij.**De non tardando conuerti ad deum.*

l. 24. Fili, ne tardes conuerti ad Dominum (Deum, Fr.).

Verses 853—882.*Worche godes werkes* (v. 859-60).

v. 864. (While pu miht gon *and* se),

v. 865. In gode weyes sped je fasto.

Liber.

[13.]

De Penitentia.

345. Dære soðen dædþote mæign . . . hælend sylf on his 3odspelle astowde.

351. *And* drihten eweð þurh Isaan: Aðweað eow *and* byð elæne.

354. Beo þan mannen, þe heora symmen (beweþeð, *and* eft æfter) þan woþe þa ilca synne wyreð.

358. 3if þu sume synne dest.

359. ne 3eech þu þa synne mid aðre synne.

359. ac þu 3od 3eorne bide.

360. *þæt* he þa 3etremda synne for3yfe.

385. On þysscer wurlde is se frizdom dædþota, æfter deaðe nis hane mænn nan bote 3elefd.

[14.]

De Conversione ad Dominum.

388. (Sumc), ne elca þu na to 3ode to 3æcraan.

Epistola.

[fol. 114 b.] l. 18. ne si, dum potest noluerit, omnino cum tarde uoluerit, non possit.

Capitulum .xv.

De Timore domini.

l. 20. Inicium sapientie timor domini.
l. 20. Magna est cautela peccati dei semper presentiam timere (Deum semper praesentem timere, Fr.).

21. Qui perfecte deum timet, diligenter se a peccatis custodit.
l. 25. Alius est timor seruorum.
l. 25. Serui enim propter tormento dominos timent.
l. 26. Si filii dei sumus, timeamus ex caritatis dulcedine, non de timoris amaritudine.

l. 29. & a facie tua quo fugiam ?

[fol. 115 a.] l. 7. Sic timeamus deum, ut diligamus eum, quia perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem seruilem.

Speculum.

v. 881. perfore worch, while þu maht,
v. 892. For sodeyneliche þu miht 1c caulit.

Verses 883—918.

Drede of god (v. 883).

Inicium sapientie, timor domini.
v. 883. Drede of god in alle þing
v. 884. Oif wisdom is þe biginning.

v. 885. And many hauen of god drede.
v. 907. And so he shal casten his loue
v. 908. To Iesu Crist, þat is aboue,
v. 909. And leten and flen sinful dede.
v. 890. As hit dop here bi þe boude :
v. 891. þe boude nele noþer loude ne stille.
v. 892. Don noht aȝein his lordes wille—
v. 897. And ȝit hit fareþ bi man also,
v. 898. þat spareþ more sinne to do,
v. 899. For þe doute of gret þining,
v. 900. þan for þe loue of heuen king.
v. 904. To biþenke him on godes face.

v. 909. And leten and flen sinful dede,
v. 910. Boþe for loue and eke for drede.

Verses 919—1028.

Of almesdede (v. 922)

Capitulum .xxii.

De elemosinis.

Liber.

390. Se þe elcað, þæt he to ȝode ne ȝceerð,
he deð on plih[st] his aȝene sawle, forþan þe
se deað hit na ne elcað.

[15.]

De Timore Domini.

434. ȝodes eȝe is se frume wisedom.
Æle mann simle ȝode andweardnyss on-
draede.

436. Se þe fullfremedlice him ȝod ondraedeð,
he hine sylfne swyȝe ȝeorulice wið syune be-
aldeð.

443. oðer byð þære þeooven [c3c].
444. þa þeowwes heom ondraedeð heora
hlaforðes for wite.

445. Nu we ȝodes bearn synden ȝeceȝde,
ondrade we us hine of þere soðe lufe swet-
nysse, na of þes eȝes biternysse.

448. He ȝeðenceð, þæt he ȝodes and-
weardnysse nahwyder besleon ne maerȝ.

466. Swa ondraden we us ȝod, þæt we hine
lufȝen forþan þe se fullfremede lufe ut adrið
þone þeowlice eȝe.

[16.]

[*De Eleemosynis.*]

5. Discussion of Alcuin's "wicke þewes."

The portion of Alcuin's subject-matter, that he described as *De Vitiis*, seems to have been by no means attractive to the poet. That those moral disorders were omitted from the discussion¹ entirely and are contained in the metrical enumeration poorly classified and in a fragmentary condition, may be accounted for on ground of a fragmentary MS. The *Epistola Nuncupatoriæ* of the *Speculum* has treated concerning a few facts of the manual *De Vitiis*. Additional trace of the original is found as follows :

CAPITULUM .XXXIIJ.

De Accidia : Accedie.

Liber.

Speculum.

- | | |
|---|--|
| fol. 119 b, l. 9. Accidia est pestis. | v. 117. Accedie is a wel foul sinne. |
| l. 14. De qua nascitur ¹⁵ somnolencia. pigricia operis boni. | v. 121. Accedie is as sleuþes broþer.
v. 124. And makeþ man anuied to do god. |

CAPITULUM .XXXIIJ.

De Tristicia : Shame.

- | | |
|--|--|
| l. 22. Tristicie duo sunt genera. unum saluiferum, alterum pestiferum. | v. 785. Tweye manere shame men fint in boke.
v. 786. þat oþer to sauuacioun.
v. 787. þat on (goþ) to dampnacioun. |
| l. 22. Tristicia salutaris ²³ est quando de peccatis suis anima contristatur peccatoris et ita contristatur ut confessionem et pe ²⁴ nitenciam agere querat. | v. 799. þis ilkeshame, be my croun.
v. 800. Draweþ al to sauuacioun.
v. 794. At þin herte sore agramed,
v. 795. And ne sparest for shame,
v. 796. þat þu hit nilt in shrifte seie. |

¹ The poet of the *Speculum* did not always follow his original in the actual arrangement of the chapters. With verses 765—766, 779—782, compare l. 300 ff., Caput xv.: *Qui erubescit in conspectu hominis peccare, quanto magis debet erubescere in conspectu Dei iniquitatem agere.* Cf. MS. R, Cap. xiii., fol. 114 a: *Qui peccata sua occultat et erubescit salubriter confiteri*; Cap. xii., fol. 113 b, ll. 23—25: *Deum quem testem habet item habebit eum ultorem.*

Verses 859 ff. of the *Speculum* recall l. 34, Caput xvii., although included under Caput xiii. of the poem: *In vita tua benefac animæ tuæ, . . . quia post mortem non habes potestatem bene faciendî.*

6. *The Benediction of the Speculum*.

Verses 1029—1034 of the *Speculum*.

The poetical invocation of divine blessing on the poet and his public, the ordinary M.E. formula, meets counterpart in the various MSS. of the *Liber*. The agreement of MS. Reg. 6 A. xi. is as follows :

fol. 109 *b*, l. 28. Auxiliante v. 1028. To þat blisse he vs bryng,
Domino.

nostro (iesu Cristo qui
cum patre & Spiritu Sancto)

uiuít et regnat¹⁶ per in-

finita secula seculorum, amen.

v. 1029. þat is king ouer alle þyng

v. 1034. Amen. Amen. So mot
it be.

With these versions may be compared the concluding passage of MS. li. i. ff. :

“Se heofenlice fæder (*and þe sunu and þe halȝa ȝost*) ȝeunne us þæt we moton þer ece lif ȝeearnian (*and ȝe trymme on us þo rihtan ȝe leafan and ȝescylde us wið deofles costnunȝa and*) þæt . . . we moton mid him wunian þær he lifað *and* rixað on ealra worulde woruld abutan ende, Amen.”

Add. MS. 18,338 of the Museum, a vellum octavo of the 10th century called *Isidori Episcopi Liber Officiorum de ecclesiasticis officiis, Breviarum Alcuini* concludes *gloria coronabitur. Amen*. MS. Kk. VI. 19, and MS. Mm. VI. 12, of the University Library, Cambridge, have the same ending, *perpetua coronabitur gloria, Amen*. With these is to be compared the *Speculum*, 1029, 1030, and 1034 :

“ To þat blisse he vs bryng,
þat is king ouer alle þyng.
Amen. Amen. so mot it be.”

The *Speculum* is quite independent in the additional element of the glorification of the Virgin, verses 1031, 1032 :

“ And ȝeue us grace, while we be here,
To serue hym *and* hys moder dere.”

An amplification is preserved in MS. H₂ (fol. 53 *a*), 832—835, with fuller detail, marking a monkish environment for MS. H₂.

MS. Bibl. Reg. 5 E. iv. adds the unique and charming *benedicite* (fol. 110 *b*) : cum angelis dei perpetualiter possidere dignus efficietur.¹

¹ *Explicit liber Aluini (MS.) leuite ad Widonem comitem.*

II. Main Differences between *Liber* and *Speculum*.

Distinct points of agreement marked in the *Speculum*, preserving introduction, arrangement, and main outlines of the *Liber*, have been discovered. On the other hand the two works are distinct from each other in important characteristics. These occur:

1. In the specification and discussion of the moral vices (*De Vitiis*, i. e. *wicke þewes*, v. 101) through deficiency in the original material, or through modification to be credited to the poet.

2. In the section *De Virtutibus*, large portions of the *Liber* are omitted from the *Speculum*, where the Latin author developed his theme consistently with his text, producing a moral, not a liturgical work.¹

3. In portions of the *Speculum*, *De Virtutibus*, *Whar þurw þu miht to heuene reche*, v. 80, for which the *Liber* is not responsible, and where the poet interweaves episodes of different character.

The preceding section indicates that the *Liber* is the immediate source of the *Speculum*, directing the trend of the argument. Yet but one hundred and fifty of the eight hundred and ninety verses represented in the accompanying tables are to be accounted for through the *Liber*. The larger portion of the *Speculum* is thus not to be discovered in the pages of the *Liber*, but deviates materially from the original composition. Allowing for the variation natural to the metrical arrangement of an underlying prose work devoted to the same current of thought, it must be conceded that after the first one hundred and thirty-seven verses, the *Speculum* exists as a free production of an English redactor. The poet followed his source as conscientious principle seemed to direct, but he modelled his material according to his inspiration and enlivened his theology with incident and episode not connected with the principal action of the work. He improved dull passages, adapting them to the sympathies of the English people.

If the *Speculum* be regarded as an independent unit, its immediate sources must be looked for elsewhere or traced through representative passages. No English work has been found, that, as a whole, can be held responsible for the incidents with which the *Speculum* is enriched. The various categories of vices and virtues characteristic of the Middle Ages add nothing to the proof of the *Liber*, and they are themselves indebted elsewhere for origin. The interesting French

¹ See *Moralia Opuscula*, Froben II, p. 2.

treatise, *Somme des Vices et des Vertues* (Frère Lorens 1279), also called *Somme le Roi* or *Miroir du Monde* (ed. F. Chavannus, *Documentes publiés de la Suisse romande*, IV.) is distinct in itself and in its descendants. The *Azenbite*, Chaucer's *Persones Tale*, and the later text, *Confessio Amantis*, have no immediate connection with the exposition for Guy. Caxton's print, *The Book Ryal*, *The Book for a Kyng*, based on the ten commandments, the twelve divisions of the Creed, and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, is a distinct treatise. Compare also Kläber, *Das Bild bei Chaucer*, pp. 337 ff. Equally distinct are *Vices and Virtues* (Stowe MS. c. 1200), edited by Holthausen, E. E. T. S., and all the various enumerations in the different collections of Homilies, the editions of Morris for the E. E. T. S., Nos. 29, 34, 49, and 53. It is hardly necessary to look for the source of the *Speculum* in a French original. The somewhat large number of words of French origin, in comparison with other texts of the period, *Azenbite* through Danker's summary in *Die Laut- u. Flexionslehre d. mittelkent. Denkmäler nebst roman. Wörterverzeichnis* and *Poema Morale*, for example, are to be attributed to the vocabulary of the first source of the text, the *Liber*; however to the contrary¹ see Einkenkel, *Anglia*, vol. v., pp. 91 ff. Sturmfels in *Anglia*, vol. viii. p. 205, aims to prove, that in the first half of the 13th century but few A.F. words or derivatives are to be traced in any theme.

An original for the *Speculum* as a specific unit not being discovered, the history of salient passages is to be investigated. The text itself guides uniformly to the clerical literature of the Middle Ages, through allusion to St. Austin (St. Augustine), to Gregory, and to the Scriptures.

CHAPTER X.

MINOR SOURCES OF THE *SPECULUM*.

§ 1. *Minor religious Sources.*

1. *Indebtedness to St. Augustine.*

WITH Chapter XVI. (verse 919) the influence of the *Liber* ends abruptly. With verse 947 the poet transfers his study to another type of popular didactic literature. The naïve and charming account of *Elize* is to be recognized as a favourite theme with St. Augustine.

¹ Die zahl der französischen wörter hängt ab vom stande der verfasser, nicht vom stoff der behandelten gegenstände, . . .

It is the subject of more than one discourse attributed to that divine. Passages from the *Speculum* may be compared with the fortieth discourse (*Sermo XL. § 2*) of Augustine (see Migne) :

<i>St. Augustine.</i>	<i>Speculum.</i>
Sermo XL. § 2.	Verses 947—970.
jubetur Eliās.	v. 950. Spak to Eliȝe þe profete.
ibi pascatur a vidua.	v. 951. To a pore widewe he him sende.
ad eum Dominus	v. 949. Hou Iesu Crist, houre louerd swete . . .
dixit : “Vade	v. 953. (He seide) : “Eliȝe, þu shalt fare
in Sareptam.	v. 954. Into Sarepte.
ego mandavi viduæ, ut te pascat ibi.”	v. 955. Þer is a widewe, þat shal þe fede.”
beatus Elias viduam illam inveniet.	v. 959. Þe widewe he mette.
aqua se lavaret,	v. 963. A dishful water she sholde him ȝiue.
cum ab ea	v. 969. “Do,” he seide, “bi my red,
cibum petet.	v. 970. Bring me wid þe a shiue bred !”
“Vade,” inquit, “mihi prius fac !”	v. 982. “Abid,” he seide, “er þu go !”
ex eo quod habes, ministra.	v. 983. “First, þerof mak me mete,
inopiam noli timere,	v. 984. And, whan þat i hit haue iete,
	v. 985. Off þat bileueþ, þu shalt make.”
non deficientem farinam.	v. 1000. “þi mele ne shal wante noht,
ubi oleum infunderet, tandiu oleum crevit.”	v. 1001. And þin oyle shal waxen, sikerli !”
talis ist nativera	v. 1005. Now þu miht knowe in þi mod,
veræ eharitatis, ut erogando, crescat.	v. 1006. þat in almesse dede is double god.

To Augustine¹ is to be ascribed the comparison embodied in the Latin texts following verse 664 of the *Speculum, Sermones*, vol. iii. p. 353, fol. 654, also employed by Gregory :

Qui sine humilitate uirtutes ceteras congregat, est quasi, qui in vento puluerem portat (see edition of Migne).

Augustine's discourses in common with others of the age expound Biblical passages subject to the exegesis of the theologian of the *Speculum* and of English priests of associated literature. Cf. for instance *Sermones* 297, 302, 303, 304, etc., in connection with chapters x, v, i and vii.

2. Biblical Sources.

Under the fanciful exaltation, the decorative incidents of the Guy saga is to be discovered a solid texture of Biblical passages so skilfully interwoven, that at first their presence is not to be imagined. Some of them are as follows :

Lines 143—147, *Psal.* xxxiv. 14 ; xxxvii. 27 ; *Is.* i. 16, 17 ; *Amos* v. 15 ; *Rom.* xii. 9 ; 1 *Pet.* iii. 11. ll. 148—160, 1 *Cor.* iii. 19. ll. 201—204, *Hebr.* xi. 6. l. 204, *James* ii. 19. ll. 223 ff., *Gen.* iii. 6 ff. ll. 215—220, *Gen.* iii. 22. l. 238, *Gen.* iii. 19. ll. 255, 256, *Matt.* xx. 23 ; 326, 1 *Cor.* xiii. 13. ll. 329—334, *Luke* x. 27. ll. 329, 330, *Matt.* xxii. 37 ; *Mark* xii. 31. l. 334, *Matt.* xix. 19 ; xxii. 39. ll. 346, 352, *Gen.* xviii. 2, 3. ll. 355, 360, *Ex.* xix. 18, 20. ll. 393—397, 1 *Cor.* xiii. 12. l. 412, ff., *Matt.* v. 8. ll. 461—465, *James* ii. 20, 22, 24, 26. l. 518, *Matt.* v. 9. l. 539 ff., *Zech.* vii. 9 ; *Rom.* ii. 1. ll. 543, 545, *James* ii. 13 ; *Matt.* v. 7. ll. 535—542, *Mark* xi. 25 ; *Col.* iii. 13. l. 535, *Eccles.* xxviii. 2—4. ll. 549, 550, *Matt.* vii. 1, 2 ; *Luke* vi. 37. ll. 555—557, *Matt.* vi. 14.

¹ Augustine's sermons preserve other passages suggestive of the *Speculum* : "*Vade, et affer me pusillum ut manducem*" ; "*morituram, se dicit, cum consummaverit, quod remansit*" , . . "*cum suis filiis moritura . . .*" etc. "*Benedixit . . . Elias . . . hydriam . . . farine et capsucem olei*," etc. Traces of the *Vulgata* are to be noted in the account preserved by the *Speculum* :

v. 10 : "*Cumque venisset ad portam, . . . apparuit ei . . . vidua . . . , vocavit eam, dixitque ei : 'Da mihi paululum aque in vase et bibam.'*"

v. 11 : "*Cumque illa pergeret et afferret, clamavit . . . dicens : 'Affer mihi . . . buccellam panis . . .'*" v. 12 : "*' . . . non habeo panem, nisi quantum pugillus farine . . . & paululum olei in lecytho . . . faciam illum mihi & filio meo . . . moriamur.'*" v. 13 : "*'mihi primum fac . . . tibi . . . postea . . .'*"

v. 16 : "*'farina non defecit, & lecythus olei non est imminutus . . .'*" See *Vulgata* of MDCLXXXVIII. *Liber III., REGUM* verses 10—16.

The same theme is employed by Gregory, *Hom. in Ezechielem*, Lib. I *Hom.* IV. Tom. II. col. 808, but marks no resemblance with the version of the present poem.

ll. 559—568, *Matt.* vi. 15. ll. 568 ff., *Luke* xxi. 19. ll. 624—632, *Matt.* xxiii. 12; *Psal.* cxxxviii. 6. ll. 630—634, *Matt.* xxiii. 12; *Luke* xiv. 11; xviii. 14; *James* iv. 6, 10. l. 782, *Num.* xxxii. 23; *Is.* lix. 15; *Prov.* xiii. 21. ll. 814, 816, 824, 848, *Is.* i. 16; 2 *Kings* v. 12, 13. *Ezek.* xvi. 9; *Acts* xxii. 16. ll. 854, 878, *John* xii. 35. ll. 855—857, *John* ii. 35. ll. 861, 862, *Eccles.* ix. 10; *John* ix. 4. l. 883, *Psal.* cxi. 10; *Prov.* i. 7. ll. 949, 1004, 1 *Kings* xvii. 9, 16.

The text underlying verses 168—176 recalls *Prov.* xxix. 23: *A man's pride shall bring him low*, see *Is.* ii. 17; *Prov.* xvi. 18, and *Job* viii. 13:

*So are the ways of all that forget God;
And the hope of the unholy shall perish.*

Verses 177—188 describe the compensations of adversity suggested by *Heb.* xii. 6: *Whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth*. See also *Job* v. 17; *Deut.* viii. 5; *Ps.* xciv. 12; *Prov.* iii. 12. The passage carries the mind to verses 837—846 embodying the text,¹ *Psal.* cxxvi. 5: *They that sow in tears shall reap in joy*.

Texts in which God is symbolized by fire (v. 359): *Heb.* xii. 29; *Ps.* xvii. 3; *Hab.* iii. 5; *Is.* lxvi. 15.

In the Latin texts cited, the *Vulgata* is generally followed throughout the *Speculum*. A few orthographical deviations are to be noted; cf. l. 630, *Matt.* xxiii. 12. l. 554, *Matt.* vi. 12. l. 782, *Mark* iv. 22; *Matt.* x. 26; *Luke* viii. 11, 12, etc.

3. Indirect Sources of the *Speculum*.

Sources of the *Liber* as employed by Alcuin may be regarded as having a secondary and indirect value in the composition of the *Speculum*. Alcuin's *Liber*, apart from the fact that it stands as the product of the great learning and the high spiritual development² of

¹ Cf. Shakspere, *King Richard III.* iv. 4:

"The liquid drops of tears, that you have shed,
Shall come again, transform'd to orient pearl."

For verses 454, etc., 544, etc., cf. *Merch. of Venice*, iv. 1:

"In course of justice, none of us
Should see salvation."

King Rich. II., v. 3:

"I pardon him, as God shall pardon me."

King Henry VIII., ii. 1:

"I free forgive, as I would be forgiven."

² The MS. Jun. 23, Bibl. Bod. preserves some account of the teacher Alcuin. He "ferde siððan on sæ to þa snoteran cyninge Karulus ʒehaten. se hæfde

the eminent teacher, is indebted largely to the theological fathers of the day, for Alcuin was rarely original.¹ Alcuin was a living exponent of modern doctrines. His life marked "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control." Added to his sense of responsibility and of consecration he desired to be of service to humanity in promulgating the impressions and vital doctrines of those, whose theology he studied. Accordingly it is not surprising that the *Liber*, and indirectly the *Speculum*, should mirror the fundamental moral truths of Gregory, Augustine,² Prosper, Isidore, Bede, and that with Hraban he should find, "Prudence,³ justice, bravery, temperance," the root and foundation of all virtue. It is not strange, that the contemplations of Alcuin should be flavoured largely with the Christian ethics of Cassian, and that the fidelity of Alcuin to his original should be reproduced in the English poem. In this connection compare passages of the *Speculum*, verses 785 ff., with Cassian over Tristitia: *Tristitie genera sunt duo, unum quod vel iracundia desinente vel de illato damno ac desiderio prepedito cassatoque generatur; aliud, quod de irrationabili mentis anxietate seu desperatione descendit.* For additional discussion of this question see Max Förster, *Ueber d. Quellen von Ælfrics Exeget. Hom. Catholicae, Anglia*,⁴ vol. xvi. (1892), p. 47.

In purpose and dedication, the address to Guido, nominally Guy of Warwick through the *Speculum*, is to be traced in the work of Jonas of Orleans: *De Institutione Laiculi*, Book III. Here Matfred⁵ of Orleans receives instruction at his own request for guidance in Christian life. In the classification of the eight fundamental sins, Theodulph and Prosper³ are in agreement with Cassian.⁶

mycene cræft for 3ode and for worulde. To þam com albinus se æpela lareow and on his anwealde ælpeodiȝ wunode on sancte Martines mynstere and þær maneȝa zelærde mid þam heofonlican wisdome þe him ȝod forȝeaf."

¹ See Guizot, *Civ. in France*, Lect. XXI.

² Dedication of *Com. on John* to Gisela preserves Alcuin's tribute to other authors for help in "expounding holy words of the gospel," and first of all to Augustine.

³ *quatuor principales: Prudentia Tristitia Fortitudo, Temperantia, Caput XXXV. l. 3*; also Gregory (ed. Migne), Tom. VI. col. 20.

⁴ Ælfric's familiarity with the works of Alcuinus is attested to through Ælfric's translation of the *Interrogationes Sigewulefi in Genesis*; see editions of MacLean and Mitchell.

⁵ *Dilecto in Christo Mathfredo Jonas in Domino perpetuam salutem*, Migne, Tom. CVI. col. 121.

⁶ Werner, *Alcuin u. sein Jhit.*, p. 254.

§ 2. Traditional Sources.

1. The *Alexius Motif*.

Guy's entreaty for counsel has been recognized in the *Liber*; the epexegetical source has been determined; the ascetic factor of the poem, providing romantic and sentimental environment for the ethical theme of Alquin, is to be traced. The legend stands out from interworkings of Biblical themes, nomadic doctrines, the inheritance of all liturgical and homiletical literature, and finds ulterior source through the investigation of that greater Guy of Warwick saga, in whose atmosphere rests the *Speculum*. In the *motif* of the *Speculum* an element in contrast with the *Liber*, is to be recognized, overshadowing in charm that marked by historical reminiscence. In distinction from the superannuated military glory, that stirred the hearts of the ancestors of modern England, it is the *leit motif* of poem as well as saga, in which present interest attains its highest expression. In the *Speculum* is blended the radicalism and the romanticism of tradition. The minstrel re-echoes the melody of earlier song no longer in familiar tongue. The essential spirit of the poem culminates in a single incident with its outlying episodes, that of the sacrificial resignation of bride in religious consecration. Here Guy of the legend is in confliction with another personality, for, whether the exterior of the saga be endowed with the fine figure of the warrior Guy or mark the features of the priestly saint Alexius, it envelops one underlying kernel. From the fundamental germ of the English Guy history has emanated an opposite type of literature recognized in many languages, a traditional history, which may in general be described as *Cançon de saint Alexis*. Through this agent the ascetic factor of the *Speculum* is to be separated from its Guido-individuality, and the *Speculum*, as a member of the Guy family, is to be regarded as the after-play of an Alexius germ wandered to England. In both are to be recognized the same characteristics; here are the same joyous wedding, the same pilgrim wanderings, and death under the same exaggerated resignation.¹

The earliest redaction of this material is a life of the saint: *Vita auctore anonymo conscripta. Ex codice nostro membranaceo Ms.*

¹ See Dr. Furnivall's edition of the Alexius miracle published for the E. E. T. S. The scope of the present volume limits mention of Alexius texts to fundamental editions. No saga has a literature more comprehensive, extending to all the languages of Europe, and comprehending all types of composition, even *dramma musicale* and *tragédie* (*Le charmant Alexis*).

antiquissimo Hieronymi de Gaule, Geldriae Cancellario, cum aliis collata, found in the collection of the Bollandists, and supposed to have been printed in 1636, in *Rom typis Francisci Corbelletti* from ancient MSS. of the venerable monasteries of St. Boniface and St. Alexius. This text was given to the public by Pinius in the *Acta Sanctorum Julii*. 1725, *Tomus IV.*, pp. 238—270, with the title *De S. Alexio Confessore*. The *Vita* was also included in an incomplete form, by Massmann in the following work: *Sanct. Alexius Leben in 8 gereimten mhd. Behandlungen; nebst geschichtlicher Einleitung, sowie deutschen, griechischen und lateinischen Anhängen*. Quedlinburg u. Leipzig, 1843, cf. pp. 167—171.

Johannes Pinius assumes as undoubted, that the nationality of Alexius as well as this recognition of his history was Roman. His opinion is stated in the title of his edition: *De S. Alexio Confessore, Romae, vel, ut alia acta ferunt, Edessae in Syria*. Pinius bases the entire history on a Greek canon of the 9th century, whose author was St. Joseph.

Gaston Paris, *La Vie de saint Alexis publ. par Gaston Paris et Léopold Pannier*, Paris, 1872, discovers the Guy-Alexius germ in a Syrian legend embodied in literary form by a priest of the church at Edessa, extolling the monastically upright life of a pilgrim to that church, the son of an industrious and virtuous family of Constantinople. He explains the alleged Roman ancestry through accident. The incident carried to Rome by Bishop Sergius became associated with the church of Boniface by Pope Benedict. There the narrative acquired local flavour, and became so genuinely acclimated as an episode of Roman history, that the death of the saint is actually ascribed to the 5th century; cf. *Monograph* by Du Chesne, p. 163.

The earliest presentation of the theme is to be attributed to a Latin MS. written probably in Rome, a transcript of an older text. Thus the Guy of Warwick saga was extant among the Romans, and rests not necessarily on Roman tradition, but on a Roman source developed also in England.

And here again it bespeaks an earlier generation in tradition; but all actual material in ages to follow, whether it be Greek, German, Provençal, or Norman, or French and English promulgated on British soil, returns to Roman ancestry. In all MS. forms, the Alexius narrative embodies a Latin original transcribed in Italy. In its branches are to be recognized the features of the Guy legend, resignation and renunciation, voluntary poverty, the atoning pilgrim-

age, the return to native land, the acceptance of alms from the fair hands of the forsaken bride, a moment of final recognition before both martyr and martyr's bride become united in death. These familiar lineaments are to be discovered in the history of Guy of Warwick. The link¹ connecting the two episodes is probably French on English ground. The characteristic modifications of the later versions of the history were collected on English shores, but the *Speculum* is undoubtedly indebted directly to a legend bearing the name Guy of Warwick.

2. Minor Traditional Sources.

A parallel expression introducing the account of the fiery bush, symbolical of the purity of the Virgin (*Speculum*, verses 355—368), occurs in *The Prymer* or *Lay Folks Prayer Book*,² edited by Littlehales, 1895, in the "Hours of the Blessed Virgin" as follows, p. 24: *Bi þe buysch, þat moises siz vnbrent, we knowen þat þi preisable maidenhede is kept. . . . "Thou art the bosche of Symay,"* Shoreham's line, *Poem to Mary*, Wright, p. 131, recalls l. 112 of *Marien Rosenkranz*:

"Se ys de bûsh her moysy," . . . etc.

The figure is used by Jacob Ryman, compare Zupitza's note, str. 3, v. 1 ff. *Archiv*, vol. xciii, p. 309. Chaucer employs the metaphor in the *Prioresses Tale*, *Prologue*:

"O mooder mayde! o mayde mooder free!
O bush vnbrent, brenning in Moyses syghte,
That rauyseedest down fro the deitee."—str. 3, v. 1657 f.

But these lines were probably written later than the twelfth stanza of *An A. B. C.* (cf. Skeat, xlvi), *La Priere de Nostre Dame*,³ str. 12, v. 89 ff., where the theme is developed with some fulness of incident:

"Moises, that saugh the bush with flaumes rede
Brenninge, of which ther never a stikke brende,
Was signe of thyn unwemmed maidenhede,
Thou art the bush on which ther gan descende
The Holy Gost, the which that Moises wende
Had ben a-fyr; and this was in figure."

¹ A genealogical table showing the connection between the two developments of the saga as represented by Guy and Alexius might be in order here; but it seems wise to reserve the discussion for a separate article, particularly since Professor Zupitza has investigated so carefully the Guy MSS.; see *Zur Literatur gesch. des G. v. Warwick*.

² E. E. Text Society, Extra Series, cv.

³ Skeat, *Minor Poems*, pp. xlvi—xlvi and p. 4; Skeat's *Chaucer*, vol. I., p. 266.

Skeat cites Chaucer's original from De Deguileville's¹ *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, Part I. *Le Pèlerinage de la Vie humaine*, edition² of Paul Meyer, MS. 1645, Fonds Français, in the National Library, Paris. The exposition of the *Speculum* seems to stand as near the text of Deguileville as does the Chaucerian quotation, as will be seen from a comparison with the selection as contained in Stürzinger's print³ of *Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine*, "final assault of the 7 deadly sins":

"Moises vit en figure
Que tu virge nete et pure,
Ihesu, le fil Dieu, concéus.
Un buisson contre Nature
Vit qui(1) ardoit sans arsure.
C'es tu, n'en sui point decéus.
Diex est li feus qu'en toi èus
Et tu buisson des recrèus
Es pour tempérer leur arsure.
A ce vëoir, Virge, vëus
Soie par toi et recéus."—v. 11,025, etc.

The application to the virgin cannot possibly have originated with Deguileville,⁴ for it had been given literary form fully two centuries earlier by Walter von der Vogelweide,⁵ see *Leich*, edited by Wilmanns, Halle, 1869, p. 31 f., v. 37 ff.:

"Ein bosch der bran, dâ nie niht an besenget noch verbrennet wart:
breit⁶ unde ganz beleip sîn glanz vor fiures flamme und unverschart
daz ist diu reine maget alleine, diu mit megetlicher art
Te kindes muoter worden ist
An aller manne mitewist,
und wider menneschlichen list
den wâren Krist
gebar, der uns bedâhte."

Compare *Lobgesang auf Maria*, edited by A. Jeitteles from Innsprucht and Breslau MSS., *Germania*, vol. xxxi., pp. 299, 300, v. 167 ff.:

"du grüener busch, den Moyses sach
vol flammen, dem doch niht geschach,
unversenget bleip er gar:
daz bezeichent offenbâr,
dar du meit blib unde wære,
dô du daz ôsterlamp gebere,
daz für uns geopfert wart
an daz cruize, Marjâ zart."⁷

¹ It will be noted that the orthography of Skeat following Meyer is here employed; see Morley: *Eng. Writ.*, ii. 204.

² Copied by Skeat from Furnivall's *One-text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, Part I., p. 84.

³ Printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1893.

⁴ Varying forms are not necessary to the purpose of the *Speculum* in the selection of the passage.

⁵ To this selection and to Bøddeker's *Ballad* attention was called by Professor Kölbing, to whom thanks are due.

⁶ *grüen* according to Bartsch's print of the poem in Pfeiffer's *Deutsche Clasi-siker des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1877, vol. i., p. 169.

⁷ Zingerle (*Zeitscr. für d. Philologie*, vol. vi., p. 377) ascribes this text to the fifteenth century.

See footnotes, p. 299: *Dasselbe Bild in Erl.* 283, 115, *im Melker Marienl.* 117, str. 2, *sowie im Arusteiner Marienleich* 110, 44 ff.

A Carroll in *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur, Neue Folge*, Bd. II., 1875, pp. 92, 93, *Das wunder der Incarnation*, edited by Böddeker in *Englische Lieder u. Balladen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, reads as follows:

“Another signe behold and se:
Vpon this maid virginite.
Trulie of hir was ment
This fierie bushe that was so bright
To Moises did give suche a light,
And not one leafe was brent.”—str. 4, v. 21.

Skeat, *Prioresses Tale*, p. 144, notes an illustration in an *Alliterative Hymn*, quoted in Warton's *Hist. of Engl. Poetry* (ed. Hazlitt), vol. ii. p. 284, str. ii. v. 2: *Heil, bush brennyng that never was brent.*

In the discovery that the fiery bush is symbol of the spotless purity of the Virgin, the passage differs from the broad-spread interpretation of the prodigy. The traditions of “bush on fire,” conspicuous in all stories of the rood-tree from the days of Cynewulf and Elene to the 14th century, and later¹ in their multitudinous accumulations of gleanings through the Middle Ages, unite in regarding the bush as symbol of divine Presence. A frequent mediæval application of the Biblical passages, Exodus iii. 2—6; Mark xii. 26; and Acts vii. 30, is embodied in lines from *Legends of the Holy Rood, The Story of the Rood Tree*, p. 73:

“For suth, he said, þi wandes mene
þe trinite þam thre bitwene.”

Compare Napier, *History of the Holy Rood-tree*, E. E. Text Society, 103, and *Legends of the Holy Rood, Symbols of the Passion and Cross-Poems*, edited by R. Morris, E. E. Text Society, 46.

Intermediate between the two versions² comes Maundeville's interpretation of the expressive Biblical image in *The Voiage and Travaile* of Sir John Maundevile, Kt., ed. Halliwell, London, 1839;

¹ The “fierie bush” is to this day in current use in figurative language. Dr. Ripley discovered in Transcendentalism “the fair tree of mysticism,” a “burning bush” of revelation and sorrow, see Sanborn's *Henry D. Thoreau* in Charles Dudley Warner's “American Men of Letters” (1882), p. 143.

² The prodigy is not interpreted as symbolical in Book II. *Of the Jewish Antiquities of Josephus* (ed. Roger L'Estrange, London, 1702), chap. xii., p. 48, where the record stands: “A Fire seen in a Bush, the Bush burning, the Flame fierce and violent, and yet neither Leaves, Flowers, nor Branches blasted or consum'd.” The “surprize of it struck Moses with astonishment.” The “Voice that spake to Moses out of the fiery Bush” commanded him “to depend upon the Assistance of an Almighty Power.”

the text is included in *Early Travels in Palestine*, Bohn's Antiquarian Library, Messrs. George Bell and Sons :

“And the Mount of Synay is clept the Desert of Syne, that is for to seyne, the Busche brennyng: because there Moyses sawghe oure Lord God many tymes, in forme of Fuyr brennyng upon that Hille; and also in a Busche¹ brennyng, and spak to him.”—p. 58, ed. Bell, p. 42.

“Also behynde the Awtier of that Chirche is the place where Moyses saughe oure Lord God in a brennyng Busche.”—p. 59, Bell, p. 43.

“And a lytille aboven is the Chapelle of Moyses, and the Roche where Moyses fleyhe to, for drede, whan he saughe oure Lord face to face.”—p. 62, Bell, p. 44.

Maundeville attempts no explanation of the miracle, leaving the interpretation to the theologian and mystic.

Verses 347—354 contain the exposition of Gen. xviii. 2. See also Hebrews xiii. 2. The same passage is presented in Maundeville's description of Hebron (see Halliwell) :

“And in that same Place was Abrahames Hous: and there he satt and saughe 3 Persones, and worschipte but on; as Holy Writt seythe, *Tres vidit et unū adoravit*: that is to seyne; *He saughe 3 and worschiped on.*”—p. 66, Bell, p. 47.

The same general theme is discussed by Orm as follows, verses 19,385, etc., cf. ed. of Holt :

“Nan mann ne mihte næfre sen
 Allmahhti; Godd onn erþe,
 Wiþþ erþlic eþhe off erþliþ fæsh.

19,429. Whatt Abraham, whatt Moyses,
 Ne sæ;þheun þe;þ; nohht Drihhtin Godd
 Inn hiss goddeunnde kinde?
 Na fuli;wiss, ne sahþ himm nan
 Wiþþ erþli;þ fæshess eþhe,
 þatt wise þæt himm enngless sen
 Inn hiss goddeunnde kinde.”

¹ Maundeville reports the exhibition of the bush which was “burnt and was not consumed, in which our Lord spoke to Moses,” shown at the church of St. Catherine, see edition of Bell, p. 43. “And thanne thei schewen the Busche, that brenned and wasted nought, in the whiche oure Lord spak to Moyses.”—Halliwell, p. 60.

Part III.

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE METRICAL STRUCTURE OF THE *SPECULUM*.

THE *Speculum Gydonis* may receive investigation on basis of laws governing the lyric verse of Chaucer. The *Speculum*, representing the pre-conquest rather than the modern side of the mediæval period, marks itself as a distinct type in the growth of language. On authority of Chaucerian study noteworthy questions of mechanical form may be classified. The poem is to be studied with reference to the development of the riming vowel, its phonology, its quality and quantity, and the method of its introduction in the riming system used by the poet. Attention will be directed to the poet's use of open and closed *e*- and *o*- sounds in rime combination, to his representation of the development of O.E. *-y* (*-ȝ*), unlout of *-u* (*-ū*), and to his arrangement of rimes in the relationship of *-y* : *-ye*, and *cons* : *cons + e*.

§ 1. *The Strophe.*

Two lines joined by final rime form the strophe. Compared with the *Poema Morale*, in septenar, and with *On God Ureisun of Ure Lefdi* in mixed verse, where the completion of the strophe marks also the limit of the sentence, the verse may be regarded as presaging the "run-on" line of the Elizabethan drama. Sentence structure is in no way impeded by mechanical verse form. At times the riming characteristic of the strophe is continued through two consecutive couplets, developing the scheme *a a a a*. This illustrates no unusual phenomenon in M.E. versification: *Sir Beues* 633—6, 749—52, 893—6, etc., see Kölbing, p. xi.; *Havelok* 17—20, 37—40, etc.; *Sir Fyrumbras*, see Zupitza, *Übungsbuch*, p. 107, 1138—41, 1144—47, and also in the cæsural rime 1138—41, etc.; *Poema Morale*, 3—6, 75—80, 233—36, etc. The *Speculum* contains illustration through the following instances: (*-ay*) 249—52, (*-er̄*) 353—56, (*-é*) 389—92, (*-é*) 401—4 (*ney* : *say* 403—4 in H₁), (*-ë*) 533—36, (*-er̄*) 779—82, (*-iht*) 855—58, (*-er̄*) 1025—28, as well as in (*-é*) 549—52, (*-om̄*) 643—46. Purely accidental or resulting from the momentary impulse of the poet, successive couplets united by the same riming syllable do not present strophic formation.

§ 2. Construction of the Verse.

The normal line contains four stressed syllables with regularly alternating thesis, fulfilling Ruskin's requirement for the "chief poetry of energetic nations." It produces the conventional iambic tetrameter. A final unstressed syllable is admissible. The scheme thus develops a catalectic or a hypercatalectic verse; a metrical pause occurs generally after the second arsis. The same technique is employed in *Guy of Warwick*, the first 7306 lines of the Auchinleck text (cf. Zupitza's edition, and Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, p. xi.), in *Sir Beues*, verses 475—4620 (Auch. MS.), in *Owl and Nightingale*, *King Horn*, and in a multitude of like works. Although following the accentual system of versification imitated from French poetry (cf. *Pl. Grdr.*, vol. ii., p. 1042, § 33), yet the verse partakes of the character of the native English short-line couplet.¹ This is recognized through the logical significance of its stress, through freedom in the development of unstressed syllables, and through incidental return to a modification of the elemental alliterative construction. As medium for the expression of his own personality, external form must be considered to a degree subservient to the moral emotion of the poet. The merit of this quality in the verse is emphasized by contrast with the evenly accentuated measures of the phonetician Orm, or of the "moral² Gower." There the quantitative standard of the Latin model³ is exemplified with painful exactness. Lines from Orm, in septenar, Gower, and the author of the *Speculum*, both in tetrameter, placed side by side, display to an advantage the pleasing dignity, the thoughtfulness, and the melody of the verse of the present text. Compare as follows, where the opening verses of the *Orrmulum* serve as characteristic of the poem :

¹ The short riming couplet is to be regarded as first consistently and regularly employed in a metrical *Paternoster* composed in the south of England in the second half of the 12th century, see ten Brink (ed. Kennedy, 1889), p. 156, and also p. 267.

² See Chaucer's dedication of *Troilus* to

" . . . moral Gower . . .
To thee and to the philosophical Strode."

Radulphus Strode nobilis poeta has earned attention from Dr. Furnivall and a notice from Gollancz, in *Pearl*, pp. l., li. See also Morley's edition of *Confessio Amantis*, p. xiv.

³ The *Poema Morale*, illustrating to a degree principles of classical accentuation in respect to precision in the alternation of the stressed and the unstressed syllable, is to be distinguished from the *Speculum*, where the English element predominates.

Þiss bók iss némmnedd Órrmulúm,
forþi þatt Órrm itt wróhhtö,
annð itt iss wróhht off quáþþrígán,
off góddspellbókess fówwré.—*Orrm*. ll. 1—4.

Sometímē lích úntó þe cóck,
Sometíme untó þe laúërock.¹—*Gower*, p. 266.

As representative then of the element distinctively English, the verse is subject to modifications dependent on conditions in the thesis and upon various readings made possible through elision, slurring, and the interpretation attributed to the syllabic value of final *-e*. Through diversity in arrangement of syllables of this order the line seems at times too short for the scheme to which it belongs, at times too long. After making due allowance for instances of apocope, syncope, elision by synalepha or eethlipsis, for the doubling of the unstressed syllable, or for its omission, still the verse contains uniformly four metrical divisions. Every line of the poem can be resolved into a four-stressed verse. For instance, verse 124 reads smoothly under five-syllabic ictus as follows: *And mákēþ mán · anúüed tó do gód*. With aid of syncope of *e* in *makeþ* and of a double thesis in the first foot, the normal four-stressed measure is attained: *Ānd mākēþ mán · anúüed tó do gód*. It is also secured by means of the double thesis in the fourth measure: *And mákēþ mán · anúüed tō dō gód*. With verse 124 compare *Leg. of G. Women*, Recension B, v. 91: *And mákēth hit sōune · áfter his fíngerringe*.² Verse 329 adapts itself to Gower's standard (the first thesis being deficient³) arranged in quantitative pentameter: *Hít is, · lóüë gód ouer állë þíng*. Corrected by *H₂*, it conforms to the four-beat line. The vigour of the preferred arrangement is apparent: *Hít is, lóüë gód · ouer állë þíng*. The flexible thesis is answerable for similar irresoluteness in verses 232, 398, 670, 847, 959, 973, etc.

In all the texts verses apparently devised for the three-accentuated measure occur, giving the copyist opportunity for amplification of the material. That the poet be answerable for the deficiency, decision cannot be ventured. Copyist alone would hardly incur the

¹ Gower's *Confessio Amantis, Tales of the Seven Deadly Sins*, edited by Henry Morley, LL.D., London, 1889, p. 266 (Book V., v. 274).

² This scansion presupposes that metrical and word accent do not necessarily fall together. Otherwise the following arrangement is to be adopted:

And máketh hit sōune · áfter his fíngerringe.

³ Naturally Gower never permitted himself the license of the omission of the "up-beat" in the first or the second section of the line according to models of versification purely English in origin.

responsibility of the fundamental mass of deviation. Line 107, *Her kne noupe : to me*, was source of uneasiness to the scribe. Each remodelled the line, to adapt the unstressed measure to the requirements of the tetrameter. Lines omitting the unstressed syllable in the first or the fourth measure have apparently but three metrical divisions. Lines 81 (also 139) and 704 appear, at hasty glance, as follows: 81 (139), *Wisdóm in gódēs drédē*; 704, *Dóp a lítel trespás*; but a preferred reading ranks them in type D: *Wis-dóm · in gódēs drédē*, *Dóp a lítel · tres-pás*.

In no instance is the principle of the verse necessarily to be regarded as altered by the poet to introduce new rhythms, trimeter or pentrameter, for purpose of added impressiveness, as has been attributed to *Sir Beues*¹ (cf. Köllbing, p. xi.), see line 1376, *þát i sé · nów hére*, or 1383, *Ló hér · þe kóng Ermín*. The *Speculum* does not illustrate the practice of the Elizabethans in modifying its accepted standard to portray solemnity, as for instance under the presence of supernatural beings (see Abbott, §§ 504, 507, 509, etc.), illustrated by Shakspere, *Macbeth*, IV. i. 20; *Rich. III.*, IV. 4, 75.

§ 3. *Metrical Types of the Speculum.*

“So pray I god, that none . . .
Ne thee mis-metre, for defaute of tunge.”²

In general the characteristics of the verse-system of the *Speculum* may be classified metrically according to the following scheme:

A. A marks the typical and fundamental line of the poem, the four-accented measure, constructed regularly as it is described in the preceding section. A conveys the intended movement of the original verse. To this line as a standard all other lines must be referred in metrical classification. Modifications of type A are presented developing a system,³ which comprises four additional types of verse structure.⁴ Under type A all lines will be classified, that may not be arranged in the remaining four divisions of the subject. The type is abundant in the *Speculum*. The representative verse is as follows:

¹ These verses could probably be adapted to the tetrameter on the hypothesis of a monosyllabic arsis, the thesis being replaced by an emphatic pause: *þát i sé · nów-hérē*; *Ló-hér · þe kóng Ermín*, the effect of slowness and solemnity being still attained.

² Chaucer, *Troilus*, v. 1809.

³ Cf. Schick, pp. lvii ff.

⁴ The standard verse of the accentual system is to be regarded as uniformly the metrical couplet of four stressed syllables to the line.

v. 17. *For, whán þe wórlđ · þe háþ ikáuhť.*—31. *Hou ón a tímg · he stóđ in þóuhť.*¹—32. *þe wórlđes blísse · him þóuhťe nóht ;* cf. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 33, etc. The verse may have a final unstressed syllable, *i. e.* a feminine ending: v. 2. *And hélé of sóule · i máy ou téchē.*—3. *þat í wole spēke, · it ís no fáblē.*—4. *Ac hít is swíþē · próritáblē ;* cf. 6, 11, 12, 15, 16, 20, 22, etc.

The number of verses to be ascribed to type A varies, being increased or diminished according to the standard determining the logical significance of the unaccented syllable at the cæsura and in the first measure. Confliction often exists between A and some other distinct type. Examples could be cited in which an unaccented final syllable may be slurred, apocopated, or syncopated at the cæsura in favour of the rhythm, and conducive to type A. On the other hand, poetical license permits the sounding of a final *-e* or *-en*, otherwise silent, at the cæsura. Under these conditions types A and C have equal claims to the same verse. Because of the flexible accentual quality of the language at this period and the license permissible in the thesis, ultimate decision in classification on basis of a specific type must be influenced by personal taste, guided by a sensitive ear for rhythmical harmony, and governed by the individual judgment as to the standard employed by the poet. Compare paragraphs to follow over types B, C, D, and E.

B. *B* serves as a variation of the verse structure A, by which a redundant syllable is introduced before the cæsura,² giving in that position a thesis of two syllables (*i. e.* a trisyllabic measure), the *Speculum* thus presenting a development of the epic cæsura. *B* is not well illustrated by the poet. It does not approach the Romance standard (Italian, French, Provençal) of popularity supported by the verse of five measures (cf. Schick, p. lvii.) preserving similar construction. The added variety and melody produced by this type as developed in the five-accentuated line of Chaucer and of the Elizabethan dramatist (cf. Abbott, § 454) is to be attained for the shorter verse by other means. Supposing the accent to have passed to the first syllable in instance of *serúise* (*serúise*?), verse 36 illustrates the use of the epic cæsura (type B): *And ín his sérúise · wás éuere mó.* Otherwise v. 36 is to be classified under the fifth type (E): *And ín his serúise · was éuere mó.* The preservation of line rime v. 495

¹ Read *Hou ón a tímg* with fluctuating accent.

² *i. e.* trochaic cæsura, the first section of the line preserving a feminine ending.

gives the epic cæsura: *þere í þe fíndē · i wóle þe bíndē*. See also verses 826 and 955. Type B is combined with a trisyllabic foot at the beginning of the verse: v. 357. *Át thē móunt of Sýnǫy¹ · bǫ bíldē dáwē*.—959. *Át þē 3áte of þe cútē · þē wídewe he métte*. With monosyllabic first measure: 303. *Wít and kúnning · ánd kóintísē*, though the reading *Wít and kúnning · and kóintíse* (*qwéyntíse*, MSS. A₂DH₂) merits recognition. Probably in this class is 157: *Héle of bódi · in bón and híudē*, permitting the hiatus to exist at the cæsura. Note, however, instances² of double thesis in third foot as follows:

v. 347. *Abrahám him sáuh, · ác þǫ nóst noht hóu*.—381. *God ís so cléne · ánd sǫ clér a þing*.—551. *For3éue, þou mán, · fǫr þē lóue of mé*. With a final unstressed syllable: 847. *Nu 3é muwē wíten, · whát ít ís to ménē*.³—549. *Álswich mét · ás þǫ métést mé*.—362. *Ánd himsélǫ · ǫn þát úlkē síhtē*. Additional illustrations of the trisyllabic third measure are: *41, *341, *350 (A₁), 608, 652, 813, 1033.

Under *B* the number of illustrations is increased by instances in which an unaccented *-e* (*-en*) is sounded before the cæsura, but generally final *-e* will be elided or apocopated in favour of the fundamental type *A*. Accepting rigidly the inflectional laws attributed to the poet, the following lines may be read by type *B*: 52, *64, 101, 181, 240, 522, 533, 747. Suppression of the final syllable at the cæsura converts into type *A* many verses otherwise to be cited under *B* (see under *A*): 2, 3, 15, 16, 26, 31, 32, 44, 59, 60, 76, 77, 83, 85, etc. Slurring or syncope will remove from *B* some illustrations: 12, 13, 345, 424, etc. Verse 94 opens a question treated under declension of substantives, that of the inflectional final *-e* in dative forms in the singular: *And shrífte of móuþē · shál bé þi bótē*. Type *B* removes all difficulty from the acceptance of this *-ē* in the present instance, though verse 94 may naturally be interpreted (cf. Decl.): *And shrífte of móuþē · shál bé þi bótē*, avoiding the awkward effect of the break at the middle of the short verse.

Verse 123 possibly belongs to type *B*: *Hít ís a dérnē · mǫurníng ín mód*; but it seems to provide an instance of double thesis in the fourth measure, rather than at the cæsura: *mǫurníng ín mód*; though here the question of fluctuating accent merits consideration.

¹ This reading presupposes that *Synay* received the accentuation familiar in modern English.

² An asterisk marks the number of a verse containing a principle of metrical structure in addition to the one specifically illustrated.

³ Epic cæsura, if the reading be *wíten*.

mourning is undoubtedly the form to be read, verse 125 *mourninge* : (*springe*). For modern use of the epic cæsura, compare the musical application of Coleridge, *Christabel* (ed. Morley, p. 287), Part I., v. 2 : *And from her kennel · beneath the rock*.—Part II., v. 121 : *She shrunk and shudder'd · and said again*. Lyric cæsura characterizes verse 999 : *Ne dréd þe nóht, womman, · in þi þóuht*. Compare also verse 232.

C. Type C produces in the four-stressed system a verse corresponding to the Lydgatian type in the five-beat measure. It completes the rhythm by substitution of a rest for a sound, a dignified and vigorous means of poetical emphasis. The thesis is wanting in the cæsura, so that the third measure consists of arsis only, two stressed syllables meeting in the middle of the line. Compare Schipper, *Engl. Metrik*, vol. I., p. 37, and Schick, p. lviii. This type seems to have been pleasing to the poet ; cf. as follows :

v. 204 : þat ó god ís · and no mó.¹—215. *And 3áf to mán · fré powér*.—405. *3if þú wolt sén · in þi slht*.—613. *To súffrè wróng · and vnríht*.—615. *Ac swích a fíht · ís vnméþ*. Other illustrations are : 224, 332, 452, 453?, 454, 503, 719, 726, 918.

It is to be conceded, that in some instances other hypothesis is possible. Uncertainty in the classification of the syllable producing the thesis results in alternative readings for some of the lines previously cited. Following type A with omission of the thesis in the fourth measure are the following versions of lines 204, 224, 613 and 615 :

- v. 204 : þat ó god ís // and nó · mó.
 v. 224 : þat éuere síngyn // bí · gán.
 v. 613 : To súffrè wróng // and vñ · ríht.
 v. 615 : Ac swích a fíht // ís vñ · méþ.

v. 719 may be read : *Whérþurw þú míht · in þi mód*. A question of emphasis modifies the absolute classification of other verses. 332 may receive the interpretation // þu móst · dó in its second section ; 453. // fro 3óu · gón ; 454. // haddę 3é · nón.

Combining with unstressed final syllable occur, v. 105 : *þanne ís lít gód, · þát þu shónë*.—438. *þat slówën hím · þúrw enúüë*.—446. *Wíd stérnë vóiz · and wíd héüë*. Additional illustrations are : 24, 25?, 35, 75, 100?, 227, 253, 498, 583, 766, 832, 909, 960, 1025. Type C produces, in combination with the acephalous verse

¹ MSS. H₁ and H₂ attempt to preserve type A by the modification of the construction of verse 204 ; H₁ and R of verse 452 ; D and R of verse 615.

(type D), the effect of two short acephalous verses, the half line following the cæsura having the general character of the type¹ in the principle of the full acephalous line: 323. *Hérknë nú · álle to mé.*—461. *Hópe to gód · ánd do gód.*—80. *Whíchę þeih bęþ · álle on réwë.*—90. *Žít þu móst · ęse mórë.*—927. *Gód seiþ þús · ín his lóvë.* Other examples are: 445, 448, 816, 824, 848, 864, 919, 927, 983, 1026. Uncertainty characterizes also the illustrations of this paragraph. The meaning of the poet may have demanded the following arrangement:

- v. 445: þánne wole gód // to hém · séie.
- v. 448: Góp anón, // goþ nú · góþë.
- v. 461: Hópe to gód // and dó · gód.
- v. 494: Óff þis wórd // þat gód · séidë.
- v. 816: Wásshęþ óu, // and bęþ · clénë. 824, 848.
- v. 983: Fírst, þeróf // mak mé · métë.

Verse 498 is removed from type C by MSS. D and H₁ through the reading: *Ánd to Iësu Críst þe tíke.* 919 passes also to type D on the supposition of fluctuating accent: *Léuë frénd // hërknë to mé.* 881 may be removed from type C on ground that it contributes illustration of the retention of the imperative ending in weak verbs: *þérfore wórch[ë], // whíle þu máit.* 983 may be read: *Fírst, · þerof // mák me métë.*

Type C is enriched by the uniform observance of established poetical laws,² particularly in the elision (apocope) of final *-e* in the cæsura. Yet if it be granted, that through the influence of the metrical pause a syllable be preserved, that would otherwise be suppressed, numerous lines belonging to type C, under rigid adherence to the metrical and inflectional system of the poem, may be read according to type A or type D. With the following lines may be compared v. 217, *Leg. of G. Women*:

- v. 145: Ac to láte þi sínnë · ál onlíchë;
- v. 294: I shál 3ou shéwë · ín þis plácë;
- v. 311: Bóþę þe póré · ánd þe ríchë.
- v. 217: With flórouns smálë · ánd I shál nat lýe.—

Leg. of G. Women.

¹ The “up-beat” (*aufтакт*) is thus omitted at the beginning of each of the two sections of the verse.

² The evolution of type C may possibly be accredited to the influence of the acephalous verse, as well as to the increasing tendency toward the weakening of the O.E. full endings and the ultimate loss of the inflectional final *-e*. Cf. *Schick*, p. lviii.

Skeat does not accredit Chaucer with the metrical suppression of *-e* in the cæsura, *Prioresses Tale*, p. lxii. The poet of the *Speculum* may at times have availed himself of the same licence. He has done so in other measures; cf. 279. *shólĕn · wĕlnĕn éuerĕ*.—297. *shólĕn · pártĕn hĕnnĕ*.—316. *hĕm · shal wántĕn óuht*. Similar instances are not wanting in the third measure: verses 109, 145, 179, 273, etc. A larger number of lines, where conflicting vowels do not coalesce, may be studied under *Hiatus* (cf. § 8). *Sir Beues* illustrates type C, MS. A, 475—4620; v. 485: *Bóute þow mē · tó him tákĕ*; cf. 747, 801, 839, 916, 936, etc., and *Pearl* 60¹.

D. *D* classifies a line iambic in movement, but beginning with a single stressed syllable.¹ The first measure consists of arsis alone, the German *auftaktlose verse* or *verse mit fehlendem auftakt*. It is employed by Skeat as the “clipped line,” *Leg. of G. Women*, pp. xxxv., xxxvi., by Schick as the “acephalous line,” *Temple of Glas*, p. lviii.; cf. also ten Brink, § 299, and Sidney Lanier, *The Science of English Verse*, p. 139. The *Speculum* is rich in illustration. Compare as follows:

v. 7. *þús shal bĕn · þi bĕginnĭng*.—128. *Sáuuĕd wórþ he · néuere mó*.—137. *Hérknĕ nów · to mý sarmóun*. Other instances with unstressed final syllable: v. 1. *Hérknĕþ állĕ · tó my spĕchĕ*.—29. *Óff an éorl · of góðĕ fánĕ*.—39. *Álquĭn wás · his rĭhtĕ námĕ*, and as follows: 18, 28, 30, 39, *41, 49, 51, 54, 57, 62, 63, 70, 71, 74, 76, *80, *81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 91, 100¹, *107, 109, 111, 112, 115, 116, 120, 122, 129, 137, *139, 140, 141, 155, 157, 161¹, 164, 177, 187¹, 196, 223, 228, 251, etc.

Of the couplet of four measures as employed by Chaucer, type D occurs in *The Hous of Fame*; cf. verses 58, 61, 86, 103, 105, 133, 172, 173, etc. In the Chaucerian pentameter Skeat discovers many illustrations; see *Leg. of G. Women*, pp. xxxv., xxxvi., and note to verse 67; *Prioresses Tale*, p. lxvi. The second system of versification *Sir Beues* uses *D*, verses 475(1)¹, 476(2), 479(5), 481(7), 485(11), 487(13), etc. It existed in the earliest mediæval English versification, in the *septenarius* of the *Poema Morale*; cf. verses 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, etc. Milton² makes happy application of the principle in *L'Allegro*, 19, 21, 25, 26, etc., *Il Penseroso*, 17, 32, 34, etc., and it finds expression in *Vision of Sin*, part II. (see Skeat). Freedom in

¹ *I. e.* monosyllabic first measure.

² See ed. Browne, vol. i, pp. 30, 34, *English Poems by John Milton*.

this construction is attributed to the great Elizabethan master, Abt, § 479.

Group Y of the *Speculum* often seeks to remove the monosyllabic first measure by the introduction of an unstressed syllable beginning the line. The effort of H_2 at reconstruction of the metre is to be noted. Verse 7 accomplishes this by the introduction of *ys*; v. 18 replaces *In* with *Into*; v. 30 writes *Sire Gy* for *Gy*; v. 49 has *Vpon* for *On*; v. 54 *ouyr vs* for *us*; v. 57 *Doo me make* for *Make me*; v. 74 *But 3yffe* for *Bote*; verses 28, 39, and 41 are not altered in the first measure.

E. The first measure of type E is represented by a thesis of two syllables, *i. e. verse mit dopplettem auftakt*. In contrast with the five-stressed measure, where the type is not uniformly well represented, many verses of the *Speculum* may be read according to this model:

v. 341. *Būt pǔ lóue · þe crístene þat bí þe bé* (MS. A₁).—504. *Whǎn wē hím bisékþ · þát riht is*. With unstressed final syllable: v. 21. *Ně fōr lóue to gód · ne fōr his éizē*.—36. *Añd ñn hís seruise · was éuerē mōrē*.—37. *A gōd mán þer wás · in þílkē dáwē*.—754. *Añd őf nédful þíng · i wóle zou téchē*.—1006. *þát ñn álmesseǵ déde · is dóublē gód*.—1013. *Iñ ánoþer stéde · i háue wítnéssē*. Additional instances are: 124?, 143, 145, *232, 280, 284, 329, 340, 465, 507, 535?, 564, 565, 567, *581, 582, 683, 779, 793, 795,* 835, 859, 936, 940, *959, 966, 975,? 976.

A_2 preserves in verse 149 the reading of *A* in distinction from *E*, *þis is* being read *þis'* (*þis'is*). Verses 341 and 504 were much tampered with by the scribes (cf. variants) in aspiration toward type *A*.

By the omission of *þat*, v. 1006 conforms to the fundamental type on basis of MS. R in opposition to A_1 and *D*. Contrary to other MSS., perhaps quite by accident, 92 (= 474) falls into type *A* in MS. A_2 reading: *And rédy þáreǵ · to áo penáuncē*. The verse is otherwise indefinite in classification, the criterion being *redí*. Accenting the second syllable type E is illustrated. A preferred form places the verse under *A* with double thesis in the second measure.

v. 1020. *Also ófte as þóu · maytǵ zéuē óuht*, is excluded from type E, if *Also* be regarded as a single syllable; cf. Chaucer, Genl. Prolog. v. 730. *For thís ye knówen also (= als) wél as Ī*.

The classification distinguishing any one of these individual types is not absolute. A verse admits of various readings according to

varying interpretations of its meaning or its external structure. So 569, belonging apparently to *C*, admits of restoration to type *A* by the substitution of the dissyllabic *louërd* for *lord* of text *A*₁:

Houré swétë lórd · ín his spéchë. (C)
 Houré swétë lóuerd · ín his spéche. (A)

Similarly, by granting a dissyllabic pronunciation to *eorl*, *rl* being pronounced with a svarabhakti vowel *rël*, type *C* is converted into type *A*; cf. verses 45, 50, and 65:

v. 45. Off hím þe éorl · wás wel wár. (C)
 Off hím þe éor[ë]l · wás wel wár. (A)

In opposition to the hypothesis that *eo* is a dissyllable, is the reading of verse 29, *Óff an éorl of góðë fámë*, and the monophthongic use of *eo* in *eorþe*, possessing the metrical value of *erþe*, compare *eorþe* 296, 375, 397, 600, 604, 735, with *erþe* 382 and 589.

Type *C* often depends for its classification on the interpretation of the poet's intended meaning. In verse 100, grant that the poet wished to make *þu* conspicuous, and type *C* is assured; but *D* is quite possible on supposition of the poet's desire to emphasize the condition presented through *if* in the first measure, with added weight of stress on the idea of the wish suggested in *wolt*; cf. *Abt*, § 484.

If þú wolt hém · tó þe tákë. (C)
 Íf þu wólt hem · tó þe táke. (D)

Type *C* is peculiarly influenced by the *-ë* at the cæsura. Thus verses 10 and 14 are the property of *C*, if the *-e* of *self[ë]* be silent (cf. MS. *A*₁). Interpreting *þiselfë* and *himselfë* as original forms, the normal type claims the verse. The fluctuation between *A* and *C* is illustrated, verse 253, in the copyist's versions of the vigorous *steih*: *To héuene he stéih · þúrw his míhtë*. The five texts add a final *-ë*, supplying the more melodious *stéyë* (*A*₂) or *styë* (*H*₂).

Inflectional forms of the verb, to be regarded as monosyllabic or dissyllabic, open another channel for inexactness, thus *louëst* or *louëst* is the reading of v. 13, v. 337, etc. Whether the arsis fall on the first or the second syllable of *redi* determines the classification of verses 92 (= 434); cf. type *E*.

After making allowance for elision, synzesis, hiatus, and slurrings of all kinds, there still remain verses that are uncertain in metrical structure.¹ Chaucer's pronunciation of *persones* justifies

¹ The peculiarly independent nature of each of the individual MSS. of the *Speculum* renders the question opened in textual and metrical study exceptionally perplexing.

the scansion of v. 206 : *þré persónes · in trínité*, with which compare v. 73 of the *Clerkes Tale* : *A fair persóne, · and stróng, and yóng of ágē*, but see also *The Erl of Tolous*, Lüdtke, p. 36, v. 2 : *Oónly gód and pérsóns thré*.

The question of the legitimacy of the middle -ë- in *neih-e-boure* involves the type of v. 535 : *ʒif þí néihëboure · misdop þé*, being in conflict with : *ʒif þí neih(e)boure misdop þé*, or *ʒif þí neih(e)boure · misdop þé*, the preferred form being *neihëbour*.

Illustrations of this character throughout the poem confirm the decision noted earlier, that the verse-types of the *Speculum* cannot be rigidly classified on basis of the accentual models of mediæval Romance poetry, but was adapted in rhythm to language susceptible to fluctuation through the influence of poetical aspiration and spiritual devotion.

In the study of the Bohemianism of this verse formation,¹ some attention is due to details in which the copyist was deficient in accuracy and faithfulness, and perhaps in intelligent understanding of his archetype. Although in some instances defect is incidental to the original, yet the scribe did not always understand the omission of the unstressed syllable. Thus the technique of verse 107, that stumbling-block to the scribe, illustrating the omission of the thesis in the fourth measure, is a dark mystery. MS. R tried to rectify the irregularity by the use of *unto*; H_1 and H_2 tried to improve the metre by means of an adverbial modifier. Clearly the verse illustrates deficiency originating with the common archetype of all the MSS. MS. A_1 is to be unaltered.

Verse 341 reads in five MSS.: "But þu loue þyn cristene," þyn is wanting in A_1 alone. As exact translation, it is logically based on the Latin *proximum tuum* according to v. 338. Five MSS. recognize also the necessity logically if not metrically for *emecristene*, a form familiar to A_1 and D alone of the scribes. H_1 paraphrases *emecristene* with *nezlbore*, 341 (*enemy*, 334). It is expanded to *euene crysten* by other copyists.

To the influence of the individual scribe,² with his varying sense of accuracy, must be reconciled some irregularity resulting in the omission of *here* v. 268, a reading preserved by H_1 and H_2 . The error, that of haplography,³ possibly originated through close associa-

¹ Among themselves the MSS. of this poem are peculiarly incongruous, increasing difficulty in determining the original form.

² Cf. Chaucer's *Wordes unto Adam, his owne Scriveyn*.

³ *i. e.* lipography.

tion of two words distinct in meaning but the same in form. A_1 detected the incongruity, and attempted correction through the introduction of *here* in a second arrangement of the same line, later crossed out (cf. text, p. 14). Verse 269 is similar, where A_1 is also guilty of a careless substitution of *-es* (*fleshes*) for *-ly* of the original: *purw súnne of fléschly · líking*. Five MSS. are answerable for *fleschly*.

In verse 89 the MSS. unite in the translation of *and* in the sense of *if* by the insertion of *þef*: *And þef þu wólt · haue gódes órë*, removing the verse from type D and re-classifying it as *A*. The latter reading seems to be correct.

Of hypotheses supplied by the scribe other examples are at hand. It has been deemed wise not to extend this discussion. Variants offer material for individual judgment. Textual notes will interest themselves in additional illustrations.

§ 4. Treatment of the unstressed Syllable.

It has been recognized, that the elemental measure contains one unstressed beat for every stressed syllable, but other combinations are employed. It is in this specific relationship that the verse distinguishes most sharply between standards of the poet Gower and those of the poet of the *Speculum*. Gower's rigid measurement of every syllable, forcing each to tally with its neighbour, found no sympathy even with Chaucer. But the better feeling of Chaucer did not permit him to introduce the double thesis with great frequency. Nor did the "halting metre" of Lydgate clog its steps with too heavy a burden of double thesis. The *Speculum* contains proof not only that a secondary unstressed syllable marks its rhythm, but that a measure may consist of arsis alone, the thesis being omitted for poetical effect or in the zeal inspired by the theme.

1. *The double thesis*. The double thesis is frequent in the first poetical measure, yet in this position as type E it may often clash with type D. That two unstressed syllables exist at the cæsura developing type B has been proved (*vide ante*). Two unstressed syllables are to be noted in other portions of the verse. The principal illustrations occur in the second measure.

v. 132. *hě ně míhtě*; 341, *þýn ěmcrísteně*; 343, *máitōu lōuē gód*; 356, *ōf ā búsh*; 959, *ōf þě cítě*; perhaps 670, *And who sō bereþ póudre*; cf. also 255, 368?, 807? Probably to be read here are 92 and 474 (*vide ante*). 592 is excluded from the list, see Morsb. § 84, *Ann.*

Probably to the fourth measure is to be traced the double thesis of verse 123: *mou̯rning̃ iñ mól*; verse 150 (MS. A₁) is removed from classification in this division by slurring. Other conjectured instances of the double thesis in the fourth measure are generally not considered, on account of oft-quoted interference of elision, slurring, etc.; cf. verses 321, 469, 633, 873, 907, etc.

2. *Omission of the unstressed syllable.* An element of rhetorical significance characteristic of this verse is the omission of the unstressed syllable, emphasizing the narrative with dramatic picturesqueness through a "compensating pause," Guest, *Hist. of Engl. Rhythm*. The pause occurs:—

(1) In the first and second measures the conjunction being emphasized by accent as follows:

v. 563: *Nóht, · íf i dár it séië* (type D).

Compare other doubtful readings:

v. 398: *Nay, nóman · míhtē dón þæt dédē.*

v. 973: *Ne nóht · þát i míhte þe 3íue.*

In Shakspeare's time also the unemphatic monosyllable was permitted to occupy an emphatic place and to receive an accent, Abt, § 457. Shakspeare strengthens a negative by the monosyllabic measure; cf. *Rich. II.* ii. 1. 148: *Náy, · nóthing; ál is sáid.* And *Coriol.* iii. 3. 67: *Náy · témperatély; your prómise,* Abt, § 482, and p. 375. The first *virtue* prescribed for Guy of Warwick, verses 81 and 139, is conspicuous through the same medium:

Wís · dóm || in gódēs drédē (type D).

Continued exemplification of this dramatic canon designates significant passages: 86, 702, 734, etc.

(2) In the fourth measure. v. 673: *Off mán hit fárēþ || ríht · só;* 704: *Dóþ a lítēl || trés · pás.* Here the pause suggests the burden of responsibility and the seriousness of the preacher's message. v. 269: *þurw súnne || of flēschly lík · íng.* 502 with proper licence gains in emphasis when read: *Off hím || and íf his gól · déde.* Compare also 85 (A₁), *miēknesse?* (inorganic -ē- is inserted in other MSS., cf. D *mekenes*); 86, *for3íf · nés*; 390, *clér · té*; 107, *tó · mé*; 259, *tó · bé.* Fluctuating stress is possible, v. 259: *Hé þat wás wonéd to bé,* though the testimony of the copyists confirms *wóned* by the reading *wónt.* Compare also illustrations collected under type C. A₁ offers many instances of this type of verse, rectified in other MSS. through the insertion of an inorganic -ē- (cf. Saehse, *Das unorganische e im Ormmulum*, p. 63); cf. *sóp-nésse*, 346, 411, 565.

Similar feature characterizes the versification of *The Erl of Tolous* (Lüdtke, p. 59), 83, 328, 403, etc.

The tonality of this application is indicative of power, giving in line 563 an impression of vigour, in 125 of sadness, in 81 of deep fervour, and in line 704 of solemnity. It is suggestive of the modern poetry of Robert Browning, infinitely dramatic in quality. It seems to be a deliberate purpose of the poet to embody through inner principle of language the character of the thought.

§ 5. *The Cæsura.*

The cæsura became an important factor in the hand of the poet. It seems to conform to two offices. Apart from its normal function, that of the metrical pause, it performs at the same time duties of emphasis. The effect of a pause after an emphatic monosyllable is similar to that of the omission of the unstressed syllable (*vide ante*), calling attention to the reading immediately preceding (cf. type C): 498, 517, *Iesu Crist*; 514, *lóue*, etc.; 494, *Óff þis wórd þat gótl · séide*, the emphasis marking *god*.

In general there exists considerable uniformity in the treatment of the cæsura. The epic cæsura (see type B) is not, as in Chaucer and Lydgate, of frequent occurrence. The cæsura may be discovered:

1. After the ictus of the first foot: 563. *Nóht*, || *íf i dár it séie*. 697: *Hit sémeþ*, || *þat hé haþ tréwe lóuë*. It occurs apparently in a colloquial usage, where the first measure is dissyllabic after *seide* 52, 68, 953; *seist* 555; *seip* 567; but also after a monosyllabic first measure: *Man* 481; *Lef* 866.

2. The cæsura in other positions. Lyrical cæsura occurs in some instances by the side of epic cæsura (see type B). The position of the typical pause is uniformly after the second ictus, but isolated exception, due rather to caprice than to deliberation, is exemplified, 520 *but Iblessëd*; *Comëþ* 423. Irregularity is to be noted in the following instances:

v. 617: *Whij?* || *fór þe künde of þí manhéðe*.

v. 395: *Mán*, || *míhte hit éuere þánnë bé*.

v. 523: *Mán*, || *íf þu wólt to mé herkný*.

A pause offered by the cæsura seems demanded, though rarely, in two parts of the single verse: 431, 833, 982, etc.

§ 6. Resolved Stress.

Resolved stress,¹ fluctuating accent (*schwebende betonung, taktumstellung*), is determined on the one hand, objectively, through the natural accent of the individual word; on the other subjectively, through the rhetorical purpose of the specific verse. The rhetorical accent of the *Speculum* does not often clash with the rhythm, yet every measure cannot be regarded as a perfect unit, and stress must at times be divided between the word accent and the verse accent. This is exemplified particularly at the beginning of the verse and after the cæsura.

1. Beginning the verse :

- v. 43 : Wit óf clergíe · he hádde inóuh.
 v. 355 : Hu Móyses hím sàuh, · wóltou hérè ?
 v. 950 : Spàk tó Elízë · þé profétë.
 v. 972 : Sîkér, she séide, · “bred háue i nón.”

2. In the second section of the verse :

- v. 245 : To sáuuë mán, · mán hé bicám.
 v. 349 : þe fóurme · of þíe childrén he méttë.
 v. 414 : þe cléne of héрте, · blésséd þeih bé.²

The resolved stress is peculiarly applicable to individual words of Romance origin, where the accent was not at this period unalterably determined. Romance forms with the suffix *-aunce, -age, etc.*, forms like *seruise, merci, rescun, etc.*, where the primary word accent is no longer active, admit of fluctuation due to the conflict between English and French intonation. That *merci* of the present poem was subject to variable accent, is proved by metre. That the accent belongs at least once on the final syllable, is indicated by the riming form, *merci*¹ : (*herkny*) 524. To the contrary, *merci* in the following verses requires accent on the first syllable :

- v. 263 : Mérci · néle he shéwë nón.
 v. 472 : Gódës mérci · óf his sínnë.
 v. 532 : Mérci wás þer · néuere nón.
 v. 545 : Mérci gétestu · néuere nón.
 v. 567 : Hé þat wóle · no mérci háuë.
 v. 568 : On ýdel · dóþ he mérci cráuë.

¹ See Schipper, *Neuenglische Metrik*, vol. i., p. 32, natural emphasis is sacrificed to technical purpose.

² See also : “þe cléne of hértë, blésséd þeih bé.”

Verse 131, as illustration of type D, is open to speculation through variable accent :

v. 131 : Mercí he lés · þúrw þat sínnë.
 Mérci hé lès · þúrw þat sínnë.

Resolved accent will be recognized also as hovering accent, and as wrenched accent was in use by Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, and Gascoigne, *Notes of Instruction, Steel Glas*.

Consistent pronunciation is hardly possible at a time when laws were not more tangible, than is illustrated by Ben Jonson's rules, viz.: if a dissyllabic word be simple, it should be accented on the first syllable, but if derived from a verb, on the second; cf. *Abt*, § 490.

§ 7. Slurring.

Slurring¹ (*verschleifung*) in favour of the metre occurs, for instance :

1. At the cæsura : v. 934, *Fór so lítel · an álmesléðë*.—545. *Mérci gétestu · néuere nón*.—12. *þu míht be síker · to héuene wéndë*. 264. *Ác, riht áfter · þat mán haþ dón*.—213. *Álso áfter*.—Giving after two syllables : 876. *Ac riht áfter · þú hast dó*. *A*₁ and *R* preserve consistently the slurring and strengthen the claims of the verse to type A by the introduction of an additional syllable, *þat* following after : *Ác riht áfter · þat þú hast dó*. 345 illustrates slurring in a proper name : *þis séiþ sein Pówel · and béreþ witnëssë*; cf. Pogatscher.²

2. In the second measure : 218. *þe éuel to láte · and gód to tákë*. Parallel with *euere* (read *e'er*), *euel*³ is monosyllabic through slurring, as was the Shaksperian usage, *Cymb.* V. v. 60 and I. i. 72 (*Abt*, § 466). Compare with *éuel*, in other measures (giving type A), 901, and *ýuël* (probably dissyllabic, type A) 15. Type C is confirmed by the slurred form *yuël* in verses 217, 228, 872, but the preferred reading gives two syllables. See also *evyll* in *Thomas of Erceuldoune* (ed. Brandl) 379, *spéke none évyll of mé*. Other forms are also

¹ A moderated syncope resp. apocope, see Morsb., § 85, 5.

² Pogatscher gives explanation of *Powel* relatively to O.E. *au* in words of foreign origin, as follows : *Wenn Kons. + Liquida, oder Nasal, in den Auslaut tritt, kann im ae. aus silbebildender Liquida ein sekundärer Vokal entfaltet werden (Páulus, O.E. Páwel, M.E. Pōwel), § 275, and § 25 : Vor silbebildendem r- oder -w im Auslaut, entsteht im ae. der Reibelaut w ; e. g. M.E. Pōwel < O.E. Páwel < Páulus, § 254.*

³ Compare the Elizabethan pronunciation of *devil* (Scotch *de'il*) with softening of the *-v-*; cf. *Abt*, § 466, with reference to *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 56 :

“Of hórrid héll can cóme · a dévil more dámn'd.”

found: *wouder of* 149; *hunger and* 185; *Many a* 112, 369, 592; *Many and* 675; *Many on* 829.

3. In other measures: *euere among* 186 occurs in the fourth syllabic measure; 44. *euere he* in the third measure. With a second slurring in the same verse occurs: *many on · euere among* 880.

Slurring is illustrated through inflectional forms: substantives: gen. in *-es*: *faderes* 254, 255; plu. in *-es*: *þewes* 97; in *en*: *chíldren ífère* 978.—Verbs: in *-eu*: *kepen his* 48; *comen him* 67; *comen* 240.—In *-est*: *louest* 13; in *-eþ*: *spekeþ* (cæsura) 275; *makeþ man* 124.

Wheiþer 219, 272, 536, 872, is to be read as a monosyllable, *whér*; cf. 219: *Wheiþer (whér) hé wole chése, · he háþ powér*. See Chaucer, *Monk's Prologue*, 3119; *Leg. of Good Women*, 1995; with Skeat's reference, l. 72, to Shakspeare's 59th Sonnet, *Whé'er wé are mended*, and Abt, *Sh. Gr.*, § 136 and § 466, with reference to *Tempest*, V. i. 111; *þider* 257; *Oþer* 175; *noþer* 862 are also to be regarded as monosyllabic.

§ 8. Hiatus.

The hiatus depends upon the preservation of unaccented final *-e*, before a word beginning with a vowel-sound, in positions where two vowels do not coalesce (cf. Skeat, *Leg. of Gd. Women*, 217), and where at times a conflict exists between type C or type A. The *Speculum*, availing itself of technical licence in favour of type A in distinction from type C, offers numerous examples of hiatus (*rúle ante*); cf. as follows:

v. 266: *To íóyë · ór to stróng turmént.* (A)

v. 656: *þé to hóldë · ín þi príðë.* (D)

The text is rich in such lines¹; cf. 58, 68, 74, 109, 143, 145, 380, 409, 493, 495, 510, 651, 722, 743, 760, 792, 817, 845, 945, 1005. Elision (apocope) is not lost in the cæsura, as may be inferred from the following illustrations: 411, 413, 417, 721, 746, etc. Hiatus is possible in other measures:

v. 122: *Wíckë ón · and wíckë óþer.*

v. 1020: *Also ófte as þóu · mayt; zéuë óuzt.*

See 93, 106, 838, and possibly 600, 735, 904, etc.

¹ The association producing hiatus occurs before *h* as follows: 198, 419, 694, 789, 834, 895, 1028, 1029, etc. In this position the verse is to be distinguished from the Chaucerian system; cf. ten Br. § 270.

Inflectional *-n* retained in the infinitive excludes from consideration passages otherwise to be ranked in this class, for example: 181, 182, 188, 285, 292, 297, 405, etc. The introduction of final *-n* in the infinitive lessens the number of lines illustrative of hiatus; cf. 58, 74, 380, 743, etc. Verse 273 is improved by the addition of *-n*: *And þere biléuē[n] éuere mó.* See also 1005: *Now þu miht knówe[n] ín þi móð.*

CHAPTER XII.

ON THE RIMING STRUCTURE OF THE *SPECULUM*.§ 1. *End Rime.*

The rimes of the six MSS. of the *Speculum* are virtually the same, modified only in orthography through dialectical variations. They are in general adroitly handled, but are without great diversity or originality. Imperfect rimes occur through assonance.

Assonance.—The *Speculum* contains five illustrations of assonance: *ek* : *fet* 440; *cam* : *man* 590; *men* : *hem* 150; *wemme* : *brenne* 368; *vnderstonde* : *fonge* (corrected in *D* and *R* to *fonde*) 508. 826 offers in rime with *aríht*¹ (*A*₁), *white* *A*₂, *whízt* *H*₁, see Kluge, *Pl. Grdr.* I. p. 849. Compare also illustrations of Guy of Warwick (Ff. 2. 38), p. xiii., *hyt* : *nyght* 9505, and *ryght* : *zyt* 3209 (Zupitza's 3219, p. xiii.); str. 54 : *delyt* : *plyt* (-*ght*) 93. : *spyt* 95. *Pearl* 907, and the *Rolandlied*, see Schleich, p. 26 *lyght* : *wit* 848; *erthe* : *hed* 101. Readily corrected by restoring the original reading is *þerwid* (read *þerwiþ*) : *gríþ* 148.

Inexact rimes.—In some rimes practically perfect in the fundamental text, the vowels of corresponding syllables are dissimilar in instances, where the scribe's orthography and the author's do not correspond. The unimportant disagreement may be amended by a trifling change in orthography, since the consonants and consonantal groups following the vowel are identical. The accompanying forms are represented through illustrations from MS. *A*₁ : *e* : *i* (*y*) : *forzete* : *iwite* 194; *wite* 764; *her* : *fyr* 452; *here* : *fire* 356; *seknesse* : *blisse* 188; *þisternesse* : *blisse* 114; *prest* : *Crist* 806.—*e* : *ei* : *drede* : *seúde* 140, 494; *rede* : *seúde* 168, 692.—*e* : *ie* : *answerede* : *heriede* 66.—*ei* : *i* : *eiþe* : *liþe* 828.—*u* : *e* : *turne* : *sterne* 436.—*a* : *o* : *gauge* : *longe* 762.—*i* : *o* : *skile* : *wole* 712.—*i* : *u* : *gílt* : *ípult* 888; *aperteliche* :

¹ The poet undoubtedly spoke *riht* : *wíht*.

muhe 386; *lihtliche* : *muhe* 672.—*i* : *ui* : *jire* : *duire* : 282.—*o* : *u* : *worche* : *churche* 860.—*o* : *ou* : *noht* : *bouht* 172, 226, : *iwrouht* 580, : *souht* 196, : *pouht* 32, 560, etc. These unimportant variations exist purely on the face of the MSS. and are without weight as regards the internal principle of the rime. A more or less successful attempt at correction of such errors has been offered by various scribes, who detected the inaccuracy.

Perfect rime.—Perfect rime is represented in both its classes; but this subdivision is to be modified in Teutonic words according to the interpretation of the syllabic value of final *-e*. If *-e* be regarded as silent, masculine rime predominates in the versification of the *Speculum*; while on the other hand, if *-e* be sounded, feminine rime is in excess in the proportion in general of 7 to 6. The discussion to follow will probably show that as in Chaucer (cf. Skeat, *Prioresses Tale*, p. lvii) and in contemporary poets (but see Schleich, *Yvain and Gawain*, pp. xxvii ff.) the dominant rime preserves the *-ë*, and in closer proportion relatively to the masculine rime than in the *Poema Morale* (Skeat, pp. lvii—lviii) and in *On God Ureisun of Ure Lefdi*, where the relationship of masculine rimes to feminine rimes stands perhaps as 10 to 150. Assuming that *-e* is to be pronounced, on basis of rimes recurring most frequently, perfect rime may be classified as follows:

1. *Masculine (strong, monosyllabic) rimes.* (a) *Assonantal rimes.* In *-e*: *be* : *pe* 328, 334, 414, 536, 588; *be* : *charite* 96, 936, 1034; *be* : *fte* 834, 850; *be* : *se* 396, 534, 738, 752, 872, : (*ise*) 402, 730, : *pite* 260; *me* : *se* 190, : *pe* 108, 392, 550, 552, 556, 920, 1012; *pe* : *bise* 488; *charite* : *me* 56, 324, : *pe* 84, : *be* 96.—In *-i*: *witerli* : *merci* 458, 528; *sikerli* : *empti* 1002; *leuedi* : *witerli* 364.—In *-o*: *also* : *do* 10, 208, 898; *do* : *to* 68, 332; *do* : *wo* 484, 918; *po* : *mo* 240, 1004. Numerous other examples might be included, in which this poem is prolific. (b) *Consonantal rimes.*—In *-a*: *al* : *pral* 238; *bicam* : *nam* 246; *cas* : *trespas* 704; *last* : *cast* 636.—In *-e*: *qued* : *ded* 862, : *red* 48, 654; *wel* : *katel* 162, 578, 896, etc.; *power* : *ner* 216.—In *-i*: *wif* : *lyf* 234, 702, 734; *his* : *paradys* 300; *liht* : *niht* 856.—In *-o*: *forsok* : *tok* 34; *blod* : *rod* 248; *non* : *idon* 546.—In *-oht*: *bouht* : *noht* 172; *pouht* : *ouht* 316; *inouh* : *drouh* 44. Here compare *Robert of Gloucester*, where *inou* rimes with *drou* 253, 269, 311, etc. (Wright's edition, *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, London). Compare also *Guy of Warwick*, Zupitza's fifteenth century edition, p. xiii: *ynough* : *too* 10,859; *ynowe* : *also* 8953, and *Rolandlied*, *enow* : *troue* 530, 1000 (Schleich, p. 28).

Feminine (weak, dissyllabic) rimes.—In *-a*: *hauë* : *crauë* 456, 530, 544, 568, 776; *take* : *forsake* 64, 100, 268, 498; *blame* : *shame* 778, 784, 812; *grace* : *face* 214, 904, : *place* 294.—In *-e*: *clene* : *ene* 366, 816; *cleue* : *mene* 408, 824, 848; *seude* : *amende* 576, 952, : *spende* 990; *wende* : *ende* 12, 426; *leres* : *teres* 842; *here* : *ifere* 296, 978.—In *-i*: *wille* : *stille* 584, 594, 706, 892; *sinne* : *winne* 132, 472, 684, 694, 846, 1008; *sinne* : *biginne* 902; *sinne* : *wilinne* 118; *siune* : *inne* 732.—In *-o*: *more* : *lore* 24, 36, 740, 756, 854, 912, 928; *more* : *sore* 470; *broþer* : *oþer* 74, 122.—In *-ou*: *nouþe* : *nouþe* 420, 480; *jouule* : *wouude* 774; *stounde* : *bounde* 710; *wrouhte* : *bouhte* 26.

Triple rime.—A single couplet in triple rime is preserved,¹ probably incidental to the poet: *dampnucioun* : *sauucioun* 788.

Rimes in -y : *-yë*.—The *Speculum*, agreeing with the system of Chaucer, is free from the riming combination *-y* : *-yë*; cf. ten Brink, *Chaucer Studien*, pp. 22 ff., and Pabst, *Robt. of Gloucester*, pp. 99, 100. Distinction is here marked between this poem and texts of Lydgate (cf. Schick, p. lxii) and of *Guy of Warwick* (MS. Ff. 2. 38, cf. Zupitza, p. xiv), where rimes *charyté* : *sekerlyë* 5367; *companyë* : *thre* 3865, etc. are recorded. Concerning the rime *chivalry* : *Gy*, *The Rime of Sir Thopas*, v. 209, cf. Skeat's note.

Rimes of -cons. : *-cons.* + *ë*.—The poet was virtually accurate and logical in the use of final *-e*. The rime *goþ(e)* : *loþe* 448 is the most noticeable exception. The questionable *god* : *rod* 144, *goþe* : *loþe* 448, *quede* : *fede* 1026, are treated under inflection. *milt* : *sihte* 362 is withdrawn from discussion, because of the existing conditions of the poem, ascribing forms in *-ë* (*ë*) to the dative of the substantive; cf. *Inflection of substantives*. The *Rolaul Lied* offers example to the contrary in the treatment of *cons.* : *cons.* + *ë*; cf. *shal* : *alle* 17; *place* : *has* 413, 714, and other examples. See Schleich, *Prolegomena ad Carmen de Rolando Anglicum*, p. 4.

Cheap rimes.—Cheap rimes are introduced in abundance in correspondences of identical riming suffixes:—*-aunce* : *-aunce* 92, 474, 572, etc.; *-é* : *-é* 96, 390, 678, etc.; *-hede* : *-hede* 372; *-(n)esse* : *-(n)esse* 306, 346, 412, etc.; *-liche* : *-liche* 146, 416, 442, 606, 718, 798, 822, etc.; *-ing* : *-ing* 278, 314, etc.; *-oun* : *-oun* 788, etc. Self-riming suffixes in *-ence* and in *-ful* are not represented in the system of the *Speculum*.

¹ The mediæval poet was rarely ambitious in his rhythmical composition to make current higher attainment than that of correspondences in feminine rime; cf. *Poema Morale*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Sir Beues*, *Putiense*, etc.

Double rimes.—*eize* (O.E. *êaze*) riming with *heie* (O.E. *hêuh*) 388, on one hand, occurs also in rime with *lize* (O.E. *lêaz*) 828, suggesting a double form, but not proving its existence. Double forms of *have* are assured in rime *haue* : (*craue*) 455, 529, 543, etc., *haue* : (*saue*) 477 and *habbe* : (*gabbe*) 463 are preserved by the poet.

Rich rimes.—*acord* : *descord* 514 ; *anon* : *non* 972. Identical in form but different in construction are *mynë* (simple poss.) : *mynë* (absolute poss.) 340. The definite verb form *was* rimes with itself in the negative *nas* 360. Over this usage, as illustrated by Chaucer, compare ten Brink, § 330. The rime occurs in *R. of Gl.* (cf. edition of Wright) 254, 564, 656, etc. Many instances are recorded.

Of the numerous riming arts (cf. Kluge, *Zur Geschichte des Reimes im Altgermanischen*, Beiträge, vol. ix—x) lending richness and variety to the Chaucerian verse (cf. ten Brink, pp. 190 ff.), and to the systems of contemporary poets, the ten hundred rimes of the *Speculum* afford but limited scope for illustration. Of broken rimes, a class of which there are two illustrations in *Sir Beues* (see Kölbing, p. xii), v. 2928, 3423, two in *R. of Gl.* (see Pabst, § 4, with reference to *Anglia* IV, 479), v. 2481, 6575, several in *Guy of Warwick*, there occurs not an instance. No identical rime comes to light. The use of light endings by the poet, forms of *be*, *can*, etc., is attested to in the paragraph over *perfect rime*.

Although the dominant rime throughout is end rime, yet interior rime as illustrated by middle rime and sectional rime, and alliteration, are to be traced.

Middle rime.—It is illustrated as follows :

- v. 969 : Dó, he *séulë*,¹ · bé my *réul[ë]*²
 v. 495 : þere í þe *fíndë*,³ · í wóle þe *bíndë*.
 v. 315 : Ne lát hiit *nóht*⁴ · come ín þi *þóuht*.
 v. 999 : Ne dréd þe *nóht*⁴ womman, · ín þi *þóuht*.

Sectional rime.—A single instance of sectional rime is incidental to the verse of the *Speculum*, probably without the deliberate purpose of the poet :

v. 174 : For *whán* a *mán* · haþ *sínnë* dó.

Read with fluctuating accent, verse 919 illustrates sectional rime :

Léuë *frend*, *herkné* to *mé*.

¹ Read *sedc*, the poet's form ; cf. *sc(i)de* : *redc* 168, 691.

² This is indeed questionable, but on some grounds justifiable.

³ Read *fíndë*, the verse illustrating type B with hiatus at the cæsura.

⁴ Read *no(u)ht*.

§ 2. *Alliteration.*

Alliteration, as embodying an underlying and elemental principle, a form of consonantal rime representative of the native English system, the direct correlation of Teutonic literature, has been lost in the verse of the *Speculum*. Not even sufficient mechanical link remains to connect this poem with that noble alliterative group of the “West Cuntre,” whose “literary ancestors were Cædmon and Cynewulf,” and whose latest minstrel was the Gawain poet; see Professor Thomas in her Zürich dissertation *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*,¹ and Dr. Trautmann,² *Ueber Verfasser einiger allit. Gedichte*; see also Gollancz,³ *Pearl*, p. xx.

But though the poet⁴ cannot “geste—rom, ram, ruf—by lettre,”⁵ yet his usage of alliteration occurs sometimes unconsciously, accepting formulæ common to the language of poetry and practical life in the century. Occasionally an example seems introduced deliberately according to literary standards for the purpose of ornament. As a rule one alliterative syllable occurs in the first half line, *i. e.* before the cæsura, one in the second. A line may have two alliterating syllables in the second half line and none in the first. In general, alliteration as here illustrated unites words connected by some normal syntactical relationship. The association is as in Chaucer based on metrical accent in preference to logical or word accent. The alliterative principle is illustrated in combinations as follows:

1. *Verb and object.*⁶—(a) Derived from distinct radicals: v. 28 tale · 3ou telle.—42 · lyf he ladde.—463 hope · . . . habbe (haue). 477.—689, 690 haue · hope · to heuene blisse.—464 sey · þe soþ.—983 · mak me mete. See also 35 louede (god · and) his lore. (b) Presenting an etymological relationship between verb and cognate

¹ In *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*. ‘A Comparison with the French *Percival*, preceded by an Investigation of the Author’s other Works, and followed by a Characterization of Gawain in English Poems.’ By M. Carey Thomas (President of Bryn Mawr College). Zürich, 1883 (Zürich dissertation).

² *Ueber Verfasser und Entstehungszeit einiger alliterirender Gedichte des Altenglischen*. By Moritz Trautmann. Halle, 1876.

³ Cf. *Pearl*, an English poem of the fourteenth century, edited by I. Gollancz, London, 1891, where the same topic receives attention, p. xlii.

⁴ The *Speculum* would stand as a link of perhaps one hundred (at least fifty) years nearer this O. E. ancestry than the poet of *Pearl*, if Trautmann’s theoretical date for the Gawain-group be final, 1370—80 (p. 33), or Gollancz’s be preferred to Morris’s (*Early English Alliterative Poems*, E. E. Text Society, 1864), in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, whose title-page is dated 1320—30.

⁵ *Prologe of the Persones Tale*, v. 43.

