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Hoccleve Minor Poems
ref. line, unless otherwise noted.

Vrr. in ftnts.
MS A = ?all30 Hoccl.ASM (Hnt)

?

?all30(?all410) Hoccl.Chancellor (Hnt) p.58.

Use other Hoccleve material in preference to this if possible. The only MS ed. in full (Dur-U) is a Stow copy, modernized.
If necessary to quote, give vrr. from MS Seld (in ftnts.) if possible: all450 (Seld)

c1450 Hoccl. Cupid (Pref) TRANSFER pp.72-91.
Non-pref. MS. Pref. MS is edited in Part 2, pp.20-34.
Vrr. in ftnts.:
B = c1475 (Bod)
D = c1450 (Dbg)
[S = c1500 (Seld) - Do not use vrr. from this MS which is SCOTS and LATE.]
[Sp = Speght's edition of 1602. - Do not use vrr. from this printed edition.]
T = all450 (Tan)

Further vrr. on pp.249-253 from:
Sh = all456 (Trin-C)
[A = Pref. MS Hnt. See Part 2, pp.20-34.]

a1605(cl1422) Hoccl. Dial. (Dur-U) pp.110-119, as marked. Pref. MS for lines 1-252. But since it is a Stow copy with considerable modernization, other Hoccleve material should be used in preference. Vrr. from MS Seld should be used whenever possible with the stencil: all450 Hoccl. Dial. (Seld:Furnivall)
[Transfer poems on the following pages as direct in the book: Part 1, 25-39, 56-57, 59-60, 63-64.]
Hoccleve's Works.

I. THE MINOR POEMS.

Early English Text Society.
Extra Series. No. LXI.

1892.

(Reprinted 1937)
Hoccleve's Works.

I. THE MINOR POEMS
IN THE PHILLIPPS MS. 8151 (CHELTENHAM)

EDITED BY
FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,
FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY
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Teena Rochfort Smith,
MY MUCH-RESPECTED AND DEEPLY-REGRETTED GIRL-FRIEND
THE LOVER OF SHAKSPERE AND BROWNING.

Extra Series.
LXI.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED,
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.
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The List of Hoccleve's Minor Poems in the Ashburnham MS. 133 is at p. xxvii of the Forewords. Hoccleve's only other work is his Regement of Princes.
HOCCLEVE'S RHYMES AND CHAUCER'S VIRELAYS.

[Reprinted from The Athenæum, March 4, 1893, p. 281.]

CHAUCER tells us that he wrote "virelayes"; see 'Legend of Good Women,' 423. Unfortunat’ely, they are all lost but two, and these two do not seem to have been noticed.

There is a so-called 'Virelay' in Moxon's edition, p. 439; but it was first attributed to Chaucer by Stowe in 1561, and is of quite late date; see my edition of the 'Minor Poems,' p. xxxi. I shall only observe here that it is not a true virelay; for the rhymes do not recur as they should.

The sole existing specimens both occur in 'Anelida,' lines 256-271 and 317-332. The arrangement of rhymes is as follows: aaabaaab, followed by bbbabba. The repetition of the same rhymes in a different order is the essential point in a virelay.

In Dr. Furnivall's excellent new edition of Hoccleve I find some more examples, though they are not noted as being such. I wish to draw attention to them, as they are of high interest.

Take, for example, Balade IV., at p. 39. The editor says, "in five-measure eights, abab, bcbc." This is true as far as it goes, but does not convey any adequate idea of the extreme intricacy of the metre. The description given only applies to the first stanza. But all the other stanzas actually employ the very same rhymes, but in a veering order. In the whole poem of forty lines there are but three rhymes, viz. in -al, in -es, and in -ay. And this is the order of them.

First stanza: abab, bcbc.
Second stanza: cbcb, baba.
Third stanza: abab, bcbc. (Same as the first.)
Fourth stanza: cbcb, baba. (Same as the second.)
Fifth stanza: acac, cbcb.

There are here three variations in the order.
Balade V. (p. 41) is another specimen of intricate rhyming.
The formula is as follows for the four stanzas: (1) abab, bcbc, (2) the same, (3) the same, (4) the same. In the thirty-two lines there are but three rhymes.

Balade VI. (p. 42) is precisely like it. However, neither of these is a virelay; there is no veer.

Balade VIII. (p. 47) furnishes us with a still more intricate specimen. The first five stanzas arrange the rhymes as in Balade IV. above. But there is a new arrangement in stanza 6, viz. bcbe, caca. Hence there are here four variations instead of three. In forty-eight lines there are but three rhymes, viz. in -se, -oun, and -eye. A knowledge of this is important phonetically; for a rhyme in -ey (instead of the feminine -eye) would be inadmissible.

Balade IX. is interesting as reproducing the metre in ‘Anelida,’ 220-255, 281-316; so we know whence the form of it came.

Balade XII. is an excellent specimen of a virelay. In the three stanzas we get the three varieties, as in Balade IV., stanzas 1, 2, and 5. The three rhymes are -ent, -esse, -ee.

Balade XIII. begins with an excellent virelay. The first three stanzas are, in form, precisely like Balade XII.; but all the rhymes are feminine. The rhyme-endings are -esse, -inge, -aille. Stanza 4 is, metrically, rather a drop, as it introduces new rhymes. But the roundel that succeeds is good.

Balade XIV. is a virelay. The first and third stanzas end alike, viz. in abab, bcbe. The second stanza has chcb, baba.

Hence Hoccleve actually presents us with true virelays in Balades XII., XV., and three stanzas of XIII., with three variations. Balade IV. is another, but the third and fourth stanzas are additional, and merely repeat the rhymes of the first and second. Balade VIII. introduces yet a fourth variation. Balade XIV. has but two variations.

We can all guess whence Hoccleve learnt his metres. It seems to me a most interesting fact that, though we have not got many of Chaucer’s eight-line virelays, we now know precisely how they all went.

WALTER W. SKEAT.
[Correction for Hoccleve's Minor Poems, I., p. 217.]


[Reprinted from The Academy, April 1, 1893, pp. 285-6.]

"THE COW IS WOOD" IN CHAUCER.

Cambridge: March 19, 1893.

In the New English Dictionary, s.v. *chough*, we learn that *cow* here means "chough"; viz., in the "Wife of Bath's Prologue," l. 232. I once further explained (in the Academy, April 5, 1890) that the allusion is to a story of "The Tell-tale Bird" kind, so well discussed by Mr. Clouston in *Originals and Analogues*, p. 437 (Chaucer Society).

In Dr. Furnivall's new edition of *Hoccleve* there is a capital example of a similar usage; and (with Dr. Furnivall's kind permission) I beg leave to call attention to it, because it seems to have escaped notice. I must quote the whole of two stanzas on p. 217:

"Frend, looth me were 'nay' seye vnto yow,
But y suppose, it may noon othir be;
Lest wommen vnto Magge, the good[e] kow,
Me likne, and thus seye—'O, beholde and see
The double man! O, yondir, lo, gooth he
That honye first yaf, and now yeueth galle;
He fo in herte is vnto wommen alle;

"Til he of wommen oute wordes wikke,
He fastynge is, him seemeth; al the day
Out of his mowth leysynges swarmen thikke;
On wommen no good word affoorthe he may;
And if he wel speke or wryte, is no nay,
He nat meneth as he spekith or writ:
O lewde dotepol! straw for his wit!"

In the last line but one the printed text has *meueth*, i.e., "moveth." I read it as *meneth*, i.e., "meaneth." The verb *oute* means "utter." I would further suggest that the MS. reading,
the good cow, is a scribal error for the woods cow, i.e., “the mad jack-daw.” The scribe evidently missed the point, and avoided writing what (to him) seemed to be nonsense.

I now give a sufficient paraphrase:

“My friend, it would grieve me to refuse you, but I suppose I cannot do otherwise (than translate, as you ask me to do, a tale about an evil woman). I fear lest women should liken me to Mag, the mad jack-daw, and say—‘Behold the double-minded man! See yonder, there goes he who formerly gave men honey, and now gives them gall; he is a foe, at heart, to all womankind. He seems to himself to be fasting, till he utters wicked words about women. Lies swarm thickly out of his mouth. He cannot afford women one good word; and if ever he speaks or writes well of us, it cannot be denied that he does not mean what he speaks or writes. Ignorant blockhead! A straw for his wit!'”

Not only have we here a new allusion to the evil words which jack-daws speak of women, but we have what I suppose to be by far the earliest example of the name Mag (Margaret) as applied to a chattering bird. Shakspeare has “magot-pie,” and modern English has “magpie.” It would be interesting to learn if some other MS. can be found in which the original word woods (or wode) is retained.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

I don’t know of another copy of this Link between Hoccleve’s two stories from the Gesta Romanorum.—F. J. F.
FOREWORDS.


§ 2. His Love of Chaucer, p. xxx.

§ 3. His Patrons, Associates and Character, p. xxxiv.

§ 4. Comments on some of his Poems, Metre and Language, p. xxxix.

§ 5. Text-copying, and Thanks to Helpers, p. xlv.

Hoccleve must have got his name, says Mr. Kirk, from the pleasant village of Hockliffe in Bedfordshire, on the Roman road, Watling St., 4½ miles S. of Woburn, and 3½ E. of Leighton Buzzard.  

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

Lay Subsidy Roll, Bedford, ¶.

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

¶.

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

¶.

[10 Edw. II, July, 1316-17], Roll of a 16th granted to the King.
Township of Hoclyve.
Of the Master of the Hospital, 9s.
Of Richard de Hoclyve, 6s. 5¿d.
80 names.
Sum of the township, 4l. 1s. 10d.

¶.

6 Edw. III (no month), a 15th and a 10th. “Hoclyve.”

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

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

† No month given.

Mr. Stevenson suggests that Hoccleve must have been a West-countryman, as Cleves prevail in the West. We Thames folk know Cleve Lock and Mill
The chief authorities for the life of Hoccleve are his Male Regle in the Phillipps MS, his Dialog with the old Beggar in his Regement of Princes, his Complaint and Dialog with a friend in the Durham MS, and the entries about him in the Privy-Council Proceedings and the Patent and Pells-Issue Rolls.

In his Dialog (A.D. 1421-2), p. 125-6 below, Hoccleve speaks of Henry V's victories in France, and of Humfrey, Duke of Gloster, being Lieutenant of the Kingdom (125/533) while Henry was in France. This was from 10 June, 1421, to 31 August, 1422, when the King died at Vincennes. In the same poem Hoccleve says, "Of age am I fifty winter and thra." He must therefore have been born in 1368-9. The date of his englising of De Regimine Principum is 1411-12; and in that poem he says, that he had been then above Streatley and Goring; and if this Cleve could be added to the Berkshire river Ock which joins the Thames at Abingdon, we should get Ockcleve. Walker's Gazetteer, 1801, gives:—


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


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§ 1. **Hoccleve’s Life. Enter the Privy-Seal Office at 19.**

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

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

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

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

"What man that twenty yere and more
   In wrytyng hath contynued, as hane I,
   I doe well sey it smerteth hym fult sore
   In every veyne and place of his body;
   And yel most it greveth truly,
   Of ony craft that man kan ymageyn:
   Fader, in feith, it spilt hath welny me.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

Coke’s *Second Institute*, p. 554.
script. This document is presumed to belong to about the 9th or 10th Ric. II. (22 June, 1385, to 21 June, 1387), as Sir John Clanvowe, who is mentioned therein, was retained to serve in the King's expedition into Scotland in 1385, and is supposed to have died before April 1390.]

"Sensuunt les nouens des personnes as quaux le Conseil estoit accordez que briefs de liberate soient grantez pour les causes dessous expressées, sur les fees et annuities a eux grantez et confermez . . . .

Monsieur Johan Clanvowe } Par cause quils furent ovesque le
Monsieur Robert Whitteneye } Roy en Éscoce . . . .
Monsieur Thomas Bret
Thomas Hoccleve¹
Robert Frye } Par cause quils souent clers en officie du
Johan Hethe } prive seal.²
William Flete

Hoccleve meant at first to be a priest³:—"I whilom thought Have ben a preest; now past is the raae." De Reg., p. 52, l. 1147-8.

He probably entered the Privy-Seal Office till he could get a benefice

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

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

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

1388, Easter, 11 Ric. II. Payment to John Blyth (as below).
1388, Mich., 12 Ric. II. 20 October, Tuesday. To John Blyth, "pergamenarius" of Lincoln, for parchment bought of him "as well for the office of the Privy Seal, as for the Great Exchequer and the Receipt thereof," &c., 10l. [This is probably the " . . . . Blith" mentioned in later entries. See Appendix].

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

Two Chaucer entries.

1389, Mich., 13 Ric. II. Two payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.
1390, Easter, 13 Ric. II. Three payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.
1390, Mich., 14 Ric. II. Two payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

John Prophete (see p. xiv below, note 1) is described as "Clerk" only. Payment to "the Clerks of the Chancery." (See also Easter, 11 Ric. II. They seem to have had occasional "rewards" in the same way as the Clerks in the Privy-Seal office).

³ Miss L. T. Smith says, in Anglia v. 15, that it may be concluded he was bred to the law. This was only because he liv'd in Chester's Inn.
promised him, and then meant to be ordained and take the endowment. But no benefice came. Instead, after twelve years' office-work, Hoccleve got from Henry IV, on Nov. 12, 1399, (six weeks after his accession), the grant of £10 a year for life, or until the King should promote him to an ecclesiastical benefice, without cure of souls, worth £20 a year, in other words, quarter him on a convent1 (see Appendix I). The first payment of this Annuity, to Michaelmas 1400, namely £8 15s. 3d., was made to Hoccleve on Dec. 13, 1400 (App. II). The Roll for Easter, 2 Hen. IV, 1401, is missing, but no doubt the poet drew his half-yearly £5, as we know he did the payment due at Michaelmas (App. III). Then in 1402 he gets his Easter £5 on April 26 (App. IV a), but out of his Michaelmas money fifteen-pence is deducted (App. IV b).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 On its site, with that of Paul’s Brewhouse, stood afterwards the St. Paul’s Coffee-house, at the corner of the entrance from St. Paul’s Churchyard to Doctors’ Commons.—Cunningham.

4 See Hethe’s name, p. x above.
§ 1. Hoccle's fresh Pension. His "Regement of Princes" 1412. xiii

Month's parchment, ink, and red wax (App. XIII); on 4 Feb., 1408, he is paid his half-yearly annuity of £5, due at Michaelmas, 1407. In 1408 Hoccleve also gets his Easter £5 on July 7 (App. XV), while his Michaelmas £5 is paid on Feb. 13, 1409 (App. XVI). In 1409 he surrenders his Annuity of £10, and on May 17 has a fresh grant of an Annuity of £13 6s. 3d. from Michaelmas, 1408 (App. XVII). Six days after, on May 23, he gets his first half-yearly Easter payment of his increast annuity, £6 13s. 4d. (App. XVIII), and the like sum for Michaelmas, on Nov. 22, 1409 (App. XIX).

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

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

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

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

Yours ever, W. W. Skeat."

2 Probably the Middle Temple, to which Chester's Inn, where Hoccleve livd, belonded. See Note, p. xviii below.
Hoccleve’s Life. His Poverty: has only £4 a Year.

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

¹ In the earlier entries in vol. i. of the *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, the name of "le gardein de notre prive seal" is not given. Those named afterwards—but who may have been appointed earlier,—are, in 1402, April 2. Thomas Langley, Keeper of the Privy Seal.—ib. i 188. 1407, Nov. 16. John Prophete² (i. 900-1, "Maist . . . Prophetae, gardein de notre prive [seal]"); ii. 79. "John Prophete, Secretaire du Reys, notre souverain seigneur"; Sec. to the King in Sept. 1402.—ib. 79.²

1417, Feb. 15. H. Ware (ii. 204: Feb. 15, 4 Hen. V, "H. Ware, custode privati sigilli.")

1421, July 1. John Stafford (ii. 287; 1 Hen. VI, vi. 844), and till 1422, Dec. 16 (iii. 8).

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

1434. William Lyndewode (iv. 202, "custos privati sigilli") and "utrusque juris doctor," iv. 69. (When secondary in the Privy-Seal Office, he had £40 a year, with clothing, furs and lining: see in v. 150-1 the Petition to the King, June 8, 19 Hen. VI, a.d. 1441, of "your poevere clerke, Adam Molynes, secondary in ye office of your prive seal, for such yerly reward and clothing for ye said office . . . as was paid and delivered to Maister William Lyndewode, late secondary in ye said office . . . in monnaye to be understande xlv. fl. and clothing, furrur and lynying as ye said William Lyndewode receyved.")


1441. Adam Molynes (v. 151, "Rex mandavit Custodi privati sigilli sui ut acceptaret Adam Molynes, clericum, tunc consiliu sui secundarium officii, custodie privati sigilli, prout et diu Custos fuit antequam in custodia ejusdem privati sigilli sui fuit assumptus; recipiendo . . . xl li singulius annis," &c.

1444. Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Bath (vi. 24; Feb. 1, 22 Hen. VI: "Your humble chappellain, Thomas, bishop of Bath, keper of youre prive seal" [Adam Molynes was present at the Council on Jan. 26.—ibid.])

1446. Bishop of Winchester (so Index, vi. 408: vi. 51, July 24, Hen. VI: "my LorR of Chichester, keper of his prive seal").

1450. Andrew Holes (vi. 93: May 17, 28 Hen. VI: "To our right trusty and wellbeloved clere, Maister Andrew Holes, keper of oure prive seal.")

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

¹ He had 93s a day.
² Master John Prophete was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal on 4 October, 8 Henry IV., 1406. See Issue Roll for Easter, 8 Hen. IV. Previously he was described as follows:—

1400. Mich. 2 Hen. IV. He is called Dean of Hereford, and had been 'retained' as one of the King's councilors.

1405. Mich. 7 Hen. IV. John Prophet or Proftyt, clerk, the King's Secretary."—R. G. Kirk.
§ 1.  Hoccleve's Life.  His Marriage.  Waste in Youth.  xv

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

Harl. 4866, lf. 26, bk.
I gasyd longë firste, & waytid faste 1451
After some benefice, and when non cam,
By proces I me weddid¹ attë laste.
And, God it wot, it sorë me agaste 1454
To byndë me / where I was at my large;
But done it was : I toke on me pat charge.
ed. Wright, p. 53, st. 208, l. 1. 1456.

He married for love, not money (Reg. 56/1559-61), and after his "skittish youth" (as the old Beggar terms his own gay time, Reg. 22/590) settled down into poverty and sad old age: no more treating and kissing the pretty plump girls at the Paul's Head.

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

Harl. 486, lf. 76, bk.  st. 623, p. 156, ed. Wright.
A-mong foliës alle, is non, I leue,
More þan a² man his gode ful largëly 4355
Despende, in hopë³ men wol hym releve.
When his gode is despendid vterly,⁴
The indigent, men setë no thyng by.
I, Hoccleue, in swich case⁵ am gilty,—his me touchith,—
So seith pouert, which oon foole large him vouchith.

st. 624, p. 157.
For þogh I neuer were of hy degree,
Ne had[de] mochil gode, ne gret richesse, 4362
Jit hath þe vice of prodigalite
Smerted me sore, & done me hevynesse.
He þat but litil hath, may done excesse 4366
In his degree, as wel as may þe riche,
Thogh hir dispenses werë nat ylyche.⁶

Deputy Keeper's Reports, II. 38, 34, 70; the Guide to the Public Records, by S. R. Bird; the Report of the Record Commissioners, 1837, &c. The office of Clerks of the Privy Seal was abolished by Act of 14 and 15 Victoria, c. 82. (See Deputy Keeper's Reports, XIII. 4.)

¹ I wedded me, Reg. ² a Reg, om. H. ³ hop H, hope Reg. ⁴ MS. viterly.
⁵ swich a case H, suche case Reg. ⁶ lyche H, ylyche Reg.
st. 625.

I open my purse

till it was empty;

and I shall get nothing unless you, O Prince, give it me.

So have I plukkid at my purse\(^1\) strynges,

And made hem often for to\(^2\) gape and gane,

\(\text{hat} \) his smal stuf hath take hym to his wynges,

And hath I-sworne\(^3\) to be my welthes bane,

But if releef a-way my sorwe\(^4\) plane;

And whens it comë shal, can I nought gesse,

Mi lorde, but it procede of your hynesse,

---

st. 626.

I repent my misguided life.

I me repente of my mysrewly\(^5\) lyfe:

Wherfor, in þe wey of savacioñ

I hope I be; my dotage excessyfe

Hath put me to swich castigacion,

\(\text{hat} \) indigence hath dominacion

On me / O, had I help, now wold I pryue;

And so ne did I neuer\(^6\) sit in my lyue.