⁶ A point indicates the position of the cæsura, marking the relationship of the alliterative syllable relatively to the half-line, in legitimate descent from the native alliterative construction.

noun : 50 · sente his sonde.—549 met · as þu metest me.—859, 860 worche Godes werkes.—398 · don þat dede.—674 dedes · þouh he do.—Verb and attribute : 45 · was wel war.

2. *Verb with substantive limitation by means of preposition.*—v. 38 liuede · in lawe.—232 (out of) paradys · he was pylt.—255 sit · on side.—411 self · seide in soþenesse.—719 miht · in þi mod.—779 for shame · . . . shewe.—780, 781 shewed · to shaftes.—804 for shame · shewe.—812 bringeþ · in blame.—818 wid water men wassheþ.—831 wenep · wasshe wid þat water.—888 Into pine · ipult.—978 mot make · of mete.—1014 · seide in soþenesse.—1029 To þat blisse · bryng. Alliteration through cognate words : 19 at his wille · he wole.—405 sen · in siht.—733 liueþ · in lyf.

3. *Verb limited by the adverb.*—v. 145 late · al onliche.—179 here · holde lowe.—312 wete þu wel.—637 wel write. 763.—895 wot wel.—941 wite it wel. 1017.—609 seie · soþeliche.—821 seie · sikelliche. Without direct grammatical relationship : 62 lad · to longe while.

4. *Verb and substantive.*—v. 368 þe bush · mihte brenne. Alliteration uniting cognate forms : 879, 880 gilour · gileþ ; cf. 431 gostes, · goþ. See also 447-8.

5. *Attributive adjective and substantive.*—v. 469 sinnes · sore.—576 þi seli soule ·.—744 þe longe lyff ·.—752 giltes · grete.—938 more · mede.—980 mete · more.

6. *Substantive in a relationship dependent on an associated word for its direction.*—v. 123 mourning in mod.—211 shappere · of alle shaftes.—622 of martyrdom · þe mede.—690 hope · to heuene blisse.—745 drede · of domes day.—770 prest · tak þi penaunce.—868 deiing · þi domesday.—998 To þe widewe · wordes swete.

7. *Substantive and substantive.*—v. 158 · pompe and pride.—303 kunning · and kointise.—400 lered · and lewed.—652 to heuene · or to helle ; cf. on · and oþer 74 and 122.

8. *Adjective and adjective.*—v. 381 clene · and cler.—574 meke · and polemod. 666.

9. *Adverb and adverbial phrase producing tautology.*—v. 426 euere · widouten ende.

10. *Unclassified expressions.*—146 Nis nouht inouh.—157 Hele of bodi · in bon and huide.—351 tokne · i telle þe.—356 fourme · al on fire.—499 ofte · in orisoun.—618 Wolde haue wreche · of wrongful dede.—669 fareþ · we finde ·.—742 zeueþ him grace · of gostli.—857 lyf · is cleped liht.—858 deþ · þe derke niht.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE PHONOLOGY OF THE *SPECULUM*.

“that none miswrite þe.”¹

IN this study of the phonology of the *Speculum*, every riming couplet has been consulted. A verse-number refers to the single illustration or to both members of the strophe. In the latter instance it cites the line containing the second of the pair of rimes, irrespective of arrangement. If the rime quoted occur more than three times in the same combination, the fact is indicated by the sign *etc.* following the third verse-number. The investigation² begins always with the vowel of the text A₁. This vowel heads every sectional division of the argument. The study passes from the short sound of the vowel to the long, and concludes in each instance with its combination in diphthongs. Forms bearing secondary stress are not examined. The classification is not influenced nominally by the division “high vowels,” “low vowels,” and “mid vowels.” Both members of each couplet are uniformly introduced, and marks of parenthesis inclose that element not immediately necessary to the subject under discussion. The orthography has for its basis MS. A₁, and reproduces the form occurring first in that text. Phonetical variations introduced by other scribes are not in general mentioned.

ǎ.

§ 1. Sources of short³ *a* (ǎ) of the *Speculum* are English and Scandinavian.

A. Old English sources.

1. O.E. *a* (ǫ) corresponding uniformly to: (*a*) O.E. *a* (ǫ) before single nasals: *man* (cf. Brugmann, 180) : *bigan* 224; *man* : *can* 728; *cam* : *man* 590; *bicam* : *nam* 246; possibly also ǎ in *gange* : (*longe*) 76L. In the study of *cam*, see *com* (O.E. *cóm* for *cwómon*; Orm, *cōmm*) 250, 480, not confirmed by rime. Cf. Sweet, *Anglia*, vol. iii., p. 152; *Anglia*, vol. xiii., p. 214; Morsb., *Gram.*, § 90, Anm. 5; § 93, Anm. 2; p. 68, Anm. 4; ten Br., *Ch.*, § 12, Anm. 1; Menze, *O. M. Dialect*, p. 12; and Murray, *Engl. Dictionary*

¹ Chaucer, *Troilus* 1809.

² At the request of Professor Schick the arrangement of the following chapter is based upon the dissertation of Felix Pabst: *Lautlehre des Robert von Gloucester*.

³ Criteria for determining the quantity of the vowels are not abundant in the *Speculum*. General laws of historical development rather than the immediate context have often governed the decisions of the editor.

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under *come*. (b) O.E. *a*, Gc. *a* in a closed syllable; Goth. *ai*-class, Morsb., p. 136, Anm. 2: *habbe*: (*gabbe*) 463.

2. O.E. *a* (*ea*): (*a*) Before *l* or *l* + a consonant: *alle* (O.E. *eall*): *bifalle* (inf.) 292; *alle*: (*calle*) 521; *al*: (*smal*) 869; *al*: (*þral*) 237. (b) Following a palatal: *shaftes* (O.E. *gesceaft*¹; cf. Sievers, *Gram.*, § 261): (*craftes*) 211.

3. O.E. *e* from Germc. *ǎ* in closed syllables: *faste* (adv.): (*agaste*, inf.) 865; *was*: *nas* (*Pabst*, § 10 f.) 360; *hadde* (through assimilation): (*ladde*) 41; *smal* (M.E. *smā-le* in open syllables; see ten Br., *Ch.*, § 27 β; *Sir Fir.* 2274): (*al*) 870; *war* (uninflected adjective; cf. *Pabst*, p. 17): *bar* (pret.; cf. *war*: *bar*, *Genesis and Exodus*, l. 1308, and *R. of Gloucester*, l. 6012) 46; *craftes*: (*shaftes*) 212.

4. O.E. *é* shortened in open syllables before different consonant groups: *agaste* (inf. N.E. *aglast* pp., first used in 1700): (*faste*, adv.) 866; *ladde* (ten Br., § 6 β): (*hadde*) 42.

B. Scandinavian sources.

1. Scand.² *a*: *gabbe* (Ic. *gabba*, N.E. *gab*, *gabbe*, *jubber*): (*habbe*) 464; *calle*³ (Ic. *kalla*, O.E. *ceallian*, cited once; cf. Murray's *Dictionary* under *call*; cf. Brugmann 585): (*alle*) 522; *cast* (O.N. *kasta*): *last* (cf. Ic. *löstr*, Goth. **lah-stus*) 636.

With *cast* compare *kest* (MS. A₁, *kast* in R) 992, not in rime, for illustration of interchange of *a* and *e*, sporadic in words of Old Norse origin; see Morsb., *Gram.*, p. 119, § 87, Anm. 2, and Schleich, *Carmen de Rolando Anglicum*, p. 9.

2. O.N. *é*: *þral*, *tharll* H₂ (O.N. *þréll*): (*al*) 238.

gange (read *gonge*): (*longe*) 761, *vnderstande*: *houde* 1021, are discussed under *o*-rimes; *knowelache* (read *knoweleche*): (*speche*) 509, *knowelaching* (not in rime) 725, under *e*-rimes.

ā.

§ 2. Long *a* (*ā*) corresponds:

A. In words of English origin.

1. To O.E. *ǎ* in open syllables, lengthened 1250 (‡): (*a*) Before a nasal (cf. Morsb., §§ 64, 90): *agramed* (cf. *Guy of W.*; *King Alis.*):

¹ Exceptional form without *i*-umlaut.

² Naturally the long vowel of an Old Norse word is marked by the acute accent (´) in distinction from the diacritical marks indicating length classified, chapter V., § 3.

³ See Kluge, "Sprachhistorische Miscellen," *Beiträge*, vol. x. p. 442.

(*ashamed*) 794; *name* (O.E. *noma, nama*) : (*fame*) 30, 39. Here may be classed also *a* from O.E. *eo, ea* : (*ashamed*) : (*agramed*) 793; (*ashumed*) : (*blamed*) 766; *shame* (O.E. *sceomu, sceamu*) : (*blame*) 777, 783, 811. (b) Before a single consonant except nasals : (*forsake*) : (*take*) 64, 72, 99, etc.; (*make* (O.E. *macian*, 1250 *māke*, 1650 *mēke*) : (*quake* (O.E. *cwacian*) 444; (*make*) : (*take*) 217, 582; (*mule* (O.E. *macode*) : (*hude* (cf. ten Br., § 27 β) 244; (*make*) : (*sake*) 986; (*sake*) : (*take*) 595; (*have* (inflectional form; cf. Curtis, *Angliu* xvi., *Clariodus*, § 1) : (*craue*, inf.) 456, 530, 544, etc.; (*have* (2 sing.) : (*saue*) 477; (*fare* (inf.) : (*pare* (cf. *ǰāra*, Sievers, *Gram.*, § 321, Anm. 2) 954; (*fare* (inf.) : (*zare*) 490. For the rime *fare* : (*pare* see illustrations, *Sinners Beware*, str. 36; *Owl and Nightingale*, (ed. Stratmann) 995, 996, and additional references Morsbach, p. 86; Pabst, *Rbt. v. G.*, p. 20, Anm. 2; Carstens, *Sir Firumbras*, p. 22.

2. To O.E. *æ* : (*water*) : (*later* (in *neure* þe *later*) 832, 930. For the question of the influence of *r* in preserving this lengthening, cf. ten Br., § 16 β, 27 β 1; Morsb., *Gram.*, pp. 84, 92 *a*, and 93 *c*.

3. To O.E. *ea* : (*zare* (O.E. *gearu*) : (*fare*) 489.

B. In loan-words.

1. Words of Old Norse origin : O.N. *a* : (*take* (O.N. *taka*; cf. Goth. *tékan*) : (*forsake*) 63, 71, 100, etc.; (*take*) : (*sake*) 596; (*take*) : (*make*) 218, 581; (*craue* (equivalent cognate, Ic. *krefja*) : (*have*) 456, 530, 544, etc.

2. Words of Romance origin :

(1) French¹ *a* in open syllables. (a) Before nasals : (*blame*) : (*shame*) 778, 784, 812; (*blamed*) : (*ashamed*) 765; (*fume*) : (*name*) 29, 40. (b) Before a single consonant except nasals : (*face*) : (*grace*) 214, 904; (*grace*) : (*place*) 294; (*saue* (A.F. *sauver*, *saver* < L.L. *salvāre* < L. *salvus*; cf. Sk. II. 54. 1; 82. 5., p. 232; cf. *sauuacioun* (800), O.F. *au* > *a* + *le*) : (*have*) 478.

(2) French *a* in closed syllables. (a) Before mute + liquid : (*profitable*) : (*fable*) 4; (*fable*) : (*merciabable*) 526. (b) Before a final -s (-z) : (*trespaz*) : (*solaz*) 686; (*trespas*) : (*cus*) 704; (*cus*) : (*solas* is employed by Chaucer, 23, 797, 798.

The rimes enumerated in § 2 indicate that M.E. *ǣ* had been lengthened before the composition of the *Speculum*, demonstrated as valid by the fact that stable *ā* of French origin rimes with *a* from

¹ In the study of the phonology of the *Speculum*, the abbreviation *A. F.* will represent Anglo-French, *O. F.* Old French.

O.E. *ǣ*. 1250 is the date ascribed by Menze (p. 11) as in general the period, when the lengthening of *ǣ* occurred in English poems. The first half of the 13th century is given by Morsbach, § 64; and the second half of the 13th century by Curtis, *Clariodus*, § 42. This fact would determine relatively to the chronology of the *Speculum*, that the poem may be placed in a period later than 1250. The pronunciation of the vowel in this position is probably as in Chaucer a pure *a*-sound; see Morsb. § 88.

For *ǣ* before a lengthening consonant-group, the sporadic form *gange* in rime with *longe* 761 is no criterion. *gange* is explained by Morsbach, § 90, p. 123, as an exceptional instance in which the vowel-sound shifts easily to an earlier condition. In general O.E. *ǣ* had already developed a M.E. *ō*; cf. §§ 15, 16, 17.

ay.

§ 3. *ay* of the text is developed from :

1. O.E. *æ + g*: *day*:*lay* 250; *day*:*may* 492; *day*:(*nay*) 251; *domesday*:(*nay*) 257, 868; *domesday*:(*ay*) 745. A single link between *ai*- and *ei*-sounds of the poem is preserved in the couplet, *fain* (O.E. *fægen*; cf. Skeat, § 252):(*a3ein*, O.E. *ongegn*, Merc. *ongægn*) 873, 965. *mait*:(*caiht*) 881 is probably to be classified in § 3, 1. *mait* seems to unite the grammatical forms (*ic*) *may* (*mæg*) and (*þu*) *miht*, combining the properties of both in the composite (*þu*) *mai(h)t*; cf. also *mait* (*mayt* in *D*) 342, and 882 in *D*, and *mayt*; 1020, 1021. Compare Carstens, *Sir Firumbras*, p. 10, § 2; Schleich, *Carmen de Rolando*, p. 10.

2. O.N. *ei*:*nay*:(*day*) 252; *nay*:(*domesday*) 258, 867; *ay*:(*domesday*) 746.

3. Fr. Pic. *a* (*æ*) + *h*: *caiht*:(*mait*) 882. The double forms *caiht* and *ikauht* (cf. l. 17) are explained through analogy with *leiht* and *lauht*, *teihite* and *tähte*, etc. (cf. Carstens, p. 10), depending upon a cognate development through *á* and *é*; cf. Morsb., *Gram.*, § 102, Anm. 5; ten Br., § 113 *ð* and § 182. *caiht* bears the relationship to *cauht* (pp. of *cachen*, written also *cacchen*, Pic. *cachier*), that *leiht* bears to its doublet *laught* from *geleahit* (inf. *lacchan*, (*ge*)*læccan*) and *teihite* to *tähte* (O.E. *téc(e)an*); cf. Sievers, § 407, *a*, 4; *b*, 8; Skeat, II., § 140; Pabst, § 13, *d*; Carstens, pp. 21, 39; Schleich, *Carm. de Rol.*, p. 10. The development of the vowel is similar in *streight* < *streatht* and *eighte* < *eahhta*; cf. Pabst, § 40, *a* and *b*. Compare *ikeiht*, *Anceren Rincle* (ed. Morton), pp. 134, 278, 332, etc.; *keihite*

(pret.) p. 154; (*bi*)*kehte* : (*eihte*), *Poema Morale*, Trinity and Jesus MSS., 318, but *kehte* : (*aehte*), Egerton MS.; *R. of G. ycazt* : (*ucazt*) 4372, : *cazte* 320; *Pearl*, *caght* : (*saght*), : (*faght*), str. 5², and *by-tughte* : (*sughte*, *naughte*), str. 101⁷; *King Horn*, *tazte* : *lazte* 248.

au.

§ 4. *au*, written *aw* before a vowel, is developed from :

1. O.E. *a + g* : *dawe* (O.E. *dagum*, dat.) : (*lawe*) 37, 357; *draue* : (*lawe*) 945; *draue* : *plawe* (O.E. *plaga*) 16. *plawe* exists as cognate of *pleye* (O.E. *plega*), cf. *R. of G.* 11195, developed through O.E. *plagian* or O.N. *plaga*. See *plawe* : (*knawe*), *Havelok*, l. 950; but *pleye* : (*weie*), l. 953. The form is not frequent. It occurs in *King Horn*, MS. II (cf. Wissmann, *Quellen und Forschungen*, No. xlv.), *plawe* : (*felawe*) 1112, and *R. of G.* 5906; cf. Pabst, § 42, and Leo, *Angelsächsisches Glossar* (1872), column 92. Further, see Bosw.-Toller, *plagia*, *plagadun*, with reference to *Rush. Gloss.*, 11, 17; see Sievers, § 407, 5. Ettmüller illustrates derivatives from **plegan*, *Lexicon Anglo-saxonicum*, pp. 274–5. The riming form *knawe* : (*lowe*) 180 is classified under rimes in *ou*, § 18.

2. Of O.N. origin are : (a) O.N. *au* developed from *ú* before *ht* : *draucht* (*draht*; cf. O.N. *drátttr*) : (*ikauht*) 18. (b) O.N. *a + g*, written *aw* before a vowel sound : *lawe* (O.E. *lagu* from O.N. *lag* < **lagu*) : (*dawe*) 38, 358; *lawe* : (*draue*, inf.) 946.

3. *au* in Romance forms : (a) O.F. *a + u* interpolated before a nasal group : *repentaunce* : *penaunce* 92, 474, 770, and 830 in *H₂*; *suffraunce* : *destourbaunce* 572. (b) Fr. Pic. *a + h* : *ikauht* (< *caht*, pp. O.F. *cacchen*, Pic. *cachier*) : (*draucht*) 17. *ikauht* is developed through analogy with the parallel form *ilauht* = *geleht*, *ilacchen* < *gelaccan*; cf. *gelahte* in *Samson*, *Ælfric's Book of Judges*, chap. xiv. 5, and see Skt., *Ety.* II. 140. Cf. *kacche* (*cage* in D) 903 and Varnhagen, *Anglia*, vol. III., p. 376.

ě.

§ 5. Short *e* (*ě*) is found :

A. In words of O.E. origin.

1. O.E. *e* < *a* (*i*-umlaut). (a) Before nasals or nasal-groups : *wemme* : (*brenne* in assonance) 367; *wempt* : (*dempt*) 135; *men* (assonance) : (*hem*) 149, but *mon* : *hom* in *R.* Probably *ě* characterizes the accented vowel of the following words : *ende* (inf.) : *wende* (inf.) 12; *ende* (sb.) : *wende* (inf.) 426; *sende* (3, sing. pret.) :

(*amende*) 575, 951; *seule* (3, sing. pret.) : *spende* (inf.) < mediæval Latin *spendere*, but already O.E., 990. (b) In other combinations: *helle* (sb.) : *duelle* (inf.) 450; *helle* : (*nelle*) 271; *duelle* (O.H.G. *twaljan*) : *telle* (inf.) 28, 284; *answerede* (read *answéred* or *answérde*) : *heriede* (Goth. *lazjan*) 66. Possibly to be classed under this head are rimes in the suffix *-nesse* : *nieknesse* : *forzifnes* 86; *fairnesse* : *þisternesse* 306; *witnesse* : *sopnesse* 346, 412, 566, 664, etc.; cf. concluding note and rimes in *i*. *e* before nasal groups (*vor dehnennden consonanten-gruppen*) is classified as long by various Anglicists, see Bülbring, *Eng. Stud.*, vol. xx., pp. 149 ff. and in *Litt. Blatt*, 1894, column 262; De Jong, *Eng. Stud.*, vol. xxi., pp. 321 ff.; Curtis, *Clariolus*, § 175; Morsb., *Gram.*, § 110, also p. 75: Orm seems to employ both *ĕ*- and *ē*- before *-nd*, but Robert of Gloucester illustrated only the short vowel, Pabst, § 14. In the *Speculum* *e* before *n + d* seems to be short, pronounced *ĕ*, decisive evidence being the rime *seude* : *amende* 575, 951.

2. O.E. (Germ.) *ĕ* : *werk* (sb.) : (*clerk*) 668; *wel* (adv.) : (*katel*, *catel*) 161, 578, 895, etc.; *wel* : *godspel* (see Bright, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, April 1889, Feb. 1890) 518, 548. To the study of *wel*, Bülbring has contributed, *Litt. Blatt*, 1894, p. 261; Pabst, § 15, m.

3. O.E. *ê* shortened before double consonants : *mette* : *grette* 350, 960; *dempt* : (*nempt*) 136.

4. O.E. *êu* before consonant groups : *hext* (O.E. W.S. *hêhst*, *hêhst* (from Angl.), *hêhst* > *hêxt* > *hĕxt*) : *next* (O.E. W.S. *nêhst*, Angl. *nêhst* > *nêxt* > *nĕxt*) 326, 662; cf. Pabst, § 14, n), and Sievers, § 313 and Note.

5. O.E. *eo* (< *i*), breaking before the full vowel (*vor dunklem vocal*) in the following syllable : *henne* (O.E. *heonune*, **hinona*) : (*kenne*) 297; *hem* (*heom*, *him*) : (*men*) 150.

6. O.E. *i* (*y*) : *nelle* : (*helle*) 272.

B. In loan words.

1. Of O.N. origin : *brenne* (through metathesis < O.E. *bernan* caus. = *beorman*; cf. *brenna*) : (*wemme*) 368; *kenne* (O.N. *kenna*, see Skt. *Dict.*) : (*henne*) 298. Here belongs *eging* (Ic. *eggja*, Orm. 11675) 229; see Brate, *Nordische Lehnwörter im Ormulum*, Beiträge x., p. 37.

2. Of Romance origin. (a) Before *n + consonant* : *amende* : (*sende*) 576, 952; *iugement* : *turment* 266; *verreement* : *iugement* 878. *amende* is determinative in the conclusion, that *e* before *-nd*

was not yet lengthened in the present text. (b) In words ending in *-el*: *katel* (*catel*): (*wel*) 162, 577, 896, etc.

3. Ecc. Lat. *e*; *clerk*: (*werk*) 667, according to Skeat (*Dict.*) directly from Lat. *clericus*, or through O.F. *clerc*.

For the suffix *-esse*, see rimes in *i*, the recurring couplet, *blisse*: *-esse* removing these groups from the territory of the phonology of *e*-sounds. *witnisse*: *sopnisse* are probably the authorized forms for the poem; see Kluge, *Stammbildung*, and Morsh., § 109, Anm. 6. This transmission of the *-i*-sound, *-nisse* for *-esse*, would classify the *Speculum* as belonging to the literature of the earlier M.E. period, see parallel instance in the early poem, *David the King*, where *meknisse* occurs in rime with *blisse*, l. 3, and *The Liif of Adam*, combining *thesternisse*: *lihtnisse* (proving no definite truth) 355 and 549.

Pabst, § 20, refers *-e* (e.g. *u*), of *stede*, to a form, where the *e* was not yet lengthened, basing his conclusions on absolute riming formulæ. The lengthening seems to have occurred in the *Speculum*. *stede*: *dede* 598, 604, possibly to be treated as transitional forms in the development of language, may be read *stide*: *dide*, see Streitberg, *Urgerm. Grammatik*, p. 44, Anm. 1.

ē.

The riming system of the *Speculum* is characterized by two qualities in the development of long *e* (*ē*) and long *o* (*ō*). With reference to *ē*, the distinction is based on the development of O.E. *ēa*, *ē* (umlaut of Germc. *ai*), and *ê* (lengthened from *ĕ*) on the one hand, and of O.E. stable *é*, *êw*, and *â* (Germ. *â*, Goth. *ê*) on the other. The classification is recognized by the poet, the former division being extant in a long open *ē* (*ē̄*); the other *ē* is, *à priori*, a long closed *ē* (*ē̄*). The uniformity of the observance of the law is not violated by the occurrence of a sporadic rime uniting the open and the closed vowel (cf. § 8), designating, according to Zupitza, an incident in rime-formation, rather than the violation of the purity of the rime. A third class of rimes in long *e* (cf. ten Brink, § 25) will not be considered in the following paragraphs. The O.E. *ê* (O.H.G. *â*, Goth. *ê*) was, it seems, closed in the language of the poet, rather than open, as it has naturally been noted by Pabst in the discussion of the southwestern (also West-Saxon territory) rimes of Robert of Gloucester; cf. p. 7, 2.

ē.

§ 6. Sources of long open *e* (ē), written *e*, are as follows :

1. O.E. *â* (umlaut of *ai*, Ge. *ai*) : *mene* (1. sing.) : *clene* 408 ; *mene* (inf.) : *clene* 824, 848 ; *clene* : *ene* 366, 816 ; *bidene* : (*tene*) 191 ; *euere* : *neure* (with redundant *-e* in both instances through svarabhakti) 280, 808 ; *teche* (inf.) : *reche* (inf.) 98, 142, : (*speche*, sb.) 2, 570, 754, : (*leche*) 70 ; *geþ* : (*unneþ*) 616 ; *lede* (inf.) : (*drede*, sb.) 19, : (*rede*, sb.) 104. Here belong the composite forms with the termination *-heðe* : *godheðe* : *manheðe* 372, : (*dede*) 397, : (*drede*) 379, 886 ; *manheðe* : (*dede*) 617 ; *fulsheðe* : (*dede*) 722 ; cf. Kluge, *Stamm Bildung* and Curtis, *Clariodus*, § 240, Pabst, § 15, o), also Paul's *Grundriss*, I. p. 874.

2. O.E. *ě* from various sources, lengthened in open syllables : *meþe* (T. *mat-i*) : *ieþe* 984 ; *speþe* : *breþe* 810 ; *deþe* : *wēþe* (cf. Büllbring, *D. Litt. Zeitung*, 1894) 1018 ; *steþe*, Sievers, *Beiträge*, vol. xvi. pp. 235 ff : *deþe* 598, 604 ; *steþe* : *bēþe* 562 ; *forþeþe* : (*iwite*) 193, : (*wite*) 764.

3. O.E. *êu*, Ge. *au* : *deþ* (O.E. *dêuþ*) : *queþ* (or *qued*) 862 : *feþe* 1025 ; *breþ* : (*red*) 970 ; *vnneþ* (adv. MSS. A₂DH₁) : (*geþ* A₁A₂H₁) 615 ; *biþeue* (also *biþeue*) : (*greue*) 201 ; *neþ* : (*power*) 216 ; *ek* (Angl. *êc*) : (*fet*) 439 ; *leþ* : (*pes*) 519 ; *teþes* (O.E. *têar* < *teagar*, *h* to *g* by Verner's law) : (*leres*) 841 ; cf. Siev. *Beiträge*, vol. ii. p. 411. According to the interpretation *qued* < O.E. *cwêuþ*, rimes in *qued* belong in this division, but cf. Pabst, § 15, b.

4. An *ê* lengthened from O.E. *æ* in other relationship : *seþe* (< O.E. *sêde* < *sægde*) : (*rede*, inf.) 168 ; *seþe* (*seide*) : (*rede*, 3 plur.) 691, : (*drede*) 140, 494. For *seide* in rime with *rede*, etc., cf. Wilda, *Schweifreimstr.*, etc., p. 12 ; Menze, p. 21, with reference to the same rime, Hausknecht, *Fl. and Blfl.*, pp. 111, 116, Libeaus, Octavius (Sarrazin), etc. *sede* is combined with *rede*, *King Horn*, 919 ; *R. of G.* 38 ; *Ed. I.*, p. 73.

5. O.F. *ai* developed into a monophthong before a dental : *peþ* : (*les*) 520.

ē.

§ 7. Sources of long closed *e* (ē) are :

A. Old English.

1. O.E. *ê*. (a) Equivalent to O.E. *ê* (lengthened in monosyllabic words) : *meþ* : *þe* 108, 392, 550, etc., : (*be*, 3. sing.) 790, : (*se*, inf.) 189, : (*charite*) 56, 323, : (*meþne*) 1015 ; *þe* in rime with (*be*, 3. sing.) 328, 334, : (*be*, 3. plu.) 413, : (*be*, inf.) 535, 588, : (*se*, inf.) 863, :

(*bise*) 487, : (*charite*) 84, 932, : (*deite*) 373, : (*leaute*) 404, : (*trinite*) 351, : (*vilte*) 601. (b) O.E. *ê* in other significance: *her(e)* (O.E. *hêr*) in rime with (*ifere*, O.E. (*ge*)*fêra*) 296, 977, : (*ellesicher*) 175, 779, : (*per*) 321, : (*dere*) 1031, : (*fyr* for *fêr*?) 452, : (*cler*) 375, 735, : (*power*) 220, 600, : (*uanere*) 627; *mede* : *spede* 938, 1028, : (*fede*) 956, : (*almesdede*) 933, : (*goddede*) 622.

2. O.E. (*Anglian*) *ê*, W.S. *ê*, (*á*, Goth. *ê*) : *drêde* (O.E. (*ou*) *drêda*, (vb. and sb.)) : *dêde* (O.E. *dâd*) 696, 708, 748, etc., : *mis-dêde* 830, : (*godhede*) 380, 885, : *rede* (sb.) 82, : *rede* (vb.) 648, : *louerêde* 178, : (*seide*, read *seide*, O.E. *sêide*) 139, 494, : (*lede*) 20; *leche* : (*teche*) 69; *spêche* : (*teche*) 1, 569, 753; *dêde* : (*godhede*) 398, : (*fulshede*) 721, : (*manhede*) 618; *almesdêde* : *rede* 922, : (*mede*) 934; *goddede* : *rede* (3. sing.) 466, : *rede* (1. plur.) 502, : (*mede*) 621; *per(e)* : (*her*) 322, : (*were*) 354; *reð(e)* : (*seide*) 167, 692, : (*bred*) 969, : (*lede*) 103. Among rimes in O.E. *ê*, W.S. *ê*, is to be classed *qued*, according to Pabst (§ 15 b), illustrated in *qued* : *reð* 48, 654, : (*dêd*) 862; *quede* : (*fede*) 1025; *spêche* : *knowelache* for *knoweleche* 510; Curtis, in *Clariodus, Anglia*, vol. xvi., p. 76. In *Clariodus*, *knowlege* is preserved in rimes with *rage* 1421, *langage* 10. *knowelaching* (725) occurs in the Southern texts: *Kath.* 1388; *Azenbite* 132; *Ancr. Rivle* 92; Gower II. 319, see Stratmann, *Dict.*

For *rede* (O.N. *rêdan*) to read, originally the same as *rede* (O.E. *rêdan*) to counsel, cf. Cook, *Glossary to the Lindisfarne Gospels*.

3. Umlaut *ê* (from *ô*) : *fêde* : (*mede*) 955, : (*quede*) 1026; *fere* : (*dere*) 423; *ifere* (O.E. *gefêran*) : (*here*, O.E. *hêr*) 295, 978; *fet* : (*ek*) 440; *sweite* : (*profete*) 949, 998; *breme* (see Murray) : (*teme*) 383.

4. O.E. *ê*, Angl.-Kent *ê*, W.S. *ê*, *ŷ*, : *here* (O.E. *hŷran*) : (*fire*) 355; *here* : (*were*) 782.

5. O.E. *êu* developing later *e*, pronounced *e* : *bê* (inf.) : *sê* (inf.) 396, 534, : *isê* (inf.) 402, : *flê* (inf.) 834, 850, : (*pe*) 587, : (*charite*) 96, 935, : (*pite*) 259, : (*humilite*) 632; *bê* (3. sing.) : *sê* (inf.) 738, 872, : *isê* 730, : (*pe*) 327, 333, 536, : (*me*) 789, : (*charite*) 1034; *bê* (3. plur.) : *sê* (inf.) 752, : *isê* 288, 342, : (*pe*) 414; *sê* (inf.) : (*me*) 190, : (*pe*) 864, : (*clerte*) 389, (*humilite*) 657; *seþ* : *bêþ* 818; *bise* : (*pe*) 488; *flê* (inf.) : (*humilite*) 678; *dere* (adj.) : (*fere*) 424, : (*here*) 1032; *dere* (adv.) : (*were*) 160; *teþe* : (*bidene*) 192; *leme* : (*breme*, *beme* in R) 384; *leþes* : (*teres*) 842; *H₂* offers *fŷee* : (*me*) 323.

6. O.E. *ŷ*, umlaut of *û* : *fŷyr* (read *fêr*) : (*her*, O.E. *hêr*) 451; *fŷire* : (*here*, O.E. *hŷran*) 356, representing O.E. Kent. *ê*, also the rime of *Troilus* 111, 978; Danker, *Die Laut- und Flexions-Lehre der*

mittelkent. Denkmäler, etc., p. 11 ff.; Morsb., pp. 167, 174; and Wissmann, *King Horn*, p. 22, Kölbing, *Amis und Amiloun*, p. xxvi., and ten Br., § 23 γ, Anm. with reference to *jere* : *dere*, *Tr. I.* 229. See the rime *fyer* (*fer*) : (*ner*) *Lybeaus Disconus* 571; *fyre* : (*Messangere*) *Duke Rowland* 94.

B. Loan-words of Romance origin.

1. O.F. *e*, Lat. *a* (cf. ten Br. *Ch.*, § 67, § 68, Anm.). (*a*) Through the ending *-atātem* : *charité* : *humilité* 680, : (*me*) 55, 324, : (*pe*) 83, 931, : (*be*, inf.) 95, 936, : (*be* 3. sing.) 1033; *humilité* : (*pite*) 88, : (*be* inf.) 631, : (*je*) 677, : (*se* inf.) 658; *deité* : (*pe*) 374; *clerté* : (*se*) 390; *trinité* : *vnité* 206, 430, : (*pe*) 352; *vilté* : (*pe*) 602; *leauté* (*pe*) 403. (*b*) Through other formation: *cler* : (*power*) 915, : (*picher*) 976, 996, : (*her*) 376, 736; *greue* : (*bileue*) 202, : (*Eue*) 230.

2. Fr. *ié*, Anglo-Norm. *e*, Lat. *a* : *pite* : (*humilite*) 87, : (*be*, inf.) 260; *meyné* (O.F. *maisniée*) : (*me*) 1016; *manere* (cf. Pabst, *R. v. G.*, § 17, II. *b*) : (*here*) 628; *picher* (*pichier*, Körtling, *Lat.-rom. Wört.*, no. 972) : (*cler*) 975, 995.

3. From other sources: *power* (O.F. *poër* for **poter*, *e* < *ei* before *r* in monophthong, cf. A.F. *pouoer*) : (*cler*) 916, : (*ner*) 216, : (*her*) 219, 599, : (*ner*) 215.

4. *e* in loan-word from the French : *profete* (according to ten Br. § 67, β) : (*swete*) 950, 997, cf. *Handl. Syn.* 5158, 11,510.

Eue (O.E. *Êfe*) : (*greue*) 229, from the O.E. according to ten Br. § 23 x. Note the same rime in the unique poem, *The Liif of Adam*, verses 315, 419, and *Eue* : *bileue* 245; *Hand. Syn.* 1604. In the *Poema Morale*, *Eue* is in rime with *ileue* 174; *Har. of Helle*, *leue* : *Eue* 173.

For *prest* : (*Crist*) 805, and *sterne* : (*turne*) 436, refer to rimes in *i*.

\bar{e} and \bar{e} .

§ 8. The distinction between the two systems of open and closed *e*-rimes (\bar{e} , \bar{e}), as outlined in the preceding sections, is rigidly adhered to in the *Speculum*. Some exceptions are incident to the verse, as in MSS. of other poems. For Lydgate's usage see Schick, *Temple of Glas*, p. lx; for *The Middle Scotch Romance Clariodus*, Curtis, *Anglia*, vol. xvi. p. 420; for *Editha and Ethelreda*, Fischer, *Anglia*, vol. xi. p. 190; see also Chaucer, ten Brink, *Ch.* § 25, where forms regarded as existing in two classes in Zupitza's strongly marked division, have been explained in three classes. The language of the

Speculum does not indicate the distinction $ē$ and e in the following instances¹:

bilēne (*bilēne*, see *Clariodus*, § 239 and Murray, *Engl. Dict.*): *tēnē* 192; *lēs*: *tēs* 842; possibly *quēde*, *cwēd*, *cwēd*, (or *quēde*? < *cwēd*, *cwēd*?) but *gnēde* in *R* (O.E. *gnêuð*; cf. *Havelok* 97): *fēde* 1026; *speche*: *tēche* 2, 570, 754, : *lēche* 70; *wēre*: *dēre* 160, : *hēre* 782; *ellesichere*: *hēre* 176, 780; *drēde*: *lēde* 20, : *seide* 140, 494; *rēde*: *lēde* 104, : *seide* (i. e. *sēde*) 168, 692; *drēde*; *godhēde* 886; *fēt*: *ēk* 440; *rēd*: *brēd* 970; *dēde*: *falshede* 722, : *godhēde* 398, : *manhēde* 618; *grēue*: *bilēue* 200.

Were it possible that O.E. (Angl.) \hat{e} , W.S. \hat{o} , could give an open quality (\bar{e}), as in *R. of Gloucester* (cf. Pabst, p. 24), resulting in a neutral e having an open sound because riming with open e , many of the rimes cited would be not impure, but representative of the period and development of the language. Such rimes are the combinations of *rede* (*to counsel, counsel*), *rede* (*to read*, see Cook), *drēde*, *speche*, *leche*, *dēde*. The quality of e in *qued*: *dēd* (O.E. *dēad*, Nh. *dēōd*) 862, : *fēde* (*vide supra*) 1026 is uncertain. Granting validity to ten Brink's hypothesis, § 25, 2 that *lēde* is extant written with a closed e (e), then the couplets, verses 20, 104, do not introduce an impurity in quality of the vowel. *were*: *þere* 354 belong properly under open e -rimes according to ten Brink.

ei.

§ 9. *ei* written *ei*, *ey*, is developed in the *Speculum* from:

1. O.E. $e + g$: *eiȝe* (O.E. *ege*, e umlaut of a): *weye* 22, : *sciē* (inf., **seġan* for *seġ(e)an*, see Menze, p. 29) 796; *aȝein*: (*juin*, O.E. *fuġen*) 874, 966; *leid*: (*misseið*) 592; *seiē*: (*heie*) 445, : (*preie*) 563.

2. O.E. $æ + ȝ$: *misseið*: (*leid*) 591, : (*vbbreið*) 538. For *seide* properly *sēde*, see § 6.

3. O.E. $\hat{e}a + g$: *eiȝe* (O.E. $\hat{e}aȝe$): *heie* (adv. from inflected adj., see Siev., § 295, 1) 388; *eiȝe* (read *iȝe*, see rimes in *i*): (*liȝe*) 827, see § 12, 7.

4. O.E. ea , $\hat{e}a$ before h , L.W.S. $\hat{e}h$: *heih*: *neih* 634, : *iseih* 992; *iseih* (O.E. *geseah*, pret.): *neih* 370.

5. O.F. $e + i$: *preie*: (*seiē*) 564.

¹ A more symmetrical arrangement would place the open vowel uniformly before illustrations of the closed vowel.

The diphthong has simplified itself to the monophthong *i(y)* in *eize* : *lizē* 828. This rime, although proving no definite truth, suggests for the poet of the *Speculum* the double pronunciation employed by Chaucer, in the forms *ye* and *eye*, but not known to Robert of Gloucester; see ten Br. § 21 ε, and Pabst, § 39, Anm. 1. *azein* : *fain* 874, 966, is the single link between the two riming systems represented by *ai* and *ei*.

eu.

§ 10. *eu*, written *ew* before a vocalic ending (cf. Ellis, § 302), represents :

1. O.E. *é* + *w* producing an open *ew* sound (*ew*) : *rewe* (O.E. *rēw*, sb.) : (*shewe*) 80 ; *lewed* : (*ishewed*) 400. Here belongs *slēuþe* (O.E. *slāwþ*) 116, *slēuþes* 121.

2. O.E. *ēaw* : *shrewes* (O.E. *scrēawa*) : *þewes* (O.E. *ðēawu* ; cf. *Juith*, 129) 102 ; *shewe* : (*rewe*) 79 ; *ishewed* : (*lewed*) 399.

The remaining two classes of *ew*- sounds familiar to the student of Chaucer, are not illustrated in the rimes of the *Speculum*.

ī.

§ 11.—Short *i* (*ī*), written *y* in later MSS., occurs regularly corresponding to :

1. O.E. *i* unaltered. (a) In closed syllables. (1) Before nasal groups : *winne* (inf.) : *biginne* (inf.) 6, 78, : *þerinne* 650, : (*sinne*) 132, 471, 684, 694, etc. ; *blinne* (inf.) : *biginne* (inf.) 200, : (*sinne*) 714 ; *inne* : (*sinne*) 731 ; *þerinne* : (*sinne*) 840 ; *widinne* : (*sinne*) 118 ; *biginne* : (*sinne*) 901. *i* before *-ng* or *-nk* is probably short : *þing* in rime with *beginning* 8, 884, : *bryng* 1030, : *shining* 382, : *speking* 330, : *washing* 836 ; *ping* : *brenning* 182, : (*king*) 899, : *liking* 270 ; *wonizing* : *deseruing* 314, : *þing* 318 ; *ending* : *beginning* 210, : *deing* 278 ; *mourninge* : *sprunge* 126 ; *prouing* : (*king*) 335 ; *noþing* : (*king*) 625 ; *drinke* : *swinke* 156. (2) In other combinations : *iwis* : *is* 504, 724, : *his* 338, : (*paradys*) 285, : (*prys*) 165 ; *þis* : (*amis*) 801 ; *his* : (*paradys*) 300 ; *iwisse* : (*blisse*) 309, 689 ; *nisse* : *wisse* 120, : (*blisse*) 418 ; *þerwid* (read *þerwiþ*) : (*grīþ*) 147 ; *churche* (practically *chirche*) : (*worche*) 860 ; *þisternesse* (for *þisternisse*) : (*blisse*) 114 ; *seknesse* (*siknisse*) : (*blisse*) 187 ; *sist* : *bist* 554 ; *wil* (O.E. *gewill*) : (*peril*) 169 ; *wille* : *spille* 198, : *stille* 584, 594, 706, etc. ; *shrift* : *zift* (cf. German *Mitgift*) 682. See also *-nesse* : *-nesse* 86, 306, 346, etc. (b) In open syllables : *wole* (read *wille*, inf.) : (*skile*)

712; *liue* (inf.): *shriue* (past p.) 758, 768; *liue* (3. pl.): (*ziue*, inf.) 184; *liue* (inf.): (*ziue*, inf.) 964, 974; *iwite*: (*forzete*) 194; *wite*: *write* 926, : (*forzete*) 763. On the possible length of the vowel in *-ing* and in *þing*, see Morsb., *Gram.*, § 55 and § 57 *d*, p. 73; on *king*, ten Brink, § 10, Anm. 1, and Morsb., § 55, Anm. 1, 5. *muchē* for *niche*: (*aperteliche*) 386, : (*lihtliche*) 671, representing O.E. *micel*, *mycel* may be classified here, though in O.E. declension united with long stems, through analogy with O.E. *lǣtel*; see Siev., § 296, note 1, and Menze, p. 34, and compare *The Liif of Adam*, uniting *muchē*: *sekerliche* 397; *niche* is the form supported by Langl., *Chr.*, *Hundl. Syn.*, *Havelok*, *Gen. and Ex.*, *Orm*, etc.

2. O.E. *i* shortened in O.E.: *blisse* (O.E. *blīðs*) in rime with (*iwisse*) 310, 690, : (*misse*) 417, : (*þisternesse* for *þisternisse*) 113, and : (*seknesse*, *i. e.* *seknisse*, also *R. of G.* 7768) 188; *iliche*: *riche* (cf. Pabst, § 25; Morsb., *Gram.*, p. 145, Anm. 6) 312. Possibly might be classed here eighteen rimes in *-liche*: *-liche* (O.E. *-lice*, *-lice*, Siev. § 43,) 416, 442, 606, 610, 798, 822, etc.; *onliche*: *sikerliche* 146; *aperteliche*: (*muchē*) 385; *lihtliche*: (*muchē*) 672; and *swiche*: *reuliche* (O.E. *hrēowlice*) 276; cf. ten Brink, § 52 ff., and *Beiträge*, vol. x. p. 504.

3. O.E. *y* umlaut of *u*: *sinne* in rime with (*biginne*) 902, : (*blinne*) 713, : (*inne*) 732, : (*þerinne*) 839, : (*wūdinne*) 117, : (*winne*, inf.) 131, 472, 683, 693, 845, 1007; *agilt*: *fulfilt* 308; *gilt*: *pylt* 232, : *ipult* 888, although *pylt*, *ipult* is of uncertain origin. Under this heading may be classed *worche* (*wirche*, O.E. *wyrcean*): (*churche*, O.E. *cirice*) 859; cf. *wirche*: *chirche*, *Fl. and Blancheflur*.

4. O.E., W.S. *ie*, *i*, (*y*) through influence of the preceding palatal (Siev., § 75, 3): *ziue*: (*liue*) 183, 963, 973; *forzete* (to be altered to *forzite* in conformity with the rime): (*iwite*) 193, : (*wite*) 764.

5. O.E. late *i* for stable *y*, Sievers, § 36; ten Brink, § 10, Anm. 1: *king*: (*noþing*) 626, : (*proving*) 336, : (*þining*) 900.

6. *ī* in loan-words. (1) O.N. *i*: *skile*: (*wole* for *wille*) 711; *griþ* (Ic. *grīð*): (*þerwid*(þ)) 148; *amis*: (*þis*) 802. (2) O.F. *i*: *peril*: (*wil*) 170. Of French origin but of uncertain etymology is *puite* (cf. O.F. *boter*): (*luite*) 923, and *tirne* for *turne* (O.E. *tyrnan*, from the Latin): (*sterne*) 435; cf. Steenstrup, *Daneleg*, p. 274 and Morsb., p. 167.

ī.

§ 12. Long *i* (ī), written also *y*, appears:

A. In development from O.E. forms.

1. O.E. *i* retained in M.E. (a) In open syllables: *side* : *abide* (inf.) 256, 676; *side* : (*pride*) 655; *liue* (O.E. *līf*, sb., dat., plu.) : *shriue* 486; *myne* : *myne* 340; *hie* (inf., O.E. *hīgian* or *higian*?) : (*crie*) 968; *while* : (*gile*) 62, *R. of G.* 3666, 11150. *wyse*, doublet of *guise*, borrowed through the French from the Frankish, Skeat, § 392 and *Dict.* : (*deuise*) 344. (b) In closed syllables: *wif* : *lyf* 234, 702, 734; *myn* : *Alquin* (O.E. *Ealhwine*, Latinized *Alcuinus*) 52. To this class belong forms with the suffix *-li*, O.E. *lice* influenced by O.N. *-liyr* (*-liga*) : *witerli* : (*leuedi*) 364, : (*comforti*) 687, : (*merci*) 457, 527; *sikerli* : (*empti*) 1001, : (*forþi*) 468. Concerning the quality of the suffix *-liche* classified here § 11, 2, see Morsb. § 67.

2. O.E. *ī* in various relationships: (a) Before lengthening consonant groups, Morsb., § 67 : *finde* (1. sing.) : *binde* (inf.) 482; *finde* (1. plu.) : *winde* (sb.) 669; *binde* (inf.) : (*mynde*) 495. (b) Before O.E. *-g* (*-īg*) through vocalization of *-g* : *empti* : (*sikerli*) 1002; *herkny* : (*merci*) 523; *leuedi* (svarabhakti vowel *-e-*, O.E. *hlájdige*) : (*witerli*) 363; possibly *hie* : (*crie*) 968; *lyþ* 713 marks the development from *liþ* < O.E. *liþ*; *þre* (*þrie*) 349, 350 < O.E. *þriga*.

3. O.E. *y* umlaut of *u*, before lengthening consonant-groups: *minde* : *kinde* (O.E. *cynd*, Skeat, § 378) 620; *mynde* (O.E. (*ge*)*mynd*) : (*binde*) 496.

4. O.E. *ý* umlaut of *ú*: *pride* (O.E. *prýte* < *prút*) : (*side*) 656; *pride* : *huide* 158; *luite* : (*puite*) 924. Properly classified under rimes in *e* are *fyr* : (*her*, O.E. *hér*) 451; *fire* : (*here*, O.E. *hýran*, *hieran*, *hieran*) 356; possibly under *u* (see Morsb., p. 176) : *fire* : (*duire*) 282. Further over *pride*, see Kluge, *Englische Studien*, vol. xxi. p. 33. For *lite*, see *Beiträge*, vol. ix. p. 365.

5. O.E. *ȝ* : *forði* : (*sikerli*) 467.

6. O.E. *êo* : *lize* : (*campaigne*) 637, : (*multiplie*) 1010; *lize* (O.E. inf. *lêogan*) : (*Elize*) 947.

7. O.E. *êû*. (a) Before *h* : *lize* (originally *lêûz*, N.E. *lye*) : (*eize*) 828; cf. § 9. (b) Before *z* : *eize* (O.E. *êûge*, read *ize*) : (*lize*) 827.

B. In development from Romance forms.

1. Generally developed from O.F. *i* are the following illustrations: O.F. *i*, Lat. *î* : *crie* : (*hie*) 967; *Elize* : (*lize*) 948; *deuise* : (*wyse*) 343; *medicine* : (*pine*) 771. O.F. *i*, Lat. *îa* : *campaigne* (cf. Lat. *com-pānis*) : (*enuie*) 437, : (*lize*) 638; *tricherie* : (*enuie*) 110;

glotonye : *leccherie* 116 ; *multiplie* : (*lye*) 1009 ; *clergye* (Latin *clēricia*, Greek *κληρικός*) : (*baylie*) 290. O.F. *i*, Lat. *ī*, before *i*-element : *kointise* : *feintise* 304. Combination *-idia* : *enuie* : (*cumpaignie*) 438, : (*tricherie*) 109. A.F. *-i*, Lat. *-ē* : *merci* : (*herkny*) 524, : (*witerli*) 458, 528. Lat. *ĕi*-element : *prys* : (*iwis*) 166. In *i*-element : *prys* : (*iwis*) 166. In *i*-element : *paradys* : (*iwis*) 286 ; *paradys* : (*his*) 299. A.F. *i*, Germ. *î* : *gile* : (*while*) 61. Under other formations are : *Crist* (see Pogatscher, §§ 143—144) : *prest* (Pogatscher, §§ 141—142, Wilda, p. 13) 806 ; *comforti* : (*witerli*) 688 ; *baylie* : (*clergye*) 289 ; *delit* : *profyt* 60 ; *prist*, represented by *prest*, in rime with *Crist* (with stable *i*) 805 belongs in § 12. Cf. Wilda, *Ueber die örtliche Verbreitung der 12-zeil. Schweifrime in England*, p. 13 ; Pogat., § 127. *duire* : (*fire*) 281 is to be studied under rimes in *u*. Inexactness in the quantity of the riming vowel, O.E. *ī* with O.E. *i*, is to be noted for *his*, and *iwis*, each combined with *paradys*, 286, 300, and *iwis* with *prys* 166 ; cf. *pris* : *is*, *Gen. and Ex.* 326 ; *his* : *paradis*, *Har. of Hell* 5 ; and Menze, p. 65.

For *pine* see O.E. *pīn* < *pēna*, folk-Latin pronunciation of Lat. *poena* ; Kluge, *Wörterbuch* ; Siev., § 69 ; Pogat., § 127, *pine* : (*medicine*) 772. Cf. *peine* in *H₂*, O.F. *peine*, N.E. *pain*.

iht.

§ 13. *iht* of the *Speculum* represents :

1. O.E. *ih(t)*, Germ. *i*, *ë* : *siht(e)* (O.E. (*ge*)*sihð*) : (*almiht*) 742, : (*nihte*, sb.) 133, 254, 362, : (*niht*) 914, : (*briht*, O.E. *beorht*) 405, 905 ; *vrniht* : (*almiht*) 613 ; *ariht* : *wiht* (*R* reads *dight* < O.E. *i* < Lat. *i*) 826.

2. O.E. *i* developed through palatal influence from *ea* : *miht(e)* (sb.) : *niht* 320, 516, : (*sihte*) 134, 253, 361 ; *almiht* : *niht* 476, : (*siht*) 741, : (*vrniht*) 614 ; *niht* (*Orrm*, *nahht*, 1904) : (*liht*) 856, 858, : (*siht*) 913.

3. O.E. *eo* or *ēo* : *briht* : *liht* (O.E. *lēoht*) 394, : (*flyzte*) 639, : (*siht*) 406, 906 ; *liht* : (*niht*) 855, 857. *liht* occurs uniformly as substantive in the riming couplet of the *Speculum*, never as adjective.

ö.

§ 14. Short *o* (*ö*), written *o*, appears :

1. From O.E. *o* (*a*) before nasal groups : *honde* : *londe* 586 ; *strong* (adj.) : *among* (adv. O.E. (*ge*)*mong*) 186, 880 ; *ilong* : *wrong* (sb.) 222 ; *long* : *wrong* (sb.) 750 ; *vnderstonde* : *sonde* 50, : *bonde*

890, : *houde* 1022, : *fonge* (*foude* MSS. DR) 508; *longe* : *gange* for *gonge* (cf. Morsb., § 90) 762. The quantity of this *o* is not certain, see Morsb., *Gram.*, p. 74, § 58; Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, § 395. Cf. also here *mon* : (*hom*) 147 of MS. R, but 149 *A*₁.

2. O.E. *o* in other combinations: *born* : *loru* 130; *folewe* (O.E. *folgian*) : *swolewe* (< *swelgan* ?) 642; *lord* : (*acord*) 844, 894.

3. O.F. *o*: *acord* : *descord* 514; *acord* : (*lord* < O.E. *hláford* < *hláf-weard*, Siev. 43, 2 *b*, and 11. 4, Skt., § 257) 843, 893.

For *o* (*i*) in *wole* : (*skile*) 712, and in *worche* : (*churche*) 859, see § 11, 1, and 3. For short *o*, written *u*, see § 19, 1.

ō.

§ 15. The *Speculum* generally distinguishes in rime between long open *o* (ō), written *o*, and long closed *o* (ō̄), written also *o*. Certain irregularities will be enumerated in § 17. Long open *o* (ō) has its origin in:

1. O.E. *á* in self rimes or with derivations from O.E. *ó*. (*a*) At the end of a word: *þo* (O.E. *þá*, pro.) : *mo* 240, : *wo* 112, : (*mislo*, pp.) 557; *þo* (adv.) : *mo* 1004, : *go* (2. sing.) 982; *mo* : *so* 204, : (*þerfro*) 128, : (*do*, inf.) 273; *also* : *wo* 434, : (*do*, inf.) 9, 207, 897; *go* (inf.) : (*do*, pp.) 875; *so* : (*do*, pp.) 173; *so* : (*do*, subj. 3. sing.) 673; *wo* : (*do*, 3. plur.) 484, : (*do*, inf.) 917. (*b*) Before *-n*: *anon* : *euerychon* 432, : *gon* (inf.) 958, : *non* (O.E. *nán*) 972; *non* : *bon* (O.E. *bán*) 532, : *gon* (inf.) 652, : *gon* (pp.) 454, 726, : (*idon*) 545, : (*don*, pp.) 263; *रण* : (*don*) 241; *on* : (*don*, pp.) 838. (*c*) Before *-r*: *lore* (sb.) : *more* (adv.) 24, 36, 740, etc., : *sore* (adv.) 236; *more* : *ore* (O.E. *ár*) 90, : *sore* (adj.) 470, : *sore* (sb.) 980; *sore* (adv.) : *ore* 540. (*d*) Before *-þ*: *loþe* : (*boþe*) 76; *loþe* : *goþe* 448.

2. O.E. *ō* lengthened in open syllables: *ilore* : *wharfore* 716.

3. O.E. *o* or *a* (*ea*) before *-ld*. (*a*) O.E. *ō* lengthened in open syllables: *gold* : *bold* (O.E. *bold*, house) 154. (*b*) W.S. *ea*, Angl. *a* : *bold* (O.E. *beald*, adj.) : *cold* 820.

4. O.N. *á*: *þerfro* (Ic. *frú*) : (*mo*) 127, and possibly in *boþe* (O.N. *báðir*, O.E. *báðá* ?) : (*loþe*) 75.

ō̄.

§ 16. Long closed *o* (ō̄), represented by *o* in *A*₁, often by *u* in *D*, is derived from:

1. O.E. *ó* from various sources. (*a*) Final *-ó*: *dó* (inf.) : *tó* (prep.) 68, : *þertó* 332, : (*also*) 10, 208, 898, : (*mo*, adv.) 274, : (*wo*)

918; *dō* (3. sing.): (*so*) 674; *dō* (3. plur.): (*wo*) 483; *dō* (pp.): (*go*, inf.) 876, : (*so*) 174; *misdō* (pp.): (*þo*, pro.) 558. (b) Before -*n*: *dōn* (pp.): (*rpon*) 241, : (*non*, O.E. *nān*) 264, : (*on*, O.E. *ān*) 837; *idōn*: (*non*) 546; *sōne* (O.E. *sōna*): *dōne* (gerund) 852, : (*bone*, O.N. *bón*, sb.) 987. (c) Before -*þ*: *brōþer*: *ōþer* 74, 122. (d) In other relationships: *mōd*: *gōd* (O.E. *gód*) 14, 124, 164, etc.; *þolemōd*: *blōd* 574, 612, : *gōd* 666; *gōd*: *rōd* 144, : *vnderstōd* 462, 940; *blōd*: *rōd* 248; *forsōk*: (*tok*) 33; *lōke*: *bōke* 460, 786.

2. O.N. *ó*: *tōk*: (*forsok*) 34; *rōte*: *bōte* 94; *bōne* (O.N. *bón*, sb.): (*sone*) 988.

The tendency of M.E. *ō*, in course of the century, to approach a closed *o* sound, if, in its antecedent form, it had been preceded by *w*, was represented not merely by Chaucer, but, as is here illustrated by the preceding rimes, so early as the period of the *Speculum*. This *ō* was therefore in existence fifty if not a hundred years earlier than the period of Chaucer's more important works. But if, under other conditions, *w* began the word, then the open sound is to be regarded as unaltered; cf. § 15. Therefore *wō* riming with *dō* (inf.) 918, and *dō* (pp.) 483, but with *þō* (O.E. *ðá*) 112, is excluded from this class distinguishing the closed sound of *ō*.

ō and *ō*.

§ 17. The quality of the two *o* sounds of the poem is not always differentiated in rime. This inexactness was represented in the language of Chaucer and his school, as well as in the productions of earlier and later poets; cf. Menze, p. 68; Morsb., § 119. 3; ten Brink, § 25; Curtis, *Anglia*, vol. xvii., p. 137, etc. Open *o* (*o*) and closed *o* (*o*) of the *Speculum* are combined in rime¹ as follows:

1. As final vowels: *dō* (inf.): *mō* (adv.) 274, : *wō* 918; *dō* (3. plur.): *wō* 484; *dō* (pp.): *gō* (inf.) 876; *misdō* (pp.): *þō* (pro.) 558.

2. Before a nasal: *nōn*: *dōn* (pp.) 264; *nōn*: *idōn* 546; *ōn*: *dōn* (pp.) 838.

This list does not classify *also*: *do* 10, 208, 898; *so*: *do* 174; *so*: *dō* (3. sing.) 674, rimes illustrating an accepted tendency to vacillate between high and low tone represented in open and closed qualities in sympathy with their environment, ten Brink, § 31; Morsb., § 119. 3. These have been treated § 16. In these

¹ In Section 1 *dō* occurs before the riming word illustrating *ō*, merely for convenience in arrangement.

examples (*also, so*) \bar{o} represents an O.E. \acute{a} preceded by w , and may be regarded as developing through that influence (see § 16) a mixture of both quantities of the vowel. This o might be regarded as presenting in M.E. a closed quality (Morsb., § 135, Anm. 4), or, on basis of a theory that \bar{o} (O.E. \acute{a}) produces through influence of a preceding w in its O.E. form, both an open and a closed \bar{o} -sound (\bar{o} , \bar{o}) in a stressed syllable (Morsb., § 135. 4; ten Br., § 31), a third division of \bar{o} -rimes, including the preceding list (§ 17), might be recognized. The rimes are not impure, but embody to full degree phonological conditions of the language of the period; see Menze, p. 68.

ou.

§ 18. For the development of M.E. *ou*, see Luick, *Anglia*, vol. xvi., pp. 452—455. *ou* of the *Speculum* (MS. A₁) is written *ou* before a consonant, *ow* before a vowel-sound, but *o* (*i. e.* *o* before *ht*) in the single instance of *noht* 32, 171, 195, etc. In *R. of G.*, to the contrary, *o* (+ \mathfrak{z} t) predominates, Pabst, § 48. The open and the closed quality of *ou* (Pabst, §§ 50, 51) being treated under the same division *ou* of the *Speculum*, represents uniformly:

1. O.E. \ddot{o} + *ht*, shortened in O.E., Sweet, § 403: *wrouhte* (O.E. *worhte*, through *r*-metathesis of pret. of *wyrcan*): *bouhte* (O.E. *bohte*, pret.) 26; *wrouht* (O.E. *(ge)worht*, pp. through *r*-metathesis): (\mathfrak{p} ouht, O.E. $\mathfrak{p}\acute{o}ht$, Orm. $\mathfrak{p}ohht$, sb.) 759, 791; *iwrouht*: (*noht*) 580, 803; *bouht* (O.E. *(ge)boht*, pp.): (*noht*) 172, 226.

2. O.E. \acute{o} + *ht*, early shortened through influence of *h* + *t* (Siev., § 125): (\mathfrak{p} ouht (sb.): (*wrouht*) 792, : *noht* (O.E. *ná(wi)ht*, *nó(wi)ht*, *nóht*) 32, 410, 560, etc.; \mathfrak{p} ouht : *ouht* (O.E. *á(wi)ht*, *ó(wi)ht*, *óht*) 316, 1020; *souht* (O.E. *(ge)sóht*, pp.): *noht* 196; *noht*: (*bouht*) 171, 225, : (*iwrouht*) 579, 804. It is noticeable that O.E. *ná(wi)ht*, *nó(wi)ht*, as produced *noht* in rime with *bouht*, *wrouht*, \mathfrak{p} ouht, and *souht*, the orthography showing a parasitic *-u-* as in *Clariodus*, § 60, while O.E. *á(wi)ht*, *ó(wi)ht* is represented by *ouht* in rime with \mathfrak{p} ouht. This *o* is thus a link between the two riming systems representing O.E. \ddot{o} and \acute{o} .

3. O.E. \acute{a} + *g* (*ow* before a vowel): *owen* (abs. poss.): (*knowen*) 227.

4. O.E. \acute{a} + *w*: *knowen* (O.E. *cnáwan*, inf.): (*owen*) 228; *knawe* (*knowe*, inf.): (*lowe*) 180, 629.

5. O.N. \acute{a} + *g*: *lowe* (O.N. *lúgr*, adv.): (*knawe*, *knowe*) 179, 630.

ū.

§ 19. Short *u* (ū), written *o* through influence of the Anglo-French (cf. Morsb., p. 90), represents O.E. ū not lengthened in open syllables (Morsb., p. 163 : § 126) *loue* (O.E. *luſu, luſe*) : *aboute* (O.E. *a-buſan = on-buſan*) 54, 512, 542, etc. ; *shone* (2. sing.) : *wone* (O.E. *(ge)wuna*, sb. ; cf. Zupitza, *Ælfrie's Gram.*, pp. 252—6) 106 ; *shone* (inf.) : *wone* (inf.) 660 ; *wone* (inf.) : *some* (O.E. *sunu*, sb.) 428 ; *some* (see Carstens, pp. 14, 15) : *inome* 644 ; *gome* (*grōme* in MS. R, for which see Morsb., § 65, Anm. 10 ; O.N. *grómr*) : *enome* 646.

For O.E. *i* (*y*) after *m*, written also *u*, see rimes in *i*, § 11 : *muhe* (O.E. *micel, mycel*) : (*lihtliche*) 671 ; *muhe* : (*aperteliche*) 386, the stressed vowel forming an intermediate stage between *i* and *u*.

ū.

§ 20. Long *u* (ū), written also *ou* and represented by *ow* before a vowel and often in a final syllable, occurs :

A. In words of Germanic origin.

1. From O.E. *ú* : *moupe* (O.E. *múþ*) : *noupe* (O.E. *nú þá*) 420, 480 ; *mouþ* : *couþ* (O.E. *cúþ*, pp., T. *kun-þo-* ; cf. Sievers, § 185, 2) 814, : *encourpe* 422 ; *hou* : *nouh* (O.E. *nú*, parallel with *nū*) 348, : *now* 378 ; *adoun* (O.E. *of dūne*, dat. *adūn*) : (*lioun*) 261 ; *bour* (O.E. *būr*, *ú* from an older ū lengthened ; cf. *nēahgebūr*, see Skt., § 217) : (*honour*) 152 ; *proud* (read *prout*) : (*stout*, cf. Kluge, *Engl. Studien*, vol. xxi., p. 337) 624.

2. O.E. ū before *n* + *d* : *stounde* : *bounde* 710 ; *founde* : *wounde* 774.

3. O.E. *ó* + final *h*, ten Brink § 33 *ε* : *inouh* (O.E. *genóh*) : *drouh* (O.E. *dróh*, pret., Sievers's ablaut class vi.) 44 ; *inouh* : *wouh* (*wowe*, DH₂ ; *woghe* R O.E. *wóh*, sb. inflected *wowe*, Pabst, § 52, b ; O.S. *wáh*, Sievers, § 242) 302.

B. In words of Romance origin.

1. Representing Norman. *ū*. Through ending *-ōrem* (O.F. *-our*) : *honour* : (*bour*) 151. Through ending *-ōnem* : *orysoun* (*wreisun* < F. *wreizun* by false analogy < eccl. L. *ōratiōnem*) : *fuisoun* 994 ; *orisoun* : *lescoun* 500 ; *sarmoun* : *lescoun* (Lat. *lectionem*) 58, 138. Rom. *o* before nasals : *dampnacioun* : *sauuacioun* 788 ; *croun* (A.F. *corone*, Lat. *corōnam*, ten Br., p. 5) : *sauuacioun* 800. Through other source : *lioun* : (*adoun*) 262 ; *myroun* : *socour* (Rom. *o*) 506.

2. O.F. *ou*: *stout* (O.F. (*es*)*tout*): (*proul* (*t*)) 623.

ü.

§ 21. *ü* written always *u*, spoken *i*, finds illustration in the *Speculum* as representative of *i*:

1. Through O.E. *y*, umlaut of *u*: *ipult* (O.E. **pylitan*, Lat. *putare*): (*gilt*, Skt., § 337) 888 (cf. § 11, 3 under *i*-rimes for l. 232); *puite* (cf. O.F. *boter*. Perhaps read here *pütte* as in MS. R): (*luite*, read *lite*) 923. Here belongs also *murie* 159, 905, *muryere* 284 of the text (MS. A₁). See Zupitza, *Engl. Stud.*, vol. viii., p. 465. Rimes in *gult*: *pult* are frequent in older M.E. poems; cf. *The Passion*, *ipult*: *gult* 190, 227; *agult*: (*i*)*pult*, *Pater Noster* 90, 129, but *agilt*: *pilt*, *Lüf of Adam* 331, 337, 365, 555, 757.

2. O.E. *y* (*i*): *churche*: (*worche*, inf.; O.E. *wyrcan*) 860 (cf. *i*-rimes, § 11, for the reading *chirche*).

Under § 21 belongs *kulde* 178 of the text, O.E. *ȝ* (umlaut of *û*) shortened before a consonant group.

ü.

§ 22. Written also *u*, spoken *i* by the poet, the sources of *ü* are:

1. Germanic: O.E. *ȝ* (uml. of *û*). The self-rime *hūide* (O.E. *hȝil*, N.E. *hide*, sb.): *pride* < *prȝde* < *prāt*, Siev. § 96, Skt. § 197; cf. Ie. *prȝði*, O.N. *prȝði*, O.E. *prȝt* 158 (cf. § 11, 2); *jure* (i. e. *fire*): (*duire*) 282.

2. Romance: O.F. *u* written *ui*: *duire* (*dure*, *R. of G.* 3760, 6935, see Pabst, § 113, Morsb., p. 176): (*fire*; cf. § 12, 4) 281. Possibly to be classified in this division, but difficult of classification is *turne* (Orm. *turnenn*): (*sterne*) 435. *turne* is equivalent to O.E. *turnian* < vulg.-Lat. *tornare* < Lat. *tornare*, loan-word from the Latin or O.F. before the conquest, explained by Pogatscher (*Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen, und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen*), §§ 159, 205, and 271 through *turnare* for *tornare*, *i*-umlaut of Lat. *o*, vulg.-Lat. *u*, hence *tyrnan*. Pabst, § 109, p. 102, accounts for *turne* as a hybrid development blending O.F. *torner* (Lat. *turbinare*), O.E. *turnian*, and O.E. *tyrnan*; cf. also Skeat II., 75. 2; 94. 25; 138. This interpretation explains the lengthening of *ü* before *r* + *n*.

The value of *üi* is represented in *anuied*, O.F. inf. *enuier*; cf. O.F. dialectical parallel form *anouier*, line 124 of the text, Pabst, § 122.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE INFLECTION OF THE *SPECULUM*.

THE discussion of the characteristics of the inflectional system of the *Speculum* assumes, that its conclusions have been, if possible, verified by rime or metre. Otherwise paradigms and synopses are completed from the body of the text. Conjectural readings are based upon the Auchinleck MS. The Auchinleck MS. contributes orthography, but an occasional note introduces graphical or phonetical emendations of the copyist. This chapter endeavours to collect testimony as to the development of the O.E. vowel in the unaccented inflectional syllable. It aims particularly to present a clear view of the poet's treatment of the M.E. final *-ë* in rime and in cæsural construction.¹ Its purpose is primarily to call attention to general characteristics,² rather than to establish any precise laws of grammatical structure.

I. DECLENSION.

§ 1. SUBSTANTIVES OF THE *SPECULUM*.

A. VOCALIC OR STRONG DECLENSION.

§ 1. MASCULINE AND NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES.

(a) *a-stems*.

Nominative and Accusative. The singular is without ending, corresponding to the O.E. archetype: *day* : (*may*) 492; *dom* 256, see also *fredom* 237; *god* 143; *word* (nom.) 519, (acc.) 420; *weye*?³ (*way* in R) 651. Inorganic *-ë* seems to be demanded by *weë* (acc.) 298; compare *weyë*, *North. Gloss.*, *Mark* I., 2, and *weyë* also within the verse, the reading of *Orm.*, *Sachse*, *Das unorganische ë im Ormulum*, p. 7, of Chaucer, ten Brink, § 199, 5, Ann., and probably of Lydgate in his *Temple of Glas*, Schick, p. lxxv, and in his *Guy of Warwick*, str. 37⁷, and possibly also *weë*, str. 61³ (cf. Zupitza). See also *ping* 176 and the dissyllable *almesse* (O.E. Lat. Greek? see Pogatscher, *Lautlehre*, pp. 38, 207, 218, and Cosijn. Gr., p. 97, 923).

¹ Difficulty must be conceded the interpretation of the value of a final *-e* at the cæsura, due to the existence of type C.

² These sections do not undertake to cite all illustrations of any specific subdivision of the material.

³ The mark of interrogation designates the questionable value of final *-e* in syllabic arrangement; e. g. types A and C present rival claims to verse 651, owing to uncertainty regarding the metrical value of final *-e* in *weye*:

And ð̄per w̄eȳë · is þ̄er n̄ōn.

And ð̄per w̄eȳe · is þ̄er n̄ōn.

It is not possible to decide with exactness the value of this inorganic *-e*.

Genitive. The ending is *-ēs*, continuing the O.E. *ēs*: *domēs*(*day*) 257, 745, 868; *godēs* 38, 81, 89, etc.; *lordēs* 892.

Dative. The old dative in *-ē* is preserved unaltered in the *Speculum*, but in many instances uninflected forms¹ occur also, when, as in Chaucer (cf. ten Brink, § 201) the dative is like the nominative: *firē*: (*herē*, inf.) 356; *weyē*: (*eiʒe*) 22; *mouþē*: (*nouþe*, O.E. *náþá*) 420, 480; *on liuē* 859; yet without ending are *mouþ*: (*couþ*, pp.) 813, and on basis of metrical type A, *mouþe* 94. Uninflected forms, as is indicated by rhythm or rime, are: *wif*: *lyf* 234; *bon* 531; *dom* 415, 766; *day*: (*lay*) 250, : (*nay*) 251; *day* 49, 475, 516; *bon* 157; *bon*: (*non*) 531; *gold*: (*bold*) 153; *wil*: (*peril*) 169. Owing to elision *ʒate* 959, is not determinative in the question of the development of the inorganic *-e* (cf. Sachse, § 25), through analogy with short fem. stems by means of O.E. plural forms in *-u*. *day* 250, it would seem, admits of explanation as nominative, subject of *com*, *hit* being pleonastic. The line recalls the idiom illustrated in the opening song of *Wilhelm Tell*, v. 1: *Es lüchelt der See!* O.E. derivatives from the Latin to be classified here end in *-ē*: *pinē*? 772, but *pinē* 104.

Plural. The ending *-ēs* (written often *-is*, *-ys* in other MSS.), O.E. *-as*, occurs uniformly for masculine substantives: *gostēs* (type A, or *gostes* to produce type C) 431, but probably with syncope of the *-e* in *gostes* 447; *nailēs* 439; *terēs* 827; *giltēs* 752; *weyēs* 865. Dative forms are *dawē* (O.E. *dagum*): (*lawē*) 37, 357; *liuē*: (*shriue*) 486. *sipē* (with apocope) 394 is the plural contributed by *H*₁ and *R*. The termination of the masculine is carried over to the plural of other genders and other stems. Thus *lerēs* (O.E. *hleór*) occurs in rime with *terēs* 842 and *shaftēs* with *craftēs* 212. Neuter nouns end in *-ēs*: *lowlēs* (*Lowlis*, *H*₂) 152, 163; *wordēs* 276, 998; *werkes* 860; *shaftes* (*creatures* in D) 781 illustrate syncope of the second *-e*; for *þingēs* (or *þingēs*) 141, see Pabst, *Anglia*² xiii, p. 247, Anm. 1. The plural of the neuter ends also in *-ē*: *þingē* (O.E. *þingum*, *þinga*) 284, and perhaps in *þing[ē]*: (*biþinning*, *biþinning[ē]*?) 8, 883, : (*speking[e]*) 329. *les*: (*pes*) 519 is without ending. *D* and *R* offer *bemē*: (*lemē*) 383; *god* 163 is without ending. See also *loueredē* 177; *bold* 154; *lyf* 952, forms possibly to be regarded as plural, but through context uncertain.

¹ The principle was already illustrated by so early a linguist as Orm (1200), representing, it must be remembered, the northern portion of the East Midland territory, and presenting northern peculiarities, often Scandinavian characteristics.

² *Flexionsverhältnisse bei Rbt. v. Gl.*

(b) *ja-stems.*

These stems reproduce O.E. final *-e* through *ë*: *eude* : (*wendë*) 426; *leche* (O.E. Angl. *léce*) 69.

(c) *wa-stems.*

Plural nouns illustrative of *wa-stems* are found: *þewës* 72; *þewës* : (*shrewës*) 101, but the syncopated form *þewes* 97.

(d) *i- and u-stems.*

i- and *u-* stems offer as representative of O.E. final *-e* (*-u*) a syllabic *-ë*: *stedë* : (*bede*) 561, : (*dede*) 597, 604; *metë* : (*iete*) 983; *eizë* (O.E. *eze*) : (*weye*) 21, : (*scie*) 795. A *u-* stem is *sonë* (O.E. *sunu*) : (*wone*, inf.) 428. Possibly to be classed here is the plural *metys* (H₂) 155, through analogy with O.E. *mettas* of the *ja-* declension, Siev. § 263, N. 3.

§ 2. FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES.

The endings of the feminine *jó-* and *i-* stems agree with those of the *ó-* stems.

Singular. Nominative. The termination is *-ë*, through weakening of O.E. *-u* for short stems, Sievers, § 252, or an inorganic *-ë* added through analogy with oblique cases for long syllables: *shamë* 799, 801; *shamë* : (*blame*) 811; *lorë* : (*more*) 755, 853; *dredë* : (*godhede*) 380; *Louë* (*Louë*?, elision of *-ë* before a vowel in the following word) 87. The ending *-e* is also to be noted: *loue* 304; *Streinþe* (before *i* of the following syllable) 305; *worldë* 17, 61; *Drede* 883. Characteristic of the period is the inorganic *-ë* affixed to the nominative singular of nouns ending with the suffix *-nes* (*-nis*), already to be noted in the English *Liber* (Camb. Univ. MS. Ii. l. 33) of the 12th century. Cf. *soðfestnyssë* 28; *oncnawennyssë* 20, 27 (Zupitza, *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, ii. 11); *fairnesse* : *þisternesse* 305.

Genitive. The ending is *-ës* through analogy with the masculine: *worldës* 13, 32, 113, 151, 195, etc. An old genitive is recognized in the adverb of time, *whiles* 184.

Dative. *-ë* is the characteristic ending of the feminine dative, but uninflected forms are found here as in the masculine of the *a-* declension. (1) *-ë*: *louë* : (*aboue*) 53, 541; *louë* 243, etc.; *trowþë* 1033; *spechë* : (*teche*) 1, 569, 753; *hondë* (dat.) : (*tonde*) 585, : (*vnderstande*) 1022; *shame* 777, 779, 804, etc.; *dredë* : (*dede*) 910, 943, : (*lede*, inf.) 20; *rotë* (Scand. loan-word) 93; *huidë* : (*pride*) 157;

rodë? 26; *hellë* : (*nellë*) 271. (2) *-e*: *louë* 6, 21, 144, etc.; *rod* : (*god*) 144; *rod* : (*blod*) 248; *sorwe* (before initial *e*- in the following syllable) 769, but *sorwë* (with hiatus) 93; *dredë* 444, 914. To be classed here is *Euë* 229, according to ten Brink of O.E. origin, see also Siev., § 194.

Accusative. *-ë* is the normal ending: *soulë* 48, 576; *whilë* 62; *louë* : (*aboue*) 511; *shamë* 783; *soulë* 688; *dredë* : (*dede*) 695, 707, : (*godhede*) 885, but by the side of *-ë* occurs not infrequently the weakened *-e*: *worldë* 64.

Plural. Plural feminine forms of substantives have the ending *-ën*, indicating the tendency to adopt in the plural the inflection of the weak or *n*- declension, already existing sporadically in the 12th century: *woundën* (acc.) 442; *hondën* 440; also *-ës*, *sinnës* (dat.) 469, (acc.) 803; *synnys* in *H*₂ 91 and 830; *dedës* 674; probably *lestë* (singular?) 810.

B. CONSONANT DECLENSION.

§ 1. MASCULINE SUBSTANTIVES.

n- stems.

Nominative. The nominative ending is *-ë* in continuation of O.E. *-a*: *bileuë* 203; *gomë* (O.E. *guma*) 645; *mone* (before a vowel) 383; *namë* : (*fameë*) 30, 39, but *hopeë* 466.

Oblique cases are in -ë: *hopë* 463, 471, but *hopeë* 477, 690; *tenë* 192; *timeë* 703.

Plurals. In *-ën* is *sterrën* 383, retaining the old plural ending in *-n*, a plural not confirmed by rime. *shrewës* occurs in rime with *beuës* 102, and *ferë* with *dere* (O.E. *dēore*) 423.

§ 2. FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES.

Nominative. In *-ë* are *widewë* 965, 971, 987, 1003; (type B or with apocope?) 955 and the elided form *sunnë* 386.

Genitive. Ending in *-ë* is *hertë* (*hertë rote*, *hertë blod*) 93, 247; *heuene* (O.E. *heofonan*, gen. of fem. *heofone*, *heuenë blisse*, *heuenë king*) 336, 626, 690, 900. *A*₂ offers *sommës* 393.

Dative. *-ë* characterizes *hertë* 87, 165, 208, 408, but *herteë* 414; *eorþë* 296, 375, 397, etc.; *silë* : (*abide*) 255, 655; *sunnë* (dat. of indirect object) 393; *widewë* 951, 998.

Accusative. *þemë* 553; *leuedi* (O.E. *hláfðige*) : (*witerli*) 363 shows no inflection.

§ 3. NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES.

Nominative and accusative end in *-ë*: *eižë* 396; *eižë*: (*heie*) 388. One plural form occurs: *eižën* (*eghen* in *R*, dat.) 841; *eižën* (acc.) 992.

C. OTHER DECLENSIONS.

§ 1. SUBSTANTIVES ILLUSTRATING MINOR DECLENSIONS.

(Sievers, §§ 281—290.)

(1) Irregular consonant stems. (a) *Masculines and Neuters*. The singular is represented by: *man* (nom.): (*can*) 727; *man* (nom.) 37, 222, 223; Gen. *mannës* 388, 611, 723; *man* (dat.) 51; *man*: (*can*) 590. Plurals of the same class with *i*-umlaut are: *men* (dat.) 149; *fet*: (*ek*) 440. (b) *Feminines*. These end in *-ë*: *bokë*: (*lokë*) 460, 785; *niht* (nom.): (*liht*) 856; *niht* (dat.): (*mihht*) 320, 516; *niht*: (*liht*) 858, *niht* in this construction being an objective adverbial. (2) Stems in *-r*: voc. *fader* 52, dat. after *leue* 424 (O.E. *lêof*, cf. Chaucer) 428. The genitive is *faderës* 254, 255. *broþer* (nom.): (*oþer*) 121; (voc.) 73. (3) Stems in *-nd*: *frend* 919; *fend* (dat.) 229; *fendë* (gen. in *H*₁) 696. (4) Stems in *-os, -es* (Gk. neuters in *-oc*, Lat. *-us, -eris*), Sievers's second class: *lomb* (nom. sing.) 260. The plural occurs in *children* (cf. Sievers, § 290, 2) (nom.) 287, (gen.) 986, (dat.) 349, 522. *childer* is the reading of *D* and *R*.

§ 2. SUBSTANTIVES OF ROMANCE ORIGIN.

Singular. In general, substantives of Romance origin retain a final syllabic *-ë*, preserved from the O.F. original: *gracë*: *facë* 214, 904; *gracë* 78; *gracë*: *placë* 294; *preië* 68; *blamë*: (*shame*) 778, 784, 812; *ioyë* (*ioye*) 295, 301, see also *croun* (A.F. *coroune, corone*?) 799, and *paunter* (O.F. *pantiere*?) 18, etc. Polysyllabic forms recur in Romance derivatives: *repentauncë*: *penauncë* 92, 474, 770; *suf-frauncë*: *destourbauncë* 572; *manerë*? 628; *anguisse* 183; with accent thrown back: *séruiſë* 36; *séruage* 238; *cité*? 959; *Mérci* 131, 545; but also *merci* 458, 524; *peril* 170: *myróur* 505. Representing a Romance original without final *-e* monosyllabic forms occur: *los* 158; *prys* 166; *voiz* 446; *cas* 703. In polysyllables: *katél* (*catel*) 162, 577, 896; *uertú* 922, etc.

Plural. The plural endings *-s* (*-z*) and *-e* occur for polysyllables of Romance origin, but seem to be generally without syllabic value: *deciples* 570; *uertuz* (*vertuys* in *H*₂) 71, 325, 661; *persones* 206; *manere* 785. Possibly to be regarded as plurals are: *vessel* 153;

tresor 154. Ending in *-es* occur *rentes* (*rentys*) 152, 163, and *ioyes* (syncopated form ?) 286. *H₂* reads *peynys* 176.

§ 2. ADJECTIVES OF THE *SPECULUM*.

The inflections of the poet agree with the O.E. forms through the weakening of unaccented full vowels. The twofold Germanic declension, the strong and the weak, is illustrated, but in the plural both declensions fall together in the uniform syllabic unaccented final *-ë*. Romance adjectives in inflected and uninflected forms retain unaccented *-ë*. Uninflected forms are also illustrated in adjectives of two or more syllables of Germanic or Romance origin.

§ 1. STRONG ADJECTIVES.

Strong adjectives of Germanic origin, in legitimate descent from the O.E., tend to drop the inflection except in *ja*-stems. Such adjectives of the strong declension find illustration as follows :

Singular forms: *gret*, *gretë* with apocope of the final *-e* 158, 214; *hot* 819; *god* 843. Used predicatively occur: *god* 105, 202; *vnmeþ* 615; *Wicke* (O.E. *wicca*) 122; *murie* 905; *fain* 965; *empti* 1002 show the vocalization of O.E. *g*. The dative is found corresponding to the uninflected nominative: *gret* 170, 899; *strong* 266, 274; *al* 319; *god* 571; *cold* 929. Yet sporadically the poem presents instances of inflection by means of *-ë*, in the dative. Cf. *godë* 29, 40; *heihë*, a form open to speculation on part of the copyists, 214; *hotë* 282, 451; and possibly *strongë* 282, 449. Datives having apocope of the final *-e* occur: *smale* 181; *hote* 182; *gode* 931. *ja*-stems are inflected with *-ë*: *trewë* 304, 697; *sternë* 446; *mildë* 594; *newë*?, used predicatively, 760.

Plural forms. The final *-ë* is retained: *Fairë* 71, 154?; *foulë* 72, 803; *Riche*? 153, 155; *oldë* 357; *allë* 239, 300, 329, 338, etc.; *gretë* 469; *godë* 674, and *godë* (dat.) 865. Stems in *-ja*: *bremë* 383; *kenë* 439; *swetë* 998. Predicative adjectives are: *loþë* 76; *foulë* 818; *gode* (with apocope) 287.

Words of more than one syllable are without inflection: *wraþful* 436; *ydel* 463, 466; *Holi(y)* 505, 701, 733, 755; *wrongful* 618; *Gostli* 715; *sinful* 751; *dedli* 774.

To the strong declension belong: *Wheiþer* (r. *Wher*) 219; *oþer* 74, 122, 651; plural: *oþerë* 135; *Tweie* (apocope) 141; *Tweye* 785; *aller* (*furst*) gen. plu. 70; the Scandinavian form *boþë* 75, 216; *Summë* 825, is a dissyllable as in Lydgate and Gower in distinction

from Chaucer's monosyllabic rendering *some* (except in rime; see ten Brink, §§ 255, 327). Compare also the riming form of the *Speculum*, *somë*: (*inome*), v. 643. Unaccented final *-e* is subject to apocope in *Bope* 311, 400, 436?. Contracted forms are *next*: *hext* 326, 662.

§ 2. WEAK ADJECTIVES.

O.E. full-toned inflectional forms corresponding to *n*-stems of the substantive declension are represented in the *Speculum* by unaccented *-ë*. As in O.E. the weak adjective is employed:

α. After the definite article: *rihtë* 22; *gretë* 256; *strongë* 449; *heie* 622, but *heie* (with apocope of *-e*) 415; *foulë* 654; *longë* 744; *derkë* 856, 858. Weak adjectives of more than one syllable are without inflection in this position: *holi* 352, 565, 687; *sinful* 727. Ordinals are declined as follows: *formë* (superlative in *-ma*) 223; *þriðlë* 250, 251; *firstë* 358. A comparative occurs: *þe clannere* 826. To this division belongs *þilkë* (= *þe ilke*, O.E. *sê ilca*) 37.

β. After a demonstrative pronoun: *þat ilkë* 362; *þat foulë* 696; *þis ilkë* 799. *þat hotë* (acc.) 182, and *þat faire* 914 occur with apocope of final *-e*. Adjectives of two syllables are found after a demonstrative, but are not inflected: *þat litel sinful* (dat.) 708; *þis seli* 987.

γ. After a possessive pronoun: *his rihtë* 39; *his Gretë* 361; *his owen* (*ownë*?) 314; *hirë Gretë* 390; *Hirë clenë* 364; *þin owën* (read *ownë*?) 620; *þi rihtë* 878; *ja*-stems: *Hourë swetë* 569; *hourë . . . swetë*: (*profete*) 949. Adjectives of two syllables are illustrated: *þi seli* 576; *His gostli* 736; *Hirë litel* 990.

Plural forms are preserved: *þe wickë* 101; *þe richë*: (*iliche*) 311; *þe hotë* 827, 841; *þe leste* (*ë* through elision) 1016; *þise holi* 191; *His grisli* 442. Once the adjective precedes the vocative plural: *minë blessedë ferë* 423.

Of the weak inflection are probably *þiselfë* 10, 564, 579; *himselfë* 14; *onë* (O.E. *ána*) 239, see Sievers, 324, N. 1. In the weak declension are to be classified *Boxomere* (followed by *he*) 233; *muryere* 284; and *beyþere* 952.

Romance forms. Romance adjectives retain in inflected as well as uninflected forms final *-ë*: *porë* (?) 951; *doublë* 940, 1006; *merciablë* 526; see also *pore* (*ë* through elision) 164; *cler* 381, 915; *stout* 623; *cruwel* (read with syncope of *-e*, unless epic cæsura, metrical type B, be preferred) 559.

Vocatives. In this position the inflection is uniformly *-ë*.

Singular: *leuë* 73, 919; *Swetë* (*ja*-stem) 555. *fersse* (sing.) 623 is the single Romance form. Plural: *corsedë* (*cursëd*?) 431, 447.

Before proper names occurs: *Sein* (*Powel*) 345; (*Dau*) 459, 691; (*Gregory*) 663. For *seint* 275 see ten Br., § 242.

§ 3. NUMERALS.

Numerals are employed in the *Speculum* as follows. They illustrate occasionally the value of an unaccented *-ë*:

Cardinals: *on* : (*don*) 838; *o* 204, 205, 354; *Tweie* (*two* R) 141, (*Tweyë*) 785; *þre* 206, 349, 350; *hundred* 394. *Onë* 239 preserves the form of the numeral with the meaning *alone*. Negative of *on* preserves *-ë*: *nonë* 344.

Ordinals: *þe firstë* (acc.) 358; *þe formë* (nom.) 223; *þe þriiddë* 250, 251.

In orthography these forms reproduce MS. A₁. Decisive evidence through rime exists for numerals only in instance of *on*; *vide supra*.

§ 3. PRONOUNS.

§ 1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

The personal pronouns in use in the *Speculum* are as follows:

a. First Person: Sing. Nom. *i* (*I*) 2, 3, 27, 49, etc. Gen.—Dat. *me* : (*charite*) 56 : (*þe*) 1011, etc. Acc. *me*, 62, 189, etc. Nom. *we*, 501, 504, 506, etc. Gen.—Dat. *us* (*vs*) 54, 501, 1031, etc. Acc. *us* (*vs*) 1029.

β. Second Person: Sing. Nom. *þu* (*pou*) 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, etc. Gen.—Dat. *þe* : (*charité*) 84, : (*me*) 108, : (*be*) 328, 334, 588, etc. Acc. *þe* : (*bisë*) 487, : (*be*) 535, 588, etc. Plural. Nom. *þe* 177, 425, 447, etc. Gen.—Dat. *ou* (Auch. MS.), *þou* (MSS. Arund. and Harl.) 2; *þou* 284; Acc. *ou* (Auch. MS.) 816, 824, 848.

γ. Third Person: Masc. Sing. Nom. *he* 19, 31, 33, etc. Gen.—Dat. *him* (*hym*) 32, 227, 608, etc. Acc. *him* (*hym*) 34, 133, 369, etc. Fem. Sing. Nom. *she* (*ho*, MSS. D and R, or *scho* in R) 965, 968, 972, 990, 1004. Gen.—Dat. *hire* (*hyre*) 981, etc. Acc. *hire* (*hore*, *hyre*, *hyr*) 960, 961, etc. The final *-e* (dat. and acc.) is uniformly silent.

Neu. Sing. Nom.: *hit* and *it* are found in A₁ and R (MSS. A₂DH₁ have *it*) 3, 16, 119, etc.; *hit* 123, 160, 161, etc. Gen.—Dat. *him* (*hym*) 680. Acc. *hit* (*it* A₂DH₁) 15, 58, 175, etc.; *it* (A₁) 563, 575, 581, etc.

Plural. Nom.: *hij* (MSS. A₁ and R) 186, 277, 279, 309, etc.; *þei* (*þeih* A₁) 25, 80, 104, etc. Scandinavian forms are uniformly

represented by the MSS. A₂DH₁H₂. Gen.—Dat. *hem* (often written *hom* in MS. R) : (*men*, assonance) 150; *hem* (*hom* R) 159, 168, 316 etc. Acc. *hem* (*hom* R) 25, 100, 106, etc.

Possibly the most noticeable feature in the study of personal pronouns is the introduction of *hij* by the side of *þeih*, *hit*, and *ou*, the characteristic of MS. A₁; of *lij*, *hit*, *hom*, *scho?* and *hore*, of MS. R, and possibly for dialectical purposes of *ho* in MSS. D and R.

Scandinavian forms *þei*, *þeir* belong to later MSS., though A₁ has *þeih* sporadically. *þe*, *me*, *hem*, *him* are the personal pronouns absolutely warranted by the MSS. on basis of the rimes.

Possessives.

Simple possessives: *my* (generally before a consonant sound) 1, 59, 60, etc.; *myn*: (*Alquin*) 52; *ourę* 505, 916; *vrę* 363, 506, but *ourë* before the name of the deity 844; *vrë* 595, etc.; *Howe* 569, 949, whose syllabic character is lost by apocope. *þi* (followed by a consonant sound) 7, 14, 69, etc. *þin*¹ (before a vowel sound) 9, 93, 334, etc.; *his* (*hys*) 18, 19, 21, etc. *Hereę*² (fem.) 952; *hirë* 235?; *Hireę* 956, 990, 995; *mynë*: (*myne*) 339; *þin[ë]*? 841 and *þinë* (plu.) 842 retains its syllabic -ë, but *þineę* 841; *Hiseę* (plu.) 570, 752; *His* 992; *here* 103, 169, etc. Otherwise plurals of possessives are often apocopated.

Absolute possessives: *mynë* rimes with *mynë* (simple possessive) 340, *his* with *paralys* 300, and with *iwis* 338.

Relatives and Demonstratives.

Relatives and demonstratives present no novel features. *þat* has the value of a *who*, lines 54, 317, (plu.) 424. Equivalent to *what* in lines 3, 73, etc., its use is substantive. *þat* serves also as a demonstrative 59, 82, 88, etc. *þis* 149 (= *þis is*) is the single instance of contraction. *þisë* 84 is used substantively. Without syllabic value is -e in *Whicheę* (plu.) 76, 287, and in *þiseę* 97, 191, etc.

§ 4. ADVERBS.

Adverbs following the history of the development of O.E. forms end in -ë, when formed from adjectives.

Adverbs from adjectives: *derë*: (*were*) 160; *derë* 172, 226; *sorë*: (*lore*) 236; : (*ore*) 539; but *sorę* through elision 766, 794; *lowë* 630; *joulë* 591; *stillë*: (*wille*) 584, 593, 706, etc.; *fastë*: (*agaste*) 865. As continuation of O.E. full endings occur: *aboutę* (elision) 190,

¹ Plu. 9, 334?

² *Here liue*, plural?

(apocope) 515; *aboutën* 196; *aboutë* 908; *Oute* 490; *ofte* 493, 499, 1020. Through analogy *ekë* 436, 584, 681; but *ek*: (*fet*) 439. Assuming directly the form of an adjective ending in *-e* occurs: *swipë* 4, 236, 578, 630, 736, 879. Of another class are adverbs formed by composition of the simple adjective stem with O.E. *-lice*: *apertëlichë* 385; *soþlichë*: *opënlichë* 442; *Kindelichë* 817, but *Hollichë* 353; *sikerliche* 373; *Bodiliche* 375; *Rihtfulliche* 458. *witerli*: (*comforti*) 687; *sikerli*: (*empti*) 1002. Adverbs without corresponding adjectives: *zit* (O.E. *giēt*, *gīt*) 851; *eftsonë*: (*done*) 851; *sonë*: (*bone*) 987; *sonë* 903. Oblique cases of adjectives employed as adverbs are from the accusative: *inouh*: (*drouh*) 43; *inouh* 305; *ful* 66, 517, 632; *heie*: (*eize*) 387; *heie* 632.

A genitive as introductory element of a compound word occurs: *ellës* (*wher*) 176, 780. Derived from substantives are *alday* 342; *forsoþe* 391; *adoun* 842; *adoun*: (*lioun*) 261; *by day and niht* 475, represents adverbial construction of this class. *sorë* (original form with *i*-umlaut, Sievers, § 237, 2) offers illustration of an instrumental used adverbially. Adverbs from prepositions are: *innë*: (*sinne*) 731; *onne* 267. Adverbs of place are: *wherë* 176; *her* 197, 220; *herë* 296; *þer* 322. Of time *nouþe* 107; *nouh* 348; *þannë* 199, 283, 395 is very frequent. A numeral adjective, *Enë* is used by the poet. Cf. *enë*: (*clenë*) 366, 815, and *bidenë* 191; *Enës* (gen.) 939.

Comparison of adverbs. Comparative: *betrë* 78, 937; *ererë* (comp. of *ar*, preserved by MS. A₁ alone) 140, 168; *inwardlicherë* 321; *clannere* 820, 828; *lassë* 536; *morë*: (*ore*) 90, (*lore*) 739, 854, etc.; *mo*: (*þerfro*) 128. Superlative: (*Aller*) *furst* 70.

Formal adverbial expressions occur: *ful iwis* 165, 285, 337, 503, 723; *mid iwisse* 309, 689; *on heih* 633; *On ydel* 568, 668; *for euere mo* 240; *widoute fable* 525; *widoute nay* 252, 258; *fer and ner* 216; *lude and stille* 584, 706, 891.

II. CONJUGATION.

THE VERB.

In the classification of strong and weak verbs with resulting methods of tense-formation, the *Speculum* does not differ materially from the normal text of the period, whose master was Chaucer. The study of the inflection of the verb with reference to the syllabic value of final *-ë* is of peculiar importance and interest. The copyists are often in disagreement regarding the poet's inflectional forms, and absolute proof is wanting for some specific illustrations.

§ 1. Forms that may be referred to the present stem.

The Infinitive. The final *-n* of the O.E. infinitive is almost universally dropped, sometimes with apocope of the final *-e*, resulting from the weakening of *-a* of the O.E. termination. Twice, remains of the O.E. *-ian* class occur in *-i* (*y*), confirmed by rime.

α. Infinitives in *-ë* (*-in*, *-yn* of the MSS.): *techë* : (*speche*) 2, 570, 754; *drawë* : (*plawe*) 16; *ledë* : (*dredle*) 19; *hawë* 455, 529, 543, 567, etc.; *folenë* : *swolewë* 642; *shewë* : (*rewe*) 79. Apocope of the *-e* occurs: possibly *nempne* (or double thesis at epic cæsura?) 101; *hauę* 148; *comę* 331; *louę* 343; a contracted form is *seië* 445, 796.

β. O.E. *-n* is retained: *don* 643; *gon* : (*non*) 652; *ben* (*A*₁) 938; *knowën?* : (*owen*) 228; *betën* 175; but *chastęn* (*Kast*, *H*₁) 181; an abbreviated form is *han* 295. In some instances the retention of final *-n* is conducive to smoothness of metre: *bileuën* 273; *wiluën* 279; *tellën* 292; *wantën* 316.

γ. Forms without ending through loss of *-n*: *do* : (*also*) 10, 208, : (*to*) 68, : (*mo*) 274; *be* : (*charite*) 96; *go* : (*do*, pp.) 875.

δ. Infinitives in *-i*, *-y* are: *herkny* : (*merci*) 523; *comforti* (not understood by the copyist of *R*: cf. *R*): (*witerli*) 688; and within the body of the text *singy* 714; *wonyë* 634; cf. *welny* (*D*) 280; *perty* (*D*) 298. This distinctively Southern inflectional characteristic is abundant in *Azenbite*, *Ancr. Rivle*, *R. of G.*, and the *Poema Morale*, but the infinitive in *-i* (*-y*) occurs also in the Southern Midland poems, *Horn* (see Wissmann) *werie* 1411, *chaungi* 1076, and in the Auch. *Reinbrun* (*Gy, sone of Warwike*): *norsy* : *serry* 151; *pasy* : *prouy* 972. For this infinitive in East Midland poems, see Stürzen-Becker, p. 71; Morris, *Spec. of E. Lit.*, p. xxi.; in Chaucer, ten Br., § 196.

ε. *Gerund.* Instance of gerund occurs: *to donë* 852.

ζ. Of Romance origin are a few infinitives in rime: *greuë* : (*bileue*) 202, : (*Eue*) 230; *deuisë* 343; *duirë* 281; *sauë* : (*haue*) 478. *vsë* occurs 90; *suffrë* 184, 583; *preië* 564.

Present indicative, 1 pers. sg. The ending is *-ë*, occurring in rime: *findë* : (*binde*, inf.) 481; *vunderstondë* : (*sonde*) 49; *menë* : (*clene*) 407; *lizë* : (*cumpaignye*) 637; *seië* 467; with apocope of the ending, *grete* 52; *sey* 464. Romance form: *preië*, 53, 601. *willë* (anomalous form) is confirmed by rime: *willë* : (*skile*) 712.

2 pers. The ending in *-ëst* (MS. *-us*, *-ys*, *-es*); *-ëst*, *-est* is of frequent occurrence not confirmed by ryme. The couplet preserves only the contracted form: *sist* : *bist* (*bitst*) 554; cf. *Floris und Blaunchestl.*

105. The vowel of the radical is in general not modified. In the body of the text are to be noted the following examples: *metëst* 549; *ʒeuëst* 936; *coupëst* 657. In *-est* occur: *louëst* 13, 321, 337, etc.; *leuëst* 189; *sparëst* 795; *seist* 555; *sest* 385, give contracted forms.

3 pers. sg. The third person ends in *-þ* (MSS. *-es*, *-ythe*, etc.) once in rime: *geþ* : *vumpeþ* 616, possibly *seþ* 817, and almost universally within the body of the text, where no criterion exists to determine that *-ëþ* be not the language of the copyist. The vowel of the radical is not modified. Examples are: *bringëþ* 114; *beginnëþ* 126; *ʒeuëþ* 212; *louëþ* 340; *ofþinkëþ* 539; *bitoküëþ* 363; *lastëþ* 426; *spekëþ* 501; *makëþ* 520; *berëþ* 566; *fondëþ* 655. In *-eþ* occur: *spekeþ* 275; *berëþ* 345; *falleþ* 585; *fareþ* 669; *berëþ* 670; *semeþ* 697; *liuëþ* 733; *ʒeuëþ* 742. Contraction of the ending is recognized in *seiþ* 276, 339, 345, 459; *haþ* (3 sing.) 386, 695; *halt* 166, 171; *tit* 807; *sit*¹ (one of the ten verbs preserving the present form with *-jo-*) 255; *ʒint*? 785; *ʒlep* 672; *lyþ* (*jo-* stem) 710, 713.

Plural. Riming couplets preserve *-ëþ* in one instance: *beþ* : *seþ* (sing.? *men* = *one*, German *man*?) 818, but the verse contains additional illustration of forms in *-ëþ* (MSS. *-iþ*, *-yþ*): *louëþ* 23; *beþ* 23, 76, 80, 97, etc.; *biseküþ* 504; *wasshëþ* 818; *Makëþ* 828. With syncope of *-e-*: *þinkeþ* 150; *wassheþ* 825. Plurals in *-ën* (*-en*), *-ë* (*-e*), are offered by rime: (*whiles þeih*) *liuë* : (*ʒiue*, inf.) 184; (*Wheißer . . .*) *nellë* : (*helle*) 272; (*us men*?) *redë* : (*seülë*) 692; *dredë* : (*dedë*) 830; (*þeih*) *be* 287, 341?, 414. The rime contributes a plural in *-ë*: (*ve*) *findë* : (*winde*) 669. Examples not verified by rime are: *fallën* 170; *findën* 518; *wolën* 272. *comen* 240, 280, *sholen* 416 occur with syncopated *-e-*. Contracted plural forms are: *han* 384; *ʒint* (or sing.?) 785.

Subjunctive. Present endings are *-ë* and *-e*, 2nd pers. : *shonë* : (*wone*) 105; *missë* : (*wisse*) 120; *þu knowë* 74; *berë* 671; 3rd pers. in *-ë* : *she turnë* 966; *hauë*? (with apocope) 837; *be* : (*se*) 872.

Imperative singular. The riming couplet introduces no example of the imperative, but the text affords illustration. Here the distinction active in Chaucer (cf. ten Br., § 189) of the preservation through weakened endings of the O.E. inflection remains. The subdivision into strong and weak imperatives seems still extant through ending in *-ë* for weak verbs: *Herknë* 137, 419; *louë* 329; *hauë* (Mätzner II., p. 29) : (*sauë*) 477; *Lokë* 488; but *Louë* with apocope 113.

¹ *sit* = absorption of inflectional *þ* with *t* of the radical. See *halt*, *tit*, and *ʒint*.

Making allowance for possible *hiatus*, e. g. *Hērknü*, and 328; *Herknę?* 348, 378; *Loke* 758, 768. Often divergence from the strong verb is not marked, and the two classes fall together in forms without *-ë*. Singular, weak: *lef* 392, 866; *Put* 476; *þenk?* 493; *Cast* 647; *sped* 865; *Bring* 970. Strong: *lat* (possibly through contraction) 143, 777; *Nym* 553; *Forzif* 541, 555; *tak* 770; *Go* (anv.) 855; *Do* 969; *zif* 1012. Romance imperatives end in *-ë*: *Vsë* 82.

Plural. Plural endings seem to be *-ëþ*: *Herknëþ* 1, 790; *Sittëþ* 790; *Comëþ* 423; *Listnëþ* 753; *Wasshëþ* 816, 824, 848. Remnant of an older form is illustrated in *gop* 445; see Schleich, p. 6. Riming forms contribute no important testimony for the *Speculum*.

Participle. The present participle is wanting in MS. A₁ of the *Speculum*, but A₂.D.H₁.R read *suffrand* (Northern form) 587, and A₂.D.R offer *suffraude* 597 (H₂ *sufferynge*, A₁ *suffraunt*), the Anglo-Norman participle in adjective construction.

Verbal substantives in -ing (or *-ingë*). Verbals are of frequent occurrence in rime and text: *biginning*: (*þing*) 7, 884; *biginning*: *ending* 210; *deiing*: *ending* 278; *shining* 382; *speking* 330; *woniz-ing*: *deseruing* 314, (*þing*) 317; *þining*: *brenning* 182, (*king*) 899. In *-ingë?*: *mourningë* (*mōurning?* 123): (*springë*, inf.) 125.

§ 2. Forms that may be referred to the first and second preterit stems.

Preterit. Strong verbs. Ablaut variations of the O.E. are preserved in the *Speculum*: *tok*: *forsok* 34; *drouh*: (*inouh*) 44; *bar*: (*war*) 46; *bicam*: *nam* 246; *lay*: (*clay*) 249; *steih* 253; *sauh* 347, 350, 355, 374; *iseih*: (*heih*) 369, 991; *vulerstod*: (*god*) 462, 939; *bad* 571; *cam*: (*mar*) 589; *gan* (in pleonastic construction) 641, 642; *slowen* 438.

Preterit. Weak verbs. The second person ends in *-ëst*: *noldëst* 659, and the preteritive-present *couþëst* 657. Syncope occurs in *haddestu* 579; *woldëstu* 873; *maitou* 343. See also *mait* 881, *miht* 1005. Otherwise weak verbs end in *-ed*, *-dë*, *-të*. *Singular verbs.* (a) In *-ëd*: *liuëdë* 38; *birëdë* 133; *answerdë* 971; *Grauntëdë* 988. (b) The weak ending recurring more frequently is *-dë*, illustrated as follows: *louedë* 35; *answeredë*: *heriedë* (i. e. through analogy with the present, ten Br., § 162) 66; *hadë*: *madë* 244; *deiedë* 248, 528; *shewedë* 361; *dedë*: (*stedë*) 598; *answeredë* 981; *seidë* (i. e. *sedë*) 965; *liuedë* 1004. Variation of the radical vowel occurs in *laddë* 42. Plural verbs: *woldën* 268; *woldë* 530; *seruedë* (2 pers. pl.) 452; *dedë*: (*stedë*) 603. With apocope: *hadde* 454.

Apocope and elision are also active in the following instances of singular verbs. With apocope : *kudilē* 178 ; *madē?* 213 ; *woldē* 529. With elision : *biredē* 133 ; *dedē* 230 ; *seidē* 411. Syncope and elision are both marked in *deigdē* 144, 531, and *liuele* 192. The *d* of the ending is lost? in *sendē* : (*ameude*) 575, 951 ; *sendē* : (*spende*) 989.

(c) Forms in *-tē* : *wrouhtē* : *bouhtē* 26 ; *þouhtē* 32. In *-te* : *bouhte* 236. Resulting from assimilation of the termination and the final vowel of the radical occur *grettē* : *mettē* 350, 960, but *grette* (with elision) 353, *puttē* 994, and *sentē* (before *h-*) 50 ; *kest* introduces a contracted form 992. Preteritive-present forms are : *mihhtë* (1. sing.) 292 ; (3. sing.) 368, 376, 398. With elision : *Mihhtë* 291, 366, 367, 396.

Past Participle of strong verbs. The participle ends in *-ē*, but forms occur in *-ēn*. (a) In *-ē* or with loss of *-n* : *inomē* 644, 646 ; *boundē* : (*stoundē*) 710 ; *ilorē* : (*wharfore*) 715 ; *shriuē* : (*tiue*) 758, 768 ; *forzetē* 764 ; *foundē* 773 ; *ietē* : (*mete*) 984 ; *do* : (*so*) 174, : (*go*) 876. (b) In *-n* : *born* : *loru* 130 ; *don* : (*non*) 264 ; *idon* : (*non*) 546 ; *don* 802, 837 ; *zoldēn* 932. A syncopeated form is *comen* 67 ; *nomen* 649.

Past Participle of weak verbs. The weak participle ends in *-ēd*, resp. *-ed* and *-t*. (a) In *-ēd* : *Ibiriēd* 249 ; *wemmēd* 366 ; *preuēd* (or *preuēd*, type C?) : *ishewēd* (?) 399 ; *ijlēd* 410 ; *dampnēd* 432 ; *chargēd* 468 ; *ashumēd* : *agramēd* 794 ; *clepēd* 857 ; *irekenēd* 869. In *-ed* : *wonēd* 259 (or *wonēd*, clerical form *wont*) ; *zarked* 300 ; *ashamed* 809. Romance forms are *amiēd* 124 ; *Sawuēd* 128 ; *houwēd* 521, 632. (b) In *-t* : *ikauht* 17 ; (*i*)*bouht* 160, 172, 226 ; (*i*)*pyht* 232, 888 ; *agilt* : *fūfūilt* 308 ; *gilt* 556 ; *iwrouht* : (*noht*) 580, 803 ; *caiht* : (*mait*) 882 ; see also *leūl* 592 ; *aferl* 685. A contracted form is *misseid* 538, 591 ; and the *Fr. Pic. kauht* 17. *coup* occurs (O.E. *cūþ* ; Goth. *kunþ-s*) 814.

The prefix i- in the past participle. The prefix *i-* is undoubtedly to be read. Stürzen-Becker, p. 74, writes concerning the value of this prefix in East Midland poems. It is illustrated in *King Horn* : *iborn* 140 ; *inome* 160. Its value in the metrical verse is pointed out in the accompanying selections :

- v. 17 : For, whán þe wórlđ · þe háþ ikáuht.
- v. 546 : Off tréspas, · þát þu hást idón.
- v. 580 : But ás hit wás · þurw góđ iwrouht.
- v. 715 : Góstli wít · he háþ ilóre.
- v. 724 : þurw dédli sinne · ifilēd ís.
- v. 803 : And fóule sínnes · háþ iwrouht.

Indication of inheritance from reduplicating verbs is to be noted in the *Speculum*. Derivatives from *létan*, *rédan*, *feallan*, *healdan*, *gongan*, *cnáwan* find representatives in this poem, chiefly through infinitives. Cf. the contracted form *halt* 171; *held* 593; *lat* 315; *gange* : (*longe*) 761; *knowe* : (*lowe*) 180, 629.

Contracted participles are to be noted in *idempt* (O.E. *gedémed*, *gedémde*, Siev. 406, N.) : *nempt* (O.E. *genemde*) 136, but on the other hand gemination is not simplified in the weak participle *wemmél* 366. A remnant of the old ending is marked in *goþë* (the *-ë* added through false analogy) : (*loþe*) 448; for *gothë* : (*sothe*), v. 469 of the *Rolandstied*, see Schleich, pp. 6 and 13 (*Prolegomena*), and Wülker's note *Anglia*, III., p. 402. The MSS. vary in the orthography of the inflectional terminations, the later MSS. contributing Midland and Northern forms.

The examples cited in the preceding pages show, it is believed, that the poet pronounced *e* in unaccented syllables, and particularly in unaccented inflectional syllables. This principle governed the composition of words. The *e*, organic or inorganic, standing between the parts of a compound word was sounded by the poet. MS. A₁ often omits this *e*, and thus places two accented syllables in immediate juxtaposition. Conclusions regarding *e* in the unaccented syllables have been collected in the two following sections.

Composition.

An unstressed *-ë*, required by the rhythm between principal and subordinate syllables in words of Teutonic or of Romance origin and frequently written in that position by the later MSS.,¹ rarely by MS. A₁, has often the place of an unaccented syllable with its equivalent value. Orm illustrates this phenomenon (cf. Sachse, p. 63), and it exists in Chaucer. Illustrations contributed by the *Speculum* are as follows: *louërede* 177; *soþënesse* 346, 411, 664?; *soþëliche* 525, 609; *mihlëliche* 605; *trewëliche* 610; *forþijënesse* 683; *apertëliche* 385, 416; *knowëliche* 509; *knowëliching* 725; Fr. derivatives: *amendëment* 56; *iugëment* 265, 878; *verreëment* 877; the Eng. *dirkënessë* (MSS. D.H₁) 114, (MSS. A₂, D) 306. In opposition to these conclusions the following instances are to be cited, where *-e* is not marked by distinctive syllabic value: *soþnesse* or *soþenesse* 722; *Wrappful* 262; *seknesse* 187; *Stedejust* 85; *lihtliche* 198; *Sodeyne-liche* 882; *delli* 710, 713; *soþëliche* 441.

¹ The MSS. show much divergence in the introduction of this inorganic *-e*.

It would seem, that distinction should be made between the verse omitting the unaccented syllable through the deliberate intent of the poet, and the verse corrupt through the scribe. This alternative renders some forms difficult of classification. Cf. notably: verses 81, 125, 305, 360, etc. Allowance must be granted type C in a few instances. To be noted possibly for fluctuating accent is *neihëboure* 535.

Final -e.

Conclusions involved in the discussion of the preceding sections, depending on the historical verification of phonological and inflectional classification, are approximately determinative with reference to the syllabic value of the final *-e* of the poem. Regarded from a position within the line as testified to by the rhythm, and at times confirmed by instances representing the riming system, it seems evident that the poet pronounced final *-e* and the *-e* of inflectional syllables, and that the final *-ë* of Romance words was still a distinct syllable. Double forms having the same syntax are attested to (cf. *moupe*, *mouþ*, etc.) by the *Speculum*, and are reconciled by rime and metre. Evidence for the *-e* before the cæsura is subject to modification, due to the existence of the types C and E.

Conclusive in the history of the poem is the decision that the value of the *-e* in inflectional syllables has not been lost, that important dissyllabic forms have not been reduced to monosyllables; and, it is confirmed, that the poet, as master of language, availed himself with true æsthetic spirit of the license of the use of forms fluctuating in syllabic value within the verse and at the rime.

CHAPTER XV.

DIALECT AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE *SPECULUM*.

§ 1. *The Dialect of the Poem.*

“Is your own land indeed so far away,¹

As by your aspect it would seem to be?”

“But trusteth wel, I am a sotherne man.”²

THE phonological and the inflectional systems of the *Speculum* afford criteria for the investigation of the dialect of the poet. The following testimony is of value in the discussion:

1. Obvious is the Southern element in the language of the poet in rigid distinction from the Northern, as is indicated through the

¹ Rossetti's translation of Dante's *Vita Nuova*.

² Chaucer, *Persones Ta'c*, *Prologue*, v. 42.

following combinations. *Nōn* is embodied in rime with *dōn* (pp.) 263 and with *idōn* 545, etc. *alsō* occurs with *dō* 9, 207, 897. *gō* is united with *dō* (pp.) 875; *þō* with *misdō* 557; *mō* with *dō* 273; and *sō* with *dō* 173, 673. *wō* is in rime with *dō* 484 and 917.

2. The representative vowels *i*, *ī*, < O.E. *y*, *ȳ* (umlaut of *u*, *ū*), in rime with *stable i ī*, offer conclusive evidence for Midland dialect. Conclusive Midland forms are found in the following combinations: *mynde* with *binde* 496; and *pride* with *side* 656; *sinnē* : *winnē* 131, 472, 693, 845, 1007; *sinnē* : *widinnē* 117; *sinnē* : *blinnē* 713; *sinnē* : *innē* 732; *sinnē* : *perinnē* 839; *sinnē* : *biginnē* 902; *puite* : *luite* 924. The self-rimes, *pride* : *huide* 158; *mindē* : *kindē* 620; *agilt* : *fulfilt* 308; *gilt* : *pylt* 232, and *gilt* : *ipult* 888, contribute nothing in the specification of the dialect, but confirm the testimony of decisive rimes.

3. Conclusive for Midland influence is the inflectional form in the plural of the present indicative. The ending *-ē* is uniformly returned by riming couplets: (*we*) *finlē* : (*windlē*) 669; (*men*) *redē* : (*seidē* for *sedē*) 692; *liuē* (3 plu.) : (*ziuē*, inf.) 184. The number of these forms is increased by the plurals of the regular text in its various MSS. Cf. *fallēn* 170; *sholēn* 281, 288, 295, 309, etc.

4. A Midland country in its Eastern division or a Southern neighbourhood is the evidence of *geþ* : (*unneþ*) 616, third person singular, and possibly *seþ* (subject, *men* = *one*) : *beþ* (plu.) 818. Inflection by means of *-ēst* and *-ēþ* in the second and third persons singular is abundant in positions not supported by the rime. Indecisive is the form *sist* : *bist* 554. The text also affords plural verbs marked by the Southern ending *-ēþ*: *beþ* 23, 97; *louēþ* 23; *seip* 339; *bisekēþ* 504; *Makēþ* 828; *þinkēþ* 150; *wassheþ* 825.

5. Apparently contradicting a claim to Midland origin through a form peculiar to the Kentish vocabulary but used by Chaucer, is the rime *fȳr* : *her* (O.E. *hēr*) 451; *fīre* : *here* (O.E. *hȳran*, *hēran*, Angl. *hēran*, *i*-umlaut of *ēu*) has no value in determining dialect, see Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, p. xvi. *dede* : *stede* 598, 603, may be read *dide* : *stide*, or *dude* : *stude*. *dide* (sing. or plu.) is explained by Morsb. § 130, Anm. 6, as representing an older *i* (*y*); *stede* preserves Kentish *-e*; see reference to Siev., *Beitr.*, vol. xvi., p. 235, Morsb., § 132, Anm. 2. This form is employed by *Rbt. of G.*, v. 330, but it was found in all parts of England; cf. *Gen. and Ex.*, 1298, 1836. For *stȳde*, see Streitberg, *Urgerm. Gram.*, p. 44, N. 1.

6. Southern is the infinitive in *-i*, *y*: *herkny* : (*merci*) 523;

comforti : (*witerli*) 688. The text offers : *singy* 714 ; *wonye* 634. These infinitives are not incompatible with Midland authorship, as will be recognized by comparison with *King Horn* : *werie* 1411 ; *chaungj* (Fr. origin) 1076.

7. Through the prefix *i-* (O.E. *ge*), required by the metre, and the loss of the inflectional final *-n*, the past participle is recognized as Southern in development : *inome* : (*some*) 644 ; *ilore* : (*charfore*) 715. The Midland *King Horn* duplicates the phenomenon, verses 140, 162, 484, 500, 548, etc.

8. The normal form *sede* (O.E. *sæde*) of frequent recurrence and verified by rime as follows : *sede* (MS. *seide*) : (*drede*) 140, 494, : (*rede*) 168, 691, characteristic of Southern poems, is, according to Sarrazin (*Octavian*), specifically a Kentish feature ; cf. Wilda's note, p. 51, Pabst's, p. 26, Menze's, p. 21, and Brandl, *Anzeiger für d. Alt.* xix. 101. *sede* : (*rede*) 155, 223 ; *sede* : (*dede*) 131, occur in the *Pœma Morale*. *sede* in rime with *drede*, *rede*, etc., is the reading of *Sir Beues* ; see Kölling, p. xv. *ful iwis* 285, 337, and *mid iwisse* 309, 689 occur in Southern poems ; cf. *Pœma Morale* 40, 141, 154, (*mid nane jwisse*) 236, 375, 391 ; *On God Ureisun of Ure Lefili* 6 ; *De Muliere Samaritana* 37, 53. *henne* (O.E. *heonon*) : (*kenne*) 297, contributes a Southern rime, Sarrazin and Carstens, p. 8, Nessmann, p. 10.

9. Significant for Western origin is the couplet *fire* : *duire* (Fr. *durer*) 282, see *Rbt. of G.* 3760, *dure* : *fure*, but *dure* : *fuire* occurs in *Alisaunder* 4322, a Southern poem with Kentish peculiarities. The *ui* represents the orthography of the *Ancren Riwle*, *Hali Meidenhad*, etc., Morsb., §§ 132, 133, 2 Anm. 2. The possibility of determinative value for dialectical purposes of the rime *puite* : *luite* 923, is weakened through the uncertainty of Anglicists regarding the specific etymology of *puite* (N.E. *put*). It is suggestive of *put* (read *pît*) : *wytte*, *Floris und Blaunchefl.* ; cf. Hausknecht, p. 132, 1. The rime is probably *pütte* : *lîte* with unequal quality, see Morsb., § 129, Anm. 4, b, and p. 181.

Other couplets, calling to mind a South-western country, unfortunately do not occur in such connection as to become of value in the investigation. *ipult* : *gilt* 888 (cf. v. 232), *muhe* : *aperteliche* 386, and : *liltliche* 671, *churche* : *worche* 859, are not significant in dialectical study. They may be read with equal correctness *ipilt*, *niche*, *chirche* : *wirche*. *turne* : *sterne* 435, apparently characteristic of the Kentish dialect, is not impossible in Midland dialect, and is actually the form of Orrm. 961 ; cf. Morsb., p. 167.

Examining the conclusions derived from the foregoing paragraphs, the preponderance of testimony, contributed by the mass of phonetic and inflectional characteristics, argues for the poem a Midland nativity. Sporadic forms locate the poet in an East Midland territory, perhaps in the neighbourhood of *Floris and Blancheflur* or *King Horn*, a poem also coloured with strictly Kentish characteristics. But this original home must have been far to the South, on proof of characteristic elements of the language. Some margin must be conceded in this judgment, for a poet of advanced culture in his age, as was illustrated in Chaucer, might have left the mark of the breadth of his culture in the variety of phonological elements represented in his speech. Still it would seem, that many Southern characteristics, and the combined value of the Southern features, would indicate that the environment of the poem was to some degree Southern.¹ The Western elements of the poet's language are not essentially farther to the West than are those of the *Hali Meidenhad*, *Katherine*, and other lives of saints, comprising Professor Morsbach's *Katherine*-group. With due regard, then, for rimes that might, *prima facie*, indicate other locality, it would seem that the phonetic elements of the language of the *Speculum* combine in ascribing the *Speculum* to a country intermediate in position between the East and the West, but eastern rather than western. The poem has the colouring of the dialect spoken near the Midland boundary, possibly in a territory not far removed from the home of the legends of the saints, represented by the legend of *Katherine*, but in the associated neighbourhood of *Sir Beues*; see characteristics summarized by Kölbing, pp. xx., xxi.

§ 2. Chronology of the *Speculum*.

Absolute evidence affording even approximately an exact date for the composition of the *Speculum* has not been discovered. On ground of external test its ulterior terminus is naturally the limit of its oldest transcript. As an individual member of the Auchinleck collection, palæographical considerations suggest that the *Speculum* be regarded as a representative of the early decades of the 14th century. Important testimony is contributed by Zupitza, testing the

¹ In the early study of the dialect of the *Speculum*, in April 1894, the editor regarded the poem as a type of Middle-Kentish (borrowing Danker's phrase) literature. On later consideration it seemed that the rimes *i*, *i* (O.E. *y*, *ÿ*) : *i*, *i* (O.E. *i*, *ï*) are sufficiently numerous to be evidence of Midland environment; this a suggestion of Zupitza in 1894, later confirmed by Kölbing, both in personal communication with the editor.

age of *The Riming Chronicle, Liber Rerum Anglie*, Auch. 40; see *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, vol. lxxxvii., p. 90. He recognizes as determinative basis the period of King Edward the Second (Ed. II.), the Auchinleck list of kings continuing to 1327 through the reign of that monarch. Zupitza writes: *die in ihr (i. e. the Auch. MS.) gegebene Version der Chronicle of England geht bis zum Regierungsantritte Edward III.* Directly interpreted this specific transcript could not have been completed earlier than 1327, and, if Virgilian philosophy be valid, *ab uno disce omnes*, the *Speculum* on this proof could not be ascribed to a date earlier than 1327. The examination of the massive "Affleck" folio with its exquisite workmanship, and with the indication of the existence of large numbers of finely wrought illuminations belonging to the original volume, suggests that the mechanical execution of details of such delicacy could have demanded that an interval of a number of years intervene between the transcription of No. 10 and the completion of No. 40. The year 1325 might then be a generous limit *ad quem* for the *Speculum*. Considerable uniformity in the handwriting indicates that the transcripts were prepared at approximately the same general period. The *Speculum* bears, it is true, a different script. That change in text does not necessarily indicate a later interpolation, but rather the influence of another copyist, as seems confirmed in the fact that the ninth selection bearing the original number XIV., immediately preceding the tenth piece, original number XV., contains near the bottom of fol. 38*d* instructions for the copyist, the first line of folio 39*a* in the handwriting of the scribe of No. XIV: *Herkue al to mi spech* (cf. text), also the hand of text XVI. immediately following the *Speculum*. That this marks no irregularity, is further attested through the circumstance that the various articles follow¹ each other in orderly sequence,² apparently not disturbed by any irregularity in workmanship; cf. also Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, vol. vii., p. 183.

Various limits have been proposed dating this choice relic of Boswell's library. Numerous speculative periods, individual problems,

¹ "The poems regularly follow each other. There is no reason to believe that the alteration in script indicates earlier or later date than may be reasonably ascribed to the rest of the works;" see Scott, *Sir Tristrem*, pp. cvii., cviii.

² The Auchinleck MS. was, it will be recalled, the property of Alexander Boswell, father of Johnson's celebrated Boswell. The manuscript folio was a gift to the Faculty of Advocates in 1744. Interesting is the history of four of its leaves, the possession of David Laing. These precious parchments had served as covers for books and blanks, until purchased by Laing in 1750.

have been attributed to the Auchinleck texts by its various editors. Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, p. vii., dates the collection not younger than 1327; Scott, *Sir Tristrem* (1804), p. lxxxi., 1330; Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, vol. ii., p. 448, the beginning of the 14th century; Skeat, *Specimens of Early English*, vol. ii., p. xxxix., 1320—1330; Laing, *A Penni worth of Witte*, etc., p. i., “not later than the middle of the 14th century.” “The *Speculum*,” says a well-known Anglicist, “could have been copied into the collection so early as the 1310.” Ritson, questionable authority, *A.E. Metrical Romances*, p. lxxxvi., mentioning the fact, that several poems of the folio refer to the reign of Edward the Second, believes that no romance was entered into the collective MS. before the time of Edward the First. Scott,¹ p. cvii., discusses the possibility of the earlier part of the 14th century, and p. lxxxi., has concluded that the date of the collection does not seem to be much later than 1330. The *Catalogue of MSS.* in the Advocates’ Library, probably influenced by Scott, states indefinitely, about the middle of the 14th century. It would seem, from weight of general testimony, that the compilation of the Auchinleck texts was completed before 1340. That the common original of the MSS. of the *Speculum* could hardly have been transcribed later than 1325, is necessary, if the foregoing evidence be valid. On the other hand, there is nothing to dispute a greater antiquity or a more flowery youth. That the Auchinleck copies be a forgery of the 17th century, as Hazlitt² (*Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, vol. i., p. 193) maintains, there is not the smallest proof.

Nor do the sources of the *Speculum* contribute material conducive in marking progress in the solution of the age of the poem recorded. Were the verses 355—368 to be considered as definitely an adaptation of stanza twelve of the fundamental poem underlying Chaucer’s *A. B. C.*, and ascribable to the same source, de Deguileville (cf. chap. x.), then these verses written 1330—1331 (cf. Skeat, *Minor Poems*, 1888, p. xlvii.) contribute inferior date for the *Speculum*; but, although there is nothing seriously incompatible with this assumption, the evidence is not conclusive. The inference is not necessary, for the parallel metaphor was in existence so early as the 12th century, or earlier (cf. *Sources*, chap. x.), and Legends of Mary

¹ “The date of the MS. cannot possibly be earlier, and does not seem to be later than 1330,” Scott, p. lxxxi.

² After examination of Hazlitt’s note, I find a reference to the same statement in Mall’s *Harrowing of Hell*, p. 5, in which he expresses opinion that Hazlitt’s conclusion is *übertrieben*.

began to be recognized in English literature in the 13th century; cf. Lauchert, *Englische Studien*, vol. xvi., p. 124: *Erst am anfang des 13. jht. erscheint das Marienlied in der englischen litteratur*.

The solution of the question of the chronology is not advanced by the testimony of the MSS. The Guy legend was promulgated no earlier probably than the 13th century, as is the argument of its oldest MS., the Wolfenbüttel Codex, No. 87.4, *Augusteorum Guelferbytt*. of the 13th century. To this century belong the French MSS. of the Bodleian Library. The earliest English MS. does not permit the diminution of years from the history of the *Speculum*. It is a contemporaneous MS. of the Auchinleck collection. The remaining French MSS. and all the English MSS. belong to later centuries. The account of Guido in the *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, Berlin 1872, is of the late 13th century.¹ The *Dictionary of National Biography*, in a carefully discussed article over Guy of Warwick, grants literary form to the saga in the concluding years of the 12th century; ten Brink (*Eng. Lit.*, I. p. 246) believes that "Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hamptoun were unknown to saga until they emerge as heroes of Anglo-Norman poems of the 12th century." An editorial note to Percy's *Folio MS.*, vol. ii., p. 509, allots the oldest literary form to the 13th century; Tanner (*Die Saga v. Guy v. Warwick*, p. 34), the 13th century; Jusserand (*Eng. Novel*, p. 39), the 13th century; Ritson, not later than the reign of Edward the First, and in the *Legende Catholice* (1840, cf. chap. ii., § 3), in the 13th or early 14th century; Morley (*Eng. Writers*, vol. iii., p. 276), the 13th century. That the Alexius saga was associated with an English hero in the 11th century (cf. G. Paris, p. 27, and Pannier, p. 340), opens the question as to whether the same germ could have become associated with Count Guido at an early stage of the development of the Alexius literature, and distinct from Guy of Warwick. The theological element in the *Speculum* points to a period of religious awakening,² such as was conspicuous in Southern England³ in the 13th century.

¹ ten Br., I. p. 264. See also *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. of Wilhelm Dick, Erlangen 1890.

² Ritson, *Cath. Leg.*, ascribes the folio to "the gloomy fanaticism of a lazy monk" . . . "for the promotion of fanaticism," see pp. xi. and xii.

³ Ritson, p. v. of *Cath. Leg.*, believes that the Auchinleck texts were written "in some North of England monastery," in opposition to Scott's view that the folio was written in South Britain. Scott's argument is, that every poem that introduces local reference concerns South England, and not a word refers to Scottish affairs. Scott locates the scriptorium of an Anglo-Norman convent as the scene of the workmanship of the Auch. texts (cf. p. cviii.). Laing confirms Ritson's conjecture, but places the location in the extreme North of Scotland.

Were it possible to ascribe connection with "Count Guido's Address to Guy of Warwick," Camb. MS. li. I. 33, the history of the *Speculum* could be conveyed to a more remote period. This MS. is attributed to the 12th century, but the text seems to represent virtually an 11th-century version. The language is archaic. Old forms are used intelligently. The weakening of unaccented vowels is not abundant. Full vowels are employed consistently. Such conditions would place the O.E. *Liber* so early as the year 1000 or 1025. Some points of coincidence could be traced more readily between the *Speculum* and the MS. *Vesp. D*, xiv., fol. 104 a ff., described in Hickes' *Thesaurus, the Wanley Catalogue*, pp. 246 ff.; cf. Assmann, *Anglia*, xi., p. 371, and *Homilien und Heiligenleben, Bibliothek der A.S. Prosa*, vol. iii., pp. 246 ff., probably the composition of one of the School of Ælfric, as Assmann suggests. This work has been ascribed to the last years of the 12th century; cf. Nehab, *Der altenglische Cato*, a Berlin dissertation, 1879, pp. 32—41. This premise would give the vantage ground of a hundred years to the earlier cited 13th century. The cogency of such a premise would be disputed; cf. Morsb. i., § 1, Anm. 1. The *Liber* is not of service in ascribing terminology to the *Speculum*, but internal tests, theological, æsthetical, metrical, phonological, ascribe to the poem an early composition.

The theology of the poem contributes no facts useful in establishing its exact age. Mediæval theories of hell fires, heaven's blisses, popular versions of the fall of Lucifer, reproduce tone and feeling of ages earlier than the 12th century, where these attributes of Christian doctrine are preserved; cf. *O.E. Homilies* edited by Morris (E. E. T. S.). It is possible that the hypothetical period allotted to the authorship of the *Speculum* finds terminus at one extreme by the date 1325. It is not probable that the poem was materially a later product, and it may be inferred that it was a much earlier composition. That conclusion will be in harmony with the history of associated Romance poems. Scott's protracted and tireless search for Thomas the Rhymer placed the composition of *Sir Tristrem* in 1250. *Sir Beues's* history begins with the 13th century, Kölbings, p. xxxviii.

Internal evidence of the poem, on basis of phonological and inflectional investigation, will probably demonstrate that the poem was not the product of a period earlier than 1250. Compare the chapters over *Phonology* and *Inflection*.

1. The lengthening of the short vowel in open syllables had already occurred. Whether this linguistic change immediately preceded or immediately followed 1250, the date of the composition of the *Speculum* must be associated with a later period.

2. O.E. *â* had passed into *ō*. This could not have occurred later than 1250; cf. Morsb., § 64, and Napier, *Compassio Mariæ*, p. 84.

3. In harmony with these conclusions is the retention of final *-ë* in the language of the poet. This recurs with a fair degree of constancy. Compare the section over final *-e*. The *Speculum* is an early production, yet naturally it does not represent a composition on the immediate boundary of the O.E. period, the weakening of the O.E. full vowel having occurred long before. On the other hand, it is to be conjectured that it may present an early phase in the history of the M.E. poetry.

4. Were the diphthongic character of *e + o* (*eo* ?), for example, to be regarded as an internal trait of the *Speculum*, that feature would attest to the antiquity of the original; cf. Napier, p. 86. The transition stage in the orthography *ei*, *Streinþe*, l. 305, suggests early condition of the language.

In conclusion,¹ it is to be said that the poem, the *Speculum*, must be ascribed to a period *circa* 1300. The limits seem certainly within the boundaries 1250—1325. The authority of the phonology of the text would justify the hypothesis of the existence of the poem even before the concluding years of the 13th century.

CHAPTER XVI.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE *SPECULUM*.

§ 1. *Conjectured Authorship.*

1. *Lydgate*. The *Library Catalogue* of the MSS. of the British Museum classifies the MS. Harley 525 (H₂) among texts of John Lydgate. Certain external evidence might tend to justify this arrangement. Metrical, grammatical, and dialectical features of the transcript preserved in MS. H₂, and particularly the name of the central figure of the narrative, suggest, at casual glance, Lydgate. Moreover, to ascribe the paternity of a M.E. poem to John Lydgate²

¹ A chapter on *The Style of the Speculum* could be appropriately introduced at this point; but the more conspicuous characteristics of the poem have demanded so full a discussion, that it seems wise to reserve the investigation for a special article.

² For the authentic works of Lydgate, see Schick, pp. cxii, and cliv, clv.

is a fallacy of the age.¹ It is a fallacy in this instance, for the author of the *Speculum* was probably dead before Lydgate was born. 1368 is the earliest year² to which the birth of the monk of Bury is ascribed; 1370 is probably the more correct limit.³ The original poem of which MS. H₂ is a late transcript must certainly have been in existence in 1327, forty years and more before the advent into the world of "that approbate" priest, its reputed author. The poet must indeed be permitted the privilege of birth before that of authorship. *Poeta nascitur non fit*. Contrary to circumstantial evidence, history offers facts *à priori* not to be controverted. John Lydgate's claim to the authorship of the *Speculum* is ungrounded. The argument is *reductio ad absurdum* on proof of the earliest MS. of the poem. It might be intimated, that the *Catalogue* of the Harleian collection be placed "under correccioun."⁴

2. *Alquin versus Aleuin*. The *Speculum* testifies concerning its authorship. Thus it is learned who wrote the sermon for Guy: "Alquin was his rihte name," l. 39. Sir James Foulis, according to Ritson, *A. E. M. R.* I. p. xciii, explains that *Alquin* was "a Scotch Highlander." On investigation it might seem that Sir James is a myth, as is his Scotchman. History provides no direct personality for these two gentlemen. In the records of the family Sir James Foulis,⁵ ancestor of the race, Burgess of London, died in 1549, and his grandson,⁶ Sir James Foulis, the last Lord Colinton, two generations removed, died in 1688; cf. the interesting records made public in *The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Raveuston, 1671—1707*, by Rev. A. W. Cornelius, Edinb. 1894. Yet if Sir James cannot be identified in person, it is not impossible that Ritson refers to some

¹ "The great names of literature have always been made the official fathers of unclaimed productions;" cf. Gollancz, *Pearl*, pp. xlv and xlv.

² Cf. also ten Brink, *Gesch. der Engl. Lit.*, ed. Brandl, Bd. II, p. 273 (Engl. ed.), where the dates 1371 and 1373 are offered for consideration.

³ Schick, *Temple of Glas*, p. lxxxvii.

⁴ The circumstance is worthy of Lydgate. His search after opportunity for self-deprecatory phraseology is in attempted imitation, perhaps, of Chaucer, his "maister"; cf. *Prologue to the Persones Tale*, v. 56 (v. 17367, Tyrwhitt's enumeration),

"(But natheles this meditacion)
I putte it ay vnder correccion."

Compare Schick's discussion of the question, pp. cxl and cxli, with quotation from *Troilus*, III, 1283, p. lxxxv, "alle under correccion."

⁵ The figure of Sir James Foulis is to be recognized in the group of Scottish nobles, portrayed on the famous window adorning the parliamentary buildings, Edinburgh.

⁶ Cf. Genealogical Tables accompanying the *Foulis Account Book*.

descendant of the family¹ Foulis, whose members have long been influential in the affairs of Scotland. Although no literary record authorizes the testimony of Foulis, still Ritson's quotation might be based upon some personal communication. The statement accredited to Sir James may be accounted for on various grounds. The *Speculum* could easily be regarded as the product of the authorship of that Alquin or Alcuin of Britain, *nom de plume* of Jacob Ilive, who "went on a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," and whose pseudo-translation into English of the *Book of Jasher*² was published in 1751. Another hypothesis is, that Foulis might have been misled by the orthography. Finding a clue in a phonological test he might have conjectured the *-qu-* of Alquin to indicate Scotch origin. On the supposition of further investigation on the part of Foulis, Albinus, *Alcuin Albinus Flaccus*, could have suggested to him a native of Alban or a home in Alban. In this manner Alquin (Alcuinus) could have been converted into a Scotchman without having ever trod the Alban soil. But these conjectures are not supported, for the language and vocabulary of the *Speculum* do not indicate Scottish source for the original poem. Ritson attempts to correct the error³ of Foulis, explaining that the Alquin here meant (*i. e.* in the *Speculum*) was Alquinus = Albinus Alcuinus, a Saxon-Engleishman at the court of Charlemagne; cf. *A. E. Metrical Romanceës*, p. xci. A blunder equally grave is involved in Ritson's explanation, for *Eallwine* was, of course, no Saxon.

On the other hand, the underlying Latin text, *De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber*, is by no means so conspicuous as source of the *Speculum* as to give to Alcuin, Alcuinus, Albinus Flaccus, who died in 804, preceptor of Charlemagne, any claim to the authorship of the present text. Rather the poem stands as an individual product. Its author, the poet, must be responsible for the entire composition.

3. *The poet of Ipotis as author of the Speculum.* Concerning alleged claim of the same authorship for the *Speculum* and for *Ipotis*, nothing is to be proved. On purely external evidence the personal

¹ There seems to be no connection between the family of Sir James and that of the eminent Glasgow printers to the University, which has identified the name Foulis with immaculate prints of the classics. Robert Foulis's *Demetrius Phalereus on Elocution*, 1742, the first Greek text printed in Glasgow, and the celebrated edition of *Horace*, 1744, have immortalized themselves in the memory of *literati*.

² Cf. *Holy Scriptures*, Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18.

³ No explanation occurs through Sir Henry Foulis's (Bart.) *Relation of a bloody fight*, etc.

character of the two poets is at the two diverging extremes of development. The same poet could have written the two poems only under different degrees of inspiration, or under varying conditions of life. *Ipotis* stands for a cruder nature, a narrower phase of experience. The artistic element is marked in the *Speculum*, but the poet of *Ipotis* permits all the machinery of his workmanship to be visible in rigid harshness.

As for internal tests, there are none of importance to cite. A few parallel passages are to be quoted; a few coincidences in construction can be traced. But no peculiar merit is to be ascribed to a common use of terms like the following (see Gruber, *Zu dem mittteleuglischen Dialog 'Ipotis'*; Berlin, 1887): *hevene may wyne* (MS. D) 25, *Spec.* 5; *dedly synne* 26, *Spec.* 724; *hevene blysse* 30, *Spec.* 309—10; *in hys seruyse* B 612, *Spec.* 36. Prayer Book descriptions of God, 11. 35—36, *Spec.* 207—10, the Trinity, 11. 54—57, *Spec.* 204—6, an account of the fall of Lucifer, 11. 106—108, *Spec.* 635—44, point to nothing startlingly original in mental activity. The rimes are ordinary and do not contribute evidence marking connection with the *Speculum*. Both poems account for authorship on weirdly impossible grounds. It will be remembered that the *Ipotis* attributes its source to the apostle John, a theory fallacious on its surface, as well as assured by the crude verse. The assumption is without the grounds for possibility that must be permitted the hypothesis of the *Speculum*. The charming fantasy discovering a personality for Guy of Warwick in Count Guido is not reproduced in the awkward assurance of verses 613—616:

“Seynt Jon þe evangeliste,
 þat ʒede in erþe with Jesu Cryste,
 þis talle he fond in latyn
 And dede it wrytte in parchemyn.”—*Ipotis*, MS. B.

Nothing more striking can, it seems, be cited to clinch the argument of coincidence in the authorship of *Ipotis* and *Speculum*.

§ 2. The Actual Author of the *Speculum*.

“I know him by his harp of gold.”¹

History has not revealed the name of the poet of the *Speculum*. Whether he be called Lydgate or Alcuin, or whether he remain a nameless spirit, his name is of secondary interest. The man is to be recognized through his work. As to his individuality, as represented

¹ *Tristram and Isult*, Part I, v. 19. *Poems by Matthew Arnold*, Macmillan, MDCCCLXXX, p. 132.

in his character and his personality, his mirror reflects his own features. The poet belonged to the clergy, but he was no ordinary priest. He lived no humdrum life of ascetic severity. His horizon was broadened by gifts of homely personal sympathy for his flock. His heavens had midsummer clearness through the beautifying dignity of love to humanity. The poet illustrates forcibly the application of the *Ars Poetica* that tuned the classic lyre of Penshurst and *Arcadia: sayle my Muse to mee, looke in thine heart, and write.*

The minstrel's songs peopled for him a glowing world of fancy, a vision of the hero in generous deeds. The knowledge that he uniformly displays of the Holy Scriptures and of the works of the fathers, suggests preparation for the priesthood and recalls hours of study at some monastic school, some English Abbey like that of the Holy St. Martin in France, with "quiet cloisters and gardens, in which the arts of peace¹ could be cultivated," and where a gentle and pious brotherhood could "illumine a martyrology or carve a crucifix."

The *Speculum* testifies to the worth and permanence of the individual; it reveals the story of a life. That life marks triumph over temptation, a longing for the mercy that the poet implores be given, a struggle after holy living, so that *In holinesse his lyf he ladde*, l. 42. The poet has learned the lessons that he would teach, of fortitude, of patience, of hope, of faith, of trust. He has lived through the humility of confession. He has found joy and peace. Alcuin's *Liber* is for him no collection of well-dried statistics. On the contrary, it reproduces his own experience. He has developed character, that gives as well as receives, in sympathy and helpfulness. He has grown not narrowly in mind alone, but in heart, in breadth of soul, in all that for this period could make true and intelligent manhood.

Did this modest country priest take part in church controversy, his attitude must have been that of the humanitarian. His argument would be primarily the doctrine of enforcing principle through laws of Christian brotherhood. He would become the apostle of gentleness, of culture, of kindly speech, the optimistic apostle of joy, the mind at peace, for,²

". . . gently comes the world to those
That are cast in gentle mould."

¹ Cf. Macaulay.

² It was not until a year after the present sketch had been completed, that the editor discovered that a similar theme had served as similar inspiration to Mr. Gollancz in his graceful "hypothetical biography" of the poet of *Pearl*. Cf. pp. xlvi, xlvii, xlvihi.

Here gynneppe þe sermon
þat a clerk made þat was cleput Alquyn
To Gwy of Warwyk

Guy of Warwick, in deep remorse, would expiate his offences against God. He told his wish to Alquin, Dean of a religious brotherhood, and asked counsel for the welfare of his soul. The holy friar prepared a sermon, in which he instructed Guy how to discriminate between virtue and vice. The discourse unfolds principles of spiritual growth through a twofold medium, the renunciation of evil and the achievement of good. Alquin concludes with an appeal for benevolence, which is enforced by an account of the incident of the widow of Zarephath.

Speculum Gy de Warewyke.

H erkneþ alle to my speche,	39 a	Hearken!
And hele of soule i may ou teche.		I teach of the
þat i wole speke, it is no fable,		soul's health.
Ac hit is swiþe profitable.	4	
Man, if þu wolt heuene winne,		To win
þurw loue to god þu most biginne.		heaven,
þus shal ben þi biginning :		love God and
þu loue god ouer alle þing	8	
¶ And þin emeristene loue also,		thy fellow-
Riht as þi-self[e] þu most do.		Christian.
If þu wolt þus biginne and ende,		
þu miht be seker to heuene wende ;	12	
Ac, if þu louest more worldes god		Flee the
þan god him-self[e] in þi mod,		world.
þu shalt hit finde an yuel plawe :		
To deþ of soule it wole þe drawe,	16	To death
¶ For, whan þe world þe haþ ikauht		the world's
In ¹ his paunter þurw his draulit,		net drags
		the soul,

For the title, see the Introduction. The numbering of the folio follows the Auchinleck MS. The character ¶ reproduces the paragraphing of the Auchinleck text. 1 to] vnto DH₂. 2 And] om. D. may] wyll A₂DH₁H₂R. 3 no] not R. 4 Ac] Bot DH₂R, For H₁. swiþe] ful H₁R, very gode & H₂. Between 4 and 5 the following three lines are interpolated in H₂:

For the sowlys saluacyowne
Who soo that herythe þis sermoune
Inicium sapientiæ timor domini (Cp. H₂ in l. 138.)

6 þurw loue] To loue H₁. to god] of god A₂D, god H₁, om. H₂. 7 and 8 are omitted in H₁. 7 þus] þis A₂H₂R. sbal ben þi] ys the fyrste H₂. 8 þu] To A₂, om. DH₂. god ouer] wele god abovyn H₂. 9 emeristene] enen crystyn A₂DH₁H₂R. loue] om. A₂H₂, þou loue H₁. 10 do] do so D. 11 and 12 are omitted in H₂. 11 If] And if R. 12 miht be] may R. wende] to wende R. 13 Ac if] And 3ef A₂D, But and H₁, Iffe H₂, But if R. worldes] þe worldes A₂, worldly H₁, þis worldis H₂, worldlis R. 15 an] for an H₁. plawe] lawe (The word was originally plawe. p can be traced in the crasure.) D. 17 ikauht] caught A₂DH₂R. 18 In] In to H₂. þurw his] at a A₂.

¹ MSS. A₁ and A₂ have and in.

	Al at his wille he wole þe lede.	
and thou	Ne shaltu spare for no drede,	20
	Ne for loue to god, ne for his eize,	
shalt suffer.	To gon out of þe rihte weye ;	
	¶ For swiche [þer] beþ, þat loueþ more	
	þe world and his foule lore,	24
	þan þeih don god, þat hem wrouhte	39 b
	And on þe rode [hem] dere bouhte.	
	¶ Her-of i wole a while dwelle,	
I wish to tell	And a tale i wole 3ou telle	28
of an earl,	Off an eorl of gode fame—	
Guy of War-	Gy of Warwyk was his name—	
wick,	Hou on a time he stod in þouht :	
	þe worldes blisse him þouhte noht.	32
how he for-	þe world anon he þer ¹ forsok	
sook the	And to Iesu Crist him tok,	
world,	And louede god and his lore	
and chose	And in his <i>seruise</i> was euere more.	36
God.		
A devout	¶ A god man þer was in þilke dawe,	
man,	þat liuede al in godes lawe ;	
Alquin,	Alquin was his rihte name,	
	And man he was of gode fame ;	40
	Dekne he was, and þe ordre he hadde ;	
lived then,	In holinesse his ² lyf he ladde ;	
	Wit of clergie he hadde inouh,	
	þerfore to godnesse euere he drouh.	44
of whom	¶ Off him þe eorl was wel war,	
Guy	þerfore his wille to him [he] bar,	

19 Al at] At R. wole] shall H₂. 20 Ne shaltu] þou shalt not R. 21 Ne for] For noo H₂. to god] of god A₂DH₁, om. H₂. eize] awe R. 22 þe] his H₂. weye] lawe R. 23 For] om. DH₂. þer] it A₁DR, þei A₂. 24 and] þen D. foule] fals A₂. 25 þeih don god] Iesu criste H₂. 26 hem dere] dere A₁, dere hem A₂H₁, ful dere R. (D has heu dere.) bouhte] abouzte H₂. 27 Her-of] Here R. wole] sall D. while] stounde H₂. 28 wole] sal D. 30 Gy] Sire Gy H₂. 31 Hou on] On D, Vppe on H₂, how in R. 32 þe] þis DH₂. 33 he þer] he A₂H₁H₂, þer he DR. 34 him] he hym DH₁. tok] bi toke H₁. 35 And] He H₂. his] all his A₂R, eke hys D (and and in H₂). 36 in his *seruise* was] serued hym after R. 37 in] be H₂. þilke] þat A₂H₂R. 38 liuede] leued R. al] wele A₂, wel alle R. in] om. R. 40 And] A A₂, And a D, A noble H₂. man he was] man DH₂. gode] ryzt gude D. 41 and] om. R. þe] om. H₁H₂. he] om. DH₂. 44 þerfore] and þerfore R. 45 Off him] þare of A₂DH₂. was wel] sone was full H₂. war] I war A₂D. 45 and 46 are omitted in R. 46 þerfore] And þarfore A₂, And alle H₂. he] om. A₁A₂.

¹ þer is on erasure in MS. A₁.

² MS. H₁ has his his.

And of him ¹ he tok his red,	asked advice,
¶ To kepen his soule from þe qued.	48
¶ On a day, i vnderstonde,	39c
Sire Gy þe eorl sente his sonde	
To þe holi man Alquin	
And seide : '[I] ² grete þe wel, fader myn,	52 and
And preie þe for godes loue,	begged
þat us alle sit aboute,	
þat þu wole, þar charite	
And in amendement of me,	56
¶ Make me a god sarmoun	a sermon,
And don hit write in lesczoun :	
þat were my ioye and my delit	to free his
And to my soule a gret profyt ;	60 soul from the
For þe world þurw his foule gile	world's guile.
Haþ me lad to longe while.	
þer-of i wole consail take,	
Hu i mihte þe world forsake.'	64
¶ Alquin þe eorl þo answerede,	Alquin
And Iesu Crist ful ȝerne he heriede,	with joy
þat swich a wit was comen him to	
And seide : ' His preie i wole do.'	68 granted
' And, [sethen] i shal be þi leche,	Guy's prayer,
Aller furst i wole þe teche,	and preached
Faire uertuz for to ³ take	of fair virtues
And foule þewes to forsake.	72 and ugly
¶ þat maitou noht don, leue broþer,	vices.
Bote þu knowe on and oþer,	

48 kepen] wyten D. qued] dede D. 49 On] Vpon H₂. 51 þe] þat R. Alquin] sire alquyn A₂D, frere Alquyne H₂. 52 wel] om. H₂. 53 And] I A₂, anon I D. 54 us] ouyr vs H₂. 55 and 56 are omitted in A₂. 55 þar] for H₁H₂. 57 Make me] Doo me make H₂. 58 don hit write] write hit R. lesczoun] a lesson DR. 59 were] where D. my ioye] ioy A₂. my delit] grete delyte H₂. 61 foule] false H₂. 62 lad] lette H₁, be lyed H₂. while] A while H₂. 63 þer-of] þer for D. wole] wolde H₂. 64 þe world] hym H₂. 65 Alquin] þen Alquyne R. þe eorl þo] þen to þe erle D, sere Gy sone H₂, þo erle R. 66 And] And swythe H₂. ful ȝerne] ful weru D, om. H₂. he] om. A₂D. 68 His] þi A₂H₂. i wole] he wold DR. 69 And sethen] and whan A₁, Sythe that H₂, & sithen þat R. be] nu ben A₁A₂. þi] his H₁. 70 Aller] Alþere A₂H₁H₂, Erle D. furst] ferest H₁. wole] schal D. 71 for to] to þe D. 72 foule] lethere H₂. 73 þat] þis H₁, þus R. don] om. A₂, myn H₂. 74 Bote] But ȝyffe H₂R. on] o þynge A₂, þat on D, bothe one R. oþer] þat oþer D (oþe in H₁).

¹ him is above the line in MS. A₁. MS. D has hys.

² MS. A₁ omits I.

³ to is above the line in MS. A₁.

	I shal þe now shewe boþe, Whiche beþ gode <i>and</i> whiche beþ loþe ;	39 a 76
First, to win grace	¶ And at þe beste i wole biginne, þe betre grace for to winne.	
he taught the virtues in order.	þe uertuz i wole first shewe, Whiche þeih beþ, alle on rewe.'	80
Wisdom	‘Wisdom in godes drede	
shall be thine,	Vse wel, þat be my rede ;	
also faith, love,	Trewe bileue and charite— þise sholen bileue wid þe—	84
steadfast hope, meek- ness, peace, mercy, for- giveness, patience, humility.	Stedefast hope <i>and</i> mieknesse, Pes, merci, <i>and</i> forþifnes, ¶ Loue of herte, ful of pite, þat is verray humilite.	88
Repent!	And þu wolt haue godes ore, 3it þu most vse more, For þi sinne repentaunce, And redi þefore to don penaunce	92
In penitence confess.	Wid sorwe at þin herte rote, And shrifte of mouþe shal be þi bote.	
Give in cha- rity to thy life's end.	In almes dede and charite þi lyf shal euere more be.	96
	¶ Þise beþ þe þewes, þat i þe teche, Whar-þurw þu miht to heuene reche, And so þu miht þe world forsake, If þu wolt hem to þe take.'	100

75 and 76 are transposed in A₂. 75 þe now shewe] shewe to þe now H₁, the shewe nowe hem H₂. 77 And at] And A₂, At H₁. wole] sal D. 79 i wole] þat I wyll A₂, I sal D, fyrste I wylle H₂. first] 3ow H₂. shewe] chewe (*Before chewe space is left for an s.*) D. 80 Whiche] þe wyche D. alle on] now o D, al in H₁, vppon A H₂, on a R. 82 be my] I þe D, is my R. *Between 82 and 83 are the following two lines in A₂ (Cp. A₂ in ll. 140, 141, and 142.):*

Twey þynggys it wyll þe tech
Whare þorou3 þou my3t to heuen rech

83 bileue] loue R. 84 Þise] þey H₁, þese thre R. bileue] leue D, leue R. þe] me H₂. 85 hope] *om.* A₂, boþ H₁. 87 ful] *and* fulle H₂. 89 And] And 3ef A₂DH₁H₂R. haue] *om.* R. ore] lore D. 90 vse] doo welle H₂. 91 sinne] synne haue D. 92 þefore] þare A₂. 94 And] Wiþ H₁. mouþe] mow3t D. shal be þi] to A₂, with dede D, wyll be þi H₂. 95 charite] chaste D, in charyte H₂. 96 lyf] lyffe also H₂. 97 þewes] vertues A₂. i] I wil R. 98 Whar-þurw] Where with H₂. reche] Areche H₂. 99 so] thus H₂. þu] þorow H₁. miht] mayste H₂R. 100 wolt hem to] hem wolt to A₁, wylt heuen to A₂, wylt þese to D, wylte to thys goodnesse H₂.

¶	‘Nu i wole nempne ¹ þe wicke þewes, þat beþ noht gode, ac muche shrewes, For, if þu dost bi here red[e], To strong[e] pine þeih wolen þe led[e];	40 a 104	Base vices. lead to pain,
¶	þanne is hit god, þat þu shone To drawe hem into þi wone. Herkne nouþe to me, And i hem wole nempne þe :	108	therefore shun
	Pride, wrappþe, and enuie, Fals iugement and tricherie ; Fals witesse is on of þo— Many a soule itt ² doþ ful wo.	112	pride, wrath, envy, injustice, faithlessness, false witness- ing.
	Loue noht to muche þis worldes blisse : Hit bringeþ man to þisternesse, ³		Avoid worldliness. It induces
¶	Auarice and glotonye, Wicke sleuþe and lecherie.’	116	avarice, glut- tony, sloth, lechery.
	‘Accedie is a wel foul sinne To man, þat he may come widinne, And, what it is, i wole þe wisse, Vnderstond, þat þu ne misse :	120	
¶	Accedie is (as) sleuþes broþer, Wicke on and wicke oþer ; Hit is a derne mourni[n]g in mod And makeþ man anuied to do god. Offte þurw swiche mourning[e] Wanhope beginneþ for to spring[e],	124	[Accedia], the brother of sloth, attends despair of the mercy of God,

101 wole] sall D. nempne] neuen A₂D (D has new, but the e is hardly distinguishable from o. There is a break in the parchment before wykyd.) H₁, telle H₂, þe nemen R. þe wicke] wykyd A₂D, þis worldly H₁, þe othere H₂. 102 beþ noht gode] are swithe R. ac] bot A₂DH₁H₂, om. R. 103 here] there H₂. 105 is hit] it is A₂DH₂, is R. 105 reads in H₁: Þerfor loke þou hem sloone. 106 To] For to H₁R. into] in H₁. 107 nouþe] now A₂DH₁H₂R. to] wele vnto D, bisily to H₁, Awihyle to H₂, vnto R. 108 i] om. R. hem wole] wyll hem D, hom I wil R. nempne] schewe A₂, neuen vnto D, neuen to H₁. 108 reads in H₂: And I wyllle telle þow wheche þei bee. 109 ennie] enueny D. 111 and 112 are transposed in H₂. 112 ful] myche H₁, full moche H₂. 113 þis] om. D. 114 Hit] For it DH₁. bringeþ] lediþ H₁. man] a man A₂H₂, men DH₁, mony R. to] vnto R. þisternesse] theftnesse A₂, dyrkenes DH₁, Vncerteynnesse H₂, merkenes R. 116 sleuþe] slownes R. 117 wel] ful R. 119 what] om. A₂. wole] sall D. 120 Vnderstond] vnderstond wel H₁, Vndyrstonde yt welle H₂. ne] not R. 121 as] om. A₂H₁H₂R. sleuþes] slownes R. 122 on] is on A₂R. 123 a] as a A₁D. 124 And] Hytt H₂. man] men D. anuied] vnneþe D, fro mynde R. 125 Offte] Welofte H₂. swiche] swiche wicke A₁A₂R.

¹ The final e is above the line in MS. A₁.

² MS. A₁ has ite.

³ Read þisternisse.

	þat, bote man turne away þerfro, Sauued worþ he neuere mo.	128	
through which Judas was lost.	¶ Wroþer hele was Iudas born, For þurw þat sinne he was lorn ; Merci he les þurw þat sinne, Wher-þurw he ne mihte no ioye winne.	40 b	132
Hasten!	¶ Vch man birede him in his sihte		
Flee that sin.	To fien þat sinne bi his mihte And alle oþere þat i haue nempt, If he wole to ioye be dempt.'		136
Hearken to my sermon!	H erkne now to my sarmoun, What i wole telle in my lesczoun.		
Wisdom	Wisdom in godes drede, Off which þat i erere seide, ¹		140
points two ways to heaven :	¶ Tweie þinges it wole þe teche, Whar-þurw þu miht to heuene reche :		
flee sin ; do good.	þat is, lat þi sinne and do god For his loue, þat deiede on rod ;		144
	¶ Ac to late þi sinnè al onliche Nis noht inouh, sikerliche.		
The rewards are mercy and peace.	þu most don god forþ þerwid, ² If þu wolt haue merci and griþ.		148

De Sa-
pientia.

127 þat bote] Bot A₂H₁R, Butt yffe H₂, man] a man A₂D, men H₁,
turne] flee H₂, 128 worþ he] worth þei A₂, shul he be H₁, maye he be H₂,
bes he R. 129 Wroþer hele] In a carful tyme H₁, With wroþe hele H₂, 130
þurw] om. D. lorn] for lorne A₂DH₁H₂R. 131 þurw] for A₂, 132 ne] om.
H₁H₂R. no ioye] heuen A₂, 133 birede] I rede A₂, be rede D, be redy R.
him] om. R. 133 reads in H₁ and in H₂ :

I counsel yche man with al his myzte H₁.

Euyry man behouythe in hys syzte H₂.

134 fien] flye H₁, bi] om. H₁, with H₂R. his mihte] all his myzt DH₂R,
boþ day and nyzte H₁, 135 oþere] þe oþer DH₂, haue] here H₁, nempt]
neuen H₁, 136 he wole] þai wil R. be dempt] idempt D, be demened R. 136
reads in H₁ : If 3e wil come to þe blisse of heuen. 137 sarmoun] lessoume
H₂, 138 wole] shall A₂, telle] say A₂, þe tell D, rede þe H₂, in my lesczoun]
be resoume H₂. After 138 one line is interpolated in H₂ : *Inuicium sapiencie
timor domini.* (Cp. H₂ after l. 4 and A₁A₂DH₁ after l. 882.) 140 which]
leue H₁, þat] om. D. erere] here D, eere of H₂, bifore R. 140 reads in
A₂ : Vse wele þat be my rede. (l. 82. Cp. A₂ in variants.) 141 it] I DH₂,
142 reche] Areche H₂, 143 þat] And þat A₂, lat] leue A₂H₁H₂R. þi] om.
DR. 144 rod] þe rode D. 145 Ac] And A₂DH₁, om. H₂, But for R. late]
leue A₂H₁H₂, loue R. þi] om. DR. sinne] om. R. al] om. A₂H₁H₂. (sekerlich
has been crossed out before onliche in A₂.) onliche] onely R. 146 Nis] Es
DH₁H₂R. sikerliche] sikerly R. 148 and] or H₁, griþ] greyþe D.

¹ Read sede.² Read þerwip.

- ¶ Þis wonder of many sinful men,
 þat þinkeþ it were muche¹ for hem
 To haue gret worldes honour
 As londes, rentes, halle, and bour, 152
 Riche vessel of siluer and gold
 And grete tresor and faire bold, value worldly
 ¶ Riche mete and riche drink[e], possessious
 And litel þerfore for to swink[e], 156
 Hele of bodi in bon and huide, 40 c
 And gret los of pompe and pride. and fleeting
 A murie lyf hem þinkeþ þis were, glory, but
 But eft hit worþ ibouht [ful]² dere, 160 earth's joy is
 Quia nihil³ in=felicius, quam felicitas bought dear.
 peccatoris.
- ¶ Napeles hit may falle wel,
 þat, þouh man haue muche katel
 As londes, rentes, and oþer god,
 3it⁴ he may be pore of⁵ mod 164
 And low of herte, ful iwis,
 And halt þerof ful litel prys.
- ¶ Ac nu i wole speke and rede
 Of hem, þat i erere seide,⁶ 168 Such sinful
 ones

149 Þis] Þis is A₂, It es D, Thys ys a H₂. of many] is of mony R. sinful] om. DH₂, a synful R. men] man DR. 150 it were] om. A₂. 152 As] As in D, om. H₂. 154 grete] oþer H₁. and faire bold] faire and bold A₂H₂, manyfolde H₁. 155 2d riche] goode H₁. 156 litel] leþe D. 157 Hele] Helthe H₂. in] om. A₂, and R. huide] hede H₁. 158 And] om. H₂AR. of] also of H₂. 159 þis] ytte H₂R. 160 eft] om. D, after H₁H₂. worþ] shal be H₁, wylle be H₂, mot be R. ibouht] about H₂D, bo3te H₁H₂R. After 160 are the following two lines in H₂:

Where be thoo þat thyukyþe þere vpon
 I cane nott telle be seynte John

Latin: The Latin text is inserted between 158 and 159 in R. Quia nihil] Qui R. in=felicius] infecclius A₂, felicius R. felicitas] fecilitas A₂, vita R. 161 Napeles] Neuer þe lese A₂H₂, but no þe lesse R. falle] be fall H₂, bifalle R. 162 þat] om. H₂R. (Space is left for one word in H₂.) man] a man A₂DR, men H₁, summan H₂. muche] ry3t moehill H₂. 163 As londes] Londes londes (The second londes is marked for erasure.) D. 165 low] ful lowe DR. ful] om. DR, fully H₁, and fulle H₂. iwis] wyse H₂. 166 halt] haue H₂. ful] om. A₂H₂R. (lytyll is over erasure in H₂.) 167 and 168 are transposed in D. 167 Ac] And also A₂, and DH₂. But H₁R. nu i wole] now I sal D, I wil now H₁. and rede] om. A₂. 168 hem] whum D. erere] are A₂D, bifore H₁R, eere of H₂.

¹ muchel is in MS. A₁.

² MS. A₁ has wel.

³ The MSS. have nichil. ⁴ 3it is on the margin before he in MS. A₁.

⁵ of is above the line in MS. A₁.

⁶ Read sede.

	þat þurw here pride and here wil	
are in peril,	þeih fallen ofte in gret peril.	
	Seint Austin halt þer-mide noht	
	And seiþ, it shal ben dere bouht,	172
	And skilfulliche it mot be so,	
	For, whan a man haþ sinne do,	
and they must atone.	Oþer he mot hit beten here	
	Or suffre pine elles where.	176
The gracious love of God	¶ Wole 3e here, what louerede	
	God kudde to ¹ hem þat wole ² him drede?	
	[He wyll hem here hold[e] lowe,	
	For þei schold hym þe better knawe ³ ;]	180
grants chas- tenings, anguish,	He wole hem chasten wid smale pining	
	And maken hem lese þat hote brenning ;	
	And many anguisse he wole hem 3iue	
	To suffre here, whiles þeih liue,	40 a 184
hunger, thirst,	¶ As hunger and þurst and trauail strong ;	
	Hij sholen haue euere among	
	Lore of catel and seknesse, ⁴	
earthly losses. These in- crease hea- ven's joys,	And al is to echen here blisse.	188
	Man, if þu (ne) leuest noht me,	

169 here] hy3e H₁. wil] yll (*There is an erasure before y.*) D. 170 þeih] om. R. 171 halt þer-mide] þare with holdeth (*Two letters have been crossed out before holdeth.*) A₂, halde þer with DH₁, holte þere with ry3t H₂R. 172 And] He DH₂. bouht] aboutht A₂. 173 And] For H₂. skilfulliche] wilfullyche H₁. mot] moste H₁H₂R. 174 For] om. H₂. a man] man A₂H₂. sinne do] synn ido DR, mysdo H₁, A synne doo H₂. 175 mot hit beten] mot beten D, he motte be beten (*One letter has been erased before h.*) H₁, he mvste be betyn H₂. 176 Or] Oþer D, Or ellis R. pine] paynes A₂H₂. 177 3e here] þou here now R. louerede] I rede R. 178 kudde] kyþeþ H₁R, shewythe H₂. to] om. R. hem] man D, him H₁H₂. wole him] wold hyme A₂, hym wyll H₂. 179 and 180 are omitted in A₁. 179 hem] om. R. here holde] holde here D, hold meke & H₁, holdyn here full H₂, holde hom here R. 180 þe] om. H₁. 180 has the following readings in D and in H₂:

þe better for he sull hym knowe D.
The bettyr for þey shulde hym knowe H₂.

181 and 182 are omitted in A₂. 181 He wole] om. H₂. hem] hym DH₁, om. H₂R. chasten] kast H₁, Chastyse hem H₂R. 182 hem] hym D, hom to R. þat] þe DH₂. 183 And many] A man D, Many an H₂. hem] hym D. 185 As] om. DH₁H₂, and R. (*And is crossed out before As in A₂.*) 186 Hij] þei A₂H₁H₂R, he D. haue] suffri DH₂. 187 Lore] Losse A₂H₁H₂R. seknesse] stronge syknyssse H₂. 188 And] om. H₂. al is] all it is A₂H₂, all D. here] paire ioy and D, þeire H₁. 189 ne] om. A₂DH₁H₂R. leuest] be leue H₂.

¹ to is above the line in MS. A₁.

² Before w one letter has been erased in MS. A₁.

³ Read knowe.

⁴ Read seknyssse.

þu sek aboute, and þu miht se
þise holi men alle bidene,
How þei h liuede in wo and tene. 192

And, if my tale nis noht for-ʒete,¹

þanne maitou wel iwite,

þat þe worldes blisse is noht,

Whan þu hast abouten soult ;

196 for the
world's bliss
is naught.

¶ For, ʒif² a man haþ her his wille,

Wel lihtliche he may spille.

Her i wole nouþe blinne.

De Fide. Anoper þing i wole biginne 200 Believe in

To speke, man, of þi bileue,

For hit is god, it³ wole noht greue.

Man, þi bileue shal be so :

þat o god is and no mo,

204 one God,

þat o god is in vnite,

þre persones in trinite.

a God in
unity and in
trinity,

¶ þu shalt, [man], bileue also

And treuliche in þin herte do,

208

þat god had neuere beginning

Ne neuere (ne) shal haue ending,

without be-
ginning,
without end-
ing,

¶ And shappere⁴ is of alle shaftes,

41 a

Creator of all.

And ʒeueþ wit in alle craftes,

212

190 þu sek] Seek H₁R. þu miht se] by þe se A₂, bi se D, þou maist see H₁R, þe besye H₂. 192 liuede] lybbeþe D. wo] sorowe H₂. 193 if] if þou R. nis] es DH₁, þou H₂, om. R. 194 þanne] Now H₁. maitou] þou myʒt ful D. wel] þo better R. iwite] þerof I wyte H₁, wete H₂, witt R. 195 þe] þys H₂. blisse] wele DH₂. is] nys A₂. 196 abouten] all abouten DH₂, hit thorou R. soult] I soʒte H₁. 197 and 198 are omitted in H₂. 197 his] all hys D. 198 Wel] Ful DH₁R. lihtliche] lyʒtly H₁R. spille] hys saule spyll D, hymself spylle H₁. 199 Her i wole nouþe] Here I wyll not A₂, Now I wil here of H₁, Of thys now I wolle H₂, Here I wil a while R. blinne] be kenne (*The k is imperfectly formed.*) D, belynne H₂. 200 Anoper] And oþere A₂, And anoper D, And of oþyre H₂. wole] sal D. 201 and 202 are transposed in D. 201 man] more R. 202 it] and DH₁R. wole] nyl H₁. 204 is] ther ys H₂. 204—206 read in H₁:

þat þer is oo god & no moo
þe whiche is in persones þree
And oo god in trinitee

206 þre] And þre D. 207 man] om. A₁A₂R, al so H₁. also] here to H₁. 208 treuliche] trewly A₂H₁H₂R. do] þenk so H₁, yt doo H₂R. 209 had] ne hadde H₂. 210 Ne] Nor A₂. ne] om. A₂DH₁H₂R. haue] haue noon H₁H₂. 211 shaftes] shappes A₂. (shaftes is over erasure in D.) 212 ʒeueþ] ʒif þe D, ʒifere of H₁, gaffe H₂.

¹ Read forʒite.

² One letter has been erased before ʒ in MS. A₁.

³ One letter is erased after it in MS. A₁.

⁴ re is above the line in MS. A₁.

- And made man after his owen face—
 Nas þat gret loue of heih[e] grace ?
- God bestowed
 freedom of
 will, but
- And 3af to man fre power
 To chese, boþe fer and ner, 216
 Off god and yuel shed to make,
 þe euel to late *and* god to take.
 Wheiþer he wole chese, he haþ power
 þurw 3ifte of god, while he is her ; 220
 þanne is hit noht on god ilong,
 If man wole chese to don wrong.
- He is not at
 fault if man
 choose the
 wrong.
 Adam
- ¶ Adam was þe forme man,
 þat euere singyn bigan, 224
 And þat was god to wite noht,
 þerfore hit haþ ben dere bouht.
 God 3af him wit as his owen,
 God and yuel for to knowen, 228
 Ac þurw eging of þe fend *and* Eue
 He dede a sinne þat gan him grene.
- bought sin
 dear.
- ¶ Vnboxonnesse was his gilt,
 þerfore out of paradys he was [pylt].¹ 232
 Boxomere he was to his wif,
 þan to god þat 3af him lyf ;
 And, for he dede after hire lore,
 He bouhte hit sippen swiþe sore, 236
 ¶ His fredom was binomen him al
 And put in seruage as a þral, 41 b

213 made man] man made A₁A₂R, shope man H₂. owen] *om.* H₂. 214 Nas þat] Was þer D, þat was H₁R, Was þat not a H₂. gret] for R. of heih[e] and heze D, of his holy H₁, of hys H₂. 215 3af] 3if D. 216 To chese] Of these A₂, to these R. 217 Off] And of D, *om.* H₂. yuel] of euel D. shed] for A₂H₂, cheyse D. 218 þe] þat D. late] leue A₂DH₁R. *and*] þe A₂DR. 219 Wheiþer] Whiche H₁, Too whether H₂. 220 3ifte] might R. 221 is hit] it is A₂R, on] in A₂H₁. ilong] a longe A₂H₂, longe DH₁R. 222 man] he A₂DH₂. wole] wollen to D, *om.* H₁. 223 forme] first A₂H₁R, formeste H₂. 224 þat] In wham H₁. singyn] first syune DH₂, ony syune R. 225 wite] wyte ryzte H₂. 226 hit] he D. haþ] was ful R. ben] *om.* DR. bouht] a bouzt A₂D. 227 his] is DH₂. 228 yuel] wicke R. 229 Ac] And A₂DH₁R, *om.* H₂. þurw] Thorowe þe H₂R. Eue] of eue D. 230 a] *om.* H₁. gan him] was ful D, dide hym H₁H₂R. 231 his] hit R. 232 he was] was he R. pylt] *om.* A₁, put D. 233 Boxomere] Buxom more D, Moore boxum H₁. 235 for] for þat R. hire] þeyre H₁. 236 bouhte hit] abouzte D. sippen] afterworde H₁, aftyr H₂. swiþe] ful H₁. 237 binomen him] bimonie hym H₁, fro hym taue R. 238 in] to D.

¹ pylt is supplied from MS. A₂. was is the last word of the line in MS. A₁. gilt seems a deeper black than what precedes, suggesting that it may have been added later.

¶ Noht one he, bute alle þo þat of him comen for euere mo. Ac for hit was þurw gile don, God ʒaf his pite þer-vpon, And eke for loue þat he hade To man, þat he himselue made, To sauue man, man he bicam, And pine for hem to him he nam, And ʒaf for hem his herte blod, And deiede for hem on þe rod.	240 244 248	God's pity and love saved man- kind. God became man, and shed His heart's blood on the cross, died, was buried,
¶ Ibiried he was, in ¹ tounge he lay, Til hit com þe þridde day ; Vp he ros þe þridde day From deþ to liue wid-oute nay ; To heuene he steih þurw his mihte, Riht in-to his faderes sihte, And sit on his faderes riht[e] side, þe grete dom for to abide. þider he wole come on domesday, Cruwel and sterne wid-oute nay,	 252 256	 rose the third day, ascended into heaven, sits at His Father's right hand. On Dooms- day
¶ He þat was woned to be Meke as a lomb, ful of pite : þeder he wole lihten adoun Wraþful and sterne as a lioun. Merci nele he shewe non,	 260	 He will come to earth to judge with- out mercy.

239 one] only A₂DH₂R, oonlyche H₁. alle] also al H₁. 240 for euere] *euere* A₂DH₂. 241 Ac] And A₂D, But H₁H₂R. þurw] for R. don] idon D. 242 God ʒaf] Almyʒty god had H₁, God had R. his] hym D, *om.* H₁R. 243 eke] also H₁H₂. for] for þe A₂H₂. 244 man] monkynde R. he] hem D. himselue] *om.* R. 245 To sauue man] To saue hym þan H₁, Man to saue H₂. man he] he man H₂. 246 pine] peyne & passion H₁, grete peyne H₂, pyne grete R. hem] man A₂H₂, hym R. to him] *om.* A₂H₁H₂R. 247 And] He H₂. hem] man H₂, hym R. 248 And] And þus H₁, *om.* R. deiede] with harde deth R. for hem] *om.* H₁R, for man H₂. on] opon A₂DH₁H₂R. 249 Ibiried] Biryed H₁H₂R. 250 Til hit com] Tyll it came to A₂H₂, Forto com D. 251 and 252 are omitted in H₂. 251 reads in A₂: And rose for soth als I ʒow say. 254 Riht] Ful ryʒt H₁, *om.* H₂. in-to] to D. faderes] awne fader D, ffadyrys ryche H₂. 255 And sit] þere he sittip H₁. 256 for] *om.* R. 257 þider] Hedere A₂, And hedyr H₂, *om.* R. he wole] shall H₂. on] at DH₂, sithen on R. 258 wid-oute nay] for soþe too saye H₂. 259 þat] þat afore H₂. woned] woned merciful H₁. 260 a] *om.* H₁H₂R. 261 and 262 are omitted in A₂. 261 þeder] þer DH₁, Hedyr H₂, þere þen R. lihten] þane lyʒte H₂. adoun] downe H₂. 262 and] *om.* R. a] ony H₂. 263 nele] þan wyll H₂, wil R.

¹ There is an erasure after *in* in MS. A₁.

	¶ Ac, riht after þat man haþ don,	264
	He shal fonge his iugement	41 c
	To ioie or to strong turment.	
	¶ Allas! what sholen hij onne take,	
Those who forsook God	þat wolden [here] her god forsake ¹	268
	þurw sinne of fles[c]h[ly] ² liking,	
	And wolde hit bete wid no pining?	
shall be driven	þerfore þeih sholen in-to helle,	
	Wheiper þeih wolen, or þeih nelle,	272
	And þere bileue[n] euere mo,	
to hell.	In [as] strong pine as men may do.	
	Seint Austin spekeþ of alle swiche	
	And seiþ wordes [ful] reuliche :	276
The wicked in hell	¶ M abent mortem sine morte et finem mortis sine fine.	
shall suffer death without dying,	¶ H ij sholen haue deþ wid-oute deing And point of deþ wid-uten ending ; ³	
	Here deþ hij sholen wilnen euere,	
divers ago- nies,	Ac to ende of deþ comen hij neuere ;	280
	Hij sholen euere more duire	
sharp pain of fire ;	In stronge pine of hote fire.	
	Her i wole nouþe dwelle,	
	And of mur[y]ere ³ þinge [i wole] þou telle.	284

264 Ac] Bot A₂H₁H₂R. And D. þat] om. A₂. man haþ] men haue H₂.
 265 He shal] They shulle þan H₂, þai shal R. fonge] a fonge D, take H₂R.
 his] om. A₂, here H₂R. iugement] verament (MS. *indistinct*) A₂. 266 or to]
 or els H₁. turment] tournement DH₂. 267 what] how A₂DH₁H₂R. hij]
 þei A₂DH₁H₂R. onne] þan on H₂. 268 here her god] her god A₁A₂DR, here
 god here H₁, here here lorde H₂. 269 of] of here H₁. 271 sholen] shulle go
 H₁, shul wende R. into] til R. *272 or þeih] or A₂. 272 is omitted in R.
In its place is the following line : nyl þai wil þai þere to dwelle. 273 bileuen]
 be lenyu H₂. euere] for euer H₁H₂R. 274 as] also A₁A₂, om. DR, als H₁.
 strong] strounger H₁. as] om. R. men] man A₂H₂, fend H₁, om. R. may
 do] & eke in woo R. 275 Austin] poull A₂, austyn he H₂. 276 ful reuliche]
 reuliche A₁D, rewefullich A₂. *Latin* : Through defacement of the page 'fine'
 is wanting in A₂. et] om. D. fine] morte H₁. 277 Hij] þei A₂DH₁H₂R.
 278 point] apoynt D, ende R. 279 Here] þere A₂H₁. hij] þei A₂DH₁H₂R.
 wilnen] wyll A₂H₂R, welny D, feel H₁. 280 Ac] For A₂, And DH₂, But H₁R.
 ende] þe ende H₁H₂. hij] þei A₂DH₁H₂R. 281 Hij] þei A₂DH₁H₂R. duire]
 þere endure H₂. 282 In] In þe H₂. hote] hell A₂H₂. 283 Her] Herof H₁.
 i wole] sal I D. nouþe] a whill A₂ (before I wil) R, now D. 283 reads in H₂ :
 [N]ow of þis tale I wyll dwelle. (A blank space has been left for a large N.)
 284 myrere] a myrrier R. i wole þou] þou A₁R, om. D, I wil H₁.

¹ 268 is written twice in MS. A₁. The second time it is crossed out.

² MS. A₁ has fleshes.

³ MS. A₁ murszere.

- ¶ Tellen i wole ful iwis
 Off þe ioyes of paradys,
 Whiche godes children, þat gode be,
 Sholen haue *and* ise ; 288 but God's
children
 Ac, þouh i hadde *in* my bayli[e]
 þe wit of alle elergy[e],
- ¶ Mihte hit neuere so bifalle, 41 *a*
 þat i mihte telle[n] alle. 292
 Ae, also god ȝif me *grace*,
 I shal ȝou shewe *in* þis place,
 What ioie þeih sholen han ifere,
 þat seruen god on eorþe here. 296
 Whan þeih sholen parten henne,
 Ful wel þeih sholen here weie kenne
 Riht to þe blisse of paradys,
 þat god haþ ȝarked to alle his. 300 shall know
their way
to paradise,
- ¶ þere is euere ioye inouh
 And euere riht widouten wouh,
 Wit and kunning and kointise,
 And trewe loue widou[t]¹ feintise, 304 love,
 Streinþe inouh and fairnesse,
 And liht wid-oute þisternesse. beauty,
and light.
 þere sholen þeih noht ben agilt,
 [For] al here wille shal ben fulfild : 308
 Hij sholen haue, mid iwisse,

285 Tellen] Telle ȝow H₂. wole] sal D. ful] ryȝt now A₂, *om.* D, su[m]-
 what H₁, sone H₂, now forthe R. 287 Whiche] þo whiche R. 288 haue]
 þat joye hane H₂. ise] eke see H₁, ytt see H₂, al so sene R. 289 Ac] For A₂,
 And DR, But H₁H₂. þouh] *and* H₁, of R. hadde] haue D. 290 alle] al maner
 H₁H₂. 291 Mihte hit] ȝit myȝt it H₁, Ne myȝt ytt H₂, hit might R. neuere]
 not H₁. 292 tellen] telle ȝow halffe ne H₂, thorouly telle hom R. 293 Ae]
 And A₂, *om.* D, But ȝit H₁, Butt H₂R. also] as H₁R. ȝif] wol ȝyf DH₁R.
 294 shal] wylle H₂. 295—300 *are omitted in* H₂. 295 ifere] in fere DH₁R.
 296 on] in A₂H₁. 297 Whan] When þat R. parten] departen A₂, perty D.
 henne] hethen R. 298 here] þair D. 299 to þe] in to A₂, to D. 300 þat]
 Whiche H₁. ȝarked] made A₂H₁. 301 euere ioye] joye euere H₂. 302 wouh]
 vow (*possibly for* wove of DH₂) H₁. 303 *and* 304 *are transposed in* D. 303
 kointise] qweyntise A₂DH₂. 304 And] *om.* H₂. 305 *and* 306 *are omitted*
in H₂. 305 Streinþe] þere is strenkþe H₁. 306 þisternesse] dirkenese A₂D,
 any derkenes H₁, merkenes R. 307 noht ben] fynde no A₂, haue no R.
 agilt] gylt A₂R, I guilde D. 308 For al] al A₁, For DH₂. here] þaire DH₂,
 309 *and* 310 *are omitted in* H₂. 309 Hij] þei A₂DH₁R. mid] mende D, *with*
 a H₁, þer *with* R. iwisse] Wisshe H₁.

¹ MS. A₁ ou.

	Fulle ioye <i>and</i> fulle blisse, ;	
There poor and rich to- gether,	¶ Boþe þe pore <i>and</i> þe riche, Ac, wete þu wel, noht alle iliche.	312
each hath his dwelling, after his owu deserving.	Euerich shal haue his woniꝯ[i]ng Riht after his owen deseruing ; Ac lat hit noht come in þi þouht, þat any of hem shal wanten ouht,	316
The least in God's king- dom hath perfect joy.	For he þat haþ lest in þat woniing ¹ Haþ fulle ioye ouer alle þing. ¶ þerfore, man, in al þi miht, þu loue wel god bi day <i>and</i> niht :	42 a 320
	¶ þe inwardlichere þu louest him her, þe more shal ben þi ioye þer.	
Love	Herkne nu alle to me, For i wole speken of charite.	324
is well pleas- ing to God.	Off alle uertuz hit is hext, And godes wille hit is next. ʒif þu wolt wite [what] hit be, Herkne, <i>and</i> i wole telle þe :	De uera. Caritate. 328
Then love God well,	Hit is, loue god ouer alle þing, In þouht, in dede, <i>and</i> in speking.	
and	And, if þu wolt euere come þerto, An-oþer þing þu most do :	332
love thy fellow-man,	þu most loue, hu-so hit be, þin emeristene forþ wid þe.	
	¶ Man, woltou make a god prouing,	

310 Fulle] Ful of D, Al maner H₁. fulle] ful of D, al maner H₁. 311 Boþe þe] Boþe A₂. þe] eke A₂, eke the H₂. 312 Ac] For A₂, and DH₁, But H₂R. þu] it D, þou it H₁. wel noht] wel *and* nauzt D, wil no; H₁, wil not R. alle] om. A₂. iliche] elich A₂, in lyche H₂. 313 Euerich] Euere he A₂, For eueryche H₂, Ilkone R. 314 owen] om. H₂. 315 Ac] And A₂D, But H₁H₂R. lat hit noht come] trow þou wel R. 316 any] nou R. 317 he þat] who so R. 318 Haþ] He hath H₂R. ouer] of A₂H₁R, in DH₂. 319 in] with A₂H₂R. 320 þu] om. DH₁H₂. wel god] god wel R. bi] om. D. 321 þe] þe more A₂, For so D, For the more þat H₂. inwardlichere] inwordelich A₂D, om. H₂. Between 322 and 323 is interpolated in H₂: 'Deleccio es proximi.' 323 alle] om. A₂. 323 reads in H₂: Herken now my ffrende so free. 324 wole] sal now D. of] om. D. 325 hext] þo hext R. bi] om. D. 326 godes wille] at goddys wyll þane (The page is worn, so that the line is nearly erased.) A₂. 327 wite] om. DH₂. what] hu A₁A₂. be] may be R. 328 wole] sall D. 328 reads in H₂: Sytte nowe styлле & herken me. 329 Hit is loue] Loue welle H₂. 330 in dede] & dede H₁R. *and*] om. A₂D. 331 euere] om. A₂H₂. 332 An-oþer] Ane oþer D. þing] om. H₂. þu] þe R. most] mvrste nedys H₂. 334 emeristene] euene crystenn A₂H₂R, enemy H₁. forþ] ryzt euen H₁. 335 Man] þan D. god] om. H₂.

¹ woujng in MS. A₁.

- Wher þu loue þe heuene king? 336
 If þu lonest god ful iwis,
 þu [wolt] louen alle his. so that
- S**i non diligis proximum tuum,
 quem uides, deum quem non
 uides, quomodo potes diligere? ¹
 For men seiþ soþ, bi wit[te] myne :
 ‘ Whoso loueþ me, he loueþ myne.’ 340 thou mayst
 see God.
 ‘ But þu loue [þyn em]² cristene þat bi þe be,
 þat alday [þou]³ mait hem ise,
 Hou maitou loue god, i ne can deuise,
 Whom þu miht sen on none wyse!’ 344
- ¶ þis seiþ sein Powel and bereþ witanesse,
 As he may wel in soþ[e]nesse. 42 b
 Abraham him sauh, ac þu [nost] noht hou ! Abraham saw
 God
 Herkne, i wole þe telle nowh : 348
 ¶ þe fourme of þre children he mette, in the person
 of three
 þre he sauh, and (as) on he (hem) grette ; angels,
 In tokne it was, i telle þe, betokening
 the Holy
 Off þe holi trinite. 352 Trinity.

336 Wher] Where A₂D. If H₁H₂R. þe] om. A₂. 337 If] For yffe H₂.
 ful] filly H₁, om. H₂, wel R. 338 wolt] most A₁, myste nedys H₂. his] þat
 is hisse R. *Latin: The passage is omitted here and is inserted between 345
 and 346 in D. diligis] deliges A₂H₁. uides] tu uides H₂. deum] om. H₂.
 ‘quem non uides’ is inserted after ‘diligere’ in H₂. quomodo] commodo A₁,
 quoniam A₂DH₁H₂. potes diligere] diligere potes D, potes diligere A₂H₁. 339
 For men] Man H₁, Men R. soþ] and soþ D, soþ for H₁. 339 reads in H₂ :
 In the gospelle I seye þow be ryme. 340 Whoso] He þat H₂. myne] alle
 myne H₂, my hyne R. 341 But] But yffe H₂. emcristene] cristene A₁,
 euene crysten A₂H₂R, neþbore H₁. þat bi þe he] þat by þe þe D, þat dewllip
 þe by H₁, be þe H₂, þat is by þe R. 342 is omitted in D. 342 alday] om.
 R. þou] om. A₁R. mait] mast A₂. hem] al day with eghen R. ise] se A₂R.
 342 has the following readings in H₁ and in H₂ :*

Whom þou maiste see eche day wiþ yeze H₁.

That aldaye wythe hem mayste speke & see H₂.

343 maitou] mast þou A₂, schuldest D, myxte þou H₁, þou R. ne can] can
 nouzt A₂H₁H₂R. 344 Whom] That H₁. miht] may not A₂H₁H₂, mait DR.
 on] in A₂DH₁H₂. 345 Þis] Thus H₂. seiþ sein Powel] saint poull saiþ H₁,
 seyþ poule H₂R. 346 As] Also A₂, Soo H₂. wel] om. D. in] in þe boke
 of H₂. 347 him] om. R. ac] for A₂, om. D, but H₁H₂R. þu] he R. nost]
 om. A₁, ne wost A₂, woste H₂, not wist R. noht] om. A₂DH₁R. 348 i wole]
 I sal D, and I wil H₁H₂R. þe telle] tell þe A₂DH₁H₂R. 349 þe] In A₂.
 þre] om. R. 350 and as] and A₂D, but H₁. he] om. R. hem] om. A₂DH₁.
 351 tokne] tokenyng A₂H₂R. telle] telle it D. 352 þe holi] god þat is in A₂,
 þe soþfast holy H₁, alle the hole H₂, þo heghe holi R.

¹ MS. A₁ has diligere.

² MS. A₁ has þe.

³ MS. A₁ omits þou.

- ¶ Bodiliche on corpe her, 42 c here on earth.
 He mihte noht, it is so cler. 376
 And, if þu wolt witen hou,
 Herkne, i wole þe telle now ;
 For so heih a þing is þe god-hede,
 þer-of to speke it is drede. 380
 God is so elene and so cler a þing,
 þat heuene and erþe he¹ 3eueþ shining,
 And sunne and mone and sterren breme,
 Off him þeih han al here leme. 384
- ¶ þu sext, man, wel aperteliche,
 þat þe sunne haþ brihtnesse muche,²
 And, þouh he sitte so wonder heie,
 Hit greueþ euere mannes eize, 388 We may not
 Inwardliche on hire to se gaze on the
 For hire grete clerete. sun.
 Nu, for-soþe i telle þe—
 And sikerliche lef þu me— 392
- þat god, þat 3af þe sunne his liht,
 Is swich an hundred [siþe] so briht. 396 God, its
 source, hath
 hundred-fold
 its brillianey.
- ¶ Man, mihte hit euere þanne be,
 þat bodilich eize mihte him se 396 Can human
 eye
 behold that
 glory ?
 Here on corpe,—þe godhede ?