---

st. 627.

My annuity

My yearly guerdon, myn annuite,\([\text{M.77}]\)

That was me graunted for my long labour,

is in arrear;

I can't get paid.

O, Prince,

relieve me!

---

If I can get help, I shall thrive for the first time.

On me / O, had I help, now wold I pryue;

And so ne did I neuer\(^6\) sit in my lyue.

---

st. 628.

My annuity

My yearly guerdon, myn annuite,\([\text{M.77}]\)

That was me graunted for my long labour,

is in arrear;

I can't get paid.

O, Prince,

relieve me!

---

And, wory prince, at Cristes reuereuce,

Herkeneth what I schal seyn, and be\(^4\) noght greued,

But lat me stande in your beneuolence;

For if myn hertes wil wiste were and preueed,

How you to louse it stired is and meved,

Ye shulden knowe / Y your honour and welpe,

Triste\(^9\) and desire, and eek your soules helpe.,&c. 4396

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

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

Many men, faðir, wenæ þat writynge

No trauaiie is / þei hold it but a game:—

1 purs H, purses Reg. 2 for H, for to Reg. 3 sworne Reg. 4 my sorwe away Reg. 5 myrueled Reg. 6 Read never as ne'er. 7 Hoccleve's moral for the Prince, on not being paid, is that when he becomes King, he shouldn't (like his Father, understood) grant Annuities unless he's sure he can pay em; for retraction of payment kindles the hate of subjects. He'd better not grant any pensions at all, than fail to pay em, p. 172, st. 685-7, l. 4789-4809. There's a good bit of advice in l. 4898, p. 175. "No disdeyne have of the poore's sentence (opinion)."
8 bet Reg. 9 Thurstie Reg.
§ 1. Hoccleve’s Life. His trying Work at the Privy-Seal. xvii

Aart hath no foo, but swich folk vnkonyng:-
But who-so list disport hym in pat same,
Let hym continue, and he shal fynd it grame:
It is wel gretter labour þan it seemeth;
þe blyndē man of coloures al¹ wrong deemeth. 994

st. 143.

‖ A writer mot thre thynge to hym knytte,
And in tho may be no disseoerence;
Mynde / ee² / and hand / non may fro outhur flitte,
But in hem mot be ioynt contynuance.
The mynd, al hoole with-outen variance,
On þe ee³ and hand / awaytē mot alaway,
And þei two eek on hym; it is no nay. 1001

st. 144, p. 37.

‖ Who-so schal wrytē, may nat holde a tale
With hym and hym / ne syngē⁴ this ne that;
But alle his wittēs gretē and smale
Ther must appere, and haldē⁶ hem ther-at,
And syn he spekē⁸ may, ne syngē nat,
But bothē⁷ two he nedēs moot forbere:
His⁸ labour to hym is the alengere.⁹ 1008

st. 145.

‖ Thisē¹⁰ artificers, se I day be day,
In þe hōstesté of al her¹¹ bysynesse,
Talken and syngē,¹² and makē game and play
And forth hir labour¹³ passith with gladnesse;
But we laboure¹⁵ in trœueillous stinesse;
We stowpe and stare vpon þe shepēs skyn,
And keepē muste our song and wordēs in. ¹⁰¹⁵

st. 146.

‖ Wrytynge also doth grete annoyses thre.
Of which ful fewē folkes¹⁵ taken heedē
Sauf we ourselwe; and þişē, lo, þei be:
Stomak is on, whom stowyng out of dreede
Annoyeth soore, and to our bakkes neede
Mot it be greevous; and þe thrid, our yen,¹⁶
Vp-ôn the whytē nochel for to dryēn. 1022

st. 147.

‖ What man þat þre and twenti¹⁷ yere and more
In wrytynge hath continued, as haue I,


HOCCLEVE, M.P.
§ 1. Hoccle's Life. His Dread of Poverty. At Chester's Inn.

like I have, suffers for it, in every bit of his body.

I dar wel sayn it smerteth hym ful sore
In every veyne and place of his body;
And yea most it greueth trewely
Of any craftes that man can ymagyne:
Fadir, in feith, it spilt hath wel ny.myne.

It's nearly done for me.

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

Had I al-
ways livd in
poverty,

If pat I hadde of costume, or p's tyme,
Lyued in indigences wrecchednesse,
The lesse heer-after schuld I sette by me;
But in myn age wrastle with hardnesse,
That with hym stroglid neuere in greennesse
Of youth, — pat mutacion and chaunge
An-othir day me seeme shulde al straunge.

I shouldn't feel it so much now;
but the change is strange.

st. 138 (Harl. 4866).

He pat neuere knewe sweetnesse of wele,
Thoghe he it lakke ay lesse hym greue it shal,
Than hym pat hath ben weleful yeeris fele,
And in effect hath felt no greef at al.

st. 139.

God keep me from poverty!
I'd sooner die than live miserably.

O pouert, God me sheld fro thy fal!
O deth, thy strok is more agreeable
To me pan lyue a lyf so miserable.

In the De Regimine (A.D. 1411-12) Hoccleve tells us that he livd at Chester's Inn in the Strand, where he also was, I suppose, as a

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

Wold honest heve theome, and me overerve,
And of my grave me putte in seyynye,
To al my greef that were a medeyne.

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

11 Of Strand Inne, and of the Studies of these Innes of Chauncery, cap. 25.
12 There was also another Inne of Chauncery in the Strand, called Chester Inne, or Strand Inne, which, together with the houses of the Bishops of Chester, of Worcester, and of Landaff, and the Church of S. Mary in the Strand, were all in the yeere of our Lorde MDXXXIX swallowed vp in the foundation of the goodly palace built by the Duke of Somerset, Uncle Maternell to K. Edward the 6. and thus much for the foundation and institution of these Innes of Chauncery. For the other matters belonging vnto them, I am able to say by mine owne experience, that in these houses of Chauncery live and common together, Atturnees, Soliciters, and Clerks belonging to the Courts, as well of more and strict law, as of equitie and conscience. The chiefe or governour in every Inne of these Innes of Chauncery, is called Principall. And in these
§ 1. Hoccleve's Life. A poor married Man, and a Preacher. xix

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

Then if we put Hoccleve's marriage and start of post-Club life
in 1410-11, we have our rake as a teacher, philosopher and reformer,
in the De Regimine¹ in 1411-12, and the Balades at p. 61 below, to

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

Hoccleve speaks twice of his home as a “pore cote:” De Reg. 81/845, 34/940.
¹ The late Thomas Wright says in his Preface to his edition of De Regimine
for the Roxburgh Club, 1860, p. xiii.-xiv.: “Hoccleve tells us that he compiled
his treatise De Regimine Principum from three works which were very celebrated
in his time. These were, in the first place, the supposititious epistle of Aristotle,
addressed to Alexander the Great, and known by the title of Secretum Secretorum;
secondly, the book of Egidius de Columba or Colonna, entitled De Regimine
Principum, and of which Hoccleve speaks as ‘Gyles of Regement of Princes’; and
lastly the well-known work of Jacobus de Cessolis, or Jacques de Cesseoles,
etitled the ‘Game of Chess Moralized,’ of which Caxton’s celebrated book, ‘The
Game of the Chess,’ was a translation through the French.” After the Proem,
and the long account of himself by the old Beggar who advises and tells his
story to Hoccleve, the poet, says Mr. Wright, “in his introductory part, com-
plaints of the neglect which was shown in his time to the old soldiers of the
French wars of the preceding century (p. 32); of the great prevalence of covet-
ousness among the gentry (p. 43); of the eagerness of the churchmen after rich
benefices, and of the prevalence of pluralism and absenteeism (p. 51); of the
mischievous influence of the aristocracy in the courts of law (p. 54); of the evil
practice of betrothing children in their infancy (p. 59); and of the frequency of
adultery (p. 64). When he enters upon the subject of his book, he complains of
the want of truthfulness among the knights of his time (p. 82), and of the
absence of righteousness in England (p. 89); he urges the prince [after, Henry
V] to obey the laws when he should have become king, as one of the principal
duties of royalty, and complains that in England the laws were neglected, and
feuds and outrages passed unpunished. Poor men could get no justice, while
rich men committed crimes with impunity (p. 102). He especially urges the
prince as king to protect the free election of the bishops in the cathedral
churches (p. 104). In treating of Pity he condemns the practice of granting
pardons for offences, giving an illustrative anecdote of a king of ‘this land’

b 2

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

On Aug. 13, 1415, when Henry V. took ship for Harfleur, on his Agincourt campaign, Hoccleve wrote, or began, his Remonstrance with Oldcastle, p. 8-24, reproaching him for having left the Faith, for being God's foe 9/27, for having sold his soul to the Devil 10/61; bidding him return to God 16/248, praying God for him 16/265, damning to hell the heretics who 'd misled him, p. 17, (p. 112), and advocates the punishment of death (p. 114). In the chapter on Mercy (p. 119), Occele commends the merciful dispositions of John of Gaunt and his son Henry IV (p. 120). And in treating of 'largesse' and avarice, he speaks again of his own youthful prodigality, and repeats his appeal for the payment of his annuity (p. 156). He complains of the absence of liberality among lords in his time (p. 168). In speaking of Prudence, he counsels the prince, still with an eye to his own grievance, not to grant pensions unless he intends to pay them (p. 172). And, in his last chapter, when treating of Peace, he alludes to the troubles in England (p. 187); complains how unworthy people were promoted in the world before those who were worthy, while the deserving 'clerkes' of Oxford and Cambridge were neglected (p. 187); describes the melancholy state of France (p. 190); and deprecates the hostility between France and England (p. 193).
§ 1. Hoccle's Life. Poem against Oldecastle 1415. Payments. xxi

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

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

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

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

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

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

"No English Gold shall be received in payment but by the Kings weight.
"Item, to avoid the deceits and perils which long have continued within the Realme, by Washers, Clippers, and Counterfeitors of the money of the Realme of England, to the great losse and damage of all the people of the same Realme: The King, by the advices and assent of all the Lords and Commons assembled in this Parliament, hath ordained and established, that from Christmas even next comming, none of the King's liege people shall receive any money of English gold in payment, but by the Kings weight thereupon ordained. And because a great part of the gold now current in payment, is not of rightfull weight, nor of good alloy, the same shall be to the great losse and costs of the Kings subjects, unless it please him to relieue them in this case: Our Soueraigne Lord the King, of his speciall grace, hath remised and pardoned to all his liege people which, betwixt this and the said Feast of Christmas, shall cause to be coined of new at the Kings coinage within the Tower of London their money of gold that is not of just weight nor of good alloy, that is to say, all that to him pertaineth for this new coinage of such gold as afore. Suing alwayes to the Master of the Mint, and to other officers of the same, that which to them reasonably pertaineth."
§ 1. Hoccle's "Complaint" &c. of 1422. His Wife's Kindness. xxiii
doubtless with Henry V and his French Queen on Feb. 3, 1421:
Halle, p. 105, ed. 1809). On p. 130, Hoccleve mentions the Duke's
worthiness at Cherbourg (in 1418), his winning Constantine—
seemingly in 1417, and his valour at the siege of Rouen, 1418
(city surrendered Jan. 19, 1419). But as the Duke likes dalliance
with ladies (p. 135, st. 101), and Hoccleve's friend advises him to
make amends to them for the offence they took—quite wrongly, as
he well says on p. 137-8—at his Letter of Cupid twenty years before,
the poet resolves to express for them the tale of a true wife,—
of Jereslaus or Gerelaus—from the Gesta Romanorum, which he
accordingly does, p. 136, &c. On p. 136, st. 106, l. 739-42, Hoc-
cleve's wife turns up again; so he no doubt had some one to look
after him during his long illness and madness; and tho he says
nothing about his wife's care of him, we may hope fairly (if not
admit) that his stanza 57, p. 154, applies here:

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

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

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

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

2 After Henry V took Caen in 1417, and the Duke of Gloster, Lisieux, Halle
says (Chronicle, 1809, p. 80) that
"diverse tounes in the country of Constantine wer surrendered to the duke
of Gloucester, where he appoynted these capitaines.
"At Camenon, the lorde Botraux.  At Chierurg [Cherbourg], the lord
At Seint Clow, Reigmold West.  Grey Codner, and after his decease,
At Valoiognes, Thomas Burgh.  sir water Hungerford."

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

1 Browne praises Hoccleve highly, and promises to print the rest of his works if this sample tale pleases. This come after the Tale. Before, Browne says, p. 177, ed. 1689:—

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

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

Willy.

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

Roget.

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

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

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

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

Willie.

What was he thou praisest thus?

Roget.

Scholler vnto Titryus:
Titryus the brasnest Swaine
Kuer liued on the plaine,
Taught him how to feed his Lambes,
How to cure them, and their Dams;
How to pitch the fold, and then
How he should remove a gen:
Taught him when the Corne was ripe,
How to make an oaten Pipe,
How to loyne them, how to cut them,
When to open, when to shut them;
And with all the skil he had,
Did instruct this willing lad.

Wille.

Happy surely was that Swaine!
And he was not taught in vaine:
Many a one that prouder is,
Han not such a song as this,
§ 1. Lady Westmorland, Dedicated of Hocel’s “Complaint.” xxv

Volume to “my lady of Westmorland” by her “humble servant . . . T'Hoccleve.”

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

And have garlands for their need,
That but are as Skellons reed.

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

THOMAS OCCLEVE, one of the privy scale, composed first this tale, and was never till now imprinted. As this shall please, I may be drawn to publish the rest of his works, being all perfect in my hands. Hee wrote in CHAUCER’S time.

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

² 1st wife.

John, Lord Nevill, ob. viti patriæ, 1423 =

2nd wife.

*Elizabeth Percy = Ralph, 2nd Earl of Westmorland, grand-son and heir; born 1404, ob. 3 Nov. 1434.


John Nevill = slain at Towton, 1461.

1st wife.

Ralph, 3rd Earl of = Margaret, da. of Sir Westmorland, nephew to Roger Booth; mar. and heir; born 1455; before 1478.

*Ralph, 3rd Earl of = Margaret, da. of Sir Westmorland, nephew to Roger Booth; mar. and heir; born 1455; before 1478.

* Of these three Ladies, Joan was Countess c. 1397 to 1440; Elizabeth, 1435 to 1437; Margaret, c. 1437 to 40.
Before Hoccleve finisht his Complaint he must have written his Balade in the Ashburnham MS (see below, p. xxviii), "pour la bien venue du tresnoble Roy H. le VI... hors du Roialme de France (cestassaouar, sa dareine venue"), 3 Feb. 1421. On Feb. 29, 1422, Hoccleve is paid 40s. 11½d. for 19 months' red wax and ink (App. XLV), and on May 25 he gets his half-year's annuity of £6 13s. 4d. to Easter 1422 (App. XLVI). On Aug. 31, 1422, Henry V dies, and the baby Henry VI succeeds him.

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

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

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

2 See Dugdale, vi, Pt. I, p. 243, Nicholas Mockynge, 19th Jan., 1 Hen. IV, A.D. 1400, Master of St. Lawrence, Poultry. The Priory of Southwick was first founded by Hen. I in 1133 in the church of St. Mary Porchester, and not long after removed to Southyke. Priors in Hoccleve's time: Thomas Curteis or Cortays, 22 July, 22 Ric. II; Edward Dene, 23 Sept., 11 Hen. VI; John Soburton, on whose death Philip Stanebrok received the temporalities, Sept. 20th, 3 Edw. IV.
§ 1. Hoccle. perhaps dies in 1450. Ashburn. MS of his Poems. xxvii

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

The Hoccleve part of the Ashburnham MS 133 contains:

1. Inuocacio ad patrem:
   beg. To thee / we make ounre inuocacioun
   Thow god / the fadir / which vn-to vs alls
20 stanzas of 7 lines each, ababb cc, the last ending with
   And stifly graunte vs in thy cause stonde
   And stille nat / when we take it on honde.

2. Ad filium:
   beg. O blessid chyld Ihesu / what haast thow do
   pat for vs shuldist souffre swich Iwyse
10 stanzas of 7, the last ending
   And graunt vs grace thee to loue & drede
   And yeue vs heuene / when pat we be dede.

3. Ad spiritum sanctum:
   beg. Now holy goost of the hy deitee
   Loue and holy communicacioun
10 stanzas of 7, the last ending
   Our soules / hem to haue in gouernance
   O Trinitee haue vs in remembraunce.

4. Ad beatam Virginem:
   beg. Worshipful maiden to the world / Marie
   Modir moost louynge vn-to al man-kynde
The Ashburnham MS of Hoccleve's Minor Poems.

7 stanzas of 7, ababb cc, ending
For whom thou preyst / god nat list denyes
Thyn ayninge / blessid maiden Marie.

5. Item de beata Virgine:

beg. Syn thow modir of grace / haast euer in mynde
AH tho / pat vn-on thee han memorie

20 stanzas of 7, ababb cc, ending
His passion / witnesse bere may
Remembre on pat / and preye for vs aye

6. Item de beata Virgine:

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

Prologus, 3 stanzas of 7, ababb cc,
Fabula (story of a Monk who, by saying Ave Maria 50 times a day, got the Virgin a sleeveless garment; and then, by trebling the 50 Aves and adding to every tenth a Pater Noster, got sleeves put to the garment, and afterwards became an Abbot of his monastery and went to heaven), 15 like stanzas.

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

8. Ceste balade ensuante feust faite pour la bien venue du tres-noble Roy. H. le .V! (que dieu pardoint!) hors du Roialme de France / cestassauoir, sa dareine venue. [? 3 Feb., 1421, theo the Queen is not mentiond in it, but Henry is cald "heir and Regent of France" in accordance with his treaty with the French King: see Holinshed, Chron. iii. 573-4.]

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

5 stanzas of 7, ababb cc, ending
To be ful greet / for why / to vs echone
Welcome be your peerles persone.

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

25 Also that our said father, during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this manner: Nostre troncher filz Henry, roy d’Engleterre, heretere de France. And in Latine in this manner: Prouclariissimus [for preceorissimus] filius noster Henricus, rex Anglica & hares Franciae. Holinshed, iii. 574, col. 2, lines 69-73, ed. 1587.
Stanzas 10, 11, 12 of Hoccleve's "How to Learn to Die"
(p. 180-1 below)

from Lord Ashburnham's Hoccleve MS.

They model of his tyne han defended
In hymes and for thy, Otham on Earth's seat
Epe on hem fall, and they nat amend
And shall from hem becouse of sundro breet
For they seveus by fro hem, than they seve flesh
To felle upon the frike wiprawel
They to 8ell in phine spawable

Neth Odle han ofte a knelid put on thee
And theh Od han led a Day the Odle
In the hand of goddes mercy be
That art wight martial Son to 8 Lord holde
For theh Odyn Od in fiones ole
He spawed thee, thy formed nae fesible
And en to my domenethold thee take

More to thee quafire thal my face
Than chosen gold et the books echone
Of philosophies et for that the more
Antemneth hold, sone thy persone
Under sensible en amplée thee to one
To god et the the better for to thee
The mister of my love cshal thee speeet
§ 1. Hoccleve’s Ashburnham MS and “Letter-Book.” xxix

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

I. Roundel:
begin. Wel may I pleyne on yow lady moneye
pat in the prison of your sharp scantnesse
3 stanzas of 4, abba, the burden being repeated thrice—after each half of st. 2, and after st. 3;—ends

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

II. La response:
begin. Hoccleue / I wole / it to thee knownen be
I, lady Moneye / of the world goddessse
3 like stanzas, with the burden repeated as above; ends

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

10. A Couplet:

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

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

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

---

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

"24,062. A large collection of forms of documents passing under the Privy Seal; consisting of copies of letters and warrants, temp. Rich. II.—Hen. V.; chiefly in French; compiled by Thomas Hocclyf, or Occele, the poet, Clerk of the Privy Seal, and almost wholly in his handwriting; in the following order:—
1. Table of Contents, French, ff. 2-4 b, 198—201 b.
3. Warrants to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, f. 44.
5. "As Tresorers des guerres," f. 54.
6. To the Justiciar and Chamberlain of Chester, f. 59 b.
7. To the Chamberlain and other officers of North and South Wales, f. 69 b
9. "Pur la guerre"; to various persons, f. 73 b.
10. To the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, f. 76."
turning over the leaves I saw only two notes in English. Article 17 of this MS contains 28 pages of copied letters, and is headed Omne gadrium, a title that makes you smile when you see it. On leaf 101 back, Hoccleve adds a bottom line: "4 Hic finitur calendera istius Libri secundum composicionem Thome Hoclyf. facta per manum suam ad finem libri." In the margin of leaf 124, against a French transcript in another hand, is "secundum copiam hocclieif." The two English notes are at the foot of leaf 102 front and 194 back. At the latter place Hoccleve had left seven lines blank at the bottom of the page, and therefore writes in:—

"Q Heere made y lepe yeer—ex negligencia &c. Wistes on Petebat &c, in the nexte syde folwynge, which shoold haue stonden on this syde / but how so it stonde / it is a membre of the materw precedent."