375 Bodiliche] With bodily eyze H₁, Godlyche H₂, Bodily R. on] in R. corpe] herth D. 376 He mihte noht] Whilset þou art on lyue H₁, men might not R. 376 reads in D: No may noman haue þat power. 377 witen] I wyte D. hou] now R. 378 Herkne] Herken and H₁R. wole] sal D. þe telle] telle þe H₁, telle 3ow R. now] om. R. 378 reads in H₂: Sytte nowe stulle & herkenyþe nowe. 379 For] And D, om. H₁. a þing] ys H₂, þing R. þe] his A₂. 380 þer-of to speke] þat to speke þer of D. drede] no drede H₁, grete drede H₂R. 381 elene and so] om. A₂, cler and D, clere and so H₂. cler] elene DH₂. 382 he] it D, om. H₂. 383 And] om. H₂. breme] beme DR. 384 here] þaire D. 385 man wel] wele man D, man here H₁, man H₂ R. 387 And] om. A₂. þouh] om. R. he] it A₂H₁. sitte] schyne D, is sett R. so] neuer so A₂, om. DH₁. 388 Hit] 3it it A₂. euere] om. A₂R, euereche D, euere a H₁. mannes] bodyly D. 389 Inwardliche] Inwardly H₂R. on] vppe to H₂. hire] om. A₂, hit R. 390 hire] his R. grete] moche H₂. clerete] charite R. 391 telle] tell it DH₂. 392 sikerliche] sekryly H₂R. lef þu] þou mayste leue H₁, be leue H₂. 393 þat] om. A₂H₂. 3af] om. A₂. sunne his] sonnes A₂, sonu here DH₂. 394 swich an] seche a D, an H₁R. hundred] hundreth A₂H₁. siþe] om. A₁A₂D, tyme H₂. 395 Man] Man how D, þerfor man H₁, how þen R. euere þanne] euer so A., euer DH₁R, þane euere H₂. 396 bodilich] bodelich with A₂, boldelyche H₂, bodily R. eize] om. H₂. him] euer D, hym euer H₁, om. H₂. 397 on] in H₂. þe] in his H₁.

¹ One letter has been crased after he in MS. A₁. ² Read miche.

- Nay, noman mihte don þat dede :
 þat is preued and ishewed
 Bope to lered and to lewed. 400
 þanne maitou þenke : ‘ Hu mai þis be ?
 Ne shal no man god ise ?’
- Yes, yes, ¶ 3us, 3us, bi my leaute !
 Herkne, and i wole telle þe : 404
 3if þu wolt sen in þi siht
 God of heuene, þat is so briht,— 42 a
 ¶ Vnderstond nu what i mene—
- the undefiled { ‘ þu most ben of herte elene,’ 408
 In word, in dede, and in pouht,
 þat þu ne be ifiled noht ;
 For god self seide in soþ[e]nesse—
 þe godspel þerof bereþ¹ wisse : 412
- shall see the infinite God of Heaven
Beati mundo² corde, quoniam ipsi deum uidebunt.
 þis is to seie, i telle þe :
 ‘ þe elene of herte, blessed þeih be ;’
 For, at þe heie dom sikerliche
 ‘ þeih sholen se god’ aperteliche, 416
 In his godhede and in his blisse,
 Off which þeih sholen neuere misse.
- and shall hearken to the joyous summons,— ¶ þanne sholen þeih here, herkne nouþe,
 A blisful word of godes mouþe, 420

398 Nay] *om.* DH₂. 399 þat] *and* þat R. preued] I proued A₂, proued wele DH₂. ishewed] schewed DH₂R, wel shewede H₁. 400 lered *and*] lerned *and* eke H₁. 401 þanne] How D. (How is crossed out before þane in A₂. þane is above the line.) maitou] maste þone A₃, myzte þou H₂. hu] *om.* DH₁. mai þis] sal þis D, þis may not H₁, maye yt H₂. 402 Ne shal no man] þat noman sal D, þat any man here shul euer H₁, Shalle ther noman H₂, ne may no mon R. ise] see A₂H₁R, here se H₂. 403 *and* 404 *read* in H₁ :

3is for soþ wiþ outen uey
 Herken & here what I wil say

404 wole] sal D. 407—475 *are omitted* in D. 407 nu] wel H₁H₂. 408 þu] For þou H₁. of] in H₁. 409 *reads* in H₁ : Of worde of dede & of þozte. 410 þat] So þat H₁. ne] *om.* H₁R. ifiled] fyled A₂H₁, fyled right R. 411 self] hym A₂, him self H₁H₂ (*following* sayed) R. seide] saiþe A₂H₁H₂. 412 þe] *and* þo R. 413 þis] þat A₂H₂R. telle] telle yt H₂. 414 þe] Al H₁R. þeih] *om.* H₂. 415 heie] daye of H₂, grete R. sikerliche] sekyrly H₂. 416 aperteliche] apertely H₂. 418 Off] þo R. 419 þanne sholen þeih] That shulle 3e H₂. here] *om.* A₂. herkne nouþe] wiþ here ere H₁, þat bene couthe R. 420 godes mouþe] god þere H₁.

¹ MS. A₁ has bereþ þerof.

² MS. A₁ mondo.

- [Which shal not be to hem vncowþe,
For god shal sey it with his mowþe :
Venite, benedicti¹ patris mei.]
'Comeþ, mine blessedede fere,
þat my fader beþ leue *and* dere ! 424
In-to my blisse 3e sholen wende,
þat lasteþ euere wid-outen ende,
And euere more þer to wone
Wid þe fader, *and* wid þe sone, 428
And wid þe holi gost in vnite,
þat is þe holi trinite.'
- ¶ 'And [3e],² cursede gostes, goþ anon,
þat sholen ben dampned euerichon !' 432
þere hij sholen him sen also,
Ae al shal ben for here wo ;
For toward hem he wole turne
- ¶ Boþe wrapful *and* eke sterne, 436
And namlich to þat cumpaignye 43 a
þat slowen him þurw enuie,
And kene nailes driuen ek
þurw his honden and his fet, 440
¶ And þere þeih sholen se soþliche,
His grisli wounden openliche,
þat þeih deden hemselue make.
For drede hij sholen þanne quake ; 444
þanne wole god to hem seie
Wid sterne voiz and wid heie :
- 'Come, be-
loved,
dear to my
Father!
In my bliss
dwell ever-
more.'
- The doomed
souls,
- who slew
Him with
cruel nails
through
hands and
feet,
shall see the
ghastly
wounds they
made.
- His angry
voice will
command :

421 *and* 422 are omitted in A₁A₂H₂R. The Latin is omitted in A₁A₂H₂R.
423 Comeþ] Comes now R. fere] children in fere H₁, alle in here H₂, in fere
R. 424 þat] þot to H₁H₂R. leue *and*] ful H₁. 426 lasteþ euere] euir shalle
laste H₂. 428 *and* wid] and H₂. 429 And] om. H₁. 430 þat] whiche H₁.
431 And] om. H₁. goþ] þere H₁, om. H₂. 432 þat] þei A₂, om. H₁, 3e H₂R.
433 hij] þei A₂H₁H₂R. him sen] se hym R. 434 Ae] For A₂. But H₁H₂R.
al] yt H₂, þat R. for] to A₂, al for R. 435 turne] hym turne R. 435—444
are omitted in H₂. 438 þurw] þoron; here A₂H₁. 439 driuen] þey dryuen
H₁. 440 *and*] *and* þorow H₁. his fet] fete did hom to seke (þai is on the
margin.) R. 441 And] om. A₂. soþliche] opunlyche H₁, soþly R. 442
openliche] opunly R. 442 reads in H₁: Al his woundis sicurliche. 443
hemselue] hym self A₂. 444 hij] þei A₂H₁R. (shul þai follow þen in R.)
445 god] he H₂. 446 *and* wid heie] *and* with eye A₂, withoute neye H₁,
and angry eye H₂, & grete aie R.

¹ MS. benedictē.² MS. A₁ has þe.

- ‘Accursed
spirits, go!
Depart into
the tortures
of hell!’
- ‘Corsede gostes, 3e beþ me loþe!
Goþ anon, goþ nu,¹ goþe 448
- ¶ In-to þe stronge fyr of helle,
Euere more þer to dwelle,
And brenne þer in hote fyr!²
3e seruede non oþer her: 452
- Burn eter-
nally!
- For evermore
- Merci is al fro 3ou gon,
For whij on me hadde 3e non!³
He þat nele no merci haue
Off him þat doþ him merci craue, 456
- ¶ He shal ben iuged, witerli,
Rihtfulliche wid-oute merci.
- ¶ Sein Dauī seiþ, if þu wolt loke
In a vers of þe³ sauter boke: 460
- Spera in domino, et fac bonitatem.*
- ‘Hope to god, and do god,’
Riht so i hit vnderstod;
Ac ydel hope man mai hadde—
I sey þe soþ wid-ouden gabbe— 464
- For alone to hope, widoute goddede,
¶ Is ydel hope, so god me rede.
Ac i ne seie noht forþi, 43 b

De Spe.

447 and 448 have the following readings in H₁ and in H₂:

3e cursyd gostis fro me goþ
For to my fadire & me 3e beþ ful loþ H₁.
Waryed gostys 3e are me lothe
Gothe in to sorowe & care bothe H₂.

449 In-to þe] In to A₂R, And evene in to H₂. stronge] stynkyngē H₁, om. H₂. fyr] payne A₂, pytte H₂. 450 Euere more] And euere more A₁H₁, Withowtyn ende H₂, for euer more R. þer] þeire In A₂, þere for to H₁. 451 and 452 are omitted in H₂. 452 3e] for 3e han R. seruede] haue a seruid H₁. her] hyere A₂H₁. 453 al fro 3ou] now alle H₂. gon] I gonne H₂. 454 whij on] on A₂H₂. hadde 3e] ne hadde 3e D, 3e haden R. Between 454 and 455 are the following two lines in H₂:

Whan 3owre power was full welle
I sente I nowē of euyry dele

455 nele] wil H₁H₂R. no] om. A₂. 456 Off] On R. him þat] hem H₁. doþ him] doþ A₂H₂, wolde hym R. 457 witerli] vturly H₁. 458 Rihtfulliche] Skylfulliche H₂. 459 Sein] For seynt R. 459—814 and the Latin text following are omitted in H₂. 462 hit] om. R. 463 Ac] For A₂, But H₁R. man] a mon R. 464 þe] om. H₁. wid-ouden] and not H₁. 465 and 466 are inserted between 470 and 471 in A₂. 465 alone to] all on to A₂, om. H₁, al onely R. goddede] ony good dede H₁. 466 rede] spede H₁R. 467 Ac i ne] For 3

¹ nu is above the line in MS. A₁.

² Read fer.

³ þe is above the line in MS. A₁.

- þouh man be charged, sikerli 468 Though
 ¶ Wid grete sinnes heuie and¹ sore, grievous the
 He ne shal despire neuere þe more, burden,
 Ac soþfast hope haue, to winne be not in
 Godes merci of his sinne 472 despair.
 þurw shrifte of mouþe and repentaunce, Be steadfast.
 And redi þefore to don penaunce.
- ¶ 3if þu dost þus, bi day and niht, 476 Daily in con-
 Put al² þin hope in god almiht, fession and
 And tristi hope to him þu haue, tears,
 þat he þe wole helpe and saue. hope for
 mercy.
- Herkne, what i wole seie nouþe, 480
 For hit com out of godes mouþe :
 Ʒbi te in=benio, ibi³ te iudicabo.
 ‘Man, riht þere as i þe finde, Delay not to
 Riht þere i wole þe iuge and binde.’ do good.
 Allas, what sholen hij þanne do,
 þat heþ ifounde in sorwe and wo, 484
 þat wolde noht hemselue shriue,⁴
 While þeih mihte in here liue !
 þefore, man, i warne þe :
 Loke, þat þu þe bise, 488
 þat þu be euere redi and 3are Be ready.
 Out of þis world for to fare ;
 For siker noman wite ne may,
 Whanne shal ben his ending day. 492
- ¶ þefore þenk ofte in drede

468 þouh man] þou may R. 470 He] 3it R. ne] *om.* A₂DR, shal] shalt þou R. 471 Ac] And A₂, But H₁R. soþfast] stedfast R. haue] *om.* A₂, haue þou R. 472 Godes] And cry god H₁. his] þi R. *The MS. continues with 476 in D.* 476 in] to D. almiht] of might R. 478 þat] And H₁. helpe] heþ helpe H₁. 479 what] þat D. wole] sal D. scie] say þe D, *om.* R. nouþe] nowe D. 479 reads in H₁ : Loke þis be not to 3ow vnkowþe. (*Cp. l. 421.*) 480 out] *om.* A₂D. *Latin: iudicabo iudico* A₂R. 482 þere] so D H₁. wole] sal D. 483 what] how A₂. hij] þei A₂DH₁R. 484 ifounde] I bounde A₂, fon D, confoundid H₁, founden R. sorwe] syme D. 485 wolde] nold D. hemselue] hem A₂. 486 While] þe whyle D. in here] in þeire A₂, and were on H₁. 488 bise] by þe se A₂, be se D. 488 reads in H₁ and R : Whilost þou maiste goo & see. þou] þat þou R. 489 þat] Loke H₁. euere] *om.* R. 490 þis] *om.* D. for] forþe D. 491 siker] sikurliche H₁, sikernes R. ne] *om.* H₁R. 493 þenk] haue it H₁. in drede] I þe reide R.

¹ and is above the line in MS. A₁. ² al is above the line in MS. A₁.

³ One letter has been erased before ibi in MS. A₁.

⁴ 484 and 485 are over erasure in MS. A₁.

God said : ' Where I find, I bind.'	Off þis word, ¹ þat god seide : ² ' þere i þe finde, i wole þe binde :'	
Remember !	Lat ofte þat word ben in þi mynde !	496
	¶ Man, if þu wolt þe world forsake, And Iesu Crist to þe take,	43 c
Pray often.	þu most ben ofte in orisoun	
Read.	And in reding of lesczoun.	500
In reading, God speaks with us ;	Wid us god spekeþ, whan we rede Off him and of his goddede,	<i>De Scriptura- rum Lectione.</i>
in prayer,	And we wid him, ful iwis,	
we speak with God, Holy Writ is our mirror, where is re- vealed	Whan we him bisekeþ þat riht is. ¶ Holi writ is oure myroure, In whom we sen al vre socour, And, if we hit wolen vnderstonde,	504
	þer we muwen sen and fonge,	508
knowledge of God.	To haue of god þe knowelache, ³ Boþe in þouht[e] and in speche.	
	¶ And, if þu wolt haue þe loue Off god, þat is in heuen aboue,	512
Seek peace.	þu most ben euere in god acord, In pes and loue, and hate descord, And ben aboute wid al þi miht, To make pes bi day and niht ;	<i>De Præceptis Pucis.</i> 516
God hath proclaimed a blessing to the peace- maker.	¶ For Iesu Crist hit seiþ ful wel, As we hit finden in godspel : Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei uo- cabuntur.	

494 Off þis] þe H₁. word] world D. seide] bi fore saide H₁. 495 wole] sal D. 496 þat] þis H₁R. 497 wolt þe] wylt þen þe (þen *blurred*) A₂, om. D, wilt þis H₁R. 498 And] And to DH₁. to þe] holy þe D, þe H₁. take] bi take H₁. 500 And] And eke H₁. lesczoun] gods lessone R. 501 god spekeþ] to speke D. 502 goddede] godhede A₂H₁, blissed dede R. 503 we wid him full] he *with* vs spekiþ H₁, we *with* hym R. 504 we] he D. him bisekeþ] him bysech A₂, hym bede; D, bi seche him H₁R. riht] rihtful H₁. 506 sen] seken H₁. 507 hit wolen] willen it A₂D. 507 and 508 read in H₁:

If we vnderstond it welle
þere may we se euery delle.

508 we muwen] may we R. fonge] fonde D, vnderfonde R. 509 knowelache] knowleching R. 510 speche] speking R. 512 god] Iesu R. is in heuen] in heuen sittes R. 513 acord] wille H₁. 514 and loue] loue D. 514 reads in H₁: to hate synæ boþ loude & stille. 516 bi] boþ H₁. 518 hit finden] fynde D. in] in þe A₂DH₁. *Latin: The text is inserted between 522 and 523 in H₁.*

¹ word is corrected from world in MS. A₁.

² Read sede.

³ Read knoweleche.

A soþ word hit is and no les :

‘Iblessed be þat makeþ pes :’ 520

Hij ouhten to ben honured alle,

For ‘godes children men shal hem cal’e.’

¶ Man, if þu wolt to me herkny,

Nu i wole speken of merci. 524

¶ Soþ[e]liche, wid-oute fable,

43 a

Man, þu most ben merciabile.

Be merciful.

On Iesu Crist þenk witerli,

Hou he deiede for merci,

528 Christ hath
died

¶ And al for he wolde merci haue

Off hem þat wolde merci craue ;

For, ar he deiede in flesh and bon,

Merci was þer neuere non.

532

¶ Bi þis ensaumple 3e muwen se,

Merciabile for to be.

for our sake,
example of
mercy.

3if þi neiheboure misdoþ þe,

More or lasse wheiþer hit be,

536

Or in dede, or in vbbreid,

Or wid word þe haþ misseid,

Misdeeds
against thee,

And he þer-after of-þinkeþ sore

And þer-of crieþ merci and ore,

540

For-3if hit him for godes loue,

þat us alle sit aboute !

forgive for
God’s love.

¶ And, if þu wolt no merci haue

Off him þat doþ þe merci craue,

544

Merci getestu neuere non

Off trespas, þat þu hast idon ;

519 hit is] is it H₁. no] not R. 520 Iblessed] Blessed H₁R. be] be þei A₂R, be he H₁. 521 Hij] þei A₂DH₁, hom R. ouhten to ben] owte be D, shul be H₁, oow to be R. 523 to me] come A₂ (transposed after herken in R). 524 Nu] om. H₁R. wole] sal D. speken] speke su[m]what H₁. merci] mercie to þe R. 525 fable] ony fable H₁. 527 witerli] entereli H₁. 528 for] oonly for H₁. 529 al for] for D. 530 Off] On H₁R. wolde merci] wyl it mekelye he D, wolde hym mercy R. 533 3e muwen] þou mast A₂. 534 and 535 are omitted in D. 534 Merciabile] Ful merciabile H₁. 535 þi] ony H₁. misdoþ] haue misdone to R. 536 lasse] lesse H₁. hit] so hit R. 537 Or] Ouper A₂DH₁R. or] ouper D. in] with H₁, om. R. vbbreid] vnbroid D. 538 Or wid] Ouper with A₂, Oper in D, Or els with H₁. þe] þat he H₁ (after has in R). misseid] sayde H₁. 539 of-þinkeþ] for þynkkiþ A₂, a þenke it D, apynkeþ H₁, forthinkus hit R. 540 crieþ] þe cry D. 541 For-3if] For3ened D. hit] om. A₂H₁. 543 if] om. R. wolt] nylt D. no] not A₂. 544 Off] On H₁R. him] hom R. 545 getestu] gestow DH₁. 546 Off] Of þe A₂. þu] þi selfe H₁. idon] done A₂DH₁R.

- For god it seiþ in his godspel—
þere men may finde it ful wel— 548
- ¶ ‘ Alswich met as þu metest me,
Alswich i wole mete to þe.’
- [For-zeue, þou man, for þe loue of me,
And I wyll for þe loue of þe.] 552
- Nym god 3eme, man. þu sist
In þi paternoster, what þu bist :
- Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut
et nos etc.**
- Pray : ‘Sweet
God, forgive
my guilt,
as I forgive.’
- þu seist : ‘ Swete lord, forziue þu me, 41 a
þat i haue gilt azeines þe, 556
Riht as i do alle þo,
þat me hauen ouht misdo.’
- To the cruel ¶ And þu, þat art so cruwel in þouht
And wolt to merci herkne noht, 560
What wole hit [þe] helpe in eny stede
þe holi paternoster bede ?
Noht, if i dar it seie,
For azein þiself[e] þu dost preie, 564
- the *pater-
noster* avail-
eth nothing.
- ¶ And þe holi bok of soþ[e]nesse
þer-of bereþ god witnessse
And seiþ : ‘ He þat wole no merci haue,
On ydel doþ he merci craue.’ 568

*De Indul-
gentia.*

547 For] *om.* D. it seiþ] seiþ it D. his] þe D. 548 men] *om.* H₁, mony
mon R. ful] *om.* R. *The following text is introduced in R: ‘Eadem mensura
qua messi fueritis remetietur vobis.’* 549 Alswich] Also soch A₂, Sweche DR.
met] mesure H₁. me] to me D. 550 Alswich] Also soch A₂, Soche H₁, right
siche R. wole] sal D. to þe] þe A₂, vnto þe D, azen to þe H₁. 551 and 552
are omitted in A₁. 551 þou man] *om.* D, man H₁R. 552 wyll] sal D. for þe]
for D, for 3if for H₁. 553 Nym] Take A₂H₁, Take mon R. god zeme] now
gome D, gode hede H₁. man] þer R. þu sist] þat þou sest A₂. þere þou
sittest H₁, þou saiest R. 554 þi] þo R. what] þare A₂, whan H₁. bist]
bedest A₂, biddest H₁, prayest R. *Latin: etc.] dimittimus etc.* A₂, *di-
mittimus debitoribus nostris* DH₁R. 555 þu] *om.* R. 556 gilt] trespassed
H₁, mysdone R. þe] *om.* A₂. 557 as] als D. do] do to DH₁R. 558 me] to
me R. ouht] ony þinge H₁. 559 And] O D. þat] *om.* A₂. in þouht] in þy
þouzt A₂, and touzt D. 560 wolt] nyht D. 561 þe helpe] helpe A₁, helpe þe
A₂H₁, stonde R. stede] way H₁. 562 þe] þi D. bede] for to say H₁, þof þou
hit bidde R. 563 Noht if] Nouzt A₂, Ryzt nozt H₁. dar it] dare wele A₂H₁,
doist (*for* dorst) D. seie] say and nay A₂, say for soof H₁. 564 azein]
azeinste H₁. dost preie] preyst wiþ moof H₁. 565 And] As A₂. 566 god]
om. A₂R. 567 wole no] nelt D. 568 On] In D, ful R. doþ he] he doth A₂,
may he R.

In patientia¹ vestra possidebitis²
animas vestras.

Houre swete lord in his speche

Our sweet
Lord taught
his disciples
patience.

Hise deciples began to teche

And bad hem ben of god suffraunce

In alle manere destourbaunce.

572

¶ Ȝif þu art sek in flesh and blod,

þu most ben meke and þolemod

In sickness,
be meek and
content.

And þenk[e] þat god it þe sende,

þi seli soule to amende.

576

Know that it
is to help thy
poor soul.

¶ Ȝif þu hast lore of þi catel,

Bipenk þe þanne swiþe wel,

Mourn not
loss of pos-
sessions.

þat of þi-sell[e] haddestu noht,

But as hit was þurw god iwrouht;³

580

Of thyself
hadst thou
nothing:
all is God's
gift.

And, if god it wole from þe take,

þu ne shalt þerfore no gruching make,

What God
hath ordered,
must be right.

¶ Ac suffre al godes wille

Boþe lude and eke stille.

44 b

584

Be not re-
gretful,
God's will is
best.

¶ And, Ȝif þe falleþ trauail on honde,

Or pine of bodi, or shame in londe,

In distress,
pain, dis-
grace,

Off al þis þu most suffraunt be,

be still.

þouh þe þinke, hit greue þe.

588

þenk hou Iesu in-to erþe cam,

And þolede pine and shame for man,

Remember

And foule was þerto misseid,

the agony,
the vile
words,

570 began to] he gan to A₂, he con R. 571 and 572 are transposed in R. 571 And] he R. bad] om. D. 572 alle] euery D. destourbaunce] of disturb-
aunce D, dissese or chaunce H₁. 573 and] or D. 574 most] salt D. and]
om. R. þolemod] þole mod A₂, þole þi mode D, and lowe of mode H₁, in al
þi mode R. 575 it þe] þe it A₂. 576 to] for to H₁. 577 lore] lose A₂H₁R,
hire D. þi] om. A₂. 578 Bipenk] Loke & vmthink R. þanne] man H₁, om. R.
579 haddestu] hast þou (or Last in A₂) A₂D, þou haddest hit R. 580 iwrouht]
ibouht D, wroght R. 581 it wole from þe] wyll it fro þe A₂R, wil fro þe it H₁.
582 ne] om. H₁R. þerfore] it þer of D. 583 Ac] Bot A₂H₁R, And D. 584
Boþe] What euer he do boþ H₁. eke] om. H₁. 587 Off al þis þu most] Of
þis þou most D, þou muste in al þis H₁. suffraunt] suttrand A₂DH₁ (before
most) R. 588 þouh þe] ȝe þoȝ þou H₁, þof þou R. 589 Iesu] Iesu Criste D.
590 þolede] suffrerd H₁, for mon he tholyd R. for man] om. R. 591 was
þerto] þere was R. 591 and 592 are omitted in H₁. In their place are the
following two lines:

And many a fowle worde sufferd he þere
Boþ scornynge and lesynge on hym þey bere

¹ MS. A₁ reads paciēna.

² bitis is written below the line in MS. A₁.

³ The line is punctuated here with a period in MS. A₁.

the scorn laid on Christ. He was silent.	And many a skorn on him leid, Wid-oute gruching he held him stille, And þolede hit al wid milde wille,	592
	¶ And al ¹ he dede for vre sake, For we sholde ensaunple take To be suffraunt in eueri stede, Riht as vre lord himselue dede.	596
If man wrong thee, be not sad.	And, ȝif a man þurw his power Doþ þe wrong on eorþe her, þenk in þin herte, i preie þe, Off þe wrong and þe vilte, þat men to Iesu Crist dede Here on eorþe in many stede,	600
	¶ And hou he þolede hit mildeliche, Al ffor þi loue, sikerliche. On ensaunple of him þu nim, To suffre wrong for þe loue of him ; For, i dar seie soþ[e]liche, He may be martyr, treweliche, Wid-oute sheding of mannes blod, þat may ben here þolemod,	604
For love of Christ feel not ill will.	¶ To suffre wrong and vuriht For þe loue of god almiht : Ac swich a fiht is vnneþ, For aȝein þe kinde hit geþ.	608
He may be martyr with- out sword or flame, who is patient for the love of		612
God Al- mighty. The fiht is hard, contra- ry to nature.		616

592 on him] vpon R. leid] was leid (*nearly erased*) A₂, leide D. 593 he] *om.* R. held him] was ful H₁. 594 þolede] suffered H₁. hit al] it A₂. milde] good H₁. 595 al he dede] died D. 596 ensaunple] ensample of him H₁, at him ensaunpel R. 597 suffraunt] sufferande A₂DR, sufferynge H₁. eueri] ilk a R. 598 vre lord] criste H₁. himselue] hym D, for vs H₁. 599 a] ony R. 600 þe] ony H₁. 601 in] þus in D. þin] *om.* D. 602 Off þe] And of þe A₂, How myche H₁. and þe] and of þe A₂R, and H₁. vilte] wyte A₂, vilante (*perhaps for vilanie*) D. 603 þat men] Mankynde H₁. 604 on] in DH₁R. many] many a DH₁R. 605 þolede hit] it þoled A₂, þoled D, sufferid mekelych and H₁. mildeliche] mykelich A₂, stille H₁, myldely R. 606 sikerliche] sikerly R. 606 reads in H₁: For luf of man with good wille. 607 On ensaunple] onsample D. þu] now þou D. nim] take H₁. 608 þe] *om.* DH₁. loue of him] goddis sake H₁. 609 dar] dar wel H₁. soþeliche] sothly R. 610 He] þat a man H₁. martyr treweliche] martrid treuly R. 611 of mannes] of his D, here of his H₁. 612 may ben] wele may here D, is R. þolemod] pole (*verb*) mode (*substantive*) D, of meke mode H₁, of thole mode R. 615 Ac] For A₂, And D, But H₁R. vnneþ] vnneþe A₂, wele vnneþ D, vn eþ H₁. 615 reads in R: But vnneþe siche a faithe is þere. 616 þe] *om.* R. geþ] seþe D, were R.

¹ 1 is above the line in MS. A₁.

- ¶ Whij? for þe kinde of þi manhede
 Wolde haue wreche of wrongful dede ;
 Ac of Iesu tak þi minde,
 And fiht azein þin owen kinde, 620
 And þu shalt haue for þi goddede
 Off martyrdom þe heie mede. In crown of
 martyrdom
 haue need.
- Ac þu, fersse man, þat art so stout,
 And heih of mod, and herte proud¹— 624 God honoreth
 lowliness.
 He wole bowe for noþing
 To man, ne to heuene king—
- ¶ And he þat wole him heinen here, 628 The high He
 þat nele be meke in none manere,
 In litel while he shal hit knowe
 And falle þefore swiþe lowe. draweth low :
- Qui se exaltat, humiliabitur, et qui
 se humiliat, exaltabitur.
 þe milde þurw [her]² humilite 632 the low He
 Ful heie honoured þeih sholen be ;
 For þeih³ sholen be drawn on heih 632 lifteth high.
 And wonye⁴ god swiþe neih.
- ¶ And pride, it is so foul a last, 636 The fairest
 þat out of heuene he was cast. angel was
 þu shalt wel wite, þat i ne liþe, hurled trom
 For Lucifer [with] his cumpaignye, heaven
 [Out of heuen, þat was so bryþte,
 In-to helle for pride he toke his flyþte.] 640

617 Whij] *om.* H₁. þe] þi D. þi] þe D, *om.* H₁R. manhede] mon R.
 618 wreche of wrongful dede] vengauce a non R. of] for A₂. 619 Ac] Bot
 A₂H₁R. And D. Iesu] Iesu criste D. tak] take þou H₁. 623 Ac] For A₂,
 But H₁R. þu fersse] þe ferþe (or ferye) D, þou H₁. art so stout] so proude
 art R. 624 And] *om.* A₂D. heih of] of hyþe H₁. and herte] of herte A₂D. &
 stoute of hert R. proud] *om.* R. 625 He wole] He nyll A₂D, þou nylt H₁,
 he wil not R. 626 To] Neþere to H₁. 627 he þat] þat D. wole] wold A₂.
 him heinen] hym hye A₂H₁, hey hym D, heghe hym R. 628 þat nele]
 And wil H₁, and wol not R. be meke] bowe R. in none] in no A₂D, on
 noo H₁R. 630 þefore swiþe] boþ fowle and H₁. *Latin: exaltat humiliabitur]*
humiliat exaltabitur A₂R. *et]* *om.* A₂R. *humiliat exaltabitur]* *exaltat hu-*
miliabitur A₂R. 632 heie] Wele A₂, lely R. þeih sholen] shall he A₂H₁R,
 he sal D. 633 þeih] he DH₁R. 634 wonye] wonnue with H₁. 635 And]
 For A₂D, But H₁. it is] is DH₁. a] at A₂, boþ firste and H₁. 636 þat] *om.*
 D. heuene] paradys A₂. 637 ne] not R. 638 with] and A₁A₂DR. his] al
 his H₁. 639 and 640 are omitted in A₁A₂DR.

¹ Read prout.² MSS. his.³ i in þeih is in red ink above the line in MS. A₁.⁴ e is above the line in MS. A₁.

through pride.	þurw þe pride þat hem gan folewe, þe pine of helle hem gan to swolewe, ¶ And so he wole don alle and some, þat in pride be inome.	644
Beware, proud man!	[Nowe be þou were, þou proude gome, þat þou ne be in pryde enome :] Cast hit away, i wole þe rede,	44 a
	Er of strong pine þe may drede ;	648
Pride drags to hell.	¶ For siker, and þu be nomen þerinue, Heuene maitou neuere winne, And oþer weye is þer non, Bute to heuene or to helle gon.	652
	þanne do bi <i>consail</i> and bi red, ¹ And ouercome þe foule qued, þat fondeþ þe on vch a side, þe to holde in þi pride.	656
Have con- teipt for vanities.	¶ Ac, if þu coupeþ knowe and se þe uertu of humilite, For noþing þu noldest shone, Ac hit sholde euere wid þe wone :	660
	Off alle uertuz it is hext, And godes wille it is next. Sein Gregory þerof bereþ witnes, þat muchel spekeþ of soþ[e]nes :	664
Without hu- mility holy works are	¶ <i>Qui sine humilitate uirtutes ceteras congregat, est quasi, qui in vento pulerem portat.</i>	

641 and 642 are omitted in H₁. 641 gan] dyde D, con R. 642 pine] pytt D. hem] þeyme A₂. to] om. A₂R. 643 And so] So R. he] þei A₂, om. H₁. wole don] shalle do boþ H₁. and some] men R. 644 inome] taken R. 645 and 646 are omitted in A₁D. 645 Nowe be þou] þen be H₁, Now be R. gome] grome R. 646 ne be] be not H₁, om. R. enome] I nome H₂, be not nome R. 647 wole] sal D, om. H₁. 648—653 are omitted in A₂. 648 Er of strong] Or of stronger H₁, Or ellis of strong R. þe] þou DH₁R. 649 siker] sikerly R. nomen] founde H₁, tane R. 650 maitou] myzt þou D. 651 þer] þer neuer H₁. 652 to helle] helle þou must H₁, helle R. 653 þanne] Man D. bi] be my D. and bi] and be my D. 654 þe] þat A₂. 655 ou] in A₂. vch] ilk R. a side] syde DH₁. 656 þe to holde] For to holdene A₂, Tho holde þe D, For to hold þe H₁R. þi] om. R. 657 Ac] For A₂, And DH₁, But R. coupeþ] kowdest H₁. and] or R. 659 þu noldest] noldest þou A₂, þou nost it D, woltest it H₁, þou woldist hit R. 660 Ac] For A₂, And D, But H₁R. 661 hext] þo hext R. 662 And] And at A₂. 663 þerof bereþ] bereþ þerof A₁, bereþ D. 664 soþenes] mekenesse D. *Latin* : est] et D, om. H₁R. qu] om. A₂R, quem D. in vento puluerem] puluerem in vento R.

¹ MS. A₁ bired.

Man, þou[h] þu do muchel god, But þou be meke <i>and</i> þolemod, Sein Gregory seiþ, þat holi clerk, þat muchel on ydel is þat werk. 668 Hit fareþ bi swiche, as we finde, As who-so bereþ poude in grete winde ; For, bere he neuere so muche, ¹ Hit fleþ away ful lihtliche. 672 Off man hit fareþ riht so, For, gode dedes þouh he do, 45 a Many <i>and</i> fele in vch a side, þer may non wid him abide : 676 Bute he haue humilite, Awey þeih wolen fro him fle. Away they fly.	
¶ A god þing is humilite : Off him comeþ verray charite, 680 And penaunce, <i>and</i> eke shrift— þis is of god a wel fair zift— And of him forþif[e]nesse of sinne. Wel is him þat hit may winne ! 684	From humili- ty springeth penitence, of which forgiveness is won,
¶ Who-so is aferd of his trespass, He shal haue <i>comfort and</i> solaz Off þe holi gost, witerli, þat wole [his] soule <i>comforti</i> , 688 And make men haue, mid iwisse, Tristi hope to heuene blisse. Sein Dauī þer-of spak <i>and</i> seide ²	the soul's comfort, and everlast- ing delights.

Compu-
one cordis.

665 do] *om.* D. muchel] ful meche D, *neuer* so mikel R. 666 meke *and*] lowe & meke of H₁. þolemod] þole (*verb*) mod (*substantive*) D, mode H₁, of thole mode R. 667 þat] þe A₂. clerk] chirche A₂D. 668 on] in A₂DR. þat] þi H₁, his R. 670 who-so] he þat H₁. grete] þe H₁. 671 bere he] þo3 he bere H₁, of he bere R. 672 fleþ] falleþe D, flyeþ H₁R. ful] *om.* A₂. 673 *and* 674 *are transposed in* A₁, H₁, *and* R. 673 Óff] Ryzt be D. riht so] also A₂. 674 þouh] of R. 675 *and*] *ane* D. in] on H₁R. a side] syde A₂D. 676 him] oþer R. 677 Bute] But if H₁. humilite] verray humylite R. 678 *and* 679 *are omitted in* A₂. 678 Awey] Alle R. þeih wolen fro him] fro hym þay wyl D, þei wil al fro him H₁. fle] flye H₁. 679 *is omitted in* D. 680 him] him þat H₁. 681 And] In D. 682 þis] þat D. wel] *om.* A₂. ful R. 683 of him] of hem D, *om.* R. sinne] hys synne A₂. 684 hit may] þat may A₂D, may it H₁. 685 Who-so] For who so A₂. He þat H₁. aferd] affred D. 687 witerli] vtterly H₁. 688 his] þi A₁R, man H₁. *comforti*] *confort* in hye R. 689 men] here D, men to R. mid] mynde A₂D, þer myd H₁, þer with R. iwisse] wysse D. 690 Tristi] Of tresty D. 691 þer-of] *om.* D.

¹ *Read* michē.

² *Read* sede.

In þe¹ sauter, as men rede : 692
Secundum multitudinem dolorum meo-
rum in corde meo, consolationes tua-
latificauerunt² animam meam.

Fear sin!

‘[þe]³ more man douteþ here sinne,
 þe more ioye he shal winne;’
 For, who-so haþ of sinne⁴ drede
 And nel noht don þat⁵ foule dede, 696
 Hit semeþ, þat he haþ trewe loue
 To Iesu Crist, þat is abone.

¶ O þing is comen in my þou[h]t,
 To shewe hit wole i spare noht : 700

The godly

¶ 3if any þat is in holy lyf, 45 b
 Man, maiden, oþer wif,
 In any time, þurw any cas,

for a little
trespass

Dop a litel trespass, 704
 þat he azein godes wille,
 Oþer loud[e] oþer stille,

grieveth
more

He wole haue more sorwe *and* drede
 For þat litel sinful dede, 708

than doth for
his sin

þan many on wole in eny stounde,
 þat lyþ in dedli sinne bounde.
 3if 3e wolen wite herof þe skile,
 Herkne, and i 3ou telle wole :⁶ 712

the man
lying in guilt.

þat man þat lyþ in dedli sinne,
 And to singy wole noht bliuue,

692 as men] boke men may D. rede] do rede H₁. *Latin: meorum] om.*
 R. meo] *ora.* D. consolationes tua] *om.* R. 693 man] a mon R. here] his
 A₂H₁R. here of D. 694 he shal] shal he H₁. 695 sinne] his sinne A₁R. 696
 And] He D. nel] wil H₁R. noht] no more R. þat foule dede] þe fende reed
 H₁, hit in dede R. 698 is] sittipe A₂H₁R. 699 comen] comyn now D. in]
 to R. 700 hit wole] it nyl A₂H₁, nil D. hit I wil R. i] *om.* R. 701 þat is]
 man be H₁, is R. 702 Man maiden] Man or childe made H₁. oþer] or A₂H₁,
 wydow oþer D, childe or R. 703 any] one R. þurw] for D. any] a R.
 704 Dop] *and* dos R. a litel] gret or smale H₁. 705 be] is H₁R. 706 Oþer]
 Erly or late H₁. be hit R. oþer] or H₁, be hit R. 708 litel] on H₁. 709 on]
om. DH₁. 710 lyþ] es D. bounde] I bounde A₂H₁R. iboude D. 711 3e
 wolen wite] þou wyll A₂R, þou wolt nyt D, 3e wil H₁. þe skile] skyl D, ony
 þinge wite H₁. 712 i 3ou telle] I þe telle A₂R, tell þe I D, I wil tel 3ow H₁.
 wole] 3itte H₁. 713 þat] þe A₂DR. 714 And to singy] Fro day to day *and*
 H₁, *and* þo synne he R. wole] wyll he A₂, nele DH₁.

¹ þe is above the line in MS. A₁. ² MS. tue letificaueront.

³ MS. A₁ has so. ⁴ MS. A₁ has his sinne.

⁵ One letter has been erased after þat in MS. A₁. ⁶ Read wille.

- ¶ Gostli wit he haþ ilore. He hath lost
 Whi, i wole telle, [and] wharfore ; 716
 For gostli siht, witerliche, discernment
 Man, is þi resoun, sikerliche,
 Wher-þur[w] þu miht *in* þi mod
 Knowe boþe yuel and god, 720
 And shed to make *in* eueri dede
 Bitwene soþnesse *and* falshede.
- ¶ And, whan mannes soule, ful iwis,
 þurw dedli sinne ifiled is, 724
 His knowelaching is al gon ;
 For wit ne siht haþ [he]¹ non,
 Wherfore þe sinful man and
 Noþer he ne may ne he ne can 728
 His owen stat [a]riht ise, cannot see
- ¶ Ne knowe *in* what lyf he be
 For þisternesse, þat he is inne 45 c
 þurw þe filþe of dedli sinne. 732 the filth of
deadly sin ;
but the holy
hath
- ¶ Ac he þat lineþ *in* holy lyf,
 Man, mayden, oþer wyf,
 And serueþ god on eorþe her,
 His gostli siht is swiþe cler ; 736 spiritual
sight.
 For þerwid he may knowe *and* se—
 In what lyf[e] þat he be—
 God and yuel, lasse *and* more,

715 wit] syzt D. ilore] for lore A₂DH₁. 716 wole] sal D. telle] þe tell A₂. and] *om.* A₁A₂, how *and* D. 716 reads *in* H₁ *and* R: I wil 3ow telle whi & wharfore. 3ow] þe R. 717 gostli] þi gostly D. siht] witte H₁. witerliche] sikerlyche D, vtterlyche H₁. 718 Man is þi resoun] Is þi reson man H₁. sikerliche] soþelyche D. 719 Wher-þurw] wheire A₂R. 720 boþe] *om.* A₂, boþe þe DR, þer bi H₁. and] *and* eke þe D, *and* þo R. 721 shed] partye H₁. to] *om.* DH₁. eueri] alle þi R. dede] stede A₂H₁. 722 Bitwene] Hyt wene D, bytwyx R. 723 And whan] When A₂. mannes soule] man is A₂. ful iwis] foule es D, fylid is H₁, I wis R. 724 þurw dedli] And þorou; A₂, þorow þe fende *and* H₁. ifiled is] fouled es D, I wisse H₁, fylid is R. 725 His knowelaching] Here knowlagyng D, gostly knowynge H₁, his knowing R. al gon] agone A₂, al agone D. 726 ne] nor A₂. 727 Wherfore þe] þerfor þe sori H₁. 728 ne may] maye H₁R. ne he ne] nouþere he ne A₂, ne noþer he H₁, ne he R. 729 ariht] riht A₁R, ryzt wel H₁. ise] see A₂R. 730 he] þat he R. 731 þisternesse] derkenes A₂, þe derknesse D, þe sternesse H₁, merkenes R. 732 filþe] fylyng R. 733 Ac] Bot A₂H₁R, And D. he] þoo R. 734 oþer] childe or R. 734 reads *in* H₁: Be he man mayde or wyfe. 735 serueþ] serued D. on eorþe] ener A₂, in erþe H₁. 736 is] *om.* D. swiþe] ful H₁R. 737—740 *are omitted in* H₁ *and* R. 737 se] sene D. 738 *is omitted in* D. 739 and] oþer D. *and*] oþer D.

¹ MS. A₁ has here.

- Loke, þat þu be [clene]¹ shriue, 768
 Wid sorwe of herte *and* repentaunce,
 And of þe prest tak þi penaunce.
 þis is a riche medicine, Penance from
 the priest is
 healing
- Hit shildeþ man fro helle pine. 772
 A betre þing was neuere founde,—
 For hit may hele dedli wounde— for deadly
 wound.
- And, who-so euere wole hit craue,
 Wid-ouen cost he may hit haue. 776
- ¶ Man, ne lat hit for no shame,
 Last þu falle þerfore in blame.
 If þu nilt for shame [shewe] hit her,
 Hit shal ben shewed elle[s]wher² 780 and all the
 creatures
 that ever
 were shall
 see and hear.
- To alle þe shaftes þat euere were,
 And alle þeiþ sholen sen *and* here.
 Nichil absconditum,³ quod non sciatur,
 nec occultum, quod non reuelatur,⁴
 And þer-of þu shalt haue shame
 And þer-to wel muche blame. 784
- Tweye manere shame men fint in boke,
 Who-so wole þerafter loke :
 þat on goþ to dampnacioun ;
 þat oþer, to sauacioun. 788
- ¶ 3if 3e wole wite hou hit be,
 Sitteþ stille, and herkneþ me :

768 shrine] I schryue A₂DH₁. 769 of] at þyne A₂. 770 þe] þy A₂. 771 riche] aryzt D, a good & ryche H₁, rightful R. 772 man] þe right wys man D. helle] om. D. 773 was] nas A₂. founde] ifounde A₂DH₁. 774 may hele] makes holle R. 775 who-so] he þat H₁. 777 ne] no D. lat] late þou A₂, leue H₁. hit] þou R. 778 falle þerfore] þerfore falle R. blame] gret blame D. 779 nilt] leite H₁, wilt not R. shewe] om. A₁, to shew H₁. hit] hem H₁R. 780 Hit] þei H₁R. elles] als H₁. 781 shaftes] creatures D, folke H₁, men R. 782 And] om. D. sen] hom se R. and here] it þer D. Latin: absconditum] occultum D, optatum H₁. sciatur] reuelatur H₁R. occultum] absconditum H₁. reuelatur] sciatur H₁R. 783 þer-of] þeire A₂. 784] wel] ful R. 785 manere] maner of DR. 787 þat on] þe tone D. 788 þat oþer] þe toþer D. to] vuto D, goþ to H₁. 789 3e wole wite] he wytt D, þu wilt wite H₁R. hou] what H₁. hit] þis may R. 790 me] to me A₂. 790 has the following readings in D and in H₁R. (l. 328):

Harkeneþ alle now to me D.
 Herken & I wil telle þe H₁R. (l. 328)

¹ MS. A₁ has ofte. ² MS. A₁ eller wher.
³ MS. A₁ Nichil absconditum. ⁴ MS. A₁ releuetur.

True shame,	¶ Man, þouh þu haue sinne wrouht	46 a	
	In word, in dede, and in þouht,		792
in regret and sorrow,	If þu art þiself þerof ashamed,		
	And at þin herte sore agramed,		
	¶ And ne sparest for shame ne for eize,		
craves pardon.	þat þu hit nilt in shrifte seie,		796
	Off god þu miht wel lihtliche		
Forgiveness wins	Forzifnesse haue, sikerliche.		
	þis ilke shame, be my croun,		
eternal heaven.	Draweþ al to sauuacioun.		800
False shame	¶ þat oþer shame so is þis :		
	3if a man haþ don amis		
	And foule sinne[s] ¹ haþ iwrouht,		
	And wole for shame shewe hem noht		804
	In his shrifte to þe prest,		
	He wrappeth sore Iesu Crist.		
	Forzifnes, iwis, ne tit him neuere,		
	But in helle to brennen euere.		808
fears to show guilt.	¶ Whi artu more ashamed to speke		
	A word, þan godes heste to breke ?		
	þis is foule, wicked shame,		
This wicked shame brings death.	þat bringeþ sinful man in blame.		812
	þe lore þat comeþ out of godes mouþ,		
	To alle men hit sholde be coupþ :		
	Auamini, et mundi estote.		
	Iesu spak and seide ene :		

De Penitentie.

791 þouh] 3ef A₂DR. sinne] foule synne A₂D. wrouht] Iwrouht A₂D, don H₁R. 792 and] oupere A₂, or D. 792 reads in H₁ and R : Lophly & fele manyoon. fele] foule R. (Cp. l. 838 in A₁.) 793 þiself þerof] þyself A₂, þerof H₁. 794 at] in D. sore] þerof D. 795 ne] om. R. for] ne for D, not for R. shame ne for eize] lone ne ay R. 796 þat] But þat H₁. hit nilt] nyht it A₂D, wilt H₁, hom wilt R. 797 þu] þat H₁, om. R. miht] may D, þen may þou R. wel lihtliche] lightly R. 798 sikerliche] wele sykerlyche A₂, sikerly R. 800 al] þe R. 801 þat] þe D. so is þis] soch it is A₂, for soþ is þis H₁, for sothe hit is R. 802 3if] 3if þat D. 803 foule] many fowle H₁. iwrouht] wroht DH₁R. 804 wole] nyl A₂D. hem] it D. 807 iwis] om. D. ne tit him] tydeþ hym A₂R, ne tydde D, tidde hym H₁. 808 to brennen] to brynne for A₂, to wou D, fyre burne for H₁, fire brenne R. 809 more] nere D. to speke] a word to speke A₂. 810 A word þan] þane þou art A₂. to] for to D. 811 is] is þe A₂D, ilke H₁R. 812 þat] om. H₁R. sinful] a synful H₁. man] men A₂D. in] in gret D, to H₁, in mikel R. 813 out] om. A₂. *The manuscript continues with the Latin following 814 in H₂.* 815 Iesu] Iesu Criste D, Thus Iesu H₂. and seide] to hem al DH₁. ene] euene A₂H₂, bidene DH₁.

¹ MS. A₁ sinneþ.

- 'Wassheþ ou, and beþ clene.' 816 Wash there-
 Kindeliche ofte men seþ, from.
 Wid water men wassheþ, þat foule beþ,
 ¶ And¹ hot water, be þu bold,
 Makeþ clannere þan doþ cold. 820
 Al þis i seie sikerliche, 46 b
 For to speken openliche,
 ¶ What hit is for to mene :
 'Wassheþ ou, and beþ clene.' 824
 Summe wassheþ, ac noht ariht,
 For þe clannere beþ hij no wilht.
 þe hote teres of mannes eize² Weep, and
 Makeþ clannere þan any lize. 828
 Many on wepeþ for his misdede,
 Ac to do sinne noht hij ne drede : leave sin.
 ¶ He weneþ, wasshe him wid þat water,
 And he is foul neuere þe later. 832

816 beþ] be 3e made H₁. 817 Kindeliche] Kendely H₂R. ofte men] often-
 tyme men H₁, menne ofte tyme H₂, of men R. 818 wassheþ] wasshe hem
 H₁. 819 and 820 are inserted between 828 and 829 in H₂. 819 And] For H₂.
 820 Makeþ] wasshis R. doþ] þe A₂DH₂, dos þo R. 821 Al] And al H₁. þis
 i] I hyte H₂. sikerliche] sekerlye H₂. 822 speken] schew D. openliche]
 openlye H₂. 823—826 are omitted in H₂. 823 hit is] is hit R. 824 beþ]
 beþ made H₁. 825 wassheþ] wasshen hom R. ac] bot A₂H₁R, and D. 826
 For] Neuere A₂. hij] þei A₂DH₁R. no] ne A₂, nauzt DR. wilht] white A₂,
 ryzt D, whiht H₁, dight R. 827 mannes] a mannes D. 828 Makeþ] þay
 makeþ D, washeþ H₁. 829—840 read on fol. 53 a in H₂ :

- Sorowe of herte and repentawnce (Cp. l. 769 in A₁.)
 And for 3owre synyns doo penawnce (Cp. l. 474 in A₁.)
 Shalle graunte 3owe myghte & space
 832 Iesu cryste too sene hys fface 4
 Lady crownyd. heuene qwene
 Preye for vs alle be dene
 To thy sone. kyng of heuene
 836 For hys holy namys seuene 8
 That he vs graunte. hys ryche blysse
 That we therof nott ne mysse
 And that hit soo mote bee
 840 Amen. Amen for seynte charyte 12

EXPLICIT SPECULUM GY DE WAREWYKE]
 SECUNDUM ALQUINUM HEREMITE]

841—1034 are omitted in H₂. The manuscript ends with 840. For colophon,
 see the Introduction. 829 Many on] Many A₂R, And noman D. his] here
 A₂R. 830 Ac] Bot A₂H₁R, And D. noht] om. A₂H₁R, he nyl nouzt D. hij
 ne] þei no A₂, om. D, he hav no H₁, þai han no R. 831 He weneþ] þei wene
 H₁R. wasshe him] þay wassh hym D, to wasshe hem H₁R. 832 he is] es D,
 3it þei beþ H₁, þai ben R. foule] foulid R.

¹In MS. A₁, d is in red ink above the line.

²Read i3e.

Whij? For 3it wole he noht sinne fle :
Iwis, vnclene he shal be.

Ac anoþer manere wassing
Makeþ clene of alle þing : 836

Man, þouh þou hane sinne don,
Lodlich and foule many on,

¶ 3if þu hast wille to leue þi sinne,
þat þu no more ne come þerinne, 840

Hot tears of
repentance

Of þin eizen þe hote teres,
þat goþ adoun bi þine leres,

make har-
mony
between thy
soul and God.
They cleanse
from sin.

Hij wolen make god acord
Bitwene þi soule *and* oure lord 844

And make þe clene of þi sinne,
Wher-purw þu miht heuene winne.

¶ Nu 3e muwe witen, what it is to mene :
'Wassheþ ou, and beþ clene ;' 848

Ac he þat wole clene be,
Certes [synne] he mot fle.

¶ Wole 3e here 3it eft sone
Off þing þat nedful is to done ; 46 c 852

Hit is godes owen lore,
þat spekeþ to alle, lasse *and* more :

**Ambulate, dum lucem habetis, ne
tenebræ vos¹ comprehendant.**

*De non Tur-
dando Cou-
verti ad Do-
minum.*

Haste, lest

night sur-
prise.

Life is day :
death is
night.

'Go, man, while þat þu hast liht,
Lest þe of-take þe derke niht.' 856

þi lyf, man, is cleped liht,
And þi deþ þe derke niht.

833 Whij] *om.* R. 3it wole he] 3if he nyl D, þei wil H₁, if þai wil R. fle] *and* fle A₂, flye H₁. 834 he shal] sall he D, þei shulle H₁R. 834 *reads in* A₂: He was vnclene so schall he be. 835 Ac] Bot A₂H₁R, And eke D. 836 Makeþ] Clense D. 837 þouh] if R. don] idone D. 838 Lodlich] Dedelyche (*Cp. l. 792 in H₁R.*) D, lodely R. (*The last word of line 838 is lost through a hole in the parchment in D.*) 839 leue] lete D. 840—845 *are omitted in* A₂. 840 no more] more D. ne] *om.* H₁R. come] falle R. 843 Hij] þay DH₁R. god] a good H₁. 846 miht] salt D. 847 3e muwe] may þou R. it is] is R. 848 beþ] be 3e made H₁. 849 Ac] Bot A₂H₁R, And D. he] 3e R. 850 synne] sum what A₁A₂R, deedly synne H₁. he] 3e R. mot] moste A₂H₁R. fle] flye H₁. 851 eft] efter R. 852 Off] One R. nedful] medeful D. to] to be H₁. 853 godes owen] Iesu Criste D. 854 þat] *om.* D. alle] al men H₁. 855 þat] *om.* A₂H₁R. 856 of-take] onere take A₂H₁R. 857 is cleped] I clepe þi D, is cald þi R. 858 þe] is þe A₂, þi D.

¹ *MS.* A₁ te tenebre nos.

While þu art on liue, þu miht worche Godes werkes of holi churche, ¹	860	While it is day, do works of love.
And, certes, whan þat þu art ded, þanne maitou don noþer god ne qued.		
¶ þerfore, man, i warne þe, While þu miht gon <i>and</i> se,	864	Speed fast.
In gode weyes sped þe faste ! Lef, þe niht þe wole agaste, And sikerliche widoute nay, At þi dei[i]ng ² shal ben þi domesday,	868	The dark night brings terror.
For þere shal ben irekened al þat euere distu, gret <i>and</i> smal. þere þu shalt knowe <i>and</i> se God or yuel, wheiþer it be, ³	872	Then shall be counted all thy deeds.
And þanne, par aunter, wo[lde]stu fain Biginne to worche <i>and</i> turne aȝein ;		
¶ Ac, certes, þu ne shalt noht go, Ac riht after þu ⁴ hast do, þu shalt fonge verreement þare þi rihte iugement.	876	As thy deeds, shall be thy judgment.
Et ideo ambulate, dum lucem habetis.	46 d	
Deþ is gilour swiþe strong And gileþ many on euere among,	880	Death is a deceiver, and deceives many, therefore
þerfore worch, while þu mait,		

859 þu miht] *and* may D, þow maiste H₁R. 860 Godes werkes] To don warkes D, Good warkis *and* lawful H₁. 861 þat] *om.* A₂DH₁R. 862 þanne maitou] þou mayzt D. don noþer] nouþere do A₂DR. ne] nor A₂. 864 While] þe while A₂, þat while D, whil þat R. þu miht] mayzt þou D, þow maiste H₁R. 866 Lef] Les A₂, Laste DR, Els H₁. þe wole] wil þe R. 867 And] For D. 869 irekened] rekenyde A₂R, rekene D, rekkend H₁. 870 distu] dedest þou A₂, þou diste H₁, þou didist R. *and*] or A₂D. 872 or] *and* A₂, oþer D. it be] þay benn D. 873 And þanne] þen H₁. woldestu] þou woldest A₂, noldest þou D. 874 Biginne] By D. 875 Ac] Bot A₂H₁R, And D. ne] *om.* DH₁R. noht go] so A₂, not soo H₁R. 876 Ac] Bot A₂DH₁R. þu] þat þu A₁R. 877 shalt fonge] schalt A₂, afong D, shalt fynde þere H₁, shalt take R. 878 þare] Fong þeire A₂, For soþ H₁. rihte] *om.* A₂, oweþ H₁, rightwis R. 879 gilour] a gylour A₂. swiþe] *om.* A₂. 880 gileþ] be gyle D, bigiles R. many on] man A₂D (D has an *crasure* of m before man.), many men (*The e in men is defective through a small hole in the parchment.*) H₁. 881 worch] man wirch A₂, *om.* D. while þu mait] while mayt D, with out cessyngis H₁, whil þat þou maght R. *

¹ Read wirche : chirche. ² MS. A₁ deiing.

³ wheiþer it be is written on *crasure* in MS. A₁. ⁴ MS. A₁ þat þu.

For sodeyneliche þu miht be caiht.

Incitium sapientiæ,¹ timor domini: *De Timore Domini.*

fear God,	'Drede of god in alle ² þing	
	Off wisdom is þe biginning;'	884
but not in dread,	And many hauen of god drede, Ac noht for loue of his godhede, But last þeih sholde for here gilt In-to strong pine ben ipult. ³	888
	¶ Hit fareþ bi swiche, i vnderstonde, As hit doþ here bi þe bonde :	
as the bonds- man before his lord.	þe bonde nele noþer loude ne stille Don noht azein his lordes wille—	892
	Ac þat nis for loue ne for acord, þat he hap toward his lord— For, if he dede, he wot wel, He sholde lese of his catel ;	896
	And ȝit hit fareþ bi man also, þat spareþ more sinne to [do] ⁴	
Fear the King of Heauen, so that	For þe doute of gret pining, þan for þe loue of heuen king.	900
thou mayst catch grace	¶ It is noht euel so to biginne, For drede of pine to late þi sinne, For sone after he may kacche grace To biþenke him on godes face,	904
	Hu murie hit were, to haue þe siht Off godes face, þat is so briht!	47 a

882 For] Wyrche gude for D. miht be] may be A₂R, mayt D, miȝt han þyn H₁. caiht] endyngis H₁. 884 is þe] þis is þe first A₂. 885 And many hauen of] And many on haþe of DR, Man haue euer H₁. drede] in drede H₁. 886 Ac] Bot A₂R, And D, For H₁. noht for loue] lesingis of H₁. 887 But] And H₁. last] lat A₂, þat R. þeih sholde] þei shullen D, þat þou shalt H₁. here] þaire D, þi H₁. 888 strong] om. A₂. ipult] pulte D, plyte H₁, pilt R. 890 As] Also A₂. þe] a H₁. 891 nele] wil H₁R. noþer] neuere A₂. 892 noht] om. H₁, oght R. *The manuscript ends with 892 in A₂.* 893 Ac] and D, But H₁R. nis] es DR, nowþer H₁. for] for no DR. ne for] no for no D, ne for non R. 894 toward] to R. 895 wot] wote ful D, wist hit R. 896 sholde lese] lese suld D. 897 ȝit] riȝt D. 898 þat] om. D. spareþ] lettes R. to] for to D. 899 þe] om. R. 900 þan] om. H₁. þe loue] loue DR. 901 biginne] gynn DH₁. 902 late þi] lete D, leue H₁, leene his R. 903 sone after he may] he may sone aftyr D, soon after þou myȝt H₁. 904 biþenke] þe þenke DR. him on] hym of DR, þe in H₁. 905 þe] a D, þat H₁. 906 godes] þat D, his H₁. so briht] bryȝt so H₁.

¹ MS. Incitium sapientiæ. ² MS. A₁ al alle.

³ Probably read ipilt. See l. 239. ⁴ MSS. A₁A₂ have go.

- ¶ And so he shal casten his loue
 To Iesu Crist, þat is aboue, 908
 And leten and flen sinful dede, to flee the
 Boþe for loue *and* eke for drede. evil world,
- Ac, who-so wole don be my lore,
 Iwis he shal spare more, 912
 To flen sinne day and niht,
 For drede to lese þat faire siht lest thou lose
 the sight
 of God's glori-
 ous face.
- ¶ Off godes face, þat is so cler,
 Off whom we han al oure power, 916
 þan for drede of any wo,
 þat any þing mihte hem do.
- ¶ Leue frend, herkne to me,
 And more i wole speke to þe ; 920 Be piteous
 to the poor.
 For *in* þe godspel i wole rede
 Off þe uertu of almesdede.
 þin almesse þu shalt forþ puite,
 And spare hit noht, þouh hit be luite : 924
 [In þe godspel it es write,
 I sal, man, þat þou it wite.]
 God seiþ þus *in* his lore :
 ‘ Man, if þu miht ȝeue no more 928 Give but a
 cup of cold
 water in love,
 ¶ But a dishful of cold water,
 þu shalt hit ȝeue neuere þe later
 Wid gode wille *and* wid charite,
 And ful wel it worþ ȝolden þe.’ 47 b 932 and it will re-
 ward thee.
 And, whan þu shalt haue þank *and* mede
 For so litel an almesdede,
 ¶ Siker maitou þanne be,
 If þu ȝenest muche *in* charite 936
 To god, þu miht þe betre spede,

907 so] þus D. he] *om.* R. shal] may þen H₁, þen shal he R. 908 is] syttes DR. 909 leten and flen] lete flene D, leue *and* flye H₁, leue & fle alle R. 910 eke] *om.* H₁R. *The manuscript ends with 910 in H₁.* 911 Ac] and D, But R. 912 spare] lett R. 913 day] bothe day R. 915 Off] And of D. 916 Off] And of D. 917 any] oure R. 918 mihte hem] hym myȝt (*over crasure*) D, vs might R. 919 herkne] herken now D. 920 more i wole] meeche I sal D. 921 þe godspel i wole] þis boke I sal D, þo gospel as we R. 923 almesse] almes dede R. puite] pitte R. 924 1st hit] *om.* D. luite] litte R. 925 *and* 926 *are omitted in A₁R.* 930 shalt hit ȝene] putt hit forth R. 931 wid charite] in pyte D, charite R. 932 worþ] wroþ D, bes R. ȝolden] iȝolde D. 933 whan] hou D. haue þank *and*] be þenke for þat D. 935 maitou þanne] þen may þou R. 937 To] Tho D. miht] salt D.

- And þe more shal ben þi mede.
 Enes i it vnderstod,
 þat in almesdede is double god : 940
- ¶ It fordoþ sinne, wite it wel,
 And hit wole eche þi catel.
 And, if þu art her-of *in* drede,
 Hu hit mihte so be *in* dede, 944
- This learn of
 old law,
 A god witnessse i wole drawe,
 On ensaumple of þe olde lawe.
 ¶ Holi writ, þat wole noht lize,
 Spekeþ of þe profete Eliþe, 948
- Christ sent
 Elijah to a
 widow to
 impart to her
 this twofold
 virtue.
 Hou Iesu Crist, houre lo[ue]rd swote,
 Spak to Eliþe þe profete.
 To a pore widewe he *him* sende,
 Here beyþere lyf [for]¹ to amende. 952
- He seide : ‘ Eliþe, þu shalt fare
 In-to Sarepte *and* wone þare.
 ¶ þer is a widewe, þat shal þe fede,
 And i wole zelde wel hire mede.’ 956
- Elijah
 ¶ þe profete Helie began anon 47 c
 Forþ *in* his weie for to gon.
 At þe zate of þe cite þe widewe he mette,
 And faire anon he hire grette. 960
- met the
 widow, and
 asked for
 He bad hire for godes loue,
 þat us alle sit aboue,
 A di[s]h[ful]² water she sholde *him* ȝiue,
 For to helpen *him* to liue. 964
- water and
 bread,
 to help him
 to live.
 ¶ þe widewe seide, she wolde fain,
 And to serue *him* she turne aȝe[i]n.
 After hire he gan to crie,
 And bad hire þat she sholde hie. 968
- ‘ Do,’ he seide, ‘ be my red,

938 more] more hym D. 939 i it] hit I R. 939 reads *in* D: Twys . I
 anderstand. 940 þat in] In R. 944 so be] be so DR. 945 A] I R. wole]
 sal D. 946 On ensaumple of þe] In þe sample in D. 947 þat] *om.* R. wole]
 nyl D. lize] be leis R. 948 Spekeþ] It telleþe D, þat spekes R. 951 To]
 And to D. he] *om.* D 952 beyþere] pore D, bothus R. for to] to A₁R. 954
 wone] lye D. 955 shal þe] þou sal D, wil þe R. 956 i wole] sal D. wel]
 her ful wel R. 958 *in*] on R. 959 þe] þat R. 962 alle sit] sittes alle R.
 963 dishful] disful of DR. she] he R. 964 *and* to] vnto D, for to R. 967
 he gan] began D, he bygan R. 969 be] aftyr D.

¹ for *is* supplied from D.

² MS. A₁ has *difful*.

- Bring me wid þe a shiue bred !'
 þe widewe him answe^[de]¹ anon :
- ' Siker,' she seide, ' bred haue i non,
 Ne noht, þat i mihte þe ʒiue,
 For to helpe þe to liue,
- ¶ But an handful mele *in* o picher
 And a litel oyle, þat is cler,
 þat i mot make of mete here
 To me and to my children ifere ;
 And seþþe we moten deie *in* sore,
 For mete haue we no more.'
- 972 The widow
had nothing
- 976 but a handful
of meal and
some oil.
- 980 She would eat
and die.
- ¶ þe profete hire answerede þo :
 ' Abid,' he seide, ' er þu go !
 First, þer-of mak me mete,
 And, whan þat i hit haue iete,
 Off þat bileueþ, þu shalt make
 For þe *and* for þi children sake.'
- 47 d Elijah said :
' Give me
first.
- 984 What re-
mains, use
for thyself.'
- ¶ þis seli widewe þo wel sone
 Grauntede² wel al his bone :
 For his loue, þat him þider sende,
 Hire litel mete she wolde spende.
 þo þe profete þis iseih,
 His eȝen he kest to god on heih :
 To him he made an orysoun,
 And anon god putte his fuisoun
 Vp-on hire mele *in* hire picher
 And on hire oyle, þat is cler.
- 988 The good
woman
brought him
food.
- 992 Then the
prophet
turned his
eyes to God.
- 996 Abundance
came upon
the meal and
the oil.
- ¶ þo seide anon þe profete
 To þe widewe wordes swete :³
- He said
sweet words :

970 Bring] And brynge D. me] *om.* R. shine] schyne D, shyuer of R. 971 him] þo D, *om.* R. 973 noht] nanȝt elles D. þe ʒiue] ʒene D. 974 2nd to] for to D. 975 mele *in* o] of mele *in* a R. 977 of] in D, on R. here] now here D. 978 to] *om.* R. ifere] in fere DR. 979 deie *in*] die R. 980 haue we] ne haue D. 981 hire answerede þo] vnswerid hyr so R. 982 Abid] And badde her D, I bid þe R. 983 þer-of] he said D. 984 i hit] hit I R. iete] hete D, ete R. 985 bileueþ] þat leues R. 987 þis] þe DR. þo wel] þen ful R. 988 al] to do R. 989 him þider sende] Indas solde R. 990 she] he (*perhaps for ho of l. 963*) D. she wolde spende] shewe ho wolde R. 991 þo] When R. iseih] hym seghe R. 992 he kest to god] to god he kast R. 993 made an] mende his D. 995 hire] þe D. 996 on] *in* R. is] was so D, was R. 997 þo] þen R.

¹ MS. D reads answerd. ² MS. A₁ has an *crasure* after t.

³ 998 and 999 are over *crasure* in MS. A₁.

'Fear not :	'Ne dred þe noht, womman, in þi þouht !	
thy meal shall not diminish : thy oil shall increase.'	þi mele ne shal wante noht, And þin oyle shal waxen : sikerli þi lome shal noht ben empti.'	1000
	¶ Gret plente hadde þe widewe þo, While she liuede euere mo.	1004
This proves, that in alms- deed lies two- fold good. It removes sin, so that thou mayst win heaven. It adds to earthly goods.	Now þu miht knowe in þi mod, þat in almesse dede is double god : Almsdede for[doþe þi synne], And þer-þur[w] [men may heuen wyn[ne]]; And þi god sh[al multiplie], So seiþ þe bok, [þat nyl nauzt lye].	1008 48 a
God says : 'Give, and men shall give to thee.'	¶ þe godspel sei[þe to þe and me] : '3if and men sha[l 3efe þe].' In anoþer stede, [I haue wytnesse], þat god self se[ide] [in soþenesse] : 'Al þat þu dost [for loue of me] To þe leste of m[yn meyne], Riht to my-sel[fe, wete it wele], þu dost þi pres[ent euery dele].'	1012 1016
Be glad in thy gift :	¶ Glad maitou [be þan in þi þouzt], Also ofte as þ[ou mayt; 3ene ouzt], For, þu miht [wele vnderstande], ¹ þu takest hit [gode with þi honde]; For godes w[orde in soþenesse] þer-of bereþ [gude wyttnes] :	1020 1024
thou takest it to God with thy hand.	'A man [may] ² b[e nouzt to quede], Iesu Crist for to [fede];' For þer-wid þu [myzt wele spede] And heuene h[auue vnto þi mede].	1028
Thou art not too vile to feed Christ.		
Eternal joy will be thine.		

999 Ne] no D. þi] om. D. 1000 ne] om. DR. wante] wane D, want right R. 1001 waxen] wereyn D. 1002 þi] and þi R. 1004 While she] And þe while ho D, whil þat ho R. 1005 miht knowe] knowest R. in] wele in D. 1006 þat] om. R. 1007—1031 are defective in A₁. The page has been cut through the middle of folio 48 a. Folio 48 b is wanting. The lines have been completed from MS. D. 1007 þi] om. R. 1008 men] þou R. 1010 nyl] wil R. 1011 þe] For þe D. 1014 self] hym selfe D, hym R. seide] saies R. 1015 for] for þo R. 1018 euery] ilk a R. 1019 be þan] be R. 1020 Also] Als DR. 1021 miht] mayt; D, may nowe R. 1022 with þi] in his R. 1024 þer-of bereþ] Berþe þer of D. 1025 A] þer fore R. may] om. R. quede] gnede R. 1027 þer-wid þu myzt] þou may þer with R. 1028 haue vnto] blis gete to R.

¹ Read vnderstonde.

² man man is in MS. A₁.

To þa[t] blisse [he] [vs bryng],			
þat is king [ouer all[e] þyng],			
¶ And ʒeue us [grace, while we be here],		Almighty King,	
[To serue hym <i>and</i> hys moder dere	48 b	1032	show grace to us,
In trowþe, loue, <i>and</i> in charite.			that we may serve Him!
Amen. Amen. So mot it be.]			Amen. Amen.

1029 he] *om.* A₁D. 1030 king] lord R. 1031 ʒeue] he gefe D. 1032—1034, through loss of fol. 48 b, are not found in A₁. The text follows fol. 179 b in D. 1032 and hys moder dere] þat vs boght dere R. 1033 trowþe] trewe R. in] *om.* R. The colophon reads in R: EXPLICIT HIC SPECTULUM VTILE ISTIUS MUNDI.

CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

TO THE

SPECULUM GY DE WAREWYKE.

Page 3. Lines 1—26: Introductory lines follow Romance models, conveying in a few words the purpose of the whole poem: *La moralité de tout un poëme . . . exprimée dans ses premiers vers*; Gautier, *Les Épopées Françaises*, ed. 1865, vol. i., p. 233. See Hausknecht, *The Sowdone of Babylone*, note to l. 14.

Line 1. *alle*: i. e. *gode men*, according to *Havelok*, l. 1, *Pard. T.*, l. 904, and *A Lutil Soth Sermon*, l. 1; the hearers ordinarily addressed, *lordinges* of the M.E. romance, as annotated by Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, l. 1; Lüdtke, *The Erl of Tolous*, l. 7; Kaluza, *Libeaus Desconus*, l. 461. See *Gamelyn*, l. 343; *The Faerie Queene*, iii., ix., l. 3; the old play, *Mundus et Infans*, l. 236; and Chaucer in many of the *Tales*. Compare lines 1 and 2 with lines 1 and 2 of *The Harrowing of Hell*:

‘Alle herkneþ to me nou,
A strif wille I tellen ou.’

l. 2. *hele of soule*: a *Kentish Charter* of 806?, *Cot. MS. Aug.* II. 79, l. 5: ‘fore uncerra saula hela . . . ðæt wit moten bion on ðem gemanon, & ðaer godes ðiowas siondan’; *Arthur and Merlin*, l. 30: ‘God ous sende soule hale’; *Ancren Riwele*, p. 300: ‘soule hele is forloren vor eni deadlich sunne’; Langl., *Piers the Plowman*, text B, v., l. 270: ‘bi my soule hele’; A, vi., l. 22: ‘for my soule hele’; *Homily*, ed. Small, p. 134, l. 66: ‘sawel hel’; but ‘*Hele of soule*,’ *Speculum Vitæ*, l. 12. Compare *Gedicht aus der Hölle*, ed. Leonard, p. 51, l. 6, also cited by Halliwell, *Dict.*, p. 775:

‘. . . soule hele Y wyll yow teche.’

Orm., l. 10,194, preserves *sawle bote*: ‘To sekenn sawle bote’; *Proverbs of Hendyng*, MS. Harl. 2253, l. 300: ‘Secheþ ore soule bote’; *The Life of Saint Werburge*, Bk. I., l. 992: ‘soule helthe.’

may ou: *wyll þou* on basis of MSS. A₂DH₁H₂R. Later texts fail of the beauty and seriousness of the verse in the loss of *may*, *am able*: ‘I am able to teach you of salvation.’

l. 3. *no fable*: Compare Dr. Leonard’s *Ged. Aus d. H.*, B note, l. 6: *to fabille I wille you nought* (with reference to Eimenkel, *Streifzüge*, p. 232 f.). For litotes in the *Speculum*, the following lines may be cited, l. 102: *beþ noht gode*, i. e. very bad; l. 193: *nis noht forþete*, is remembered; l. 875: *þu ne shalt noht go*, thou must go; l. 892: *Don noht aþein*, carry out; l. 1000: *ne shal wante noht*, shall increase; l. 1002: *noht ben empti*, be full; l. 947 and l. 1010: *þat wole noht liþe*, and l. 637: *i ne liþe*, tell the truth; l. 132: *he ne . . . no ioye winne*, he shall be condemned; l. 360: *noþing it nas*; l. 628: *meke in none manere*, proud; l. 651: *oper weye is þer non*, this is the only way; l. 659: *For noþing þu noldest shone*, should seek to obtain it at all costs; l. 891: *nele noþer*, will. Litotes strengthens a previous affirmation; l. 464: *soþ*,

widouten gabbe; l. 519: *soþ word . . . no les*; l. 867: *sikerliche, widoute nay*. The *Speculum* thus testifies to the popularity of litotes in the M.E. period, as stylistic reaction from the French. See Tobler, *Beiträge* 165; Strohmeyer, *Stil d. me. Reimch. R. v. Gl.*, pp. 54 ff. and *Rbt.*, l. 1271: *he ne leuede nozt bihinde*, he hastened, 4075, 6494, 11937; l. 1909: *he ne gan nozt muche winne*, lost all, even life, 1488, 5015; l. 8081: *ne þozte nozt be þe laste*, would be the first; l. 1718: *þer nas nozt wel gret lone*, great hate, etc. See *Piers Pl.*, among many illustrations, A, l., l. 116: *his peyne haþ non ende*; *On g. Ureisun of Ure Lefdi*, l. 95: *wrom þine lnuue ne schal me no ping todealen*, love will continue, etc.

l. 5. *heuene winne*: See lines 650, 846, and 1008; *grace . . . winne* 78; *ioye winne* 132, 694; *merci . . . winne* 471, 472; *forzifenesse . . . winne* 683, 684. Compare *Orm.* (ed. White), 971: 'winnenn eche blisse'; 1175: 'winnenn Godess are.' *to win* is still in use in Scotland; see Jamieson, *Scotch Dict.*, under *win*.

l. 5 is to be classified under type D, giving emphasis to *þu*. Scansion according to type C, with emphasis on *if*, is not justified.

l. 6. *to god*: *to god* is to be retained, as in l. 21, on authority of MSS. A₁R, the two oldest texts of group Z, in opposition to *of god*, extant in MSS. A₂D of group Y. It presents the true meaning of the passage.

l. 7. *biginning*: Type A and type D both have claims to this verse on account of the variable accent ascribable to *biginning*. The scansion could be:

'þús shal bén þi biginning' D.
'þus shál ben þi bigín · níng' A.

The metrical and logical purpose of the author seems to be satisfied by the first reading, *biginning*, as in lines 209 and 884.

l. 9. *emcristene*: see note to line 334.

l. 10. *þiselfe*: Meter and inflection require the trisyllable authorized by MSS. H₁H₂R; read *þiselfe*, l. 564, 579; *himselfe*, l. 14; *himseluë*, l. 244, 598. L. 362 proves nothing. Final *-e* (*himselfe*) is lost through elision. See ten Br., *Ch. Sprachkunst*, § 255. The sounding of the final *-e* removes the line 10 from type C, where it is to be classified according to MS. A₁.

l. 11. *biginne and ende*: suggested perhaps by 'qui perseveraverit in bono, hic saluus erit . . . bonum ergo perfectisse, virtus est,' Alcuin's *Liber, Caput xxvi.*: 'De perseverantia in bonis operibus,' based possibly on *Matt.* x. 22: 'he that endureth firm to the end . . .,' *Heb.* iii. 6, 14; 'be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life,' *Rev.* ii. 10. See *Poema Morale*:

l. 119: 'Ac drihte ne demð nanne man · æfter his bi gínninge.
ac al his lif secal beo swich · se buð his endinge.'

l. 12. *to heuene wende*: The infinitive employed without the introductory *to*, to avoid doubling the particle, see *to helle gon* 652; *paternoster bede* 562; and *Harrowing of Hell*, l. 244:

'And 3if ous grace to line and ende
In þi seruice and to heuene wende.'

l. 13. *worldes*: The article is to be expected before *worldes*. Its omission called forth various scribal errors; see variants.

l. 14. *himselfe*: read *himseluë*. See note to l. 10.

l. 15. *plawe*: O.E. *plaga*, companion form M.E. *pleye*, *pleie* < O.E. *plega*. But one instance of *plagian* is recorded according to Bosworth-Toller, *A. S. Dict.* under *plagian*; cf. Sievers, § 391, Anm. 1; Pabst, § 42; Langl. A. Passus, xii., l. 295, ascribes to *play* the meaning pleasure: 'That thi *play* be plentevous.' *plawe* is not very frequent in M.E. texts, but see *Das Lied von King Horn* (ed. Wissmann), MS. H, l. 1112:

‘þat trewe was in uch plawe’; *Havelok*, l. 950: *plawe*: (*knaue*) and *pleye*: (*weie*), l. 953; *R. of Gl.* 5906; *Trist.* 3101. See *Stenstrup*, pp. 15 and 190; *Svenska Språketslagar*, II. 99; *Brate, Beiträge*, vol. x., p. 48. *Ettmüller, Lexicon Anglo-Saxonicum*, pp. 274, 275, illustrates derivatives of **plēgan*. See also *Speculum*, ‘Introduction’ under *au*, chapter xiii on Phonology.

l. 16. *deþ of soule*: completing the antithesis begun with *hele of soule*, line 2: destruction of soul . . health of soul; condemnation . . salvation. The personification of the soul as a separate and independent being, thus ascribing to the living creature a sort of a dual existence, is a favourite conceit of the poet; see line 844.

l. 17. *þe world*: The account of the crafty fisherman *world* with his *paunter* for his victim, the soul, begins abruptly, l. 13, but the slender thread of the allegory is to be traced nearly to the end of the poem: lines 13—24, 33, 61—64, 99, 103, 151, 195, 222, 650—651, etc. See l. 882: *sodeyneliche þu miht be caiht*, and possibly *heuene blisse* 690, *helle pine* 642, and other references to heaven’s glories and hell’s torments.

ikauht: with *ikazte*, *H*₁, is to be retained. *caught* *A*₂ (*cawzt* *D*, *cawzte* *H*₂, *kaght* *R*) is contrary to the dialect of the poet; see *Inflection*. The metre and the language of the poet require the prefix *i-*. *icauht* and *cawt* are both employed by Chaucer and Wiclif. *Poema Morale* has *keht(c)*, *keiht*.

l. 18. *and*: *and* is to be expunged. It does not occur in *D H*₁*H*₂*R*, MSS. preserving at times the best text.

paunter: *paunter*, as employed by the poet, is perhaps defined by a metaphor of F. G. Fleay, *Engl. Studien*, vol. vii., p. 87, ‘Neglected Facts on Hamlet’: ‘inclosed in its *dragnet* this miraculous *draught* . . . of fish,’ and in *The Simonie* (Auch. MS.), l. 457:

‘Pride hath in his *paunter* *kauht* the heie and the lowe,
So that unnethe can eny man God Almighti knowe.’

The *paunter*, *pantire*, is in its ordinary acceptance a *snare* or *net* for birds rather than for fish, as is made clear by Richard the Redeles, by Chaucer, and by Lydgate.

Richard the Redeless, II. 183, see Skeat:

‘And fell with her ffetheris filat vppon the erthe,
As made of her mynde and mercy be souzte.
They myzte not aschowne the sorowe they had serued,
So lymed leues were leyde all aboute,
And *panteris* preylyche pight vppon the grounde.’

Leg. of G. W., l. 130: ‘The smale foules, of the seson fayn,

That from the *panter* and the net ben scaped.’

T. of Glas, l. 604: ‘But lich a brid, þat fleith at hir desire,
Til sodeinli within þe *pantire*,
She is Icauzt’

See *Ancren Riwe*, p. 134 of the bird: ‘heo heo *ikeiht* þuruh summe of þe deofles gromen.’ In this usage of *paunter* the reader is referred to Schick’s note to the *T. of G.*, l. 604, with its comprehensive list of examples of *pantire*, and its reference to Skeat, note to *Leg. of G. W.*, *Prol.*, l. 130, and *Dict.* under *painter*, and to *Prompt. Parv.*, note to *pantire*.

Page 4. l. 21. *for loue* . . *for eize*: a typical antithesis popular in M.E. See *Sir Benes*, text A, l. 1852: ‘Wið *loue* or *eize*’; *Saules Ward*, ll. 25, 26: ‘wið *eie* ant wið *luue*’; *Gamelyn*, l. 129: ‘for Gamelynes *loue* . . for his *eize*’; *Wulfstan*, ‘Address to the English,’ Hatton MS. Jun. 99, ll. 168, 169: ‘þa ðe riht *lufiað* and Godes *ege habbað*’ . . . Compare with

luue-eie, *Ancr. Rincle*, p. 420 : Skeat translates *his eize*, 'for awe of him,' note to *Gamelyn*, l. 129, in harmony with *Gamelynes*, the genitive limiting *loue*, and in keeping with Stürzen-Becker, *Notes on Characteristics of E. E. Dialects*, p. 43 ; see *of god*, MSS. A₂D H₁, and note to l. 6.

R on its own authority alters the rime to introduce the more Northern form *awe* for *eize* : *awe* : *lawe*.

l. 23. *þer* : demanded by the context and supplied by MSS. H₁H₂ and A₂, if *þei* be a scribal error for *þer*. Evidence of texts A₁DR would ascribe the anacoluthon of text A₁ to the poet.

l. 24. *worldē* : Hiatus is not justified before *and*. *worldē* is monosyllabic : *wórldē and* ; see *world*, ll. 33, 64, 99, etc. The verse illustrates type C : *þe wórlđ and hīs · fólwe lóve*.

l. 26. *hem* : *hem*, extant in MSS. A₂H₁H₂, and probably in the archetype of *D* is to be inserted to improve the metre. The added syllable was regarded necessary by *R* ; see variants. Read *rodē* on authority of the riming couplet : *rod* : *blod*, l. 248. *dere bouhte* : see note to l. 160.

ll. 27, 28. *wole* : copyist's form throughout A₁ for *wyll(e)*, *wil*, in MSS. A₂D H₁H₂R ; cf. rime *skile* : *wole*, l. 712, 'Introduction,' chap. III, § 1 and § 5, and *wole* in Langland, A. vii. 144, 208 ; II. 86 ; III. 265 ; V. 36 ; VI. 152, 193, 300, etc.

l. 28. *tale telle* : Compare Zupitza's note to *Athelston*, l. 153, and Chaucer, *Probl.* 731, 792, 831, 847 ; *D. L. Probl.* 22, 23, 48 ; *Pers. Probl.* 21, 25, 46, 66 ; *Duch.* 709, 1033, etc.

Reliquie Antiquae, p. 241 (II.) : 'ichow wol *telle*
Of Crist ane litel *tale*.'

l. 29. *of gode fame* : Cf. Zupitza's note to *of gret renown*, *Athelston*, ll. 19, 45 ; Leonard, *Ged. aus d. Hölle*, B l. 63 ; and *Spec.*, l. 40, where the *holy man* and the knight are described in the same class. Cf. as follows :

Spec. Vit., l. 43 : 'Ne of Beus of Hamtoun,
pat was a knyght of gret renown.'

Erl of T., l. 178 : 'Syr Tralabas of Turkey
A man of gret renown.'

l. 31. *þouht* : The sorrowful meditation of the love-poetry of the century, illustrated by Schick, *T. of Gl.*, note to l. 1. This meaning seems justified by the corresponding passages in the various *Guy of Warwick* MSS.

l. 35. Type C is confirmed by l. 35. It would be impossible to read *godē*, l. 35. See *Tundale*, l. 19. *all* of A₂R, or *eke* of *D*, are emendations of the scribe. Cf. *and his—lóve*.

l. 41. *þe ordre he hadde* : For the history of the brotherhood, see Skeat, note to *Peres the Plowman's Crede*, l. 153.

l. 43. *Wit of clergie* : the understanding of books, book-learning, referring not merely to scholarship as an essential attribute of mediæval piety, but to Alcuin's ambition for an educated priesthood. See also *Hamlet*, I. i. 24.

l. 44. *to godnesse . . . drouh* : *Life of St. Dunst.*, l. 29. Cf. *R. of Gl.*, l. 252 : *to . . . prowess he droun* ; *toward þe deþe drou*, l. 1159 ; *to worse . . he droun*, l. 9242. See Strohmeyer, pp. 48, 49.

l. 46. *he* : *he* is to be supplied before *tok*. It is extant in *D H₁H₂*, two MSS. from one group, one from a second, in opposition to two MSS., A₁A₂, one of each group. Grammatically and metrically the sentence is strengthened by the introduction of the pronoun, though its omission as subject of the sentence is characteristic of the period ; see Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 10.

Page 5, l. 47. *tok . . . red*: explained by *consail take*, l. 63, ordinary M.E. phraseology illustrated *Rbt. of Gl.*, *nime his rede* (or similar arrangement), as follows: ll. 609, 1685, 2137, 3562, 3846, 5280, 5853, 6263, 6422, 8215, 8230; text B: 11,850, 11,198; *nime . . . conseil* 1111, 1245, 2170, 2187, 3040, 3139, 3470, 3516, 3528; B 11,004, 10,467, 10,493, 11,328, 11,837; *take hire to rede*, *Wm. of Palerne*, l. 133; *nime hom to rede*, *Rbt. of Gl.*¹ ll. 348, 6749, 7910; B 9758, 11,428; and *Gamelyn*, l. 683: *into counseil nome*: *O. Kent. Sermon*, ed. Skeat, l. 8: *nomen conseil*.

l. 48. *þe qued*: 'the evil,' 'the evil one,' 'the devil.' The etymology of *qued* is uncertain, O.E. *cwæd*? or *cwæd*? Dutch *kwaad*; Fris. *qued*; G. *quāt, kāt, kōt*. See Mätzner, *Sprachproben*, l. p. 82; Grimm. Gr., III. p. 606; Mall, *H. of H.*, note to l. 36; Pabst, *Lautelehre*, § 15 b; and the following illustrations:

Speculum, l. 654: ' . . . ouercome þe foule qued.'

Rel. Ant., p. 16: 'Thus overkam . . . the qued.'

H. of Hell, l. 36: 'For to lesen ous fram þe qued.'

Hand. Synne, l. 5605: ' bode þe quedc.'

For *qued* used in an adjective sense, refer to note, l. 1025.

l. 49. *i vnderstonde*: also l. 889 (see 507 and 1021), a popular construction to fill out the verse, *füllformel*, Lüdtke, *The Erl of Tolous*, l. 631 and l. 913, referring to Koch, II. § 399.

l. 49 illustrates type D on proof of five MSS. *H*₂ substitutes *V* upon *On*, restoring the line to type A:

'Vpon a dāye, 'I vndyrstōnde.'

l. 50. *sente his sonde*: an alliterating form profusely illustrated in M.E. See *Die Alliteration in Lazamon*, *Germ. Stud.*, vol. i. p. 182; Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 10,477; Breul, note to *Sir Gowther*, l. 87; Schmirgel, 'Typical Expressions in *Sir Beues*'; *Sir Beues*, p. liv., referring to *Reinbroun*, str. 14, l. 7; *Arthur and Merlin*, l. 6733. Compare *Sir Beues*, text A, 3305; S 1277; M 2928, 4200; *Wm. of Palerne*, l. 64; *Lazamon*, *Brut*, l. 14,200; *Gen. and Ex.*, ll. 2312-13; *King Horn*, l. 265; *Amis and Amiloun*, l. 625; *Man of Law's Tale*, l. 388; *Rbt. of Gl.*, ll. 363, 1835, 3273, 3291, 3727, 5958, 7860, 8037; B 10,211, 10,325, 11,354; C 223, 224.

sonde: explained by Zupitza's note as existing with two meanings, *the messenger and the message*. i. e. *what is sent*; cf. M.H.G. *santbote*, 'messenger'; see *Ancr. R.*, p. 190: 'was þes sondes mon'; p. 256: 'þes deofles sondesmon'; p. 190: 'Euerich worlich wo is Godes sonde'; *Guy of W.* text A: ll. 1929, 3751; text C, 3913, etc.

l. 52. '*I grette þe wel*': stereotyped expression in the sense of 'I send a salutation to.' See *Gamelyn*, l. 713: '*greteth hem wel*'; *Wm. of Palerne*, ll. 359, 360: '*greteth wel . . . alle my freyliche felawes*'; also *King Horn*, ll. 144, 145: '*Gret þu wel*'; *Gen. and Ex.*, l. 2382; Schmirgel, p. xlvii. with illustrations from *Sir Beues*, ll. 89, 117, 131, 164; *Guy of W.*, str. 289, l. 10; *Ipomedon*, B l. 1376; *Seven Sages*, A l. 3838; *Ywain and Gawain*, l. 1598; *Isumbras*, 532. See also *faire grette*, *Speculum*, l. 960; occurring also, *Wm. of Palerne*, ll. 369, 370; *Lazamon*, 14,073; and Chaucer, *M. of L. T.*, l. 1051; but '*mekely grette*,' *Pard. Tale*, l. 714; '*reuerently and wysly . . . grette*,' *Clerkes Tale*, l. 952. See *Ancr. R.*, p. 430: '*gretes þe lefdi mid one Ane Marie*'; Orm 2805, 2806: '*þu gann to gretenn wiþ þine milde wordess*.'

¹ For arrangement of references to *Rbt. of Gl.* indebtedness is due throughout the notes to Dr. Hans Strohmeyer's *Der Stil d. ne. Reimchrowik d. Rbt. v. Gl.*, Berlin, 1889.

Omission of *I* in *A*₁ is a scribal error. *I* is extant in five MSS., but compare with the Swiss salutation, *grüetze* used always without a pronoun; see Otfrid *gruazen*. *H*₂ attempts to restore the reading of type A by the omission of *wel*, reading:

‘And séyd I gréte þe · fádyr mýanë.’

l. 53. *for godes loue*: For this form of invocation to the deity see note to *Sir Beues*, text M, l. 344, with reference to Lange, *Die Versicherungen bei Chaucer*, p. 18; *for goddes loue*, *Gamelyn*, ll. 31, 55; *for Goddys loue*, *Handlyng Symne*, l. 5661; *Rbt. of Gl.*: *vor Godes loue*, ll. 428, 1886, 5006, 5801, 8890, 8968: B 9241, 11,355; also 828, 2610.

l. 54. Also lines 542, 962; cf. ll. 698 and 908. *H*₂ removes the verse from type D, placing it under type A, through the substitution of *ouyr us* for us:

‘That óuyr vs álle · sýtte abóue.’

loue: *aboue*: also ll. 54, 512, 542, 698, 908, 962. See Kölbing’s note to *Sir Beues*, text A, l. 1837, and to *Ipomedon*, text A l. 5.

l. 55. *par charite*: commented on by Zupitza, *Guy of Warwick*, l. 471; *Athelston*, l. 540; in Halliwell’s *Dictionary* under *charity*; and *Speculum*, note to l. 840. See:

Langl., A. ix. 11: ‘And *preiede* hem, *par charite*.’

Spec. Vite, l. 15: ‘*preyeth* alle now, *par charyte*.’

Prov. of Hend, 2, 12: ‘Amen, *par charité*!’

God beginning makeþ god endyng;

Quoþ Hending.’

ll. 56, 57. Cf. *Langl.* C. iv. 121, 122; B. III. 93:

‘Salamon the sage, a *sarmon he made*
In amendement of meyres.’

l. 57. *a god sarmoun*: Compare *Mütznern, Spachproben*, vol. i. p. 115; *Moralités et Sermones joyeux, Romania*, Tom. xv. pp. 414—416; *Life of Charlemagne*, pp. 85, 86, with reference to homilies prepared by Warnfried for Charlemagne; Werner, *Alcuin et Charlemagne*, p. 252; Schick, *T. of G.*, l. 691; and, of course, Morley and ten Brink. See also *Ancr. Ricle*, p. 312: ‘in Uitas Patrum, þo me hefde longe iþeildon him efter *sarmun*’; *Langl.*, C. vi. 201: ‘That suweth my *sarmon*’; and *Hand. Syn.* l. 6936:

‘Seynt Ihoun to Troyle bygan to *sermun*
Wyþ ensamples of gode resun.’

l. 58. *in lescoun*: *Speculum Vite*, l. 92: ‘And swyche a *lessoun* I schal þow þeue.’ For *don write*, see *Old Song*, quoted by Robertson, *Glossary of Dialect Words in the County of Gloucester*, p. 37.

D and *R* alter the line, removing for their texts any question as to the value of *-e* at the cæsura.

ll. 61, 62. *gile*: *while*: a favourite rime of the author of *Gamelyn*, see ll. 370, 562, 580. *while* in the sense of ‘a period of time’ is used by Spenser in *Prothalamion*, l. 83.

l. 63. *consail take*: see note to l. 47.

l. 64. *forsake*: *take*: The rime occurs also in lines 72, 100, 268, 498. Line 64 is repeated in substance lines 99 and 497.

l. 65. See note to line 981.

l. 68. *His . . . i . . . do*: Four MSS. attempt to remove the anacoluthon. *A*₂ and *H*₂ alter the sentence so that it reads more logically in direct discourse through the rendering þi for *His*. *D* and *R* change the clause to indirect discourse by the substitution of *he* for *i*. The punctuation offered by the text seems to be in harmony with the reading of

three good MSS., two of the best texts, and representatives of both groups of texts. *preie*: ordinarily in M.E. the prayer to the divinity: *Guy of W.*, B. l. 10,068; *Octavian*, l. 1089; *Sir Beues*, A, ll. 803, 2635: see Schmigel, p. xlvi. *preie . . . do*: This rendering in the sense of 'grant a request,' the editor has not yet discovered in other texts.

l. 69. *sethen i shal be*: On ground of four MSS. *A*₁ alone reads *whan*. Four MSS. remove *nu* of text *A*₁. For *leche* see Introduction, 'Relation to the Guy of Warwick Romances, chap. vi.; *Faerie Queene*, I. x. 23, ll. 7 ff., and Chaucer:

The Pard. T., l. 916: 'And Iesu Crist, that is *our soules leche*.'

Somp. T., l. 184: 'With highe God, that is *our lives leche*.'

Bok of D., l. 920: '. . . that swete, *my lyves leche*.'

A. B. C., l. 134: 'Beth ye (*Mary*) . . . *my soules leche*.'

2 *N. T.*, l. 56: 'Thou (*Mary*) . . . art her *lyves leche*.'

l. 70. *Aller(furst)*: *Alpere* in MSS. *A*₂ *H*₁ *H*₂ < O.E. *ealra*, 'of all'; see Skeat, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 298 and Schick, *T. of Gl.*, note to l. 70.

l. 71. *Faire uertuz*: the moral graces, literally Alcuin's *virtutes*, the subject of the sermon of the *Speculum*.

l. 72. *foule þewes*: *De vitiiis* of Alcuin, properly the seven deadly sins of the mediæval period; ordinarily *þewes* includes the virtues, or is limited to them, as in line 97, 2 *N. T.*, l. 101, and *Conf. Amant.*, Bk. vii., l. 43. See *well-thewed*, Spenser, *Shep. Cal.* Feb., l. 96, annotated by E. K.: '*Bene morate*, full of moral wiseness.'

foule: translated *lethere* by *H*₂, a form popular with *Rbt. of Gl.*; see numerous examples: *luper brod* 1595; *luper duc* 4974, 5994, 6330; *luper emperour* 1873, 1922, 1828; *luper folc* 2689, 2693, 4637, 6086; *luper gadeling* 6356; *luper King* 2984, 6653; *luper quene* 759, 5825, 5862, 5886, and many other examples. *H*₂ translates *foule*, l. 61, with *false*.

l. 73. *leue broþer*: nominally one of the brotherhood through Christ, in distinction from *leue brothyr*, an expression of good fellowship, as in *The Erl of Tolous*, l. 605.

l. 74. *Bote*: *Bote 3uffe* of MS. *H*₂ improves the verse metrically, adding to the illustrations of type A.

on . . . oþer: i. e. *both*, quite common; see *Gamelyn*, l. 39.

Page 6, l. 79. The verse has been tampered with by the scribes of group Y, probably to restore the measure to the more evenly accentuated system of the classic verse.

l. 80. *on rewe*: *rewe* is, of course, O.E. *rêw*, to be distinguished from Hampole's *rowe* < O.E. *râw*. See *in rewe*, *Gamelyn*, l. 867; *arewe*, *Sordone of B.*, l. 390; *on a rewe*, Prol. to *Leg. of G. W.*, A, l. 285; *Kn. Tale*, l. 2008; *H. of F.*, l. 1692: *rewis* in Pecoek's *The Repressor*, II. Chap. xi, l. 103; *on raw*, Douglas, Prol. to *Eneados*, l. 177; Minot, *Political Song*, l. 79; *a long rawe*: (*alawe*) *King. Quhair*, str. 154, l. 3; *arowe*, *Hous of Fame*, l. 1835; *rowe*: (*loze*), *King Horn*, l. 1092. Line 80 recalls *Ancr. Ricle*, p. 198: 'Her beoð nu *arewe* itold,' etc.; p. 336: *adunewardes bi reawe & bi reawe*; Langl. C. II. 22: And rekene hem *by rewe*. *rowe*, *Spec. MS. R*, is the scribe's form for *rewe*, and is not to be referred to O.E. *râw*.

l. 81, also l. 139. The list of the virtues follows, as based on the classification of Alcuin's *Liber*. They are *uertuz*, ll. 71, 79.

l. 82. *be rede*: The suggestion of MS. R as to the syntax of the line in the construction, *is my rede*, is not to be accepted. *rede* cannot be in the nominative case, but must be a dative, object of the preposition *be*.

l. 83. *bileue*: O.E. *gelêufa*, N.E. *belief* through M.E. *bilêue*. Compare

with the verb l. 84, *bilene*, to remain, < *be-līfan*, M.E. *belēne*. and Skeat's note to *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 10; *Gen. and Ex.*, l. 1332: 'Ysaac bileaf unslagen.'

l. 85. *mieknesse*: The spelling with *ie* in MS. A₁ is due, as in the case of N.E. *believe*, to Norman-French influence through analogy with such words as N.E. *grief*. The spelling *mieknesse* occurs in *Political Songs of England*, p. 335: 'So is *mieknesse* driven adoun, and pride is risen on heih.' In the later MSS. inorganic *e* unites the suffix with the root. The metrical quality of the verse is improved by the reading *mekēnesse*.

l. 88. The verse describing true humility is to be read as follows:
'pat is verráy · humilité.'

l. 89. *And*: also l. 649, regular M.E. form for *if*. It is used by Lydgate, *T. of Gl.*, ll. 1002, 1289; Spenser, and of course by Chaucer; *Pearl*, str. 47, l. 8; *Tit. And.* II. i. 69; Bacon, *Essay* 23, l. 38. Cf. *an't*, *Macbeth*, III. vi. 19.

The rime *ore*: (*more*) occurs in *The Erl of Tolous*, ll. 586, 587: 'Y ask mercy for goddys *ore*' (*more*). Compare *Speculum*, l. 540: 'crieþ *merci and ore*' (*sore*). See Zupitza, *Guy of W.*, note to l. 8280.

l. 92. Line 92 is repeated l. 474. The rime *repentaunce*: *penaunce* occurs lines 474, 770, and l. 830 in *H₂*. Read l. 92 as follows:

'*And redi þǽrfǽre* · to dón *penaunce*.'

redi: vb. *prepare*? sb. *readiness*? or supplying *be*: *be ready*?

l. 94. *shrifte of mouþe*: also l. 473, a typical M.E. expression. See Zupitza, note to *Athelston*, v. l. 688; Leonard, note to the poem *Aus der Hölle*, l. 51; *Pers. T.* l. 29; *Rel. Ant.*, p. 243. II.; and Skeat's note to *cordis contritione*, O.E. *Homily*, *Hic dic est*, l. 58, where the second step in contrition is described as 'confession of month,' *Oris confessione* of l. 56 of the same homily. See Skeat's illustrations and his annotation to the lines 55 ff.: 'he (i. e. *god-almihtin*) haueð geuen us to beon *muð freo*. þet we mayen *mid ure muðe* bringen us ut of þisse putte' . . . 'þurh *muðes openunge*.'

l. 97. *þewes*: i. e. *god thewys*. *Ipotis*, l. 179; *heaned þeaves*, *Sawles Warde*, ll. 40, 41; *-clere*, 2 *N. T.*, l. 101; *Prov. of Hendyng*, ll. 4, 5:

' monie þewes
Forte teche fele shrewes.'

Page 7, l. 101. *þe wicke þewes*: *foule þewes*, l. 72, and *gode þewes*, l. 97, make up the *þewes*, the mental qualities, discussed by Skeat, note to *Leg. of G. Women*, l. 2577. *wicked thewes* are described in *The Hous of Fame*, l. 1834, and, on ground of Alcuin's *Liber*, are limited to the vices as defined by the *Ancren Riicle*, p. 198: '*þe seouen heaned sunnen*,' popular everywhere in literature of the Middle Ages. See for the *seven deadly sins*, *MS. Cot. Ap.* 45; Stürziinger *Le Pelerinage de Vie humaine*, p. 332, 'the final assault of the seven deadly sins': *Ancr. Riicle*, p. 198 ff.: 'Her beoð nu areawe itold þe seouen heaned sunnen': 1. *þe Liun of Prude*; 2. *þe Neddre of attri Onde*; 3. *þe Unicorn of Wreððe*; 4. *þe Bore of heui Slouhðe*; 5. *þe Vox of ȝicoung*; 6. *þe Suwe of ȝiuernesse*; 7. *þe Scorpiun of Lecherie*.

nempne: *nempnē* probably with double thesis at the cæsura, or *nempne* with apocope of *-e*, caused confusion with the copyist, as is proved by the variants. *nempne* was transcribed in various ways in l. 108.

l. 102. *muche shrewes*: very bad qualities. The *Speculum* employs the substantive *shrewes*, where the adjective is expected. This construction is not uncommon in M.E. See *A Poem on the Times of Edward II.*, l. 406, and *moche schrewe*, *The Tale of Gamelyn*, ll. 6, 230.

moche: Skeat discusses the use of *moche* as applied to size, *Gamelyn*, note to l. 230.

pewes: *shrewes*: The same rime occurs, *Prov. of Hend.*, ll. 4, 5, *Conf. Amant.*, Bk. vii., l. 44, and *Hous of Fame*, ll. 1834 ff. Compare line 102 with Chaucer's verses, ll. 1830 ff.:

‘ We ben shrewes, every wight,
And han delyte in wikkednes,
As gode folk had in goodnes;
And loye to be knowen *shrewes*,
And fulle of vice and wikked *thewes*.’

MS. R of the *Speculum* purifies the diction of the line by the removal of the redundant expression illustrative of litotes, *noht gode*, placing the verse in type D:

‘ *þate are*, swithe, mykel *shrewes*.’

l. 103. *led*: *red*: of MS. A₁ is undoubtedly a scribal error. Read *rede* (dat. plu.): *lede* (inf.) on authority of the other MSS., and according to the laws governing the inflection of the poem. Final *e* was pronounced. See Introduction.

l. 104. *stronge*: See Sievers, § 299, N. 1. The *e* is to be added on account of the metre. It seems to be authorized by the O.E. form.

l. 105. *is hit*: to be retained on authority of the oldest MS. Logically stress should be given to *is* rather than to *it*, as is required by group Y. The verse is unmistakably type C. It would be impossible to read *godē*. H₁ remodels the verse according to type D.

l. 106. *For*: *For*, H₁R, is to be cancelled. It exists only in one group of related texts.

l. 107. *Line* 107 is unsatisfactory in any of its readings. Refer to the Introduction, Chapter over Versification.

l. 109. *Pride*: *Pride* occurs in its normal M.E. position, standing first in the list of the vices. This is the arrangement of Alcuin in the *Liber*, Chap. XXVII., *De octo vitiis principalibus & primo de Superbia*. *Primum vitium est superbia*, de qua dicitur: Initium omnis peccati superbia, quæ regina omnium malorum; Chap. XXIII., *Maximum diaboli peccatum fuit superbia*. It is the order usual in enumerations of this period. *Pride* is the first sin in Gower's *Confessio* and in *The Persones Tale*, as Schick has indicated in his note to *T. of Gl.*, l. 761. This view is confirmed by the old poem, *The Liif of Adam*, and in *Rel. Ant.* and Chaucer's *Pers. Tale*.

The Liif of Adam, l. 61: ‘ for it com out of heuen,
And was the form[est] sinne of seven.’

Rel. Ant., p. 166: ‘ Pride is out and pride is ine,
And *pride* is rot of every sinne,
And pride will never blynnie!’

Pers. Tale, l. 834: ‘ The rote of these sinnes than is *pride*,’ etc.

See Skeat's note, Langl., p. vi., l. 118, and Werner with reference to Hraban, Theodulf, Prosper, etc., pp. 253, 254. *Pride* is described in *The Simonie*, ll. 459, 460:

‘ *Pride* priketh aboute, wid withe and wid onde:
Pes, loue, and charite hien out of londe.’

See also lists of Hampole, of the *Ancren Rincle*, etc. See note to l. 18. Cp. *R. of Gl.*, ll. 185 ff.:

‘ . . turnde to sleuþe & to prude * & to lecherie,
To glotonie, (& heye men * muche to robbery).’

Ipotis, l. 410: ‘ *Pryde* is a synne most of plyghte,
þat wrattheþ Iesus, ful of myghte.’

Compare l. 109 with Maundeville, p. 3: *Pryde, Covetyse, and Enrye*, han so enflaumed the Hertes of Lordes of the world, etc.

l. 111. *on of þo*: pleonastic also in *Ipotis*, D l. 171: 'Erþe . . . is on of þoo.'

l. 114. The vocabulary of the *Speculum* is enriched by scribal interpretation of the *þisternesse*: *dyrkenes*, MSS. DH₁, *merkenes* MS. R. *myrkenes* is used also in *Tundale*, ll. 182, 437, 1122, 1205, and by Ham-pole, *Prick of Conscience*, see l. 7820: 'pare es, withouten *myrknes*, lyght.' Read here *-nissē*, to rime with *blissē*.

Tyndale, l. 181: 'þou shalte to fire withouten ende
And to *merknes* art þou frende.'

Macbeth, V. i. 40: 'Hell is *murky*.'

l. 116. *Wicke sleupe*: *sleupes*, l. 121. See Schick's note to *T. of Gl.*, l. 244. *Sleupe* is translated literally by MS. R in the reading *slownes*, ll. 116 and 121. See Skeat, *Dict.*, under *sloth*, and in mediæval texts: *Langl. Prol.*, A, l. 45: '*Sleep and Sleupe* suweþ hem euere'; *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1722: 'To kepen her fro *slouthe and ydelnesse*'; *M. of L. T.*, l. 530: '*diligent, with outen sleuwthe*'; *Sec. N. T.*, l. 258: '*withouten slouthe*'; *Ancr. R.*, p. 208: 'nis hit *tricherie, oðer zemeleaste of slouhðe*'; *Pers. T.*, ll. 1687 ff.: '*slouthe . . . shendeth al that he doth*'; *Conf. Aman.* (ed. Morley), p. 176: '*Slouth of lachesse*'; p. 187: '*Slouth of Negligence*'; p. 188: '*Slouth of Idelnesse*'; p. 206: '*Slouth of Slepe*'; also *Pers. T.*, ll. 1738 ff.: *Conf. Amans*, p. 206, l. 41: ' . . . he is cleped *Sompnolence*,

Which doth to *Slouth* his reverence,
As he which is his chamberlein.'

lecherie: See *Ipotis*, text D, l. 406: '*lecherie is þe devels net*,' recalling the world's *parmyter*, l. 18 of the *Speculum*. The line is to be compared with *Ipotis*, D ll. 356, 357:

'And glotonye is þe furþe broþer,
Lecherye is þe ferþe,
On of þe wurste abowe erþe.'

l. 117. *Accedie*: normal form *accidie*; O.F. *acide*; Lat. *acedia*; the mental prostration of the recluse after fasting or other excess of asceticism. See Murray's *Dictionary* under *accidie*, and *Langl.*, V. B, l. 366: C, l. 417: 'After al this excesse, he had an *accidie*.' *Accidia* is the lazy parson of Jusserand's *Piers Plowman*, p. 235. It occurs often as a synonym of *sloth*, e. g. *Ancr. Riwle*, p. 208: 'me not nout þeonne is lit zemeleste, under *accidie þet ich cleopede slouhðe*'; *The Persones Tale*, ll. 1649 ff.: 'the sinne of *accidie, or slouth*'; l. 1691: 'roten sinne of *accidie and slouthe*.' But thus *Azenbite*, l. 10: '*Sleawhðe þet me clepeþ ine clerþie accidie*,' but this is not the application of the poet of the *Speculum*, as l. 121 distinctly tells us: '*Accedie is sleupes broþer*.' See *Ancr. R.*, p. 286: '*Accidies salue is gostlich gledschipe*.' See also *The Seven Deadly Sins of London*, Thomas Decker, 1606. *Persones Tale*, ll. 1650 ff.: '*Accidie maketh him hevvy, thoughtful and wrawe*'; '*bitternesse is mother of accidie*'; '*accidie the anguish of a trouble herte*'; ll. 1827 ff.: '*ther ben . . . remedies ayenst accidie*,' etc.

as: is to be omitted on authority of four MSS. For the redundant *as* in the sentence, cf. Schick, *T. of Gl.*, l. 39. See also l. 121.

l. 119. *wisse*: O.E. *wissian*, to teach, see Schick's note, *T. of Gl.*, l. 637.

l. 123. *derne*: O.L.G. *derni*; O.H.G. *tarni*, hence archaic M.H.G. *Tarnkappe*. The mediæval poets liked the word *derne*. See *Langl.*, A. x., l. 199: *dede derne*; B. II., l. 175: *derne rsurye*. Orm uses *derne*, verses 14,266, 18,864, 19,886.

- v. 14,266 : 'All was he *derne*
Bilokenn & bilappedd.'
v. 19,886 : 'Acc itt iss *dep & dærne*.'

derne is united with the history of *rune*; 'Godess *dærne rune*,' Orm. 18,786, 18,864; 'God [scheawede] his *derne runes*,' *Ancr. Riwle*, p. 154, fol. 40; Godes *derne runes*, p. 96; *Spring Time* ('Specimens of Lyric Poetry,' II., p. 49), ll. 28 ff.:

'Deawes donkeþ þe donnes,
Deores wiþ huere *derne rounes*,
Domes forte deme.'

See *King Horn*, 1363 : 'He louede Horn wel *derne*'; *Cursor Mundi*, v. 32 of 'The Visit of the Magi' :

'þe thoughtfulest among þam selue,
and did þam in a mountai *dern*,
[Biseli] to wait þe stern.'

Compare *underne*, 'not secret,' *Ancr. Riwle*, p. 24; Wicl., *John* iv. 6; *Mauud*, 163; *Shor*, 84. For its derived and secondary meaning see *Clerkes Tale* :

- l. 260 : 'The tyme of *vndern* of the same day.'
l. 981 : 'Abouten *vndern* gan this erl alyghte.'

Orm., l. 19,458 : 'An da33 at *uunderrn* time.'

See also *Ancr. R.*, p. 24 : 'Fiftene psalmes siggeð abutan *vndern deies*.'

l. 124. *annied*: *annied* occurs in the sense of wearied, troubled, or reluctant, in several instances in *The Persones Tale*. See *Havelok*, l. 1735, and *Pers. T.*, ll. 1683, 1684 : 'Of *accidie* cometh first that a man is *annied* . . . to do any goodnesse'; l. 1656 : 'It [*accidie*] is *annoye* of *goodnesse*.'

l. 125. MS. H₂ places the line under type A by the substitution of *Weloſte* for *Offte*.

mourninge: Read *mourningē*, dative, to rime with *springē*. Final *-e* of the infinitive is pronounced in the verse of the *Speculum*, Read *sicichē*, cancelling *wicke*, as Prof. Schick suggests, for the improvement of the metre.

l. 126. *Wanhope*: a fine English word, suggesting *unhope* of Langland's story of the cats and the mice, and described in *Ipotis*, text D, ll. 422 : *Wanhope* is þe *bridde broþer*; ll. 447 :

'*Wanhope* it is anoþer synne,
That many a man is bounden in,
Yf a man be falle þerinne
And doth it ever and wille not blyn,
And troweth not god, ful of myzt,
The fende to *wanhope* hym plyzt,
That he wil no mercy crave,
For he hopeth non to have.
And for that *wanhope*, wrytyn I fynde,
He goth to helle withouten ende.'

See also *T. of Gl.*, ll. 673 and 895, and the quotation cited in Schick's note to line 248, *Life of our Lady*, 1₈ a :

'It is also the myghty paucce fayre,
Ageyn *wanhope* and dysperacion,
Cristal shelde of pallas for dispayre.'

Ham. *Pr. of C.*, l. 2228 : 'þai sal fande at his last endyng
Hym into *wanhope* for to bring.'

Kn. Tale, l. 391 : 'Wel oughte I sterve in *wanhope* and *distresse*'; *T. of Gl.*, l. 895 : *wanhop & dispaire*; *The Persones Tale*, ll. 1705-6 : *wanhope*

. . . *despeir of the mercy of God.* See Hampole, *P. of C.*, l. 2229. See also the last paragraphs of *The Persones Tale*, pp. 580 ff. (Tyrwh.), and *Confessio Amantis*, pp. 213, 214 of Morley's edition.

Page 8. l. 127. Type A is to be preserved on authority of three MSS., *pat bote* being supported by the oldest text.

l. 129. *Wroþer hele*: This beautiful old construction occurs in *Seinte Marherete*, l. 10, and was, therefore, in use so early as 1200. *Wroþer hele* was commonly made the object of a preposition, as in MS. H₂: *With wroþer hele*, or *to wroþer hele*, as in *O. E. Misc.*, p. 48; *The Life of St. Juliana*, text A, l. 47: 'tu seist *to wraðer heale*'; l. 92: '*to wraðer heale iwurðen*'; l. 118: 'sinken *to wraðer heale ow to þe bale bitter deope into helle.*' *Ancr. R.*, p. 102: 'Go ut ase dude Dina, Jacobes douhter *to wrother hele.*' *O. E. Hom.*, p. 33, has *wrether hele* and *wfele hele*. *Wroþer hele* is to be construed as the old gen. of the fem. adj. *wraþ* (O.E. ending *-re*) combined with *hele*, O.E. *hælu*, *wraþ* signifying bad, angry, *hælu*, health. See note to *Cursor Mundi*, l. 257, for explanation of the construction. *Wroþer hele* is found *Lazamon*, l. 29,536; *Rbt. of Brunne*, ll. 104, 201, 291. See the related *goderhele* with parallel construction, *R. of Gl.*, l. 7570: '*þat goder hele al engelond was heo eure ibore.*' See *wassail*.

Compare with the idiomatic phraseology of l. 129, verses 301 of *Piers Pl.* and *King Richard*.

Spec., l. 129: '*Wroþer hele was Judas born.*'

P. Pl., l. 301: '*For to wroþer hele was he iwrouzt.*'

K. Rich., l. 129: '*Why shope thou me to wroþer hele.*'

l. 130. *lorn*: preserved on authority of the oldest and best MS., for logical and metrical smoothness in the verse.

l. 131. Line 131 may have two readings according to the stress attributed to *Merci*:

'*Mérci hé les · þúrw þat sinne*' D.

'*Mérci he lés · þúrw þat sinne*' C.

The theology of verses 129—131 is not based on scriptural text. It finds parallel in *The Persones Tale*, ll. 1713 ff.: '*. . . he that is despeired, ther n'is no felonie, ne no sinne, that he douteth for to do, as shewed wel by Judas.*' The sin wanhope, despair of the mercy of God, is described in the next to the last paragraph of the *Tale*, ll. 3 ff.: '*The first wanhope cometh of that, he demeth that he hath sinned so gretly and so oft, and so long lye[n] in sinne, that he shal not be saved.*' See also *Conf. Amant.*, p. 213:

l. 37: '*Also whan he is falle iu sinne,
Hem thenketh he is so coulþable,
That god woll nought be merciabe
So great a sinne to foryive.*'

l. 56: '*Wanhope folweth atte laste,
Whiche may nought longe after laste.
But god wot whider he shall wende!*'

l. 133. *birede*: MSS. A, D R, and perhaps A₂, support the reading *birede* through slightly corrupted forms.

ll. 137, 138. *sarmoun*: *lescoun*: See notes to lines 57, 58.

l. 139. MS. A₂ supplies the ellipsis by which *Wisdom*, l. 139, is left without a predicate: *Wisdom vse wel*, etc. Otherwise there is no clue to the exact meaning intended by the poet. For mediæval interpretation of *wisdom*, see other M.E. texts, for instance, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, ll. 1755, 1756:

‘ þar he demef manie rihte dom,
And diht and writ *mani wisdom*,
And þurh his muþe and þurh his honde
Hit is þe betere into Scotlonde.’

See a MS. discourse over *wisdom* :

‘There is no thyng better than wysdome, ne no þyng swetter than konnyng, ne no thyng lustyer than knowlege, ne no thynge worse than lewdenes. It is an high godenes of god to knowe what þou schuldest do and eschew. And it is an high wrothidnes not to knowe where þou gost. þer for loue wysdome and it schall be schewed vnto þe. Go to it, and it schall come to þe. Be besy there aboute, and it schall lerne the.’ Selected from ‘the boke’ ‘to enforme man howe he schulde flee vice and folowe vertus by consideration of a man himself.’

l. 140. *erere* : also l. 168, not a common form; comp. of *ar*. It is not preserved in later MSS. of the *Spec*. It is retained on authority of MS. A₁. *seide* : Read *sede*. The rime demands *sede* (*drede* : *sede*). < O.E. *sāde*. < O.E. *sægde*. See *Phonology*. *reed* : *seed* occurs *Fl. and Blfl.*, l. 52.

l. 143. *do god* : The preacher was eminently a philanthropist. He continually emphasizes the doctrine of good works, *gode dede*. See ll. 461, 674, 860—876, etc.

l. 144. *rod* : Chaucer would have spoken *rodē*. Final -ē is to be expected, but on basis of the co-ordinate rime, *rod* : *god* (adj. with subst. use) *rod* is to be read without a syllabic final -ē.

l. 146. *inouth* : *inouth* as well as *god* (N.E. *God*), lines 25 and 35 are argument in support of a type C. Neither can be read with the final -ē necessary to prevent the clashing of two stressed syllables at the cæsura.

l. 147. *þerwid* : MS. A₂ preserves the correct form *þerwith* to rime with *griþ* in opposition to the false orthography *þer wid* of MS. A₁.

l. 148. *merci* and *griþ* : Examples of the juxtaposition of *merci* with *griþ* are not abundant. *Pes* and *griþ* are more commonly united. See Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, note to A. l. 849.

Page 9, l. 149. *þis* : i. e. *þis* of MSS. A₁H₁, written in full *þis is* in MSS. A₂H₂, is to be regarded as monosyllabic as in A₁. The contraction occurs in Chaucer and Lydgate. See the illustrations cited by Schick, *T. of G.*, l. 496.

l. 151. *honour* : honors, i. e. the material conditions that are accompanied with honor, see ll. 152—158. The figure is metonymy.

l. 152, also 163. *londes* : *rentes* : *londis*, *rentis* in H₁; *Londys* : *rentys* in H₂; *R. of Gl.*, ll. 2462, 6628, 6630, 7585, 7686, 8565, 10,267, 10,268.

bour : *Bur* as inner and private department was distinguished from *hall*. O.E. *heall*, in the O.E. period. See *Beowulf*, l. 140 : ‘ræste sōlhte bed aſter bārum,’ see also ll. 1311 and 2456; Murray, *N. E. Diet.*, under *bower*. Illustrations from M.E. texts are as follows: *Orm*, l. 8134 : ‘Onnfaſt to kingeſſ bure’; *bour* occurs in figurative usage, *Ancr. Rīvle*, p. 34, fol. 8 : ‘þet into ower breoſte bur iſi iht of heouene’; p. 102, fol. 25 : *þine heorte bur*; *K. Horn*, l. 386 : ‘al þe bur gan lizte’; 729 : *ut of bure* of lore; 1472 : at Fikenhildes *bure*; also 273, 290, 400, and many additional instances; Langl. (redaction A. III.) 13, 14 :

‘ the Iuſtiſe ſoone
Buſked him into the bour, ther the buyrde waſ inne.’

And C. VII., l. 288; B. V., l. 222 :

‘The beſte laye in my bour, and in my bed chambre.’

Harrowing of Hell, l. 31 : ‘He lihte of hiſ heze tour
Into ſeinte Marie bour.’

Gamelyn, l. 405: 'If I leete the goon out of his bour.'

Sir Beues, A, l. 160: 'þe leuedi a fond in hire bour.'

Parl. of F., l. 304: 'Of braunches were her *halles* and her *bowres*.'

bour and *halle* are described together in *Guy of Warwick*, B. 102, *The Nonne Prestes Tale*, l. 12; Spenser has in *bowre* or *hall*, *Faerie Queene*, I. viii, str. 29, l. 9; *from inner bowre*, I. viii, str. 5, l. 6; *Guy of Warwick*, l. 2674: *mayde bryght in bowre*; *Pearl*, str. 81, l. 3—4:

'Bryng me to that bygly bylde,
And let me se thy *blysfyl bor*.'

The word was still in use in Spenser's time. It occurs in the *Prothalamion*:

l. 14: '. daintie gemmes
Fit to decke *maydens bowres*.'

l. 91: 'Ye gentle Birdes! the worlds faire ornament
And heauens glorie, whom this happie hower
Doth leade into your lovers blissfull *bower*.'

L. Allegro, l. 87: '. . . . in haste her *bowre* she leaves,
With Thestylis to bind the sheaves.'

The original significance of the O.E. *bûr* was lost early. It seems to be retained by Tennyson and Scott:

Godiva, l. 42: 'Then fled she to her inmost *bower*.'

Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. ii, p. 144 (ed. 1802):

'There were twa sisters sat in a *bour*,
Edinborough, Edinborough.
Ther cam a knight to be their wooer,' etc.

Bayard Taylor retains a trace of the earlier significance in *The Poet of the East*, l. 3.

*H*₂ reads *halle* and *bowre*, *bowre* in rime with *honouire*. The *Speculum* does not preserve *honour* with variable stress, but retains the old accent *honouir*. The alternative *hounour* is not found.

halle, A₂D *halles*: the public room characteristic of English life in this period, early the centre of social activity and the seat of conviviality, as described in O.E. poems, *Beowulf*, *Andreas*, etc. See Heyne, *Heorot*; Grimm, *Andreas and Elene* xxxvii; and illustration in *Gnomic Verses*, l. 28 f.:

' . . . cyning seal on healle
beagas dælan '

Distinction between *halle* and *bour* seems to be defined in Hartmann's *Iwein*, ll. 77 ff.

l. 153. *silber* and *gold*: related terms often used conjointly in M.E. texts: for example *Rbt. of Gl.*, A 285, 2609, 3552, 3559, 4013, 5543, 8292; *Sir Beues*, A l. 562: *al þe seluer ne al þe golde*; A l. 2616: *Naiþer for seluer ne for golde*; *Rich. C. de L.*, l. 3796; *Arthour and Merlin*, l. 128; *King of Tars*, V l. 81; *Seven Sages*, A l. 2719; *Alisaunder*, l. 103.

l. 154. *tresor* . . . *bold*: 'stores? of treasure' . . . 'buildings.' For *bold*, see *Riddle*, No. 16, ll. 8-9:

' þær ic wic hûge,
bold, mid bearnum, ond ic bide þær . . . '

See Merlin's description of the sword of Arthour:

'Ich am yhote Escalibore,
Unto a king a *faire tresore*.'

Rbt. of Gl. l. 7133: *tresour* . . . *gold*; *Sir Beues*, A l. 1504: *gold* . . . *tresor*;

Rbt. of Gl., l. 372: *Tresour* . . . *oper god*.

l. 155. *mete . . . drinke*: another instance of juxtaposition of ordinary terms, illustrated with frequency; *Sir Beues*, A l. 2125: '*Mete and drinke þai hadde afyn*'; also *Lanncfal*, l. 340; the litotes *Gamelyn*, l. 390: '*mete ne drynk had he non*'; *Rbt. of Gl.*, ll. 8808, 8848, 11,294, 11,997; *Sompnours Tale*, l. 167: *Of mete and drinke*. See a poem *Aus der Hölle*, ed. Leonard, l. 57 of text A:

'In delycate metys I sette my delyte
And myzhty wynes vnto my pay.'

metys (plural in *-ys*): is the reading of *H₂*. The meaning is probably general for food, as l. 900 and Marlowe's *Faustus*, st. I, l. 164. See Kölbing's note, *Sir Beues*, A l. 1570 and A l. 1739.

drinke: This is a plural form to rime with *swinke*, inf. in *-ë*, the *swinke* of later MSS. See Kölbing's note to *Sir Beues*, M, l. 1047.

riche: translated as 'delicious' by Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, O, l. 2846, '*A ryche souper there was dyght*.' It could appropriately have the same meaning here, but 'highly seasoned' is to be preferred. *H₁* proposes *goode drinke*. *Riche* is to be distinguished from *Riche* l. 153, used in the sense of 'costly'; cf. *Richesses*, 'costly articles,' *P. Pl.*, A III., l. 24. See in note to l. 155 the qualities ascribed to *met* and *drink*, l. 57, A poem *Aus der H.*, perhaps equivalent to *riche*.

l. 156. *swinke*: to labour hard. Read *swinkë* according to the inflectional characteristics of the *Speculum*. *swinke*, a common word in M.E., is not to be found in Shakspeare. See Skeat, *Leg. of G. W.*, note to l. 2041.

perfore: 'for it,' as in Marlowe's *Faustus*, the last line of the first scene.

l. 157. *Hele of bodi*: also *Persones Tale*, l. 786. *huide*: here 'human skin.' See Breul's note to *Sir Gowther*, l. 33; *The Erl of Toulous*, l. 189: *hew and ek of hyde, hyde* in rime with *pryde*.

l. 158. *los*: 'renown' on account of vice as well as of virtue; see note, *Prompt. Parv.*, and reference to *Sir Gowther*, l. 186:

'His loose sprong ful wide
because of sacrilegious deede.'

Mauud., p. 108: 'Herodes of gret name and *loos* for her crueltee.' In the meaning glory (*Ruhm*) *los* occurs in sense of good renown, *Langl.* viii, l. 109 (C), 'joure goode *loos* to shewe'; xiv. l. 111: 'good *loos* of his hondes'; *Hous of Fame*, 1621, 1722, etc. Tobler in *Chrest.*, on 'Half Church Latin,' disclaims the derivation of *los* from the French: Church-Latin *laus*, Fr. *lōs*, M.E. *lōs*. See note to l. 166, and Skeat's note to *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1514: 'Ercules, that had the grette *los*.' For the combined use of *los* in both senses, *Hous of Fame* gives example, ll. 1618 ff.:

'. I graunte yow,
That ye shal have a shrewed fame
And *wikked loos* and worse name,
Though ye *good loos* have wel deserved.'

See Kölbing's note to *los*, *Sir Beues*, M. l. 22.

l. 159. *murie*: also l. 905, and *myryere*, l. 284. Zupitza's explanation is to be referred to in *Engl. Stud.*, vol. vii, p. 465 ff., giving nominatives *myrge*, *mirge*, *merge* (M.E. *merge*). Chaucer naturally reproduces the three forms possible in M.E. See Stratmann, *M.E. Dict.*

hem þinkeþ: *methinks* of Shakspeare, O.E. *þyncean*, *þūhte*, *geþūht*. *him þouhte*, l. 32, impersonal verb followed by O.E. dative, here *hem* or *hym*. See notes to ll. 521 and 648, and Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 385, also l. 6223, *Gamelyn*, l. 398, and *Pearl*:

str. 46, l. 12: '*Uss thynk uss oghe* to take more.'

str. 47, l. 1: 'More haf we served *us* thynk so.

Then thyse

l. 160. *ibouht* . . . *dere*: common M.E. phraseology for 'redeemed,' of *Is. lxiii. 9*, or 'bought with a price,' 1 *Corinth. vi. 20*. See Kölbing's note to *Sir Beues, A*, l. 566, including Breul's to *Sir Gowther*, l. 3, and Skeat's to *Pard. Tale*, l. 501. Compare *bouhte* . . . *sore*, l. 236, and the following illustrations, where the application is sometimes different from the scriptural sense and is adapted to the language of ordinary life:

Hymn on the Nativity, l. 152: 'That on the bitter cross
Must *redeem* our loss.'

Shep. Cal., May, l. 299: '*set too dear a price.*'

July, l. 148: 'Whose love he *bought too dear.*'

Pearl, str. 62, l. 1: 'This maskellez perle that *boght is dere*,
l. 3: Is lyke the reme of hevenes clere.'

Townl. Myst., l. 244: 'I have theym *boght agan*
With shedyng of my blode.'

Mundus et Infans, l. 291: '*bonerly bought you on the roode tree.*'

Pearl, str. 75, l. 5: 'For thay *arn boght fro the urthe aloynte.*'

Maunl., Prolog. to Voiage, l. 41: 'how *dere he boughte* . . . and how *dere he*
azenboght us, for the grete love . . .'

þe Wohnung of u. Lauerd, l. 120: '*þe blod, þat me bohte.*'

l. 125: '*siðen þat tu bohts herte for herte.*'

l. 140: '*mi lues luee, wið þi blod þu haues*
me boht.'

The riming word is *bouhte*, ll. 26 and 226, as referred to in Kölbing's note and illustrated in that connection. See also as follows:

Poema Morale, l. 184: '*wel deore he us bohte.*'

T. of Gl., l. 1258: 'And more of pris, when *it is dere bouzt.*'

Comp. of Mars, l. 167: 'I yaf my trewe servise and my thought,
For evermore—*how dere I have it boht!*'

ful: supplied from MSS. A₂DH₁H₂R. *wel* of A₁ illustrates skipping, the eye of the copyist probably catching the word from *wel*, l. 161.

be seynte John: l. 161 in MS. H₂. Common in Chaucer, *Somp. Tale*, l. 175; *Man of L. T.*, l. 1019; *Pard. T.*, l. 752; *Bok of the D.*, l. 1319; *Parl. of F.*, l. 451. See Kölbing's note, *Sir Beues, M*, l. 314, under illustrations of *was I nevere none* and *be sein Ion. Beues, A*, l. 2747; l. 4377; O, l. 3571; *The Erl of T.*, ll. 152, 517, 793, 931, 971, 1192.

Latin. nihil . . . quam: MS. A₁ reads 'nihil . . . quam.'

l. 161. *falle wel*: freely translated 'may happen perchance.' *Somp. Tale*, l. 5, 'And so befell . . . on a day': also *The Erl of T.*, ll. 22, 181, 493, 997; *N. Prestes Tale*, l. 452, 'so byfel.'

on a day is to be referred to l. 49 of the *Speculum*; l. 61 of *Tundale*.

wel : catel: The same rime occurs ll. 578, 896, 942.

l. 163. *londes, rentes*: 'property and its revenues'; also l. 152 and *March. Tale*, l. 67. *Rbt. of Gl.*, l. 451, explains the terms:

' & þei a lond igranted were
To a man to bere þeruoere a certein reute bi þere.'

The Nonne Prestes Tale expresses the idea, l. 7: '*catel and rente.*'

l. 164. *pore of mod*: Compare the various expressions of humility as represented in M.E. interpretation and by the poet: '*low of herte*,' l. 165; '*halt þermide noht*,' l. 171; '*hoide loue*,' l. 179.

l. 165. *ful wris*: See note to l. 723.

l. 166. *litel prys*: 'praise,' 'price,' = 'value,' recalling *los* l. 158, the

two words perhaps synonymous in *Sir Benes*: M. l. 22, 'For to wynne price and loos'; M. l. 3888, 'lose ne of price'; *T. of Gl.*, l. 1381: 'Now laude and pris.' *Gamelyn* increases the vocabulary growing from *pris* with the meaning valour, ll. 772 and 804: '3onge men of prys.' See also *T. of Gl.*, l. 1258, quoted in note to l. 160. Other M.E. meanings are as follows:

Pearl, str. 35, l. 11: 'Hys prese, his prys, and hys parage.'

T. of Gl., l. 1380: 'A litl tretise . . .
In pris of women, oonli for hir sake.'

Minot, *Polit. Song*, l. 25: 'þan þe riche floure-de-lice,
Wan þare ful litill prise.'

l. 168. þat: cf. l. 140, dat. 'of whom.' Cf. Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 5462.

erere: See note to l. 140.

seide: Read *sede*, Southern form. See note to l. 140, and 'Introduction' under 'Inflection.'

Page 10, l. 173. *skilfulliche*: a form not often cited in M.E. Ham-pole employs *scilwisli*, Ps. xxxi. 6, with the meaning 'reasonable': but *Azenbite*, l. 6, *skelrolliche*, 'skillfully,' and Chaucer, *Compl. of Mars*, l. 155, *skilfully* in the sense of particularly:

C. of M., l. 155: 'The ordre of compleynt requireth *skilfully*,
That if a wight shal pleyne pitously . . .'

S. N. T., l. 320: 'Men myghten dreden wel and *skilfully*' (= reasonably).

A corresponding adjective is to be found in *Gorboduc*, A, II, 2, 11, l. 762:

'Lest *skillesse* rage throwe downe with headlong fall . . .'

The third *York Play*, l. 22: 'A *skylfull* beeste þan will y make.' See *Orme.*, l. 3715; *P. of C.*, l. 1818; *H. of F.*, l. 750; Mannyng, *Handl. Synne*, l. 5827; *Ancren Riecle* preserves the substantive in its normal meaning, p. 346, 'consent of the mind,' *skiles zettunge*; *York Plays, The Ascension*, l. 113: '*Anodir skill* forsoth is þis'; *Pearl*, str. 5, l. 6, 'Wyth fyrte *skyllez*' (timid reasons, see note), etc.; *Thos. of Erceled.*, see Brandl., l. 288: 'I sall þe telle þe *skille*.' Note the following combinations:

Lydg., *T. of Gl.*, l. 1382: 'as it is *skil & riȝt*.'

Ch., *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1392: '*skille and right*.'

l. 385: 'As hit is *right and skilful* that they be.'

The *Ormulum*, l. 12,336: 'Innsihlt, & witt, & shæd, & *skill*.'

Sir Samuel Tuke (d. 1673) uses *skill* in its mediæval sense, 'reason,' in *The Adventures of five Hours*, v. 3, l. 25:

'He is a fool, who thinks *by force or skill*
To turn the current of a woman's will.'

Tuke's lines are introduced in the *Examiner*, May 31, 1829, where *skill* is understood to mean in its modern character 'dexterity,' 'force.' They occur in paraphrases in Aaron Hill's *Epilogue to Zara*.

The meaning of Icel. *skilja*, to divide, occurs perhaps in *Taming of the Shrew*, iii. 2, l. 34: 'it *skills* not much,' i. e. 'makes no difference.' See Skt., *Ety.*, § 277. The new English significance is illustrated in Shakspeare's time, see *Cymb.* II. 5, l. 33:

'Tis greater *skill*

In a true hate, to pray they have their will.'

See *Rich. III.* iv. 4, 116; *Henry IV*, Part I, v. 1, l. 133; Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, l. 1:

'Tis hard to say, if greater *want of skill*
Appear in writing or in judging ill.'

l. 176. *pine*: 'torture'; *hell pine* described ll. 277-284. *pine* is derived from *pēna*, Folk-Lat. pronunciation of Latin *poena*, 'satisfaction,' 'punishment.' Gk. *παινή*, penalty, according to Skeat, § 398. See O.H.G. *pīna*, G. *pein*, in distinction from M.E. *peyne* from the Fr. *peine*, with the meaning 'trouble.'

The interpretation ending here recalls the terms of the Hebrew philosophy where wisdom is identified with goodness, wickedness with folly.

ll. 175-6, 187-188, 265-6, 876 suggest a fallacy of the mediæval wisdom philosophy, converting the law, that prosperity is a result of righteousness, destruction of wickedness, into a barter of religious consecration.

ll. 177-188. This portion of the poem attains its highest delicacy in the expression of the doctrine of God's chastening, illustrating with peculiar force *Heb.* xii. 6 and *Job* v. 17:

'Whom the Lord *louth* he *chasteneth*.'

'Behold, blessed is the man whom God correcteth;

Therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty.'

The passage suggests a selection from Bede's *Ecc. Hist.*, ed. Miller, p. 68, l. 5 ff.: 'ond þeah ðe þat wiite hwene heardor & strongor don sy, þonne is hit of *lufan to donne* . . . Forðon þaem menn þuth þa þrea þis bið gegearwod, þet he ne sy seald þæm ecan fyrum helle tintgres.'

louerede: 'love tokens,' 'loving kindness,' *Is.* lxiii. 7, a word not common in the vocabulary of the period. It is found in *E. E. Psalter* C. viii. 5 of the thirteenth century, in *Metrical Homilies* of the fourteenth century, and also in *Azenbite*, see *Strat. Dict.* Cf. *luue eie*, p. 430 *Ancr. R.*

l. 178. *drede*: 'fear' in the sense of reverence, the line recalling *Job* iv. 6: 'Is not thy *piety* thy confidence?' where *piety* can be translated *fear of God*.

ll. 179-180. Not found in MS. A₁, probably a careless omission of the scribe. The lines are introduced here on authority of five MSS. The reading is that of MS. A₂.

l. 182. *maken* . . . *lese*: 'deliver from,' see Zupitza's note, *Guy of Warwick*, l. 10, 112.

l. 185. *hunger and þurst*: *Rev.* vii. 16: 'They shall *hunger* no more, neither *thirst* any more.' Conversely the mediæval poet includes *hunger and þurst* in ordinary enumerations of the tortures of hell, e. g. *Poema Morale*.

l. 229: 'On helle is *hunger end þurst*, uuele twa ifere.'

l. 197: '*þurst end hunger* . . . eche end eal un helðe.'

Pers. Tale, l. 286: 'They shul be *wasted with hongor* . . .
and the gall of the dragon shal ben hir *drinke*.'

Orm., l. 1614: '& pinenn þær þi bodiz a
wipþ chele & þrisst & *hunggerr*.'

The *Poema Morale*, in description of heaven, follows *Rev.* vii. 16.

l. 321: 'Né muzen hí werien heom *wið þurste ne wið hunger*.'

l. 323: 'Ac ðer nis *hunger ne þurst*. ne dieð. ne unhelðe ne elde.'

l. 186. *euere among*: 'from time to time,' 'continually?' see Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 650; Lüdtke to *The Erl of Toulous*, l. 748; and Kirke's note to *Shep. Cal.*, Dec., l. 112 (str. 19, l. 4), introduced as 'ever and anon'; *King Horn*, l. 1565; *Sir Beues*, O, l. 606; *Two Noble Kinsmen*, iv. 3, l. 86.

l. 188. *to echen here blisse*: *Isaiah* liv. 8: 'With *everlasting kindness* will I have mercy on thee.' The graceful climax ending here shows the earnest *naïveté* of the preacher, one of the notable charms of the poem. The pictorial quality of the verse is peculiarly vivid in these couplets.

l. 189. *ne*: MS. A₁ preserves type D. Five MSS. authorize the omission of *ne*. The verse is then to be read according to types C and D:

Mán, if þú lénest noht mé.

Page 11. l. 190. *bidene*: derived by Zupitza from *mid âne*, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 2408, also ll. 8720, 8748, 11,637. See Murray's *Oxford Dictionary*, and Gollancz's note to *Pearl*, str. 17, l. 4. *bidene* is of frequent occurrence, for instance *Spec.*, l. 834 in *H*₂; Lüdtke, *Erl of Toulous*, l. 1217; *Havelok*, in the sense of 'forthwith,' ll. 730, 2841, with reference to *Tristrem*, p. 45; *Metrical Psalter*, Psalm ciii, l. 74; and *Ormmulum* as follows, l. 4793:

'onn an daz3 all *bidene*.'

The New English derivative of *bidene* occurs in *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 738: 'Read our Bibles, pray *bedeen*.'

l. 194. *wel iwite*: a frequent expletive, often used merely to fill out an incomplete line, as in the *Speculum*, ll. 312, 637, 763, 895, 941, and Chaucer, *ProL.*, ll. 659, 711, 740, 771; *Rom. of Rose*, ll. 1355, 1904, 2018; *Havelok*, l. 2208; *Orrm.* l. 112. For *wel ywote* cf. Zupitza's note to *Guy*, l. 11,948.

l. 195. *is noht*: 'is worthless,' also the language of the Scriptures. See *Proverbs* xx. 14; 2 *Kings* ii. 19, etc.

ll. 196-198. *wille—spille*: 1 *Corinth.* v. 5: 'destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved'; *Prov.* xix. 18: 'him spare to cause him to die.' See also *Prov.* xxiii. 14.

l. 196. *abouten*: 'everywhere,' 'to full extent'; in l. 191 *aboute*, 'around,' 'in the neighbourhood,' explained by *Rbt. of Gl.*: *aboute in ech side*, ll. 3962, 4550, 6153, 6766; *aboute in eche ende*, ll. 22, 3545, 7473.

l. 201. *þi bileue*: a specific *Credo* rather than a distinct quality of faith as described by Alcuin. *bileue* is used by *Rbt. of Gl.* in this sense:

St. Dunst., l. 27: 'To teche him his *bileue*, paternoster and crede.'

See *Credo* of the *Agenbite*, l. 1: 'Ich leue ine god . . . makere of heuene and of erþe.'

ll. 204-206. *Eph.* iv. 6, reproduced in many M.E. texts, for example Chaucer, *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, ll. 207 ff.:

l. 207: 'Oo Lord, oo feith, oo god withouten mo,
Oo Cristendom and fader of alle also. . . .'

l. 340: 'So, in o *being* of diuinitee,
Three persones may ther ryght wel be.'

Conf. Aman., p. 344: 'The High Almighty Trinite,
Which is o God in Unité.'—l. 17.

Ipotis, l. 45: ' the sone
The fadyr and þe holy goste, togeder woue
The personys in trinite.'

ll. 203-212. See *MS. Arund.* 286: 'Of þe Sacrament of þe auter:' 'þe þridde poynt is of þe trinite, þat euery man owze studefastly to byleue inne þre þinges man oweþ to trowe of þe trinite: þe first þat þe fader and sone and þe holy gost is o god; þe secunde þat god is wiþoute bygynnyng and schal be wiþowte end and þat he made alle þinge; þe þridde is þat þe sone was euer fro þe bygynnyng wiþ þe fader and þe holy gost connyng fro hem boþe.'

l. 204. *o*: as in many MSS. of Chaucer's text. There seems to be no ground for the alteration of *o* (text A₁) to *oo* (text H₁) as is regarded desirable by Skeat, note to *Nonne P. T.*, l. 207, cited note to ll. 204-6.

l. 207. *man*: The interpolation of *man* is not justified by the MSS. This is an instance in which *H*₂ preserves the most vigorous expression

and the smoothest metre, and is in keeping with the general character of the poem.

l. 208. *in þin herte do*: 'enter it into thy heart,' 'imprint it on thy heart.' *do* is perhaps interpreted by the German *einprägen*.

l. 209-210. The substance of these lines is introduced freely in M.E. texts. See also *Rev.* i. 8; *Is.* ix. 6; *Heb.* vii. 3:

Conf. Amant., p. 344: 'Withouten ende and beginning
And Creator of allé thing.'—l. 19.

Ipotis, l. 35: 'He is withowte begynnyng
And also withowte endlynge.'

Poema Moral, l. 85: 'He is ord abuten orde, end ende abuten ende.'

beginning: *ending*: frequent rime. See *Poema Morale*, ll. 119, 120.

l. 210. Five MSS. require the omission of *ne*, giving illustration of type C instead of type A:

'Ne néuere shál · háue ending.'

l. 211. *shappere . . . shaftes*: frequent alliteration in this connection, based on *Col.* l. 16:

þe *Wohunge* of u. *Lauerd*, l. 62: '*schupper* of alle *schafte*.'

Life of St. Jul., l. 8: 'þe lufsume laurd þat *schupte* alle *schafte*.'

Poema Moral, l. 84: 'he *scop ealle 3e seacfte* (*sop alle soft*, Tr. MS.).'

Hom. Good Shep., l. 8: '3if ênig *gesceaft* is god . . . seo gôdnys [is] of ðam *scyppende*.'

Ælfred, *True Nobility*, l. 17: 'Gode is fader eallra *gesceafta* . . . hi ealle *gesecop*.'

Minot, *Polit. Song*, l. 1: 'God, þat *schope* both *se and sand* . . .'

Compare also as follows:

Destr. of Troy, l. 1: '*Mais'ur* in *mageste*, *maker of alle*,
endles and on, euer to last.'

l. 212. *shappere—made man*: See *Gen.* ii. 3: 'created and made,' King James's version.

Page 12, ll. 213, 214. Interpretation of the passage is difficult. Copyist's forms do not aid in a decision.

l. 213. *after his owen face*: See *Gen.* i. 27: 'created man in his own image'; l. 26: 'after our likeness.' The text is frequently quoted in M.E.

Ipotis, B, l. 541: '. . . . god made Adam,

And schoppé hym after hys owen face.'

Nassington, *On the Trinity*, l. 96: '— mad hym aftere thyne owene
liknesse.'

Maunder, *Voyage*, l. 41: 'man, that he made after his owne image.'

Azenbite, p. 57, l. 17: 'huer by we byeþ yssape to his ymage.'

l. 52: 'to þe ymage and to þe anliknesse of god.'

l. 10: 'ssop þe zaulé to his anlycnesse an to his fourme.'

l. 214. *heih*: 'holy,' *Almighty*.

l. 215. *fre power*: The doctrine of predestination seems settled with the poet in distinction from Chaucer, see *The Nonne Prestes Tale*, ll. 411-417, 422-430.

l. 219. *Wheþer*: 'which of two.' Read *Whe'r* as monosyllable, see Skeat's note to *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 72, and *Whe'r*, ll. 272, 536, 872.

l. 223. *Adam . . . forme man . . . singyn began*: Common M.E. phraseology. See as follows:

Maunder, *Prolog. Voyage*, l. 26: 'for the synne of oure formere fader Adam.'

Poema Mevrale, l. 195: 'Vres formes federes gult we abigget alle.'

Pricke of C., l. 483: 'our forme fader . . .' 'Our forme fader hit an byte.'

l. 224. *singyn*: See *Langl.*, C I, l. 109.

l. 227. *wit*: in the sense of the opening verses of *Pricke of Conscience* to be traced in other poems, see note to l. 339 and Add. MS. 11,304:

l. 1: 'þe might of þe fader alle myhty,
þe wytte of þe oone alle witty,
þe graace and þe godenes of þe holy goste
on god of myht moste,
be wit us at þis begynnynge
And bryng vs to a gode endyng.
þe myht of the fader alle myhty
þe wytte of the sone alle witty.'

his: is *D*, ys *H*₂; *Sir Gowther*, l. 55.

l. 229. *eging*: 'urging,' 'instigation,' another instance of the connection of this word with the story of the fall, noted by Skeat, *M. of L. T.*, l. 842:

M. of L. Tale, l. 842: '. . . thurgh wommanes *eggement*
Mankynd was lorn and damned ay to dye.'

The Deluge, l. 241: 'Bot þurþ þe *eggyng of eue* he ete of an apple.'

Ipotis, l. 515: 'And kepyn hem from fel *eggyng*.'

P. Pl., A I, l. 63: 'Adam and Eue he *eggede* to don ille.'

Chester Pl., *The Creation*: 'And, man, also I say to the,
"thou hast not done after me,
Thy wife's counsell for to flee,
But done so her bydding."'

fend and Eue: 1 *Corinth.* xi. 3:

Gedicht aus d. Hölle, p. 62, l. 187: 'And that was thorow *Erys rede*
And þe *deuyll of helle*, wele y wott.'

Ipotis, D, l. 276 (*Adam speaks*): 'The woman *tysed* me þertylle.'

l. 280 (*Eve speaks*): 'Lord, the *edder* . . . gart me with gylle.'

Pers. Tale, l. 655:

'The *fend* tempted *Eve*'; 'Adam consented to the eting of the fruit.'

Eue: *greue*: The same riime is extant *Handl. Syn.*, l. 140; *P. Morale*:
eue: *ileue*, l. 174; *Eue*: *leue*, *Pricke of C.*, l. 492.

l. 230. *dede*: 'committed.' *gan*: paraphrastic, to be omitted in translation.

l. 232. *pylt*: supplied from *A*₂. *D* reads *put*, *H*₂ *pylte*, *R* *pülte*; cf. l. 888; *A*₁ has *ipult*, *A*₂ *plyte*, *D* *pute*, *H*₁ *Ipylt*. The prefix *i-* of the participle is not demanded by the rhythm. For the combination *pult* + *paradys*, or *pyme*, see as follows:

Langl., B XV, l. 62: '*Pulte* out of *paradys*.'

Horn, l. 129: 'heo weren *ipult* ut of *paradise*.'

Adam and Eve, l. 123: '*Pulte* out of *paradys*.'

Langl., B XI, l. 157: '*Pulte* oute of *pyne*.'

Langl., B VIII, l. 96: 'to *pulte* adown the wikked.'

See further *Sir Beues*, A, l. 875; *Aner. Kivle*, p. 366: 'hit wule *pulten* on him'; *Rel. Antiq.*, pp. 11, 244: 'to deþe . . . *pulte*'; *Wm. of Palerne*, l. 381: '*pult* hire in hope to haue'; *K. Horn*, l. 1457: 'aȝen hire *pelte*'; *O.E. Homilies*, p. 197: 'hire oþer eare *pülteð* hire tail þerinne'; Halliwell, *Ashm. MS.* 61: 'I shalle hym *pelte*.' The modern English form is found in Bryant's *Cloud on the Way*, l. 18:

'Pleasantly between the *pelting* showers,' etc.

See other versions of the ever popular history of Adam's fall:

Ipotis, l. 547: ' . . . wer dampned into helle.'

Chaucer, *Monkes Tale*, l. 3203: 'Was driue out of his heih prosperitee
To labour, and to helle, and to meschaunce.'

Pard. Tale, l. 505: 'Adam our fader, and his wyf also,
Fro Paradys to labour and to wo
Were driuen.'

l. 511: ' . . . he was out cast to wo and peyne.'

Pers. Tale, l. 628: 'Adam . . . must nedes die.'

l. 233. *Buxomere*: Cf. *Vnboxomnesse*, l. 231; *Paradise Lost*, II. l. 842: *buxom air*, also *Faerie Queene*, I. 11; IX. 37, 6; *Shep. Cal., Sept.*, l. 149: 'they nould be *buxom* and bent.' *L'Allegro*, l. 24; *The Deluge*, l. 237: 'Adam in obeydent · ordaynt to blysse;' *Ch. Monkes Tale*, l. 3202: 'Adam . . . for *misgouernance*.'

Tundale, l. 1861: 'That for goddis love wer *buxsum*.'

l. 1911: 'The whyche wer to god *luxsum* ay.'

l. 234. *him*: dat., indirect object.

l. 235. *lore*: *lore*, *instruction*, in sense of *persuasion*, as used by Kōlbing, *Sir Benes*, M, l. 1386.

l. 237. *fredom*: freedom with added sense of privileges; also *Hom.*, ed. Morris, First Series, p. 41, l. 2.

was binomen him al: 'was taken away entirely,' he was deprived of. See O.E. *beniman*, governing the genitive. Cf. *al agon*, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1766; *al to-shake*, l. 1765.

l. 238. *put*: Supply *he was* for the sense. 'He was thrown into servitude.'

Page 13. l. 239. *one*: Read probably *only*, to agree with five MSS. For *one* see 'Introduction' under 'Inflection.'

l. 240. The same material is found in other texts:

Ipotis, D, l. 305: 'Thus Adam levedde in erthe here

When he was dede, into helle nome
And alle, þat ever of hym come.'

Poema Morale, l. 173: '*Ewelle* ða isprungen beoð of adam end of éue.'

l. 196: '*eal his of spring efter him*.'

l. 241. *gile*: 'beguiled' in the Bible, 2 *Cor.* xi. 3. See M.E. texts:

Ipotis, D, l. 343: 'But telle me, child, hit an þou can
Wharewith þe fend *begyled* man.'

Orrm., l. 1412: 'Forluren ec forr heore *gillt*.'

The Deluge, l. 241: ' an apple
þat *enpoysened alle peples*.'

ll. 242, 243. *pite* . . . *love*: *Isaiah* lxiii. 9: 'In his *love* and in his *pity* he redeemed them.' Compare *Piers Plowman*:

A I, l. 141: 'He lokede on vs *with loue* · and lette his sone dye.'

l. 145: '*To haue pite* on þat peple, þat pynede him to deþe.'

l. 244. *man*: in general sense 'people.' See plural pronoun *hem*, lines 247, 248.

ll. 244, 245. See other texts as follows:

Orrm., l. 183 (l. 187 f.): 'þurh þatt he *comm to manne* & þurh
þatt he *warrþ mann* onn erþe.'

l. 1360: 'forr Crist iss *bape Godd & mann*.'

Ipotis, l. 331: 'Godys *somme wente in erþe* here.'

l. 245. *To saune man*: See *Orrm.*, l. 1384: 'Forr uss to clennessen þurh hiss dæþ off sinness unncleanness.'

ll. 248, 249. See 1 *Cor.* xv. 3, and M.E. texts explaining *pine*, i. e. the penalty assumed in l. 246:

Orrm., l. 199: '. . . he ʒaff hiss aʒhenn lif
to þolenn dæþ o rodetre.'

Pref., l. 31: 'forr þatt he swallt o rodetre.'

l. 9: 'forr Crist toc dæþ o rodetre.'

Ipotis, B, l. 335: 'He suffred deth for oure gode.'

D, l. 319: 'And dede hym upon þe rode
And bouʒt ous with his swet blode.'

Poema Morale (Jesus MS.), l. 187:

'Vre alre louerd for vs þrelles, ipyned wes on rode.'

þe *W. of u. Lauerd*, l. 115: 'Nu deies mi lef for me upo þe deore rode.'

l. 120: 'cleues tat herte, and cumes flowinde ut of þat wide
wunde þe blod, þat me bohte.'

Pearl, str. 54, l. 9: 'Bot ther on-com a bote as tyt;
Riche blod ran on rode so roghe,
As wyne water'

Polit. Songs, p. 257: 'And for us don on rode
His swete herte blod he let.'

Orrm., l. 1368: 'þær Crist wass uppo rodetreo
naʒʒledd forr ure nede.'

,, l. 1374: 'dranne dæþess drianeh o rodetreo
forr ure woʒhe dedess.'

l. 248. *on*: Read *opon*, if five MSS. be authority for the correction.

ll. 248—250. See 1 *Cor.* xv. 4; *Luke* xxiv. 46. This material is drawn on freely in M.E. literature. The substance of this passage is to be traced in some form in most of the *Mass Books* and *Prayer Books* of the period.

The fundamental *Credo* is formulated by Michel in the *Aʒenbite*, l. 4: 'ynayled a rode . dyad . and be-bered . yede down to helle. þane þridde day aros nram þe dyade. Steaʒ to heuenes . zit aþe riʒt half of god þe uader al miʒti. þannes to comene he is to deme þe quike and þe dyade . . .'

ll. 249—257. *Ibiried he was*: Compare *Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. Simmons, ll. 217 ff.:

Mass Book, l. 217: '. deed he was,
layde in his graue,
þo soule of him went into helle
þo sothe to say;
Vp he rose in flesshe & felle
þo þyrd day.
He stegh til heuen with woundis wide,
thurgh his brouste;
Now sittes opou his fader riʒt syde
In mageste.
þeþ shal he come vs alle to deme.'

A Bestiary, l. 40: 'Ðo ure drigten ded was,

In a ston stille he lai
til it cam ʒe ʒridde dai
. . .
. . he ros fro dede ʒo,
vs to lif holden.'

ll. 250, 251. See 1 *Cor.* xv. 4; *Homilies of Wulfstan* (ed. Napier), p. 105, and M.E. texts:

Ormm., l. 167: ‘& off þatt he wisslike ras
þe þridde da33 off dæþe.’

l. 215: ‘þurh þatt he ras forr ure god
þe þridde da33 off dæþe.’

þe *W. of u. Lanercd*, l. 130: ‘his ariste þe þridde dei þer after.’

l. 253. *Steih*: See contrasting term *lihten adoun*, l. 261. *steih* occurs in this connection in many of the texts collected in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, e. g. II., p. 23: ‘*stegh intil herene, sitis on is fader richt hand*’; p. 38: ‘*stejet up to herene*’; p. 42: ‘*stea3 to herenes*’; p. 57: ‘*steih into herene*.’

Ipotis, l. 345: ‘And *styed to herene*, þer he is kyng;
On hys fader ryghte hond he set hym þan.’

Ancr. R., p. 250: ‘he *steih up to heouene.*’

Faerie Queene, I. xi. 25, l. 8:

‘Thought with his wings to *stye* above the ground.’

Ormm., l. 19, 881: ‘. to *stizhenn upp*
To brukenn *heffness blisse.*’

Ormm., l. 169: ‘& off þatt he wisslike *stah*,
þa siþþenn upp *till heffne.*’

l. 233: ‘þurh þatt he *stah* forr ure god.’

Spenser and Shakspeare use *stye*; the *Ancr. R.*, pp. 19, 248, 250, *steih*; the *York Plays*, p. 424, l. 85: *stigh*.

l. 254. *mihtë*: *sihtë*: See Skeat, *Leg. of G. W.*, note to l. 50.

l. 257. *Rom.* xiv. 10, and M.E. texts:

Ormm., l. 171: ‘& off þatt he shall cumenn eftt
to demenn alle þede.’

l. 247: ‘þurh þatt he shall o *Domess da33*
uss gifenn *heffness blisse.*’

Poema Morale, l. 190: ‘We ne þencheþ nouht þat he *schal deme* þe quyke . . .’

Ipotis, l. 349: ‘*Schal come at þe day of iugement,*
To demen’

Rel. Ant., p. 38: ‘he þen sal cume to *deme* þe quike an þe dede.’

Hymn on Nativ., l. 164: ‘The dreadful judge shall *spread his throne.*’

l. 259. *woned*: Read *wóned*. *woned* is not authorized by the MSS. A₂DH₁H₂R, all having *wont*. See *Prothal.*, l. 139: ‘*wont to dwell*’; *Hymn on the Nativ.*, l. 10: ‘*wont* . . . To sit’: 1 *Henry VI.*, I. ii. 14: ‘*wont to fear*’; *Shep. Cal. Apr.*, l. 16: ‘*wonted songs.*’ Cf. *wone*, subst., l. 106: ‘*custom.*’ l. 259 illustrates type C.

ll. 260, 262. The same similes occur in substance in *The Second Nonnes Tale*, ll. 198, 199:

‘Ful lyk a fiers leoun she sendeth here,
As meke as euer was any lomb, to yow!’

l. 260: ‘*Meke as a lomb.*’

The figure is common property among the poets.

P. Pl., A vi., l. 43: ‘He is as *loun as A lomb*, lonelich of Speche.’

R. of Gl., l. 1321: ‘þat in time worre as a *lomb* is boþe mek and milde.’

Rel. Ant., p. 243: ‘Cryst com as *mecklyche as a lom*,
He habbe for 3ou dethes dom.’

Shep. Cal. July, l. 129: ‘And *meck* he was, as meek mought be,
Simple as simple sheep.’

Hymn, Herebert, l. 1: ‘Crist yclepeþ *herene lomb.*’

M. of L. T., l. 459: ‘The *whyte lomb*, that hurt was with the spere.’

The comparison is based on Scriptural passages. The meekness of the lamb at sacrifice, Christ the lamb sacrificed, are suggested in *Isaiah* liii. 7 :

‘He was oppressed,
Yet he humbled not himself,
And opened not his mouth ;
As a lamb that is led to the slaughter,
And as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb ;
Yea, he opened not his mouth.’

Biblical references to Christ the lamb are as follows: *John* i. 29, 36 ; *1 Pet.* i. 19 ; *Rev.* v. 6 and 12 ; xii. 11 ; xxii. 1 ; xiii. 8 ; the last, xiii. 8, recalling modern hymnology :

‘Shout to the throne,
Worthy the lamb.’

The graceful application of Biblical texts is to be noted in *Pearl*, str. 62 ff. ; the simile of the *Speculum* occurs str. 68, l. 11 :

‘As meke as lomb that no playnt tolde,
For uus he swalt in Jherusalem.’

The omission of the article recalls the reading of MSS. H₁H₂R of the *Speculum* :

Orm., l. 1308 : ‘*wiþþ lamb þu lakesst tin Drihtin*
gastlike in þine þæwess.’

l. 1312 : ‘*Foir lamb iss soffte & stille deor,*
& meoe, & milde, & liþe.’

M. of L. T., l. 617 : ‘*For as the lomb toward his deth is brought,*
So stant this Innocent before the king.’

l. 261. *lihten adoun* : ‘alight,’ completing the antithesis begun, l. 253. Cf. *Ancr. Riwle*, p. 248 : fol. 66 : ‘*alihte adun to helle*’ ; and Pope, *Odys.*, xvii., l. 365.

An A. B. C., l. 161 : ‘*Xristus, thy sone, that in this world alighte.*’

A Bestiary, ll. 29 ff. : ‘*vre louerd*

wu ʒo him likede
to ligten her on crʒe,
Migte neure diuel witen,
ʒog he be derne hunte,
hu he dun come.’

Orm., l. 1398 : ‘*Forr whatt teʒ fellenn sone dun*
off heoffne unntill helle.’

A pleonastic *down* occurs with *lihten* in the colloquial language of the period.

Sir Fyr., l. 1122 : ‘*Bruillant . . . liʒte adoun.*’

Squieres Tale, l. 169 : ‘*down he lyghte.*’

Ley. of G. W., l. 1713 : ‘*down they lighte.*’

H. of Fame, l. 508 : ‘*downward gan hit lighte.*’

M. of L. T., l. 1104 : ‘*she lyghte down.*’

King Horn, l. 519 : ‘*Horn adun liʒte.*’

Beues, M, l. 3948 : ‘*. . . light adoun,*
. . . down lightyng.’

Read l. 261 : ‘*þéder he wóle · lihten adóun.*’

l. 262. *sterne as a lioun* : as that of l. 260, a common figure illustrating the popularity of the simile in M.E., particularly such as ‘*move within narrow limit.*’ See Kölbing’s note to *Sir Beues*, M, l. 772, and *Sir Orjeo*, p. 19.

Orrm., l. 5978: 'He was *tacnedd þurh þe leo.*'

N. P. Tale, l. 358: 'He *loketh*, as it were, a *grim lioun.*'

Gamelyn, l. 125: 'he *loked* as a *wilde lyoun.*'

See *Bestiary*, before 1250, *Natura leonis*, *Significacio prime nature*, ll. 27 ff.:

'Welle heg is tat hil,
 ŝat is heuen-riche,
 vrc louerd is te leun,
 ŝe liueŝ ŝer abuenen.'

lioun: the most common orthography in M.E. according to Sturmfels, *Anglia* viii., p. 252. Auch. *Guy* has *lyoun*, l. 3960; Caius *Guy*, *lyon*, l. 4054.

Wrappful: Epithet ordinarily applied in figure to the lion. See Marlowe's *Faustus* in the 'examination of' the 'seven deadly sins,' sc. 6, l. 130: '*I am Wrath . . . I leapt out of a lion's mouth.*' etc.

Page 14. l. 264. 2 *Corinth.*, v. 10: '*according to that he hath done,*' . . . (l. 265) '*every one may receive*'; *Rev.* xx. 12: '*The dead were judged . . . according to their works*'; v. 13: '*judged every man according to their works*'; *Matt.* xvi. 27; *Rom.* ii. 6; *Rev.* ii. 23; xxii. 12.

ll. 264—266. *Poema Morale*, ll. 174—178:

'ealle hi sculen ŝuder cume · for soðe wé hit ileue.
 þa ðe habbeð wel idon · after heore mihte.
 to heuenriche scule faren forð mid ure drihte.
 þá ðe nabbeð god idón · end ðer inne beoð ifunde.
 hi sculen falle swiðe raðe in to helle grunde.'

Orrm., l. 173: '& forr to zeldenn iwhille mann
 affter hiss azhenn dede.'

Ipotis, l. 350: 'to demen men *after here dedes.*'

ll. 266—274 recall *Gal.* vi. 7, 8.

l. 266. *turment*: MSS. DH₂ have *tournement*, to be attributed to the scribe of the text employed by copyists of *D* and *H₂*. A similar transposition is noted by Dr. Leonard in the Rawlinson MS. 118 of a poem *Aus der Hölle*, l. 105, where *tornament* is introduced instead of *turment*. See Dr. Leonard's note with reference to other instances, *Eng. Stud.*, vol. I., p. 118, l. 390; p. 120, l. 574. The confusion seems not uncommon. In *Cot. Cal. MS. A II* of the M.E. *Tundale*, *turnement* is supplied for *turment*, ll. 547, 1035, 1061, 1683. The error is readily explained as resulting from similarity in the form of the words. The meaning of *turment* is transferred to *tournement*.

l. 267. *onne take*: The most plausible interpretation of this interesting passage seems to be: 'What responsibility shall they assume,' i. e. *take on*, etc. Compare definitions for *take on* in the *Century Dictionary* and in Ogilvie's *Imperial Dictionary*, vol. iv., p. 299: '*to undertake the responsibility.*' See *Matt.* viii. 17: '*Himself took our infirmities*'; also *Rom.* of *Rose*, l. 6107 and *Meas. for Meas.*, IV. ii. 10: '*If you will take it on you to assist him,*' i. e. '*undertake.*' Five MSS. modify the verse, introducing *how* instead of *what*: '*How shall they take on?*' to be rendered '*How shall they begin?*' (?) or *appear* (?). The beauty of this reading is marred by the suggestion of the modern colloquialism '*how . . . take on.*' 'make a fuss over.' The vulgarism is not in keeping with the dignity of the poem. The modern 'take on' was used by Shakspeare, but in connection with emotion of hysterical, sentimental, or humorous character. *The Merry Wives*, III. v. 40: '*She does so take on with her men*'; also IV. ii. 22: '*he so takes on . . . with my husband, so rails against,*' etc.; *III Hen. VI.*, II. v. 104: '*How will my mother take on with me,*' etc.,

'How will my wife . . . shed seas of tears.' The meaning 'to be furious' is given by Alisaunder Schmidt at the conclusion of the discussion of *take*. *Shaks.-lexicon*, p. 1178, col. 2. See Halliwell, *Dict.* under *sterakelt*; *Volpone*, vi. The following illustrations have been contributed by Prof. Schick, suggesting the meaning 'How they behave themselves.'

Comedy of Errors, V. i. 242: 'this pernicious slave took on him as a conjurer,'
i. e. played the deceiver.

Mids. N. Dream, III. 2258: 'take on, as you would follow . . . yet come not':
behave as if you would follow.

Various interpretations are thus placed before the reader, permitting the freedom of individual judgment. The MSS. are undoubtedly authority for the reading 'How . . . on take,' but MS. *A*₁ in 'what . . . onne take,' fulfils the conditions formulated by Sachse, see below. *Shakspeare lexicons* contain numerous illustrations of the poet's use of *take on*. See also *Heb.* ii. 16; *Times' Whistle*, p. 24; and *The Bruce*, xii., l. 446:

'And quhen the king of England
Saw the Scottis so tak on hand.'

onne: The inorganic *-e*, explained by Sachse, *Das unorganische e im Ormulum*, pp. 61, 62, is peculiar to Orm. It occurs in *onne*, according to Sachse, when the object of the preposition is a relative, as in MS. *A*₁ of the *Speculum*. *onne* is then written near the close of the sentence. The same law holds good for *in*, *of*, and *on*. See illustrations as follows:

- l. 6960: 'þatt he wass *onne* i Beþpleæm.'
l. 3752: 'þatt hirdless wokenn o þatt nahht
þatt Crist wass borenn *onne*.'
l. 14,802: '. . . . þe sand
All harrd to ganngen *onne*.'

Onne is not to be found in O.E. Inorganic *-e* is evidently added through analogy to *inne* and *uppe*, abundant in O.E. See *Havelok*, l. 341, '*onne* ride': '*onne* handes leyde,' l. 1942.

l. 268. *here*: inserted for the sake of the metre at the suggestion of Professor Schick.

l. 269. *fleschly*: *fleshes* is to be rejected. It stands only in MS. *A*₁. Five MSS. have *fleschly*.

l. 270. *wolde*: 'were willing,' 'wished,' as in l. 268: 'They wished to forsake their Lord here on earth.' Note in contrast the force of l. 272, supported by l. 271. Individual consent, freedom in choice referred to ll. 216, 218, is no longer in question. A decisive judgment condemns to eternal torment.

l. 272. *wolen . . . nelle*: See Kölbing's note to *Sir Beues*, A, l. 3132.

l. 273. *biluen*: *-n* is preserved as in case of *wolen*, l. 272, to preserve smoothness of metre and to prevent hiatus. Here as in the O.E. construction the present tense is used with the force of the future.

l. 274. *as*: introduced for metre at the suggestion of Prof. Schick. MSS. *A*₁*A*₂ have *also*, *H*₁ *als*.

do: See l. 208; 'enter into,' 'experience.' *men*: 'people,' the human being.

l. 275. *Seint Austin*: i. e. Augustine favourite authority of Alcuin, and quoted in the *Speculum* by name, line 171.

l. 276. *ful*: authorized by four MSS. *A*₁*R* preserve the archaic verse, omitting the unstressed syllable in the fourth measure.

'And seiþ wórdes // réu · hehe.'

Latin: MS. *A*₁ has: *habent . . . & . . .* See *Rev.* ix. 6.

l. 278. *point of death*: 'moment of death.' *point of death* is the

language of the *Bible*, *John* iv. 47; *Mark* v. 23; *the point to die*, *Gen.* xxv. 32; *point of dawn*, *Hymn on the Nativity*, l. 86; *Richard the Redeless*, III. l. 142: 'in pointe ffor to wepe.'

l. 279. *Rev.* ix. 6: 'shall desire to die.'

ll. 279, 280. *Macbeth* IV. iii. l. 111: 'Died every day she lived.' etc.; *Apophtegms, Theological Remains of the Royal Martyr King Charles I., of Ever Blessed Memory*, p. 66: 'to die daily,' in 'Conquering by a lively faith and patient hope those partial and quotidian *Deaths*, which kill us as it were by piecemeals.'

l. 279. *wilnen*: See *Pers. Tale*, l. 341: 'They shul folow deth, and they shul not finde him, and they shall *desire to die*, and deth shall flee from hem.'

l. 280. *ende of deþ*: the immediate crisis of physical death, the absolute death of the body, the end of life, explained *Ipotis*, l. 465: 'Or þe soule may partyn wythonne.' *ende*, subst. and vb., occurs frequently in M.E. texts, meaning 'death' or 'to die, as in ll. 278 and 492.

Orm., l. 19,325: 'ziff þatt himm likeþþ ure lif
& ure lifess *ende*.'

„ l. 3257: 'Att ure *lifes ende*.'

Orm., l. 8347: 'Aftterr tatt Herode king
Was *endedd* inn hiss sinne.'

„ l. 3254: 'uss . . . *endenn* ure lif.'

„ l. 17,465: '. . . he ma33 *endenn* hiss lif
Inn alle gode dedess.'

„ l. 5033: 'sen *ifell ende*.'

Rbt. of Gl., l. 1538: 'to his *ende* was *ido*.'

Wohunge of u. L., l. 70:

'before þin *ending* . . . swa sare þat reade blod þu swattes for as.'

Seven Sages (ed. Wright), V., l. 514 f.:

'And ledis þe hym thare thyfys hyng
Anon that he have hys *ending*.'

l. 281. *duire*: Chaucer uses *dure* in rime with *assure*, etc. See Crome, *Rhyme Index to the Ellesmere Manuscript*, and *Tale of Man of Lawe*, l. 189: 'whyl his lyf may *dure*' (cure).

l. 284. *muryere*: Probably a copyist's error is preserved in *A*₁: *murszere*. *wole*: supplied from MSS. representing two groups.

Page 15, l. 286. *ioyes of paradys*: Compare with these lines other mediæval descriptions of paradise, notably that of the *Poema Morale*, *The Phoenix*, and *Sólar ljóð*, the Icelandic ideal of heaven. See *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, p. 59; *Sarles Ward*, pp. 259 ff.

l. 289. *baylie*: O.F. *baillie*, 'jurisdiction,' the word accented on its second syllable to rime with *clergy*. See Gollancz's note to *Pearl*, str. 37, l. 10. As in *Pearl* the word is not to be confused with *bayly*, 'fortress,' as is indicated here by the added -e: *baylie*.

l. 290. *wit of clergy*: 'the understanding of all science.'

l. 292. *tellen*: -n is added for metre to avoid hiatus or the omission of the unstressed syllable in the fourth measure.

l. 296. *on eorþe here*: See note to l. 375.

ll. 295, 296. *Colossians* iii. 24 is recalled here.

l. 297. *parten hence*: 'depart hence,' as affirmed by MS. A₂. Compare *parting day*, l. 1 of Gray's *Elegy* (written in a country churchyard), and *parting soul*, l. 89; *parting Genius, Hymn on Nativity*, l. 186; and *henne wende, Poema Morale*, l. 396.

l. 299 ff. Suggest Hampole's description of heaven, *The Pricke of Conscience*, ll. 7814 ff.:

- ‘þare es ay lyfe withouten dede;
þare es yhowthe ay withouten elde,
l. 7817: þare es rest ay, withouten trauayle.
l. 7819: þare es pese ay, withouten stryf;
l. 7821: þare es, withouten myrknes, lyght;
þare es ay day and neuer nyght,
þare es ay somer fulle bryght to se,
And neuer mare wynter in þat contre.’

See also *The Phoenix*, ll. 50 ff.:

‘Nis þær on þâm londe lâðgeniðla,
ne wôp ne wracu, weátácen nân
yldu ne yrmðu, ne se enga deað,
ne lifes lyre, ne lâpes cyme,
ne synn ne sacu, ne sâr wracu.’ . . .

These recall the *Poema Morale*, ll. 369 ff.:

- l. 369: ‘þer is wêle ábute gane · end reste abuten swiþche’
l. 371: ‘þer is blisse a buten treze · and lif a buten deape.’
l. 373: ‘þer is zeozeðe bute ulde · and hele a buten vn helðe.
nis þer so(re) we ne sor · ne neure man vn sealþe.’

ll. 302, 304. *riht* . . . *trewe loue*: ‘unvarying justice,’ ‘ever faithful love.’

feintise: ‘dissimulation,’ ‘feigning,’ explained by Lydgate in the words of l. 1971 of the *Rom. of the Rose*, and in distinction from the use of *P. Pl.* See below:

Compleynt, l. 477: ‘With oute feynynge or feyntyse.’
(also *Rom. of R.*, l. 1971.)

P. Pl., A. V. l. 5: ‘Er I a Furlong hedde I fare A Feyntise me hente,
Forþer mihti not afote · for defaute of Sleep.’

- l. 303. Intelligence, and skill, and knowledge.
kunning: *T. of Gl.*, l. 538:

‘And eke I want *kunning* to deuyse.’

Spiritus Guidonis, l. 3: ‘. . . men grete nede may wyn
and nameli clerkes þat can of lare
if þai þaire *cunyn* will declare.’

Wm. of Palerne, l. 120: ‘Of *coninge* of wicche-craft · wel y nouȝ zhe couȝde.’

And Marlowe’s *Faustus*, the first Chorus, l. 20:

‘Till swoln with *cunning*
His waxen wings did mount above his reach.’

See Skeat’s note, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 68; *Psalm cxxxvii*, 5.

l. 305. *Streinþe*: interesting form, *ei* marking the intermediate stage in the transition of *e* to *i* before *n* + a consonant. The interrupted growth is to be noted in *Horn*, l. 1169, and in *strenþede*, Bölddeker, *Ae. Dichtungen*, p. 257. See Stratmann. The transition is completed in *Bruce*, but see *Otorian*, *strenþe*; *Poema Morale*, *strenþe*; but *strynth* < O.E. *strengð* in the *Bruce*, l. 87, p. 106 of Zupitza’s *Übsbuch*. The transition is not marked in N.E. as in *string* < O.E. *streng*, in the N.E. pronunciation of *England*, or in Old Norse words of the same nature. See Noreen, *Grammatik*, § 143 *Ann.*, and the list of illustrations collected by Dr. Leonard in *Zwölf me. Geschichten aus d. Hölle*, p. 69, and in Wilda’s dissertation, *Über die ört. Verbr. d. Schveifr.-Strophe in Engl.* See other forms illustrating the history of *e* + *i* before *n* + consonant: *Lib. Disc.*, l. 338, *flyng* (Icel. *flenjja*); *Émare*, l. 794: *unhende kynge*.

Pr. of C., l. 675: ‘springes,
. . . hares, þat on þe heued *lynges*.’

Cursor Mundi, l. 291: 'And saġh a frut þar on *hingand*.' (See *Flight into Egypt*.)

Woh. of u. L., l. §17: 'swa rewliche *hengedes* on rode.'

„ „ l. 55: 'he *henges* bitulhen,' etc. (See ll. 53, 63.)

„ „ l. 111: '*henges* o rode.'

Havelok, l. 43: 'And heye *hengen* on galwe tre.'

l. 306. *þisternesse*: suggesting *Eph.* v. 8 and 13; *liht widoute þisternesse* = 'everlasting light,' *Isaiah* lx. 19, *i. e.* 'uninterrupted light'; 'one day . . . at evening song time . . . light,' *Zechariah* xiv. 7; 'There shall be no night there,' *Revelation* xxi. 25; xxii. 5; *þisternesse* = 'thick-ness?', *Zeeh.* xiv. 6. See *Poema Morale*, l. 366: 'dei a buten nihte'; and l. 378: 'ði nabbed hi nouht iliche 'alle of godes *lihte*.'

l. 308. *For*: inserted on authority of five MSS., producing type A instead of type D.

Page 16, l. 311. *Poema Morale*, l. 66: 'þe ðe mare hefð end ðe þe lesse þa ðe mei iliche.'

l. 313. *wonizing*: 'dwelling-place,' as in 2 *Corinthians* v. 1: 'An-house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,' suggestive also of *John* xiv. 2.

l. 314. *his . . . desering*: *Poema Morale*, l. 63:

'Per me seal ure weorkes we zen, be foren heue kinge.
end zieuen us ure swinches lien æfter ure earninge.'

l. 319. *in al þi miht*: ll. 134, 253, 515. See *Schmürzel*, p. xlvi.

ll. 321, 325. *charite . . . hext*: *Col.* iii. 14: '*Charity the bond of perfectness*.' Charity here is 'love,' distinguished from charity, ll. 95, 936, '*benevolence*,' 'almsdede':

Orm, l. 2998: 'Godess Gast iss *kariteþ*.'

Peart, str. 40, l. 2: 'And *charyte grete* be yow among.'

hext: *next*: See *Two Noble Kinsmen*, III. ii. 33: 'The best way is the next way to a grave.'

l. 327. *what*: supplied from four MSS. for the context.

ll. 328, 329. Compare the Vulgate text, *Luke* x. 27: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum toto corde tuo, ex tota anima tua, et ex omnibus viribus tuis*. Also *Poema Morale*, l. 305: '*Luuiē we god mid ure heorte 'end mid al ure mihte*.'

ll. 333, 334. *Matt.* xix. 19: '*Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum*,' of the Vulgate text; *Poema Morale*.

ll. 329, 334. See 1 *John* iii. 10 and 23; *Poema Morale*, ll. 305 f.:

'Luuiē we god mid ure heorte . end mid al ure mihte.
end ure ēmeristen eal us sulf . swa us lerdē drihte.'

See the old poem *On the king's Breaking his Confirmation of Magna Charter*, p. 256, *Polit. Songs*:

'Love elepeth ech man brother.'

l. 334. *emeristene*: Assimilation from *cristene*, in works of the 12th and 13th centuries in MSS. of the South and West. Cf. M.E. texts: *Poema Morale*, l. 306, 'and ure *emeristene* eal us sulf'; Second series of homilies: 'To luuiē god and al his *emeristen*;' p. 5; 'bicherð his *emeristen*'; 'here *emeristen* bicharen,' p. 193; 'and his *emeristen* also himseluen,' p. 54; '*Vre emeristene* ben alle þo þe hered ore Louerd,' p. 9; 'togenes ure *emeristene*,' p. 63; *emeristen* occurs in the *Azenbite* (dating 1340): 'þou sset zigge non ualse wytnesse aye þine *emeristene*,' l. 10; 'Hou þat god deleþ his *emeristen*, he ys acorsed of god,' p. 66. See First Series of *Homilies*, *Sermo* cxxiv. 6, p. 157, l. 6. *Emeristen* is used by Langland, and thus its history is traced chronologically to 1362.

Euen cristen occurs in the later MSS. of the *Speculum*. From the time of *Piers. Pl.*, 1362, the full forms *efen* (*euen*) *cristene* are abundant.

Euen cristene may be dated at least so early as 1320 through the *Castel of Loue*, l. 976. See the *Persones Tale*, l. 855; *Wiclif* (1380): Sir Thomas More, p. 83: 'Proudly judging the lives of their *euen Christians*,' and p. 277, 'And where thei men not fihte . . . against their *euen christen*';

Ipotis, l. l. 522: 'And wolde helpyn al opere,
Hys *evenne cristen*, þat ben þowere.'

The word is no longer to be found after its famous appearance in *Hamlet*, V. i. 27. The readings of the first folio and of the first quarto are identical. 'And the more pittie, that great folke should haue countenance in this world to drown or hang themselves more than *their euen Christian*.' The passage stands in the first quarto, l. 25:

'Mary more's the pittie, that great folke
Should haue more autorite to hang or drown
Themselues, more than other people.'

Efen abounds in compounds of this period: *Hom.* I. p. 175; *efennexta*, *Wiclif*, *Phil.* ii. 25; '*eueue knyght*,' *Phil.* ii.; '*euen discipilis*,' *John* ii. 16: '*euen seruant*,' *Apoc.* xix. 10; *Matt.* xviii. 29; *efenneche*, 'coeternal,' *efenmete*, 'commensurate'; *efenrike*, 'equal in power,' etc. *Prompt. Parv.* has *Ecyrhoode*, 'equality'; *Euenholde*, 'of equal age.'

Page 17, l. 336. *Wher*: here the conjunction, 'whether or not'; see note to line 219 of the *Speculum*.

l. 338. *wolt*: introduced from four MSS. H_2 is without weight in textual arrangement. *must* in A_1 is probably the scribe's error.

Latin: 1 *John* iv. 20. 'For he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?' Cf. also 1 *Peter* l. 8: 'Whom having not seen, ye love.' MS. A_1 reads: '... proximum tuum . . . deum qu[em] . . . quomodo potes diligere.'

Compare *O. E. Homilies* I, p. 100: 'þe þat ne lufþ his broþer, þene þat he isihð, hu mei he lufian God, þene þat he ne isihð liconlice.'

l. 339. *seip soþ*: See *Rbt. of Gl.*, ll. 713, 720, 2734, 3046, 6261, 6368, 6414, 6420.

witte: dative in *-e* regularly formed according to the inflectional characteristics of the poem.

l. 341. *þyn emcristene*: See Latin text, l. 338, *proximum tuum*, 'brother,' in the scriptural foundation, and the reading of four MSS. The fifth contributes *nextbore*. For *emcristene* see note, line 334.

l. 342. *þou*: supplied for sense and metre: 'So that thou mayst see them every day.' It occurs in four MSS. The arrangement: þat [þou] *alday mait hem ise*, is supported by MSS. A_2R .

ll. 340—344. These lines recall *Leg. of G. W.*, B, ll. 14, 15:

'For . . . thing is never the lasse soth,
Thogh every wight ne may hit nat ysee.'

l. 345. *Sein Powel*: The preacher evidently did not verify his reference. His text is to be ascribed to John, 1 *John* iv. 20, see reference above. Strangely enough H_2 , whose mission it was to set things right, did not correct the error.

l. 347 ff. See 'Introduction' with Scriptural sources.

l. 347. *nost*: supplied from MS. D, and necessary to the sense according to all the MSS. The reading *noht* of A_1 could be interpreted as a scribal error for the poet's *not* = *ne wot*. A_1 could possibly have written *noht* (N.E. *not*) for *not* (*ne wot*) of other MSS. An instance of double thesis would then be eliminated, and type A would occur: *Abrahám him sáuh, ac þú not hóu*.

l. 348. *nouh*: inorganic final *-h* a peculiarity of MS. A₁. For *nost hou*, see Schick's note, *T. of Gl.*, l. 17.

l. 350. *as . . . hem*: are to be omitted on authority of three MSS., representatives from both groups.

Page 18, ll. 355 ff. Numerous illustrations of this comparison are to be found in the 'Introduction' under 'Sources.' Cf. *Cal., July*, l. 157 ff.:

'Sike one . . . Moses was,
That saw his Maker's face,
His face more clear than crystal glass,
And spake to him in place.'

ll. 356, 359. *on fire*: See Koch, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, II, p. 377, l. 7. *al on fire*: Spenser's *Prothol.*, l. 56: *all in haste*; *Hymn on the Nativity*, l. 207: *all of blackest hue*: *Il Pens.*, l. 33: *All in a robe*, etc.

l. 358. The *York Plays* (ed. L. T. Smith), pp. 47, 73, and the *Towneley Mysteries* (Surtees Society, 1836), pp. 55 ff., record the exact words of the dialogue between Moses and the Lord; see the mystery ascribed to the Hoseers, No. XI of the *York Plays*, No. 8 of the *Towneley*. *þe firste laice*: naturally the ten commandments.

l. 361. Compare sc. 2, l. 92 of the eleventh *York Play*: 'Thus has god shewed his myght in me.'

Town. Myst. xxxvii, l. 86: 'To me, Moyses, he shewed his myght.'

l. 363. *bush*: *boys* in MS. D, the French expression for *bush*, mentioned in Halliwell's *Dictionary*. *boys* is defined in *Promptorium Parvulorum* as *scurrus*, 'a clump of bushes,' but according to the Hebrew term a single bush.

The significance of the bush as emblem of Mary seems suggested in the *Cal. Jul.*, l. 73, although Kirke explains 'Our Lady's bower' as 'a place of pleasure':

'Of Sinah can I tell thee more
And of our Lady's Bower.'

leuedi: See Palst, *Lautlehre, Reim. Ch. Rbt. of Gl.* § 15.

l. 365. *clene*: MS. Bibl. *Bod. Jun.* 23, fol. 79: 'Ðurh *clene mæden Crist wearð zeboren*'; *The Seconde N. Tale*, l. 225: 'With body *clene* and with vnwemmed thought . . .'; l. 47: 'and thou, virgin wemmeless' . . . 'mayden pure.' Cf. note to l. 367.

l. 366. *Ne*: required by five MSS.

l. 367. *wemme*: In the dialect of Norfolk *wem* (as explained by the *Prompt. Parr.*) 'is a small fretted place in a garment.' In figurative meaning *wem* is applied to religion. Cf. Wiclif, *Song of Sol.*, III. 7: 'My frendesse, thou art al faire, and *no wem is in thee*'; *James* i. 27: 'A *clene religion and vnwemmed*'; quoted in the *Anceren Riwle*, p. 10, fol. 2 b: '*cleane religion wünten wem*.' The application to the Virgin is made by Chaucer, 2 *N. T.*, l. 47: *withouten wemme* is translated in the *Cursor Mundi*, l. 11,226, 'immaculate,' but in Hereford's version of *Psalm* xiv. 2, it represents N.E. 'uprightly' as in *Isa.* xxxiii. 15, and is equivalent to *wemles* in the same passage of the *North. Psalter*. See also Michel's *Sermon on Matt.* xxiv. 43, l. 149: *wypoute wem*: 'uram alle heresyse wy oute wem habbeþ yclened.'

Pearl, str. 19, l. 5: 'Bot a wonder perle *withouten wemme*.'

Ipotis, l. 556: 'Of þe mayde Mary, (also 315, 316 in D, 478, 479 B) *Withowten wem* of hyr body.'

See *Pearl*, str. 62, l. 5: 'For hit is *wemlez*, clene and clere.'

See Kölbings note to *Sir Beues*, E. l. 385: '*Wemme ne wunde*.'

l. 370. *him*: necessary to sense and metre.

l. 371. *noht alone*: Compare *Acts* xix. 26.

l. 372. *imeind*: See *Ancr. R.*, p. 332: 'Auh hope and drede shulen ener beon *imeind* togederes.' The word is not uncommon, for instance: *Shep. Cal. Nov.*, l. 203: ' . . . how bene thy verses *meint*,
With doolful plesauce '

Owl and Night, l. 18: '*Imeind* mid spire and grene segge.'

l. 428: '*Imeind* bi toppes and bi here.'

Poema Morale, l. 144:

'betere is wori weter í drunke ' þene atter í *men*g mid wine.'

l. 374. See 1 *Tim.* vi. 16: 'Whom *no man hath seen* nor can see,' *St. John* i. 18; 1 *John* iv. 12: '*No man hath seen God* at any time'; *St. John* vi. 46. Cf. *Speculum*, l. 395 ff.

Page 19, l. 375. *on eorþe her*: a similar redundancy is found in *Rbt. of Gl.*: '*he in þis lond*.' ll. 866, 1694, 1833, 2165, 4097, 4836, 6674, etc. See *in erþe here*, *Ipotis*, ll. 318, 331, but *aboven erþe*, l. 413.

eorþe: This orthography for *erþe* is also that of the poem *De Muliere Samaritana*, l. 1; *Alisaunder*. l. 3853; *Homily*, ed. Zup., *Uebsbuch*, p. 72, l. 9: *grîð on eorðe*; *On god Ur. of U. Lefdi*, l. 159: '*on heouene and on eorðe*'; *Poema M.*, l. 75, and *eorles*, l. 320, as in the *Speculum*, ll. 45, 50, 65; *Langl. V. A.* 18. *Merlin* preserves *earþ*, l. 1523.

Bodiliche: i. e. 'in human form,' 'in person.'

l. 376. *it is so cler*: i. e. 'it needs no proof,' 'it is evident,' 'not to be doubted.'

l. 381. *elene . . . cler*: The same tautology of alliterating adjectives occurs *Pearl*, 625, *Rbt. of Gl.*, 180:

'England is *so elene* and *so eler*.'

l. 6802: 'heo was *so elene* maide . . . of *so elene* liue.'