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

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

15. "Lettres Patentes," for various purposes, f. 103.
17. "Omnegadrium"; letters addressed to various persons for different purposes, f. 120 b.
20. "Missiues." Under this heading are copies of letters from the King of England to various foreign princes; with a few letters addressed to the King, ff. 138 b—163 b, 168, 169, 165 b—197.
22. "Exordies et extraitz des lettres"; beginnings and clauses of letters, ff. 178—185 b.
Vellum; xvth cent."
§ 2. Hoccleve probably with Chaucer when he died. xxxi

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

\[ \text{ Höu were aqueynted with Chaucer}^1 \text{ pardee:} \\
\text{God saue}^2 \text{ his soule, best of any wyght!} — \\
\text{Harl. 4866, lf. 34.} \]

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

st. 280:—Harl. MS. 4866, lf. 35 bk.
But weylaway! so is myn hert[e] wo,
That ðe honour of Englyssh tonge is deed,
Of which I wont was han conseil and reed.

st. 281.
O maister deere / and fadir reuerent,
Mi maister Chaucer, flour of eloquence,
Miroir of fructuous entendement,
O unviersel fadir in science,
Allas, pat þou thyn excellent prudence
In þi bed mortel mightist noght byquethe!
What ciled deth / allas! why wold he sle the? 

st. 283.
O deth, þou didest naght harme singuleer
In slaghtere of him, but al þis land smertith ;
But nathleses / yit hast þou no power
His namë sle; his by vertu astertith
Vnslayn fro þe / whiche ay vs lyfly hertyth,
With bookes of his ornat endytyng,
That is to al þis land enlumynyng.\(^\text{3}\)

1 Chaucer, Harl. 4866, lf. 34: Chaucers, MS Reg. 17 D 6. 2 haue H. 3 He goes on: “Hast þou nat ecke my maister Gower slayn [1408], Whos vertu I am insufficient For to descreuye, I wote wel in certayn.”
§ 2. *Hoceleve's Love and Praise of Chaucer.*

He would have taught me, but I was dull.

My dere maistir—God his soule quyte!—
And fadir Chaucer, sain wolde han me taght,
But I was dul, and lerned litel or naght.

*st. 298.*

Allas! my worthi maister honorable,
This landes verry tresor and richesse!

Dethe, by thi deth / hath harme irreparable
Vn to vs doon; hir vengeable duressse
Despoiled hath pis land of þe swetnesse
Of rethorik / for vnto Tullius
Was neuere man so lyk amonges vs.

*st. 299.*

Also who was hier in philosophie
To Aristotle / in our tonge but thow?
The steppes of Virgile in poesie
Thow folwedist eke, men wot wel ynow.
That combre-world þat þe my maistir slow,
Would I slayne were! Deth was to hastyf,
To renne on þe, and reuë the thi lyf.

*st. 300, p. 76.*

Deth hath but smal consideracion
Vn to þe vertuous, I haue espiéd,
No more—as shewith the probacion;—
Than to a vicious maister losel tried;
Among an heep / euery man is maistried;
With hire / as wel þe porre / as is þe riche,
Lerede\(^1\) and lewde eke / standen al yliche.

*st. 301 (ed. Wright).* Harl. 4866, lf. 37 bk.

She myghte han taryed hir vengeance a while
Til that some man had egal to the be.

Nay, lat be þat! sche knew wel þat þis yle
May never man forth bryngë lyk to the,
And hir officé nedës do mot she;
God bad hir do so, I truste as for the beste;
O maister, maister, God þi soule reste!

*p. 179, st. 712:—* Harl. MS 4866, lf. 87 bk.

The firstë fyndere of our faire langage
Hath seyde in caas semblable, & othir moo,
So hyly wel, þat it is my dotage
For to expresse or touche any of thooy.
Alasse! my fadir fro þe worlde is goo,

Pray for him, Queen of Heaven;

My worthi maister Chaucer, hym I mene:
Be þou aduoket for hym, heuenes queene!

\(^1\) Lerd, Harl., Lerede, D Reg. 6.
§ 2. Hoccleve's Praise and Picture of Chaucer. xxxiii

st. 713.
As thou wel knowest, o blissid virgyne, 4985
With louyng hert and hye deuociow
In hyne honour he wrooth ful many a lyne;
O now pise helpe & pise promociow
To God pise Sonë make a mociow 4989
How he pise servaunt was, mayden marie, [r. 88]
And lat his louë floure and fructisie. 4991

st. 714.
Al-pogh his lyfe be queynt, pe resemblance 4992 His likeness
Of him hap in me so fressh lyflynesse, is so fresh in
pat, to putte othir men in remembraunce
Of his persone, I haue heere his lyknesse
Do makë, to pis ende, in sothfastnesse, 4996
pat pei pat haue of him lest pough & mynde,
By pis peynture may ageyn him fynde. 4998

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

HOCCLEVE, M.P.
§ 3. Hoccleve's Patrons, Associates, and Character.

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

Ne I wolde nat / of hym corrected be,
I hate hym / that my vices telleth me,
And so doo mo / god woot of vs / than I.
Wife of Bath’s Prolog, D § 1, l. 661-3 Ellesmere MS, p. 185; Six-Text, p. 352.

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

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

¹ Beggar.—“My lord the prince, knoweth he the nat†” . . .
Hoccleve. “Yis, fader, he is my good gracious lord.”—
De Reg., p. 66, l. 1832, 1886.

Also the Beggar says to the poet, lb. 69/1899 :

“My lord the prynce is good lord the to.”

² The City folk long feasted on and plundered his charity bequest, but in 1883 founded the City of London School out of it.

The tone of the Balade on p. 63 is that of one friend to another who 'd be likely to interode with the writer's creditors, st. 4, and not to Jn. Carpenter, Bp. of Worcester, even when he was Master of St. Anthony's School and Hospital, or Provost of Oriel (1430). Wouldn't a priest too have been called “Sir John” instead of “Maister”†
§ 3. Hoccleve’s Associates and Character. Bred a Priest. xxxv

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

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

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


² [Additional MS in British Museum, 4606, art. 48, a modern Transcript.
³ “Petition to the Council, with the Answer, 14th February, 9 Hen. VI, 1431]
⁵ “(In dorso.) xiiiⅷ die Februarij, anno &c nono, concordatum est per consilium, quod sub privato sigillo, fiat garantum prout infra petitur.”
⁶ The proverbial cherry-fair, De Reg. p. 47, l. 1289, was probably held in town.
⁷ Did he see the hunt in 146/184-7 below!
§ 3. Hoccleve a smart Government-Clerk; then very poor.
doubt jetted along the Strand in fine weather in the fashionable wide-
sleeved cloak of the time,\(^1\) down to the Privy-Seal Office in the Palace
at Westminster, where he would see the Prince of Wales and the
nobles he mentions in his works, and have a chance of talking to
them. As the Strand wasn’t paved till 1533, in winter the way was
deep (31/193), and Hoccleve took a boat from Chester’s Inn (Somerset
House) to Westminster, and there workt more or less. When young,
he was free with his money, stufst and drank at the cook-shops and
taverns at Westminster—paying whatever was askt (p. 30-1)—and
instead of going back to the office\(^2\) after dinner, went for an outing
on the river (31/190). The watermen, seeing he was weak, call’d him
“Maister” (31/201), which tickled his vanity—it was a term applied
only to gentlemen\(^3\)—and drew money from him. Then he ‘d adjourn
to Paul’s Head Tavern, close to the Cathedral, where he ‘d treat and
kiss the girls, or to his Dinner Club in the Temple, and either at
one of these places, or in his rooms at Chester’s Inn, sit up drinking
all night (p. 34-5, st. 39), and be loth to rise in the morning (p. 35,
st. 40). And so the fun went on, as long as Hoccleve had, or
could borrow, money (36/369). Then came illness and debt.
His rents but £4 a year (De Reg.), his earnings nothing (36/364-5),
his pension in arrear, and his salary too. A bad look-out. To
improve it, he drifted into marriage, and his only prospect was to
trot to Newgate (82/8), beg, steal, or starve (De Reg. 65/1802).
He was ashamed to beg; he wouldn’t steal; so he wisthe to die
(ibid. 65/1808). When the old Beggar in De Regimine reproacheth
him for not being content with £4 a year, which ud find him in
food, drink, and clothes (De Reg. 44/1217), he had to own to a wife
—“Towe on my dystaf have I for to spynne” (ibid. 45/1226;

\(^1\) The old Beggar says to Hoccleve:
“I . . . not so wide a gowne have as is thyne,
So smalle y-ynched, and so fresshe and gay.” —
De Reg., p. 15, l. 409-10.

\(^2\) “Hoom to the priuie seel,” he says 31/188, but I suppose that “hoom”
means back, and does not imply that Hoccleve had rooms in the Palace.

\(^3\) See Harrison’s *England*, p. 129, of my edition for the New Shakspeare
Society. I recollect a little Oxford man in Lincoln’s Inn Fields, who was always
comforted by the cabmen calling him “Captain,” when he was on the look-out
for a cab: “it shows they think I’m a gentleman.”
§ 3. Hoccleve's poor Home, and his Wife. xxxvii

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

``Servise, I wolde wele, is none heritage; 841
When I am out of court another day,
(As I mote when upon me hastethe age,
And that I no lenger labour may,)
Unto my poore cote—it is no nay—845
I mote me drawe, and my fortune abide,
And suffre the storne after the mery tide. 847"

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

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

>And whan that I / hadde geten vnto me,
>By maistrie / al the souraynetee,
>And that he seyde / "myn owene trewe wyf,
>Do as thee lust / to terme of al thy lyf;
>Keepe thyn honour / and keepe eek myn estat"; 837
>After that day / we hadden neuer debat:
>God help me so / I was to hym as kynde
>As any wyf / from Denmark vnto Ynde,
>And also trewe / and so was he to me.

Wife's Preamble, D, § 1, 817-825. Ellesmere MS, p. 190; Six-Text, p. 357. See, too, l. 1230-8 on the like state of things.
§ 3. Hoccleve weak and sensitive, yet has Humour.

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

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

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

``But how ben þei felawes loykyd to
At homë! ben not thei wele¹ beneisde¹''

``gis, fader, gis; þer is on clept Nemo,
He helpeþ hem; by hym ben² þei chericed.
Nere he, þey weren porely chevycy²;
He hem auanceth; he fully³ hir frende is;
Sauf only hym, þey han but fewe frendes.''' ⁴ ¹⁴⁸⁵ ¹⁴⁸⁹ ¹⁴⁹¹

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

``Of my lady, wel me reioise I may:
Hir golden forheed is ful narw & smal,
Hir browes been lyk to dym reed coral;
And as the leet / hir yen glistren ay."

Hir bowgy cheekes been as softe as clay
With large lowes and substandial
Hir nose / a pentice is, þat it ne shal
Reyne in hir mouth / thogh shee vp-rightes lay. ⁸
Hir mouth is nothyng scant / with ða lippes gray;
Hir chin vnnethe / may be seen at al;
Hir comly body / shape as a foot-bal;
And shee synghith / ful lyke a Papelay. ¹²

``Item: She hath a sweet mouth," as is said of Launce's milkmaid in The Two Gentlemen, III. i. 320 (Cantbr. ed. 1)."
§ 4. Some of Hoccleve's Poems. His "Mother of God." xxxix

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

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

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

2 Inside lines he sometimes spells the noun honur 24/504, 126/577, 135/621 &c., and the adjective honorable 17/275, 128/632, &c. Hoccleve of course found honur, homurer in Old French, and no doubt often wrote so himself in the French documents he copied. He has this line in the Ashburnham MS: "Honur hire / if thou wilt honured be."

3 The Virgin's teats too, in 54/72, didn't look like Chaucer's good taste. Her paps appear again in Hoccleve, in 47/112.
§ 4. Hoccleve copies Chaucer. His Forms and Metre.

lost its first leaf\(^1\) and its last. But Hoccleve’s poems to the Virgin—poor tho they be—are, I think, better than his other productions, and in the Mother of God he undoubtedly did his best.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
st. 103, p. 26; & \text{ Harl. 4866, lf. 13 bk.} \\
\text{Now sem yey bus, “I wistë wel alway} & \text{715} \\
\text{pat him destroyë wolde his fool largesse;} & \\
\text{I tolde hym so; and euer he seydë, nay.”} & \\
\text{And hit they lyen al, [a]s God me blesse . . . [MS al] 718}
\end{align*}
\]

I also suppose Hoccleve to be the first user of “know what’s what” (138/778, below).\(^3\)

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

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

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

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

3 Isn’t Chaucer the first user of “Why” for “Well then”?

“*What eyleth yow / to gruccche thus and grone!*

*Is it for ye wolde haue my queynte alone!* 

*Wy / task it al / lo, haue it every deel!* 

*Peter, I shrewse yow / but ye lote it weel.*”

§ 4. Hoccleve’s Double Vowels and his Metre.

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

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

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

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

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

Duel in his conceities balaunce 131/601,
Ful many a man / for to taken heede 131/605,
Now, good freend / shoue at the cart, I yow praye 132/617,
Right so / let it be by wrytynge amendid 135/700.

He turns the pronoun hirё her, into two syllables:

40/24, In preuidice of hire (not “to hire”) by no way,
141/53, he hirё yaf wordses confortatyf;
143/97, he stired hirё / when he fond hir soul [alone].

Hoccleve often breaks a measure awkwardly with his pause, as in
§ 4. Hoccleve's Metrical Pause, and e before a Vowel.

"Wiste I what / good freend / teH on what is best" 129/552.
"Or thow auyse be wel / and wel knowe" 133/648.
"Rule him shal / no thinge shal out from him breke" 133/654.
"Thou woost wel / on wommen greet wyt & lak" 134/667.

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

Wolde god, by my speche and my sawe 67/21,
To helthe him profyte / ne god qweeme 9/40,
Mat he were of / nat shold he hardy be 14/189,
From thyn Hyneshe haue a toke or twye 38/419,
Of gites allé haue an excellence 45/61,
For our behoue han so mochil wroght 46/98,
And werre maké, & sharp résistence 26/51,
And thus to craue / artith me my neede 39/438,
Shameth to werné / as Mat I byleeue 39/442,
With his mowth madé / and off his noblesse 56/130,
O ground and rooté of prosperitee 25/2,
The hopé of myn exaudicium 44/30,
It for to serué in his cleer brightnesse 18/308,
So moché is a popes auctoritee 18/315 († So / moche is /),
How Mat his gourmance is despysad 33/275,
The gretter needé hath it of his cure 45/67,
So largetlich opned is thy syde 3/88,
If he take heedé vnto the scripture 32/235,
Or take my way / for feré into France 139/823.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ The Dedication is well known for its defence of Sir John Falstaffe, and its condemnation of Shaksper’s “ignorant shifte of abusing Sir Jhon” by substituting him for Oldcastle whom he had first put into 1 Henry IV, because Oldcastle’s descendents objected to it. So in the Epilog to 2 Henry IV, Shaksper wrote that he would “continue the Story . . . where Falstaffe shall dye of a sweat . . . For Old-Castle dyed a Martyr, and this is not the man.”—See The Centuries of Praise, N. Sh. Soc., p. 164-5, 208-9.

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

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

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

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² He told me that he borrowd it of, and returned it to, Kirkpatrick Sharpe.
§ 4. Hoccl.'s "Gesta Romanorum" Stories, and "Lerne to Dye." xlv
to the end) is in Hoccleve's hand, and has on the last page his
dedication to the Lady Westmorland, followd by his signature: see
the Facsimile, with all the later scribbles on it.

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

Tho I've lookt thro the Index De Morte (besides others) in
Migne's Patrologia Cursus, as well as the Brit. Mus. Class Catalog
of MSS about Death, I have faild to find the original of Hoccleve's
Lerne to Dye. It was, however, that of a prose version (ab. 1430-40)
in the Lichfield Cathedral MS 16, which I saw years ago, and which
Miss Rosa Elverson has copied out for us. This version is there
attributed to St. Anselm (among whose works I can't see it), and is
headed "tractatus qui scitte morti appellatur." It begins "Syppe al
maner men desireth by kynde to haue konnyng & knewliche on þe hyye and everlastyng wysdom,” and gives Hoccleve’s fourth stanza (p. 179) thus: “First, y schal teche how þou schuldest deye; and aftirward how þou schuldest lyue; and after þat how þou schuldest rescuy ye me by sacrement; And at þe last, how þou schuldest presy me bıyli with a clene mynd.”

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

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

† Johannes Gerson de Scientia bone mortis. Si veraces fidelesque amici cuiusipiam egroti curam diligentius agant, pro ipsius vita corporali fragili & defectibili conservanda, exigunt a nobis multo fortius deus & caritas pro salute sua spiritualia sollicitudine gerere spirituale. In hac enim extrema mortis necessitate, fidelis probatur amicus . . .

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

§ 5. Copying in 1882. Miss Teena Rockford Smith. xlvii
deputato, paratus confitern se continuo penitaret, sicut in domo dei
Parisiensi laudabiliter observatur &c. Finit.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

British Museum, Monday, 29 Feb. 1892,
7.30 p.m., under the electric light.

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

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

1.

12 Nov. 1399. Grant of £10 a year to Hoccleve for life, or until he gets a bene-

Jice of £20 a year.

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

Pro Thoma Hoccleue.

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod
de gratia nostra speciali, et pro bono et laudabili servicio
quod dilectus serviens nostre, Thomas Hoccleue, vnus
clericorum nostrorum de officio priuati sigilli nostri, a
longo tempore in officio predicto impendit, et impendet
infuturum, concessimus eadem Thome, in incrementum
status sui, decem libras, percipientias annuatim ad
Saccarium nostrum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti
Michælis, per equeles porciones, ad terminum vite
ipsius Thome, vel quousque ipse ad beneficium ecclesi-
asticum, sine cura, valoris viginti librarum per annum,
per nos fuerit promotus. In cuius etc. Teste Rege,
apud Westmonasterium, xij die Nouembris.

Per breue de priuato sigillo.¹

¹ 1399. The Pells Issue Roll for Michaelmas 1 Henry IV.,
1399, has no mention of Hoccleve.
1400, Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Henry IV. This roll does
not contain any payment to Hoccleve.

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

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

On m. 6 there is a payment to Geoffrey Chaucer of part
of the annuity of £20 granted him by Ric. II., and confirmed
by Henry IV. This is printed by Sir Harris Nicolas: see
Chaucer's Poet. Works, ed. Morris, 1866, i. 107.
Appendix. Payments to Hoccleve in 1400 and 1401.

II.

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

[PELL'S ISSUE ROLL, MICHAELMAS, 2 HENRY IV.]

Die Lune, xij° die Decembris.

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

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

for the time from 12 Nov. 1399 to Michs. 1600.

£8. 15s. 3d.

Thome Hoccleue, cui Dominus Rex nunc, xij° die Novembris proximo preterito, x li. annuas, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche, per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono serviciio per ipsum eodem Domino Regi impenso et imponente per litteras suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis, per assignacionem factam isto die, in persolucionem viij. li. xv. s. iiij. d. sibi liberandum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, tam pro rata a predicto xij° die Novembris, vsque vltimurn diem Marcij tune proximum sequentem, per [blank] dies, ultimo die et non primo computato, quam pro termino Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, per breve suum de liberate hoc termino. . . . . . viij. li. xv. s. iiij. d.

III.

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

1 That is, "last past" before Michaelmas day.
2 "assignatio facta." ab. 1400-24. In later times the word "assignment" was used in the Exchequer in two senses—first, as an assignment on a particular fund or branch of the revenue; secondly, as an assignment or transfer of an annuity by the grantee to some other person; but the former seems to be the meaning in the entries relating to Hoccleve. Almost the last entry I found, throws light on this point: it states that Hoccleve had an assignment for the larger portion of his annuity, and that only a small sum was paid to him "in money." So that when he was paid "by assignment," which was not always the case, he may not have received the amounts on the days specified in the rolls, if the revenues on which he had his assignments had not come in; but there are no records which would help to elucidate this question. It is probable however that the assignment would not be made till the revenues were actually in hand.
3 There is a duplicate of this roll; but the roll for Easter, 2 Hen. IV., 1401, is wanting, and there is no Auditors' or Tellers' Roll for that term.
Appendix. Payments to Hoccleve in 1402 and 1403.