Mass Book, l. 3 (of *Mass*): 'graunt alle, þate hit shal here,
of conscience be *elene & elere*.'

l. 7: ' . . . *elene* in dede & þoght.'

l. 10: 'with *elene* herte & gode intent.'

l. 382. See *Hom.*, *post Pascha*, ll. 66—8 and the following selections:

Poema Morale, l. 75: 'Heuene end eorðe he oue sikh
Sunne . mone. . . . bið þustre to zeanes his lihte.'

See 2 *N. Tale*, l. 108: '*The sonne and mone and sterres* euery weye.'

Pearl, str. 88, l. 1: 'Of *sunne ne mone* had thay no nede;
The self god wacz her lompe lyght.'

l. 387. *wonder*: intensive equivalent to 'exceedingly,' common as an adverb: *wonder sory*, *Ganelyn*, l. 732; *wonder grete*, *Tundale*, l. 573.

l. 388. *mannes*: 'human,' 'mortal.' See *Pearl*, str. 19, l. 7: '*A mannes* dom,' and *Ipotis*, l. 464: '*mannys body*.' See Gollancz's note. Cf. *bodilich*, l. 396.

l. 391. *forsoþe . . . þe*: one idea is presented here as in *Ormn's*: 'þat witt þe *wel to soþe*,' as Prof. Kölbng kindly suggests.

l. 394. *sipe*: necessary for meaning and preferable to *tyme* of MS. H₁. See also *Shep. Cal. Jan.*

str. 9, l. 1: 'A thousand *sithes* I curse that careful hour.'

l. 3: ' . . . thousand *sithes* I bless the stoure.'

M. of L. T., l. 1155: 'She herieth god an *hundred thousand sythe*.'

l. 396. *bodiliche*: See *Ipotis*, B, l. 462: 'þat on deth is *bodylyche* here.'

l. 397. *godhede*: H₁ preserves what would seem to be the preferred meaning: 'in his godhede'; but the version of a single MS. in this connection is not sufficient reason for alteration of the verse.

Page 20, l. 398. *don þat dede*: The common Hebrew idiom linking a verb with its cognate noun. It is noted in the terse wisdom literature of the Book of Job; see *Job* iii. 25: 'I feared a fear, and it hath overtaken me.'

l. 400. *lered . . . lewed*: Common linking of terms. *Sir Beves*, A. 4020: '*lewed . . . lered*'; *Orrm.*, l. 967: '*to lered, to lewedd*'; *Tund.*, ll. 413, 593.

l. 403. *bi my leaute*: *lytylle feythe* in *Prompt. Parv.* under *lewte*. See *Polit. Song of The Reign of Ed. I.*, l. 1, also *Song on the Flem. Insurrection*, p. 192; '*by your lewte*,' *Gamelyn*, l. 657; '*bi mi leaute*,' *Rich. of Almaine*, l. 2; '*By my faith*,' *Gamelyn*, ll. 95 and 301, '*Par ma foy*,' l. 367, etc.

ll. 398, 402. 1 *John* iv. 12: 'No man hath seen God at any time.' See note to l. 374.

l. 407. A different interpretation of the passage would demand a colon after *mene*.

l. 410. *ifiled*: See *Macbeth* III. i. 65, 'defiled,' 'made foul':

'For Banquo's issue have I filed my mind;
. . . . the gracious Duncan have I murdered.'

l. 412. *Latin* and ll. 414—416. See *Matt.* v. 8. MS. A₁ reads: '*mondo . . . quoniam*.'

l. 413. *þis is to seie*: Frequent in Lydgate and Chaucer, illustrated in Schick's note to *T. of Gl.*, l. 311.

l. 416. *aperteliche*: The adjective *apert* is in modern usage. See Sir G. Buck, *Hist. Rich. III.*, p. 79: 'open and *apert*.' See Stratmann-Bradley and Murray for illustrations. See *Shep. Cal. Sept.*, ll. 160 and 162:

'Or privy or *pert* if any bene.'

l. 417. *godhede*: 'divinity' and 'glory,' in distinction from *manhede*, l. 372.

ll. 417, 418. Compare *Tundale*, ll. 2107, 2108:

' . . . what joy here is and blis,
þat þai . . . shalle never mysse.'

Page 21, ll. 421, 422 and Latin. It is to be conceded, that these lines are of doubtful origin, possibly spurious. On later thought they would probably not have had place in the main text.

l. 422. *sey with mouþe*: common 'fill-gap.' See *Ipotis*, B. l. 281.

Latin and l. 423. *Matt.* xxv. 34: 'Come, ye blessed of my father . . .' Compare *York Plays*, xlvi. l. 277:

'Mi blissid childre on my right hand,
. . . .
Commes to þe kyngdome ay lastand,
þat þou is dight for youre goode dede.'

Town. Play, l. 365: 'Mi chosyn childer, commes to me,
With me to dwelle now shalle ye weynde,
þere joie and blis schalle euer be.'

Tundale, l. 1778: 'The voyce of god shall sayer: "Come nere,
My fadres blissed childer fre,
And reseeyve the kyngdom with me."'

l. 423. *ferre*: in the 17th cent., still used. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. l. 116: 'his young fair *ferre*.'

l. 424. *fader*: dat. after *leue*, O.E. *lōf*, O.E. construction.

leue and *dere*; also Chaucer, *Mil. T.* l. 3051; *L. of G. W.*, l. 1978: *lere sister dere*: *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, l. 257: *leue brother dere*, etc.; *Hand. Syn.*, l. 5744: 'þey are with God boþe *lefe* and *dere*.'

l. 425. *Matt.* xxv. 34: 'Inherit the kingdom,'

l. 426. 'prepared for you from the foundation of the world.'

wende: *ende*: See Kölbings's note to *Sir Beues*, A. l. 4569.

l. 426. *widouten ende*: See *euere mo*, l. 450; phrases with the rime *wende*: *ende* are often used in descriptions pertaining to the decrees of the final judgment.

Tundale. l. 827: 'And þe sonner fro alle payne *wende*
To gret joy *widouten ende*.'

l. 187: 'Therfor with us shalle þou *wende*,
To brenne in helle *widouten ende*.'

l. 1197: 'For þou shalt now with us *wende*
To payne of helle *widouten ende*.'

l. 181: 'þou shalte to fire *widouten ende*,
And to merknes art þou frende.'

See also l. 2234.

l. 427 ff. *Matt.* xxv. 46: 'the righteous into life eternal.'

l. 431. *Matt.* xxv. 41: 'Depart . . . ye cursed (and 449), into everlasting fire.' Biblical passage and *Speculum* recall Browning in *Ferish-tah's Fancies*:

'How,
Enormous thy abjection, hell from heaven.
Made tenfold hell by contrast!'

cursed gostes, see *Sir Beues*, A. l. 781, and l. 362.

ll. 436—444. These lines suggest *Zech.* xiii. 6, and *John* xx. 25. See *Wrappful and sterne*, l. 262.

l. 438. Type C exists on authority of two MSS., A₁ and R, in opposition to the remaining two texts. *D* and *H*₂ are omitted here. *A*₂ and *H*₁ preserve type A, reading:

'þat slówen hém · þurw [hére] enúie.'

enuie: 'ill-will,' 'hatred.' See *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. iii. 21:

'There is but *envy* in that light, which shows
The one the other.'

l. 439. *kene*: sharp. This meaning is also found in *Pearl*, str. 4, l. 4: *crokez kene*; *Sir Beues*. M. 3401: '*spere kene*' and S. l. 4168, '*suerde keene*'; Chaucer's *Genl. Prol.*, l. 104, has '*arwes kene*'; in figurative application, *Shep. Cal.*, Feb. l. 3: 'The *keen* coldblows.' See note by Kirke and Robertson, *Glossary of Dialect of Gloucester*, p. 191.

l. 442. *gristi wounden*: Kölbings, *Sir Beues*, note to A, l. 724, enumerates illustrations of *gristi* as epithet to *wounden* with reference to Mätzner, *Wörterbuch*, II, p. 322; *Guy of Warwick*, A. str. 224, l. 9, recalling also *griestlie ghostes*, *Cal.*, Nov. l. 55.

l. 444. *drede* . . . *quake*: Compare Schmirgel's collection of expressions for grief, p. xlvi, where *Guy of Warwick*, *Guy B.*, l. 3756, *Sir Beues*, ll. 1367, 1389, *Libeaus Desconus*, l. 604, offer illustrations of *quake* for *drede*.

l. 445. Type C is confirmed by all the MSS., additional proof of the existence of the type. *gode* and *roize*, l. 446, are historically impossible. Under any conditions one unstressed syllable must be regarded as lost in these verses, whether in the third or fourth measure.

Page 22, l. 447: *beþ loþe*: perhaps based on *Luke* xiii. 27: 'I know you not.'

l. 448 ff. *Gop*: 'Depart from me,' *Matt.* xxv. 41; *Luke* xiii. 27; *Ps.* vi. 8.

Compare l. 431 ff. of the *Speculum*. See also *O. E. Hom.* (Second Series), p. 5: *Ite maledicti in ignem eternum*. 'Witeð, 3e awariede gostes, into þat eche fir on helle'; *Hom.* xii, *The first Sunday in Lent*, p. 69, reads; 'witeð 3e aweregede gostes in þat eche fur þat is 3arked to deuules and here fereden to wuniende eure and ó abutan ende'; *York Play*, xlviii. l. 369:

'3e cursed kaitiffis, fro me flee,
In helle to dwelle withouten ende.'

30th *Towneley Pl.* l. 369: 'Ye warid wightes, from me ye fle,
In helle to dwelle withouten ende.'

See notes to ll. 426 and 431 ff.

The repetition ll. 447 ff., in almost identical words, suggests a *naïvete* of the poet common in ancient narrative. He was not reluctant to indulge in frequent repetition. Perhaps he regarded the construction as a grace. It was not at the period a crudeness in structure.

ll. 450, 451. *dwelle . . . fyr*: *Isaiah* xxxiii. 14: 'dwell with the devouring fire.' *eure more*: i. e. in 'everlasting fire,' *Matt.* xxv. 41. See note to ll. 431 ff.

l. 451. *hote fyr*: 'pytte of helle' in *H₂*; *Pers. Tale*, l. 452; *Ipotis*, l. 328 (D); *Tundale*, l. 1298. See *Generides*, l. 2129.

fyr: *her*: See *Lybeaus*, 571: *fyr*: *destrer*; *Duke Rowland*, l. 94: *fyre*: *Messangere*; *Sir Otuel of Spayne*.

l. 452. *non oþer*: virtually *hell* according to context. The *devil* is the expected taskmaster for the condemned soul.

ll. 453—458. See *James* iii. 13.

ll. 457—458. *Matt.* xxv. 46: 'And these shall go away into everlasting punishment.'

l. 460. *a vers*: This verse is not to be cited. The poet probably united two texts to advance his doctrine of good works, see ll. 148, 465, 502, 621, etc.

Latin: *domino et*. MS. A₁ *domino et*.

l. 461. *Hope to god*: *Psalms* xlii. 5 and xliiii. 5: '*Hope in God*.' *do god*: not authorized by the scriptural text or the *Liber*, but suggesting confusion with *James* ii. 26: 'Faith without works is dead'; *Liber*, *Camb. MS. II. I.* 33: 'Witodlice þe 3eleafa bið unnyt butan þam 3odum weorcum.' *Seconde Nonnes Tale*, l. 64: 'And, for that feith is deed withouten werkes.'

l. 463. *ydel hope*: In contrast with *soþfast hope*, l. 471. *hope* is often classified by the mediæval theologian as referring to the expectation of evil; for instance *The Erl of Tolous*, ll. 815, 823, 835. See Lüdtke's note, *Gowther*, ll. 202, 212, 227, and note to l. 208, and Wagner's note to *Tundale*, l. 90.

l. 464. *widouten gabbe*: See *A Treatise on Dreams*, *Rel. Ant.*, p. 266: 'God tydyng withoute gabbe.'

'Apeyrement, y nul nout gabbe.'

See *Sir Beues*, S, l. 1492 and 1854: 'Y wyl noȝt gabbe'; Chaucer, *The Nonne Prestes Tale*, l. 246; *The Book of the Duchesse*, l. 1075.

l. 466. *so god me rede*: 'God help me.'

Page 23, l. 468. *charged . . . sore*: 'burdened.' See *Macbeth* V. I, l. 60: 'The heart is sorely charged.'

l. 471. *soþfast hope*: in contrast to *ydel hope*, ll. 463, 466, *unsure hope*, *Macbeth* v. 4. 19. It seems to be equivalent to the 'good hope' employed by Lydgate, *T. of Gl.*, and described in Schick's note to l. 892. *Hope* and *dread* ('fear,' anxiety) are at times contrasted in the same passage by the M.E. poet, as for instance:

T. of Gl., l. 641: 'Hanging in balannce bitwix *hope* & *drede*.'

l. 892: 'And al biforne late *hope* be þi guide,
And þouze þat *drede* woulde with þe pace
It sitteþ wel.'

l. 1197: 'So þat *goode hope* alway þi bridel lede,
Lat no despeire hindir þe with *drede*.'

Aner. R., l. 332: '*hope and drede* . . . imeind,' etc.; see note, l. 372.

l. 473. *shrifte of monþe*: See note to l. 94.

l. 474, also l. 92. *redi* suggests Köllbing's 'aim' applied figuratively here in the sense of 'purpose'; see *Sir Beues*, l. 3101:

'A þrew is knif, & kouþe nouzt *redi*.'

l. 475, 476. 'If thou doest thus, then put all thy hope in God Almighty.' See *Romans* viii. 24.

ll. 480—483. See note to l. 495.

ll. 483, 484. Cf. lines 267, 268.

l. 484. *sorwe and wo*: Suggesting *Job* iv. 21: 'They die, even *without wisdom*,' recalling in wisdom philosophy; 'They die in sorrow and woe.' See Genung, *The Epic of the Inner Life*, p. 156.

ll. 491, 492. This serious truth weighed on Ælfred, as is evident in the wisdom literature contributed to his *Witenagemôt*, collected in *An O.E. Miscellany* (E.E.T.S., 1872):

l. 172: 'Not no mon þene tyme.
hwanne he schal heonne turne.
Ne nomon þene ende.
hwenne he schal heonne wende.'

l. 492. *ending day*: 'death-day'; 'þat is elecs mannes *endedeie* þat he stepð ut of þese life into þan oðre,' as is explained in an O.E. *Homily*, *An Bispel* (edited by Morris), l. 137. *ending day* is used by Chaucer in *The Compleynt of Venus*:

l. 55: 'And therefore certes, to myn *ending-day*
To love him best ne shal I never repente.'

See *ending*, l. 278: *ende of dep.* l. 280; and *Orm*.

Orm., l. 8108: 'þatt daz; þatt he tok *endc*.'

Page 24, l. 495. See also ll. 481—482. An early proverb seems either to have been in existence, or to have been formulating itself at this time. '*Fast find, fast bind*,' occurs in Heywood's *Proverbs* of 1546, in *Jests of Scogin* of 1565, and in *Merchant of Venice*, II. 5, l. 50:

'*Fast bind! fast find!*
A proverb never stale in thrifty mind.'

'*Safe bind, safe find*,' in *Washing*, by Thomas Tusser, of 1523—80. The underlying scriptural text referred to in line 494, þis word, þat god scide, is probably *Matthew* xvi. v. 19: 'Whatsoever thou shalt *bind* on earth, shall be *bound* in heaven'; also *Matthew* xviii. v. 18. See *Poemu Morale*, ll. 215, 216:

'þe ðe godes milce séchð. jwis he mei his *finde*.
ac helle king is are lies. wið ða þe he mei binde.'

Homily, *Post Pascha* A, ed. Morris, l. 44: 'demd to deaðe and þerto *bunden*. swo is þe maan þe halt his sinne. he is demd fro heuene to helle.'

l. 496. *ben in mynde*: 'be in remembrance,' 'be borne in mind.' See *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 18, and note, *Spec.*, l. 619, and *New Engl.* 'bear in mind.'

Sec. Non. T., l. 123: '*bar in hir mynde*.'

M. of L. T., l. 1127: '*bere . . . in mynde*.'

Ipotis, D, l. 152: 'The soneday to *have in mende*.'

l. 498. The present text is supported by the best MSS. and by MSS. of the two groups. Read with metre like l. 446, type C :

‘And Iésu Crist · tó þe táke.’

‘If you will accept Jesus Crist,’ rather than ‘turn to him,’ or ‘call upon him,’ according to the reading of MSS. D and H₂, type D :

‘And to Iésu Crist þe táke.’

l. 500. *lescroun* : Compare with l. 505 below.

Spee. Vit., l. 92 : ‘And swyche a *lessoun* I schal 3ou 3eue
þat *myroure* of lyf to you may be.’

Der eng. Cuto (ed. Goldberg, p. 14), v. 81 :
‘Let holi writ beo þi *mirour*
In word and eke in dede.’

l. 502. *goddede* : preserved by the two oldest MSS., by the best MS., and by a MS. of the opposing group, in distinction from the plausible reading *godhede* of the two remaining texts, also representatives of both groups. The meaning ‘good deed’ seems to be specifically the suffering and death of Christ upon the cross.

l. 505. *myroure* : a very common usage. The passage explains itself. For various M.E. interpretations of the term *mirror*, see Schick’s note to *T. of Gl.*, l. 292, and ll. 754 and 974, and Spenser’s usage :

Shep. Cal., Oct., str. 16, l. 93 : ‘Such *immortal mirror*, as he doth admire,
Would raise one’s mind above the starry sky.’

Gorbodue, l. 3, l. 798 : ‘Happie was Hecuba, the wofullest wretch
That euer lyued to make a *myroure* of.’

P. Pl., C. xix. l. 175 : ‘Thou shalt be *myroure* to menyne men to deceyue.’

Cf. also *Henry V.*, 2. Chorus, l. 6.

l. 508. *fonge* : *fonde*, extant in D and R, MSS. of two distinct groups, is probably the correct reading, not only as is indicated by the rime (but by the sense : ‘here (in holy writ) must we look (see) and seek (trust to it) to obtain knowledge of God.’ See *John* xxi. 3, MS. Otho 1, C 3 : ‘ne fengon nan þing on ðære nihte’; *Pref. Cura Past.*, l. 22 : ‘ðâ ðâ ic tó rice fêng,’ in comparison with *Azenbite*, the story of the monk, *Uebsbuch*, p. 99, ll. 104, 105 : ‘huer he hedde yby uourti yer uor to vondi aue monck . . .’)

l. 514. *pes and loue* : See *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, l. 44 :

‘. . . the eternal *loue and pees*.’

The passage is to be traced in Dante’s *Paradiso*, Canto xxxiii, l. 44 :

‘*Per lo cui caldo nell’ eterna pace.*’

l. 515. *ben aboute* : ‘be astir,’ ‘be actively striving to secure peace.’

l. 516. *To make pes* : See l. 520, and Chaucer in *An ABC* :

l. 69 : ‘Than *makest* thou his *pees* with his sovereyn.’

make is linked with *pes* in illustrations cited by Kölbing, note to *Sir B.* 1. A, l. 879.

l. 518. *godspel* : See Kirke’s note to *spell*, *Shep. Cal.*, *Mch.*, l. 54.

Latin : *Matt.* v. 9.

Page 25. l. 519. *no les* : *The Bruce*, l. 419, *withouten less*; the *Erl of T.*, l. 472; *The Life of St. Juliana*, A, ll. 76, 77 : *wiðuten les*; *Wallace*, Bk. I., l. 321 : *but less*; also *Leg. of G. W.*, ll. 1022, 1128, 1518.

l. 520. *les* : *pes* : the rime of *Erl of T.*, ll. 472, 473. See the lines :

‘I trowe *wythoute lees*
let us lyfe in *pees*.’

makeþ pes : See note to l. 516.

l. 521. *hom oov to be* of MS. R : *hom* is a dative with the impersonal

verb *ow* in the present tense. See Skeat's note, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 27, and note to *Spec.*, l. 159; *Pearl*, str. 46. l. 12: 'uus oghe to take more.'

l. 525. *widoute fable* = *widoute les*, l. 518, a common expletive often useful in filling out an incomplete line. See illustrations collected by Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 3254, explained by *wythout lesynge*, l. 550 of *Guy of Warwick*; by *withoute layne*, l. 2994; and by the more emphatic *withouten gabbe* of the *Speculum*, l. 464. See Kölbing's *no doubt*, l. 2027 of *Sir Beues*. Examples in *Sir Beues* are: A, l. 1672, 2027, 2219; M, l. 1933; S, l. 2612; O, l. 2381; *Ipotis*, l. 436; *Seven Sages*, l. 1558. Compare the usage of other writers:

Spense, *Rhymes of Rome*, 7: 'Alas, by little ye to nothing flie,
The people's *fable* and the spoyle of all.'

Ben Jonson, *Volpone*, l. 1: 'Know you not, Sir, 'tis the common *fable*.'

Marlowe, *Faustus* vi., l. 62: 'But is there not *eolum igneum et crystallinum*?
No, Faustus, they are but *fables*.'

Pearl 50, l. 4: 'Other holy wryt is bot a *fable*.'

l. 526. *mercieable*: also l. 534. The suffix *-able* has not the force of modern English here, but is used in an active sense to *show*, 'inclined to *mercy*,' as is indicated by Abbott, *Shaks. Gr.*, § 3, § 445, and illustrated by Schick, *T. of Gl.*, l. 1266. *profitable*, l. 4 of the *Speculum*, is to be interpreted 'is capable of yielding profit.' *Mercieable* has an active force in Chaucer's texts:

An A. B. C. l. 1: 'Almighty and al *mercieable* quene . . .'

l. 182: 'Ben to the seed of Adam *mercieable*,
So bring us to that palais that is bilt
To penitents that ben to *mercy able*. Amen.'

Leg. of G. W., l. 347: 'And therto gracious and *mercieable*.'

l. 410: 'Yow oghte been the lighter *mercieable*.'

Prioresses Tale, l. 1878: 'That of his mercy god so *mercieable*
On vs his grete mercy multiplye.'

l. 531. *flesh and bon*: *Generides*, A, l. 1348; *Monkes Tale*, *Hercules*, l. 10, another common circumlocution used instead of 'body,' found in *Job* ii. 5; *bone and flesh*, xix. 20; *Sir Beues*, A, ll. 628, 4044, 4407; *Chron. of Engl.*, l. 675, etc.; *nother flesshe ne bones*, *Tundale*, l. 910. See also *flesh and blod* 573.

l. 539. *of þinkeþ: for þynkkþ* of A_2 and R, is used probably in sense of gives displeasure, according to Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 984.

l. 540. *erieþ merci*: See *Gamelyn*, 874; *Tundale*, ll. 233, 234; *Rbt. of Gl.*, also in Chaucer and Shakspeare:

Rbt. of Gl., A, l. 288: 'erie on hom *no mercy þer nis*.'

l. 499: '& *criede him milee and ore*.'

Tale of M. of L., l. 1111: '*mercy* I yow crye.'

Merry Wives, III. v. 25: 'I *ery* you mercy.'

Cf. on the other hand *Two N. Kinsmen*, I. ii. 13: 'Cried up with example,' *i. e.* enforced by experience.

Page 26. l. 547. *gospel*: *i. e.* *Matt.* vii. 1; *Mark* iv. 24; *Luke* vi. 38.

ll. 549, 550. *Piers Plowman*, 1, A, ll. 151, 152:

'For þe same *Mesure* þat 3e *Meten* · Amis oþer elles,
3e schul be weyen þer with · whon 3e wenden hennes.'

See Latin preceding, l. 150, for the text incorporated in MS. R: '*Eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis remeet[e]tur uobis*.' For *mete*, see Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 6954.

ll. 551, 552: omitted in A_1 probably through fault of the scribe. The lines are contained in all the other MSS., and are in keeping with the style of the poem, where *man* is addressed often in personal exhortation. The text follows MS. A_0 . See ll. 201, 203, 319, etc.

l. 551. *þou*: The desirability of inserting *þou* in this position is questionable. It is omitted in two MSS.

l. 552. *forþeue*: occurs in one MS. only; see variants. It is of no weight in the construction of the text.

l. 553. *Nym god zeme*: common linking of terms explained by MS. H_1 : 'take gode hede.' See *Ancr. R.*, p. 100: '*Nimeð nu gode zeme*'; *O. E. Hom.* (ed. Morris, p. 89 ff.), l. 62: '*Nime we . . . gеме*'; also MS. *Hom. Dominica Palmorum*, l. 62; *Owl and N.*, l. 727: *Rbt. of Gl.*, Harl. 2277, fol. 511, l. 29; *Gamelyn*, l. 825. See *Ancr. R.*, p. 416 ff., l. 324: '*zemenen to ham gode zeme*.'

l. 554. *bist*, i. e. *biddest*, *bitst*: normal form connected with the *Pater Noster*. See *Rom. of Rose*, l. 772: '*Biddeth a Pater Noster*'; *Spec. Vit.*, l. 18; *Orm.*, ll. 5404, 5454, 5465.

Orm., l. 5454: '*. . . bede þatt mann bitt
Oppo þe Paterr Nossterr.*'

Promptorium Parvulorum, p. 35: '*byddyn bedys or seyn prayers*'; *Book of Curtasye*, Sloane MS. 1986, f. 22 b, note over *byddyn bedys*:

'Rede, or syngre, or byd prayeris
To Crist for all thy Cristen ferye.'

Byddyngre, or prayngre.'

For *bid*, to call to a specific devotion as to the *Pater Noster*, see *Bidding Prayer*, I., *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, p. 62, with explanation on historical basis.

bist: *sist*: Cf. *byst*: *ryst*, Bonaventura's *Meditations on the Sorrows of our Lady Mary*, ll. 1015, 1016.

Latin. See *Matt.* vi. 12; *Luke* xi. 4.

See poem 'On the King's breaking his Confirmation of Magna Charter,' p. 257 of *Polit. Songs*:

'For if that he to blame be,
For ȝif hit him þar charite.'

l. 555. *Swete lord*: also ll. 569 and 949, the language of the mediæval love-song to the Redeemer. See *A prayer of Loue unto þe swete herte of Jesu*, Add. MS. 22,283, and similar construction in Morris's *O. E. Hom.*; *Tundale*, l. 234: '*Swete fader, mercy!*'

l. 556. Cf. *Pard. Tale*, ll. 130, 131:

'for a man hath *agilted* his lord . . . *agilted* his father celestial . . .
agilted him that boughte him,' etc.

ll. 557, 558. The golden rule of Christ: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,'—*Matt.* vii. 12; *Luke* vi. 31.

l. 559 ff. Cf. *Isaiah* lv. 7.

l. 561. *þe*: authorized by three MSS.

l. 562. *bede*: 'to pray.' See *bede*, a prayer of the bead roll, hence 'peir of bedes,' *Shak. Rich. II.*, iii. 3. 145; *Ipotesis*, l. 156: '*bydde bedys*'; 'on which that she hir bedes bede,' *Rom. of Rose*, l. 7371. See Kirke's note to *Shep. Cal. Sept.*, l. 1: 'For to bid is to pray, whereof cometh beads for prayers . . . "To bid is beads, to say his prayers."'

l. 563. *dar it seie*: *S. Nun's Tale*, l. 214. The effect of the denial is in harmony with the other characteristics of the poet's vigorous style.

l. 564. *azein*: 'in opposition to,' used in the same sense in the *Prothalamion*, l. 17. See Halliwell's *Dict.*

l. 567. *scip*: i. e. in *James* ii. 13. Read: 'And scip: He þat wóle no mérci háve.'

Page 27. l. 568. *Latin*: See *Luke* xxi. 19.

l. 569. *speche*: i. e. the Sermon on the Mount, *Matt.* v. ff.

Hour: See l. 949; inorganic *H* as in *nowh*, l. 348.

lord: or *louerd* as in l. 949, to read by type A. See 'Introduction.'

l. 572. *in alle manere*: 'In every kind of.' See *in none manere*, l. 628, *Beues*, l. 565, note to l. 835, and Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 1228. *on al manere* = 'by all means'; *in this manere*, *The S. N. T.*, l. 273.

l. 573. *flesh and blod*: See *flesh and bon*, l. 531; *bon and huide*, l. 157; *Azenbite* (ed. Morris), p. 87, ll. 6 ff.: 'We byeþ children of one moder . . . huer of we nome *uless and blod*'; *S. N. Tale*, l. 42: 'His sone *in blode and flesshe*'; *Gumelyn*, l. 491:

'Cursed mot he worthe, *bothe fleisch and blood.*'

The meaning of l. 573 is purely in physical sense, 'physical illness to effect spiritual good' (l. 576: '*þi seli soule to amende*'). See *Homily*, ed. Small, p. 144, l. 255 f.:

'Bot for his *fleis* was pined here,
His *sawel* es now *til godd ful dere.*'

No trace is to be found here of the figurative use of the O.E. homily. See *Homily* (ed. Morris, Second Series), *Dominica Palmarum*, l. 51: 'bruken *his fles and his blod*, þat is *þe holi husel*'; *In die Pascha*, l. 71: 'to his *holi fleis* and to his *holi blod*.'

l. 574. *þolemod*: The copyist of *D* did not understand *þolemod*. He regarded it as two distinct words, a verb *þole* and a substantive *mode*. See *Ancr. Rincle*, p. 158, fol. 40 b: 'two eadie wordes (*þearces*, MSS. C and T) . . . *þolemednesse* . . . *edmodnesse*. Vor *þolemod* is *þe þet þuldeliche abereð wouh*, *þet me deð him*.'

l. 576. *seli soule*: according to *Cursor Mundi*, 'blessed soul.' 'Sely saule' occurs in *York Plays*, xlv., l. 171. *Ancr. R.*, p. 108: 'tu *seli anere*, þet ert his *seli spuse*'; p. 352: '*þis* is a *seli deað*, þet makeð . . . mon oðer wumman vt of þe worlde.'

The Death of Mary: as 'the happy soul.' See note to l. 987.

l. 582. *gruching*: 'murmuring,' 'grumbling.' See 'Widoute gruching,' l. 593, and *Ancr. Rincle*, p. 418: 'wurche þet me hat hire *wiðuten grucching*'; *Owl and Night*, l. 423:

'*Grucching & luring* him beoð rade.'

The advice of l. 582 is contrary to the doctrine of *Gorboduc*, V. v. 1:

'With *grudging mind* to damne those he mislikes.'

l. 584. *lude and eke stille*: also ll. 706, 891. Cf. Zupitza's note to *Guy*, l. 792.

l. 585. *falleþ on honde*: happens 'to be your lot,' 'falls to you.' *on honde* is used with various verbs in metaphorical sense: *Der. engl. Cato*, V., l. 397: 'zif þe *bifallen serwe on honde*.' *Owl and Night*, l. 1651: '*gest an honde*'; *M. of L. T.*, l. 348: '*ytake on honde*'; *Beues* 25 and *Rbt. of Gl.* 2321 (A): '*take on honde*'; also 10,511, 10,817: C 267; *nim an honde* 61, 62, 113, 114, 743, 796, 882, 1344, 1365, 1894, 2062, 2073, 2133, 2146, 2154, 2351, 2612, 2760, 2871, 3476, 3872, 4052, 4366, 4620, 4711, 4880, 9463, 9964, and other instances.

Page 28. l. 592. *leid*: MS. D preserves the more exact inflectional form, *lleide*.

l. 594. See *Ipotis*, B 520: '[He] takyth the povert *myldelych and*

style,' and *P. Pl.*, A 1, l. 141: 'lette his sone dye . . . *Mekeliche* for vre misdede . . . have pite on þat peple, þat pynede him to deþe.'

ll. 596, 607. *ensawmple*: N.E. *example*, a compromise between M.E. *ensawmple* and the Latin, according to Sturmfels, *Afr. Vokalismus im M.E.*, *Anglia*, vol. viii., p. 243. See Zupitza's *Six-Text Oxford edition of the Pardoner's Prologue*:

p. 25: 'þenne telle y hem ensamples many oon,
of olde stories longe tyme agon.'

p. 60: 'There may ye lerne, / and by ensawmple teche,' fol. 488 b,
Sloane 1686, leaf 2.

See Sloane MS. 1686, leaf 221, and Harl. MS. 7333.

l. 609. *i dar seie*: *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, l. 214: *I dar wel say*. The form is to be contrasted with the N.E. expression, where the M.E. sense is entirely lost.

seie sobeliche: The *Speculum* frequently assures its reader of its veracity: l. 519: 'A sob word hit is and *no les*'; l. 480: 'For hit com out of godes mouþe'; l. 3: 'it is *no fable*'; ll. 346, 411, 1014, 1023: '*in sobnesse*'; l. 464: 'I sey þe sob, *widouten gabbe*'; ll. 947, 1010: 'Holi writ, þat *wole noht lize*'; l. 565: 'þe holi bok of *sobnesse*'; l. 637: 'þu shalt wel wite, þat *i ne lize*.'

l. 613. See 608. The required number of unstressed syllables for the measure is to be provided by the reading *wrongē*, but historically the form can be only *wrong*.

l. 615. *unneþe*: the reading of three MSS. giving the meaning 'scarcely.' See Spenser, the *Shep. Cal. Jan.*, l. 6:

'That now *unnetthes* their feet could them uphold.'

Page 29. ll. 617, 618. 'Why? Because human nature desires revenge for injury.'

l. 619. *tak þi minde*: See note to l. 496.

l. 622. *martyrdom*: See *Tundale*:

l. 1861: 'That for goddis love were buxsum,
In erthe to suffur *martyrdom*.'

martyrdom . . . *mede*: i. e. *the palm of martirdom*, *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, ll. 240 and 274.

ll. 623—625. The poet seems responsible for an anacoluthon in the transition from þu, l. 623, to *He*, ll. 625 ff., þeih in ll. 632 ff.

ll. 623 ff. See *Isaiah* v. 15: 'And the mean man is bowed down, and the great man is humbled, and the eyes of the lofty are humbled.'

l. 624. *heih of mod*: 'proud,' in contrast to *pore of mod*, l. 164, and *low of herte*, l. 165. See note to l. 164.

l. 626. *heuene*: O.E. fem. *hêofan*. The feminine is indicated here by the gen. ending *-e*. The feminine is recognized in *The Hymn on the Nativity*, ll. 145, 146.

'And *Heav'n*, as at some festiual,
Will open wide the gates of *her* high palace hall.'

ll. 626—630. These lines recall *Isaiah* xxvi. 5:

'For he hath brought down them that dwell on high,
(the lofty city):
He layeth it low, he layeth it low, even to the ground;
He bringeth it to the dust.'

l. 627. *heinen*: *heymyn*, *heinin*, translating *exaltare* (l. 630), occurs in *Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 233. No other instance of this word has been discovered. It is equivalent to Swedish *höjna* (**hauhnjan* > O.E. *hêhnan*). See Stratmann-Bradley. The lists of the *Prompt. Parr.* contain

other allied words: *heighthym, hawneym, Heynynge*. See *Ancr. Ricle, iheied*, pp. 154, 174, 380, 430.

See M.E. translation of Lat. *exalto*: *Ancr. Ricle*, p. 154: 'beon ine heort gostliche *iheied* toward heouene'; p. 174: 'nout one *heinesse*, auh heinesse of folke, vorte schewen soðliche, þet heo þet hudeð ham ariht in hore ancre huse, heo schulen beon . . . ouer oðer kunnes folke wurðliche *iheied*'; p. 430: 'He beo euer *iheied* from worlde to worlde'; p. 100: 'Wend ut . . .', 'Hwuder?' 'Vt of mine *heihscipe*'; p. 86: 'he hit heued to *heie* up.'

ll. 629 ff. *he, his, þeið*: over inconsistency in the use of number in personal pronoun, see Zupitza, note to *Guy*, l. 100.

l. 630. Latin: MS. A₁ has *exaltabitur*.

l. 631. *her*: MSS. *his*, altered in text to remove anacoluthon.

ll. 631, 632. See *Moral Prov.*, MS. Harl. 3810:

'Ever the hieie that thou art,
Ever the lower be thy hert.'

Ancr. R., p. 130: 'Fleo *heie*, and holdeð . . . þet heued euer *lowe*.'

l. 634. *wonye*: according to Gollancz's note to *Pearl*, str. 24, l. 8, -y- representing the secondary suffix *i* of O.E., and not nominally the inf. characteristic. For inf. in -ie, see Skeat's *Langl.*, p. lviii.

l. 636. *he*: *he* refers already to Lucifer.

l. 638. *Lucifer*: The apocryphal legend was known and introduced into literature so early as the fifth century. See James Rothschild, *Mistere du Viel Testament*, I. p. xlii., and *Speculum Ecclesie* of Honorius. It became the subject of at least two miracle plays, *York Play*, No. I., and *Chester Play*, No. I. It was rarely omitted in religious literature from the earliest period. See *Henry VIII.*, III. ii. 371, and Skeat's note to *M. T.*, ll. 3189, 3192. In *The Myroure of our Ladye*, p. 189, the accepted version has suffered modification: 'The north wind signifies Lucifer; by the northe is vnderstondeð the fende Lucyfer, that by coldnesse of hys malyse caused other aungels that are lykened to fayre flowers to falle from blysse.' See Longfellow, *Epilogue to Golden Legend*:
'Lucifer!

The son of mystery, . . .
He, too, is God's minister
And labors for some good' . . .

Isaiah xiv. 12: 'How art thou fallen from heaven, Lucifer' . . .

Langl. A. I., l. 115: 'Bote *Lucifer* louwest liȝþ of hem alle;
For pruide þat he put out. . . .'

Monke's T., l. 3192: '. fel he for his sinne
Down into helle, wher he yet is inne.'

Meph., Marlowe's *Faust.*, 5. 93: 'I swear by *hell* and *Lucifer*.'

See also *Ipotis*, l. 108: 'In heven
Dat *Lucifer* fel oute for *pride*.'

ll. 639, 640, and with 638. Questionable reading. The appropriateness of the lines seemed reason for inserting them in this connection. Compare other texts:

Tundale, l. 1393: 'Fro heven *throw pride* he felle downe
Heder into þis depe dongowne.'

l. 639. *The Liif of Adam*, l. 52:

'In heauen *Pride* first began,
In angels ar it cam in man.'

l. 640. *toke flyste*: touching upon the trait (in Satan's character) of restlessness as represented, *Job* ii. 2—5, and as incorporated in the Introduction to Goethe's *Faust*.

Page 30, ll. 641, 642. *gan*: paraphrastic, written *can* in MS. R as in *Sir Gowther*, see ll. 49, 60, etc. and *Pearl*, 87, 135, etc.; the auxiliary is not to be translated.

l. 643. *alle and some*: See *Cent. Dict.* A formula exceedingly frequent to the present day. In the sense of *universi et singuli* it occurs as follows:

R. *Cœur de Lion*, l. 2283: 'We are betrayed and ynome
Horse and houses, lords, *all and some.*'

Clerkes Tale, l. 941: 'And in the peples eres *alle and some.*'

Mirror for Mag., p. 91: 'In armour, the souldiers *all and some.*'

See also *Herriek*, p. 84: 'Something made of thread and thrumme,
A mere botch *all and some.*'

rede: See Zupitza, note to *Guy of W.*, l. 313; Kölbings, *Sir Beues*, l. 360.

ll. 645, 646. These lines are contained in the three MSS. A₂H₁R, probably from the original text. They are in harmony with the style of the poet.

l. 648. *þe drede*: impersonal use of *drede*, see Abbott, *Sh. Gr.*, § 297, note to l. 159, and Spenser, *Prothalamion*, l. 60.

strong: *strongē*, dative, a questionable form. See *strong*, ll. 266, 274; but *strongē*, l. 282; *þe strongē*, l. 449.

l. 649. *siker*: expletive 'certainly,' an adverb used instead of *sikerliche*. The question arises as to the desirability of the comma between *For* and *siker*. These words form a single expression. *and*: here *if*.

l. 653. *bi consail and bi red*: See Kölbings' note to *Sir Beues*, M. l. 360, and Ch., *Genl. Prol.*, l. 665.

þe foule qued: The customary alliterative combination is *foule fend*. See *Sir Gowther*, l. 4; *Orrm.* 12,335: 'þuss *fandēþþ* deofell Godess folc.'

l. 654. *þe qued*: See notes to lines 48 and 1025.

l. 657. *Ac*: Southern adversative, German *sondern*; *ac* preserves a previous negative, cf. Mätzner, *Wörterbuch* under *ac*. Cf. O.E. use through *Elene*, l. 355; *Beowulf*, l. 109; '*ac* he hine feor forrät'; l. 1991: '*Ac* þu . . . gebêttest mærum þeodne.' where the significance is adversative, Latin: *nonne, num quid*. A₂DH₁H₂R do not use *ac*, see variants. See *Rbt. of Gl.*, p. 4681, l. 657:

'If thou hast any intelligence, any knowledge,' etc.

l. 658. *uertu*: 'efficacy.'

l. 661. *hext*: also the attribute of *charity* in the sense of 'love,' l. 325.

l. 664. *Latin*: MS. A₂ reads: *Qui . . . ceteras congregat . . . qui . . . puluerem*, recalling Isaiah xvii. 13: the description of *A Doom Song*, the *Doomsday*: '[They] shall be . . . like the whirling dust before the storm.' The Latin is quoted in the *Anceren Rincle*, p. 278, with translation: '*þe þet* is umbe, wiðouten hire' (edmoduesse) '*worte gederen gode þeawas, he bereð dust iðe winde.*'

Page 31, l. 665. *þouh*: See note to l. 752.

l. 672. Read possibly, as in l. 797, *lihtēliche* with inorganic *e* between suffix and stem, according to laws described in the Introduction. Thus type A is preserved instead of either type C or A with the unstressed fourth measure of MS. A₁:

'Hit flēþ awéy ful lihteliche.'

l. 674. *dedes* . . . *do*: verb with cognate substantive occurs frequently; *Rbt. Gl.*, ll. 1107, 1649, 1655, 3845, 4499, 5273, 5876, 7047, 7459. Also 1602, 2192, 2246, 3082, 5436, 5820, 6333, 5483, 6545, 6849, 7175, 7346, 7436, 7448, 9036. See Strohmeyer, p. 23, and note to l. 398.

l. 676. *abide*: See Darlington, *The Folk Speech of South Cheshire*, p. 105.

l. 685. *aferd*: See *ferd*, l. 17 of *A Poem on the Times of Edward II., Gamelyn*, l. 854, and Skeat, pp. xii, xiii. *aferd of*: 'affected with fear on account of.' Cf. *Dict. of the Kentish Dialect*, etc., p. 2; Halliwell's *Dict.* With MS. D *affred* note the reading of Chaucer, *The Shipman's Tale*, l. 403:

'This wif was not *aferde ne affraide.*'

Macbeth, I. iii. l. 96: 'Nothing *afeard* of what thyself didst make.'

V. i. 41: 'a soldier, and *afeard.*'

ll. 689, also 309. *mid iwisse*: See *Poema Morale*, ll. 40, 141, 154, 375, 391; *On god Ureisun of ure Lefdi*, l. 6; *De Muliere Samaritana*, ll. 37, 53; *mid wane jwisse*, *Poema Morale*, l. 236.

See *Monograph* of M. Jacoby, *Vier ne Gedichte aus dem 13. Jahrhundert*, p. 43, l. 47; 'þo þi sone al *mid iwisse.*'

mid: occurs in Southern poems. See note to l. 689 and *Pearl, Rbt. of Gl.*, and other Southern poems. For the W.S. *mid* cf. Miller's well-known discussion, *Bæda's Eecls. History*, pp. xlv., xlvii. See also compounds of *mid*, *per mid*, etc.

Page 32, l. 692. *Latin*: MS. *A*₁ reads: 'S[e][c][un]dum multitudinem dolor[um] meor[um] in corde meo consolationes tue letificauerunt animam meam.'

l. 693. *pe*: so in *A*₁ is a copyist's error.

l. 698, also 512 and 908. *is aboue*: See *sit aboue*, ll. 54, 962, the heavenly ruler symbolized through the attributes of an earthly monarch. The conception is very old, a notable characteristic of the O.E. See *heofoncýning*, *Exodus*, l. 410; *Elene*, l. 621; *Héliand*: *hōhon himile*, l. 656; *bi himile themu hōhon*, l. 1509; *heah heofon*, *Genesis B*, 476, 736; *Riddle 41*, l. 22. See the *gloria in excelsis* and modern hymnology, e. g. Seagrave's:

'Rise, my soul, to seats prepared *above*,
Exalted high at God's right hand.'

See illustrations from the M.E. collected by Schmirgel, p. xlix.

aboue: *loue*: a rime exceedingly frequent everywhere, as Kölbing notes, *Sir Beues*, A l. 1837, and illustrates in *Ipomedon*, A l. 5. See 'Willie's emblem,' *Shep. Cal. for March*:

'To be wise, and eke to *love*
Is granted scarce to *Gods above.*'

l. 705. Type A can be secured by the reading *aʒeinēs*, but this form is not justified by the MSS. The scansion is as in l. 446 according to type C.

l. 710. *stounde*: *bounde*: For rimes with *stounde*, see Schmirgel, pp. lxi, lxii.

l. 712. *wole*: owing to a scribe who has spoiled the form. Read *wille*.

Page 33, l. 716. *and*: *and* is important to metre and sense, and has the support of three MSS., viz. *DH*₁*R*.

l. 721, also l. 217. *shed*: O.E. *gescēad*, O.H.G. *seeit*, N.E. *shed*, 'choice.' Cf. *Kath.* l. 240: 'shead ba of god & of uel, nis bitwenen ʒunc & hem nan *shed*'; *Orm*:

l. 5533: 'þe fite ʒife iss *shed & skill*,
& weoreld like þiness.'

l. 12,336: 'Innsiht & witt, & *shed*, & *skill*' (see *skiffulliche*, l. 173).

l. 722. *falshede*: *falseness* in antithesis to *sopnesse*.

'Bitwēnē sopnēsse & and *falshede.*'

l. 723. *ful iwis*: also ll. 165, 285, 337, 503. See *mid iwisse*, note to l. 689; *O.E. Homilies* (ed. Morris), 'Hic dic . . . de Propheta,' l. 17; *Orm.*, l. 1356; *Lazamon's Brut*, text A. l. 14,234, and text B. l. 21,561:

l. 14,234: 'He hæhte heo *ful iwis*.'

l. 21,561: 'and an hizende wende *foliwis*.'

Cf. *Gen. and Ec.*, l. 2521: 'to *ful in wis*' and '*welc iwys*s,' *Pearl*, str. 33, l. 10.

l. 726. *wit*: See note to l. 227, and other M.E. texts:

Poema Morale, l. 2: 'mi *wit* ah to ben more,' etc.

Destr. of T., l. 4: 'wysshe me with *wyt* þis werke for to ende.'

l. 25: 'to ken all the *craft*'

Recalling l. 212 of the *Speculum*: '3eueþ *wit* in alle *craftes*.'

he: from four MSS. *he* is necessary to the sense. *here* is a scribal error in A_1 .

l. 728. *can*: See note to *Sir Beues*, E. l. 3963: 'He is neither able nor knows how to perceive his own condition.' See Skeat's note to *The Prioress Tale*, l. 1650.

l. 738. This line is to be regarded as parenthetical, whether the break be indicated by the mark of parenthesis or by the comma.

l. 739. *God . . . more*: all, 'the larger and the smaller,' 'good and bad,' i. e. righteousness and wickedness.

Page 34, l. 744. *þe longe luff*: eternity in heaven contrasted with *þat lasteþ ay*, l. 746.

ll. 745, 746. See *Persones Tale*, ll. 197, 198: '*drede of the day of dome and of the horrible peines of helle*.'

l. 746. *domesday*: *ay*: For this rime see Kölbing, note to *Sir Beues*, A. l. 2643.

l. 750. *hit*: emended from four MSS. *his* of MS. A_1 is a scribal error. The line admits of the punctuation: *long*: instead of *long*.

l. 752. *þouh*: *þou* of A_1 is quite possible, see Stratmann, *Dict*. The scribe probably intended to write *þouh*. The final *-h* is added here for symmetry.

l. 756. *lasse and more*: 'everybody.' See Skeat's note to *The Clerkes Tale*, l. 940; *Tundale*, l. 1852; *Beues*, ll. 453, 499; also *Auch. Guy*, str. 38, l. 4; and *Cains*, *Guy*, l. 3160.

l. 758. *ofte shrine*: based on MSS. A_2DH_1 . Two texts give the more plausible form *Iseryue*. *clene* in MS. R alone occurs probably from comparison with l. 768.

l. 759. *wrouht*: *I wrouht* of MSS. A_2DH_1 is the more exact text, according to the standards of the poet.

l. 761. *þat*: without verb on which to depend has here the character of a kind of substitute for the imperative.

Page 35, l. 768. Also l. 758 in MS. A_1 .

clene: through MSS. A_2DH_1R . *ofte* of A_1 is probably retained from l. 758.

shrine: better *I schryue*, MSS. A_2DH_1 , according to the participial forms peculiar to the *Speculum*.

l. 769. Approximately l. 829 in H_2 .

l. 771: Cf. *Der engl. Cato*, v. 603: 'serwe is *medicine* of þi guld.'

l. 773. *founde*: MSS. A_2DH_1 have the preferred form *ifounde*.

l. 776. *Widouten cost*: recalling Isaiah lv. 1: *Without money and without price*; Rev. xxii. 17: *take freely*.

l. 779. *shewe*: The verb is wanting in MS. A_1 . *shewe* is not necessary for the meaning, because it could be understood from *shewed*, l. 780; it is

supplied because found in all the MSS. except MS. A₁. It seems probable that the omission was due to the scribe alone.

l. 779 ff. See *Persones Tale*, p. 581 (ed. Tyrwhitt, Routledge edition), l. 11: 'to him may nothing be hid ne covered. Men should eke remembre hem of the shame that is to come at the day of dome. for all the creatures in heven, and in erthe, and in helle, shal see apertly all that they hidden in this world.' See also *Tundale*:

- l. 2124: 'Thay se alle thyng, both evell and goode.'
- l. 2128: 'And al creatures, þat ever god made.'
- l. 2131: 'Thare may no thyng in this worlde be,'
- l. 2134. 'þat has sene god almyghty.'
- l. 1934: ' throw þat sight
Of alle, þat thay in the worlde dyle.'

l. 782. MS. A₁ reads: 'Nichil absconditum quod non scietur nec occultum quod non releuetur.'

l. 784. *shame*: *blame*: also ll. 778, and 812. See Kölbing's note, *Sir B. A.*, l. 469.

ll. 785 ff. '*Tweye manere shame*': See *Persones Tale*, p. 581, quoted l. 779, for the *two maners* of shrift, and l. 4 for *ayenst the shame that a man hath to shrive him*.

Page 36, l. 794. *ashamed*: *agramed*: common rime, see note to *Sir Beues*, SN, l. 408, and A, l. 1135, with reference to Mätzner, *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 42.

l. 799. *be my crowa*: *Sir Beues*, text S, l. 1004; O, ll. 1923, 1987; see Kölbing's note to text C, l. 131, with reference to Lange, *Die Versicherungen* by Chaucer, p. 39, and Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, B. l. 974. Lange cites illustrations from *The Reeres Tale*, ll. 121, 179, etc.

ll. 803—804. See other texts as follows:

Tundale, ll. 211, 212: 'Thy wykked thoughtes in thy breste.
Woldest þou never schewe to þe preste.'

l. 806. *wra]þeþ*: Here *wra]þeþ* is used in the original sense of the word, 'make angry,' 'annoy.' See Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 77.

l. 807. Read 'Forȝifnes, iwis, ne tit him néuere.'

l. 808. Note ellipsis, to be supplied in modern English: 'he will be condemned.'

l. 814. *couþ*: See pret. used by Spenser in the *Shep. Calendar*, Jan., str. 2, l. 4, with Kirke's reference to Sir Thomas Smith's *Book of Government*, lent him by his 'very singular good friend Master Gabriel Harvey.'

Latin. The Vulgate text, *Is.* i. 6, reads: *Lauamini, mundi estote*. The poet follows Alcuinus; see Introduction.

Page 37, ll. 816, 824, 848. See *Isaiah* i. 16: '*Wash you, make you clean*,' followed by *H₁* in the reading *be ȝe made* or *beþ made clene*. See also *Jer.* iv. 14; *Eph.* v. 26; See Engl. texts *Ipotis*, l. 618: '*To whasschen and to mak clene*'; *þe Wohunge of ure Lanerd* (ed. Zup.), l. 7: 'he clenest tat herte, and cumes flowinde ut of þat wide wunde . . . þe water, þat te world of sake and of sunne'; '*wasche mi sawle and make hit hait*'; *M. of L. T.*, l. 453: '*wesh the world fro the olde iniquitee*.'

Tundale, l. 1860: 'holy men, þat god loved ryght.'

- l. 1863: 'And that *washyd* hor stolis in the blod
Of the lombe, wyt myld mod.
And thay lefte the world holy,
For to serve god allemyghty.'

l. 817. *men seþ*: *men* used in a general sense, equivalent to 'people'

with a singular verb, common in Chaucer. See Skeat's note, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 12.

l. 826. *no wih*: Cf. N.E. 'not a whit.'

ll. 827-828. See the Modern English poem *A Flower of a Day*, D. L. Muloch: '*Wash them clean with tears.*'

ll. 829, 830. The transition from singular to plural is unexpected, yet it seems supported by the MSS. MSS. A₁R preserve, it is true, the better and smoother reading. An alteration *misdedes*: *he dredes* is impossible according to the dialect of the poem.

l. 833 (in H₂). *heuene quene*: Compare *The Book of Common Prayer*: 'O Queen of Heavens, incline thine ear to us.' The coronation of Mary was a popular theme in the *York Plays*. See play xlvi. *The Coronation of Mary, Speech of Jesus*, ll. 7 ff.

p. 491, l. 7: '*Off heuene I haue hir chosen quene
In joie and blisse that laste schall aye.*'

p. 493, l. 75: '*We schall þe bringe in to his sight,
To crowne þe quene*'

p. 496, l. 155: '*Ressaye þis crowne, my dere darlyng,
þer I am kyng, þou shalt be quene.*'

The subject of the crowning was prominent in two plays at York, Beverley, etc. See Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, Text N, 135: Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna*, pp. 328, 329; L. Toulmin Smith, *York Mystery Plays*, p. xlix and l.

l. 834 in H₂. *be dene*: See note to l. 191.

l. 836. *namys seuene* in H₂, l. 8, of the independent reading: The meaning is not decided upon by Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 2682, nor by Kölbinger, note to *Sir Beues*, A, l. 2191, with references to *Seynt Margarete*, l. 68, and *Octovian*, ll. 194, 993. It may possibly be simply an additional illustration of the introduction of the mystical seven so common at this period. For the *Uses of Seven* see MS. Harl. 45. The name of Christ called on seven times within a specified period is the suggestion of the words. See a prayer, *Rel. Ant.* l. p. 22, str. 2: '*halged be þi name with gifthis seuene*'; also the *Burney MS.* 356. 5: '*In þe pater noster beth sevene biddynnges that God hym sylf ordeyned on erthe.*' See other expressions of the same idea:

Spec. Vitæ, l. 99: '*And specially of þe seuene askynges
þat on þe Pater Noster henges.*'

Eng. Stud. vii., p. 469: '*. . . þe seuene zyftes of þe holy gost,
þat þe seuene askynges may to vs haste.*'

Ancr. Rincle, p. 28: '*þe seouen bonen i þe Paternoster aþein þe seouen heaued
deadliche sunnen.*'

An ancient Pat. Nos.: '*Seven orisouns ther beth inne.
That helpeth men out of Dedli Sinne.*'

Thus are recalled the seven daily petitions enjoined on inmates of cloister and monastery. the seven orisouns often referred to in M.E. See *The Myroure of oure Ladye* (ed. Blunt), p. 11: Seven prayers daily were the formal duty of the sisters of holy Sion, the 'seven appeals' 'to heal the seven deadly sins' and to assure 'the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost.'

l. 840. *Seynte Charite* in MS. H₂: Charity figured as a saint in the Roman Calendar according to Halliwell's *Dict.*: but see also Skeat, note. Compare Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 1060; Lange, *Die Versicherungen bei Ch.*, p. 39; *Gamelyn*, ll. 451, 513, and numerous illustrations in other M.E. texts.

On g. Ureison of u. Lefdi, l. 161: '*nu ich þe biseche ine Cristes cherite.*'

The saint is invoked with frequency even to the sixteenth century: *Hamlet*, IV. v. 26;

Gam. Gur. Needlc 52: 'And helpe me to my neele, for God's sake and
St. Charitie.'

J. R. Lowell, *Godminster Chimes*: 'Chime of *Succet Saint Charity*,
Peal the Easter morn.'

Keble, *Christian Year*, st. 6: 'Steals on *soft handed Charity.*'

Page 38. ll. 833, 834. The MSS. themselves mark an uneasiness over this difficult passage. Both language and context seem to yield the following rendering: 'Why? If he will thus continually persist in sin, then he must assuredly remain unclean' (i. e. 'unpardoned').

l. 834. Cf. *Rich.*, II. iv. 253: 'And water cannot *wash away* your sin.'

l. 835. *manere*: generally written without *of*, expected in N.E. because replacing O.E. *cun*, 'kind,' as explained by Morris, *O. E. Hom.*; *Hic Dic. est*, l. 90, and Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 4346. The pleonastic use of 'manere' according to French models (Strohmeier, p. 8) is common in M.E. texts. See *Spec.*, l. 785; Tyndale's *Bible*, *Rev.* xviii. 12: 'Al *maner* *vessels* ivery'; *M. of L. T.*, l. 519: 'A *maner* *latyn* corrupt'; Shoreham:

'pre *maner* *peyne* man fange
For his *senne* nede.'

Rbt. of Gl., A 2644: 'wiþoute eni *maner* *harne*'; 2750: 'A *maner* *gostes*'; also ll. 3081, 4524, 5561, 7392, 8004, 8331, 8342.

l. 836. *Makeþ*: MS. D *Clense*, 'purifieth.'

l. 838. Also l. 792 in MSS. H₁R.

l. 843. *acord*: See the following illustrations:

Prothalamion, l. 101: 'Let endlessse Peace your steadfast hearts *accord.*'

Pearl, str. 31, l. 11: 'Of care and me ye made *acorde.*'

Maud. *Voiage*, l. 75: 'temporel lordes and alle worldly lordes weren at gode
acord.'

l. 851. *3it eft sone*: 'now soon again,' 'immediately,' in Spenser's phrase:

Prothalamion, l. 55: 'Eftsoones the Nymphes, which now had Flowers
their fill,' etc.

Two N. Kinsmen, III. i. 12: 'That I, poor man, might *eftsoons* come between,
And chop on some cold thought.'

eftsone is of ordinary occurrence in earlier texts. See *Mark* iii. 1; *Wiclif Bible*: 'And he entride *eftsone*,' *eftsone* corresponding to *again* of King James's version.

l. 853. *godes lore*: i. e. *John* xii. 35. Cf. *John* xi. 9, 10.

l. 854. *lasse and more*: see note to l. 756.

Latin MS. A₁ reads: 'Incem . . . comprehendant.' With this passage compare the text quoted in the *Ancr. Ricle*, p. 326: '*Fili, ne tardes converti ad Dominum,*' and the old book, *Vehiculum Vitæ*, p. 107: '*Ne tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem, nam subito rapit miseros inclemencia mortis.*'

l. 856. See also *John* ix. 4, recalling *Isaiah* xxi. 11, 12: 'Watchman, what of the night?'

'The morning cometh,
And also the night.

If ye will inquire, inquire ye.'

l. 858. *þe derke niht*: common expression in M.E., *Sir Beues*, A, l. 2790; *Partonope*, l. 1182; *Alisaunder*, l. 6097, see Schmirgel, p. lxiii. The *Poema Morale* preserves *þustre nihte*.

Poema Morale, l. 78: 'nis hit na swá durne idón ' né aswa þustre nihte.'

Shep. Cal. Nov., l. 165: 'She hath the bonds broke of eternall night.'

See *Persones Tale*, l. 255: 'Covered with the *derkenesse of deth* . . . defaute of the sight of God,' through 'the sinnes that the wretched man hath don.'

Page 39. l. 859. *While þu art on line*: recalling *whil he was on lyue*, *Gamelyn*, ll. 20, 58, 157, 225, 228, as noted by Skeat, p. xxxiv.
on line: See Skeat's note to *Gamelyn*, l. 23.

Compare the passage with *John ix. 4*: 'While it is day,' . . . 'I must work the works of him that sent me,' i. e. *Godes werkes of holi churche*, *Spec.*, l. 860. See *Vulgate* text quoted, *Ancr. Rincle*, p. 326: *Fili, ne turdes converti ad Dominum*.

ll. 859, 860. *worche* . . . *werkes*: 'do works of love,' as explained by Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 6675, and Kölbinger, note to *Sir Beves*, A, ll. 58—60, and A, l. 3230, quoting Guy's advice to the old earl:

'Hyt were better for þe to be in *churche*,
And *holy werkys* for to *wyrche*.'

The rime in this favourite passage of the M.E. poet is uniformly *worche*: *churche*, as is illustrated in numerous passages from different mediæval texts:

Tundale, l. 29: 'The *werkes of mercy* wolde he not *wyrke*,
He lovede not god ne *holy kyrke*.'

l. 209: 'þou lovedest not god *nor holy kirke*,
Ne *workes of mercy* woldest non *wyrke*.'

Owl and Night, l. 720: 'Vorþi me singþ in *holi chirche*
And clerkes ginneþ songes *wirche*.'

The Miller's Tale, l. 196: 'Than fell it thus, that to the . . . *cherche*
(Of Cristes *owen werkes* for to *werche*)
This god wif went upon a holy day.'

The Sompnoures Tale, l. 269: '. . . to bilden Cristes *owen chirche*,
. . . if ye wol lernen for to *werche*.'

Ipotis, B, l. 216: 'Lowen god and *holy cherche*,
And oþer god *werkes* for to *werche*.'

See also *The Marchantes Tale*, l. 237; *Gamelyn*, l. 507; *Ipotis*, D, ll. 431, 432.

See *King Horn*, l. 1407: 'Horn let sone *wurche*
Chapeles and *chirche*.'

l. 862. *qued*: See notes to the *Speculum*, lines 48 and 1025.

ll. 866, 867. *John ix. 4*: 'The night cometh when no man can work.'
See modern hymnology: 'Work, for the night is coming.'

l. 866. *agaste*: This early form was used by Milton in the past participle:

Hymn on Nativ., l. 160: 'The aged earth *agast*
With terror of the blast,' etc.

See also *Wm. of Palerne*, 1778: 'and him *agast* maked . . .' The *h* of N.E. *aghas*, pp., is inorganic and unauthorized on historical basis. Cf. Murray, *Dict.*

faste: *agaste*: rime of *Gamelyn*. ll. 288, 381.

l. 867. *widoute way*: 'it cannot be denied.' See Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 3054.

ll. 869, 872. See *2 Corinth. v. 10*.

l. 872. *wheiper*: See note to l. 219.

l. 873. *par aunter*: i. e. *peradventure* read as a trisyllable for the

metre, also noted by Schick, l. 233. See *Wiclif, Matt.* v. 25: 'Lest *per-adventure* thin adversarie take the to the domesman,' and *Pearl*, str. 49:

l. 12: '*Paraunder* noght schal to-yere more.'

See Skeat's note to l. 935 of the *Pardoner's Tale*.

ll. 876—878. *Rev.* xxii. 12. See *Poema Morale*, l. 171:

'End éfter þet hé heavet í don, scal ðer ben ídemed.'

l. 876. þat of A_1 : omitted in this text on authority of three MSS. from two groups in opposition to the reading of a single MS., and because securing possibly a better metre. Compare the two readings with l. 264, where the MSS. do not admit of the loss of the þat:

l. 876: 'Ác riht áfter · þú hast dó.'

'Ác riht áfter · þat þú hast dó.'

l. 264: 'Ác riht áfter · þat mán haþ dón.'

l. 878. *Latin*: MS. A_1 reads *dum*. See note to l. 854.

ll. 879, 880. *gilour* . . . *gileþ*: Compare *Hand. Syn.*, l. 5975, and other texts:

Reves Tale, l. 4219: 'A *gilour* shal himself begiled be.'

P. Pl., A, II., l. 162: 'Bote *gyle* was forgoere and *giledc* hem alle.'

See also:

King Horn, l. 1488: 'He haþ *giled* þe twie.'

Prov. of Hend., l. 304: 'Hope of long lyf *gyleþ* mony god wyf.'

l. 880. *euer* among: See note to l. 186.

l. 881. *þerfore worch*: 'Go work,' *Matt.* xxi. 28. *worche* is a correct form in this connection historically and according the syntax of the passage. See O.E. *wyrce*. The line belongs then properly to type A:

'þerfore wórechë, while þu máit.'

maít: For this curious form see Introduction, the explanation advanced by Professor Schick.

Page 40. l. 882. *caíht*: See 'Introduction' under 'Phonology.' This orthography is not common. It is given approximately in the *Ancr. Rincle*, p. 154: 'neuer zet í moune floe ne *keíhte* he swuche bi-zete'; p. 278: 'hwo mei wið þeos witen him, þet he ne beo mid summe of þeos *ikeíht*'; p. 134: 'leste heo beo *ikeíht*.'

miht be caíht: M.E. expressions for *death* or *to die* are curious and interesting. See the *Ancr. Rincle*, p. 62: 'þurh eie þurles *deað haueð here íngong into þe soule*'; p. 110: 'al his bodi *deaðes swot swette*'; p. 274: 'zineð *deaðes dunt*'; *Azen.* 130: '*deaðes drench*'; l. 30: 'his *licham of erðe he nam*.'

Orrm., l. 8111: 'Ær þann he zuff his *fule gost to farenn* inntill helle.'

l. 7781: 'Forr sinness *drazhenn* sinnful mann Till helle *dæþ* onn ende.'

l. 15,436: 'ze shulenn *dezenn* ífell *dæþ* To *drezhenn* helle þine.'

l. 1381: 'Wiþþ *dæþess* þine o rode.'

P. Pl., B, xviii., l. 53: 'bede hym *drynke* his *deth* *yucl*.'

E. of Gl., l. 9128: 'king henri þen *dæþ* *nom*.'

l. 131: '*dæþ* com him þus to.'

l. 5320: 'þen *wey* of *dæþe* *nom*.'

Cf. with 490 'out of þis world for to fare.'

Orrm., l. 7010: 'þo *wende* heo out of þisse *liue*.'

Sir Beues, l. 3656: '*ibrouzt* of þe *lif* *dawe*.' 209, 317, 481, 1064, 1594, etc.

Latin and ll. 883, 884. MS. A₁ reads: 'Inicium sapiencie timor domini,' to be found *Psalms* cxi. 10: *Proverbs* i. 7; ix. 10. See also *Job* xxviii. 28: *Deut.* iv. 6; *Eccles.* xii. 13. H₂ quotes the Latin in two other instances, ll. 4 and 138, where it is not cited in other MSS. See *Moral Proverb*, Harl. MS. 3810:

'For the begynnynge of wisdom is
For to drede Goddys ryȝtwysnes.'

See *The Persones Tale*, l. 1752 ff.

l. 883. *þing*: Originally a neuter noun. *þing* is preserved unchanged in the plural, but the orthography *þinge*, *þinges* is to be noted. The final *-e* of *þingē* occurs through analogy with the dative plural. O.E. *þingum*. See Sachse, *Das unorganische e im Ormulum*. Cf. *þing*, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 11; 'and tatt alle *þinge* seþ.' *Orm.*, l. 13,664. Final *-es* of *þinges* indicates analogy with the plural of the masculine. See *Orm.*, l. 11,895: 'eorþlic · *þingess* (gen.) lusst'; l. 13,749: 'seȝde swilkke *þingess*'; l. 18,798: 'lasstem alle *þingess*.' See also l. 19,692: 'mikell *þing* to tacnem,' and l. 12,347: 'Inn alle, kinne *þinge*.' See also 'Introduction' under Inflection of substantives.

l. 888. *ipilt*: See l. 232, and *Ancr. Riwle*, p. 366: 'hit *pulte*ð up,' . . . 'hit *wule pulten* on him.'

Rel. Ant., p. 244, II.: 'To dethe a wolde hym *pulte*
for Adames *gulte*.'

Langl., A, l. 125: '*pryde* that he *pult* out.'

gilt: *ipilt*: rime frequent in the *Liif of Adam* and an old *Pater noster*. See *Gamelyn*, l. 894.

l. 889. *i vnderstōde*: See note to l. 49.

l. 898. *do*: From three MSS. instead of *go* of two.

l. 903. *kacche*: See pp. *ikauht*, l. 17, and *Ancr. Riwle*, p. 324: 'Ase ofte ase . . . *kecche*þ toward þe.'

l. 905, 906. See *The Persones Tale*, ll. 259 f., and *Tundale*.

Tundale, l. 1836: 'So *fayre* a sight as he saw than.
The *crete bryghtnes* of goddis face.'

l. 2113: 'Thay beheld faste *his swete face*,
þat shone *bryght* over al þat place.'

Page 41. l. 910. *loue*: *drede*: See l. 21: *loue* . . . *eize*; l. 795: *shame ne eize*. See *The Tale of Melibeus*, l. 85: 'did him *reverence more for drede than for loue*.'

l. 924. *luite*: *puite*: This interesting rime is not common. I have not met with it in other texts.

ll. 925, 926. Lines of doubtful authenticity, probably on later consideration not to be introduced in this connection. See 1 *John* iv. 17, 18.

l. 927. *in* . . . *lore*: i. e. *Matt.* x. 42; *Mark* ix. 41. See *Matt.* xxv. 40.

l. 928. *Man*: This term of address, strikingly frequent in the *Speculum*, is of rare occurrence in other homilies of the Old and Middle English literature, without some qualifying adjective, often *Leofemen*, as in *O. E. Hom.* 41, l. 1 (see ed. Morris, First Series), or *good men*, *Pard. Tale*, l. 904, as in the modern sermon. See Skeat's note to l. 904.

l. 931. *gode wille* . . . *charite*: 'in my name, because ye belong to Christ.' *Mark* ix. 41.

wid: The *d* in *wid* stands for *þ*. See Breul, *Sir Gowther*, p. 18. The poet pronounced *wiþ*. Cf. *wiþ*: *griþ*, l. 148. See Napier's note to *A Middle English Compassio Marie*, ll. 3 and 19.

l. 932. *zolden þe*: 'he shall not lose his reward,' *Mark* ix. 41.

l. 937. See *Pror.* xxviii. 27.

þe betre: See Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 5205. Cf. Lat. *eo melius*. *þe* is O.E. *þý*, M.H.G. *div*.

Page 42. l. 938. *mede*: *Matt.* vi. 12; *Luke* vi. 38. Rewards of the Lord, *Pror.* xxv. 22; according to works, *Hos.* iv. 9; *Matt.* xvi. 27; *Luke* xxiii. 41; 1 *Cor.* iii. 8; 2 *Tim.* iv. 14.

l. 939. *Enes*: MS. D preserves a corrupt reading. The form seems to be *Tuys*, but it may possibly stand *Iuys*. Cf. *ene*, ll. 366, 815, and Gollancz's note to *Pearl*, str. 25, l. 3; see str. 80, l. 5.

l. 946. *olde laure*: 1 *Kings* xvii. 8—16. For influence of Gregory and Augustine on the poet, see the 'Introduction,' p. cxiv. Scriptural texts alone will be consulted in the preparation of the notes. See also *Aner. R.*, p. 402: 'mid þe poure wummon of Sarepte.'

See l. 637: *i ne liþe*. See *P. M.*, l. 287: 'nelle ich eow naht leozen'; 'if I shal nat lye.' *M. of L. T.*, l. 1007.

l. 952. *beyþere*: gen., a form hitherto not discovered in any other M.E. text. Although the etymology of M.E. *boþe* is yet in question, yet it is probable that this genitive cannot represent the Scandinavian *báðir*. It seems, as Prof. Schick has pointed out, that the second half of the word is a form of O.E. *þá*. The development may be traced as follows:

O.E. *Nom.* *bá* þá : M.E. *bā*, þe = *bōþe*.

O.E. *Gen.* *bég(r)a þára* : M.E. *beire*, þere = *beýþ(e)re*.

for: inserted from *D* for the sake of metre. The verse is thus transposed from type C to type A. *beyþere* suggests the emendation *liue*, the plural form as used in line 486. The insertion of *for* is not necessary, if the verse be read as follows: 'Her *beyþere* liue tó aménde.'

l. 953. *seide*: 'saying,' *Script.* v. 8; þu shalt fare: v. 9; 'Get thee . . .'

l. 954. *Sarepte*: 'Sarepta,' *Luke* iv. 26, the reading of Gregory and Augustine. More correctly Zarephath (v. 9 of 1 *Kings* xvii., and *Obadiah* 20), from which *Sarepte* is a corrupted form.

wone þare: v. 9: 'dwell there.'

l. 955. *widewe*: 'a widow woman'; þe fede: 'to sustain thee.'

l. 957. *began anon*: v. 10: 'So he arose.'

l. 958. *to gon*: 'went.'

l. 959. *gate of the cite*: 'gate of the city'; *widewe he mette*: 'widow was there.'

l. 960. *he grette*: 'he called to her there,' *faire grette*.

faire grette: See *grete wel* of l. 52. Usual form of greeting in M.E. texts. See note to l. 52, and as follows:

Ipotis, l. 14: 'þe emperour ful fayr he grette.'

Brut., A, l. 288: '& faire hine gon greten.'

l. 36: 'fweire heo hine igretten.'

M. of L. T., l. 1051: 'fayre he hir grette.'

See Schmirgel, p. lv., for the rime *mette*: *grette*, *Leg. of G. W.*, ll. 977 and 1485; *King Horn*, l. 1040.

ll. 961, 963. *bad hire* . . . *ziue*: 'Fetch me'; *for godes loue*: 'I pray thee.'

l. 963. *a dishful water*: 'water in a vessel.' *dishful water*: a cup of cold water, *Matt.* x. 42. For the omission of the preposition see note to *shiue*, l. 970, and to *manere*, l. 835.

l. 964. *helpen (him) to liue*: 'that I may drink.'

l. 966. *serie* . . . *azein*: v. 11: 'she was going to fetch it.'

turne: subjunctive, 'she would turne again'; the syntax seems justified by the meaning.

azein: to rime with *fain*: O.E. *ongægn*: O.E. *fægen*.

l. 967. *After . . . crie*: 'he called to her.'

l. 969. *he seide*: v. 11: 'and said.' Read *sede*.

Page 43, l. 970. Scriptural narrative v. 11: 'Bring me . . . a morsel of bread in thine hand.'

shine bred: 'shive,' 'slice,' 'morsel.' See also *handful mele*, l. 975, *dishful water*, l. 963, Skeat's note to *Morsel breed*, *Monkes Tale*, l. 3624, and the readings of MS. R *shyuer of brede*, D and R *disful of water*, R *hondful of mele*. Cf. *Sir Beues*:

A, l. 1825: 'Nowich wolde zeue hit kof
For a *schiuer* of a lof!'

M, l. 1826: 'Of a lofe to haue a *shyuer*.'

l. 972. *she seide, bred haue i non*: *Script.* v. 12: 'And she said . . . I have not a cake.'

siker: See *Shep. Cal.*, *Mch.*, l. 7: 'Sicker, Willie, thou warnest well.'

ll. 975-976. 'but an handful of meal in a barrel, and a little oil in a cruse.'

ll. 977, 978. 'That I may go in and dress it for me and my son, that we may eat it and die.'

l. 979. *deie*: See Napier's note to *A M.E. Comp. Mariae*, l. 14, and Chaucer, *T. of Melib.*, l. 159: 'live in sorwe.'

l. 981. *answerede þo*: *Script.*, v. 13: 'And [he] said unto her.' See also l. 65, and *Sir Beues*, A, l. 1841: 'þe leuedi *answerede him þo*.' Ordinary language of the period.

l. 982. *Abid*: also conversational form common with the poet of the period. See *Owl and N.*, ll. 837, 845.

l. 983. 'But make me thereof a little cake first,' *Script.* v. 13. See *Sir Beues*, l. 1837: 'Dame, a seide'; l. 1840: 'zeue me . . . a *meles met*.'

l. 986. *make*: *sake*: See Kölbings's note to *Sir Beues*, M, l. 4317.

l. 987. *seli*: 'kind'? as in *Compl. of Mars*, l. 89. The sense suggests 'innocent,' 'unsuspecting.' See Skeat's note to *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1157; note to l. 576 of the *Speculum*, and texts as follows:

M. of L. T., l. 682: '*sely innocent* Custance.'

Leg. of G. W., l. 1254: 'O *sely* woman, ful of innocence.'

l. 2713: 'This *sely* woman is so wayk, allas!'

Chan. Yem, T., l. 1076: 'O *sely* preest! O *sely* Innocent!'

Ancr. Riicle, p. 108: 'tu *seli* anere, þet ert his *seli* spuse.'

Ancr. Riicle, p. 352: 'þis a *seli* deað þet makeð þas . . . mon oðer wman ut of þe worlde.' Compare also another usage, that of Spenser, *Shep. Cal.*, *Sept.*, Diggon's speech, l. 62:

'My *seclly* sheep (ah, *seclly* sheep!)

Chaucer uses *sely* as epithet in connection with proper names: *sely John*, *Reres T.*, l. 188; *sely Venus*, *Compl. of M.*, ll. 89, 141; *sely Progne*, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 2346; *sely Dido*, *Leg.*, ll. 1157, 1336; *sely poure Grisildis*, *Clerkes T.*, l. 948.

l. 988. *Grauntede . . . bone*: probably stereotyped expression in M.E. See *Rbt. of Gl.*, 'Life of St. Dunstan,' l. 37; *Ch.*, *Kn. Tale*, l. 1411; *Parl. of F.*, l. 643; *H. of F.*, l. 1537; *Gamelyn*, l. 153-4: 'aske me thy boone . . . I it *graunte* sone.'

l. 993. *orysoun*: prayer to Almighty God, but also naming supplication to heathen gods. See Schick, *T. of Gl.*, note to l. 460. Cf. a sixteenth-century MS.: 'Ane deuoit *orisoun* to be said in the honour of

the sevin wordis that our saluioir spak apoun the croce,' *Arund.* 28 b, fol. 165.

l. 994. *fuisoun*: See Gollancz's note to *Pearl*, str. 89, l. 2: *Two Noble Kinsmen*, v. i. l. 53: 'the teeming Ceres' *foison*'; *Macbeth* iv. iii, l. 88. Compare l. 994 with l. 504, *M. of L. T.*:

'God sente his foyson at hir grete nede.'

Page 44, l. 999. *Ne dred þe noht*: also *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, l. 324 = 1 *Kings* xvii, 13: 'Fear not.'

l. 1000. *Script.*, l. 14: 'The barrel of meal shall not waste.'

l. 1001. 'neither shall the cruse of oil fail.'

l. 1002. *lome*: N.E. *loom*, here a vessel, and applicable either to the Scriptural 'barrel' or to the 'cruse.' *lome* admits of varied application, the *ark* in the poem *The Deluge*, ll. 314, 412; *tools* in the *Parable of the Laborours*, l. 15. See a song in MS. Harl. 2253, and various illustrations in Skeat's *Dict.*

l. 1003. *Script.* v. 15: 'and she . . . and her house did eat.'

l. 1004. *While she liuede euere mo*: v. 15 'many days'; marginal note: 'a full year.'

l. 1006, also l. 940: *almesse dede is double god*: See Lowell, *The Vision of Sir Launfal*, Part II, str. 8. l. 14:

'In what so we share with another's need;
Not what we give, but what we share,—
For the gift without the giver is bare;
Who gives himself with his alms feeds three,—
Himself, his hungering neighbor, and me.'

l. 1008. *þur[w]*: conjectured orthography, not authorized by MS. D providing the completed line. *þur[w men . . .]* would be the preferred arrangement, were MS. D not consulted as standard.

l. 1012. *Luke* vi. 38. 'Give, and it shal be given unto you'; *Prov.* xix. 17; 2 *Corinth.* ix. 7.

l. 1014. *se[de in soþenesse]* is to be preferred. *seide* is not, however, the orthography of *D*, the MS. supplying the deficiency in MS. A.

soþenesse: Inorganic -e- uniting radical with suffix, is to be noted here, as illustrated in MS. D. See 'Introduction.'

ll. 1015-1018. *Matt.* xxv. 40: 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'

l. 1016. *meyme*: 'brethren,' *vide supra*. See Skeat's note *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1059; Gollancz's to *Pearl*, str. 46, l. 2. See str. 94, l. 11; str. 96, l. 5; *The Deluge*, l. 331; *Wm. of Palerne*, l. 184; *Oocleue, De R.*, str. 620, l. 5; *Chevy Chase*, l. 6; *Gamelyn*, l. 575.

l. 1019-1022. Reference is here possibly to *Prov.* xix. 17: 'He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord.'

ll. 1020, 1021. *mayt3*: unique form found only in MS. D, perhaps a scribal inaccuracy for *mayt*, ll. 863, 864. See rime *mait*: (*caikt*), l. 881.

l. 1025. *quede*: *gnede* in *R*, O.E. *gnéuð*. For *qued* as substantive, 'the devil,' see note to l. 48, and Mall's note to *The Harrowing of Hell*, l. 36, reading 'For to lesen ous fram þe *qued*. The various substantive meanings are developments representing the adjective *qued*, 'evil.' See *The Pater Noster* according to Michel, *Azenbite of Inwyrt*, p. 262, l. 5: 'ac vri ous vram *quede*.' The same occurs in the *Ancr. Rucle* and in *Rel. Ant.* I, p. 42. See also *Ancr. R.*, p. 72: 'Moni mon weneð to don wel þat he deð al to *cuede*'; p. 336: 'ofte we weneð wel to donne & do al to *cuede*.' The *Dutch Testament* of 1700 translates *Matt.* vii. 17: 'Eur *quade* boom brenghi voort *quade* vruchten.' Cf. *Engl. Psalter, Psalm* xvii. 12 (Cotton MS. Vesp. D vii): 'Vm griped me weeles of *quede*' (=

iniquity); and lines 654 and 862 of the *Speculum*. Cf. *On g. Ureisun of u. Lefdi*, l. 42: 'lif cleane urom alle *queadschipe*.'

Page 45, l. 1034. Compare for this conclusion Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 11,973; Breul's to *Sir Gowther*, l. 763; *Erl of T.*, l. 1222. Auch. *Guy* ends: 'Amen, par charite.' *Meditations by Bonaventura*:

'Sey amen, amen, pur charyte,'

with which is to be compared note to l. 840 in *H₂*, various forms of benediction collected by Schmirgel, p. xlvii, and the Biblical models, *Jude* 24, 25; 1 *Tim.* i. 17.

EDITIONS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS

REFERRED TO IN THE NOTES

PROFESSOR KÖLBING'S list of Middle English texts on pages 361, 362, and 363 of *Sir Beues*, specifies those used in the compilation of the notes to the *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*. Some of these works have been employed with greater frequency than others, and the volume is indebted to publications and manuscripts not mentioned by Professor Kölbing. The subjoined list enumerates editions particularly useful in the arrangement of the *Speculum*. The abbreviations introduced in the *Speculum* will be recognized by reference to these pages as follows. In general Kölbing's comprehensive editions, Zupitza's editions of Guy of Warwick MSS., Morris's and Skeat's editions, especially of Chaucer texts, Zupitza's six-text editions of Chaucer published for the Chaucer Society, and Furnivall's Chaucer texts have often been consulted. It will not be necessary to classify them a second time.

- Ancren Riwle*, a Treatise on the Rules and Duties of Monastic Life. Camden Society, Number 57.
- Arthur*. A short Sketch of his Life and History, edited by Frederick Furnivall. London, 1864.
- Athelston*, edited by Julius Zupitza, *Englische Studien*, vol. xiii, pp. 331 ff.
- Canterbury Tales*. From the Text and with the Notes and Glossary of Henry Tyrwhitt. Routledge edition. London.
- Cato*, *Der englische*, edited by M. Goldberg, 1883.
- Confessio Amantis*. Tales of the Seven Deadly Sins, edited by Henry Morley. London, 1889.
- Erl of Tolous, and the Emperes of Almayn, eine englische Romanze aus dem Anfange des 15. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Gustav Lüdke. Berlin, 1881.
- Floris and Blancheflur*, edited by Emil Hausknecht.
- Harrowing of Hell, Das altenglische Spiel von Christi Höllenfahrt*, edited by Eduard Mall.
- Ganelyn, The Tale of*, edited by Walter W. Skeat. London, 1884.
- Ipotis*, text B, edited by H. Gruber, 1887.
- King Horn, Das Lied von*, edited by Thomas Wissmann. Strassburg, 1881; also *King Horn. Untersuchungen zur mitttelenglischen Sprach- und Litteraturgeschichte. Quellen und Forschungen*, vol. xvi.

- Monk of Evesham, The Revelation to the*, edited by Edward Arber. London.
- Ormulum*, edited by R. M. White. London, 1878.
- Pearl*. An English Poem of the fourteenth century, edited by Israel Gollancz. London, 1891.
- Poema Morale*, generally the text of Zupitza, *Uebungsbuch*, pp. 49 ff., rather than the editions of Furnivall, Morris, or Lewin.
- Promptorium Parvulorum*, edited by Way for the Camden Society.
- Robert of Gloucester*. edited by W. H. Wright, London, 1887; also *Der Stil der mittelenenglischen Reimchronik Roberts von Gloucester; eine Untersuchung zur Ermittlung der Verfasser dieses Werkes*, by Hans Strohmeyer. Berlin, 1889.
- Shepherds' Calendar*, edited by Henry Morley.
- Sir Beues, The Romance of*, edited by Eugen Kölbing. London, 1885—94.
- Sowdone of Babylone*, edited by Emil Hausknecht. London.
- Speculum Vite*, edited by Ullmann, *Englische Studien*, vol. vii, p. 469.
- Temple of Glas*, edited by J. Schick. London, 1891.
- Thomas of Erceldoune*, edited by Alois Brandl. Berlin.
- Tundale. Das mittelenenglische Gedicht über die Vision des Tundalus*, edited by Albrecht Wagner. Halle, 1893.
- Uebungsbuch, Alt- und mittelenenglisches*, edited by Julius Zupitza, Fourth edition. Wien, 1889.
- York Plays*. The Plays performed by the Crafts, or Mysteries on the day of Corpus Christi, in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. London.

GLOSSARY

[The Glossary serves also as an index to the *Speculum*. It includes all words important in the evolution of the poem. The N.E. derivative often appears among the meanings distinguished, showing direct or cognate form of the root specified. Discussion of the more archaic or rare words will be found in the Notes.

The sign † marks an obsolete form; etc. indicates that the word cited is used more than three times with the same meaning. Other abbreviations will be readily understood from the context. A notation for grammatical classification is frequently omitted.]

- abide**, *inf.* to await (*tr.*), 256; to abide, remain (*intr.*), 676; **abid**, *imp.* 982.
- aboute**, *adv.* about, on every side, 190; **astir**, 515; **abouten**, 196.
- ac**, but, 4, 13, 102, etc.
- accedie**, **accidiet**† (*see note to line* 117), 117, 121.
- acord**, *sb.* accord, agreement, 513; good will, 893; reconciliation, 843.
- aferd**, *pp.* **afearde**†, afraid, 685.
- after**, *prep.* after, in imitation of (*Gen.* i. 25—27), 213; in conformity to, 235; in proportion to, 264, 876; according to, 314.
- agaste**, *inf.* to affright, terrify, 866.
- agilt**, *pp.* **aguilt**†, offended, 307.
- agramed**, *pp.* grieved, irritated, 794.
- ajein**, *prep.* against, in opposition to, 564, 620; contrary to, 616, 705, 892; **ajeines**, 556.
- alday**, every day, at any time, 342.
- alle**, all people, all hearers, 1, 54, 323, etc.; **alle and some**. *See some.*
- allerfurst**, *adv.* first of all, first, 70; **alpere**, MSS. $A_2 H_1 H_2$.
- almes dede**, alms-deed, the practice of alms-giving, 95; deeds of mercy, 922, 1007; a gift, 934; **almesse dede**, 1006.
- almesse**, alms, a charitable act, 923.
- almiht**, *adj.* almighty, 476, 614; omnipotent, 741.
- alone**, only, merely, 465; **alone—ac**, 371-2.
- amende**, *inf.* to amend, bring to a more perfect state, 576, 952.
- amendement**, amendment, correction, 56.
- amis**, *adv.* amiss, wrong; **don amis**, erred, 802.
- among**, *adv.* **euere** —, from time to time, continually, 186, 880.
- and**, if, 89, 387?, 649.
- anon**, at once, immediately, 33, 431, 448, etc.; as soon as, 759; quickly, 761.
- anguisse**, anguish, excruciating pain, 183.
- anuied**, *pp.* annoyed, disturbed, hence reluctant, 124.
- aperteliche**, *adv.* plainly, openly, 385, 416.
- ar**, *adv.* ere, before, 531.
- ariht**, *adv.* aright, correctly, 729; in a right way, 825.
- auarice**, avarice, greediness of gain, 115.
- aunter**, **par** —, adventure, perchance, 873.
- bar**. *See bereþ.*
- baylie**, jurisdiction, control, 289.
- bede**, *inf.* to pray, 562.
- behouythe**, 3. *sing.* behooves, needs, 133 (*reading of H₂*).
- bereþ**, 3. *sing.* bears, carries, 670, (*subj.*) 671; — **witnes(se)**, tes-

- tifies, 345, 412, 566, etc.; **bar**, *prt.* 46.
- bete(n)**, *inf.* to make amends for, atone for, 175, 270.
- beyþere**, *plu. gen.* both (= *tico-fold* ?), 952.
- bidene**, *adv.* in one company, together, 191.
- bifalle**, *inf.* to befall, come to pass, 291.
- bileue**, *sb.* belief, faith, 83; creed, 201, 203.
- bileue(n)**, *inf.* to believe, 207; to remain, 84, 273; **bileueþ**, 985.
- binde**, *inf.* to bind, imprison, 482, 495; **bounde**, *pp.* 710.
- binomen**, *pp.* taken away from, 237.
- birede**, *refl.* take thought. de-liberate, 133.
- bise**, see, provide, give heed to, 488.
- bisekeþ**, 1. *plu.* beseech, call on in prayer, 504.
- bist**, 2. *sing.* biddest, prayest, 554.
- bitokneþ**, 3. *sing.* betokens, typifies, 363.
- bipenk**, *imp.* bethink, consider, 578.
- blame**, *sb.* blame, censure, 784, 812; **falle in blame**, become culpable, 778.
- blamed**, *pp.* blamed, reproved, 765.
- blinne**, *inf.* to leave off, 199; to cease, 714.
- blisse**, *sb.* bliss, pleasure, 32, 113, 188, etc.; supreme delight, 299; glory, 417.
- bodiliche**, *adv.* bodily, in person, 375; *adj.* human (*i. e.* man's physical), 396.
- bold**, *sb.* house, dwelling, 154.
- bold**, *adj.* bold, certain, 819.
- bonde**, *sb.* the bondsman, the vassal, 890, 891.
- bone**, boon, request, 988.
- bote**, *sb.* boot, expiation, 94.
- bouhte**, *prt.* bought, paid for, 236; redeemed, 26; **ibouht**, *pp.* 160; **bouht**, *pp.* 172, 226.
- bounde**. See **binde**.
- bour**, bower, inner apartment, chamber, 152.
- boxomere**, *adj. comp.* more obedient, 233.
- breme**, *adj.* bright, shining, 383.
- brenne**, *inf.* to burn, be consumed, 368, 451, 808; **ibrent**, *pp.* 360.
- brenning**, burning, conflagration, 182.
- briht**, *adj.* bright, glorious, 406, 639.
- caiht**, *pp.* See **kacche**.
- calle**, *inf.* to call, name, 522.
- can**, *vb.* can, am able to, 343; has the skill, 728; **couþest**, 2. *sing.* 657; **couþ**, *pp.* 814.
- cas**, *sb.* case, chance, 703.
- cast**, *pp.* See **kest**.
- catel**, *sb.* chattel, property, goods, 187, 577, 896; **katel**, 162.
- certes**, *adv.* of a certainty, assuredly, 850, 861.
- charged**, *pp.* charged, burdened, 468.
- charite**, *sb.* charity, Christian love, 55, 83, 324; giving of alms, 95, 680.
- chasten**, *inf.* to chasten, afflict, discipline, 181.
- chese**, *inf.* to choose, select, 216, 219; prefer, 222.
- clene**, *adj.* clean, 816, 824, 848, etc.; unblemished, 364, 365; bright, glorious, 381; pure, 408, 414; **makeþ clene**, cleanses, purifies, 836, 845; **clannere**, *comp.* 826; **makeþ clannere**, 820, 828.
- cleped**, *pp.* called, 857.
- cler**, clear, evident, 376; discerning, 736; unclouded, 976, 996; **clene and cler**, glorious, 381.
- clergie**, *sb.* clergy, learning, science, 43, 290.
- clerk**, *sb.* clerk, clergyman, 667.
- clerte**, *sb.* cleartyþ, splendour, brilliancy, 390.
- comen**, 3. *plu.* descend, 240; 3. *sing.* 680. **come (inf.) widinne**, 118.
- comfort**, *sb.* comfort, relief, 686.
- comforti**, *inf.* to comfort, encourage, 688.
- consail**, *sb.* counsel, 63, 653.
- cost**, expense, 776.
- couþ**, *pp.* known, 814. See also **can**.
- craftes**, *plu.* crafts, forms of human skill, 212.
- cræue**, *inf.* to crave, beg earnestly, 456, 530, 544, etc.
- crieþ**, 3. *sing.* cries, implores, 540.
- croun**, *sb.* crown, tonsure, 799.

- cruwel**, *adj.* cruel, pitiless, 258; merciless, 559.
- cumpaignye**, company, multitude, 437; retinue, 638.
- cursede**, accursed, condemned, 431, 447.
- dampnacioun**, damnation, spiritual ruin, 787.
- dampned**, *pp.* damned, consigned to hell, 432.
- dar**, 1. *sing.* dare, am bold enough to, venture, 563, 609.
- day**, 250, 251, etc.; **on a day**, once, 49; **in pilke dawwe**, at that time, 37; **bi day and niht**, always, 320, 475, 516; **alday**. *See al.*
- deite**, deity, 374.
- dekne**, dean, 41.
- dele**, deal, part; **euery dele**, every bit, entirely, 1018.
- dempt**, doomed, assigned, 136.
- dere**, *adv.* dearly, at great price, 26, 160, 172, etc.
- derne**, secret, intense, 123.
- deseruing**, deserving, merit, 314.
- destourbaunce**, disturbance, agitation, 572.
- deþ**, death, 858; **deþ of soule**, condemnation, destruction of the lost soul, 16.
- deuise**, *inf.* to devise, tell, conceive, 343.
- do in**, to enter into, imprint on, 208.
- dom**, doom, judgment, 256, 415, 766; **domesday**, 257, 745, 868.
- doute**, *sb.* doubt, fear, 899.
- douteþ**, 3. *sing.* doubts, is anxious about, 693.
- drauht**, draught, haul, 18.
- drawe**, *tr. inf.* to draw, drag, 16, 106; to deduce, 945; **draweþ**, 3. *sing.* 800; **drawen on heih**, *pp.* exalted, 633; **drouh**, *intr.* 44.
- drede**, *sb.* dread, fear, *i. e.* apprehension, 20, 493, 695, etc.; fear, *i. e.* reverence, 81, 139, 883, etc.; awe, 380.
- drede**, *tr. inf.* to dread, fear, *i. e.* reverence, 178; to terrify, 648.
- dred**, *imp.* 999; *intr. inf.* to fear, be alarmed, 747; 3. *plu.* 830.
- drinke**, *sb.* drinks, 155.
- duire**, *inf.* to endure, continue to exist, 281.
- dwelle**, *inf.* to dwell, leave off, 27, 283; to remain, 450; to delay, 762.
- echen**, *inf.* to eke (out), increase, 188.
- eft**, *adv.* afterward, 160; **eft sone**, soon again, 851.
- eging**, eggingt, instigation, 229.
- eize**, fear, awe, 21; terror, 795.
- eize**, eye, 388, 396, 827; **eizen**, *plu.* 841.
- eke**, **ek**, *adv.* also, 243, 436, 439, etc.
- elleswhere**, **elleswher**, 176, 780.
- emcristene**, even Christian, fellow-Christian, 9, 334, 341.
- empti**, *adj.* empty, 1002.
- ende**, *sb.* end, instant, 280; **wid-outen ende**, eternally, 426.
- ende**, *inf.* to continue, 11.
- ending**, *sb.* ending, 210; death, 278; **ending day**, last day, death, 492.
- ene**, *adv.* once, 366, 815; **enes**, 939.
- enome**, *pp.* *See nim.*
- ensaumple**, example, pattern, 533, 596, 607.
- enuie**, envy, 109; hatred, ill-will, 438.
- eorþe**, earth; **on eorþe her(e)**, 296, 375, 600, 735; **here on eorþe**, 397, 604; **erþe**, 382, 589.
- er**, *conj.* ere, before, 648, 982.
- erere**, *comp.* earlier, before, 140, 168.
- euel**. *See yuel.*
- euere**, *adv.* ever, always, 44, 279, 388, etc.; at any time, 331; **euere more**, for ever more, from this time, 36, 96; **euere mo**, always, 240, 1004; eternally, 273; **euere among**, 186, 880. *See among.*
- euereich**, each, every, 313; **eueri**, 597; **euery**, 1018; **euerichon**, every one, 432.
- fable**, *sb.* fable, idle talk, 3; **wid-oute fable**, without falsehood, certainly, 525.
- face**, *sb.* face, image, likeness (*Gen.*

- i. 26), 213; countenance, presence, 904, 906.
- fain**, *adj.* fain, gladly, 873; with pleasure, 965.
- fair(e)**, *adj.* fair, spotless, 71; beautiful, 154; pleasing, 682.
- fairnesse**, *sb.* fairness, beauty, 305.
- falle(n)**, fall, 170; befall, happen, 161; **falleþ on honde**, 3. *sing.* 585; **falle lowe**, *inf.* to fall low, be humiliated, 630.
- fals**, *adj.* false, unfair, 110; untrue, 111.
- falshede**, *sb.* falseness, 722.
- fame**, *sb.* fame, renown, 29; reputation, 40.
- fare**, *inf.* to fare, journey, 490; **fareþ**, 3. *sing.* fares, comes to pass, 669, 673, 889.
- feintise**, *sb.* feigning, hypocrisy, 304.
- fele**, *adj.* many, numerous, 675.
- fend**, fiend, the serpent (*Gen.* iii. 4, 13), 229.
- fer**, *adv.*; **fer and ner**, everywhere, 216.
- ferre**, *sb.* companions, children, 423.
- fersse**, *adj.* fierce, proud, 623.
- filþe**, *sb.* filth, pollution, 732.
- fire**, *sb.*: **al on fire**, burning with fire (*Ex.* iii. 2), 356, 359.
- firste**, *adj.* first; **þe firste lawe**, the ten commandments, 358.
- fien**, **fle**, *inf.* to flee, run away from, 134, 748, 833; escape, 850; to fly, 678; **fleþ**, 3. *sing.* 672.
- flesh**, flesh; **in flesh and blod**, in the body, physically, 573.
- fleschly**, *adj.* of the flesh, carnal, 269.
- folewe**, *inf.* to follow, pursue, 641.
- fondeþ**, 3. *sing.* tempts, 655; *the reading of D and R*, 508.
- fonge**, *inf.* to receive, 265, 508 (*A₁ A₂ H₁*), 877.
- for**, for, on account of, by reason of, 20, 21, 91, 243, etc.; for the sake of, 246, 247, 248, etc.; **for to**, with the infinitive, 71, 78, 126, 156, etc.; *conj.* for, because, 17, 61, 174, etc.; **for whij**, wherefore, 454; **forþi**, on this account, for this reason; **noht forþi**, 467.
- fordoþ(e)**, 3. *sing.* does away with, destroys, 941, 1007.
- forþete**, *pp.* forgotten, 193, 764.
- forlorne**, *pp.* lost, condemned, 130 (*See variants*).
- forme**, *adj.* first, 223; **formeste** (*reading of H₂*).
- forsoþe**, forsooth, in truth, 391.
- forþ**, forth, forward, 958; **forþ (þer)wid**, forthwith, without delay, at the same time, 147, 334.
- foule**, *adj.* foul, base, 24, 61, 117, etc.; ugly, 72; wicked, 635, 654; guilty, 811.
- foule**, *adv.* abusively, 591.
- fourme**, form, person, 349; appearance, 356.
- fre**, free, unlimited (voluntary?), 215; generous, 323 (*reading of H₂*).
- freedom**, freedom, liberty, 237.
- fuison**, foison, profusion, 994.
- fulle**, **ful**, *adj.* full, filled with, 87, 260; much, 112; perfect, complete, 310, 318.
- ful**, *adv.* full, very, 66, 166, 298, etc.; **ful iwis**, assuredly, 165, 285, 503; completely, 337; **ful wel**, 503, 517, 548.
- fulfilt**, *pp.* fulfilled, carried out, 308.
- gabbe**, *sb.* gabble; **widouten gabbe**, without lies, without deception, 464.
- gan**, *prt.* began (*used pleonastically*), did, 230, 641, 642.
- gange**, 2. *sing.* go, proceed, 761.
- getestu**, gettest thou, obtainest thou, 545.
- gile**, *sb.* guile, wiles, 61; deceit, fraud, 241.
- gileþ**, 3. *sing.* beguiles, deceives, 880.
- gilour**, *sb.* beguiler, deceiver, 879.
- gilt**, *sb.* guilt, offence, 231; **giltes**, *plu.* 752.
- gilt**, *pp.* sinned, 556.
- glad**, *adj.* glad, joyful, 1019.
- glotonye**, *sb.* gluttony, greed, 115.
- gnede**, *adj.* sparing, stingy, 1025 (*reading of MS. R*).
- god**, *sb.* goods, wealth, property, prosperity, 13, 163; **do god**, 124, 143, 461, etc.
- goddede**, *sb.* good deed, good works, 465, 502, 621, etc.
- godhede**, *sb.* godhead, divinity,

- 371, 379, 397; glory, 417; divine qualities, 886.
- godnesse, *sb.* goodness, piety, 44.
- gome, *sb.* man, 645.
- gostes, *sb.* spirits, souls, 431, 447.
- gostli, *adj.* ghostly, spiritual, 715, 717, 736, 742.
- grete, 1. *sing.* greet, salute, 52; grette, *prt.* 350, 960.
- greue, *inf.* to grieve, cause pain, 202, 230, 588; greueþ, pains, 388.
- grisli, grisly, horrible, 442.
- griþ, *sb.* peace, security, 148.
- gruching, *sb.* grudging, murmur, complaint, 582, 593.
- ʒaf. *See* ʒeue.
- ʒare, *adj.* yare (*Shak.*), ready, 489.
- ʒarked, *prt.* prepared, 300.
- ʒate, gate, 959.
- ʒelde, *inf.* to yield, pay, 956; ʒolden, recompense, 932.
- ʒeme, *adj.* care, heed, 553.
- ʒerne, *adv.* joyfully, eagerly, 66.
- ʒift(e), gift, grace, favour, 220, 682.
- ʒit, yet, 90, 164, 851.
- ʒiue, ʒeue, *inf.* to give, 183, 963, 973, 1020; ʒefe, 1012; ʒeueþ, 3. *sing.* 212; ʒaf, *prt.* 215, 227, 234, etc.; ʒif, *imp.* 1012.
- habbe. *See* haue.
- halle, hall, large building, 152.
- halt. *See* holde.
- han. *See* haue.
- handful, handful, a little, 975.
- haue, *inf.* to have, receive, 89, 148, 186, etc.; to possess, 151, 309, 471, etc.; to show, 455, 529, 543, etc.; han, 295; habbe, 463; hauen, 3. *plu.* 558; han, 384; hadde, *prt.* 41, 43, 289, etc.; hade, 243; haddestu, 579.
- heie. *See* heihe.
- heih(e), *adj.* high, almighty, 214; exalted, 379; heie, noble, 622; *adv.* 632; on heih, on high, above, 633; heih of mod, haughtly, 624; hext, *sup.* 325, 661.
- heinen, *inf.* to make high, exalt, 627.
- held. *See* holde.
- hele, *sb.* health, 157; salvation, 2.
- hele, *inf.* to heal, 774.
- helle pine, hell torment, 772.
- helpe, *inf.* to help, relieve, 478; to avail, 561.
- henne, *adv.* hence, from this place, 297; hethen (*reading of R.*).
- here, *inf.* to hear, 355.
- heriede, *prt.* herried†, praised, glorified, 66.
- herkny, *inf.* to hearken, listen, 523; herkne, 560; herkne, *imp.* 107, 137, 323, etc.; herkneþ, *imp.* 1, 790.
- heste, *sb.* behests, commands, 810.
- hete, heat, passion, 367.
- heuie, *adj.* heavy, grievous, 469.
- hie, *inf.* to hie, hasten, 968.
- holde, *inf.* to hold, 656; holde lowe, to humiliate, 179; halt, 3. *sing.* values, considers, 166, 171; held, *prt.* 593.
- holliche, *adv.* wholly, entirely, 353.
- honde, *sb.* hand; honden, *plu.* 440; on honde, 585.
- honour, *sb.* honour, possessions, 151.
- hote, *adj.* hot, raging, 282.
- huide, *sb.* hide, human skin; in bon and huide, physically, 157.
- humilite, *sb.* humility, 88, 651, 658, etc.
- hunger, *sb.* hunger, famine, 185.
- ibiried, *pp.* buried, 249.
- iblessed, blessed, 520.
- ibouht. *See* bouhte.
- ibrent. *See* brenne.
- idon, *pp.* done, committed, 546.
- iete, *pp.* eaten, 984.
- ifere, together; in fere (*reading of D H₁ R.*), 295.
- ifiled, *pp.* defiled, 410, 724.
- ifounde, *pp.* found (surprised?), discovered, 484.
- ikauht. *See* kacche.
- iliche, alike, equally, 312, 365.
- ilke, the same, 362, 799.
- ilong, depending on, 221; long, 750.
- ilore. *See* lese.
- imeind, mingled, 372.
- inome. *See* nim.
- inouh, enough, sufficient, 43, 146, 301, 305.
- inwardliche, *adv.* intently, 389;

- inwardlichere, *comp.* more earnestly, 321.
- ipult, thrust, 888; *pylt*, 232.
- irekened, reckoned, estimated, 869.
- ise, *inf.* to see, 288, 342, 402, etc.; *iseih*, *prt.* 369.
- ishewed, *pp.* showed, revealed, 399.
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Synay, *þe mount of* —, 357.

George Ashby's Poems.

Early English Text Society.

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George Ashby's Poems.

EDITED FROM TWO 15TH CENTURY MSS. AT CAMBRIDGE

BY

MARY BATESON.



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INTRODUCTION.

No fresh light is thrown on the history of George Ashby by the publication of these poems, for the few biographical notices they contain have already appeared in print. The first poem was written in the Fleet Prison, 1463, and Ashby describes himself therein as for forty years writer to the Signet. The "Active Policy," written for young Edward, Prince of Wales, "gallant-springing, brave Plantagenet," was penned when Ashby was "right nigh at mony yeres of foure score," and in the preface he describes himself as late Clerk of the Signet¹ to Queen Margaret of Anjou. The facts of Ashby's life, so far as they are known, are recorded in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. A reference, however, may be added to a letter from Margaret of Anjou, 1447—1454, in which she thanks a lady unnamed for her service to "our servant George Ashby, Clerk of our Signet." It is thought that the lady may have been Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, the possible granddaughter of Geoffrey Chaucer,² whom Ashby praises in his "Active Policy."

The young Edward, Prince of Wales (1453—1471), must have been a model of virtue if he carried out all Ashby's instructions. These are not dangerously original, but between the lines of Ashby's platitudes we may read something of the peculiar character of the period. Ashby hints at the "great changes of high estates," at much division, due entirely to covetousness. In "Time Present" he

¹ Coke, Second Inst., p. 556 [Artic. sup. Cartas, cap. vii.], says, "At the making of this Statute (28 Ed. 1) the king had another seal, and that is called 'Signettum,' his Signet. This seal is ever in the custody of the Principal Secretary; and there be four Clerks of the Signet, called 'Clerici Signetti,' attending on him. The reason wherefore it is in the Secretaries' custody, is, for that the King's private Letters are signed therewith. Also the duty of the Clerk of the Signet is to write out such Grants or Letters Patent as pass by Bill signed (that is, a Bill superscribed with the Signature or Sign Manual, or Royal hand of the King) to the Privy Seal; which Bill being transcribed and sealed with the Signet, is a Warrant to the Privy Seal, and the Privy Seal is a Warrant to the Great Seal."

² *Letters of Margaret of Anjou*, ed. C. Monro, Camden Society, p. 114.

recommends Edward "all rebellion for to suppress," and, in "Time Future," to put down "false conspirators," and all persons "pretending right to your coronacion"; "grete batellis dispiteous" are named, but it seems scarcely possible that Ashby should write so prosily as he does if another king was in fact reigning in Henry's stead. It is difficult, therefore, to decide at what date this work was written, whether before the Fleet imprisonment, in perhaps 1460-1, or later, perhaps after the reconciliation of Warwick and Margaret, and the temporary Lancastrian successes of 1470.

Ashby appears to have felt a decided respect for history, and constantly recommends Edward to consider what will be said about him in chronicles. Many warnings are given, which may well have arisen from the example of Henry's misfortunes. He presses the claims of old servants (and from his *Reflections*, he seems to have been one of the neglected); as to money matters, he recommends strict keeping of accounts, and the payment of servants' wages, that they may not resort to extortion; the king must enrich his subjects, but keep himself always the richest;¹ men of high rank should not be treasurers, as the poorer the man the smaller will be his pay. In the choice of ministers Ashby has advice to give; he recommends a councillor, leech, and secretary; in choosing servants, the king should notice with whom they have been brought up; he is to avoid making many lords; he must be careful in granting fees and offices, and he must not withdraw grants after they have been made. Ashby's recommendations on the manner in which petitions should be dealt with indicate some of the abuses which then prevailed. But he was no great reformer, and his motto is not "Trust the people." He bids Edward beware of the commonalty: they must be disarmed, owing to the misuse they make of their arms in private warfare. Maintenance and livery of course are mentioned; compulsory archery is advocated, as also the enforcing of sumptuary laws, and the revival of cloth-making. The king must cherish strangers, pilgrims, and merchants; he is to learn practical economy in buying up goods when they are cheap and in season, and when he can look about him at his leisure. As a Lancastrian he is specially recommended to magnify his ancestry. Ashby approved, we may suppose, of Margaret's peace policy, for he urges great caution in making war. A king ought to study the past history of disturbed

¹ Henry's policy was the reverse. Cf. Plummer's *Fortescue*, p. 12.

foreign possessions, so that he may learn what has always been their attitude in the past.

In his diplomatic teaching, Ashby inculcates such a policy as that which Henry VII put into practice. Tale-tellers are not to be too soon credited, but the tale may be borne in mind, and proof amassed to test its trustworthiness. But it must be confessed that Ashby's instructions have, as a rule, no personal interest, and are only of general application.

The "Dicta et opiniones diversorum philosophorum" were evidently drawn from the same original as that used by De Thignonville for his French version, which Stephen Scrope and Lord Rivers translated into English. A copy of the Latin version is in MS. cexli., 127 b, Corpus Christi College, Oxford: Stephen Scrope, stepson of Sir John Fastolf, translated the sayings for that knight's contemplation and solace (Harl. MS. 2266), and a copy was corrected after the original (Cambridge Univ. Lib. Gg. i. 34) by William Worcester in 1472. Lord Rivers' translation was printed by Caxton in 1477. There is evidence that these commonplaces had extraordinary popularity in the Middle Ages, but the true origin of this collection of proverbs is still to seek.

Since these poems were in type, Prof. Max Förster has edited the Prisoner's Reflections in *Anglia*, 1897, and some interesting notes on scansion enrich his edition. It is hoped that the present edition of the works of Ashby may prove useful to students of fifteenth-century grammar. My best thanks are due to Miss K. Jex-Blake, of Girton College, for her help in the interpretation and emendation of the scribe's Latinity. I am also indebted to Miss J. E. Kennedy for notes and corrections in the English passages, and to Dr. Furnivall for the side-notes to the *Dicta*, and for the List of Words.

MARY BATESON.

Liber Philosophorum italicum et latinum
 ed. Ezio Franceschini, in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, Anno accademico 1911-2,
 tomo xci, parte seconda, pp. 393-597.

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George Ashby's Poems.

I. A Prisoner's Reflections, A.D. 1463.

MS. R. 3. 19, Trin. Coll. Camb., leaf 41 a.

Prohemium vnus Prisonarii.

(1)

[A]t the ende of Somer, when wynter began	1	The season
And trees, herbes and flowres dyd fade,		
Blosteryng and blowing the gret wyndes than		
Threw doune the frutes <i>with</i> whyche they were lade,		
Levyng them sone bare / of that whyche they hade,		
Afore myghelmas, that tyme of season,		Michaelmas,
I was <i>commyt</i> tyd, geynst ryght and reason,	7	when he is committed

(2)

In to a pryson, whos name the Flete hight,	8	<i>Nomen</i>
By a gret <i>commaundment</i> of a lord,		<i>prison.</i>
To whom .I. must obey for hys gret myght,		to the Fleet
Though .I. cannat therto sadly acord,		prison.
Yet .I. must hyt for a lessoñ record,	12	Cause of im-
Ther'yn abydyng <i>without</i> help singler,		prisonment.
Sauf of god and hys blessyd modyr' ther'.	14	

(3)

But oth̄, or other declaraciõ,	15	
Coude at no season be herd ne takyñ,		
By no prayer ne exhortaciõ.		
But of all pite and grace forsakyñ,		
Myne enemyes on me awakyñ,	19	Ashby's
Takyng awèy hors, money, and goodes,		enemies,
Pullyng myne houses downe and gret wordes. ¹	21	

¹ *Sic* in MS. ?woodes.

(4)

*Spoliatio
Prisonarii.*
His spoli-
ation.

Because of my draught and my bryngyng vp 22
 I haue suffryd thys and other spoylyng,
 Nat leuyng me worth a dyssñ, neyther cup,
 Of asmoche as myght come to theyr' handlyng,
 Puttyng on me many fals lesyng, 26
 Whyche I must suffyr and bere on my ruge,¹
 Tyll the trouth discussyd hath god or the iuge. 28

(5)

*Nomen
Prisonarii.*
Name of the
prisoner.

George Asshby ys my name, that ys greued 29
 By enprysonment a hoole yere and more,
 Knowyng no meane there to be releued,
 Whyche greveth myne hert heuyly and sore,
 Takyng hyt for my chastysement and lore, 33
 Besechyng god I may take my dysease
 In dew pacience, our' lord god to please. 35

(6)

[leaf 41 b.]
*Lamentacio
Prisonarii.*
His lament-
ation on the
way he is
treated by
his friends.

Oon thyng among other' greueth me sore 36
 That myne old acqueintaunce disdeyned me
 To vysyte, / though I haue doon to theym more
 Kyndnes, / forgetyng me and let me be,
 Ne yeuyng me comfort, ne wold me se, 40
 Ne the werkes of mercy remembryng,
 Ne my kyndnes to theym before shewyng. 42

(7)

He cannot
get out of
debt.

The grettest peyne that .I. suffyr of all 43
 Is that .I. am put to vnpayable det,
 Lykly to be therfore a wrechyd thrall,
 For the enprysonment that .I. am in set,
 Without goddes grace wol hyt soner let. 47
 Wheropoñ to god .I. clepe, call and cry
 To help me out of det or .I. dy. 49

(8)

What may I. do? to whom shall I compleyn? 50
 Or shew my trouble, or myne heuynes?
 Beyng in prysoñ, wrongfully certeyñ;
 But *with* dyligence and gret besynes,
 I beseche god of hys gret worthynges, 54

¹ back.

Me to guyde and rewle to hys most plesaunce,
And of my wrong to haue humble suffraunce. 56

(9)

I gan remembre and revolve in mynde 57 *Servicium
Prisonarii.*
My bryngyng vp from chyldhod hedyrto,
In the hyghest court that I coude fynd,
With the kyng,¹ quene,² and theyr vncler also,
The duk of Gloucetre, god hem rest do, 61 Kindness of
With whome .I. haue be cherysshid ryght well, Duke of
In all that was to me nedefull euery dell. 63 Gloucester.

(10)

Wrytyng to theyr' sygnet full fourty yere, 64 Writer to
Aswell beyond the see as on thys syde, the Signet.
Doyng my *seruyce* aswell there as here,
Nat sparyng for to go ne for to ryde,
Hauyng pen and Inke euyr at my syde, 68
Redy to acomplysshe theyre *commandment*,
As truly as .I. coude to theyr' entent. 70

(11)

And in theyr *seruyce* I spendyd all my youth, 71 [leaf 42 a.]
And now in pryson throwen in myn age,
Hauyng of me no pyte ne routh, Cruel treat-
Reuylyng me with vnfytyng langage, ment.
As though I were neyther wytty ne sage, 75
Whiche greuyd me sore and was gretly sad,
To be in pouert and of goodes bad, 77

(12)

That before was well in goodes and rest, 78 His former
And no man was ayenst me dysplesyd, good fortune
And all my dayes was among the best.
And so no creature me dyseasyd,
But at all tymes with me were pleasyd, 82
Though fortune lyft make me ryght sory
Shewyng that thys welth ys transytory. 84

(13)

Gef I had in youth suffred any payne, 85
By lake of goodes or takyng hardnes,

¹ Henry VI.² Margaret of Anjou.

makes his
fall harder to
bear.

I myght the better from tene¹ me refreyne,
And take my fall the better in swetnes.
God for hys hyghe grace and gret worthynes 89
Counseyll me in my trobyll for the best,
That I may leue hens in quyet and rest. 91

(14)

Now me-thynketh² well, yef I had ben euyr 92
In prosperyte and in worldly ioy,
And theryn to haue abydyn leuyr
Then to haue tastyd of thys peynfull noy,³
I cast⁴ me nat to be neyther styll ne coy, 96
But say as me-thynketh, in verrey soth.
To haue chaungyd my lyf I had be loth. 98

(15)

Desires to
lead the best]
lite even
though it be
painful,]

And my wrechydues nat⁵ to know euyr, 99
So well as by goddes grace I shall
And the best lyfe take & the wors leuyn,
In consyderall that I am mortall,
And so to obey hym that ys eternall, 103
And to chaung my lyf to god greable,
Both in pacyence and in feyth stable. 105

(16)

[leaf 42 b.]

Knowyng in serteyn that my punysshing 106
Is other-whyle for my soule profytable,
For a feth in goddes vengeance ceasyng,
Vnto goddes plesure ryght acceptable,
By meke pacyence to vertu able, 110
Therefore punysshment ys other-whyle good,
Aswell to low degre as to hyghe blode. 112

The punish-
ments of God
are good,

(17)

I thynke to wryte of trouble rehersall, 113
How hyt may be takyn in pacyence,
Procedyng theryn for myn acquytall,
Though I haue no termes of eloquence,
With that I may conclude perfyte sentence ; 117

¹ grief. ² Before thynketh *thyg* struck out.
³ nay *in MS.*, noye, suffering, annoyance. ⁴ design.
⁵ MS. na.

- Wherefore I counseyll aftyr wordes thyse,
 Euery man to be lernyd on thys wyse. 119 Writes to
counsel
patience
- Ad sustinendum paciencia in aduersis.*
- (18)
- O thow creature of nature ryght noght ! 120
 Remembre thy sylf, thy lyfe, thy demert,
 Yef thow to pryson or trouble be broght,
 Haply by gret wrong and nat of desert,
 Suffryng iniury and ryght peynfull smert, 124 to those in
undeserved
trouble,
 Kepe pacience and wyte¹ hyt thyne offence,
 Nat for that sylf thyng but of iust sentence. 126
- (19)
- Or *perauenture* thow mayst ryght-fully 127 and to those
who deserve
it.
 Come to trouble or tribulacion.
 Yet I counseyll the, suffyr hyt wyfully,
 Without fenying or simulacion,
 Nat the exalting by elacion. 131
 And thus pacience may the woll *preserue*
 From gostly sorow, yef² thow thys *obserue*. 133
- (20)
- And so, by process of suffraunce long, 134
 Thow mayst atteyne to *verrey* knowlege
 Of thy demeryt, and vengeance *prolong*
 By thy lamentyng and prayer mekeleche.³
 And so at last comfort haue trewleche 138
 Aswell here as hense, by goddes hyghe grace,
 And *perauenture with-in* lytyll space. 140
- (21)
- And as *precyous* gold ys thorough puryd 141 [leaf 43 a.]
 By foull metall led, and claryfyed,
 Ryght so ys the sowle by trowbyll curyd,
 And by humble profe, hygh gloryfyed,
 As in the scription⁴ ys specyfyed. 145 As gold is
purified,
so is the soul.
 So for soules helth hyt ys a gret grace,
 To haue here trouble rather then solace. 147

¹ impute.² MS. yet.³ meekly.⁴ Zech. xiii. 9. Jer. vi. 30.

(22)

	What ys trouble or trybulacyon,	148
	Vexed wrongfully, or worldly disease,	
	Lyuyng here <i>without</i> consolacioñ,	
Uses of adversity.	But calling of god hymself for to please?	
	Wherefore hyt ys best, for thy soules ease.	152
	Rather of trouble be mery and glad,	
	Than therof be grogyng, ¹ heuy & sad.	154

(23)

	Who may haue more heynes & sorow	155
	Then to be welthy and aftyr nedeful?	
	Furst to be ryche, aftyr, redy to borow?	
	Furst prosperous and aftyr carefull?	158
	Who ys more comfortable and ioyfull?	
	Then take the world in pacyence and worth,	
	Suffryng hit to come and goo playnly forth.	161

(24)

	Set the neuyr thy full wyll here	162
	In worldly ioy and in felycyte.	
Worldly joys are fleeting.	For all dayes thow mayst both see and here,	
	In all thy lyfe there ys contraryte;	
	Yef thow be ryche thow hast aduersyte,	166
	Yef thow haue a feyre wyfe and gret plente,	
	Moche sorow <i>peraventur</i> ¹ ys sent the.	168

(25)

	Yef thow tak a wyfe to thy freelte,	169
	Rygh̄t thoutfull thow art, carfull and pensyf;	
Troubles of family life.	Yef thow lyue aftyr censualyte,	
	That ys acursyd and vnthryfty lyf;	
	Yef thow be weddyd, <i>without</i> any stryf,	173
	Thow lakkest chyldren, to be thyne heyres,	
	Lesyng ² thy name in market and feyres.	175

(26)

[leaf 13 b.]	Yef thow haue chyldren̄ rygh̄t plenteuously,	176
	Haply suche may be theyr ¹ gouernaunce	
	That they woll dysplese rygh̄t greuously;	
	Yef thow be set in holy obseruaunce,	

¹ grudging.² redeeming.

- Peraventure thou hast no temperaunce ; 180 Everything goes by contraries.
- Yef thou be set in temporalyte,
Thy lust ys in spyrytualyte. 182
- (27)
- Yef thou be well,¹ haply thou lackest good, 183
- Yef thou haue good, thou suffrest gret sekeneſ.
Thus welth̄ ebbeth̄ and floweth̄ as the flood,
Neuer welthy, but som maner dystres,
Neuyr so mery but som heuynes. 187
- Oone thyng lakkyng aftyr thyne apetyte,
Nat all thynges beyng in pleasaunt plite. 189
- (28)
- Yef thou be forth² at large out of prysoñ, 190 There are sorrows outside of prisons.
- Thou mayst haue sorow ynowgh³ and gret wrong.
Yef thou be ryght welthy for the sesoñ,
Many pluckers-at thou mayst haue and strong.
Prosperyte here shall neuer endure long. 194
- So eyr, whyle thou art on erth lyuyng,
Som maner thyng lakketh̄ to thy plesyng. 196
- (29)
- Wenest thou to haue here perfeccioñ 197 No perfection on earth.
- Of worldly ioy, comfort and delycles ?
Nay bettyr ys sharp persecucioñ
For thy synnes, offenses and vyces,
Kepyng pacience *without* malyces, 201
- Puttyng thy wyll to goddes volunte,
So thy spyryt may best in quyet be. 203
- (30)
- Thynke that thy lyfe here ys but pilgremage 204 Life a pilgrymage.
- Towards the hygh place celestiall.
Wherfore, for any trouble or damage,
Preve nat thysylf lewde and eke bestiall,
Seyth⁴ thou may be in heuyñ menyall 208
- Serauant thorough thy tryumphall victory
By mekenes and werkes merytory. 210

¹ MS. *be seke* written as one word.² *be forth* written as one word in MS.³ Written as two words in MS. ⁴ Sith.

(31)

[leaf 44 a.]	Thow canst nat be so pryve ne secret	211
	But god ys there present and knoweth all thyng, Therefore be eyr wytty and dyscret, Nat for to do ne say hym dysplesyng, But as thow woldest before hym beyng,	215
	So by mekenes take all thyng for the best, What that god sendeth, trouble or vnrest.	217

(32)

	Thynke that worldes welth and felycyte	218
	Ys nat euermore in oone abydyng, But transitory ys prosperyte, And no certeynte whyle thow art lyuyng. But eyr as a whele, turnyng and meuyng,	222
Fortune's wheel.	Knowyng for certayn that thow art mortall, And neuer in thys world verray rest haue shall.	224

(33)

	Wytnes of oure lord, allmyghty Ihesu,	225
Sufferings of Christ,	Suffryng Reproves and vexacioñ, Though he were clenest in lyf and vertu, Yet no man suffred suche trybulacioñ. And all was for our' alther ¹ saluacioñ.	229
	Yeuyng vs example for to take trouble In worth, syth he hath suffred the double.	231

(34)

of the Virgin,	What suffred Mary the quene of heuyñ?	232
	Most pure, most clenyst, without any syñ, Claryfyed from the synnys seuyñ, Ever to plese Ihesu she wold nat blyñ. ² How be hyt that feare and tene she was in, Mornyng, sorowyng, eyr in drede, To opteyne the loue of Ihesu and hyr mede.	236
		238

(35)

of St. John the Evangel- ist, and St. John the Baptist,	What sey ye of seynt Iohn the Euangelist?	239
	Of many martyrs and eke confessours, Of holy vyrgyns, and seynt Iohn Baptist?	
	That here in thys lyfe suffred many shours, ³	

¹ Of us all. See p. 16.² cease.³ conflicts.

- Nat desyryng therof worldly succours, 243
 Refusyng all worldly ioy and plesaunce,
 And all trowble for god take in sufferauunce. 245

(36)

- Of Iob to suffyr take thow example, 246 [leaf 44 b.]
of Job,
 Whyche pacyently suffred hys gret smert,
 Who had in thys world of losse more ample?
 Yet for goddes sake he plesyd in hert
With hys trowbelous hurt / put out in desert 250
 As fowle, vyle, abhomynable and wreche,
 Takyng hyt in gre¹ and therof nold reche.² 252

(37)

- And so to procede in the pacience 253
 Of seyntes, and make therof rehersall
 That suffred trowbyll *with* out resystence,
 They be infynyte to be wretyn̄ all.
 Hyt suffyseth̄ to touche the principall, 257 of the saints,
are number-
less.
 To thy lernyng and informaciō
 To be of pacyent condiciō. 259

(38)

- Right so kyng, Quene, Duke, Prynce and Emperoures,
 Erle, Baroñ, lord, knyght, and many squyers,
 Bysshop, Abbot, Pryour and conquerours,
 And many gret estates and Rewlours,
 Clerkes, marchauntes and eke counseylours 264
 Haue be put in trouble and gret greuance
 For theyr^r soules helth̄ by humble sufferauunce. 266

(39)

- Was there euyr lord so gret and so sure, 267 All classes
of men have
had trouble,
 Or any gret Clerk lernyd in the law,
 That may not fall in the snare and in the lure
 Of trouble, maugre hys hed and his maw?
 Wherefore hyt may be a lawdabyll saw, 271
 Euery man worshyp god in hys season̄
 Accordyng to hys law / trouth̄ and reason̄. 273

¹ pleasure.² reck.

(40)

the learned can teach us to bear it.	Euery man may take example and hede	274
	By suche men of good disposicioñ,	
	And by lernyd men that can teche and rede	
	To conforme ¹ hym to lyk affeccioñ,	
	To haue of pacience <i>perfection</i> ,	278
	To take trouble in worth and in gre,	
	As other men haue do in liberte.	280

(41)

[leaf 45 v.]	In conclusion of the <i>verrey</i> trouth,	281
	Euery mañ other fauour ^s and socour ^s ,	
	And of hys trouble haue pyte and routñ,	
	And the blessyd men helpe and eke honoure,	
	Doyng your ^s dylygence and peynfull laboure,	285
	The <i>virtuous</i> pepyll for to cherysshe,	
	Suffryng the wykkyd Rather to perysshe.	287

(42)

	That all pacience, Riches and science	288
	Come oonly of god and noon other ^s ,	
	Hyt may be prouyd by experience.	
Unequal riches.	As oone ryche, another pore ; hys brother,	
	The ryche, slepeth, the pore laboretñ vnder ^s .	292
	So that Ryches <i>commeth</i> nat by labour	
	Oonly / but to hym that god lyst shew fauour.	294

(43)

A prayer.	And syth all thynges com ^e of Ihesu	295
	And nothyng <i>without</i> hym may awayle,	
	I besече hym so full of <i>vertu</i>	
	To guyde me, Rule me / and counsayle,	
	That by pacience .I. may wyn batayle	299
	Of my troubles, and haue the vycory,	
	Thorough my symple werkes merytory.	301

(44)

	And <i>with</i> humylyte and soburnes,	302
	<i>With</i> feruent loue and feythfull reuerence,	
	I besече the, god, of thy worthynes,	
	Yeue me grace, comfort and assistance,	
	Good wyll, good werkes, good thought and eloquence,	

¹ The *m* has an extra stroke.

With lone, charyte and feyth the to please,
That I may dwell in heuyñ at myñ ease. Amen.

(45) *Lenuoy.*

Goo forth, lytyll boke, mekely, without rous,¹ 309
To folk troubelyd and vexed greuously,
Steryng them by thy counseil vertuous
To kepe pacience thereyñ ioyously,
Redyng thys tretyse forth ceryously, 313
By the whyche they shall fynde grace as .I suppose,
To comfortable entent and purpose ; 315

(46)

Besechyng all folk, though I am no Clerk, 316 [leaf 45 b.]
For to vndyrstand that I nat presume Apology for
To take upon me labour of thys werk writing this
For worldly glory and thank to assume, poem.
But vertu to encrease and lewdnes consume, 320
And namely to take trowble in suffraunce
Patiently to deseruyd penaunce. 322

(47)

Also vndyr protestacioñ 323
That I wyll nat kepe presumptuously
Any errour' or feynyd opinioñ,
But me to theym conforme graciously,
That of hygh connyng haue plenteuously, 327
Besechyng theym my defaut to correct,
Yef any be, and nat to me hyt to arect,² 329 He is open to
correction.

(48)

But my dylygence and good wyll to accept 330
In to theyre fauour, support and goodnesse,
And in no maner me therof except,
Though .I. haue offendyd in my lewdnesse,³
Vnaduisd and nat of wyfulnessse, 334
Kepyng euermore vertuous entent
With discrecioñ that god hath me sent. 336

(49)

Wretyñ in prysoñ, in oure lordes date, 337
A thowsand foure hundryd syxty and thre, Written in
A.D. 1463.

¹ boasting.² impute.³ ignorance.

Thus occupying me, thys was my fate,
 Besechyng the, our' lord god in trynyte,
 To take my makying in plesure and gre, 341
 And therto hau mannys benyuolence,
 To thyne owne preysyng, laude and reuerence.
 Amen. 343

(50)

Explicit.

Remarks on Prison.	Pryson properly ys a sepulture	344
	Of lyuyng men, <i>with</i> strong lokkes thereoñ,	
	Fortyfyed <i>without</i> any Rupture,	
	Of synners a gret castigacioñ,	348
	Of feythfull frendes a probacioñ,	
	Of fre liberte a sharp abstinence,	
	Lackyng volunte for theyr' dew penaunce.	350

II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

MS. Mm. IV. 42, leaf 2 *a*, Cambridge University Library.

George Ashby, late Clerk of the Signet to Queen Margaret,	[P]resens Libellus compilatus, extractus et anglicatus in Balade per Georgium Asshby, nuper Clericum Signeti Supreme domine nostre Margarete, dei gratia Regine Anglie, etc. ex bona voluntate, Amore et cordiali affec- cione, quos ipse naturali iure gerit, tam erga celsitu- dinem & regiam maiestatem suam & prepotissimum et excellentissimum dominum suum Edwardum, eadem gratia suppremi domini nostri Regis Henrici et eiusdem regine Consortis filium progenitum, principem wallie, ducem Cornubie, et comitem Cestrie, pro cuius amore et complacencia fit ista compilacio (<i>illegible</i>) suum nobilem Sanguinem, sub quo Ipse a iuuentute sua hucusque & nunquam tota vita sua in alio servicio fuit tentus (?) et nutritus. Dividitur in tribus tempori- bus, videlicet in tempore preterito, presenti & futuro. Tempus preteritum exortatur, sepius meminire de rebus preteritis, ita bene in legendo sacram scripturam et Cronica, sicut alias speculaciones & experiencias Ipse potest perfecte condere bonorum factorum
written for Edward,	
Prince of Wales.	
To be divided into three parts: Past,	

bonitatem & opinionem librorum. Et miserimam ruinam malefactorum & miserorum, . . . nde se sapienter & feliciter gubernare. Tempus *presens* facit quomodo Present,
 se geriet (*sic*) in sapiencia & pollecia deo placentibus & populis suis & pro suimet ipsius securitate.
 Tempus futurum *providet* discrete & prudenter *pro* and Future.
 rebus futuris . . . diendo se in honore beata fama et bona gubernitate et euitando dampna vituperia et inconueniencia . . . etiam fore activum in pollecia et sapiencia . . . subditorum securitate & bona custodia sub debita et fideli obediencia per aduisamenta edicta & opiniones diuersorum Philosophorum, quorum nomina Philosophers.
 . . . in tractatu breuiter subscribuntur. (*Much defaced.*)

Hic Incipit Prologus.

(1)

Maisters Gower, Chauceur & Lydgate,	1	[leaf 2 b.] Complimentary notice to Gower, Chauceur, and Lydgate.
Primier poetes of this nacion,		
Embelysshing oure englisshe tendure algate,		
Firste finders to oure consolacioñ		
Off fresshe, douce englisshe and formacioñ	5	Their use of English and new ballad forms.
Of newe balades, not vsed before,		
By whome we all may haue lernyng and lore.	7	

(2)

Alas! saufe goddes wille, & his plesaunce,	8	Lament over their death.
That euer ye shulde dye & chaunge this lyffe,		
Vntyl tyme / that by youre wise pourueunce (<i>sic</i>)		
Ye had lafte to vs / sum remembratife		
Of a persone, lerned & Inuentif,	12	
Disposed aftur youre condicioñ,		
Of fresshe makyng to oure Instruccioñ.	14	

(3)

But sithe we all be dedly and mortal,	15	
And no man may eschewe this egressioñ,		
I beseche almyghty god eternal		Prayer for their souls.
To pardoñ you all / youre transgressioñ,		
That ye may dwelle in heuenly mansioñ,	19	
In recompense of many a scripture		
That ye haue englisskede without lesure.	21	

(4)

[leaf 3 a.] George Ashby follows them a long way after.	So I, George Asshby, not comparisoñ Making to youre excellent enditing, With right humble prayer & orisoñ, Pray god that by you I may haue lernyng, And, as a blynde man in the wey blondryng, As I can, I shall now lerne and practise Not as a master but as a p[r]entise ;	22 26 28
---	---	--------------------------------

(5)

	Besechyng almyghti god of support, That thorough his gracious instructioñ I may confourme me aftur the report Of vertuous / and sad construccioñ, Without minisshyng or addicioñ, Principally in thentent and substance Of my matere, with all the obseruance.	29 33 35
--	--	----------------------------

(6)

Ashby is sorry his English is so bad.	And though all thynges be nat made perfyte Nor swetely englissed to youre plesance, I byseche you hertely / to excuse it, So that I kepe intential substance, While I haue of makynge none assurance, Nor of balades haue experience, Acceptyng my goode wille & diligence.	36 40 42
--	---	------------------------

He has had
no experi-
ence.

(7)

	Some <i>personnes</i> peraventure wolle thenke That it myght be saide better thus or thus.	43
To cavillers.	For I cannat swym / I stand on the brynk, Wadyng no forther / but as crist Iesus Sendith me konnyng, showing vnto vs That a litle childe may natt so well bere A grete burthen / as a man, withoute dere. ¹	47 49

(8)

[leaf 3 b.] He has no books or glosses.	Right so though I haue not seien scripture Of many bookes right sentenciall, In especial of the gloses sure, I wolle therfor kepe true menyng formal, Nor right meche delatyng ² the rehearsall,	50 54
--	---	------------------

¹ injury.² spinning out, dilating.

Thaugh I do nat so wele / as thei before,
Ostendyng my beneuolence & lore, 56

(9)

By protestacioñ that my menyng 57
Shall not be wilfully for to displease He hopes his poem will vex no one.

Any creatures to my konnyng,
Principally suche as I aught to please,
Ner their estat in no wyse to displease, 61
But to my pore power / it to magnifie,
And in al my seruice / it to multiplie. 63

(10)

Thaugh I be fallen / in decrepit age 64
Right nygh at mony yeres / of foure score He is nearly eighty,

I pray god that in my wytt / I ne rage
But that I may wryte aftur goddes lore,
Encrecyng vertuou liffe more & more, 68
As myne entente is / and also shalbe,
To goddes plesance / & to my dutie. 70

(11)

Under a support / and beneuolence, 71
With a faorable directioñ,

I woll put to¹ / my peine & diligence, but will do his best.

After the simplesse of mine opinion,
To my cunnyng and erudicioñ ; 75
This matier is finisshe to the plesance,
Of almyghty Iesu & his suffrance. 77

(12)

In the name of almyghty Lorde Iesu, 78
To whom heuen erth and helle —yne,²

Whiche is the grete name / higheste in vertue, [leaf 4 a.]

Whom I biseche me for to Illumyne, 82
That in my mater I may so procede
Without offense / & therin not texcede. 84

De actiua pollecia principis.

(13)

[R]ight [high] & myghty prince and my right goode Lorde,
Linially comyn of blode royal,

¹ *Put to* written in one word. ² Illegible. ? inclyne.

	Bothe of Faders & moders of recorde, Occupying by grace celestial Thaier Roiaulmes, <i>with</i> grace especial (?)	89
	To whom be al honnour and reuerence, Dewe to youre high estate / and excellence,	91
	(14)	
Dedication to Prince Edward.	I mene, to youre highnesse Edwarde by name, Trew sone & heire to the high maiestie (?) Of oure liege lorde / Kynge Henry & <i>dame</i> (?)	92
Character of his parents.	Margarete, the Quene / bothe in Charitee Euer though grete was their maiestie (?) Yit they eschewed / vengeance and Rigoure, Shewyng their beneuolence and Favour. ¹	96 98
	(15)	
[leaf 1 b.] Blessings on them.	God, verrey Recompenser of goodenesse, Rearde at large their blessidnesse therfore, And so I dar say / he wil of his Rightwisnesse ; Enlarge them daily / his grace more & more, Blissed be tyme in whiche thei were bore, Namly for youre birthe of them discended, In whome al vices ben vilipended. ²	99 103 105
	(16)	
	My goode Lorde, trewe hertly affection Compellithe me somewhat to entremete, ³ In fyndyng sum goode exhortacioñ That myght be to you / gracious & mete, Ensuryng youre estate in quiete sete, Whiche may neuer endure but by vertue, According to the pleasance of Iesu.	106 110 112
	(17)	
Prince Edward's good bring- ing up.	And so youre bringyng vp hath be right sad, In all vertuous disposicioñ, And to the honnour of god / euer ladde, Whome I biseche be youre <i>proteccioñ</i> , That ye may abide in suche affeccioñ, Not oonly to youre <i>profite</i> & honnour, But als to oure althre ⁴ wele & socour.	113 117 119

¹ This verse is damaged. ² thought ill of. ³ intermeddle.

⁴ See above, p. 8.

(18)

Besides whiche thre thinges I wolde meve	120	Do not forget Time.
Your high estate to haue in Remembrance,		
Kepying (<i>sic</i>) them in youre breste and neuer leue,		
For any busynesse or attendance,		
Puttyng youre high estate in assurance,	124	
That is tyme Passed <i>present</i> and future,		
Kepyng thees three tymes with due mesure.	126	

In tempore preterito.

(19)

[O]f tyme passed I wolde ye sholde take hede,	127	Importance of reading the Bible.
Redyng the bible & holy scripture,		
And there ye may see to what ende dothe lede		
Vertuos dedys & condutes seure,		
Principally suche as haue noble cure,	131	
For certeyne a blissed entencion		
Must determine wele withoute question.	133	

(20)

And other men, in the contrary wise,	134	
That be indisposed to rightwisnesse ¹		
Must nedis fal, and al folk them dispise,		
Sith their werkes bene without aduisnesse,		
Hauing no regarde to goode stedfastnesse,	138	
And so who so euere wol preve the sothe,		
He endithe not wele that wykkidly dothe.	140	

(21)

Seintes of youre noble blode ye may knowe,	141	Saints his ancestors,
Diuers many that lyued blessedly,		
Bothe of this England and of Fraunce ynowe,		French and English.
That gave their hertes to god Inwardly,		
Abydy in goddes feith stedfastly,	145	
Whos pathes ye may beholde & eke see,		
And them folowe in their benignitee.	147	

(22)

Beholde eke youre noble progenitours,	148	
Howe victorious thei were in corage,		
How Iuste, how sad & eke wise at al houres,		
Holdyng their enemyes in seruage,		

¹ Two words in MS.

Their works
are chronicled.

So that thei durst nat so hardy outrage, 152
Whos werkes be cronicled to their fame.
Be suche as thei were, & no man wol you blame.

(23)

Ye may rede in cronicles the ruine 155
Of high estates and translacion,¹
That to vices and outrage dud incline,
For the whiche thei suffred mutacion,
Wherof ye haue daili probacion. 159
For certeine no persoune may longe indure,
But he attende wele to his charge & cure. 161

(24)

Ther was neuer yet fal / of high estate, 162
But it was for vices / or negligence,
Were he neuer so high / or eleuate,
Withoute he wolde attende wele by prudence
To his charge, avoidyng from his presence, 166
Men vicious, and namely couetous ;
Where thei abide thei distroy euery hous. 168

(25)

Some recent
remarkable
changes.

Ther hath be in late daies right grete change 169
Of high estates and grete diuision,
Right meruelous, wonderful & eke strange
To myche folk unportable punicion,
Sorouful, peineful, and tribulacion, 173
Whiche might [haue be] eschewed in this wise,²
To haue had counseil without couetise. 175

(26)

Ther was goode ynough if ther had be hert 176
To haue departed therwith in all haste,
And saued many a man that toke smert,
But rather thei wolde take the deth is taste
Than thei wolde for theimselfe theyr goode oute cast,
And so loste there maister,³ theimselfe & goode,
Only couetise shedyng their blode. 182

¹ Perhaps the meaning is "and of their transference."

² Line much defaced.

³ Perhaps he alludes to the death of Richard, Duke of York, 1460.

(27)

Howe may any estate be in seurtee	183	Dangers of covetousnes.
Of his welthe, prosperite & honnour,		
Or in any wise be in sikertee,		
If couetous folke be in his favour?		
Whiche people wol do / their peine & labour	187	
Euer for their owne singularitee,		
Charging no <i>personne</i> [h]is aduersitee.	189	

(28)

The high estate of oure king god <i>preserue</i> ,	190	
And if deuoided had folke couetous		The late grievous battles show they might have been avoided.
From his <i>persoune</i> , his people had not sterue		
With suche grete batellis dispiteous,		
Whiche to here & telle is ful piteous.	194	
For to late the couetous folk toke hede		
To haue holpen them selfe whan it was nede.	196	

(29)

Ful openly shewithe experiens	197	Sins of the covetous.
To what effect couetise drawith to.		
It is apte to vntrouthe and negligence,		
To falsenesse and subtel treson also,		
Euer for lucre, go where he go,	201	
Hauyng no regarde to trouthe ne worshiþ,		
So he may come to goode and Lordeshiþ.	203	

(30)

Who that herith many Cronicles olde,	204	History teaches circumspection.
And redithe other blessid Scripture,		
Shall excede al other bi manyfolde		
Resons, and his discrecions ful sure,		
Circumspect in his actes, wytt pure,	208	
And so to guyde hym in siche cases lyke		
As other men dudde that were polletike.	210	

(31)

<i>Tempus preterit</i> kepe in youre Remembrance,	211	
And reuolue in youre cogitacion,		
How mysruled haue fallen in comberance,		
And wele ruled in exultacion.		
Chese the best for youre consolacioñ,	215	

II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

Euer gracious & blisshed entent,
Maketh to fynnishe wele youre tyme present. 217

Iam de tempore presenti.

(32)

Tthe (*sic*) god / of his omnipotencie 218
Hath brought you now forth to *our* grete comfort,
So Iesu encrease you, to Iustifie
And rule this present tyme for owre support,
That al people may haue cause to report 222
The blessednesse of youre estate Roial,
Pleasyng god and to the wele of vs al. 224

(33)

Edward's
opportunity.

And also al wronges for to redresse, 225
With laful and dewe moderacion,
And all rebellion for to suppressse,
Aftur Iust & dewe informacion,
All thing doon with *consideracion*, 229
As the case requireth, in his due wise,
For to youre highnesse is this entreprise. 231

(34)

Your works
will go down
to posterity
in history. †

Suche as ye be, so shall ye be taken, 232
Yourre dedys & werkes shal prove al thing,
Wele or evyl thei shalbe awaken,
In cronicles youre Rule rehersyng,
Either in preisyng either in blamyng. 236
Nowe here ye may chese wherto ye wol drawe,
Best is to confourme you / to goddys lawe. 238

(35)

Goddys lawe is man to knowe his estate, 239
And goddis wille haue in dewe obseruance,
And his owne Cure if he be fortunate,
And thise three euer haue in assurance,
And so shall he his high estate enhaunce, 243
And his goode dedys be magnified,
Bothe here and in heuyn glorified. 245

(36)

Of magnifi-
cence.

To entremete / of youre magnificence, 246
I woll make therof but litil wrytyng,

Aduertising youre estate & excellence		
Not to be to hasty in youre wyrkyng,		
Ne to slowe, ne to feint, for no temptyng,	250	
Ne to riall, ne in to grete simplese,		Duty of moderation.
Ne to liberal for no frendlynesse.	252	
(37)		
Ne ouer streit for noo necessite,	253	
But in a meane bi moderacioñ,		
And so youre estate shall encrece & thee, ¹		
And yet though bi consideracioñ,		
Of youre honnour and nominacioñ,	257	
At a point al other ye do excelle,		
Another ² tyme ye may it Repelle.	259	
(38)		
And euer drawe to youre noble seruice	260	Choose your servants well.
The mooste vertuos folkes and cunnyng,		
That may youre entencion accomplice,		
Your high estate and grete honnour sauynge		
And suche ye may haue that cause no blamyng,	264	
Suche as a man is / suche drawithe hym to,		
Either vertuous folk or therto fo.	266	
(39)		
And also beware of the couetous,	267	
He is nat for youre profett and honnour,		
He shall appere false and sedicious,		
Be al quaint socibbilitees and labour,		
Corruptyng his fellowship bi errour,	271	
Of his false couetous opynion,		
This is verrey soothe withoute question.	273	
(40)		
Take you to liue of youre own properte	274	Keep within your income
Of youre Revenues, lyuelode & Rent,		
Propornouning after the quantite		
Your expenses by youre oune Iugement,		
Paying all that is to youre estate lent.	278	
Thus ye shall oure lorde god & the world please,		
And all men fayne to leue you at youre ease.	280	

¹ thrive.² A nother in MS.

(41)

	The wiseman saithe do all thinge <i>with</i> counseil,	281
	Not biddynge youre counsail do al thing,	
	Right so if ye go youre selfe to batail,	
	All folk woll folowe you in youre helpyng.	
See to every- thing your- self.	Do youre selfe and all shall be obeying,	285
	Truste to no man is execucion,	
	So wele as to youre oune inspeccioñ.	287

(42)

Things to remember.	Principally I wolde you aduertise,	288
	The thynges to kepe in youre remembrance.	
	Oon is the vertuous folk to cherisse	
	And þe vicious to put in grevance,	
	Disseuering them bi youre ordynaunce,	292
	Yevyng hym rewarde & other expence,	
	According to his merites and desert,	
	And thus ye shall avoide every smert.	295

Plato.	<i>Docet¹ Regem satisfacere / de stipendiis stipendiariis suis Alioquin societas despiciet eum & dominium suum ; hec Plato.</i>	
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(43)

Pay your debts.	And paie youre men their wages & dutee,	296
	That thei may lyue withoute extorcion,	
	And so wol god trouthe & equitee,	
	And therefore take hertili this mocion,	
	And in their nedys be their proteccion.	300
	And so shal youre fame encrece & rise,	
	And every man youre pleasire accomplise.	302

(44)

Execucion before elo- quence.	Be ye rather clept an executer	303
	Of wisdam, in his deue & formal wise,	
	Than to be proclaimed a wise speker,	
	And nought folowethe aftur that guyse,	
	Of bothe, weldisposed, fame shal arise,	307
	So youre estate to wisdam do Incline,	
	Wherbi al myshappe fallith to Ruine.	309

(45)

	All thynges aftur wisdam to gouerne	310
	Is verrey suretee and trusty assurance,	

¹ Perhaps for decet.

- And pleasith almyghti Jhesu eterne,
 If ther be put in hym trewe affyance,
 Whiche ye may obserue in youre Remembrance, 314
 That noght eschape in dissolucion,
 Ne wested by delapidacion. 316
- (46)
- And in al thynges kepe order denly. 317 Keep order
 What is curtesye, trouthe, Reason, pite
 Or Iustice but a true ordre truly?
 All thes vertues returned may be
 To vices, withoute ordre in his degree. 321
 Therefore ordre other' while wol nat speke,
 But in couenable tyme he wol owte breke. 323
- (47)
- That ye must nedis doo bi rightwisenesse,¹ 324
 Bi trouthe, goode conscience or Iuggement,
 Do it with pite & pacientnesse,
 With no vengeance in youre commandement,
 For that longithe to god omnipotent, 328
 And who that is withoute grace and pite,
 At last bi reason he shall vnthe.² 330
- Fundamentum timoris dei est pietas / hec Pitogoras.*
- (48)
- Pite withoute rightwysnesse is folye, 331 One virtue
needs
another.
 Rightwisnesse withoute pite tiranship,
 The toon withowte the tother withoute any lye
 May not contynue in myght of Lordeship,
 But at last it woll come to shenship,³ 335
 Therefore haue herto a goodely respect,
 That ye be not herein founden suspecte. 337
- (49)
- Yeuethe no light credence to euery tale, 338 Sound advice.
 Ner beleue not euery suggestion,
 Nor by not euery thyng that is to sale,
 Ner graurte ye not euery peticion,
 But hauethe ye consideracion 342
 To euery thing, as the cause requirethe,
 Just, trewe, necessarye, as it semythe. 344

¹ Two words in MS. ² Not thrive. ³ Ruin.

(50)

Do not pro-
crastinate.

Delay no thyng to be doon bi reason, 345
 Ne deferre it *withoute* cause resonable,
 For thing done quykly in his season,
 Is right worthi to be commendable,
 And to al creatours laudable. 349
 Bothe profit and worship shal herby sewe
 To them *perfourmyg (sic)* it and never rewé. 351

*Sitis intra et extra idem ab hiis que loquimini;¹
 ad inuicem ne sit quod linguis exprimitis diversum
 ab eo quod reconditis in corde; hec Hermes.*

(51)

Be secret as
a secretary.

Say nat oon thyng and do the contrarie, 352
 Lete youre worde & dede be in accordance,
 Kepe secretnesse as a secretarye,
 For youre worshippe, proffite and assurance,
 Withoute langage, speche or vtterance, 356
 But vnto suche *personnes* oportune
 As may be furthering to youre fortune. 358

(52)

Hear counsel
patiently.

Heere euery man is conseil & aduise 359
 Patiently & chese therof the best,
 And than I wold youre highnesse aduertise
 That ye sholde kepe youre entent in *your* brest,
 As ye wolde *your* owne tresoure in youre chest. 363
 And so shall ye youre estate magnifie,
 And youre grete wisdam daily multiplie. 365

(53)

And kepe no selfe-willed oppunion, 366
 But to all reason bethe appliable,
 And allowe als *withoute* obliuion,
 Euery man is goode wille / resonable,
 Though *your* wytt excelle & be more hable 370
 To discerne the vtterest Iugement
 In any case to you *appartenent*. 372

¹ The English version runs, "Be all one within and without in that ye shall speak."

Iam de tempore Futuro.

(54)

- [N]ow of two tymes I wol speke no more, 373 The Future.
 It suffiseth to youre discrecion.
 But of futur' temps I wol meve therfore,
 Biseching you / vnder youre proteccion,
 That ye wol take herin Inspeccion. 377
 And kepe it in youre noble remembrance,
 For the web of youre estate and surance. 379

(55)

- Be wele ware by discrete prouision 380
 For to suppressse *youre* false conspiratours, Conspiracy.
 Aftur the lawe & constitucion,
 Established ayenst¹ opyn traiterous,
 Being circumspect as youre progenitours, 384
 In suche caas (*sic*) haue bene to the preseruing,
 Of their Royal estate and preseruing (*sic*). 386

(56)

- Wolde to god that ye wolde prouide sadly 387
 To subdewe al maner rebellyon, Rebellion.
 Namely of suche countreies that gladly
 Be disposed to insurreccion,
 Wherof ye may haue intellection 391
 Redyng Cronicles, and then ye may fynde
 Whiche places bene to thair deue kyng vnkynde.

(57)

- In euery thyng haueth a prouidence 394
 That no hurt fal to youre noble highnesse,
 Not bi conspiryng ner bi necligence,
 Exilyng from you slough & simplenesse,
 In suche thing as sholde sowne² to youre distresse,
 Hauyng al waies a tendre regarde,
 to youre seuretee sparing for no Reward. 400

(58)

- Almyghty Jhesu was disobeied, 401 Traitors to Christ.
 First by Adam and Eve in paradise,
 Thurgh the fals deuel to them conueiede,
 And in heyn by lucifer vnwise,

¹ Two words in MS.² tend.

	And in erthe bi Iudas in his false guyse.	405
	Haue not ye now nede aboute ¹ you to loke?	
	Sith god was deceyvede hy wiles croke.	407
	(59)	
	Be wele ware of falsehode in felawship,	408
	And namly of corrupte bloode and suspecte,	
	Abidyng in power, myght & lordeship,	
	And be towards thair rule circumspecte,	
	And to thaire werkes haueth respecte,	412
	And if thei trespace Lete not them eschape,	
	Iustly punysshying then & not <i>with</i> lape.	414
	(60)	
Pretenders.	Oon thyng I warne you, if ye wol be Kyng,	415
	Thurgh goddes grace, of any Region	
	Ye must subdewe <i>with</i> al suppressyng	
	Euery <i>personne</i> withoute submission	
	Pretendyng right to your coronacioñ.	419
	Or ellis ye may not regne in seurte,	
	Nor set youre subiettes in quiete.	421
	(61)	
Old servants.	And euer remembre olde Sarueyeres,	422
	Hauyng suche <i>personnes</i> in tendernesse	
	That hathe be feithfull & trewe welowyllers	
	To thair ligeance <i>withoute</i> feintnesse,	
	Suffryng therfore / grete peine & butternesse (<i>sic</i>)	
Beware of reconciled enemies.	And be ye ware of the Reconciled	
	That hathe deserued to be reuiled.	428
	(62)	
Recent ex- perience.	May nat ye see late the experience	429
	Howe falshede, mysreule & extorcion	
	Mysguidyng, Robbery & neeligenge,	
	Withe all ther wiles haue conclusion	
	Of destruction and confusion,	433
	Wherto shal we expresse thair <i>proper</i> name,	
	That so haue perished to thair grete blame?	435
	(63)	
Chronicles	The trouthe is not hid, ne neuer shalbe,	436
	Cronicles faueurithe no man of Reason.	

¹ Two words in MS.

Their disclaundre shal neuer die of equite		do not favour traitors.
That falsly haue conspired bi treson,		
Or lyued vngodly in iche season.	440	
Do youre parte as longithe to your highnesse,		
To avoide prudently suche heuynesse.	442	

(64)

For truste me, verreyly god wol be knoweñ,	443	
He rewardythe every benefet,		
And punyssheth bothe high & eke the lowe,		
Be he neuer so queinte or countrefet,		
His rightwise Iuggement he neuer let,	447	
Thawe he delay it of his diuine grace,		
For a tyme of better leiser and space.	449	

(65)

Muche folke wisseñ hertely to be alorde (<i>sic</i>)	450	
For grete plente, worshiþ & reuerence		Duties of lordship.
Takyng no hede what sholde therto accorde,		
So thai haue thair pleasir and complacens.		
To whiche entent god neuer yaue suche sentence,		
But that thei sholde be in chageabe (<i>sic</i>) cure,		
To directe other vndur dewe Mesure.	456	

(66)

Also take this for a note and Lesson,	457	
Yf ye be put in high estate & cure,		
But ye reule deuly at tyme & season,		
Accordyng to right, as seithe Scripture,		
A wreche shall reule them <i>without</i> mesure,	461	
To a grete punisshyng and chastement		
To be at a wreche is commaundent.	463	

(67)

Prouide you sadly for youre sowles is helthe	464	Have a Confessor,
Of a Confessour in discrecion,		
Of a goode leche for <i>your</i> body is welthe,		Doctor,
Of a Secretarie withe Inspectioñ,		Secretary.
Secrete, sad, and of goode Intencion,	468	
That can accomplishe <i>your</i> commaundement.		
To thonnour and profit of youre entente.	470	

(68)

	Also chese <i>your</i> servantes of goode draught,	471
	That wol attente and be seruiable,	
Servants	Remembryng with whom thei haue be vpbraught,	
	For to suche thei shalbe appliable.	
	Whether thei be good or nat vailable,	475
	So take herin a goode direccioñ,	
	To haue service withoute suspecion.	477

(69)

	Looke that youre servauntes be of the best,	478
of all ranks,	Bothe Knyghtes, Squiers, Clercs & yomen,	
	And eueriche in his degre vertuest	
	Whiche shalbe to <i>your</i> glorious fame then,	
	In all countrees that men may you ken,	482
	As well in grete strenght, profit & honnour	
	As to al youre trewe Soubgettes socour.	484

(70)

Buy things when in season.	Prouide bifore for al thing in season	485
	In youre estate, householde & other thing,	
	And ye shall haue better chepe bi reason	
	Of youre prouision in the bying,	
	Than whan ye may make therof no taryng,	489
	For whan a thing must right nedys be had,	
	It must be receiued, goode, chepe or bad.	491

(71)

	A peny spent bi wise prouision	492
	Auailith two in time seasonable,	
	And in lyke wise the execucion	
	Of delys by tyme is right profitable,	
A stich in time.	Where in taryng it is mutable,	496
	Therefore some thinges oons by tyme doon	
	Ben worthe twyes / other thing ouergoon.	498

(72)

	Prouide that <i>your</i> Communes may be welthy,	499
	In richesse, goodes and prosperite,	
	And to occupacion them applye,	
	Vndur drede of the lawe is Rigourstee.	
	For of what condicion that he be,	503

- And he be of goodes right plentuous,
He dar not be to lawe contrarious. 505
- The comfort-
able are the
most law-
abiding.
- (73)
- For he that nought hathe is nat vnder drede, 506
Neither of lawe, ne of punicion,
For in other place / he may his nede spede,
No thing rechying of transgression,
Ne willyng to come / to submission. 510
For he that hathe of goodes no substance,
He may the soner make than auoydance. 512
- (74)
- It hathe be, and yet is a comyn sawe, 513
That Poverté departithe felaship.
Therfor vnder rule & drede of the lawe,
Kepe youre Comyns bi helpe of *your* lordeship,
That they may growe to richesse & worship, 517
And than at tyme of nede thei may you aide,
As often sithes as they shalbe praied. 519
- A proverb.

Keep your
commons,
- (75)
- Prouide that lawe may be exercised, 520
And executed in his formal cours,
Aftur the statutes autorised
By noble Kynges youre *progenitours*,
Yeving therto youre aide helpe & socour. 524
So shall ye kepe folk in subieccion
Of the lawe and trewe dispocision. 526
- and provide
laws
- (76)
- Yif ye wol bryng vp ayen¹ clothe makyng, 527
And kepe youre Comyns oute of ydelnesse,
Ye shull therefore haue many a blessing,
And put the pore people in busynesse,
Bi the whiche thei shal come to grete swetnesse,
And robbery lafte by that exercise,
And strumpery als by this entreprise. 533
- to revive
cloth mak-
ing;
- (77)
- Lete nat the pouer Comyns be dysguised 534
Nee haue *precious* clothe in their Vesture,
- pass sump-
tuary laws.

¹ Two words in MS.

- But in thair excesse be ther surprised
 And obserue a resonable mesure
 In their arraye, *with* oute change but tendure, 538
 Accordyng to degree of Laborours,
 Aftur statute of youre / progenitours.¹ 540
 (78)
- Commons not
 to bear arms. Youre Comyns shude nat bere dagger, ne Lance, 541
 Ne noon other wepyns defensife,
 Leste therby thei cause debate & distance,
 Yeuyng other occasions / of Striff,
 Swliche wepyns haue made folk to lese their lif.
 And if this statute² were executed
 Meche folk sholde be Laufully rebuked. 547
 (79)
- Liveries Also gentilmen shuld nat yeve clothying 548
 But to their howshold meyne, for surance
 That no man be their power excedyng,
 Ne maynteine no people, by youre puissance,
 and mainten-
 ance. Ner false quarels take thorough maintenance, 552
 But euerry man lyve of his owne in rest,
 And that pleasithe god and man most best. 554
 (80)
- Euery man ought to lyve vnder' a lawe, 555
 And namly cristenmen that wold god please,
 And for drede therof to lyve under awe.
 For miscreantes, for drede of disease,
 Bene obedient to their lawe doutelesse, 559
 And mucche more rather to be obseruante³
 Of cristen lawe we shulde yeve attendance. 561
 (81)
- Liberty and
 Licence. What region may Lyve *with*oute a reule? 562
 Or abide quietly In assurance,
 Though he were an asse hede or a dulle mule,
 He myght not lyve wildly at his pleasance.
 But at last ye shall falle in grevance, 566
 As ye may bi experience it se,
 Mysruled folk evyll doon thrive or thee.⁴ 568

¹ 37 Ed. III. c. 8-14.³ MS. obseruance.² 2 Ed. III. c. 3.⁴ flourish.

(82)

By lawe every man shold be compellede	569	Compulsory archery.
To vse the bowe and shetyng for disport,		
And al insolent pleies Repellede,		
And iche towne to haue Buttes for resort		Butts.
Of every creature for their comfort,	573	
Especially for al oure defence		
Established before of grete prudenece.	575	

(83)

Iff any people put to youre highnesse	576	Treatment of subjects' petitions.
Billes of compleint or peticion		
Onswere them in haste <i>with</i> aduisinesse,		
Werto they shal trust <i>withoute</i> decepcion,		
Aftur the trouthe & Iuste perfeccion	580	
That folke be nat delaied friuolly,		
Otherwyse then the case askith iustly.	582	

(84)

My lorde al men shuld be vnder' <i>your</i> drede,	583	
That bene vnder <i>your</i> reule & obeisance.		
So must ye vnder god in worde & dede,		
In eschewing his wrathe & displeasance.		
He wol be deled <i>with</i> in sad constance,	587	
Neither <i>with</i> Iapes, mokke ne seornyng,		
But Iustly, truly, even & mornyng.	589	

(85)

No man reuleth god, be (<i>sic</i>) he reulith al,	590	The ruling of God.
Bothe heuen, erthe, and also helle.		
What man is he that is terrestial		
But of hym thus sadly wol speke & telle?		
Al kynges & princes he dothe excelle.	594	
Suche a maister that is worthi & best		
Is surest to serue and at longe moost rest.	596	

(86)

And for most especial Remembrance	597	You are His subject.
Thinketh that men be erthly & mortal,		
Ner there is worldly Ioy ne assurance		
But in almyghti Ihesu eternal,		
Bi whos myght & power especial,	601	
Reignen kynges, and be to hym soubget,		
And hym to obey is thaire deutee & dette.	603	

(87)

	Oon thing kepe right stedfastly in your mynde,	604
Requite services, or show you don't forget them.	If any man do thinge for youre plasance,	
	Acquite you ayein ¹ of natural kynde,	
	Though ye wil nat hym therefore auance,	
	Yit lete hym wyt that ye haue therof rememberance, Whiche is to hym a sufficient Reward, And ever to please you wol haue regarde.	610

(88)

What classes to cherish.	And als euer amonge cherisse straungers, ²	611
	Marchandes, pilgrymes & great Clerkes, In especial suche as be makers. Thise may exaltat youre name & werkes,	
Proverb.	Aftur the oolde dogge the yonge whelpe barks ;	615
	Study euer to haue men is fauour By vertue, or elles lost is youre labour.	617

(89)

A Tudor policy.	Whan any man tellethe you any tale,	618
	Serche it priuely to haue trewe knowlege Whether it be soothe, and to you no bale, And than kepe it in secretnesse treuleche, Til ye haue youre ful entente feithfullyche,	622
	And so ye may ful many thynges knowe, Where bi blabbynge thei may be overthrowe.	624

(90)

Enrich your descendants in moderation.	Oon thing kepe in youre noble memorie,	625
	Do magnifie & enriche youre dscent (<i>sic</i>), And though al other ye do modifie, I holde it a prouision prudent, Lete not theime be to you equioulent,	629
	Neither in myghti pouer ne Richesse, In eschewyng hapley youre oune distresse.	631

(91)

Do not make many lords.	To make many lordys bethe aduised,	632
	But thei be of youre lyue or cause vrgent, Leest the Realme be charged & supprised, And therbi the folke haue cause to repent. God hathe you grace and plentuous wit sent,	636

¹ Two words in MS.² *Sic* in MS.

- Take this lesson to noon obliuion,
For many folke holde this opinion. 638
- (92)
- Make knyghtes, squiers & gentilmen riche, 639 Lessons
learnt from
Henry VI.
And the pore Comyns also welthy,
But to youre richesse make neuer man liche,
If ye wol stande in peas and be set by.
So wol god and polleci sykerly, 643
Lyke as ye in estate other excelle,
In *propre* richesse ye sholde bere the belle. 645
- (93)
- Yf god sende you children plentuously, 646 Teach your
children.
As I truste to god he wole right wele,
Do them to be lettred right famously
Wherby thei shall reule bi Reason and skele,
For leude men litle discrecion fele. 650
Who that is lettred suffician[t]ly,
Rulethe meche *withoute* swerde obeiceantly. 652
- (94)
- Satis cito sit quidquid bene¹ sit.*
- Euery day be ware of that extremite 653
Not to be to hasty in mandement,
But medle th[e]rwith youre benignite,
Being to high and lowe Indifferent.
For youre Lawe is to bothe equiuolent, 657
Lyke as al other ye do Rectifie,
Right so god wol youre highnesse iustifie. 659
- (95)
- Euery day oons showe *your* high *presence* 660 Show your-
self once a
day to your
subjects.
Before the Comyn people opynly,
To thentente that ye may yeve audience
To al compleintis shewid *perfitly*,
Yeuyng them laful remedy iustly, 664
Defendynge the pore from Extorcioñ,
Withe al *your* power / myght & tuicion. 666
- (96)
- Oure nature desirith to haue a man 667
To reigne here vppon vs *with* *gouernance*,

¹ MS. benet.

Circumspecte of tymes than & whan
 He shal execute thyng in assurance,
 Quykly & iustly to goddys plesance, 671
 Not as a wreche, Tiraunt ne oppresour,
 Nor in subtil wiles a Coniectour. 673

(97)

Grounds for
going to war. I wold fain ye wolde kepe in remembrance 674
 To be right wele aduised by goode sadnesse,
 By discrete prudence & feithful constance
 [1 MS. a any] Er ye begynne werre for any¹ richesse, 678
 Or of fantasie or of symplenesse.
 For werre may be lightly commensed,
 Doubt is how it shal be recompensed. 680

(98)

I mene nat for vnthrifty Cowardise, 681
 Whiche is in al Realmes abhominable,
 But of wilfulnesse people to supprise,
 That might otherwise be recouerable,
 By iuste meanes to god acceptab[1]e, 685
 For man knowith nat what he bygynneth,
 Howe fortune of vntrifty werre endith. 687

(99)

Seven curses. Wo worthe debate that never may have peas. 688
 Wo worthe penance that askithe no pite.
 Wo worthe vengeance that mercy may nat sease.
 Wo worthe that Iugement that hathe none equite.
 Wo worthe that trouthe that hathe no charite. 692
 Wo worthe that Iuge that wol no gilte save.
 Wo worthe that right that may no favour haue.

Do unto
others as
you
would be
done by.

*Facias aliis quod tibi vis fieri & non facias aliis
 Quod tibi non vis fieri; hec Socrates.*

(100)

If forgotten be al lawe positife 695
 Remembre the noble lawe of nature,
 Obse[r]uyng it / al daies of your lif,
 And ye shal kepe equite iust & suer,
 As to minstre to iche Creature 699

- Suche misericorde, iustice & eke grace,
As ye wold be doon to in semblable case. 701
(101)
- What is wisdam, no to be this day wise, 702 Wisdom.
And for to be a fole a nother day,
But euermore to a bide in wise guise
In wordes & dedis to goddes pay.
And in al thing that men wol hym assay, 706
Neither in malice, ne in Cruelte,
Nor owte of tempre for aduersite. 708
(102)
- On al wise if your counsail advise you 709 The Council.
To do thing for your profit and honnour,
Yet heere pair reason & cause why & how,
Thei be to you suche a Solicitour,
Nor for mistruste but for better favour. 713
For perauenture, al thyng discussed,
The case bi you may be better trussed. 715
(103)
- A mater discussed & wele betyn 716 Importance
And reasoned by goode discrecion, of thorough
The sadnesse therof men may owte setten. discussion.
In the contrarie men finde decepcion,
Thurgh thaire owne simple intellection. 720
For who that many Reasons wol wele here,
May chese the better & with hym it bere. 722
(104)
- Amonges other I wolde you aduertise 723
To be wele aduised in your grauntyng Grants of
Any fee or office in any wise offices or
That it securly¹ stande withoute resummyng. fees.
Suche variance hathe be grete rebukyng 727
To many folk, that haue be preferred,
And aftur of their' livelode differred. 729
(105)
- A man to be preferred to honour 730 Resumption
Of fee or office to his grete makyng,. of grants
And aftur to be put to dishonour dangerous.

¹ MS. serurly.

- By resумыng of graunt or forsakyng,
 Better had be neuer be suche takyng. 734
 It is nought a man to be cherissed,
 And aftur for poverttee perished. 736
 (106)
- Your serv-
 ants' good
 opinion. Studie how ye may stande in ful conceite 737
 Of youre owne seruantes beneuolence,
 Bothe in love & in drede *withoute* deceite,
 That thei may haue comfort of *your* presence,
 For *your* manly & wytti diligence, 741
 In Iustly rulyng with circumspeccion
 Bothe high & lowe *with* deue direccioñ. 743
 (107)
- Than *your seruautes* wol bere oute *your* fame, 744
 That in this world It shal nat quenched be,
 And renoune *your* glorious & goode name,
 Spryngyng it for the to eueryche degree,
 Blissyng you daily *with* goode hert & free, 748
 Whos worship shal be cronicied sadly
 Yn remembryng *your* goode workes gladly. 750
 (108)
- Virtue not its
 own reward. Looke þat your maters be *with* god standyng, 751
 And ye shal acheue / *your* blessed entent,
 The contrarye shal mischeue in al thing.
 He endith not wele that vngodly ment,
Withoute a reconsiled amendment. 755
 A man of goode wille shal determyne wele,
 A malicious man euel shal fele. 757
 (109)
- How to listen
 to tales. Whan any man maketh suggestion 758
 A yent another for any greuance
 Heerithe hym wele & make sad question
 How his tale may be had in assurance.
 But yeueth therto no trusty affiance, 762
 Vntil tyme that ye haue herde the tother.
 Though it seme sothe / it may be founde other.
 (110)
- Danger of
 light cre-
 dence. Light credence hath done mucche harme & damage 765
 In this world, and euer more herafter shall,

- While men wol bileue wilde folk & sauage
 Withoute exainnyng lytil or smalle.
 Many men haue had / therby a grete fal, 769
 He that is warned is not deceiued ;
 Yeue no credence / til trouthe be perceiued. 771
 (111)
- If I shal speke of the vniuersal 772 The common weal.
 And the comyn wele of this Region,
 I wol aduise you in especial
 To haue goode guidyng & Inspeccion
 To every trouble in this nacion, 776
 For though by a lital it begynnyth,
 It may distroy vs al or it endithe. 778
 (112)
- My lorde, if any man hathe offended 779
 And is brought to the lawe at your owne wille,
 Of what maner bloode he be discended,
 Though ye be above & high on the hille,
 Yet lete not people vtterly spille, 783
 If any gracious misericord
 Wol helpe & it to god & man accord. 785
 (113)
- I mene not / this mercy generally, 786 Use of mercy.
 But to suche people that by lykelyhede
 Bene wele disposed vniuersally,
 To goode gouernaunce & vertuous dede.
 If it be so, ye may deserue grete mede, 790
 This I commyt / to youre discreccioñ,
 As the case askith in submission. 792
- Inferas cito penam malefactoribus terre ex quo tibi
 constiterit de delictis (illegible) impediet regnum
 tuum, decapita eum publice vt alii terreantur ;¹
 hec Hermes.*
 (114)
- And if thoffence touche the subuercion 793 Proceed sharply with treason.
 Of the Realme, puttyng it in disturbance,
 Procede sharply to deue execucion
 Aftur lawful and rightful ordynaunce,
 In eschewyng al suche mysgouernaunce. 797

¹ MS. terrenant.

For in suche case mercy is nat nedefull,
Neither for the Realme, ne for you spedeful. 799

(115)

Truste me verely, & take it for trouthe, 800

That ye shul moe people hertis conquere

Bi compassion & piteuous routhe

Accordyng to god and his moder dere,

Than bi crueltee, & rigorousete. 804

So lawe & mercy must be discerned,

That it be suer to god concerned. 806

(116)

The Treasurer should
not be a lord.

My lorde, lete neuer temporal Lorde 807

Be your tresourer, ne your Receyvour,

For a meane *personne* wol therto accorde

More mete & a bitter (*sic*) solicitour,

More availeable in actiffe socour. 811

For a lordis rewarde is infinite,

A mene *personne* may be content *with lite*.¹

(117)

Choice of
Council.

Loke that youre counseil be rather godly set, 814

Wele aged, of goode disposicion,

Than worldly witty & no vertue knet.²

Vicious men yeve no gladly inicion

To gracious werke ne goode direccion, 818

But often theire *purpose* & their entente

Comyn to nought when they be euil ment. 820

*In deum statuas principia tuorum negociorum &
fines ; hec Gregorius.*

(118)

Take this for general conclusion, 821

In euery case where counsail is lackyng

Committ you to goddes direccion,

And your matiers shall haue goode begynnyng,

And consequently come to goode endyng. 825

For that thyng that is bi god comenced

Shal fynyssh wele *with hym* so insenced. 827

*Cum inceperis aliquid bene operare incipias deum
rogare quod tibi bene succedat ; hec pitagoras.*

General con-
clusion.

¹ Little.

² Quære.

(119)

- In al your maters, er ye bygynne, 828 Think at the
 Thenke what ende wol be the conclusion. beginning
 In suche guidyng ye shal grete prudence wynne, what will be
 And eschewe mischife & confusion, the end.
- In wise foresight & goode discussion, 832
- In althing take god at your commencement, 834
- And al thing shal folowe after your intent.

(120)

- Be wele ware that ye haue not by wisshes, 835 Good inten-
 Wisshing that ye had doon or lefte suche thing, tions alone
 Suche maner reule is nat worthe two Russhes, are not
 To haue cause of repenting your doying. enough.
- Therefore in iche thing at the begynnyng, 839
- Studie sadly by goode discrecion
- How ye may take a goode direccioñ. 841
- Aspectus ostendit quod iacet in corde plus quam
 verbum; hec Omerus.*

(121)

- Auoide alwaies frownyng Cowntenauce 842 A king's
 Being fressh, not disguised, ne deynous, countenance.
- Ay gladson and chierful *with* sad constance,
- To the wele of your people amerous, 846
- And *pereto with* al youre hert desirous,
- Attempryng you als betwyx colde & fire,
- Kepyng your selfe from Angre, wrathe & Ire.

(122)

- Retoriq̄ & musyk been two scoles, 849 Moderation
 Right niche commendable in their nature, in rhetoric
 Without restreint many may be fooles and music.
- That rekke not to take herin goode mesure.
- Neither of thise *withoute* reule wol be seure, 853
- Musyke is disposed to grete lightnesse,
- Feire speche for the most parte to grete falsenesse.

(123)

- Feire speche I mene i-peynted *withoute* trouthe, 856
- With* flatering speche to blere a man is Ie,
- Suche *personnes* to cherisshe it were routhe,
- For grete parte of their langage *pei* do lye

- So craftily that is harde theim tespie. 860
 Feire speche mesurably & godly ment,
 Accordith to goddis commaundement. 862
 (124)
- In doubt,
 await God's
 guidance. Whan ye be in doubte of any Reulyng, 863
 For to say, do, commaunde or determyng;
 Better is of al thise to make cesing,
 Vntil time that god you illumine.
 Of al the certente bi wisdom fine, 867
 Thus¹ ye may obserue goode auisement,
 And the more suerly topteine youre entent. 869
 (125)
- Do not trust
 the Com-
 monalty. Put no ful truste in the Comonalte, 870
 Thai be euer wauering in variance,
 But in god feithfulnesses and equite,
 In plaine trouthe, Iustice & goode gouernaunce,
 Men haue be bigiled in affiance, 874
 For al other truste is decepcion,
 Brynging men to a false conclusion. 876
 (126)
- Loke that ye kepe alway attemperance 877
 In youre langage & eke commaundement,
 Auoidyng al vengeance & displesance
 With al mansuetude² conuenient,
 This is to your estate expedient. 881
 So the mekenesse in your hert may habonde
 To the people of god & of your londe. 883
 (127)
- Good wishes. I biseche almyghti god of his grace 884
 To sende you longe lif *with prosperite*,
 Hertly comfort, reioysyng & solace,
 And in al your daies tranquillite.
 Yet think ther is no suche felicitate, 888
 But al is transitorie and passyng,
 Sauf your vertues & godly menyng, 890
 (128)
- Whiche bene enchaunced³ in Erthe & also 891
 In heven lastyngly glorified.

¹ MS. This. ² gentleness. ³ See 55/284, 58/339.

To your noble blode grete whorship pereto Where no Ioy may be now certified, Than in thise wise to ^a be sanctified,	895	
For vertu shalbe lauded & praised, And misreule atte laste disoꝛbeid.	897	
(129)		
Saint petur saithe þat soubgettes shold be Buxom ¹ to thar lorde, goode or vnworthy,	898	1 Pet. ii. 18.
Right so a lord shold be in equite, Be-tuyx the high & the lowe Rightfully Procedyng & in iche case equally,	902	A lord should deal justly by low folk as wel as high.
Hauyng no respecte to grete alliance, Ner therefore dredyng manne-is displeasance.	904	
(130)		
Whan al lawe, Reason and discrecion, Wisdam, prudence, counseil & secretnesse Faile & dispeire / in ymaginacion, Than ther may be noon other stabilnesse.	905	When human powers fail, trust God.
But trustyng to god & his feithfulnesse There is verrey relief and goode seurte.	909	
Sith it is so, lete vs to hym trewe be.	911	
(131)		
Things past, remembre & wele deuide ; Things present, considre & wele gouerne ; For things commyng, prudently provide ; Al things in his tyme peise & discerne, That to trouthe & worship it may concerne,	912	Remember the past ; manage the present ; provide for the future.
Avoidyng from you al Impediment, Showing ayenst al vertuous entente.	916	
	918	

¹ obedient.

III. Dicta & opiniones diversorum philosophorum.

Non exponas te ad dormiendum donec consideres opera que fecisti eadem die vt scias si errasti, et in quo, et si feceris quod non debuisti, et si inueneris quod male feceris, tristeris, et si quod bene leteris et per hoc peruenies quod sis circa deum ; hec Aristotiles.

(1)

Before you
go to bed,
examine your
day's be-
haviour.

Euery day before ye go to youre bede, 1
 Serche wele al youre quidyng¹ by remembrance.
 Yf it be Il, pray god of better spede,
 Yf it be goode, to god be the plesance.
 Thus ye may knowe your selfe in assurance, 5
 How ye stande *with* god and *with* his goode grace.
 And daily better you while ye haue space. 7

Rex iustus bene regit. Rex faciens re(c)tum & seruans iusticiam regit volunt[at]es populi et ille qui facit iniusticiam & Violenciam regimen illius querit alius qui regnet pro eo. Oportet dominum rectificare prius seipsum quam populum suum ; hec Zelon.

(2)

Trust not
only in men,
but in God.

Truste nat oonly in men is multitude, 8
 Ne in thair myght, ne in Comon clamour,
 But in god & in goode consuetude
 Of trewe iustice, *without* any rigour,
 Otherwise than god wolde, owre Saueour : 12
 A Kynge, Reulyng al thynges rightfully
 With lawe reigneth *with* al folk plesantly. 14

¹ guiding.

Decet Rem agere de nocte cogitare in bono regimine et in die perficere cognatum; et qui seruos habet seu subiectos & bene gubernat hunc super tuam miliciam statue principem, et qui hereditates possidet et eas decenter procurat super prouenientibus tuis ipsum procu[ra]torem constituas; hec Plato.

(3)

Bethink in the nyght of goode ordennance,	15	At night, plan.
And in the day execute thy thynkyng.		By day, carry it out.
And suche folk as be in goode gouernance,		
Lete them bene aboute you awaytyng;		
And suche folk as mysreule theire spendyng,	19	
Exile them and other in heritage,		
Rulyng wele, take them for wytty & sage.	21	

Iusti nullum timent; qui heret iusticie non habet unde aliquem v[er]eatur; quare dixerunt aliqui quod iusti non habent ex quo deum non formident ex quo quod Imita[n]tur et suo obediunt mandato. Et si Rex iustus non est, non est Rex sed predo & violens spoliatur; hec Aristoteles.

(4)

Yf ye live aftur god & righfull lawe,	22	If you live justly, fear no one.
Iustly, truly, after goode gouernance,		
Be not in drede ner in no man is awe,		
For god hathe constitute an ordennance.		
Yf man showe in his lif a grete substance,	26	
Of his werke being goode & vertuous,		
Drede nat al othre pereto odious.	28	

Gubernare populum non conuenit puero, nec ei qui est mundanorum negociorum ignarus, nec suam immutanti concupiscenciam, nec ei qui plurimum vincere concupiscit. Non est differencia inter pue[ro]rum etate & pue[ro]rum moribus, quia mores hominum non pendent ex tempore, sed ex eo quod in suis actibus concupiscencias muta[n]tur. Qui concupiscencias vbi quum quantum et vt conuenit, non mutatur bonus ad gubernandum existit; hec Aristoteles.

(5)

Age is no
proof of
discretion.

Thage of man preuith not discrecioñ,	29
Ner the youthe of man shewith not madnesse,	
Of thise two ye may take inspeccioñ :	
Whiche guidith hym wisely / <i>with</i> goode sadnesse,	
He is the verray man of Stedfastnesse ;	33
For that man that childly hym gouerneth	
Is a childe, while he that reule obserueth.	35

(6)

A childish
man is not
fit to rule.

So he that hethe childis condicioñ	36
Ys not acceptable to gouernaunce.	
For he that aught to haue subjeccioñ	
Of the people and verrey obeissaunce	
Must put hym selfe in witty assuraunce.	40
As ye may oft see bi experience,	
He that shal reule must hau grete diligence.	42

Recorderis *semper* anime tue ut stet in nobili cogitatu.
Pauci enim sunt allegantes aduersus hunc sublimem
statum ; hec Pitagoras.

(7)

Set your
mind on
noble
thoughts.

Lete you[r] mynde be euer in noble thought,	43
In blessid menyng of goode gouernance,	
With al other vertues of god sought ;	
Than ye shal acheue al in assurance ;	
Otherwise <i>your</i> werkys gone to mischanche.	47
Al thyngis begonne wele & godly ment	
Comyn to goode ende <i>withoute</i> repent.	49

Cauete ab eis qui non gubernant se *veritate*, *sed*
tamen audiunt eam & non operantur per illam. Et non
paretis Laqueos vt noceatis hominibus nec conemini ad
dampnificandum eos nam ista est res que non abscon-
detur *que* licet non cognoscatur a principio cognoscetur
finaliter ; hec Hermes.

(8)

Beware of
evil livers.

Beware of them that lyve not truly,	50
In iuste gouernance & operacioñ ;	
And noyes no man ne hurte hym wilfully ;	

For thagh ther be no demonstracion
 At begynnyng by nominacion, 54
 The ende shall showe every thinge as it is,
 Truly iustly, or els falsly iwys. 56

The end
 shows what
 everything is.

Infelix in hoc mundo & malus¹ est qui caret sensu
 Sapiencia & doctrina; *hec* Hermes.

(9)

He may be clept wele an vnhappy man 57
 That is² *withouten* wytte, wisdom and doctrine,
 Withoute whiche no personne wele guide hym cañ.
 Therefore every man aught to do his peine,
 The saide vertues to hau and opteine, 61
 Principally suche as hau *gouernance*
 To kepe them selfe & other from greuance. 63

A man with-
 out wit and
 teaching is
 unhappy.

Conuenit vt honores quemlibet iuxta condicionem
 suam & ipsius discrecionem et *iuxta* sui scienciam pub-
 licando honorem quem feceris ei vt populo manifesten-
 tur bona merentes; *hec* Hermes.

(10)

Eueri personne, cherissħ ye & honoure 64
 Aftur his merite & discrecion,
 Publishsing to his connyng *your* fauour,
 Causyng other to take direccion
 To goode & blissed disposicion, 68
 Coraging al people to take grete hede
 To guide them wele, & to vertue them lede. 70

Honour every
 one as he
 deserves.

Honoranti fit honor. *Aristoteles.*

(11)

Worship every man in his degre, 71
 Lordis, knyghtes, Squiers and other men,
 Some for thair goodnesse & benignite,
 Some for manhode that men of them telleñ,
 Some for grete wisdom that ye in them sene; 75
 So it shal rebounde to youre honour,
 Causynge you to stande in men-is fauour. 77

Honour every
 man in his
 degree.

¹ MS. malio.

² MS. it.

Non infligas incontinentem penam peccatori *sed* intermittas¹ spacium ad exculpandum : *hec* Hermes.

(12)

Don't be too
hasty to
punish.

Set you neuer to hasty to corre[c]te, 78
Or punnissh a-noon eueri trespassour,
But *with* leisour them do protecte,
Til ye haue of the trouthe better savour.
Then ye *procede* after the clamour 82
Iustly, truly as the case requirethe,
Punisshyng hym that falsely conspireth. 84

Quando rex non potest exprimere suas cupiditates, qualiter potest cupiditates reprimere aliorum; et qui non potest suos defectus proprios reprimere non poterit suum reprimere populum a se distantes. Ergo decet Regem incipere dominare sibi deinde intendere dominio aliorum; *hec* Hermes.

(13)

You can't
stop covet-
ousness in
others, unless
you suppress
it first in
yourself.

Howe shold a kynge that can nat wel repress 85
His owne couetise, in his owne persone,
Other men is couetise suppress,
That ben many, and selfe but a-lone.
Yef ye wol remedie this mater sone, 89
Ye must pure youre selfe fyrst *withoute* blame,
And than *procede* to youre glorious fame. 91

Te non rectificato prius tuum populum rectificare non potes, nec gubernare ipsum poteris te errante, / nam qualiter poterit cecus alium ducere pauper ditare alium, Inhonoratus seu honore carens aliquem honorabit & debilis qualiter poterit suis viribus debilem confortare? Certe numquam poterit aliquis alios dirigere² nisi qui sciat & dirigat principaliter seipsum. Igitur si immundicias aliorum volueris abstergere primo cor tuum illis abstergas eo quod anima tua existente inmunda, non poteris alium expiare nisi agere velis vt medicus qui a morbo quo periuntur curare nititur alium, et seipsum ab eodem curare non potest; *hec* Aristoteles.

¹ MS. intermittere.² MS. diligere.

(14)

A principale note / and direction	92	If you want to check vice in subjects, see that you've none yourself.
To governe youre soubgettis,		
To euery vice making obieccion,		
Looke that the same be not in you, Iwis,		
How may youre self correcte that is amys,	96	
And the same be founde in your personne ?		
Reule youre selfe first and than al other sone.	98	

In vetendo vt non debet dominio Inuidia oritur. Inuidia mendacium prouenit, mendacio odium, odio, vero, iniusticia nascitur, iniusticia, inimicia erumpit, inimicia bellum, bello lex perit, et heredita[tes] perduntur et in vetendo vt debetur vero dominio veritas procreatur, veritate procedit iusticia et iusticia amor pululatur. Amore¹ vero dona procedunt et tutela cum quibus lex manutenetur et mundus populis adaugetur. Aristoteles.

(15)

A prince to misuse his owne Auctorite,	99	
Grete inconueniencis sewe ² therbi,		
Grete mischeif et (<i>sic</i>) muche enormite,		
Many recuperable treuly.		
He that vsith his power Rightfully,	103	The just Ruler shall prosper.
Shal prospeire in his vertuous levyng,		
To his famous honnour & grete preisyng.	105	

Quomodo adquiruntur amici? honorando eos cum presentes fuerint & benefaciendo eis & commendando eos cum fuerint absentes; *hec* Zelon.

(16)

By thre meanes ye may Freindes purchase :	106	Three ways to get Friends.
Firste, when they be present, do them honour ;		
And do wele vnto them in euery case ;		
When thei be absent, prayse them with fauour.		
This ye aught to do your peine & labour,	110	
The higher that ye be in high estate,		
Obserue ye this if ye be fortunate.	112	

¹ MS. Amor.² ensue, follow.

Qui est bonorum morum, est bone vite & secure, & homines diligunt eum; et qui est malorum morum, est male vite, & fugiunt eum homines; hec Socrates.

(17)

All folk love
well-mannered
people.

Welle manered people bene of goode lif, 113

And al folk theim loven for thair goodenesse.

Eucl named bene often in striff,

And men fle theim for thair vnthriftynesse.

Thus ye may eschewe many a distresse 117

Taccompaignie you with folk vertuous,

And avoide from you people vicious. 119

Qui dominatur hominibus necesse habet habere memoriam semper trium. Primum est gentis plurime que subest ei. Secundum est quia licet sint sub suo dominio liberi sunt & non serui. Tertium est quod sua dominacio durare non potest nisi modico tempore; hec Hermes.

(18)

Three things
for a lord to
bear in mind.

A lorde aught to hau thre things in mynde, 120

First, nombre of folk in his governance.

Seconde, that they be free, nat bonde in kynde.

The thirde that he hathe no sad assurance

Of his lordeship in longe contynuaunce. 124

So ye may Reuolue in cogitacion

That here ther is no longe habitacioñ. 126

Sciatis quod populus obedit benefacienti sibi, nec potest accidere Regno bene nisi quum benefacias populo; nam quum populus¹ carebit eo erit dominus sui tamen; hec Hermes.

(19)

Folk obey
those who do
them good.

The people haue a goode condicion, 127

To yeue to theire goode doer obesance;

Take this for a trewe erudicion,

The roiaulme may neuer be in assurance,

Bot folk bene welle doon-to without distance. 131

Kepe them lauffully in peas & in rest,

This² they shall obey youre highnesse most best.

¹ MS. *dominus*; but the English version runs, "For when the people is gone, the prince abideth lord of himself alonlie."

² This = thus.

Non egrediatur ex ore vestro Indignacionis tempore
verbum turpe, quia hec est Res delionestans, et ducens
ad penam; hec Hermes.

(20)

In any tyme of Indignacion,	134	Never use foul or angry rebukes.
Or in other reason of displeasance,		
Withowte al other excusacion		
Tuche not of fowle rebukynge speche vtterance,		
Nor of no maner vengeable semblance.	138	
But rather attende with mansuetude		
Tamende folk, than to fere ¹ with wordes rude.	140	

Melius & nobilius in hoc mundo est bona fama & in
alio mundo exclusio a pena. Valencius est tacere quam
loqui cum ignorante & solitudinem querere quam iungere
se malis. Sapiencia acquiritur humilitas bona voluntas
pietas & priuacio peccatorum; hec Hermes.