IV. a.

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

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

Die Mercuriij, xxvj. die Aprilis.

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

Thomas Hoccleue.

To whom Henry IV. granted £10 a year for his life:—

in money paid to him

to Easter 1402, £5.

IV. b.

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

7 Dec. 1402.

£4 18s. 9d.

to Mches. 1402.

V.

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

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

Die Lune, xvij die Octobris.

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

Thomas Hoccleue.

To whom (as a Privy-Seal clerk)

Hen. IV. granted £10 a year for his life

(for his long services in the Privy-Seal Office)

till he should get a benefit of £20 a year without cure of souls,—

in money paid to him

for and to Easter

1 The roll for Easter, 4 Hen. IV., 1403, does not contain any payment to Hoccleve, who seems to have allowed it to get in arrear. The Auditors' and Tellers' Rolls do not help. See next entry.
Appendix. Payments to Hoccleve in 1404-6.

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

VI.

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

VII.

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

VIII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IX.

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

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

Die Sabbati, xiiiij. die Augusti.

Thome Occliffe, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolutionem lx. s. viij. d., quos Dominus Rex sibi liberati mandavit pro pergamo, incausto, [et] ceru rubea, de diuersis personis per ipsum ad opus dicti Domini Regis emptis, in officio predicto; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . lx. s. viij. d. . . . To Thos. Hoccleve, Clerk in the Privy-Seat Office, for parchment, ink & red wax, bought for the Office, £3 8d.

X.

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

XI.

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

XII.

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

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

Die Veneris xv. die Julij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in partem solutionis viij li. ixs. xd. ob. quos Dominus Rex sibi liberati mandavit, pro pergamo, incausto, ceru rubea, de diuersis personis per ipsum ad opus Regis emptis, et in dicto officio a xxvij° die Marci anno viij° Regis huius hucusque expenditis, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino lxvj. s. viij. d. Thomas Hoccleue, To him, a Clerk in the Privy-Seat Office, in part payment of £7 9s. 10½d. for parchment, ink, and red wax, from March 27, 1406 to July 15, 1407, £5 6s. 8d.
Appendix. Payments to Hoccleve. His fresh Pension, 1409.

XIII.

16 Jan. 1408. Payment to Hoccleve of £4 3s. 2\frac{1}{2}d. on account for 16 months' parchment, ink, and red wax.

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

Tuesday, 16 Jan. 1408.

Payment to "Thomas Occlive, clerk," of 4l. 3s. 2\frac{1}{2}d.
(part of a larger sum of 7l. 9s. 10\frac{1}{2}d.) for parchment, ink, and red wax, from 27 March, 7 Hen. IV. (1406) to 12 July, 8 Hen. IV. (1407), by the King's command.

XIV.

Saturday, 4 Feb. 1408.

Half-yearly £5

to Michs. 1407.

XV.

Easter, 9 Henry IV., 1408. Saturday, 7 July. To

"Thomas Hocclyve Clerk," 100s.

XVI.

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

XVII.

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

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

Pro Thoma Hoccleue.

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod cum duodecimo die Novembris, anno regni nostri primo, de gratia nostra speciali, et pro bono et laudabili serviciuo quod dilectus seruiens nostri, Thomas Hocclewe, vnus clericorum nostrorum de officio privati sigilli nostri, a longo tempore in officio predicto imponderat, et extune impenderet: concesserimus eisdem Thome, in incrementum status sui, decem libras, percipiendas annuatim ad Scaccarium nostrum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti

On Nov. 12, 1599, on account of the good service of Thos. Hocclewe, one of our Privy Seal clerks,

we granted him £10 a year

1 These were not found on the Pells Issue Roll, which is incomplete.
Appendix. Hoccleve's fresh Pension. Payments in 1409. lvii

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

Per breue de privato sigillo.

XVIII.

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

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

Die Veneris, xxij die Maij.

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

XIX.

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

As Hoccleve has returnd this grant to be cancelld, we grant him 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) a year, from Michaelmas, 1409.

1 xvij is written on an erasure.
2 These sums are written on erasures, the amount having probably been originally written "C. a."; but the scribe omitted to alter the " x. li." at the beginning.
Appendix. Hoccleve’s fresh Pension. Payments in 1410-12.

XX.

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

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

Die Lune, xxiiij die Junij.

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

17 July 1410. £6 15s. 4d. to Easter.

8 July 1411. £6 15s. 4d. to Michaelmas 1410.

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

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

1411, Easter, 12 Hen. IV., 8 July. To Thomas Hoccluyf (or Hoccluyff), one of the Clerks, &c., 6s. 13d. 4d.

XXII.

Michaels, 13 Hen. IV. (1411), 26 Feb. 1412, Friday. To Thomas Occlyve (or Ocliff), one, &c., 13s. 6d. 8d. for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last. This payment is also recorded in the Tellers’ Roll for Hilary, 13 Hen. IV. 3

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

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

3 1412, Easter, 13 Hen. IV. The Pells Issue Roll is wanting. The Auditors’ Issue Roll and the Tellers’ Roll are also wanting. 1412, Micha. 14 Hen. IV. No payment found. The Pells Roll seems to be imperfect, the first date being 25 January. There is no Auditors’ Roll, but there is a Tellers’ Roll for Michaelmas. (See extract.)
Payment to Hoccleve. His Annuity Confirmed, 1412, 1413. lix

XXIV.

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

[Tellers' Roll, Michs. 14 Hen. IV.]
Die Sabotē, quintō die Novembris.

[It is somewhat doubtful whether this date applies to the following entry.]
Thome Hoccyffe, per manus Johannis Weld, pro pergamo, et in causto emptis in officio Custodis priuati sigilli . . . . . . . . . . . xxxij.s.\(^1\) To T. Hoccleve for ink &c., 32s.

XXV.

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

[Patent Roll, 1 Henry V., part 4, membrane 25.]
De confirmacione—Hoccleve.


Teste me ipso, apud Westmonasterium, decimo septimo die Maij, anno regni nostri decimo. Nos autem, de gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono servicio nobis per prefatum Thomam impenso et impendendo, concessionem predictam, ac omnia et singula in litteris predictis contenta, rata habentes et gratia, ea pro nobis et hereditibus nostriis, quantum in nobis est, acceptamus, approbamus, et prefato Thome, tenore presencium, concedimus et confirmamus, prout littere predictae rationabiliter testantur. Ita semper quod idem Thomas, pro termino

We have seen our late Father’s grant of £13 6s. 8d. a year to Thos. Hoccleve, on 17 May 1409; and on account of Hoccleve’s good service to us, we approve and confirm to him the said Grant,

\(^1\) There is also a payment to Thomas, late Lord of Furnyvall, and Sir John Pelham, late Treasurers of the Wars; also two payments to Walter Lucy for parchment for the Receipt of the Exchequer and the Privy-Seal Office. There is no reference to Hoccleve’s annuity. The roll for Hilary term following is wanting. It may have been in that. The roll for Easter 1 Henry V., 1413, omits all reference to Hoccleve, because the annuity had not then been confirmed by the new King.
provided the said Hoccleve is not retained by any one else. And we also grant him the arrears of his said Annuity since last Michaelmas, 1412.

Given 28 Sept. 1413.

vite sue, cum aliquo alio preterquam nobiscum non retineatur. Et viterius, de vebiori gratia nostra, concessimus prefato Thome, id quod ei aestro est de annuitate sua predicta, a festo Sancti Michaelis ultimo preterito, habendum de dono nostro. In cuius etc. Teste Regis, apud Westmonasterium, xxvii die Septembri.

Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XXVI.

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

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

Die Veneris, primo die Decembris.

Thome Hoccleve, vni Clericorum de officio priuati sigilli, cui Dominus Henricus, nuper Rex Angliæ, xx marcas annuas ad Scaccarium suum, ad terminos Pascha et Sancti Michaelis per eaules poriones percipientes, per litteras suas patentis concessit; quas quidem litteras Dominus Rex nunc, xxvii die Septembri proximo preterito, confirmauit: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem xx marcarum, quas idem Dominus Rex nunc de vebiori gratia sua liberare mandauit, habendas de dono suo pro arreragiis annuitatis predictae, videlicet pro terminis Pascha et Sancti Michaelis ultimi preteritis, per breue suum de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino. xiiij.li. vj.s. viijd.1

XXVII.

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

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

Die Louis, xvij die Januarij.

Thome Occlives, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis, per manus Johannis Welde, Clerci sui, in persolucionem xxvij. s. viijd. d. quos

1 Master John Prophete is still Keeper of the Privy Seal, and receives “wages and fees,” at the rate of 20s. a day. A payment to John Welde and five companions in the Privy Seal Office, for copying out old “truces” with foreign countries, at the rate of 6s. 8d. to each, is quoted in Devon’s “Issues of the Exchequer,” p. 391.
Appendix. Payments to Hoccleve in 1414—1416.

Dominus Rex eidem Thome liberare mandavit, pro pergamenio, incausto, cera rubea, per ipsum emptis, et expenditis\(^1\) in officio priuati sigilli dicti Domini Regis, videlicet, a quinto die Marcij ultimo preterito, vsque xiiij diem Decembris extunc proxime sequentem; per breue de privato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino 

**xxvj s. viij d.** 29s. 8d.

XXVIII.

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

[Thomas Chancers, Esquire (scutifer), was sent to the Dukes of Burgundy & Holland.]

XXIX.

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

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

XXX.

1415, Mich., 3 Hen. V. 29 Feb., 1416, Saturday.

“To Thomas Hoccleve, one of the Clerks of the Lord the King of the Office of his Privy Seal,” for Michaelmas, 6l. 13s. 4d. (This is a fuller description than usual.)

XXXI.

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

Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 4 Hen. V.

Die Sabbati, xvij\(^1\) die Julij.

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

\(^1\) Expenditis, for expensis.
Appendix. Payments to Hoccleve in 1417.

cipendias, per literas suas concessit,—quas quidem literas dictus Dominus Rex nunc confirmavit:—In denarij[s]
sibi liberatis, videlicet, per manus Johannis Burgh,[1]
xl. s.; per manus Roberti Welton,[2] vj. s. viij. d.; et
per manus Johannis Welde,[5] Clerici sui, iiiij. li. vj. s.
viij. d., in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum
de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche
vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de
ehoc termino . . . . . . . vj. li. xiiij. s. iiiij. d.
Eidem Thome, In denarij[s] sibi liberatis per manus
predicti Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, de prestito super
huiusmodi certo suo . . . . . . vijj. s. iiiij d.
vnde
Respondebit.

XXXII.

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

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

Die Sabbati, xiiiij die Febrarij.

Thome [Hoccleve 4], vni Clericorum in officio priuati
sigillii Domini Regis, In denarij[s] sibi liberatis per
manus Johannis Welde,[5] clerici sui, in persolucionem
xlvj. s. viij. d., quos Dominus Rex sibi liberare man-
dauit, pro incausto et cera rubia per ipsum emptis de
Waltero Lucy, haberdassher, London’, et inter xvij diem

---

1 John Burgh, “Esquire,” is still mentioned on m. 9 as receiving an annuity of 20l. under a grant of Richard II; see p. lii.
2 Robert Welton is also mentioned on this Roll, m. 9 and 14, as one of the Clerks of the Receipt of the Exchequer. He had an annuity of 20l. by grant of Henry IV., and had been sent to Boston and Hull to oversee the customers (receivers of customs-dues), and ascertain the amounts of their receipts.
3 On 27 May, John Welde, “one of the Clerks in the Office
of the Privy Seal,” received 20s., which the King commanded to be paid him as a reward for his labours in that Office.
4 Blank: no doubt meant for Hoccleve.
5 1418, Pells Issue Rolla, Easter, 6 Hen. V.
"Die Veneris xiiij die Maij. Johanni Welde et Willelm[no]
Albertyn, Clericia in officio priuati sigilli, In denarij[s] sibi liber-
atis per manus proprias, in persolucionem xliij. s. iiiij. d. eis
liberandorum de regario speciali, per ausamentum Consilij
Domini Regis, eis facto pro laboribus per ipsos habitis in officio
predicto per tres annos ultimos preteritos, tam apud Calesium
[Calais] quam infra regnum Anglie, absque feodo vel annuitate
de Regne percepto per idem tempus; per breue de priuato sigillo
inter mandata de hoc termino . . . . . iiiij. s. iiiij. d.”
Decembri anno secundo et iiii t. diem Aprilis anno quarto expendentis in officio predicto; per breue de privato sigillo inter mandata de termino Pasche ultimo preterito . . . . . . . xlvj. s. viij. d. £2 5s. 8d.

XXXIII.

13 March, Saturday. Payment of the annuity for Michaelmas, “by his own hands”—6l. 13s. 4d.

13 March 1417. £6 13s. 4d.

to Michs. 1416.

XXXIV.

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

25 May 1417. £6 13s. 4d.

to Easter.

XXXV.

1417, Michs. 5 Henry V. 30 Nov. Monday. Payment of part, “by his own hands,”—3l. 6s. 8d.

10 Feb. Thursday. Payment of the rest, “by his own hands,”—3l. 6s. 8d.

30 Nov. 1417. £3 6s. 8d.

16 Feb. 1418. £3 6s. 8d.

to Michs. 1417.

XXXVI.

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

1 July, 1418. £6 13s. 4d.

to Easter.

XXXVII.

1418, Michs. 6 Hen. V. 7 Dec., Wednesday. To Thomas Hocclyf, one, &c., for Michaelmas, 6l. 13s. 4d. (It does not say “by his own hands.”)

7 Dec., 1418. £6 13s. 4d.

to Michs.

XXXVIII.

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

8 July, 1419. £6 13s. 4d.

to Easter.

XXXIX.

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

[PELLS ISSUE ROLL, EASTER, 7 HEN. V.]

1 Sic, for expendendis, or expenditis, as in other accounts.

2 John, Lord of Furnyvall, Keeper of the King’s land of Ireland, is mentioned on membrane 15.
Appendix. Payments to Hoccleve in 1419—1421.

Die Lune, \(x^o\) die Julij (1419).

Thome Hoccleve, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi deliberatis per manus propriae, pro cera rubea et incuasto,\(^1\) de Waltero Lucy, Ciui et haberdassher London\', per ipsum emptis, et in officio predicto inter \(v^j\)mo diem Marcij anno quinto et \(x^m\) diem Julij anno \(v^j\)mo expenditis; per breue de priuato Sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . . xij. s. iij. d.

XL.

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

XLI.

1420, Easter, 8 Hen. V. 17 June, Monday. Payment for Easter, 6\(^j\). 13\(^a\). 4\(^d.\) "by his own hands."

XLII.

1420, Michs. 8 Hen. V. 26 Nov., Tuesday. To Thomas Occleve, one, &c., "by his own hands," for Michs., 6\(^j\). 13\(^a\). 4\(^d.\)

XLIII.

1421, Easter, 9 Hen. V. 5 July, Saturday. Payment to Hoccleve for Easter, 6\(^j\). 13\(^a\). 4\(^d.\) "by his own hands."

XLIV.

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

\(^1\) The payments for parchment during this time were made direct to Lucy: see Fells Issue Roll, Mich. 7 Hen. V., A.D. 1419: "Die Louis \(xxx\)mo die Novembris. Waltero Lucy, Ciui et Haberdassher London', In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus propriae, pro pergameno pro officio priuati sigilli, tempore festinacionis et necessitatis ab eo empto ad vices: per breue generale vt supra—xiiij. s. vj. d." In the next roll, Easter, 8 Hen. V., under date of 3 July, there is another payment to Lucy for four bundles of parchment at certain prices, for the office of the Privy Seal, and for the Receipt of the Exchequer, under a general writ.
Appendix. Payments to Hoccleve in 1422.  lxxv

XLV.

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

[Pells Issue Roll, Micha. 9 Hen. V., 1421.]
Die Lune, xxiiij. die Februarij [1422].

Thome Hoccleve, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Regis, et Willelmo Alberton, Clerico in eodem officio, In denarijs eis liberatis, videlicet, per manus predicti Thome, xli. xj. ob. pro cera rubea et incæste1 emptis de Waltero Lucy, Ciuii Londonie, ad opus Regis, et expenditis in dicto officio, videlicet, a xxmo die Julii Anno vij. eiusem Regis vsque ex diem Feb-
ruarij vitimo preteritum; et per manus dicti Willelmi, xviij. iiiij. tam pro permagemo per ipsum empto ad opus dicti Regis et expendito in dicto officio, tempore quo dicitus Rex vitimo erat apud Eboracum et partes ibidem, quam pro solucione per ipsum nuper facta apud Ciuiatem Lincolnie diversis personis ibidem, pro certis litteris Regis portandis in Comitatum Cornubia; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino lix. iiiij. ob.²

Thomas
Hoccleve.
To him
40s. 11½d.
for red wax and
ink bought for the
Privy Seal Office
from July 10,
1419 to Feb. 10,
1422;
and to Wm.
Alberton 18s. 4d.
for parchment
bought
when Hen. V.
was at York,
and for money
paid at Lincoln
for sending the
King’s letters to
Cornwall;
$2 19s. 3½d.

XLVI.

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

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Hen. V.]
Die Lune, xxv. die Maji.

Thome Hoccleve, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, patris Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex, pro bono et laudabili servicii per ipsum eiusdem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo, xx marcas perciindi ad singulis annis ad Scaccarum suum, per termino viti ipsius Thome, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per litteras

To Thos. Hoc-
cleve, Clerk in the
Privy Seal Office
of Hen. IV.,
who gave him
£13 6s. 8d. a year
for life, for his
good service,

1 So, for ‘incustos.’
2 Among the “Liberationes” to the “ministers” of the Exchequer from 14 January to 28 March is the following entry:
“Waltero Lucy de London, Haberdasher, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manua proprias, pro permagemo ab eo empto, tam pro officio Thesaurarium et Camerariorum de Scaccario, quam priuati Sigilli Domini Regis . . . . . . xlv. s. j.d.”
There is a duplicate of this roll.

HOCCLEVE.—M.P.
Hoccleve’s Annuity Confirmed. Payment to Him in 1423.

and Hen. V. confirm’d it,—

£6 2s. 7½d. by assignment, and 10s. 6½d. in money;

£6 13s. 4d.

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

XLVII.

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

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

De confirmacione—Hoccleve.


In cuius rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipsio, apud Westmonasterium, vicesimo octavo die Septembris anno regni nostri primo.” Nos autem dicas literas ipsius patris nostri, de autassamento magni Consili nostri, approbamus, ratificamus et confirmamus, prout litera predicte rationabiliter testatur. In cuius etc. Teste Regis, apud Westmonasterium, xxiiij die Januarij.

Per breue de privato sigillo.

XLVIII.

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

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

1 Sic, for Hibernie.
Appendix. Payments to Hoccleave in 1423.

Die Lune, xvº die Februarij.

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

To Thos. Hoccleave, late a Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office, to whom Henry IV. granted £13. 6s. 4d. a year for his life.

and Henry V. and VI. confirmed it.—In money paid for a half-year’s annuity to Michael 1422.

£6 13s. 4d.

XLIX.

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

[Polls Issue Roll, Easter, I Hen. VI.]

Die Lois, xxº die Maij.

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

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

and Henry V. and VI. confirmed it—in money paid to for a 2½ years’ him annuity to Easter, 1423.

£6 13s. 4d.

1 This is expressed more fully in the following Roll.
2 This heading applies to both this and the next Hoccleave entry on this roll, but they are some distance apart.
20 May 1423. Grant to Hoccleve of 23s. 1d. for red wax and ink, bought for the Privy-Seal Office.

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

Thome Hoccleve, de officio privati sigillii Domini Regis, In denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem xxij.s. iiiij.d. quos Dominus Rex nunc eadem Thome liberare mandavit pro cera rubea et in-causto, per ipsum emptis de Walerto Lucy de Londun', et in dicto officio expenditis, a ix° die Februirij, anno ix° Regis Henrici quinti, patris Regis nunc, vsque xix die[m] Maij vltimo preritum, per breve de privato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . xxij.s. j.d.²

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


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

"Au Roy, notre tresredoute et soverain seigneur, et as tresnobles et tressages seigneurs de son Consil.

"Supplie votre treshumble cler, Thomas Hoccleve, de l'office du prive seal, qu'il plais a vos tresnobles seignuries lui granter autiele sustenance, a prendre chasun an durante sa vie, en la prierie de Suthwyk en contées de Suthampton, como Nichol Mokkyng, que mort est,—nadvaire Maistre de Saint Laurance de Ponteyne in Londres—avoit et prist in la dicte priorie quant il vesquist,³ pour Dieu et en oevre de charitee.