(21)

The best thinge in al this wide world is this,	141	A good report is the best thing in this wide world.
For to be renouned in blessed fame.		
Who wol this haue, must be wytty & wise;		
By vnthriftynesse, men lesen there name.		
Speke not to folis that bene in diffame;	145	
Stablisshye you in your hert to grete wisdam,		
Withoute whiche lost may be a grete kyngdam.		

Qualis sit sensus ostendit eloquium; hec logmon.
Et ex habundancia cordis os loquitur; hec Omerus.
Et os ostendit quod iacet² in corde; hec Socrates.

(22)

To be of to myche speche is a grete vice;	148	Much talking is a great vice.
To be of to litle speche is Fooleship.		
Ches ³ therefore þe best if ye wolbe wise,		
Bestowyng your wordes to your worship		
Truly, wisely longyng to your lordeship.	152	
Suche as people bene, suche is thair vsancee,		
After thair hertes þei make thair vttrance.	154	

¹ frighten.² MS. iacit.³ MS. Thes.

Tribus de causis honorantur Reges, ex legum Institutione bonarum, ex bonis Regionibus conquerendis et ex desertarum populacione terrarum; hec Aristotiles.

(23)

A king gains honour—
1. by good laws; 2. conquering lands; 3. peopling deserts.

By thre thinges is honoured a kynge, 155

Fyrste for makynge of lawe acceptable,

Seconde for many landes conqueryng,

The thirde to make desertis habitable,

With myche people þere to couenable; 159

Thus a goode kynge is taken as he is,

And renounned here, and in heuyn blisse. 161

Opera hominum non ad vnguem discucias, quia cum homines non possunt erroribus omnino excludi si multum examinentur et districte confundetur tua discrecio; igitur a aliquibus eorum auertendi sunt oculi, ad indulgendum eisdem. Hiis enim penes te existentibus corda dirigentur ipsorum & procedent ad melius facta tua. Aristoteles.

(24)

Don't blame folk too much.

Blame never people to the vtterest, 162

Ner never examine thaim to straitly.

Withowte blame or errour is not the best;

Forgive sometimes.

Sountyme ye must forgeue graciously,

And thus ye shall wynne hertes stedfastly. 166

Euery man-is traspasse be not lyke;

Considre them wele as man polletyke. 168

Ignorancia hominis tribus causis cognoscitur. In non habendo cogitatum in rectificacione sui ipsius, & non repugnando suis cupiditatibus, et gubernando se consilio sue consortis in eo quod scit & quod nescit; hec Socrates.

(25)

A man's ignorance is shown by—
1. not correcting himself; 2. not hating covetousness; 3. following his wife's advice.

By thre thinges a man-is ignorance 169

Ys knowen, hymselfe not rectifie,

To conetise to haue no repugnance,

Bi his wiffe his counseil hym to fortifie:

Thise thre thinges no man may Iustifie. 173

Therefore take goode hede and sad attendance

To eschewe the mischeif of this dance. 175

Decet regem cognoscere adherentes sibi quorum quemlibet statuatur suo loco iuxta cuiuscumque discretionem Sapienciam et felicitatem, providens unicuique iuxta exigenciam meritorum; nec sint talia dona que non acceptentur nec placeant; hec Hermes.

(26)

A kynge sholde knowe al his owne <i>servantes</i> ,	176	A king must know his servants,
Their rule, ther gidying and condicion;		
And to eueriche of theim make his grauntes,		and reward them according to their deserts.
After their wisdam & discrecion		
To their merites make prouision,	180	
In eueryche degree mete to their desert;		
Acceptable & pleasant in thair hert.	182	

Hillaritas est intelligendum signum & e contra; hec Hermes.

(27)

To dissimile, sum men holde a wisdam,	183	Don't dissimulate, except under necessity.
And it may be in some herd distresse,		
But for the moste in euery kyngdam,		
Suche as ye be by <i>your</i> chere expresse,		
Either in hate or in loue showe the xcesse.	187	
And so men shall knowe you bi countenance		
How men shall guide theimself to <i>your</i> plesance.		

Decet hominem non odire nec offendere illum qui eum offendit; immo bene faciat & mitiget motus & verba eius; hec hermes.

(28)

If <i>your</i> <i>servauntes</i> displea (<i>sic</i>) <i>your</i> highnesse,	190	If folk displease you,
As euery man is nat in that seurte		
To guide hym perfitye in stedfastnesse,		
Yet showe hym louely <i>your</i> benygnite		be gracious to them.
Without hatefull wrathe of <i>your</i> dignite.	194	
A Soubget may nat bere <i>your</i> displeasance		
But <i>your</i> grace be showed to <i>your</i> grevaunce.	196	

Quando errabit amicus penes te non recedas ab eius amicia donec remaneat ad in eo quo (*sic*) ipsum videris posse Rectificari; hec Aristoteles.

(29)

If a friend offends you,	If ye haue any friende in your Favour, Though he erre or do to you displeasance,	197
don't make too much fuss about it.	Make not of his defaute to meche clamour While he hatlie any power or substance To rectifie his defaute or greuance, Puttyng hym in his aquital & peyne To aveange hym, <u>ye muste your self refreyne.</u>	201 203

Rex sapiens imperat cum mansuetudine & placabilitate; quod non imperat displicitate & superbia & perpere¹ cum bonis propter illud quod putat facere iusticiam rectam et equam; hec hermes.

(30)

Be meek and kind to all.	Obserue mekenesse in youre maundement <i>With</i> al benignite and mansuetude, Takyng this goode blessid aduertisement, Neuer in displesant consuetude,	204
Don't use rude words to good folk.	Ne <i>with</i> rigorous wordes, ne <i>with</i> rude, Yeue no charge ayenst goode people, namely While ye wot <u>Iustifie them equally.</u>	208 210

Si Rex aggregavit thesaurum & non expenderit illum ubi conuenerit, aut perdet illum aut Regnum; hec hermes.

(31)

Unless you spend your treasure well,	If ye make of tresour aggregacioñ By any maner meanes possible, To youre estate & nominacioñ But thexpense therof be incorrigible, Conuenietly to men visible	211 215
you'll lose it or your realm.	Bestowed, either loste is the tresour, Or elles the Roiaulme bi men is clamour.	217

Duo sunt laudabilia & bona, lex & Sapiencia, quia lege cohibemur a peccatis et Sapiencia adquiremus cunctas bonitates; Rex est bonus qui non permittit vnum alium offendere; hec Aristoteles.

(32)

Law and Wisdom are two good things.	Two thinges be right goode and commendable, That bene, Lawe & Wisdam in temprance.	218
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¹ MS. *proprie.*

Lawe constreinet folk from offence culpable,
 And wisdam guideth al goode assurance.
 Al thise two thynges kepith in substance, 222
 And rectifie iche man in his degree,
 That noon hurt oþer by Iniquite. 224

*Non rideas multum, nec irascaris, quia ista sunt duo
 opera fatuitatis. Aristoteles.*

(33)

Two thinges bene signe of grete foleshīþ, 225
 The toon is laugh myche in compaigni
 The tother is to wax wrothe in shenship,
 Thise two bene the vices of grete folie
 Causyng many other to multiplie. 229
 Therefore guide *your* selfe in suche blessednesse
 That the people may Ioy of *your* highnesse. 231

Too much laughing and too much wrath are signs of Folly.

Decet Regem ad sua seruicia sucepere quem priusquam regnaret bonum et fidelem cognouit. Cum Rex postquam regnauerit non valet eos bene cognoscere quia omnes ei postmodum adulantur & honorantur eundem ; hec Socrates.

(34)

A kynge sholde take of his olde acquaintance, 232
 His familier seruauntes vertuous,
 That he knewe before his Regne of Substance,
 Wele disposed, trewe, not malicious.
 When he reigneth, eche man wolbe Ioyous 236
 To glose hym, to please hym *with* al circumstance :
 Harde it were to knowe than their variance. 238

A king should employ old servants whom he proved before he reigned.

Qui reputat omnes Homines equaliter, Amicos habere non potest ; hec Socrates.

(35)

Oon thing I wolde aduertise *your* hignesse, 239
 Take not euery mañ in oon qualite :
 Oon is wise and a nother in lewdenesse,
 Sum be in welth, sum in aduersite,
 Sum be mery and sum in nycyte ;¹ [1 folly] 243
 Who that cannat disseure wise from bad
 Shal haue no verrey freendes þat be sad. 245

Don't think every man is the same, (some are wise ; some, fools ;) or you'll have no true friends.

Qui gubernat bene seipsum, expedit esse gubernator ;
hec Plato. (36)

A good
 Governor is
 he who can
 rule himself.

In this wise ye shul knowe a governour 246
 Hable to reule & guide in euery place,
 That can be in hym self a goode myrroure,
 Guidynge hym selfe aftur oure lordes grace,
 Shewyng euer a playne & a trewe face. 250
 He that can not his owne personne gouerne,
 How shuld he other folkes therin lerne? 252

Tribus de causis dolet homo, de diuite qui venit ad
 paupertatem, de honorabili qui dispeccionem incurrit,
 & de sapiente quem ignorans derisit ; *hec Plato.*
 (37)

Three things
 to grieve a
 man.

Of thre thinges a man may be heuy : 253
 Riche man for to come to pouerte ; (1)
 A worshipful man in dispite reuly ;¹ (2)
 A wiseman,² of the ignorant to be (3)
 Seorned or mocked, þat folk may it se. 257
 So this world is not certeine ne stable,
 But whirling a bowte and mutable. 259

Non expectes merentibus benefacere quousque requi-
 rat illud, *sed* eis benefacias a tempore ; *hec Plato.*
 (38)

If a man has
 deservd re-
 ward, give
 it him at
 once, before
 he asks for it.

If any man haue deserued rewarde 260
 For his meritis & goode gouernance,
 In his hasty recompense be toward,
 Competently betyme by *your* puissance,
 Er it be askad *withoute* daleance, 264
 And by *your* selfe lete it be doon frely :
 That shal be best, and the more price sette by. 266

Non iraseeris subito, *quia* si facere consueueris do-
 minabitur tibi Ira. Cum posse habes vites Iram que
 non permittet rei inspicere finem ; *hec Plato.*
 (39)

Don't get
 angry sud-
 denly.

I counseil, be nat sodenly wrathfull : 267
 And ye be accustomed so to do,
 And ofte displeas'd & also Ireful,

¹ ruefully.

² MS. A wiseman man.

It shal ouercome you when ye wold nat so,
 That ye may not tempre your self therfro. 271
 Therefore guide youreself in suche pacience, Be patient.
 That wrath ouercome you nat for negligence. 273

*Si volueris scire naturam alicuius super aliquo, con-
 sulas eum, et ex hoc cognosces suam iniquitatem vel
 equitatem, & suam bonitatem vel maliciam; hec Plato.*

(40)

Yef ye wol knowe euery man is nature, 274 To know a
man's nature,
consult him
on a matter
of importa-
ance.
 Wit, purpos, entente and condicion,
 Counseil *with* hym of sum thyng in grete Cure ;
 Anoon ye shall knowe his entencion
 Of goode or Il his disposicioñ, 278
 And whether he be set to equite,
 Or ellis to false iniquite. 280

*Scias quod inter dei dona, Sapiencia excellencior est.
 Dilige sapienciam, et audias sapientes, et obedias deo ;
 hec Plato.*

(41)

Of al the yeftes that euer god made 281 Wisdom is
the best gift
that God
made.
 Wisedam is the most excellent by name,
 By whiche vertue wol enerece and not fade,
 And most is enchaunced worship & fame,
 And most eschew *with* vices & eke blame, 285
 And bryngith a man best to goddes plesance,
 And kepith best in worldly assurance. 287

*Aduersarium tuum contra te machinantem, nitaris ad
 equita[te]m reducere, potius quam procurare vindictam ;
 nam vindicta est utrique dampnosa, & preseruans equi-
 tas vtilis est vtrique; hec Plato.*

(42)

Be neuer disposed to grete vengeance, 288 Don't long
for Venge-
ance.
 Yf ye may other wise do by Iustice,
 But entrete folkes to obedience,
 By meke & gentil wordes in feir guise.
 Thus men shalbe wonnen to your seruice. 292 Win folk by
gentleness.
 Vengeance is nat often prophitable,
 But the contrary is commendable. 294

Reduc homines ad equitatem suauiter; al[i]oquin eris in labore & pugna cum eis; *hec Plato.*

(43)

Use gentle- ness first;	Reduce <i>your</i> subgettes to equite,	295
	Firse swetely and by meanes Resonable;	
	Yf thei wol rest in their iniquite,	
then, force.	Compelle them bi vigour couenable,	
	Fyghtyng a-yenst them til they be stable,	299
	Kepyng <i>your</i> self ever in trewe iustice,	
	And doubte not <i>your</i> entente thei shal accomplissh.	

Qui non mansuescit vel acquiescit castigacione blanda, fac eum mansuefieri correptione turpi vel aspera; hec Hermes.

(44)

If a man won't yield to persua- sion, punish him sharply.	Yf ye can not brynge a man by mekenesse,	302
	By swete glosyng wordes and feire langage,	
	To the entente of your noble highnesse,	
	Correete him sharply <i>with</i> rigorous rage,	
	To his chastysment and ferful damage;	306
	For who that wol nat be feire entre[te]d,	
	Must be foule & rigorously threted.	308

Noli seruire ab aliquo de eo quod non est a natura sibi licet debite teneatur, quia plurimum tecum turbitur, cum labor[ar]e oporteat in faciendo eo ad quod non est aptus; hec Plato.

(45)

Let folk serue you according to their nature.	Considre ye euery man-is nature,	309
	A[nd] aftur their oune disposicion,	
	Receyve theire <i>seruice</i> & put them in crure ¹ (<i>sic</i>),	
	Acordyng as shal be expedicion	
	To bothe parties in admission.	314
	To chose a man nat apte to youre <i>seruice</i> ,	
	How shold he <i>your</i> ful pleasure to accomplice?	

Non tuearis illum qui per te defendi intendit in eo per quod tua bonitas minuatur vel minus apprecieris. Propterea ynmo in aliis rebus promoneas & iuues eundem; hec Plato.

¹ ? for "cure."

(46)

Protecte ne defende no man by your myght, That by you to holpyn antendith,	316	Don't protect wrong-doers.
That shold mynyssh your goodenesse or ellis right, For any pite that he pretendith.		
Reasonable wisedam god you sendeth To diseure right from wronge prudently ;	320	
Therefore support never wronge wytyngly.	322	

Modicum non reputes vnum Inimicum habere, quia malum magis quam cogites tibi poterit oriri ab eo. Res que est contra naturam, vires habet in suo inicio forciores, et res naturalis forciores suo fine ; hec Plato.

(47)

Repute neuer oon enemye litel, For he may hurt you more bi his malice	323	Never think a foe too small.
Then ye wolde wene þat a wreche & fykel Might greve or compasse for to accomp[l]ice.		
In-disposed ¹ men myche hurt can deuise.	327	
Of youre enemye take goode attendance þat he hynde ² you nat by his greuance.	329	

Non est conueniens prauorum dominium, quia licet bonum videatur aliquo tempore, ad malum tamen deuenit finem ; hec Plato.

(48)

Lordeship of Shrewes is nat accordant Ne conuenient to be cherished ;	330	The rule of Shrews is an evil.
Thaugh at sum tymes it semith plesant, Euyl thinge at cend is perished,		
And comyth to nought & is vanyshed,	334	
Where goo[d]nesse abideth in assurance, And evel is reward with myschance.	336	

Magis detrime[n]tum quod regnum habere potest, est propter elatos corde habentes meliorem quam meruerunt statum ; nam alios se meliores despiciunt, et tali modo ordinacio Regis peruertitur et turbatur ; hec Plato.

¹ ? a genuine word, or for 'ill-disposed.' See 'wele-disposed,' 67/967, 75/710.

² hinder.

(49)

Pride is the
greatest
harm to a
realm.

Of al the detrimētis, hurtis & hydrance	337
That may betide to a Roialme, is pride	
To be enchaunced to grete gouernance	
A-yeunst desert, and other put aside.	
The better he wold euer ouer-ride,	341
And peruerte al the kynges ordenaunce,	
And auenture it in great distourblance.	343

Saluus est qui seruit Regibus in fidelitate, & cum pietate populo; nec status in quo est decipit eum, nec propter bonum quod possidet, nec propter malum aliquatenus desperat quo grauatur; hec Plato.

(50)

He who
shows pity,

He is seure and saufe that seruith kynges,	344
In fidelite shewyng grete pite	
To al people in his doinges.	

His estate shal come to prosperite,
Whether he be in welthe or aduersite. 348

is lovd every-
where.

Lerne this lesson, to be right piteuous,
And ye shul come to loue in euery house. 350

Consulas in negociis equalem tibi, quia ipse maxime intelligit quod opus est tibi; hec Plato.

(51)

Take counsell
of your
equals.

Aske counsell of a man to you equale,	351
In your grete nedys and meche besynesse.	

He can yeve you best counsell & moost formal;
He knowethe what longeth to your prowesse,
To your estate, honnour & noblenesse. 355

Suche lessons haue otherwhile in mynde,
In whiche wisdam & profyt ye shul fynde. 357

Moderata verecundia facit hominem omitti quod non competit sibi; nimis superflua facit omitti quod competit sibi, sed diminuta et modica, ad quod non competit cogit incedi; hec Plato.

(52)

Modesty is
helpful.

A moderate shame makith men to leve	358
Many shameful thinges & vnfytyng;	

Our moche shame makith men to bileve		Don't be too shamefast.
To leve that thing þat were to hym fyttyng.		
Goode discrecion take to youre lernyng,	362	
What is to [be] lefte & what to be doon,		
And guide you aftur goode discrecion.	364	

Non vtaris operibus cum verba sufficiant; hec Plato.

(53)

Use neuer for to execute in dede,	365	Don't act, when a word is enough.
Where ye may haue deue execucion		
Bi wordes, and al folkes iustly lede.		
What nedith Rigour in submission		
Of hym amendyng his transgression?	369	
He that may reule wele bi benignite,		
Leue Rigour, or in vnrest shal he be.	371	

Res regi prohibita censetur ebrietas. Quia Rex regi sit custos: quam turpe erit ipsam sui custodia indigere. Inter Reges est felix ille, in quo dominium predecessorum dirigitur; & infelix est ille, in quo ipsum subditur & priuatur; hec Plato.

(54)

That king is ful blessed & happy	372	The king is happy who doesn't mis- rule and get drunk.
That can kepe hym from mysreule & dronkship,		
And directe his leuelode profitably,		
Encreasyng his heritage and lordeship.		
What dishonour is to hym, & shenship,	376	
That mysguideth his liuelode & lesith, ¹		
And al his reuennes mysueth!	378	

Non te intromittas ad aliquid faciendum quousque sensus prouiderit illud delectabiliter faciendum; hec Plato.

(55)

Neuer entremete you of erthly thinge	379	Don't begin till you've secured a good ending.
Til your wise wytt haue prouided before		
How it may be doon to a goode endyng.		
Than accomplishe it with hert more & more.		
He that dothe nat soo, is lewde & a poore.	383	
A thing foresien is light texecute.		
Unauised men, foles bene repute.	385	

¹ loseth.

Oportet iudicem non rigidum esse sermone contra maleficiū patratores, quia si non se haberet hoc modo abuteretur auctoritate scensoris; hec Plato.

(56)

Judges
should not
speak too
savagely to
ill-doers.

A Iuge shold not be in worde rigorous 386
 A-yenst malefactours in eny wise.
 He is to þat power contrarious,
 If he any boistorous worde deuise;
 But in gentil and most piteous guise 390
 He must attempre wele his Iugement,
 That no bousterous Rigour þere be ment. 392

Qualis Rex, talis populus. Cupiditates & hominum voluntates reperiuntur iuxta Regum cupiditates & voluntates ipsorum; hec Plato.

(57)

Like king,
like folk;

Suche as the kynge is, suche bene al other, 393
 Bothe in wille & also in couetise;
 The toon may not be withoute the tother;
 For the kynge hathe the charge theim to supprise,
 That wolde surmonte, or in vices arise. 397
 The kyng may make his people as hym liste,
 Either evil or vertuous & iust. 399

bad or good.

Quid est quo cognoscitur iustus? Ex eo quod non agat aliquid dampnosum alicui, nec loquitur mendacium ob sui profectum; hec Plato.

(58)

A just man
harms no
one, and lies
not for gain.

A Iuste man shalbe knowen in this wise, 400
 To do no man Iniuri wilfully,
 Ner ly not for his profett in suche guise
 That it shuld harme any man skilfully.
 Thus euery man sholde lyve rightfully, 404
 And euer to haue God before his face,
 By the whiche he shal Ioy & blisse purchase. 406

Si Rex omittit inuest[ig]are populi sui facta milicie sue & inimicorum, non vno die securus de regno suo; hec Hermes.

(59)

- Yf a king serche nat the condicioñ 407 Unless a king
 Of his people, knyng[t]hode, & enemy, finds out his
 And al thair dedes bi discrecioñ, folke' state,
 He may nat be sure of his regne treuly, he can't be
 Not oon day, but he attende prudently 411 sure of his
With circumspecioñ and gouernance reign for a
 To put al thise thinges in assurance. 413 day.

*Quam bene est populo, cuius Rex est bone discrecionis
 & boni consilii, et sapiens in scienciis; & quam male
 est ipsi quum ad eo predictorum deficit ei! hec Hermes.*

(60)

- How goode & blissed is that Regioñ 414 How blest is
 That haue a king wise, discrete, & witty the land that
 Bothe in science & circumspectioñ, has a wise
 That can guide al his soubgettes seurely; king!
 And if he be the contrary treuly, 418
 Al gothe at¹ hauoke and mysgouernance,
 And the Roiaulme diuided & in distance. 420

*Quando Rex despiciet aliquid modicum de quo facere
 debet, augebitur illud, sicut debilis infirmitas corporis,
 cui non occurritur cum medicina, magnificabitur, &
 totum corpus molestabit; hec Hermes.*

(61)

- That king that reputeth that he shold do 421 If the king
 For lital or nought, It shal multiplie neglects a
 As a lital sykenesse dothe in man; so small ill, it
 Where first *with* lital he might modifie, will grow like
 And *with* litle labour it rectifie; 425 disease in a
 For of a litle sparkel a grete fyre body.
 Comyth, displeasaunt to many a sire. 427

*Interest regis informare filium scienciis qualiter suum
 Regnum conseruet, et qualiter sit rectus in populo suo,
 et qualiter dirigat miliciam suam; nec permittit eum
 multum vti venacione nec aliis vagac[i]o[n]ibus; & in-
 struat eum loqui composite, & vitare faciat vanitates;
 hec Hermes.*

¹ MS. As gothe &. Mr. H. Bradley suggests 'Al gothe at'
 as a possible emendation.

(62)

A king's son should rule with knowledge, do justice,	A king sholde enfourme his sone in this wise,	428
	With science to conserue his Region,	
	And to be rightful to folk in goode guise ;	
	Knyght-hode to put in goode direccion ;	
and not hunt too much.	To to moche huntynge haue none intencioñ,	432
	Ner to wanderings, ne to vanite ;	
	And to speke ornatly with equite.	434

Interest Regis quod sua beneficia in bonis viris apar-
cant, et in hiis qui scire intuentur¹ vt ob hoc ad *predicta*
melius mutantur ; hec Hermes.

(63)

A king should help virtuous folk.	It longithe to a king For to auance	435
	And to do wele to goode men & vertuou,	
	And thei shal wille wele his profit & assurance ;	
	Where misgoverned men and vicious,	
	And delicate men and delicious,	439
	Wol tendre thair owne proper volunte,	
	Hauyng no regard to other bounte.	441

Interest Regis, cum vult sibi *seruiri* ab aliquo de suo
ministerio, scire prius mores ipsius & qualiter se guber-
net, & domum suam et socios. & si percepit eum esse
bonorum morum, et gubernatorem status sui, & obserua-
torem legis, & tollere² *pacienter* qui contingunt *sinistros*
euentus, faciat sibi *seruiri* ; si non, de[te]stetur eum ;
hec Hermes.

(64)

A king should take as servants, only those whose life he knows to be good.	A kynge sholde take seruantes famulere ;	442
	First knowe their maners & thair gouernance,	
	How thay reulen their howse withoute dere,	
	And to thair felship in assurance,	
	Yf thei be wele named in substance,	446
	Wele demeaned, & of lawe a keper,	
	Pacient, take thaim for feithful louer.	448

Purum Animum diligentem te dilige, meliorem enim
fratre ex patre et matre optante mortem tuam vt here-
ditet bona tua. Hec Hermes.

¹ MS. intuitur.² MS. tolleret.

(65)

Yf ye finde a pure freinde, Louyng and sure,	449	Cherish a true Friend
Constant, wele-willed and beneuolent,		
And eke stedfastly a-bide and endure,		
Aud euer his actes to you wele ment,		
Accordyng to your pleasure and entent,	453	
Do cherissh hym better than your brother,		better than a Brother.
So that he excelle in loue al other.	455	

Qui deficit in eo quod tenetur Creatori suo, quanto magis deficit in omnibus aliis bonis operibus. Hec Hermes.

(66)

He that lackythe for to do his duetie	456	He who does not his duty to Jesus,
To al myghti Iesu, oure creatour,		
In al tymes of his necessite,		
And displeasith ofte owre Sauour,		
Standyng owte of goddes loue & fauour,	460	
Must nedis lakke myche more oper goode werke,		will lack other good works,
Wytnessyng hermes, the noble, goode clerke.	462	

In multum dormiendo non est profectus sed dampnum. Assuesce igitur benefacere nocte et die, ad hoc quod medium vite tue in ocium non expendas.

(67)

To slepe miche, is no profytt ne auaille,	463	Too much sleep is hurtful.
But hurte, damage and derogacion.		
Therfor, for remedie and acquitaile,		
Accustome you bi goode probacion		Do good constantly,
For to do wele withoute mutacion,	467	
That the myddyl of your liffe be not spent		so that your life may not be wasted.
In ydelnesse, ne in vnthriftte myswent.	469	

Beatus est ille Rex qui mutat suas leges in melius; et melior & nobilior est Rex qui in regno suo commutat legem malam propter bonam; hec Hermes.

(68)

That kynge is blissed and honourable	470	The Improver of Laws is blest;
That chaungeth his lawes for the better,		

In goode actes & statutes laudable,
 but the
 Changer of
 Bad to Good
 is more
 glorious.
 By the whiche¹ whiche (*sic*) he is gretter & gretter,
 That can of Injury be a letter,² 474
 Into his glorious fame Renommed,
 So often that it may not be sommed. 476

(69)

In al your noblay and prosperite, 477
 In your worshipful richesse & blessed name,
 Kepe ye thre things for your moost seurete—
 Goode conscience and vnblemysshed fame,
 By the whiche ye shul be kepte from grete grame;
 And from al dishonour and vice coarted,³
 And to grete worship þere-by exalted. 483
hec Ouidius.

Keep a good
 Conscience
 and an un-
 blemisht
 character.

Die bona de amico tuo cui vis occurrere, eo quod
 initium amoris est benedicere, et Inicium odii maledi-
 cere; *hec Socrates.*

(70)

Say goode of your freinde in al freenly wise. 484
 The begynnyng of loue is to say wele;
 The begynnyng of hate, with evil guise.
 Thus man-is tonge shewith swetnesse or felle.⁴
 Of al thinges the tonge berith the belle. 488
 The tonge breketh boon, though he be tendre,
 And shethe⁵ many men though he be slendre. 490

Speak well of
 your Friend,
 and he'll love
 you.

Maior rectificacio est dirigere Regem elongare se a
 malis, ne mala que fiunt imputentur eidem; *hec*
Socrates.

(71)

The most grettest Rectificaciõn 491
 Ys, from evel thinges to directe a kinge,
 Leest vnto hym fal Reprobaciõn
 By his euil doying or mysguidyng.
 Meeche people awayte vppon his reulyng: 495
 Yf it be goode, people greetly reioise;
 Yf he be euel, for suche thei wol hym noyse. 497

The best rec-
 tification is to
 lead a king
 from evil.

¹ ? text corrupt; needs 'But he is the gretter' &c.
² hinderer ³ forced ⁴ cruel ⁵ shoots (? sleeth, slays).

Rex est uelud est magnus fluuius, nascens de paruo ;
vnde, si dulcis est, dulces sunt omnes parui ; et si
salsus, omnes erunt salsi ; hec Plato.

(72)

The king is a grete and a myghti Floode, Ascended and comen of many smale.	498	The King is like a mighty River.
Yf the floode be swete, douce, fresshe & goode, Of suche sauour & Fresshnesse bene the vale.		If he is sweet, his subjects are too ;
If it be salte, of suche taste <i>withoute</i> tale Bene the tother, by al <i>maner</i> nature.	502	if salt, so are they.
As the kyng is, suche bene al in his cure.	504	

Non iudices priusquam vtrosque audias contenden-
tes ; hec Plato.

(73)

In any striff, make neuer iugement Til ye haue herde bothe <i>parties</i> wisely, Leest after ye haue cause to repente, For lack of Foresight and serching treuly.	505	Don't iudge till you've heard both sides.
A kynges worde muste nedys stand iustly ; Therefore in al thing be wele approved,	509	
That nought eschape, digne to be reprod.	511	

Cum habueris amicum, expedit quod sis suimet Ami-
cus ; nec expedit quod sis inimicus inimici ipsius ; hec
Plato.

(74)

If ye haue a frende, be frendly to his ; If ye haue an enemy comberous, Ye aught nat to be his enemy I-wis, But euer in charite vertuous.	512	Be a friend to your Friend's friends ; and don't be a foe to your foes.
Thus ye may betuyxe bothe be Ioyous, And set youre selfe in quiete & Rest ; And thus ye may demene you moost surest.	516 518	

Si pius es, non cum ea pietate que conuertatur in
dampnum. Et penam merentibus inferre non differas ;
et ad roborandam Legem labora, quia in ea domini
timor constat. *Aristoteles.*

(75)

Don't let
your Pity
turn into
harm.

If ye be disposed to grete pite, 519
Lete not that into harme be conuerted,
Ner differred peine to them that worthy be
To be punisshed in vice *peruerted*.

The fear of
God consists
in keeping
the Law.

Ner lete nat *your* lawes be subuerted, 523
But them mayntene and sustene rightfully,
In whiche the drede of god standith iustely. 525

Debiliorem ex inimicis tuis, forciolem te reputas, eo modo requirens tuam miliciam,¹ velud qui ex magnis causis emergentibus egens ad sui tutelam Requirit eandem; hec Aristoteles.

(76)

Think your
least Foe
stronger than
yourself;

Youre leest enemy, Repute ye strenger 526
Than *your* selfe in his fals Iniquite,
Suppressyng hym, leest he a-bide lenger
in his feruein malice and subteltee;

and keep him
under your
foot.

Puttyng *your* personne euer in seurte; 530
And kepe *your* enemy vnder *your* fote;
To be in rest, þere is noon other boote. 532

Si sapiens Rex fieri volueris, ad Rudos & inscios non auertas, Sed ad illos qui sapientia te transcendunt; hec Asseron.

(77)

The Wise
King must
keep clear
of Fools,

If a kynge wol be wytty and eke wise, 533
He muste abstene from Rude & Unkunnyng,
And al suche vnthrifty folkys despise,

and draw to
the Wise.

To th[e] moost wytty & wisest drawyng,
By whome he may be in wisedam lernyng. 537
Right as a king is grettest in noblenesse,
So is wisdam moost best to his hignesse. 539

Mundus² non est perpetuus; ergo, cum poteritis bene facere, non differatis nitentes ad habendam famam bonam; hec ypoeras.

(78)

The world
won't last.
So do good
at once.

The worlde is [not] in perpetuite, 540
Therefore, for to do wele, make no delay;

¹ MS. maliciam.² MS. Mundus.

And if ye wolbe in felicite,
 Put you in payne and deuour
 To be in blissed fame while that ye may. 544
 It is a comon sawe, he that doth wele,
 Shal haue it by goode lawe, Reason & skyle. 546

He who does
 good, shall
 get good.

Non sis dissipator sicut ignorans *quod habeat*; nec
 sis *parcus* vt non fias seruus; *sed* in omnibus habeas
 moderanciam, quia in omnibus utilis est mensura; hec
 Pitogoras

(79)

Be nat in youre expenses ouer large, 547
 Ne to sca[r]ce by maner of nygounship.¹
 A goode mesure, kepe euer in your charge,
 Worshipfully longyng to your lordeship,
 Eschewyng al dishonour & shenship, 551
 That your blessed name may spryng & floriss.
 [. line omitted.] 553

Don't be a
 spendthrift
 or niggard,
 but ever
 moderate.

Ne sis suspiciosus; quia suspicio *inter* te & amicorum
quemcumque, amorem abscondit; hec Logmon.

(80)

Amonges many things, oon thing kepe, 554
 Not to be ouer meeche suspecious,
 Ner compasse, ner wade therin ouer depe,
 For that is a conceyte sedicious,
 Bryngyng many a man right vertuous 558
 To departe from the grete affecciõ
 That he was of by goode entencioñ. 560

Don't be too
 suspicious,

or you'll lose
 folk's love.

Amicus cognoscitur in necessitatibus, quia in gaudio
 quilibet est amicus; hec Diogenes.

(81)

A Freende is knowen in necessite; 561
 In Ioy, men may haue frendes plenteuous.
 A man whan he is in felicite,
 To please hym, al men be right studious.
 In aduersite, men be nat Ioyous 565
 To be frendly, withoute he be rigit goode,
 Wele disposed, and of natural bloode. 567

Need proves
 Friends.

A Friend in
 need shows
 his worth.

¹ niggardliness.

- Regna perduntur propter quatuor. *Quia* si a Rege
 (1) neeligantur Radices / et solummodo ad Ramorum gubernacula intendatur, Regna perdiunt; & vt fortuitis attendatur fiduciis que expedirent omissis operibus Regna
 (2) perduntur; et vt ad populacionem terre minime intendatur, Regna perduntur; & propter diuternitatem bello-
 (3) rum, Regna perduntur; *hec* Plato.
 (4)

(82)

A land is lost
 by 4 things:
 1. attending
 to Youth, not
 Age; 2. Re-
 bellion;
 3. trust in
 Luck;
 4. want of
 care of
 People.

By foure thinges, loste is a Region : 568

Tattende to youthe, and not to men of Age,
 And daily batel by Rebellion,
 And truste to fortune / *with-owte* werke sage,
 And not tentende (though he be high in sage) 572
 To the landes goode populacion.

Thise foure / bene a Roialmes is destruceion. 574

Tua beneficia bonis collata, Retribucionem expetunt,
 et impensa vili ad plura petenda inducunt; *hec* Plato.

(83)

Your gifts
 to good folk
 are repaid
 you; those
 to bad folk
 make them
 ask for more.

Your benefetis geuen to goode men, 575
 Asken daily grete retribucion.

That goode that is to enel folk geuen,
 Asken gretter multiplicaciõn;
 For thei take not in reputaciõn 579

No-thynge as goode, vertuous men wol do;
 Therefore goode men bithe (*sic*) appliable so. 581

Non oportet Regem in eum despicientem confidere,
 nec in avido¹ multum, nec in eo pro quo (*sic*) meruit
 pena[m] et commisit errorem, nec in illo quem dominio
 priuauit et bonis, nec in eo qui suo regimine passus est
 dampna, nec in eo qui amicitiam contraxit cum inimico;
 ymmo necesse est talibus nullam concedere potestatem;
 & si est possibile eorum carere suffragio in nullo eis
 incumbit; *hec* Asseron.

(84)

A King
 shoulde'n't
 trust one who
 despises him.

A kyng shulde neuer put his confidende 582

In any creature hym despisinge,
 Ner in a couetous man-is sentence,

¹ MS. opido, but the English versions have "in him that is covetous;" and the following phrase is not rendered.

Ner in a man erryng, peine deseruing,
 Ner in hym that hathe be of goode pryuyng,¹ 586 Whom a King
 Ner in hym that is hurt for his trespasse, shouldn't
 Nor in hym that is in your enemyes grace. 588 trust.

Decet Regem studiosum siue sollicitum esse, Requirere suum Regnum et suum populum, sicut dominus orti suum Ortum requirit. & conuenit Regi quod sit primus ostendere leges pertinentes populo, in bonum exemplum populi; hec Pitagoras.

(85)

A kynge shude be right besy and studious 589 A King
 To gouerne his Roiaulme & his people pure, should
 As a Gardyner is right laborous govern his
 To kepe his gardeyne clene from wedys seure, Realm well,
 Leuyng² wele in Rightfulnesse to endure. 593
 A kyng sholde be fyrst kepyng his lawe; and keep his
 Al other must doo the same for his awe. 595 Laws him-
 self.

Decet regem non multum appreciare seipsum, nec gubernari suo consilio, nec vti frequenter venacione, nec incedere semita quam ignorat, nec angusta, nec nocte obscura; et quod sit hillaris vultus, & aspiciens libenter homines, & salutet eos et quod placite conuersetur, quia populus multum attendit ista; hec Pitagoras.

(86)

A kynge sholde not sett hym selfe in myche price, 596
 Ner his counseil haue of hym gouernance,
 Ne ofte use huntyng, keping wele his trice,³
 Ner take any newe way by ignorance, A King
 Ner greuyng, ne by myght for surance, 600 should
 But gladsom of chere, al folk salutying; not hunt too
 Thanne al men wol be his highnesse blessyng. 602 much,
 and should be
 civil to his
 folk.

Fac omnia cum consilio; hec Salamon.⁴

(87)

By advis and goode counseile to gouerne 603 He shouldn't
 Is goode, but not to be in gouernance let his Coun-
 Of his counseil, but of them for to lerne, cil rule him.

¹ depriving.² Believing.³ Station in huntyng.⁴ Caxton's Salom.

A King
should con-
sult wise folk.

And texecute your selfe in al substance ;
Thus ye may guide *your* selfe in assurance. 607
And asketh of wise people ofte ;
And that shal kepe *your* high estate a lofte. 609

Caueas a comedendo & bibendo a manu multum habencium zelotipiam, et ab aliis vilibus, nisi ab illis de quorum securus est credencia et sensu, et qui diligunt eum & dominium suum ; hec Pitagoras.

(88)

Don't eat and
drink with
jealous or
poor men.

And be ye ware of *your* etyng & drynkyng, 610
Principally of men of gelousye,
And of symple wrechcs pourely lyuyng ;
But drede *never* them þat can rectifie
Them selfe, & wittily them Iustifie,— 614
For suche *personnes* bene of grete credence,—
Ner them that ye loue *with* grete diligence. 616

Si cum volueris aliquem corrigere, non te geras velut homo optans de alio habere vindictam, ymmo agas velut volens curare seipsum ; hec Diogenes.

(89)

Punish to
cure, not to
revenge.

If ye wol do any correccion, 617
Behaue you not as ye wolde do vengeance,
But as ye wolde cure hym from Corrupeioñ,
And so ye shal deserue of god pleasance,
And kepe *your* selfe in blissed assurance. 621
For ye be a leche of Iniquite,
Chast[en]yng wronge bi felice. 623

Sciatis pro certo quod timor dei est maior sapiencia & maior delectacio & est illud a quo fluit omne bonum & aperit portas intellectus et sensus legis et non poteritis esse iusti nisi habueritis timorem dei. Vtmini sapiencia & sequimini legem assuescatis mansuetudinem et ornetis vos bonis documentis & cogitetis bene in vestris rebus et excludentur anime vestre a seruitute ignorancie et seruitute Iuuentutis ; hec Hermes.

(90)

The fear of
God is the
best wisdom.

Knowe for certeyne that the dre[de] of Iesu 624
is the grettest wisdam & dilectacion,

Of whiche springeth al goodenes & vertue,
 Of wise vnderstandyng exultacioñ,
 And of goode guidyng *dominacioñ.* 628
 So who that wolbe wytty & eke wise,
 Drede god, and he shal haue it in best guise. 630

Fear God,
 and you'll
 grow wise.

Fac filios tuos a sua *prauitate* addiscere, priusquam
precedant multum & trahantur a malicia, & non pecca-
bitis in eis; hec Hermes.

(91)

Suche childred (*sic*) as ye haue in *gouernance,* 631
 Whether thei be *your owne* or other men-is, Train chil-
 While thei be yonge, put them in assurance dren while
 Of lernyng & vertuuous doinges, they're
 Leeste in age thei wol make eschewyngis, 635 young,
 And ye therof haue the synne & the charge, or they'll go
 When first ye were at libertee & large. 637 wrong when
old.

Cum festa celebrabitis existe[n]s hyllares in *domibus*
vestris cum familia, Recordemini pauperum, largientes
elemosinas & beneficia, & confortemini angustuosos &
tristes; Redimatis captiuos, curetis infirmos, induatis
nudos, cibetis famelicos, sicientes potetis. Recipiatis
perigrinos, satisfaciatis Creditoribus, tueamini iniuriam
pacientes, non addatis afflictionem afflitis, ymmo con-
fortemini & mutetis eos placitis et ornatis operibus;
hec Hermes.

(92)

Ay the werkys of *mercy* haue in mynde, 638
 Especially the poure & the heuy, Be merciful
 And lete not god fynde you herin vnkynde, to the poor.
 But in obseruance herof beth besy,
 Whiche ye [are] bounden to do sekerly. 642
 For on a day ye shul make rekenyng,
 How of these dedys ye haue made guidyng. 644

One day you
 shall give
 account of
 your deeds.

Cauete a *societate malorum & inuidiorum, ebriorum*
 & *ignorantum; hec hermes. (C.)*

Malo te non associates, *quia* tua natura absque tua
 noticia aliquid subripiet de natura ipsius; *hec Plato.*

(93)

Don't associate with envious or drunken folk.

Associe you nat with men enuious, 645
 Dronkelowe, ignorant, ne of Il nature,
 But *with* the best, ay most vertuous,
 Of whom ye shal haue no shame ne lesure ;
 Of Il, ye may haue of vertue rupture. 649
 Yf ye desire to come to famous name,
 Kepe this as ye luste to esche *your* blame. 651

Non iurare faciatis mendaces, *quia* participes eritis peccatorum quando scietis eum veritatem denegasse. Eciam decet Regem non vti homine men[daci] nec prauo ; hec Hermes.

(94)

Don't make a liar swear.

Yf ye knowe a lesyngmonger and fals, 652
 Make hym not swere ; he is of no credence ;
 Yf ye do, ye be in synne als ;

Banish all such.

Exile al suche owte of *your* high presence ;
 Suche doon many tymes grete diligence 656
 To make discorde, debate & variance,
 When goode vnite sholde be & pleasance. 658

Si percipiatis in aliquo aliquam lesionem vel aliquam maculam, non dehonestatis vel derideatis eum, *sed* recedatis ad deum *quod* omnes estis creati ex vna materia ; & *qui* deridet, non assecratur, vt ad tempus non incidit in idem, *quia* decet, *quum* videritis, eleuare oculos ad deum, gratifica[n]tes eidem de salute vobis concessa, & petentes *miser ricordiam*, *quod* vos custodiat & caue[at] a derisione, *quia* *per* hoc nascitur odium ; hec Hermes.

(95)

Don't laugh at a disfigured man.

Yf ye finde any spotte, fylth, or lesion¹ 659
 In any personne or in creature,
 Dishonour hym not with derision :
 Ye be nat in suche suerte ne mesure,
 But that the same may happ to you ful sure. 663
 Therefore, if ye stande in case resonable,
 Thanke god that ye nat therof culpable. 665

¹ injury.

Tria sunt opera sapientis, facere de inimico amicum,
de nesciente scientem, de malo bonum ; hec Hermes.

(96)

Thre things longen to a wytty man,	666	A wise man
That is, in wisdam & sapience,		
To make of an enemye, a frende that can		turns foes
be lovyng <i>with</i> a frendeli diligence ;		into friends,
And of vnkonnyng, to be in grete science ;	670	fools into
And of il disposed in wykkednesse,		wise men,
To be reconciled to blissednesse.	672	and ill-dis-
		posed folk
		into good
		ones.

Nullus debet *dominari*, nisi pius. Decet reges non
dare posse, nec *dominium*, nisi pietatem habentibus ; et
ex hoc diliget omnes, sicut bonus pater, bonos filios ;
hec Hermes.

(97)

A king aught not to geue auctorite,	673	Give author-
Might, power, lordeship, ne also puissanee,		ity only to
But to piteous men of Equite,		merciful and
For no praier, grete requeste or instance.		just men.
Rigorous men make grete disseuerans.	677	
Ye shul loue al forlkes (<i>sic</i>) in charite,		
As the fader the sone <i>with</i> grete pite.	679	

Vita hominis est tam breuis *quod* quis non *haberet*¹
alium in odio ; hec hermes. Et tractetis amicos² *vestros*
cum amore vero, nec ostendatis vna hora signum odii.
Socrates.

(98)

Considre that your liff is shorte and brief	680	As your life
In this transitory world and passing ;		is short
Therefore, for a goode & blessed relieff,		
Ye aught not to haue other in hatyng,		don't hate
But hertely cherissch them <i>withoute</i> prating,	684	any one, but
Neither wronging them bi extorcioñ,		cherish all.
Ner plukking them als bi compulsioñ.	686	

Qui non bene faciat Amicis cum potest, deserent eum
cum indigebit eisdem ; hec Plato.

¹ MS. haberent.² MS. tragicomicos.

(99)

Cherish your
friends, and
show your
love to em
daily.

Cherish wele your freendes while that ye may, 687
As wele in worde as preferring,
Showing them semblance of love euery day,
Corogeng them to be to you lovyng.
Thus your glorious fame shal be springing 691
To high & lowe, of your noble kyndnesse.
Who is he that wold nat please your highnesse?

Tria sunt que Regibus obsunt, superflua vini potacio,
Musicorum frequens auditus, & amor nimis mulierum ;
hec hermes.

(100)

Kings must
not drink too
much, hear
music too
often, or care
greatly for
women.

Thre thinges bene contrary to a kyng, 694
To be in superflue drinkyng of wyne,
And of musyke to haue to ofte hering,
And to be to women in love-is pyne,¹
Whiche hath brought many a man to Ruyne. 698
Al suche thing noyant to your high estate,
Eschewe al wey, if ye be fortunate. 700

Rex qui suum regnum statuit seruum legis, debet
regnare ; et qui legem subiectam Regno efficit, Regnum
angustiatur propter eum ; hec Aristoteles.

(101)

The King
that enforces
just laws,
shall reign
in peace.

That kyng that maketh his Regioñ 701
To be obedient to his iuste lawe,
That² reigne peasibly in au vnyoñ.
He that makethe his lawe souget to awe
Or to his Roialme, his wyt is not worth a strawe.
He that dwelle in grete prosperite,
Must obey lawe, and therto subget be. 707

Quando volueris consulere aliquem super factis tuis,
Inuestiga illum qualiter seipsum gubernet in suis ; quia
si videris eum non dirigere animam suam, nec studere,
quod aliquas bonitates adquirat, multo plus tui negligens
erit, cum te minori precio reputet quam seipsum ; hec
Socrates.

¹ anguish² ? does. *The* to do. See *en-the* 78/784. Or is *That* for *Shal*?

(102)

- If ye wol aske counsaile of any mañ, 708 Don't consult
 Serche fyrste of his owne *proper* gouerna[n]ce. any man till
 If he be not wele disposed, ner can you find what
 Putte hymselfe in goode assurance, he is in
 How shuld [ye] put in suche oon affiance? 712 private.
 That¹ can nat be to hym selfe proffitable,
 He shal not be to other availeable. 714

Sis vigilans in tuo consilio, quia dormire in eo est
participare cum morte; hec Pitagoras.

(103)

- In *your* counsaile be quick and ay wakyng. 715 Be watchful
 Who shold tendre so meche *your* owne availe and quick in
 As *your* self? or els more Reasons making counsel.
 To *your* entencion that myght *prevaille*,
 And therto *with* al diligence travaile, 719
 That best knoweth *your* estate & pleasance,
 And how it may best be had in assurance, 721

Caueas ne inuitaris tui *tantum* consilio, sed consulas
 qui fuerit bone *discrecionis* & etatis *proucte*, qui in
 pluribus est *expertus*; & *plurium* vtaris consilio & in-
 uento, quod *rectum* sit in aliquo *eorum*, illud assumas,
 alioquin vtilibus consilio *comprehensis* ab *omni*
habito *per* te dirigas, et deus te dirigit; hec Hermes.

(104)

- Trust neuer to *your* owne wytte, ne in Counsaile, 722 Trust only
 But of aged men in *discrecion*, aged men for
 Being *experte* of thrifty *antiquaile*; counsel.
 And by meche aduis and *inquisicioñ*
 Of the moost wisest, take² *discrecion*, 726
 That nought eschape bi *Innoceneye*,
 Neither bi *negligence*, ne by *foly*. 728

Quare sensatus petit consilium? Quia sui volun[ta]-
 tem veretur, que suo sensui sine *racioni* *miscetur*; hec
 Socrates.

(105)

- Why dothe a wytty man aske counsaile? 729 A sensible
 For he is ashamed of his owne wille, man seeks
 counsel,

¹ That = who, he that.² MS. tate.

lest his own
wits fail him.

Leest his owne wytt & Reason do hym faile,
 And brynge hym to grete shame and for to spille,
 Sith his owne Reason wil his owne wille fille. 733
 A wise Man wol nat put great affiance
 In his owne discretion ne constance. 735

*Non est danda potestas super se,² quia si dederis
 potestatem amico, vt suos pedes tuis pedibus superponat,
 superponet in crastinum collo tuo; hec Diogenes.¹*

(106)

Don't set any
one over you,

Yeue neuer power ne auctorite 736
 To no maner persone on erthe lyvyng
 Vppon your self for any freilte.
 If ye be to any man licencyng
 To set his fote vpon youres areryng, 740

or he'll put
his foot on
your neck.

He wol after set his fote vppon your nekke.
 [. *line omitted.*]

*Oportet dominum secedere a populo suo, & non fami-
 liariter conuersari cum eis. Alioquin despicietur, cum de
 natura populorum sit despiciere se inuicem, & conuer-
 santes cum eis, unde *quemlibet conuersantem vnum et
 idem Reputant sibi Ipsius.*² Nimia familiaritas³ parit
 contemptum; hec Plato.*

(107)

A Lord
mustn't be
too familiar
with folk.

A lorde shold nat be over conuersant 743
 With folke, ne in familiarite,
 Leest they be to his honnour repugnant,
 And haue hym in despite of freilte,
 After nature of their Iniquite. 747
 For to meche humblesse, vsed of olde,
 Makethe meche people to be over bolde. 749

*Non intromittas te nisi de veris rebus, vt sint tua
 opera veritas & non derisio; hec Hermes. Et assume
 illos in amicos qui veritatem sectantur; hec Pitagoras.*

(108)

Take part
only in true
things.

Entremete you neuer of other thing 750
 But of trewe withowte any soubtelte.

¹ Caxton gives this quotation as applying to wives particularly.
² Underlined in MS. ³ MS. familiaritas.

And that your werkes be of trewe meanyng,
 Withoute derision or nycte,
 Whiche shal put you in grete tranquillite. 754
 For god is trouthe, & loughth it moost best, God is Truth.
 And of all vertues is most surest. 756

Sapientia adquiritur humilitas, bona voluntas, pietas & priuacio peccatorum. Non recte agit qui querit Sapientiam non legendo; et ille qui cogitat habere eam cum multa habilitate, est ignorans; hec Hermes.

(109)

By wisdam is gotten humilite; 757 Wisdom
begets
Humility,
 And of many synnes priuacioñ,
 Meche other grete vertues & pite.
 Wisdam must haue grete applicacioñ
 In meche redyng and other laboracioñ. 761
 It wol not be gotyn bi Ignorance,
 But with diligence & goo[d] gouernance. 763 and is got
only by
Diligence.

*Bonum consilium ostendit In principio finem rei;
 hec Socrates.*

(110)

Goode & trewe counseile is of this nature: 764 Good counsel
sees at first
how a matter
will end.
 In euery mater atte begynnyng,
 The cende is knowen perfiteley & sure,
 Wheder it wol perissh or be duryng,
 The verray sothe in al thinge concludyng. 768
 Therefore goode Counsel is necessary,
 That wol guide hym wele, & not miscary. 770

Qui obseruat Secretum est discretus & qui patefacit est insipiens. Oportet hominem occultare Secretum quod si reuelatur (sic) & magis gratus est ille, qui occultat licet ex secreto non obligetur, et occultare secretum est nobilitas anime. Cum tuum secretum cor tuum non continet multum minus tenebitur in cordibus aliorum; ¹ hec Socrates.

(111)

To be secrete is a noble vertue; 771 Secresy is a
noble virtue.
 And he that is a blabber is nat wise.

¹ Underlined in MS.

Secretnesse pleasith almyghti Ihesu ;

Where the contrari men greatly despise,
A secrete man is discrete in that guyse. 775

If you don't
keep your
own secrets,
who else
will?

He that can not kepe his owne secretnesse,
How shold a nother kepe it in sadnesse? 777

Cotidie addiscit homo experiendo que contingunt ;
sufficit homini scire que intuetur de contingentibus
mundo, & per id die quolibet potest nouam scienciam
habere ; *hec Socrates.*

(112)

Al day men may lerne by experience 778

To se of euery werke the conclusiō.

Honour
follows good
guidance,

Of goode guydyng & blessed diligence
Sewith worship and goode direccioñ.

despising
bad.

Of vnthriftynesse is despeccioñ. 782

Therefore euery man may wele knowe & se,

As he dothe, so shal he thriue or vnthe. 784

Deum recto amore diligens & amans sapienciam ipsius
et opera bona. Deus honorat eum, & curiosus est bene-
facit eidem ; *hec Aristoteles.*

(113)

God honours
those who
love Him.

Suche men as louen god *with* Rightful love, 785

And his wisdam and goode werkes also,

God wol honour theim, & set them aboue,

And is curious, doying wele them to,

Endowyng theime *with* plentuous grace so, 789

That god wolbe euer thair protectour,

In al tymes of nede and dependour. 791

Alium rectificare si poteris cupiat sicut cupis rectifi-
care te ipsum, quia honor est & nobilitas anime tue.
Aristoteles. (C). Oportet dominum rectificare prius se-
ipsum quam populum suum ; *hec Zelon.*

(114)

Set others
right, as you
would be set
right.

Rectifie a noþer, if that ye may, 792

As ye wolde your selfe be rectified.

And rectifie youre selfe first euery day,

Thus blessedly to be Iustified,		Do right,
By whiche grete noblessè is multiplied,	796	
Bothe in honour, rightfulness & grete fame,		
Purchasyng you ¹ therby a blessed name.	798	and win a blessing.

Si amorem tuum volueris cum aliquo durable esse,
eum bene agendo informes ; *hec* Enesius.

(115)

Yf ye wol that <i>your</i> loue be <i>with</i> man durable,	799	To make folk love you, do good to them.
Enfourme hym to do wele <i>with</i> grete stering,		
For vertue shal euer be <i>pardurable</i> ,		
Where vice shalbe abhorred & hatyng,		
And euer be in trouble & crakyng. ²	803	
Loue standith in god & in his swetnesse,		
And wol not be had but in blessingnesse.	805	

(116)

Amonges <i>your</i> other soubgettes al,	806	Prefer your own servants before out-siders.
<i>Your</i> owne seruantes <i>preferre</i> & avaunce,		
Bothe spiritual and eke temporal,		
Suche of <i>your</i> owne bringyng vppe in substance,		
In whom ye may stande in trewe assurance	810	
Of body and goode their l[i]ffes duryng,		
Redy at al tymes to youre pleasyng.	812	

*Potens est homo suos dirigere cum agnouerit seipsum,*³
nam excellentis est sapiencie hominem sui ipsius habere
noticiam, nec ex dileccione quam habet in seipso fal-
latur et bonum se reputet cum non sit ; videmus enim
plures reputare se robustos et liberales, cum non sint, et
vniuersaliter, quasi omnes discreciores aliis reputant.
Et qui in se cogitat ista, minoris discrecionis existat ;
hec Galienus.

(117)

To knowe hymself is a vertuous thing,	813	Know your- self,
First to godward & to the world also ;		
Than he is myghty hym self directyng,		
Bryngyng al other goode gouernance to,		and then you can rule others.
<i>With</i> many noble direccions, so	817	

¹ MS. *your*. ² crying out. ³ Underlined in MS.

Want of self-
knowledge
brings an ill
name.

That it shal be to his glorious fame,
Where not to knowe hymself may haue Il name.

Quis est iustus et quis sensatus? Justus est ille qui potest iniusticiam ajere, & non agit; & sensatus sive discretus est Rex omni[s] qui nouit id quod humana natura sufficit; hec Galienus.

(118)

He is just,
who can do
wrong, but
does right.
He is dis-
creet, who
knows men's
nature.

Who is iuste, who is discrete & wytty? 820
He is iuste, that may do wronge, & dothe right.
He is discrete, that knoweth perfitly
Al thing after Manne-is nature & myght.
Therefore alwey, in euery man-is sight, 824
Attempre you to be iuste & discrete,
Whiche bene to your high mageste mete. 826

Vt non irascatur homo, memoretur assidue qualiter sua non interest vt obediatur ei continue, sed vt quisque obediat, nec vt seruiatur ei iugiter, sed vt aliqui alteri seruiat, nec vt inferatur eidem; et quod deus circumspicit omnia quibus consideratis non vexaberis ira, vel modico turbeberis si turberis; hec Tesilius.

(119)

You are not
alway to be
obeyd,

Ayainste wrathe & Ire is a remedy 827
To remember, that it is nat leful
Not to contynue in obstinance
To be obeyed, but to-beie¹ rightful; [1 to obieie]
Ner to be serued, but serue skylful 831
Things, & to be in obedience
To god and man in their deue existence. 833

but must
obey God and
man in due
season.

(120)

If a man
offends in
one thing,
don't hold
him all bad.

Yf a man haue offended in oon thing, 834
Repute hym not in al thing culpable.
There is no man so wele hym behauyng,
But he may be in some thyng chargeable;
Yet the case may be Remediable. 838
So considre euery man for the best:
Thus ye shul lyve cheritably in rest. 840

Take every
man at his
best.

Cum inimico pacificare studeas, licet fortitudinis et tue potencie sis securus; *hec Maedarges.*¹

(121)

- | | | |
|--|-----|--|
| To pacificie your enemye, be studious, | 841 | Strive to
make peace
with your
foe. |
| Thaugh of youre strengh & power ye be seure, | | |
| Whiche is a diligence right gracious, | | |
| Causyng you in tranquillite tendure | | |
| In confourmyng you to holy scripture. | 845 | |
| Syche as a man sekythe, so shal he haue; | | If you seek
Peace, God
will save you. |
| If he seke peas and Rest, god wol hym saue. | 847 | |

Si rex egerit iustum & Rectum populi sui, principatur animis; et si iniustum & iniquum commiserit ipsum suum Regem ostendit exterius, sed ad alium principantem ipsorum corda dec[l]inant (*sic*); *hec Enesius.*

(122)

- | | | |
|--|-----|--|
| Yf a kyng do iustly & Righ[t]fully, | 848 | A King who
does right is
lovd; one |
| He standithe wele in the peoples conceyte. | | |
| Yf he do wyckedly & wrongfully, | | who does
wrong
is tolerated
but not lovd. |
| He purchasethe hym in grete deceyte, | | |
| And for kyng they wolde haue hym in Receite, | 852 | |
| Howe be it that they haue hym not in love, | | |
| Willyng that he shold never he a-bove? | 854 | |

Qui te bonum existimat, eum stude Reputare veridicum; & pro bono² habeas qui te pro bono elegit, siue sit humilis siue altus. Non potest multis p[re]cipere, qui anime sue non precepit eum sit vna; *hec Enesius.*

(123)

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| Yf any people holde you vertuous, | 855 | If you're
thought good,
strive to be
good. |
| Goode, gentil, kinde, curteise with al mekenesse, | | |
| To repute hym trewe be right labourous, | | |
| Whether he be lowe or in grete highnesse. | | |
| He that hathe grete labour & besynesse, | 859 | |
| How shold he reule and gouerne many moo? | | |
| [. line omitted.] | 861 | |

In mundo nihil deterius est quam generositate & doctrina carere; *hec Maedarges.*

¹ Caxton's Saedarge.² MS. bone.

(124)

The worst
thing is lack
of learning
and gentle-
ness.

The worst thing of al this wide World is¹ this, [MS. in]
To lakke doctrine and also gentilnesse. 863
Uncunning showeth grete lewednesse, y-wis
Gentilnesse considereth al goodenesse,
Who that lakkithe it muste falle in di-stresse. 866
These vertues haueth wele in your mynde,
That the profittes of them ye may fynde. 868

Oportet quemlibet assidue scrutari opera sua, & scire
niti quod refrenantur de eo vicini, et hii specialiter qui
mercantur et conuersantur cum eo, & in quo vituperant
aut laudant eundem; quia cum incedit tali via, non
latebit eum aliquid viciorum suorum; hec Aristotiles.

(125)

Find out
what folk say
of you,

Men shuld serche often the opynyon 869
That men wol saien of there gouernance,
Eyther preising or makyng obieccioñ,
Wherof thei shuld be in ful assurance
Of what reule þei be in substance, 873
Where-vpon thei may guide theime in suche wise
To amende theime, and to be holden wise. 875

and amend
what is
wrong.

Serve God in
10 ways.

1. 2.
3. 4.
5. 6.
7. 8. 9.
- 10.

Decem modis de[o] seruitur, & sunt hii: *Gratias* age
si aliquid impenditur tibi; Si male habueris, s[us]tine
pacienter; Si loqueris, loquere *veritatem*; Quod promi-
seris, *per*face. Si iudicaueris, Recte iudica; *mensuram*
habeas siquam potes; Benefacias priusquam requiraris;
Amicum honora, Indulgeas amici & inimici errori. Non
nisi quod tibi vis, amico consideres; hec Arcules (*sic*).

(126)

In ten Maner wise god must be serued, 876
Euel thinges suffre patiently,
For to speke truly must be obserued.
Yeche promise must be performed truly;
Iche iugement must be deuided iustly. 880
Kepe euermore conable mesure;
Er ye required, doo goodenesse sure. 882

1. Suffer
patiently.
2. Speak
truth.
3. Perform
promises.
4. Judge
justly.
5. Be moder-
ate.
6. Give before
you're askt.

(127)

Showe to al maner freindis grete honnour,	883	7. Honour your friends.
Thankyng god of his yefte & benignite ;		8. Thank God.
And pardon freendes & vnfrendes errorr ;		9. Forgive friend and foe.
And desire neuer of your frende to be		10. Expect no more than you'd give.
Other than ye wolde the same in you see.	887	
And thise ten thinges kepe euer suerly.		
Thus keping your self to god demeurly.	889	

Cum tua discrecio prohibuerit aliquid te facturum, inobediens esse non debes; quia maius peccatum quod potest accidere est quod investiget te id agere quod vetauit; hec Plato.

(128)

When your discrecion forbedith thing	890	When you forbid any-thing, don't do it yourself.
For to be doon in eny maner wise,		
Therto ye shuld not be disobeying ;		
For it is gretter synne, I promisse,		
To do ayeinste conscience in suche guise,	894	
Whiche shal frete and gruge in your soule & mynde,		
And daily to grete repentance you bynde.	896	

Ex tribus cognoscitur sapiens,¹ quod per ea que nouit; quod non se magno habeat precio, nec ob vituperantem aliquem irascatur, nec cum laudatur fiat elatus; hec Plato.

(129)

By thre thinges is knowen a wiseman,	897	A wise man is known by—1. not thinking too much of himself; 2. not getting angry at dispraise; 3. not being puffed up by praise.
That he repute not hym selfe in grete price,		
And that from wrathe he him self restraine can		
Whan he is set at nought & holden nyce ;		
And whan he is prised in noble wise,	901	
Not to be elate ne in pride therfore,		
But in grete pacience & mekenesse more.	903	

Cum rex vincit suos inimicos, oportet eum sequi bonas consuetudines, scilicet in iusticia, in largitate pecunie, in paciencia, in diligencia, et in aliis consu[e]-tudinibus bonis; hec hermes.

¹ MS. sapience.

(130)

If a King conquers his foes, he must be liberal,	Yf god sende you in this world victory Of <i>your</i> enemyes by <i>your</i> manhode, Ye muste kepe in <i>your</i> noble memory Goode noble custumes vsed of olde :	904
patient, just, and diligent.	In largenesse of money be right bolde ; In pacience, iustice and diligence, Do <i>your</i> peyne to haue true experience.	908 910

Cum seruieris alicui domino, noli fieri equalis sibi, nisi in fide, in sensu, in paciencia, in aliis vero nequam caueas, ne te aspiciat sibi equalem in statu, aut vestitu, aut in suis deliciis ; hec Plato.

(131)

Let a servant equal his lord in Faith, Wit, and Patience,	A <i>seruaunt</i> shold nat be euen equal To his lorde, but in thre things trewly, That is, in feithe, wytte, & pacience al, Not in estate nor clothinges richely, Ner in other delites excessely ; But iche man knowe hym self and his degre, Non excedyng for possibilite.	911 915 917
--	--	-------------------

not in State,
Dress, or
Luxuries.

Si quesieris facere facere (sic) despeccionem inimico ; non offendas teipsum pro inimico ; hec pitagoras.

(132)

If you despise your foe,	Yf ye <i>propose</i> to make despeccion To <i>youre</i> enemy bi any greuance, Beware ye make no suche offencioñ To hurte <i>your</i> self for suche wilful vengeance ; But kepithe in <i>your</i> noble remembrance, To attemper you in suche maner wise That no hurte of <i>your</i> enemy arise.	918 922 924
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take care you
don't hurt
yourself by it.

Bonus gratificat de bonis receptis iuxta possibili[t]atem conferentis et satisfaccionem recipientis. vilis vero non gratificat nisi iuxta qualitatem benefactorum ; hec Plato.

(133)

A good man thanks every giver accord- ing to his ability.	A goode man thanketh euery benefete, After the yeuers possibilite. Vile & euel men be other-wise sett,	925
---	--	-----

For to thanke aftur the quantite		
Of benefit, what euer it be ;	929	A bad man looks only to the quantity of the gilt.
So goode men haue gentil condicion,		
And II men other dispocision.	931	

Aliqui Reges *habent pro bono conseruare semper statum vn[i]us generis ex subditis tantum, et in hoc valde falluntur et errant, quia vnum genus hominum non necessario est in condicione & statu eodem, ymmo minuuntur, bonitas ipsius assimilans terre in qua seritur continue semen vnius generis, quod temporis processu corrumpitur et imitatur ;* hec Plato.

(134)

Sum kynges conseruen ¹ alwey ooñ kynde	932	Some kings favour but one kind of their sub- jects,
Of your (<i>sic</i>) soubgettis, & theime meche preferre		
Only, and noon other haue in theire mynde,		
Wherin thei be deceyued and meche erre,		
For men of other kynde may be more derre.	936	tho' others may be better.
Man-is kinde is right meche chaungeable, ²		
As sede often sowen is mutable.	938	

Bonum est loqui dicere modicum Racione, completum est respondere laudabiliter et confestim ; hec *Aristoteles.*

(135)

Grete wisdam is, lital to speke,	939	To talk little is wisdom.
Pronouncing wele & complete of reason,		
Anoon with laudable aunswere & make,		
Hauing regarde to iche tyme & season ;		
To meche language hauith in geason ³	943	
Alweyes spekyng <i>with</i> aduisement,		
Bestowyng your vttrance to goode entent.	945	

*Fornicator landari non potest, nec esse hillaris iracundus, nec liberalis inuidus, nec cupidus esse diues ;*⁴ hec *Aristoteles.*

(136)

A fornicatour may not be prised,	946	Don't praise a fornicator.
Ner a Ireful man to be meche gladful,		
Ner a liberal man to be seised		

¹ MS. conseruen.² MS. claungeable.³ The adj. meaning "scarce" used as a substantive.⁴ Underlined in MS.

- In envye, nor the couetouse richeful.
 These thinges be thus ordeyned rightful ; 950
- Man is purified by his works.
 For, as golde is pured by fire craftly,
 So is man bi his workes feithfully. 952
- Sapientia exornat diuitis diuicias, et pauperis paupertatem occultat ; hec *Aristoteles.*
 (137)
- Wisdom adorns riches, hides poverty,
 Wisdom exorneth nobli the richesse 953
 Of a Richeman, and hideth pouerte
 Of a pore man, being in wretchednesse.
 What may be more felicity
 Then to be wytty in prosperite ? 957
- and excels all else.
 When ye haue serched al the worlde aboute,
 Wisdame excellithe other withowte doubt. 959
- Hominis lingua sue discrecionis est Scriba ; quia quidquid dici voluerit, ipsa scribit ; & compescere linguam est virtus prima ; hec *Aristoteles.*
 (138)
- Restraint In speech is the first virtue.
 The first vertue is to kepe man-is tong, 960
 For it is scribe of his discrecion ;
 For what it wol say, it writith at longe.
 By sure tonge, al noble direccion
 Ys assured, and al¹ correccion, [MS. al &] 964
 Though it be bi the swerde or bi iustice.
 The wise tong commanddeth þat shal suffice. 966
- Non est apud Regem minus decencius quam predari, cum Regis intersit vice patris se gerere ; hec *Aristoteles.*
 (139)
- Plundering by a King is disgraceful.
 On erthe ther is no thing so vnsemyng 967
 As a kynge to be in predacion,
 Or by compulsion to be taking,
 Sith in hym shold be al saluacion,
 And as a fader in probacion ; 971
 Who shold be the people-is protectour,
 But onoly the kyng & their defendour. 973
- Mali timore obediunt, boni beneficio ; ergo hos duos modos agnoscens, libenter vni beneficia ; Reliquo vero penam infligas ; hec *Aristoteles.*

(140)

Euel men, for drede done obedience ;	974	Bad men obey for fear ;
Good men doon soo for benefete truly.		good, to do good.
Of thise too thinges hauing experience,		
Doo to the toon, benefettes freely,		
And to the tother, punysshment iustly.	978	
Thus, bi <i>your</i> witty disseuerance,		
Ye shul make men tobeey their legeance.	980	

Benefaciendo populo domineris, quia tuum dominium durabilius erit, prouide quam aggrauando eosdem ; nam cum eorum dominareris ante corporibus, deinde dominaberis animis propter beneficia que concedis. & scias quod populus dicto presumptuosus, facile ad factam collabitur ; igitur nitere quod non labatur ad dictam, & sequitur quod non ad factam labetur ; hec Aristoteles.

(141)

In dowyng wele to the people ofte tyme,	981	Be kind to your folk,
Your maieste shal be more durable		and you'll reign long.
Than in grevyng theime, theire dedis to lyme. ¹		
For where their bodies were appliable		
To <i>youre</i> highnesse in al thinge prophetable,	985	
Now thei shul be in body & soule		
For <i>your</i> benefite in feire & fowle.	987	

(142)

For certaine, the people presumptuos	988	People pre- sumptuos in word, will soon be so in deed.
In wordis, wol slyde to dedys lightly ;		
Therefore be ye therin right laberous,		
That folk slyde nat to wordes wykedly,		
In eschewyng theire dedes iniustly :	992	
A king aught to haue a wise prouision		
To kepe his folk in goode direccioñ.	994	

Observatores fidei siue leges Fideles promoueas, et ex hoc Reputaberis in hoc mundo compositus, et in alio finem consequeris optatum ; & malos refrena, quia, cum hoc, et leges diriges & populum ; hec Aristoteles.

¹ limit

(143)

Promote keepers of faith and law,	Cherisse kepers of the feithe & iuste Lawe,	995
	Referryng theim to grete <i>promocioñ</i> ,	
	And refreine Ivel men with fere & awe ;	
	And thus ye make goode direccioñ	
	Of the lawe, & kepe folk in subieccioñ,	999
and you'll have your realm in peace.	An[d] eke kepe <i>your</i> Roialme in tranquillite,	
	Restful peas, comfort & feelicite.	1001

Quam turpe est *pronunciare aliquod*, et opere non complere ; & *quam pulcrum* apparere operibus prius dictis ; hec Tholomeus.

(144)

How bad it is to speak good and not do it!	How fowle, how vnhappy it is, to speke	1002
	Perfitly, & not be in dede ;	
	And how feire, and how goode and polletike,	
	Firste the people to goode werkes theim lede,	
	And therafter to speke, is right grete mede.	1006
	Whan euery goode man-is dede is before,	
	Than euery goode speche accordeth therefore.	1008

Philosophi dixerunt Alexandro imperatori, quomodo in etate tam tenera¹ potuisti, & vt regna perquirere. *Respondit: quia* reconsilians inimicos amicos feci, & amicis beneficiis satisfeci ; hec Tholomeus.

(145)

Alexander said	Philosophers asked a question	1009
	Of kyng Alex[an]dre, the Emperour,	
	How in his tendre age in possession	
he got his Realms by reconcil- ing his foes, and doing good to his friends.	Hathe gotten mony Realmes <i>with</i> fauour.	
	He answered, by two meanes <i>with</i> honnour,	1013
	Oon to reconcile his enemyes,	
	Another to do wele to his freindes.	1015

Si regis consultor & phisicus eiusdem in cunctis vota sequantur, dampnificabitur semper, et erit infirmus continuo boni finis exspec[ta]cione fraudatus ; hec Asseron.

(146)

If a King's adviser and doctur follow his will,	Yf a Counselor or phisicioñ	1016
	Of a kyng folowe his wille & entente,	

¹ MS. teneri.

At al tymes of his direccioñ,
 The king is nat suer of goode Aduisement,
 Ner of his body helthful amendement. 1020
 Therefore thise two personnes haue grete charge
 To be trewe & playne to thair king at large. 1022

he'll get
 neither good
 advice nor a
 healthy body.

Decet Regem sua negocia illi committere quem fidem
 et sensu probauit; et si talem habere non poterit, qui
 cum sapientibus & bonis¹ conuersatus est, illi com-
 mittat; hec Asseron.

(147)

A king sholde wisely his nedes committe 1023
 To hym that he had often approved Kings should
 In grete witte and wisdom, & hym not remitte employ only
 Vnto no folkes to be reproved. wise folk,
 Yf he cannot to suche folk be confourmed, 1027
 Than, to suche folk as be conversant or those
 With goode men and wise, to Il repugnant. 1029 knowing
 them.

Qui sp[er]endide uiuit cum Rege et persistit magni-
 fice, Impossibile est in aliquem non conuenire defectum,
 propter quod, Regem Sapientem esse oportet vt cum
 aliquem audierit de suis contra se commisisse delictum.
 Hora non transeat quin de veritate aut falsitate constet
 eidem. Et similiter de quant[it]ate delicti, & si conscien-
 cia fuerit aut errore commissum, et si condicionis est talis
 quod ad illud redeat, vel non indulgendo; hec Asseron.

(148)

Who that is wele cherished with a king, 1030
 And is with hym grete & splendiferous, Kings'
 And hathe al thinge at his commaunding, grandest
 It is impossible to be laborous nobles won't
 To finde any grete defaulte odious. 1034 find out hate-
 Therf[or]e a kinge must make prouision ful defects;
 To haue lowe men to that entencioñ. 1036 but lower
 men can.

(149)

A wise king aught to haue trewe knowleging 1037
 Of al thinge a-yeuste hym conspired, Kings ought
 to know of
 all conspira-
 cies against
 them.

¹ MS. bonus.

No time
should be
lost in put-
ting down
rebels.

Without delaye, not oon houre over passinge,
And that no tyme be loste ne expyred,
Of the trouthe as it shold be required, 1041
Aftur the quantite and condicion,
Either for peine or renision. 1043

Regi famulantibus expedit suam ostendere virtutem
et fidem et nobilitatem generis, vt conscius Rex status
et condicionis vn[i]us cuiusque ipsorum, cum eis poterit
sua promouere negocia, & vt expedit execucioni mandari.
Et si Rex obedienti & fideli, & e contra de merentibus
pro meritis non respondet, vt aliqui ob retribucionem
vtantur, & alii terreantur acerbitate penarum, nec Rex
reputari debet, nec agendorum director; hec Asseron.

(150)

Kings must
reward true
men, and
punish trans-
gressors.

But a kynge rewarde euery man-is trouthe, 1044
And in lyke wise punysse a trespassoure,
His direccioñ ellis were grete Routhe.
To take goode & Il in lyke fauour,
Accordithe not wele to a Gouvernour. 1048
So take euery man aftur his deserte,
Either in cherisslinge or in smert. 1050

Qui Regem a fraude non¹ eripit, & medico ueritatem
occultat, et debitum pandere secretum non pandit amico,
interimit seipsum; hec Asseron.

(151)

He who hides
ill from a
king, or the
truth from
his doctor,
damages
himself.

Who that in Il chalengeh not a King, 1051
And hidithe to his leche the verite,
And hidethe secretnesse from frende louyng,
He must slee hymselfe, or ellis vnthe.
To be playne & trewe is grete libertec; 1055
For trouthe at longe shal never be shamed,
Thaugh he be other while Inyl gramed. 1057

Si Rex felix constiterit, sua bene agentur negocia;
et si sapiens, sapiencia suo in tempore roboratur; & si
verus, letabitur populus; & si iustus, sua regnacio durat;
hec Asseron.

¹ MS. nor.

(152)

Yf a kyng be ¹ blisshed, al his nedes	[¹ MS. be be]	1058	The benefits of a King's being blessed, wise, true, and just.
Bene done wele to his proffit & honnour ;			
Yf he be wise, al thinges spesdes ;			
Yf he be trewe, he is in man-is fauour ;			
Yf he be iuste, of right a supportour,		1062	
His Royalme & Region is durable,			
And his direccion commendable.		1064	

Plurimum est graue Regnum acquirere, sed est scire
grauius conservare ; hec Asseron.

(153)

A king, any Region to conquere,		1065	It's hard to conquer a land ; but harder to keep it.
Is right costlowe, harde, painful & greuous ;			
But to conserue a Royleme is me more fere,			
And more wisdame & wytt, & more laborous,			
Gretter prouision, and more tedious.		1069	
Better were a thing never to [be] had,			
Than in handes to quaile & to be badde.		1071	

Expedit sapienti qui Regi adheret, vt si viderit eum
aliquid agere sibi aut Regno aut populo suo nociuum,
recitare historias & exempla que simili negotio con-
tingunt, vt a tali facto desistat, Eo tamen referat modo
quod ille percipiat enunciata pro eo ; hec Asseron.

(154)

To a wise man with a kyng is spedeful,		1072	If a wise man sees a King do wrong,
If his kinge do meche derogacion			
To hym self, his Roialme or folk vnrightful,			
To showe to hym demonstracion			he must show him, by stories, what harm 'll come of it.
Of Stories exemplificacion		1076	
Playnly, that he may vnderstand the blame,			
To eschewe of mys gouernance the name.		1078	

Bonos honora, ex hoc enim populi optinebis amorem ;
hec Aristotiles.

(155)

Put you in peine & deuoir euermore		1079	Honour good men, and your folk 'll love you.
The goode men to honnour & reuerence ;			
And that shal encrece goodenesse more & more,			

So ye shal gete louely beneuolence,
 And stande in grete loue bi this wise prudence, 1083
 Causyng many oon to be vertuuous,
 Eschewing many a werke vicious. 1085

Bone discrecionis est, & fortis animi & laudabi[li]s
 fidei, qui tolleret aduersitates cum venerint; *quia* qualis
 sit homo in prosperitatibus, non probatur; Confortare
 igitur ex eo quod frater est tibi, et eo quod dominus te
 absoluit a pestibus, et que tibi contulit non abneges
 dona; *hec* Aristotiles.

(156)

A strong- sould man can suffer adversity.	It is of goode and noble discrecion,	1086
	And of right stronge soule & laudable, And right of a goode feithful entencioñ, That can suffer aduer[si]tise greueable.	
Men can't be tested in prosperity.	That a man is, he is not prouable	1090
	In prosperite, ne in felice. So goddes yefte forsaken wol not be.	1092

Liberalitas est concedere indigenti & merenti iuxta
 possibilitatem donantis; *quia* qui vltra possibilitatem
 concedit, liberalis non est, sed vere vastator; et qui non
 indigenti concedit, non est acceptus, sed est velud qui
 aquam spergit in mari; *hec* Aristoteles.

(157)

Liberality is, to give what you can to the needy.	Liberalite is a graunt to nedi	1093
	And to al maner people deseruyng, After his power there to be redy. To graunt ouer his power is wastyng.	
Giving to the unneedy is waste.	And who that to [un]nedy wolbe graunting,	1097
	Is not accepted as for man witty, As wastyng water in the see, gilty.	1099

Bonitatum Inicia Insipida sunt. Fine tenus vero sunt
 Dulcia. & prauitatum principia du[li]cia; fine tenus
 vero sunt amara; *hec* Plato.

(158)

Goodness is, first, bitter; then sweet.	Two thinges haueth alway in mynde,	1100
	The begynnyng of goodnesse is bitty, The ende is right swete, of natural kynde.	

The begynnyng of shreudnesse¹ is swetter,
 But the ende is of bitternesse the gretter. 1104
 So of goode begynnyng is goode endyng,
 And of shreudnesse comethe **II** concludyng. 1106

Evil is, first,
 sweet; then
 bitter.

Ex consuetudinibus, vnamquamque rem quidam malam reputant, quidam bonam, preter fidelitatem quam reputant omnes bonam; hec Plato.

(159)

Sum men reputen of consuetude 1107
 Euery thinge goode, & sum **II**, by nature.
 But euery man trouthe for goode wol conclude,
 And lengest wol laste & eke best indure,
 And to euery man metest & moost sure; 1111
 Therefore kepith euer fidelite,
 In eschewyng **II** schlauderous enormyte. 1113

Some think
 all things
 good; others,
 all ill.

But Truth is
 best.

Bonorum bonitatem inuicem bonos cogit diligere; malorum tum malicia in alios inuicem cogit odire. Nam videre potes quod veridicus veridicum diligit, et fidelis fidelem. Mendax vero abhominatur mendacem, et latro latronem capit nullam cum eo, cupiens propter iniquitatem societatem habere; hec Plato.

(160)

The goodnesse of people² compellith 1114
 Goode folkes to be [to]gider lovely;
 The malice of evil men Rebellith,
 And makithe theime to lyve odiously.
 Trewe men and feithful loue their lyk sadly; 1118
 Lyers and theves haten iche other,
 And the toon wolde fayne vndoe the tother. 1120

Goodness
 brings love;

malice brings
 hate.

Sis legalis committenti se tibi, & fidelis ei qui tui gerit fiduciam, et eris securus vitandi malum finem; & propter veritatem et legalitatem, honorabunt te tui amici; et propter omittendum quod non profuit, complebitur tua bonitas; hec Socrates.

(161)

Be lauful to eueryche man committing 1121
 Hym self to you bi any submission,
 Keep faith
 with those
 who trust
 you.

¹ wickedness² MS. pleople

And be feithful to iche man you trustyng,
 And ye shul please god in *your* direccioñ,
 And be suer of billed¹ conclusion. 1125

For your
 truth, your
 friends 'll
 honour you.

A[nd] for trouthe a noble legalite,
 Of *your* free[n]des ye shul worshipd be. 1127

Non potes reuocare quod dixisti nec quod fecisti;
 ergo prouideas ante tibi; *hec* Socrates.

(162)

You can't
 recall your
 words or
 deeds.

Suche a man may nat reuoke his saying, 1128

Ner that he hath doon *with* his honeste ;

He hathe grete cause to make prouidyng
 Before, while he is at his liberte.

For thing doon or saide a-yenst equite, 1132

Purchaseth vilany & dishonoure,

Makyng many a man therfore to loure. 1134

3 pitiful
 things :

(1)

(2)

(3)

De tribus quibusdam esse pietas; quorum vnus est
 bonus, qui est in Regimine mali et iste est² dolorosus
 semper super eo quod videt et audit; et alter est sen-
 satus gubernatus per prauum, qui semper est in labore
 et tristicia. Tertius est liberalis, quem oportet petere³
 ab auaro, *quia* est in magna angustia; *hec* Socrates.

(163)

Ther bene thre things right meche piteus : 1135

A goode man to be longe in Regiment

Of an Il man, whiche is right dolorous ;

A wytty man to be in gouernement

Of a shrewe,⁴ disposed to il entente ; 1139

A liberal mañ, of the couetous

To aske often meche money plentuos. 1141

1. A good
 man to be
 under a bad
 one's rule.

2. A wise
 man to be
 under a
 shrew.

3. A liberal
 man to ask
 money of a
 miser.

3 evil things :

(1)

(2)

(3)

Incedunt male negocia hominum, cum bonum con-
 siliium fuerit in eo qui non auditur; & Arma in eo qui
 non utitur; & Diuicie in eo qui non expendit; *hec*
 Socrates.

(164)

1. Good ad-
 vice in one
 who isn't
 heard.

Thre things be in a right simpul knot ; 1142

First, goode counseil in hym that is not herde ;

¹ registered ² MS. ist. ³ MS. peterere.

⁴ A wicked man, not fem. as in the next century.

And armour in hym that vsith it not ;
 And Richesse in hym that kepith it herde :
 Of thes thre thinges ye may be a-ferde, 1146
 But ye bestowe theim aftur their nature,
 Wisely, manly, and godly in mesure. 1148

2. Armour
on him who
doesn't use it.
3. Riches in
one who
hoards it.

*Sequaris bona opera, & disce Sapienciam a melioribus
 qui fuerint tuo tempore, vitans laqueum quem mulieres
 parant viris, qui est impeditor & disturbator sapiencie,
 et facit assequi malum statum ; hec Socrates.*

3 things to be
observ'd: (1)
(2) (3)

(165)

Also I wolde thre thinges ye shul kepe : 1149
 Folowe goode werkes, lerne wisdam of the best,
 In love of women wade nat over depe ;
 Thus ye shul kepe you pesebly in rest,
 In goode werkes, wisdom, & lif honest, 1153
 And come to grete glory and noble fame
 Thurgh *your* goode liffe & vnblemished name.

1. Do good
works.
2. Learn
wisdom.
3. Don't be
too fond of
Women.

*Non ponatis dona vestra nisi in locis propriis, quia
 plures simplices exhibent non indigentibus, sicut exhi-
 bere deberent indigentibus ; hec Socrates.*

(166)

Yeve *your* yeiftes conueniently 1156
 To men nedly & truly deseruyng,
 Not scattering *your* goode rechelesly,
 But after merites, *withoute* wastyng,
 Tendryng *your* folkes in *your* rewardyng ; 1160
 Wherof people wol haue Joy & comfort,
 And of youre high estate make goode report. 1162

Give only to
poor deserv-
ing men.

*Melior est cognicio quam Ignora[n]cia / quia per cog-
 nicionem vitat quis cadere in ignem ; et per ignoranciam
 facit mergere in profundum ; hec Omerus.*

(167)

Better is goode knowlege than Ignorance. 1163
 By knowlege, men eschewe in fire to falle ;
 By ignorance, meñ have no wise substance,
 From depnes of drownyng helpe to calle.
 So goode & wise knowledge¹ is best of al, 1167

Knowledge
is better than
Ignorance.

¹ MS. knowlege.

Who that nought knowithe, litle can prouide,
Ner helpe sike when necessite betide. 1169

Iste mundus domus est mercacionis ; & est infortunatus ille¹ qui recedit ab eo cum perditione ; hec Omerus.

(168)

This world is a house of merchandise.	This world is but an house of merchandise.	1170
	He is infortunat, that vnwisely	
Win the best of it, Heaven.	Departith with losse in vntrifly wise, Sithe he may wynne heuen aduisely, Whiche is the most best merchandise iustly.	1174
	Al the merchandise in this world is nough[t], But at last to heuen he be brought.	1176

Mansuetudo eloquii aufert tedium ; hec Omerus.

(169)

A fair speaker	A feire speker with swete mansuetude	1177
	Refreynethe grete noyes & displeasance, Where rigorous Speche, vengeable & rude, Subvertithe al polletique ordenance.	
	Therefore he that spekith wele in vsance, Bothe in hym selfe & many other casithe, And Almyghty Jesu hertly pleasith.	1181 1183

comforts
many, and
pleases Jesus.

Non extollat[ur] quis nobilitate *habita* diuiciis aut *dominio* et voluntas dicta et *opera* equentur ; & sic assecurabit *deus* eum & procedentes ab eo Successores suos ; hec hermes.

(170)

Him who is not puffed up by wealth or position,	Who that wol not exalte hym for Richesse, Or for grete honnour or dominacion, And kepe wille, speche & werke in evenesse, God wol bring hym to exaltacion, And his Successours by nominacion, And them assure in grete nobilite, For their goode gouernance & equite.	1184 1188 1190
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God shall
exalt.

Error sapientis est sicut fraccio nauis, *quod cum* submergitur ipsa, facit submergi multos ; hec hermes.

¹ MS. illi.

(171)

Theror of a wise man is in lykenesse	1191	A wise man's mistake
As brekyng of a Shippe in his drownyng, Brynging many a man to bitternesse.		
So dothe a wise man grete trouble bringyng		brings many folk into trouble.
When he is in erroar, for men wenyng	1195	
That a wise man guydeth, & nought eschape,		
And al is holden wisdam & no Iape.	1197	

Prout decet Regiam dignitatem populum sibi commissum esse obedientem ei, sic decet vt sit Rex studiosus circa statum eorum prius quam circa statum suum, quia sic est ipse penes eos, sicut anima penes corpus; hec Hermes.

(172)

As it semeth the kinges dignite	1198	As people obey the King,
To haue of his people obedience, Right so is accordyng of equite		
That the kinge do daily trewe diligence		he should seek their good before his own.
To tendre thair astate with his prudence,	1202	
Rather than his owne; & euen for why		
They bene hym so nygh as sowle & body.	1204	

Qui incedit cum mundo secundum sui dispositionem non est requirendus ad danda consilia, quia non dabit nisi arbitrio voluntatis, pro eo quod illius qui non mutatur mu[n]dum est amor intellectualis, et mutantis eum est Amor voluntarius; hec Soerates.

(173)

A worldly man in disposicion,	1205	A worldly self-seeking man can't be trusted to give good counsel.
Folowyng the worlde daily in his mynde, May not be of feithful entencion		
To yeve trewe & iust counseil in his kynde.		
For aftur his wille he wol hym selfe finde,	1209	
And euery thinge determen wilfully,		
Aye[n]ste Reason, & eke vnskilfully.	1211	

Si volueris quod non erret tuus filius vel seruus, Id queras quod est extra naturam; hec Pitagagoras (*sic*).

(174)

Don't expect
that your son
or servant 'll
never go
wrong.

Yef ye haue in your hert a volunte 1212

To¹ your sonne or *seruaunt* er not foly,

Ye must be in that liberalite

To seke a thing a-ye[n]st nature truly ;

For no man can be so *perfit*e Iustly, 1216

But he is at somme tyme fallible,

And at summe tyme right goode & credible. 1218

Securior est homo ex silencio quam ex multi-loquio, quia per l[o]cuciones potest incedi in errores. hoc non contingit scienti quid loquitur, sed ignorans errat qui loqui vult proflue aut diminute. Et commodum tacendi est magis commodo loquendi. Et dampnum loquendi magis est dampno tacendi. Et sensatus cognoscitur ex multa taciturnitate, & ignorans ex multa loquacitate. Et qui per se non tacet, cogetur tacere per alium, & minus appreciabitur. Et qui tacet donec ad loquendum inducatur, est melior eo qui loquitur, donec tacere mandetur, loqucio est in posse hominis donec donec (*sic*) loquitur, & deinde euadit a posse Ipsius. Et si homo loquitur, cognoscitur si est perfectus aut diminutus ; et si tacet, dubitatur qualis sit. Et qui vult loqui, prius consideret aspiciat suum verbum ; quia melius est quod ipse suspiciat quam alter. Et eloquium tuum audietur, ergo nitaris recte pronuciare, aut taceas. Et qui tacet, scrutatur eloquia aliorum. Et qui dolet, ex eloquio assecratur, quod sit percussus ; hec Socrates.

(175)

Silence is
better than
speech.

To profit, to be stille is more profit 1219

Thanne to speke ; & harme to speke more damage

Thanne te be stille, & grettir discomfit.

A wise man
speaks little.

To speke litil, is knowen a man sage ;

To speke meche, is knowen a man in Rage. 1223

Whan a mañ spekith, his wit is knowen,

To be stille, doubte is how it² shal be blowen.

Utere bonis moribus & diligeris, et licet sis turpis, pulcritudo morum superabit sanctificatione³ figurarum. Hec Socrates.

¹ ? That

² MS. is it.

³ MS. sanctificacionem.

(176)

Man vsing goode maners, shal be Loued	1226	A man of good manners is lov'd.
Amonges goode men & honourable ;		
And though he be foule and diffugured (<i>sic</i>),		Even if he is ugly, his fine manners shall win him praise.
The beaute of his maners commendable		
Shal ouercome al other Reproneable.	1230	
And his figure in Recommendacioñ		
Shal be had, and in Laudacioñ.	1232	

Qui amore mundi suam animam replet, tribus replet *eam, scilicet*, paupertate quam nunquam vitabit, vt diuicias contingat ; & fiducia, que nunquam peruenit ad finem ; et impedimento¹ sine expedicione. Hec Socrates.

(177)

Who that wolbe worldly, & it louynge,	1233	The worldly man shall reap poverty,
Thre defaultes he shal haue euermore :		
In grete pouerte, for Riches sekyng ;		
In truste, whiche shal neuer come to end therf[or]e ;		disappointment, and hindrance.
And in gre[t] impediment more & more,	1237	
Whiche shal neuer haue expedicion.		
This is sothe, <i>with</i> -oute any question.	1239	

Non est paciens qui tam gravatus est quam tollerare potuit, & sustinuit illud ; sed ille qui grauatus est ultra possibilitatem sue nature, et sustinuit illud ; hec Pitagoras.

(178)

Thus ye shul knowe a man in pacience,	1240	The patient man suffers hardship patiently.
þat is greued ayenst possibilite		
Of nature, and it sufferith <i>with</i> prudence.		
But he that is greued in aduersite,		
And may wele bere it in his freilte,	1244	
In no wise may be clept pacient		
By this descripeziõn or Iugement.	1246	

Non quiescatis vestris operibus in optinendis magnis delectacionibus, quia sustinere non poteris aduersitates cum venerint ; hec Pitagoras.

¹ MS. impedimentum.

(179)

Don't live luxuriously,	Kepe neuer your body delectably,	1247
	Not in softe lyinge, ne delicacye,	
or you'll not be able to bear adversity.	For ye may nat suffre reasonably	
	Aduersite, ne it fortifie,	
	Ner in no maner wise it iustifie.	1251
	Therefore be nat meche ouer curious	
	In delicacie, ne delicious.	1253

Adquiesce tuis auribus, nam propter ea, Habuisti
duas aures, & os unum, vt plus audias quam loquaris;
hec Diogenes.

(180)

You have 2 ears and 1 mouth, that you may listen, and not talk too much.	Euery man hathe oon Mouthe & two eres,	1254
	To thentente that he sholde here more ¹ thanne speke.	
	To speke meche, many people-is deres;	
	To here many thinges, & to be meke,	
	Right meche wisdam & wertue it dothe seke.	1258
	So, in lital speche & right meche heryng,	
	Many grete vertues is conquering.	1260

Non confidas in mundo, quia numquam soluit quod
promissit predecessoribus; & idem faciet tibi. Hec
Socrates.

(181)

Trust not in the World, for it does not fulfil its promise.	Lete never ² man putte in ful confidence	1261
	In the world, for he maketh no p[ay]ment	
	Of his promise, but so in negligence	

[MS. imperfect.]

¹ MS. more more.² MS. neruer.

LIST OF WORDS

(By F. J. FURNIVALL).

- a, *a.* 21/258, one
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 antiquaile, *n.* 75/724, oldness, age
 applicable, *a.* 24/367, 28/474, 87/984, attentive, submissive
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 awakyn, *v.i.* 1/19, pounce
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 crakyng, *n.* 79/803, crying out, distress
 cronicle, *v.t.* and *n.* 18/151, 155, 25/392, 26/437
 crook, *n.* 26/407, trick
 delate, 14/54, dilate, spin out
 demert, demeryt, *n.* 5/121, 136, demerit
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 dissever, *v.t.* 22/292, separate
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 due, *a.* 25/393, rightful
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 ———, *v.t.* 13/21, 14/37, translate
 into E.
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 equivocent, *a.* 33/657, of equal force
 erudicion, *n.* 48/129, doctrine
 exaltatat, *v.t.* 32/614, exalt, glorify
 executor, *n.* 22/303, performer,
 carrier out
 exemplification, *n.* 91/1076
 exorn, *v.t.* 86/953, adorn

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