¹ Sic.
² "j.d." is written over an erasure; probably a correction of the "iiiij.d." above.
³ As Hoccleve's annuity was paid to Micha. 1425, it isn't certain that this Southwick corrody was worth £20 a year so as to stop the King's annuity under the original (p. xlix) and the substituted Grants. But the Treasurer no doubt did stop it after 1425.
Appendix. Last Payment of Hoccleve's Annuity, 1426. lxix


"(In dorso) iij die Julij, anno secundo, apud Westmonasterium, concessa fuit præsens supplicatio in forma qua petitur, præsentibus dominis infrascriptis."

4 July 1424. Hoccleve's petition is granted.

LII.

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

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

LIII.

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

[PELLS ISSUE ROLL, MICHAELMAS, 4 HEN. VI.]

Die Lune, xj die Februarij.

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

To Thos. Hoccleve, late one of the Clerks in the Privy-Seal Office, to whom £13 6s. 8d. a year was granted by Henry V.,—

in money paid to him for his ½ year's Annuity to Michs. 1425, vj li. xij s. iiiij d. £6 13s. 4d.

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

1 Omitted.
Appendix. No Payment to Hoccleve in 1440.

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

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

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

\(^1\) Or Franks.

\(^2\) Was he the successor of Hoccleve? He is also mentioned in Easter 15 Hen. VI., Easter 17 Hen. VI., and Mich. 19 Hen. VI.
HOCCLEVE'S MINOR POEMS.
A.D. 1413—1446.

Phillis MS. 8151 (formerly Prince Henry's, Son of James I). leaf 8 : vellum, ab. 1450 A.D.

The Compleynyte of the Virgin before the Cross.
(englihsht by command of Lady Hereford.)
(In 5-measure sevens, ababb, cc.)

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

[7]
¶ O Womman,—pat among the peple speekt
How pat the wombe blessid was pat beer,
And the tetes pat yaf to sowken eek
The sone of god / which on hy hangith heer,—
What seist thow now / why comest thow no neer?
Why nart thow here? / o womman, where art thou,
That nat ne seest my woful wombe now?

[8]
¶ O Simeon / thow seidest me ful sooth
'The strookt' that perce shal my sones herte,
My soule thirle it shal' / and so it dooth :
The wownde of deeth ne may I nat essierte,
Ther may no martirdom me make smerte
So sore as this martree smertith me:
So sholde he seyn / pat myn hurt mighte see.

HOCCLEVE, M.P.—I.
I. THE COMPLEYNT OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

O Father and Mother! why did ye breed me?

[9]
O O. Ioachim / o deere fadir myn!
And seint Anne, my modir deere also!
To what entente / or to what ende or fynd
Broghten yee me forth / pat am greeued so?
Mirth is to me become a verry fo.
Your fadir Dauid / pat an harpoure was,
Conforted folk / pat stood in heuy cas.

[10]
Me thynkith yee nat doon to me aright,
pat were his successours / syn instrument
Han yee noon left / wher-with me make light,
And me conforte, in my wofull torment.
Me to doon ese / han yee no talent,
And known meyn conforteless distresse:
Yee oghten weepe for myn heuynesse.

[11]
O Sone, I think how I nurst and kist Thee!

[12]
Now Death takes Thee from me!

[13]
And this me sleeth / pat in the open day
I. THE COMPLEYNT OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

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

[14]

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

[15]

How may myn yen, bat beholde al this,
Restreyne hem for to shewe by weepyng
Myn hertes greef / moot I nat wepe ? O yis !
Sone, if thow haddist a fadir lyuynge,
That wolde wepe & make waymentynge,
For bat he hadde paert of thy persone,
That were a greet abreggyng of my mone.

[16]

But thow in eerthe / fadir haddist neuer ;
No wight for thee / swich cause hath for to pleyne,
As bat haue I / shalt thow fro me disseuer,
bat aert al heolly myn ! my sorwes deepe
Han al myn hertes ioie led to sleepe.
No wight with me, in thee, my sone, hath part : 
Hoolly of my blood / deere chyld / thow art.

[17]

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

1 MS. bleed.
I. THE COMPLEYNTES OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

But what Thou wilt, be done!

Of man han bee withoute effusion
Of thy blood? yis / if it had been thy lust.
But what thow wilt be doon / souffre me must!

[18]
O deeth / so thow kythist thy bittirnesse
First on my sone / & afterward on me.
Bittir art thow / & ful of crabbidnesse,
That my sone hast slayn thurgh thy crueltee,
And nat me sleest / certain, nat wole I flee.
Come of / come of / & slee me heere, as blyue!
Departe from him / wole I nat a lyue!

[19]
¶ O moone / o sterres / and thow firmament!
How may yee, fro wepynge yow restreyne,
And seen your Creatour in swich torment?
Yee oughten troublid been in every veyne,
And his despitous deeth / with me compleyne.
Weepeth & crieth as lowde as yee may,
Our Creatour with wrong is slayn this day.

[20]
¶ O sonne, with thy cleere bemes brighte,\(^1\)
pat seest my child nakid this nones tyde,
Why souffrest thou him, in the open sighte
Of the folk heeres / vnkeuered abyde?
Thou art as moche, or more, holde him to hyde,
Than Sem, pat helid his Fadir Noe
When he espyde pat nakid was he.

[21]
If thow his sone be / do lyk ther-to!
Come of / withdrawe thy bemes brightnesse!
Thow art to blame / but if thow so do.
For shame / hyde my sones nakidnesse!
Is ther in thee no sparcle of kyndenesse?
Remembre he is thy lord and Creatour!
Now keure him / for thy worship & honour!

\(^1\) But see Luke xxiii. 43-5, &c.] Darkness from the 6th to the 9th hour.
O Sun, why leavest thou my Son uncovered here?
I. THE COMPLENYTE OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

[22]

If O eerthe / what lust hast thow to susteene 148 [leaf 5, back] O Earth, cleave
The crois on which he pat thee made, and it,
Is hangid / and aourned thee with greene
Which pat thow werist / how hast thow thee qwit
Vn-to thy lord / o do this for him yit! 152
O! wake for doel / & cleue thow in two,
And al pat blood / restore me vn-to, 154 in two, and re-
Which thow hast dronke / it myn is, & not thyn; 155
Or elles thus / withouten tarynge
Tho bodyes dede / whiche in thee pat lyn,
Caste out / for they, by taast of swich dewynge,
Hem oglique clothe ageyn in hir clothynge. 159
Thow Caluarie / thow art namely
Holden for to do so / to thee speke Y. 161 Calvary, do this!

[23]

O deers sone / myn deeth neighith faste, 162
Syn to an othir / thow hast youen me
Than vn-to thee / & how may my lyf laste,
pat me yeuest any othir than thee?
Thogh he / whom thow me yeuest / maiden be, 166
And thogh by iust balance / thow weye al,
The weighte of him & thee / nat is egal.

[24]

He a disciple is / & thow art a Lord; 169 [leaf 6]
Thow al away art gretter than he is;
Betwixt your mightes / is ther gret discord.
My woful torment / doublid is by this;
I needes mourne moot / & fare amis;
It seemeth pat thow makist departynge
Twixt thee & me for ay / withoute endynge;

[25]

Twixt thee & me for ay / withoute endynge;
[26]

Thou seemest to have severd me from Thee for ever.
Thou calleest me "Woman!"

And namely / syn thow me 'woman' callist,
As I to thee straunge were and vnknowe;
Therthurgh, my sone / thow my ioie appallist;
I. THE COMPLEYNT OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

Wel feele I pat deeth his vengeable bowe
Hath bent / & me purposeth doun to throwe.
Of sorwe talkes may I nat ynow,
Syn fro¹ my name / I-doon away is now.

[27]

Wel may men clepe and calle me ‘Mara’!
From hennes forward, so may men me cali.
How sholde I lenger clept be ‘Maria’,
Syn ‘I’, which is Ihesus, is fro me fall.

This day / al my sweetnesse is in-to gaff
Torned, syn pat ‘I’, which was the beautee
Of my name / this day bynome is me.

[28]

¶ O John, my deere freend! thow haast receyued
A woful modir / and an heuy sone
Haue I of thee / deeth hath myn othir weyued!
How may we two, the deeth eschue or shone?
We drery wightes two / wher may we wone?
Thou art of confort / destitut / I see;
And so am I / ful careful been wee!

[29]

Vn-to ours hertes / deeth hath sent his wowne:
Noon of vs may alleggen othrea peyne.
So manye sorwes in vs two habowne,
We han no might, fro sorwe vs restreyne;
I see non othir / die moot we twyne;
Now let vs steren heer por compaigne!
Stiene thow there / & heere wole I die.

[30]

¶ O Angels / thogh yee mourn and waile & weep²,
Yee do no wrong / slayn is your Creatour
By the folk pat yee weren wont to keepe
And gye & lede / they to deeths shour
Han put him / thogh yee han wo & langour,

¹ ? ‘me’ left out, for want of power to work it in.
² Cp. Chancer’s ‘wrynge & waile & wepe,’ Clerk’s Envoy.

Cant. Tales.
I. THE COMPLEYNTE OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

No wondir is it / who may blame yow?
And yit ful cheer he had hem pat him slow.

[31]

¶ O / special loue / pat me ioyned haast
Vn-to my sone / strong is thy knyttynge!
This day ther-in fynde I a bittir taast;
For now the taast I feele, & the streynynge
Of deeth / by thy deeth / feele I deeth me styngge.
O poore modir / what shalt thow now seye?
Poore Marie / thy wit is aweye!

[32]

Marie? nay / but 'marred,' I thee cal.
So may I wel / for thow art / wel I woot,
Vessel of care & wo, & sorwe all!
Now thow art frosty cold / now fyre hoot;
And right as pat a ship, or barge, or boot,
Among the wavynge drynethe steerelesse,
So doost thou, woful womman, confortlesse!

[33]

And of modir / haast thow eek! lost the style:
No more maist thow clept be by thy name!
¶ O sones of Adam / al to long whyle
Yee tarien hens / hyth hidir for shame!
See how my sone / for your gilt & blame,
Hangith heer al bybled vp on the crois!
Byneneth him in herte & cheere & vois!

[34]

His bloodi streames, see now & beholde!
If yee to him han any affeccioun,
Now for his wo / your hertes ogften colde,
Shewith your loue and your dileccioun;
For your gilt makith he correccioun
And amendes / right by his owne deeth:
pat yee nat reewe on him, myn herte it sleeth.

[35]

A modir pat so soone / hir cote taar
Or rente / sy men neuere noon or this,
II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

For chyld / which pat shee of hir body baar,
To yeue her tete: as my chyld, pat heers is,
His cote hath torn / for your gilt, nat for his,
And hath his blood despent in greet foysoun;
And al it was for your Redempcioun.

Ceste Compleynte paramont feuit translatee au
commandement de ma dame de Hereford,
que dieu pardoyn!

Henri le 1st, (que Dieu pardons !)
feust a Hampton sur son primer
passage bers Barkete.
(In 5-measure eights, abab, adad.)

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

Allas! pat thow pat were a manly knyght,
And shoon ful cleer in famous worthynesse,
Standynghe in the fauour of euery wight,
Haast lost the style of cristenly prowesse

1 The "as in 'haast,' l. 7, and 'sart, paart,' l. 150, 152, occurs elsewhere. The Latin side-notes, below, are in the MS.
Among alle hem / pat stande in the cleernesse
Of good blyssee / & no man with thee holdith,
Sauf cursid caitifs, heires of dirknese :
For verray routhie of thee / myn herte coldith.  16

[3] Thow haast maad a fair permutacion
Fro Crystes lore: to feendly doctryne ;
From honour & fro dominacion
Vn-to repref and mescheuous v[e]nyne ;
Fro cristen folk / to hethenly couyne;
Fro seureete vn-to vnsikirnesse ;
Fro ioe and esse / vn-to wo & pyne,
Fro light of trouthe / vn-to dirke falsnesse.  20

[4] Thou hast left the light of Truth for
darkness!
O Oldcastel / allas / what eilid thee
To slippe in to the snare of heresie ?
Thurgh which / thow foo arte to the Trinitee,
And to the blissid virgyne Marie,
And to the Innumerable holy compaignie
Of heuene / and to al holy chirche. allas !
To longe haast thou bathid in pat folie !
Ryse vp / & pourge thee of thy trespass !  24

[5] Purge thee of thy trespass !
Seynt Austyn seith / ' whiles a man abydhith
In heresie or scisme / and list nat thee
Ther fro / his soule / fro God he diuudith,
And may nat saued been in no degree.
For what man holdith nat the vnitee
Of holy Chirche / neithir his bapteeme,
Ne his almesse / how large pat it be,
To helthe him profyte / ne god qweeme.'  28

[6] And yit more-ouer he seith thus also,
' Thogh pat an heretyk', for Crystes name
Shede his blood / & his lyf for Cryst forgo,
Shall nat him saue / allas, the harm & shame !  32

[MS.]
Augustinus de
dide, ad Petrum :
' Firmassese tene,
& nullatense
dubites, quemlibet
hereticum &. qui
ecclesia catholica
non tenet vnitati -
tem, neque baptis-
mus / neque ele-
mosina quantum-
cumque copiosa /
neque mors pro
Christi nomine
suscepta, proficere
poterit ad
salutem.'

[sign. a 7, leaf 1,
back]

No one holds with
thee, but cursed
caitifs!
May nat thy smert thy sturdy herte attame?
Obeie / obeie / in the name of Jhesu!
Thou art of merit & of honour lane;
Conquere hem two / & thee arme in virtu!

If thyn hy herte, bolynyng in errour,
To holy chirche can nat buxum be!
Beholde Theodosius Emperour,
How humble & buxum vn-to god was he!
No reward tooke he of his dignitee,
But, as a lamb, to holy chirche obeide:
In the scripture / may men rede & se
How meekly of the Bisshop, grace he preide.

Thoffense which pat he ageyn god wroghte,
Was nat so greet as thyn / by many fold;
And yit ful heuy he was, & it forthoghte,
Obeyying as pat holy chirche hath wold.
Thow pat thy soule / to the feend haast sold,
Bye it agayn thurgh thy obediencce!
Thyn heresie is al to hoor and old;
Correcte thee at Cristes reverence!

And for thy soules helthe / do eske so!
Thy pryde qwenche, & thy presumcioun!
Wher thow hast been to Cristes feith a fo,
Plante in thyn herte a deep contricioun,
And hennes forth be Cristes Champiou!
The welle of mercy renneth al in brede;
Drynke ther-of / syn ther is swich foysoun,
Thyn hertes botel / ther-of fille, I rede.

Thow haast offendid god wondirly sore;
And nathelesse / if thow the wilt amende,
Thogh thy gilit wer' a thousand tymes more,
Axe him mercy / & he wole it thee sende.
To Sir John Oldcastle. A.D. 1415

Thow art vnwys / thogh thou swe wys pretendeth, And so been alle of thyng oppinoun. To god & holy chirche thou swe benede! Caste out thy venym thorgh conquioun!

[11]

Thow seist 'conscioun auriculeer Ther needith noon' / but it is the contrarie; Thow lookist mis / thy sighste is nothyng cleer! Holy writ ther-in is thyng Aduersarie, And Clereke alle fro thy conceit varie, pat Crystes partie holden & mayntenee. Leue pat conceit / lest pat thou mis-carie! Waar of the swerd of god / for it is keene.

[12]

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

[13]

*O Oldcastel / how hath the feend thee blent! Where is thy knyghtly herte / art thou his thral? Thow errest foule eek in the sacrament Of the Auter / but how in special For to declare' it needith nat at al; It knownen is in many a Regioun. Now syn the feend hath youen the a fal / Qwyte him / let see / ryse vp & slynge him doun!  

[14]

Ryse vp, a manly knygght, out of the slow Of heresie / o lurker! / as a wrecche Wher' as thou erred haast / correcte it now! By humblesse / thou mayst to mercy streche.
II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

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

[15]

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

[16]

[sign. b. 1; if. 8, back] Vnto seint Petir and his successours,
And so forth doun / god hath his power lent.
Go to the Preest / correcte thyn erreours,
With herte contryt vn-to god y-bent!  124
Despite no more of the sacrament!
As holy chirche biddith, folwe it!
And hennes forward / as by myn assent,
Presume nat so mochil of thy wit!  128

[17]

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

[18]

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

If a Priest is vicious,
follow him not, but obey his teaching.

Stir no argumets about our Faith!
II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

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

[19]

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

[20]

Our faders olde & modres lyned wel,
And taghte hir children / as hem self taghte were
Of holy chirche / & axid nat a del
Why stant this word heere? / and why this word there?

[156]

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

[21]

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

[22]

Right so / where as our goode faders olde
Possessid were, & hadden the seisyne
Peisible / of Crystes feith, & no man wolde
II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

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

[23]

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

[24]

The Cristen Empyrour Justinian,
As it is written / who so list it see,
Made a lawe deffendinge every man,
Of what condicion or what degree
pat he were of / nat sholde hardy be
For to despute of the feith openly;
And there vp on / sundry pynes sette he,
pat peril sholde eschued be therby.

[25]

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

[26]

If thee list thyng rede of auctoritee,
To thise stories sit it thee to goon:
To Iudicum / Regum, and Iosue,
To Judith / & to Paralipomenon, 204
And Machabe / & as siker as stoon,
If pat thee list in hem bayte thyn ye,
More autentike thing / shalt thou fynde noon,
Ne more pertinent to Chialtrie. 208
these pertain to

Knights of old

Knyghtes so dide in tymes pat be past,
When they had tendrenesse of hir' office;
In Crystes feith they stoodeen stidfast;
And as pat the preest, hir soules Norice,
Hem goostly fedde / & yaf hem the notice
Of Crystes lore: with obedience
They tooke it / but now regneth swich malice,
That buxumnesse is put in abstinence. 216
obeyd the Priest.

Now, obedience is set aside.

O Constantyn, thow Prince of hy nobleye /
O cristen Empour / whos worthynesse
Desdeyned nat to holy chirche obeye,
But didest al thy payne & bisynesse,
With wel disposed spirit of meeknesse,
The Ministres of god for to honoure;
How thow wroghtist / hast thow so strong witnesse,
That lyue it shal / whil the world wole endure! 224

The Emperor
Constantine obeyd Holy Church.

[MS.] De admirabili
hono re quem
Constantinse Im-
perator exhivit
ecclesie Ministris
ita scriptur /
'Deus vos constit-
tuit sacerdotes, &
potestatem dedit
vobis indiue muli;
vos autem nos potestis
ab hominibus
indiciari,' &c.

De admirable honor quem
Constantine Imperator exhibuit
ecclesiae Ministri
ita scripturum
'Deus vos constituit sacerdotes, &
potestatem dedit
vobis indissimul;
vos autem nos potestis
ab hominibus
indiciari,' &c.

Thow took nat on thee hir correctioun,
Ne vp on hem / thow yaf no ingement!
Swich was to god thy good affecioun,
Thow seidest / 'they been goddes to vs sent!
And pat it is nothyng conuenient,
That a man sholde goddes inge and deeme,'
Thow were a noble & a worthy Regent!
Wel was byset on thee / thy diadeeme! 232

Our Henry V
follows his steps.

[29]

Blessid be god / fro whom daryued is
Al grace / our lige lord / which pat is now
Our feithful cristen Prince and King / in this
II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

Oldcastle! Follow these Princes!
[Odd, this! If he 'does it no longer,' why should he be scolded? ? Read 'that' for 'thogh' in 886.]

Folwith thy steppes / o for shame thou
Oldcastel / thow haast longe tyme ynow
Folwed the feend / thogh thou no lenger do,1
Do by my reed / it shall be for thy prow:
Flee fro the Feend / folwe tho Princes two!

[31]

Reward had, & consideracioun,
Vn-to the dignitees of tho persones,
Thow art of a scars reputacioun!
A froward herte / haast thou for the nones!
Bowe & correcte thee / come of at ones!
Foule haast thou lost thy tyme many a day!
For thyn vnfeith / men maken many mones;
To god retourne / & with his feith dwelle ay!

[32]

Thogh god the haue souffrid regne a whyle,
Be nat to bold / be war of his vengeance!
He tarieth: for thow sholdist reconysle
Thee to him / & leue thy mescreaunce.
Holsum to thee / now were a variaunce
Fro the feend to our lord god / & fro vice
Vn-to vertu, pat were his hy plesaunce,
And his modres, man-kyndes mediatrice.

[33]

Some of thy fetheres weren plukkid late,
And mo shuln be / thow shalt it nat asterte;
Thow art nat wys / ageyne god to debate!
The flood of pryde / caste out of thyn herte!
Grace is a-lyue / to god thee converte!
Thow maist been his / if thee list him obeie;
If thow nat wilt so / sorrer shalt thou smerte,
Than herte of man may thynke, or tonge seye!

[34]

[leaf 11, back]
O Lord of all!
Inspire Oldcastle with Thy grace!

Almighty god / thou lord of al, and Syre,
Withouten whom is no goodnesse wroght,
This knyght, of thyn habendant grace enspyre!
Remembre how deere / that thou hast him boght! 268
He is thy handwerk / lord! refuse him noght,
Thogh he thee haue agilt outrageously /
Thow that for mercy deiest, change his thoght!
Benigne lord, enable him to mercy!

[35]
Yee that perverted him / yee folke damnable!
Yee heretikes that han him betrayed,
That manly was / worthy & honorable,
Or that he hade of your venym assayed,
I doute it nat / your wages shal be payed
Sharply / but yee correcte your trespas,
In your fals error / shul yee been outraged,
And been enhabited with Sathanas.

[36]
Yee, with your sly coloured argumentes
Which that contenen nothyng but falshode,
Han, in this Knyght, put so feendly ententes,
That manly was / worthy & honorable,
Which yee han leid on his good olde knygthode,
That now 'a wrecchid knyght' men calle may.
The lack of feith / hath qwenchid his manhode;
His force agayn god / noght is at assay.

[37]
'Prynce of preestes' / our lige lord yee calle
In scorn / but it is a style of honour:
Auctorite of Preest excedith alle
Eerthely powers / thogh it seeme sour
To the taast of your detestable errore.
They that in the feith been constaunt & sad,
In seint Petres wordes han good favour,
And fayn been to fullfille that he bad.

[38]
Alls eerthely Princes and othir men,
Byshops to obeie / commandid he.
Yee han no ground to holde ther ayen:

HOCCLEVE, M.F.—I.
Spiritual things or abov temporal.

Spirituell thynges / passe in dignitee Alle the thynges temporel pat be, As moche as dooth the soule the body. In the scriptures, serche / & yee shul see pat it no lees at al is hardly.

[39]

The Sun and Moon

Two lighthes, god made in the firmament Of heuene / a more made he, & a lesse; The gretter light, to the day hath he lent, It for to serue in his cleer brightnesse; The smaller, to the nyght in soothfastnesse He lente also / to helpe it with his light.

Two dignitees they toknen in liknesse:
Auctoritee papal, and kynges might.

[40]

betoken Papal authority, and Kingly.

[leaf 12, back]

As Sun to Moon, so is Pope to King.

Looke, how moche & how greet dyuersitee Betwixt the sonne ther is, & the moone:

So moche is a popes auctoritee Above a kynges might / good is to doone but yee aryse out of your errorr soone, but there-in walwid han / goon is ful yore.

And but yee do / god, I byseeche a boone, pat in the fyrr yee feele may the sore!

[41]

If ye'll not believe it, I hope ye may be burnt!

Yee pat nat sette by preestes power, 'Crystes Rebels, & foos' men may you calle.

Yee waden in presumpcion to fer!

Your soules to the feend, yee foule thralle!

Ye say 'a sinful priest can't make Christ's body.'

Yee seyn, 'a preest in deedly synne falle,

If he so go to messe / he may nat make Crystes body / falsly yee erren alle, pat holden so / to deepe yee ranlake!

[42]

He can.

As wel may a preest pat is vicious, pat precious body make, day by day, As may a preest / pat is ful vertuous;
But waer the preest / his soule it hurte may, 332
And shal, but he be cleene : it is no nay.
Be what he be / the preest is instrument
Of god / thurgh whos wordes / trustith this ay,
The preest makith the blessid sacrament. 336

[43]
Yee medle of al thyng / yee moot shoo the goos :
How knowen yee what lyf a man is ynne ?
Your fals conceites renne aboute loos !
If a preest synful be, & fro god twynne,
Thurgh penitence he may ageyn god wynne.
No wight may clerly knowen it or gesse,
Pat any preest, beynge in deedly synne,
For awe of god, dar to the messe him dresse.

[44]
Yee seyn also ‘ ther sholde be no pope, 344
But he the beste preest were vp-on lyue.’
O! wher-to graspen yee so fer, and grope
Aftir swich thyng / yee mowe it neuere dryue
To the knowleche / nothyng there-of stryue !
Medle nat ther with / let al swich thyng passe !
For if pat yee do / shul yee neuere thryue ;
Yee been ther-in as lewde as is an asse !

[45]
Many man outward / seemeth wondir good,
And inward is he wondir fer ther-fro :
No man be Iuge of pat / but he be wood :
To god longith pat knowleche, & no mo.
Thogh he be right synful / sooth is also,
The hy power pat is to him committid,
As large as petres is / it is right so :
Amonges feithful folk / this is admittid.

[46]
What is the lawe the verse of nature,
If pat a Iuge vse it nat aright ?
No thyng / god wot / auyse him pat the cure
II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

Ther-of hath take / looke he do but right;
Waar / pat he nat stonde in his owne light!
Good is, pat he his soule keepe & saue.
Your fals conceites, puttith to the flight,
I rede / and Crystes mercy, axe & haue!

[47]
Yee pat pretenden folwers for to be
Of Crystes disciples / nat lyue sholde
Aftir the flesshly lustes / as doon yee
Dat rekken nat / whos wyf yee take & holde:
Swich lyf / the disciples nat lyue wolde,
For cursid is the synne of adoutrie;
But yee ther-in, so hardy been & holde,
Dat yee no synne it holden, ne folie.

[48]
If yee so holy been as yee witnesse
Of your self! thanne in Crystes feith abyde!
The disciples of Cryst had hardynesse
For to appeere / they nat wolde hem hyde
For fere of deeth / but in his cause dyde.
They fledden nat to halkes ne to hernes,
As yee doon / pat holden the feendes syde,
Whiche arm of dirknesse the lanternes.

[49]
Ne neuer they in forcible manere
With wepnes roos / to slee folk, & assaille,
As yee diden late in this contree heere,
Ageyn the King, stryf to rere, & bataille.
Blessid be god / of your purpos yee faile,
And faille shuln / yee shuln nat foorth ther with!
Yee broken meyne / yee wrecchid rasaille
Been al to weyke / yee han ther-to no pith!

[50]
Also yee holden ageyn pilgrimages,
Whiche arm ful goode / if pat folk wel hem vse;
And eek ageyns the makynge of ymages.
II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

What / al is nat worth pat yee clappe & muse. 396
How can yee, by reson, your self excuse
pat yee nat eren / whan yee folk excite
To vice / and stire hem, vertu to refuse ?
Waar goddes strook / it peisith nat a lyte. 400

[51]
For to visite seintes / is vertu,
If pat it doon be for deuocioun ;
And elles / good is, be ther-of eschu.
Meede wirkith in good entencioun.
Be cleene of lyf / & be in orisoun !
Of synne, talke nat in thy viage !
Let vertu gyde thee / fro toun to toun !
And so to man / profittith pilgrimage. 408

[52]
And to holde ageyn ymages makynge,
(But they maad in entaille or in peynture,) 412
Is greet erroor / for they yeuen stirynge
Of thoghtes goode / and causen men honoure
The seint / after whom / maad is that figure,
And nat worshippe it / how gay it be wroght.
For this knowith wel every creature
pat reson hath / pat a seint is it noght. 416

[53]
Right as a spectacle helpith feeble sighte,
Whan a man on the book redith or wriht, 420
And causith him to see bet than he mighte,
In which spectacle / his sighte nat abit,
But gooth thurgh / & on the book restith it !
The same may men of ymages seye,
Thogh the ymage nat the seint be / yit
The sighte vs myngith to the seint to preye.

[54]
Ageyn possessions / yee holden eeke,
Of holy chireche / & that is eeke erroor :
Your inward ye / is ful of smoke & reekes !
II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

While here on earth, had
Purses. While here on earthe / was our Sаunеour,
Whom Angels diden service & honour,
Purses had he / why? for his churche shold
So haue eek after / as seith mine Auctour:
Yee goon al mis / al is wrong / pat yee holde!

Justinian Emperour had swich cheerte
To holy churche / as pat seith the scripture,
Pat of goodes how large or greet plente
It haddel of yfte of any creature:
Him thoghte it youne in the best mesure
Pat mighte been / his herte it loued so.
Yee neuer yaf hem good, per auenture:
What title han yee / aght for to take hem fro?

And if yee had aght youe hem or this tyme,
Standynge in the feith / as yee oghten stonde,
Sholden they now / for your change & your cryme,
Despoillid been of pat they haue in honde:
Nay / pat no skile is / yee shul vndestonde,
They nyght and day labouren in prayere
For hem that so yaf / styntith, and not fonde
To do so: for first boght wole it be deere.

Presumpcion of wit, and ydilnesse,
And couetyse of good / tho vices three
Been caus of al your ydil bysynesse.

Ye say ' Property
ought to be com-
mon.'

But it oughtn't to
be made so by
violence.

If pat a man the soothe telle shal,
How pat your hertes in this cas been set,
For to ryfle, is your entente final;
II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

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

[59]
Men seyn 'yee purpose hastily appeere,
The worm for to sleen in the pesecod:'
Come on / whan yow list / yee shul reewe it deere!
The feend is your cheef / & our heed is god!
Thogh we had in ourse handes / but a clod
Of eerthe / at your heedes to slynge or caste,
Were wepne ynow / or a smal twig or rod;
The feith of Cryst / stikith in vs so faste!

[60]
We dreden nat / we han greet auantage,
Whethir we lyue / or elles slayn be we,
In Crystes feith / for vp to heuenees stage,
If we so die / our soules lift shul be;
And on pa t othir part / yee feendes / yee
In the dirke halke of Helle shul descende!
And yit with vs abit this charitee,
Our desir is / pa t yee yow wolde amenda.

[61]
Yee holden many an othir erroour mo
Then may be written in a litil space,
But lak of leisir me commandith ho.
Almighty god / byseeche I of his grace
Enable yow to seen his blessid face,
Which pa t is o god / & persones three.
Remembre yow / heuene is a miry place,
And helle is ful of sharp aduersitee.

[62]
Yit, Oldcastel / for him pa t his blood shadde
Vp on the crois / to his feith torne agayn!
Forget nat the loue / he to vs hadde,
II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

Pat blisful lord / pat for alle vs / was slayn!
From hennes forward / trouble nat thy brayn
As thow hast doon, ageyn the feith ful sore!
Cryst, of thy soule / glad be wolde, & fayn:
Retourne knyghtly now vn-to his lore!

[63]
Repen! thee / and with him make accord!
Conquer meryt and honour / let see,
Looke how our cristen Prince, our lige lord,
With many a lord & knyght beyond the See,
Laboure in armes / & thow hydest thee!
And darst nat come / & shewe thy visage!
O, fy! for shame / how can a knyght be
Out of thonur of this rial viage?

[64]
Sum tyme was no knyghtly turn no where,
Ne no manhode shewid in no wyse,
But Oldcastel wolde, his thankes, be there.
How hath the cursid fiend changid thy gyse!
Flee from him! and alle his wirkes despynse!
And pat y-doone, vn-to our cristen kyng
Thee hie as faste / as pat thow canst dyuyse,
And humble eek thee to him / for any thyng!

Cest tout.
[III.]

O precious tresor incomparable!
O ground & roote of prosperitee!
O excellent richesse commendable
Abouen alle / pat in eerthe be!
Who may susteene thy n aduersitee?
What wight may him avante of worldly welthe,
But if he fully stande in grace of thee,
Erthely god / pilere of lyf / thow helthe?

[2]
Whil thy power / and excellent vigour
(As was plesant vn-to thy worthynesse)
Regned in me / & was my gouernour,
Than was I wel / thoo felte I no duresse,
Tho farsid was I with hertes gladnesse;
And now my body empty is, & bare
Of ioie / and fiel of seekly heynnesse,
Al poore of ese / & rych of euel fare!

[3]
If pat thy fauour twynne from a wight?
Smai is his ese / & greet is his greuance!
-Thy loue / is lyf / thyne hate sleeth doun right!
I have lost Health,
Who may compleyne thy dissoeurance
Bettre than I, bat, of myn ignorance,
Vn-to seeknesse am knytt / thy mortel fo.

and I know what penance is.
Now can I knowe feeste fro penance ;
And whil I was with thee / kowde I nat so.

[4]
I suffer daily
My grief and bisy amert cotidian
So me labouren & tormenten sore,
bat what thow art now / wel remembre I can,
And what fruyt is in keepynge of thy lore.

Had I thy power knowen or this yore,
As now thy fo compellith me to knowe,
Nat sholde his lym han cleued to my gore,
For al his aert / ne han me broght thus lowe.

[5]

[leaf 17, back]
But I haue herd men seye lounge ago,
'Prosperitee is blynd / & see ne may':
And verifie I can wel / it is so ;
For I myself put haue it in assay.

Whan I was weel / kowde I considere it? nay !
But what / me longed aftir nouelrie,
As yeeres yonge yermen day by day ;
And now my amert accusith my folie.

[6]
In youth I knew not what it was to lose Health.
Myn vnwar yowthe knew thew nat what it wroghte,
This woot I wel / whan fro thee twynned shee ;
But of hir ignorance hir self shee soghfe,
And knew theW pat shee dwellyng was with thee ;
For to a wight were it greet nycetee
His lord or freend wityngly for toffende,
Lest pat the weighte of his aduersitee
The fool oppresse / & make of him an ende.

[7]
From hennes forth wole I do reverence
Vn-to thy name / & holde of thee in cheef,
And werre make, & sharp resistence
Ageyn thy fo & myn, þat cruel theef,
þat vndir foote / me halt in mescheef;
So thow me to thy grace reconcle.
O now thy help / thy socour and releef!
And I for ay / mis reule wole exyle.

But thy mercy excede myn offense /
The keene assaytes of thyth aduersarie
Me wole oppresse with hir violence.
No wondir / thogh thow be to me contrarie;
My lustes blynde han causid thee to varie
Fro me / thurgh my folie & impudence;
Wherfore / I, wrecche / curse may & warie
The seed and fruyt of chyldly sapience.

As for the more paert / youthe is rebel
Vn-to reson / & hatith her doctryne,
Regnynge which / it may nat stande wel
With yowthe / as fer as wit can ymagyne.
O / yowthe / allas / why wilt thou nat enclyne,
And vn-to reuled reform bowe thee?
Syn resoun is the verray streighte lyne
þat ledith folk / vn-to felicitee.

Ful seelde is seen / þat yowthe takith heed
Of perils þat been likly for to fað;
For, haue he take a purpos / þat moot nede
Been execut / no conseil wole he cað;
His owne wit, he demeth best of að;
And foorth ther-withe / he renneth brydiles,
As he þat nat betwixt hony and gað
Can iuge / ne the werre fro the pees.

AH othir mennes wittes he despisith;
They answeren no thyng to his entente;
His rakil wit only to him souffysith;
His hy presumpioun nat list consente
To doon as pat Salomon wroote & mente,
pat redde men by conseil for to werke:
Now, youthe, now / thow sore shalt repente
Thy lightleeu wittes duH, of reson derke!

My frendes seiden vn-to me ful ofte,
My mis reule me cause wolde a fit;
And redden me, in esy wyse & softe,
A lyte and lyte to withdrawen it;
But pat nat mighte synke in-to my wit,
So was the lust y-rootid in myn herte.
And now I am so rype vn-to my pit,
pat scarsely I may it nat asterete.

Who-so cleer yen hath, & can nat see,
Ful smal, of ye, auailith the office /
¶ Right so / syn reson youen is to me
For to discerne a vertu from a vice,
If I nat can with resoun me cheuice,
But wilfully fro reson me withdrauwe,
Thogh I of hir haue no benefice,
No wondir / ne no fauour in hir lawe.

Reson me bad / & redde as for the beste,
To ete and drynke in tyme attemprely;
But wilful youthe nat obeie leste
Vn-to pat reed / ne sette nat ther-by.
I take haue of hem bothe outrageously
And out of tyme / nat two yeer or three,
But xx. wuyntir past continually,
Excesse at borde hath leyd his knyf with me.

The custome of my repleet abstinence,
My greedy mouth, Receite of swich outrage,
And hondes two / as woot my negligence,
Thus han me gyded / & broght in servage 116
Of hire þat werreieth every age,
Seeknesse, y meene, riotoures whippe,
Habundantly þat paieth me my wage,
So þat me neithir daunce list, ne skippe. 120

[16]
The outward signe of Bachus & his lure, 121
þat at his dore hangith day by day /
Excitith folk* / to taaste of his moisture
So often / þat man can nat wel seyn nay.
For me, I seye / I was enclyned ay 124
With-outen daunger thidir for to hye me,
But if swich charge / vp on my bake lay,
That I moot it forbere / as for a tyme ;

[17]
Or but I were nakidly bystad 129
By force of the penylees maladie,
For thanne in herte kowde I nat be glad,
Ne lust had noon to Bachus hows to hie.
Fye ! Lak of coyn / departith conpaignie, 132
And heuy purs, with herte liberal,
Qwenchith the thirsty hete of hertes drie,
Wher chynchhy herte / hath ther-of but smal.

[18]
I dar nat telle / how þat the fresshe repeir 137
Of venus femel lusty children deere,
þat so goodly / so shapily were, and feir,
And so plesant of port & of maneere,
And feede cowden al a world with cheere,
And of atyr passyngly wel byseye,
At Poules heed me maden ofte appeere,
To talke of mirthe / & to disporte & pleye. 144

[19]
Ther was sweet wyn ynow thurgh-out the hous, 145
And wafres thickke / for this conpaignie
þat I spak of / been sumwhat likerous,
III. LA MALE REGLE DE T. HOCOLEUM.

Where as they move a drageft of wyn espie,
Sweete / and in wyrkyng hoot for the maistrie
To warme a stomak' with / ther-of they dranke.
To sufre hem paie, had beene no courtesie :
That charge I tooke / to wynne loue & thanke. 152

Of course I paid for the girls.

[leaf 20]

Of loues aart / yit touchid I no deel ;
I cowde nat / & eek it was no neede :
Had I a kus / I was content ful weel,
Bette than I wolde han be with the deede :
Ther-on can I but smal ; it is no dreede :
When pat men speke of it in my presence,
For shame I were as reed as is the gleede.
Now wole I torne ageyn to my sentence. 160

Drinking wastes

Of him pat hauntith tauerne of custome,
At shorte wordes / the profyt is this :
In double wyse / his bagge it shal consume,
And make his tonge speke of folk' amis ;
For in the cuppe / seelden hownden is,
bat any wight his neigheburgh commendith.
Beholde & see / what auantage is his,
bat god / his frend / & eek' him self, offendith. 168

[22]

But oon auaungage / in this cas I haue :
I was so ferd / with any man to fighte,
Cloos kepe I me / no man durste I depraua
But rownyngly / I spak no thynge on highte.
And yit my wil was good / if pat I mighte,
For lettynge of my manly cowardysse,
bat ay of strookes impressid the wighte,
So pat I durste medlen in no wyse. 176

[23]

Wher was a gretter maister eek' than y, 177
Or bet aqweyntid at Westmynstre yate,
Among the tauerneres namely,
And Cookes / when I cam / eerly or late?
I pynchid nat at hem in myn scate,
But paied hem / as pat they axe wolde ;
Wherfore I was the welcomere algate,
And for 'a verray gentil man' y-holde.

[24]
And if it happid on the Someres day
pat I thus at the tauerne hadde be,
When I departe sholde / & go my way
Hoom to the prince seel / so wowed me
Heete & vnlust and superfuite
To walke vn-to the brigge / & take a boot /
pat nat durste I contrarie hem alt three,
But dide as pat they stired me / god woot.

[25]
And in the wyntir / for the way was deep,
Vn-to the brigge I dressid me also,
And ther the boatmen took vp-on me keep,
For they my riot kneewen fern ago :
With hem was I I-tugged to and fro,
So wel was him / pat I with wolde fare ;
For riot paieth largelie / euereemo ;
He styntith neuere / til his purs be bare.

[26]
Othir than 'maistir' / callid was I neuere,
Among this meynee, in myn audience.
Me thoghte / I was y-maad a man for euere :
So tikelid me pat nyce reuenerce,
pat it me made larger' of despense
Than pat I thoght han been / o flaterie !
The guyse of thy traiterous diligence
Is, folk' to mescheef' haasten / & to hie.

[27]
Al be it pat my yeeres be but yonge /
Yet hane I seen in folk' of hy degree,
How pat the venym of sauules touge
III. LA MALE REGLE DE T. HOCCLEUE.

Flattery's tongue has ruined many folk!

Hath mortified his prosperitee,
And broght hem in so sharp aduersitee
Pat it hir lyf hath also throwe a-doun.
And yit ther can no man in this contree
Vnnethe eschue this confusioun.

Many a servant / vn-to his lord seith,
'Pat al the world spekith of him honour,'
When the contrarie of pat / is sooth in feith:
And lightly leued is this losengeour:
His honie wordes / wrappid in errour,
Blyndly conceuyed been / the more harm is!
O! thou, fauile, of lesynges Auctour,
Causist al day / thy lord to fare amis!

Tho combreworldes clept been 'enchantours'
In booke / as pat I haue, or this, red,
That is to seye, sotil deceuyours,
By whom the peple is mis gyed & led,
And with plesance so fostred and fed,
Pat they forgete hem self, & can nat feele
The soothe of the condicion in hem bred,
No more / than hir wit were in hire heele.

Who-so pat list in 'the book' of nature
Of beestes' rede / ther-in he may see
(If he take heede vn-to the scripture,)
Where it spekith of meermaids in the See,
How pat so inly mirie syngith shee,
Pat the shipman ther-with fallith a sleepe,
And by hir aftir denouerd is he:
From al which song, is good, men hem to keepe.

Right so the feyned wordes of plesance
Annoyen aftir / thogh they plese a tyme
To hem pat been vnwyse of gouernance,
Lorde ! beeth waar / Let nat fauel yow lyne !
If pat yee been enuolupid in cryme,
Yee may nat deeme / men speke of yow weel,
Thogh fauel peyne hir tale in prose or ryme :
Ful holsum is it / truste hir nat a deel.

[32]

¶ Holcote seith vp-on the book' also

Of sapience / as it can testifie,

Whan pat Vlixes saillid to and fro

By meermaides / this was his policie,

Alle eres of men of his compaignie,

With wex he stoppe leet / for pat they noght

Hir song sholde heere / lest the armonyne

Hem mighte vn-to swich deadly sleep han broght,

[33]

And bond him self / vn-to the shippes mast :

Lo! thus hem alle, saued his prudence.

The wys man is, of peril sore agast.

O flaterie ! o lurkyng' pestilence !

If sum man did his cure & diligence

To stoppe his eres fro thy poesie,

And nat wolde herkne a word of thy sentence,

Vn-to his greef it were a remedie.

[34]

As nay / al thogh thy tongue were ago,

Yit canst thow close in contenance & cheere ;

Thow supportist with lookes eueremo

Thy lordes wordes in eche mateere,

Al-thogh pat they a myte be to deere ;

And thus thy gyse is prinee and appert

With word and look' / among our lordes heere

Preferred be / thogh ther be no dissert.

[35]

But whan the sobre / treewe, & weel auysid,

With sad visage his lord enfourmeth pleyn,

How pat his gouernance is despsyd

HOCCLEVE, M.P.—I.
Among the peple / & seith him as they seyn, 276
As man treewe ogfite vn-to his souereyn,
Conseillynge him amendes his gouvenance,
The lordes herte swellicht for desdeyn,
And bit him voide blyue with meschaunce. 280

[36]
Men settyn nat by trouthe now adayes; 281
Men loue it nat / men wole it nat cherice;
And yit is trouthe best at aht assayes.
When pat fals fauel, sostenour of vice,
Nat wite shal how hire to cheuyce,
Ful boldely shal trouthe hir heed vp bere.

Lorde, lest fauel / yow fro wele tryce,
No lenger souffre hir\' nestlen in your ere? 288

[37]
¶ Be as be may / no more of this as now;
But to my mis reule wole I refere.
Wher as I was at ese weel ynow,
Or excesse vn-to me leef was, & deere, 292
And, or I kneew his ernestful maneure,
My purs, of coyn had resondable wone;
But now, ther-in can ther but scant appeere:
Excess hath ny exyled hem echone. 296

[38]
The feend and excesse been convertible,
As endith to me my fantasie:
This is my skile / if it be admissible:
Excess of mete & dryneke is glotonye; 300
Glotonye awakith malencolie;
Malencolie engendrith werre & stryfe;
Stryf causith mortel hurt thurgh hir folie:
Thus may excesse reue a soule hir lyfe. 304

[39]
¶ No force of al this / go we now to wacche
By nightirtale / out of al mesure;
For as in pat / fynde kowde I no macche
In al the priuiee seel with me to endure;
And to the cuppe ay took I heede & cure,
For pat the drýke apalle sholde noght.
But whan the pot emptid was of moisture,
To wake aftirward / can nat in my thoght.

But whan the cuppe had thus my neede sped,
And sumdel more than necessitee,
With repleet spirit wente I to my bed,
And bathid there in superfluitee.
But on the morn / was wight of no degree
So looth as I / to twyne fro my cowche:
By aght I woot / abyde / let me see!
Of two / as looth / I am seur, kowde I towche.

I dar nat seyn Prentys and Arondel
Me countrefete, & in swich wach go ny me;
But often they bire bed louen so wel,
pat of the day / it drawith ny the pryme,
Or they rysen vp / nat teht I can the tyme
When they to bedde goon / it is so late.
O helthe, lord / thow seest hem in pat cryme!
And yit thee looth is / with hem to debate.

And why / I not / it sit nat vn-to me,
pat mirour am of riot & excesse,
To knowen of a goddes pryuetee;
But thus I ymagnye / and thus I gesse:
Thow meued art, of tendre gentillesse,
Hem to forber / and wilt hem nat chastye,
For they, in merthe and vertuous gladnesse,
Lordes re conforten in sundry wyse.

But to my purpos / syn pat my seeknesse,
As wel of purs as body, hath refreynd
Me fro Tauerne / & othir wantonnesse,

No one in the Privy-Saal Office set up drinking at night, like I,
or was so loth to rise in the morning;
[leaf 33, back]

But Health has not left them

Because they amuse Lords.
Since illness has kept me from the Tavern,
Among an heep / my name is now desteyned, 340
My greuous hurt ful litil is compleyneyd,
But they, the lak' compleyne of my despence.
Allas pat euere knyt I was, and cheyneyd
To excesse / or him dine disobedience. 344

[44]

Despenses large enhaunce a mannes loos 345
Whil they endure / & whan they be forbore,
His name is deed / men keepe hir mowthes cloos,
As nat a peny had he spent tofore. 348
My thank is wweyte / my purs, his stuf hath loren,
And my Carkeis replect with heuyenessse.

Hoccleue! Be moderate now!

Be waar, Hoccleue / I rede thee therfore,
And to a mene reule / thow thee dresse! 352

[45]

Who-so, passyng mesure, desyrith, 353
(As pat wistesen olde Clerkes wyse,)
Him self encombrith often sythe, & myrith ;

Be satisfied with a middle course!

And for-thy let the mene thee souffye.
If swich a conceit in thyne herte ryse,
As thy profyt may hyndre, or thy renoun,
If it were execut in any wyse,
With manly resoun thryste thow it doun! 360

[46]

Thy rentes annuel / as thou wel woost, 361
To scarce been, greet costes to susteene ;
And in thy cofre, pardee, is cold roost,
And of thy manuel labour, as I weene,

Thy lucre is swich / pat it vnnenethe is seene
Ne felt / of yftes seye I eek the same ;
And stele, for the guerdoun is so keene,
Ne darst thou nat / ne begge also for shame. 368

[47]

Thou darst not steal or beg.

Than wolde it seeme / pat thou borwde haast
Mochil of pat pat thou haast thus despent
In outrage & excesse, and verry waast,
Auyse thee / for what thyng þat is lent,
Of verray right / moot hoom ageyn be sent;
Thow ther-in haast no perpetuitee.
Thy dettes paie / lest þat thow be shent,
And or þat thow ther-to compellid be.

[48]
Sum folk in this cas dreeden more offense
Of man / for wyly wrenches of the lawe,
Than he dooth, eithir god or conscience;
For by hem two, he settith nat [an] hawe.
If thy conceit be swich / thow it withdrawe,
I rede / and voide it clene out of thyn herte;
And first of god, and syn of man, haue awe,
Lest þat they bothe / make thee to smerte.

[49]
Now lat this smert, warnynge to thee be;
And if thow maist heere-aftir be releueed
Of body and purs / so thow gye thee
By wit / þat thow / no more thus be greeued.
What riot is / thow taasted haast, and preueed;
The fyr / men seyn / he dreedith þat is brent;
And if thow do so / thow art wel y-meeued:
Be now no lenger, fool / by myn assent!

[50]
Ey / what is me / þat to myself, thus longe,
Clappid haue I / I trowe þat I raue.
A / nay / my poore purs / and peynes stronge
Han artid me speke as I spoken haue.
Who-so him shapith, mercy for to craue,
His lesson moot recorde in sundry wyse;
And whil my breeth may in my body wau,
To recorde it / vnnethe I may soufyse.

[51]
Œ O god! o helthe! vn-to thyhn ordenance,
Weleful lord / meekly submitte I me.
I am contryst / & of ful repentance
III. LA MALHEUR DE T. HOOCLEME.

\(\text{pat euere I swymmed in swich nycetee} \quad 404\)

As was displesaunt to thy deitee.

Now kythe on me thy mercy & thy grace!

It sit a god, been of his grace free;

Foryeue / & neuere wole I eft trespooce!

\[52\]

My body and purs been at ones seeke;

And for hem bothe / I to thy ny noblesse,

As humblely as \(\text{pat} \) I can · byseeke

With herte vnfeyned / reewe on our distresse!

Pitee haue of myn harmfule henynesse!

Releeue the repentant in dissee!

Despende on me a drope of thy largesse,

Right in this wyse / if it thee lyke & plese.

\[53\]

[leaf 25, back]

Toll Lord Fournal, the Treasurer, to pay me my yearly £10, due last Michaelmas.

I sink the arrears.

[MS.]

\(\text{Annees theult annemas restric-} \quad 412\)

\(\text{tions is annulat-} \quad 420\)

\(\text{tum}\)

\(\text{f\ Lo, lat my lord the Fournval, I preye,} \quad 417\)

My noble lord / \(\text{pat} \) now is tresoreer,

From thyng Hynesse haue a tokne or tweye

To paie me \(\text{pat} \) due is for this yeer

Of my yerly .x. ti. in theschequeer,

Nat but for Michel terme \(\text{pat} \) was last:

I dar nat speke a word of ferne yeer,

So is my spirit symple and sore agast.

\[54\]

I kepte nat to be seen inportune

In my pursuyte / I am ther-to ful looth;

And yit \(\text{pat} \) gyse / ryf is, and commune

Among the peple now, withouten ooth;

As the shamelees crauour wole / it gooth,

For estaat real / can nat al day werne,

But poore shamefast man ofte is wroth;

Therfore, for to craue, moot I lerne.

\[55\]

The prouerbe is / ' the doumb man, no lond getith;'

Who-so nat spekith / & with neede is bete,

And, thurgh argfnesse / his owne self forgetith,
IV. COUNSEL TO HENRY V. 21 MARCH, 1412-13.

No wondir / thogh an othir him forgete. 436
Neede hath no lawe / as pat the Clerkes trete,
And thus to craine / arith me my neede;
And right wolde eek pat I me entremete,
For pat I axe is due / as god me speede! 440 I ask only for what is due to me.

[56]
And pat that due is / thy magnificence 441 (leaf 55)
Shameth to werne / as pat I byleue.
As I saide / reewe on myn inpotence,
bat likly am to sterue yit or eue,
But if thou in this wy[se] me releue.
By coyn, I gete may swich medecyne 444
As may myn hurttes alle, pat me greene,
Exyle cleene / & voide me of pyne. 448 Coin 'll cure all my hurtas.

[443-40 (1413) ruled. Hen. F Access. (Hut)]

[IV.] TRANSFER TO CORR. ED. (same shelf no.)

Eeste balade ensuyante feust faite au tres noble Roy. H. le. Vi. (que vieu pars
doint !) le iour que les seigneurs de son
Roialme lui firent leur homages
a Kenyngtoun.

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

[1]
The Kyng of Kynges regnyng ouer al,
Which stablisshid hath in etermitee
His by might / pat nat varie he may ne shal,
So constant is his blisful deitee,
My lige lord / this grace yow graunte he,
That your estaat rial / which pat this day
Haath maad me lige to your souereyntee,
In reule vertuous continue may.

[on leaf 26]

K. Henry V.
May God grant you to rule virtuously!

[1418]
IV. COUNSEL TO HENRY V. 21 MARCH, 1412-13.

[2]
God drede / & sicche in him your trust verray! 9
Be clene in herte / & loue chasticitee!

Be just,
Be sobre / sad / iust / trouthe, observe alway!
Good conseil take / & aftir it do yee!

Prithe, and prudent!
Be humble in goost / of your tonge attempree;

Pitous & merciable in special;
Prudent / debonaire, in mesure free;
Nat ouer large / ne vn-to gold thrall!

[3]
Be to your liges also sheeld & wal!
Keepe and defende hem from aduersitee!
Hir wele and wo / in your grace lyth al.

Govern with Law and Equity.
Gourneth hem in lawe and equitee;
Conquere hir loue / & haue hem in cheertee!

Be Holy Church's champion!
Be holy chirches Championn eek! ay;
Susteene hir right / soufere no thyng doon be
In pruiudice of hir', by no way!

[4]
Scitiest. ecclesiam sanctam.

Drive out heresy!
Strengthe your modir / in chacyng away
Therrow / which sones of iniquitee
Han sowe ageyn the feith / it is no nay,
Yee ther to bownde been of dutee;

Your office is it / now, for your seurtee,
Souffreth nat Crystes feith to take a fal!
Vn-to his peple / and youres, cheerly see,
In conservuyng of your estat real!

[5]
Syn god hath sent yow wit substancial,
And kynges might / vertu, putte in assay!
And, lige lord / thogh my conceit be smal,
And nat my wordes peynte fresh and gay,
But clappe and iangle foorth, as dooth a say,
Good wil to yow shal ther noon faille in me,

I'll pray to God for you.
Byseeyng vn-to god, bat, to his pay,
Yee may gouerne your hy dignitee.
V. AND VI. TO HENRY V. AND THE KNIGHTS OF THE GARTER. 41

TRANSFER TO CORR.
ED. (same shelf no.)
Edd. Mitchell & Doyle

[V. AND VI.]

Cestes balades ensuyantes⁠¹ feurent faiettes au
tresnoble Roi H. le quint, (que Dieu par-
doint !) & au treshonourable compaignie
du Xarter.

[In five-measure eights, abab, bcb.]

[1]

To yow, welle of honur and worthynesse,
Our right cristen kyng / heir & Successour
Vn-to Instinians denout tendrenesse
In the feith of Ihesu, our Redemptour;
And to yow, lordes of the garter / flour
Of Chivalrie / as men yow clepe & calle;
The lord of vertu, and of grace Auctour,
Graunte / the fruyt of your los nat appalle!

O King, and

Lords of the
Garter,
may your praise
never lessen!

[2]

O Lige lord, pat han eek the liknesse
Of Constantyn, thensauple and the mirour
To Princes alle, in loue & buxunnesse
To holy chirche / o verray sustenour
And pilere of our feith, and werreyour
Ageyn the heresies bittir galle,
Do foorth / do foorth / continue your socour!
Holde vp Crystes Baner / lat it nat falle!

[leaf 27, back]

O King, upholder of our Faith
against Heresy,
keep on your
help!

[3]

This yle, or this, had been but hethenesse,
Nad been of your feith the force & vigour!
And yit, this day, the seundes fikilnesse
Weeneth fully to cacche a tyme & hour
To hauve on vs, your liges, a sharp shour,
And to his seruiture / vs knytte and thralle.

But for you, we should haue been
hethens.

¹ There are two Balades, of 4 stanzas each, under this heading.
VI. TO THE KNIGHTS OF THE GARTER.

But ay we truste in yow our protectour;
On your constance we awayten alle.

[4]
Commandith pat no wight haue hardynesse,
(Our worthy kyng and cristyn Emperor!)

[5]
Of the feith to despute more or lesse
Openly among peple / where errour
Spryngith al day / & engendrith rumour.
Makith swich lawe / & for aght may befalle,
Observe it wel / ther-to been yee dettouer.
Dooth so / and god / in glorie shal yow stalla.

Ye lorde eek shynyrge in noble famye,
To whiche appropied is the maintenance
Of Crystes cause! In honour of his name
Shoue on / & putte his foes to the outrunce!

God wolde so / so wolde eek your ligeance:
To tho two prikkith yow your dutees:
Who-so nat keepith this double observance,
Of meryt & honour / nakid is he.

[6] [VI. 2]
Your style seith / pat yee been foes to shame.
Now kythe of your feith / the perseverance
In which an heep of vs arm halt & lame.
Our Cristen kyng of Engeland and France,
And yee, my lorde, with your alliance,
And othir faithful peple pat ther be,
Truste I to god, shul qwenche al this nusance,
And this land sette in by prosperitee.

[7] [VI. 3]
Conqueste of hy prowesse is for to tame
The wylde woodnesse of this mescreance
Right to the roote / rype yee pat same!
Sleepe nat this / but for goddes plesance
And his modres / & in signifi ance
Pat yee been of seint Georges liueree,
VII. TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

Dooth him service and knyghtly obeissance!
For Crystes cause is his / wel knowen yee!
[8] [VI. 4]
Stif stande in pat / & yee shuln greeue & grame
The fo to pees / & norice of distaunce;
That now is ernest / torne it in-to game;
Dampnable fro feith were variance!
Lord lige / & lordes, haue in remembrance,
Lord of al is the blissid Trinitee,
Of whos vertu / the mighty habundaunce
Yow herte & strength the in feithful vnitee! Amen!
Cest tout.

[In five-measure sights, abab, bebe.]

MODIR OF LYF / O CAUSE OF AL OUR WELTHE,
   FYNDER OF GRACE AND OF OUR MEDECYNE!
Where-as an appil refte our lyf and helthe,
And marie[de] vs vn-to ay lastyng pyne,
As sones of perdition and ruyne;
That matrymoyne / thy virginitee
Dissouled / & vnbownden hath, virgyne,
And at our large / maad vs walke free!

[1]

Mother of Life!
from the curse of the apple

O blessid be thow! vessel of clenessse,
In whom our soules sake list habyte!
O tree of lyf / sweetest of al sweetnesse,
In thy fruyt yeue vs grace to delyte!
And thoghe thy sone, cause haue vs to smyte

[2]

8 thou hast freed us.
Tree of Life! let us delight in thy fruit!
VII. TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

For our giltes / yit our mediatrice,
As thow hast enere doon / thow him excite
Vn-to mercy / for pat is thyn office.

[3]

My soule is stuffd so with stynd of synne,
pat ay it dreeth beforn thee appeere,
Lest for the filth e / which pat it is ynne,
Thow torne away thy merciable cheere,
And deyne nat accepte my preyere.
And if my trespas heere / I nat confesse,
How shal I doon / o Crystes modir deere
When god shal iuge vs alle, more & lesse ?

[4]

O why, my synnes / why, my wikkidnesse,
With your venym / my soule slayn, han yee,
And put in it so desperat gastnesse,
pat mercy may ne list beholde me ?
Why oppressith your heuy aduersitee
The hope of myn exaudicioun,
And shame in yow, maad hath so large entree,
pat yee the vois me reue of orisoun ?

[5]

[leaf 29, back]

Allas thy shame, o thow filthy offense
In the presence of shynyngse holynesse !
O shenshepe of vnclene conscience
In the beholdynge of pured clennesse !
O caitif soule involued in dirknesse !
What wilt thow do / where is thy remedie ?
Who may thy mescheef and thy greef redresse,
Syn of thy gilt / thow darst nat mercy crie ?

[6]

Lo ! blessid womman among wommen alle,
Syn my spirit nat dar putte vp his bille,
Thy grace ne thy mercy for to calle,
But in his mazidnesse abydith stille,
My thirsty soule / drynke may hir fill e
VII. TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

Of sorwe, and bathe in sorwe & heuynesse:
Hir ferful shame / hir shende wole, & spille,
For to hir helthe / nat shee dar1 hir dresse.

My synnes yernen þat thyn hy pitee
Fully hem kneew / for hir curacioun;
But they lothen appeere befor thee
For hir cursid abhominacion.
O spryng and welle of our sauaccioun,
My dirke soule of thy grace enlumyne,
And kepe it fro the castigacioun
That it disserued hath in helle pyne!

If I confesse myn iniqueitee,
Lady / þat I wroght haue in thy presence,
Wilt thou me werne thy benigneitie?
If þat my gilt / & my damnable offense
Of giltes alle haue an excellence,
Shal thy mercy be lesse / than it oghte?
May nat thy mercy, with my gilt dispense,
And pardon gete of þat þat it mis wroghte?

The more þat my gilt passith mesure,
And stynkith in thy sones sighte and thyn /
The gretter neede hath it, of his cure
And of thyn help / wherfore, lady myn,
My soule fro the net and fro thengyn
Of him þat waytith it to slee / thow keepe!
His sotil snares, and cacchyngte twyn,
In my memorie ficchid been ful deepe.

Lady / thyn help / nat wole I me despeire,
For in myn herte fully I conceyue
þat thow to heuene / art the laddre & sterre
By which men clymben, blisse to receyue.

1 Why not 'dar shee nat'!

I dare not seek my cure.
O Well of our Salvation, keep me out of Hell!
Lady, refuse me not thy grace!
Keep me out of the Devil's net!
Thou art the stairs to Heaven!
VII. TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

Despair hear’st thou me nat deceyue,
pat I ne shal ay thee byseeche of grace.

Thy might, I woot wel, is my gilt to weyue,
And of my trespas’ pardoun me purchase. 80

[leaf 30, back]
Thow, Crystes modir / sholdes neuere han be,
Ne had our synnes causid it certayn;
For why / it had be no necessitee
But for thow qwikne shuldest vs agarun,
pat for our gilt original wern slayn.
Thow art his modir / wherfore I thee preye
To saue me / haue thow no deadayn,
pat of bountee & mercy art the keye!

[12]
Euene as the moone / a mene is verrailly
Betwixt vs and the sonne / of whom hir light
Shee takith / & it vniuerselly
Yeueth vn-to the world when it is nyght;
In swich a wyse / god, thy sone right,
The light of grace betook vn-to thee,
For to mynstre it vn-to euery wight
pat ther-of list enlumyned to be.

[13]
Thyn humble goost, & maydens chastitee,
For our behoue han so mochil wroght
In sundry wyse / as pat wel knowen we,
pat thee to thanke / we souffyse noght.
Thow hast vs vn-to swich a plyt I-broght,
pat he, pat lord was sum tyme of vengeance,
With his blood hath our synful soules boght,
And is now lord of mercy & souffrance.

[14]
Where is a streighter way vn-to man-kynde,
To god, thy sone / our soules for to lede,
Than where as pat we may thy sone fynde
Reborn his fadir, with his wounndes rede,
VIII. ON RICHARD II’S BURIAL AT WESTMINSTER, 1413.

And the before hem / mercy for to grede:
Thy sone his body shewthe al byyled;
And to thy sone also, thy maydenhede
Shewthe the pappes / wher-with he was fæd. 112

O blessid Ihesu! for thy modres loue;
And modir! for the hy dileccion
but thow hast to thy sone in heuene aboue,
Haueth me, bothe, in your proteccion!
Plante in myn herte swich correccion,
but I, your grace / & your mercy may haue,
And fully stands in yourse affeccion,
Or my body be clothed in his graue! 120
Cest tout.

[15]

Thou showest
Christ thy paps,
and he shows God
His wounds to get
us mercy.

[16]

Christ and Mary,
protect me!

Ceste halade enusypante feust faite tost
apres que les osses du Roy Richard
feurent apportez a Westmouster.

[A.D. 1413. In five-measure eights, abab, bcbc.]
We have drunk the Devil’s poison of Heresy!

Of heresie / & lad vs a wrong weye,
pat torne shuttle our confusioun,
But if pat left be this abusioun.
And yit, seur confort haue I / thynkith me:
Our lige lord, the kyng, is Champioun
For holy chirche / Crystes knyght is he!

For why, o reverent goostly fadres, yee,
And we, your sones eek, han enchesoun
Right greet / to thanke god in Trinitee,
pat of his grace / hath sent this Regioum
So noble an heed / looke vp, thow Albion!

But (thank God!)
Henry V. is
Herey’s foe.

God thanke / & for thy cristen Prince preye,
Syn he, fo is to this Rebellioum:
He, of thy soules helthe, is lokc and keye!

What mighty folk of good byleeue seye,
If bent were our kynges affection
To the wrong part / who sholde hem help puruere?  
A kyng set in pat wrong opioun,
Mighte of our feith be the subuersioum;
But eterne god, in persones three,
Hath reyned drops of compassion,
And sent vs our good kyng for our cheertee!

See eek how our Kynges benignitee
And louying herte / his vertu can bywreye.
Our kyng Richard pat was / yee may wel see,
Is nat fled from his remembrance aweye.
My wit souffysith nat to peyse and weye
With what honour he broght is to this toun,
And with his queene at Westmynstre in thabbeye
Solempnely in Toumbe leid adoun.

Now god, byseeche I, in conclusion,
Henri the V.° in ioie & hy nobleye
IX. BALADE TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

Regne on vs yeere many a milioun!
And where as pat men renne & fornye,
Walkynge blyndly in the dirk alye
Of heresie / o lord god, preye I thee,
Enspire hem / pat no lenger they folie!
To feithes path / hem lede thy pitee! Amen!

Go, little pamphlet, and streight thee dresse
Vn-to the noble rootid gentillesse
Of the myghty Prince of famous honour,
My gracious lord of york / to whos noblesse
Me recommande with heresie humblesse,
As he pat haue his grace & his fauour
Fownden alway / for which I am deyttour
For him to preye / & so shal my symptesse
Hertily do / vn-to my dothes hour.

Remembre his worthynesse, I charge thee,
How ones at London, desired he,
Of me pat am his servaunt / & shal ay,
To hauie of my balades swich plentee
As ther weren remeynyng vn-to me;
And for nat wole I 1 / to his wil seyn nay,
But fullie it / as ferfoorth as I may,
Be thow an owtey 2 of my nyctee,
For my good lordes lust, and game, & play.

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

MAY HENRY V.
44 reign many million years!

AND GOD LEAD ALL
HERETICS TO THE
FAITH

[TRANSFER TO]

[Leaf 32, back]

Go, little pamphlet,
to the Duke of York,

[In 5-measure lines, aab, aab, bab.]

Edd. Mitchell & Doyle
IX. BALADE TO THE DUKER OF YORK.

[3]
My lord, byseeke eek in humble maneere, That he nat souffre thee for to appeere
In thonorable sghte, or the presence, Of the noble Princesse & lady deere,
My gracious lady / my good lordes feere, The mirour of wommanly excellence.
Thy cheer is naght / ne haast noon eloquence To moustre thee before hir' yen cleere:
For myn honour / were holsum thyn absence.

[4]
Yit ful fayn wolde I haue a messageer To recommannde me, with herte enterre,
To hir benigne & humble wommanhede;
And at the tyme / haue I noon othir heer
But thee / & smal am I, for thee, the neer.
And if thow do it nat / than shal pat dede Be left / & pat nat kepte I / out of drede.
My Lord / nat I / shal haue of thee / poweer.
Axe him a licence / vp on him crie & grede!

[5]
Whan pat thow hast thus doon / than afterward Byeseeche thow pat worthy Prince Edward, pat he thee leye apart / for what may tye, Lest thee beholde my Maister Picard.
I warne thee / pat it shal be ful hard For thee & me to halte on any syde, But he espie vs / yit no force / abyde!
Let him looke on / his herte is to me ward So frendly / pat our shame wole he hyde.

[6]
If pat I in my wrytynge foleye, As I do ofte, (I can it nat withseye,) Meetynge amis / or speke vnfittyngly, Or nat by iust peys / my sentences weye, And nat to the ordre of endytynge obeye,
And my colours sette ofte sythe awry!
With al myn herte wole I buxumly,
It to amende and to correcte, him preye;
For vndir his corecction stande y.

Thow foul book, vn-to my lord seye also,
pat pryde is vn-to me so greet a fo,
pat the spectacle, forbedith he me,
And hath y-doon of tyme yore ago;
And for my sighte blyue hastith me fro,
And lakkith pat pat sholde his confort be,
No wonder thogh thow haue no beautee.
Out vp-on pryde / causer of my wo!
My sighte is hurt thurgh hir aduersitee.

Now ende I thus / the holy Trinitee,
And our lady / the blissid mayden free,
My lord & lady haue in gouernance!
And graunte hem ioie & by prosperitee,
Nat to endure / oonly two yeer or thre,
But a .M. t! and if any plesance
Happe mighte, on my poore souffissance,
To his prowesse / & hir benigneitee,
My lynes ioie it were, and sustenance!

Cest tout,

Fol. 25, Johannes Talbot, Dominus de Furnival, was first summoned to Parl11 H. 4, and to many subsequent Parl14 in that reign and the next ... T. Tyrwhitt. [Note in MS.]
Balade to Duke of York, 1f. 32 bk. Prince Edw4 (after, Edw. IV), not born till about 1442. If we suppose him 6 years old (and he could not be much less to be under the tuition of Maister Picard), this poem was written in 1448. [Note in MS.]
X. TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN, THE MOTHER OF GOD.

TRANSFER TO CORR. ED.

(X.)

Adv beatam Virginem.
(Generally called CHAUCER's "Mother of God."

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

[1]

Mother of God, Modir of god / and virgyne vndefouled!
O blissful queene / of queenes Emperice!

Pray to Christ for sinful me!
Preye for me / pat am in synne mowled,
To god thy sone / punysshed of vice,
bat of his mercy / thoukht pat I be nyce,
And negligent in keepynge of his lawe,
His hy mercy, my soule / vn-to him drawe.

[2]

Mother of Mercy!
Modir of mercy / wey of indulgence,
bat of al vertu art superlatif,
Sauer' of vs by thy beneuolence,
Humble lady / mayde / modir and wyf!
Causer of pees / feynter' of wo & stryf!

Present my prayer to thy Son!
My prayer' vn-to thy sone presente,
Syn for my gile I fully me repente.

[3]

[leaf 34, back]
Be with me at my death!
Benigne confort of vs wrecches alle!
Be at my endynge' / whan bat I shal deye!
O welle of pitee / vn-to thee I calle!
Ful of swetnesse / helpe me to weye
Ageyn the seend / bat with his handes tweye,
And his might, plukke wolde / at the balance
To weye vs doun / keepe vs from his nusance!

[4]

And, for thow art ensample of chastitee,
And of virgynes / worship and honour,
Among all wommen blessid thow be!

Pray Christ to
Now speke and preye to our Sauueour,
X. TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN, THE MOTHER OF GOD.

pat he me sende swich grace & fauour,
pat al the hete of brennyng Leccherie
He qwenche in me, blessid maiden Marie!

[5]
O blessid lady / the cler light of day!
Temple of our lord / and roote of al goodnesse!
pat by prayers wypest cleene away
The filthes of our synful wikkidnesse,
Thyn hand foorth putte / & holpe my distresse,
And fro temptacioun deliure me
Of wikkid thoght / thurgh thy benignitee,

[6]
So pat the wil fulfild be of thy sone,
And pat of the holy goost he menlumynye.
Preye for vs, as ay hath be thy wonne!
Lady / alle swiche emprises been thyne.
Swich an aducatrice, who can dyuyne,
As thow / right noon / ourgreeues to redresse:
In thy refuyt is al our sikirnesse.

[7]
Thow shapen art by goddes ordenance,
Mene for vs, flour of humilitee:
Ficche pat, lady, in thy remembrance,
Lest our fo, the feend, thurgh his sotilte,
pat in awayt lyth for to cacche me,
Me overcome with his treecherie.
Vn-to my soules helthe thow me gye!

[8]
Thow art the way of our Redempcioun,
For cryst of thee hath deyned for to take
Fleshe and eek blood / for this entencioun,
Vp on a crois to die for our sake:
His precious death made the feendes qwake,
And cristen folk for to reioisen euere.
From his mercy / helpe / vs we nat disseuere!

qwenche all lust in me!
Deliver me from wicked thoughts!
Pray for us, as thou art wont!
Guide me to my soul's health!
Let us not depart from His mercy!
TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN, THE MOTHER OF GOD.

Tendrely remembre on the wo & peyne
pat thou souffrist in his passioun,
Whan watir & blood, out of thyne yen twyneyne,
For sorwe of him, ran by this cheekes doun!
And syn thou knowest pat the enchesoun
Of his deeth was / for to saue al man kynde,
Modir of mercy, pat haue in thy mynde!

Wel oughthen we thee worshipping & honoure,
Pales of Cryst / flour of virginitie!
Syn vp on thee / was leid the charge & cure,
The lord to bere, of heuene & eerthe & see,
And alle thynges pat thon yyne be.
Of heuene knyng, thow art predestinat
To hele our soules of hir seek estat.

Thy maidens wombe, in which our lord lay,
Thy tetes / whiche him yaf to sowke also
To our sauynge / be they blessed ay!
The birthe of Cryst / our thraldom putte vs fro,
Ioye & honour / be now & eueremo
To him and thee / pat vn-to libertee,
Fro thraldam, han vs qwit / blessid be yee!

By thee, lady, y-makid is the peas
Betwixt Angels and men / it is no doute.
Blessid be god, pat swich a modir chees!
Thy gracious bountee spredith al aboute.
Thogh pat oure hertes steerne been, & stoute,
Thow to thy sone canst be swich a mene,
That outh our giltys he foryeueth clene.

Paradys yates opned been by thee,
And broken been the yates eek of helle!
By thee / the world restored is pardee!
Of al vertu / thow art the spryng & welle!
By thee, al bountee / shortly for to telle,
In heuene & eerthe, by thyn ordenance
Parformed is / our soules sustenance!

[14]

Now, syn thow art of swich auctoritee,
Lady pitous, virgyne wemmelees,
Pat our lord god nat list to werne thee
Of thy requeste / I wot wel / doutelees
Than spare nat / forth thee to putte in prees
To preye for vs, Crystes modir deere!
Benygneuely wole he, thyn axyng heere.

[15]

Apostle, and freend familier of Cryst,
And his y-chosen virgyne / seint Ion /
Shynynge apostle / & euangelyst,
And best beloved among hem echon!
With our lady, preye I thee to been oon,
Pat vn-to Cryst shal for vs alle preye:
Do thus for vs / Crystes derlyng, I seye!

[16]

Marie & Ion, heuenely gemmes tweyne!
O lightes two, shynynge in the presence
Of our lord god / now do your bysi payne
To wasshe away our cloudeful offense,
So pat we mowen make resistence
Ageyn the feend / & make him to bewaile
Pute your preyers may so moche auaille.

[17]

Yee been the two, I knowe verraily,
In which the fadir god gan ediffe
(By his sone oonlygeten specially)
To him an hows / wheriore I to yow crye,
'Beeth leches of our synful maladie!
Preyeth to god / lord of misericorde,
Oure olde giltes / pat he nat recorde!'
XI. TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, REGENT OF FRANCE.

[18]

Be our protection!

'Be yee ours help and ours proteccion,
Syn, for merrit of your virginitee,
The priviledge of his dileccion
In yow confermed god, vp on a tree
Hangyng' / and vn-to oon of yow seide he
Right in this wyse / as I reherce can,
"Beholde! heers, lo / thy sone, womman!"'

[19]

'And to pat othir / "heer thy modir, lo!"
Than preye I thee / pat for the greet swettenesse
Of the hy loue / pat god, twixt yow two,
With his mowth made / and of his noblesse
Coniyned hath yow / thurgh his blisfulness,
As modir and sone, helpe vs in our neede!
And, for our gitles, make oure hertes bleede!

[20]

Vn-to yow tweyne / I my soule commende,
O Mary and John,
Marie and Iohn, for my sauvacioun!
Helpith me pat I may my lyf amende!
Helpith now / pat the habitacioun
Of the holy goost, our recreacioun,
Be in myn herte now and eueremore!
And of my soule / wassehe away the sore! Amen!

[leaf 87, back]

To the Duke of Bedford, I pre-

Vn-to the rial egles excellence,
I, humble Clerc, with al hertes humblesse,
This book ¹ presente / & of your reuerence
Byseeche I pardon and foryeuuenesse,
bat, of myn ignorance & lewdenesse,
Nat haue I write it in so goodly wyse
As pat me oghte vn-to your worthynesse.
Myn yen / hath customized byssynesse
So daswed / bat I may no bet souffyse.

[2]
I dreede lest bat my maister Massy,
bat is of fructuous intelligence,
Whan he beholdith how vnconnyngly
My book is metrid / how raw my sentence
How feoble eek been my colours: his prudence
Shal sore encombrid been of my folie;
But yttruste I / bat his beneuolence
Compleyne wole myn insipien
Secretly / & what is mis / rectifie.

[3]
Thow book¹ / by licence of my lordes grace,
To thee speke I / and this I to thee seye:
I charge thee / to shewe thow thy face
Beforn my seid Maistir / & to him preye
On my behalue / bat he peise and weye
What myn entente is, bat I speke in thee,
For rethorik hath hid fro me the keye
Of his tresor / nat deyneth hir nobleye
Dele with noon so ignorant as me!

Cest tout.

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

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

[XII.]

[Balade to my Lord the Chancellor.]

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

[1]

My Lord, do  

Fadir in god, benigne and reuerent,  

My lord the Chancellor / with al humblesse  

I, your servaunt at your commandement,  

Byseeche vn-to your excellent noblesse,  

dot my patente bere may witnesse  

That myne arrages been granted me:  

Right as your staf / your warant wole expresse /  

Byseeche I, y, yow so my patente be.  

[2]

You've always  

I truste in yow / for euere or this han yee  

Be my good lord / and now to stynte / I gesse,  

Applied is nat your benignete,  

Specially / syn my poore symptesse  

Nat hath offendid your hy worthynesse  

Wityngly; but myn herte is euere bent  

To sheete at yow good wil / in soothfastnesse,  

Ther-in am I ful hoot & ful fervent.  

[3]

[leaf 28, back]  

Do bare me  

O my lord gracious, wyse, and prudent!  

To me, your Clerc / beeth of your grace free!  

Let set now cachet a lust and a talent  

Me to haue in your fauour & cheerteet.  

Ther-on wayte I / I wayte on your bountee,  

That to so manye han shewid gentillesse.  

Let me¹ no stepchylde been / for I am he  

That hope haue in yow, confort & gladnesse.  

Cest tout.

¹ MS. me be.
XIII. BALADE AND ROWNDEL TO MAISTER SOMER.

[XIII.]

Cestes Balade & chaceon ensuyantes verrent fera a mon Meistre M. Somer, quant il estoit Souztresorer.¹

[Written between Michaelmas and Christmas, 1407 (1). In 5-measure eights, abab, bcbc.]

[1]

The Sonne, with his bemes of brightnesse,  The sun that nourishes man
To man so kyndly is, & norissbynge, 4
bat lakkyng it / day nere but dirknesse:
To day he yeueth his enlumynynge,
And causith al fruyt for to wexe & sprygne:
Now, syn bat sonne² may so moche ausiH, 8
And moost with Somer is his soiournynge,
That sesoun bounteous we wole assaiH.

[2]

Glad cheerid Somer / to your gournaille
And grace / we submittle al our willynge! 9
To whom yee frendly been / he may nat faille
But he shall haue his resonable axnyge:
Aftir your good lust, be the sesonynge
Of our fruytes / this laste Mighelmesse,
The tyme of yeer was of our seed ynnynge,
The lak of which / is our greet heuynesse.

[3]

We truste vp-on your frendly gentillesse,
Ye wole vs helpe / and been our suppo[rt]aille. 17
Now yeue vs cause ageyn this cristemesse
For to be glad / o’ lord / whethir our tailes
Shal soone make vs with our shippes saille
To port salut: if yow list / we may synge,

¹ Somer was made a Baron of the Exchequer on Nov. 8, 1408. See him calld Sir Henry Somer, on p. 64.
² MS. senne.
XIII. ROWNDEL TO H. SOMER, SUB-TREASURER.

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

[4]

We & Hocclewe, Baillay, Hethe and Offorde, pray you to get our Salaries paid;

25

We, your servantes, Hoccleue & Baillay, 
Hethe & Offorde, yow beseche & preye, 
'Haasteth our heruest / as soone as yee may!'
For fere of stormes / our wit is awayne;
Were our seed Inned / wel we mighte pleye, 
And vs desporte / & syngge / & make game, 
And yit this roundel shul we syngge & seye 
In trust of yow / & honour of your name. 32

[5]

[Roundel, or Chaceon to Somer.]

[1: Burden.]

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

[2]

Ay thankid be thy frendly gouernance,
And thy glad look, And thy freshe look' of mirthe & of gladnesse! (5) 37
Somer & c (6-8)

[3]

Which cheers all sad folk.

To heuy folk' / of thee the remembruance
Is salue & oynement to hir seeknesse:
For why / we thus shul synge in Cristemesse, (11) 40
Somer & c (12-14.)
Ceste balade ensupante feust mise en le fin du liure del Regiment des Princes.

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

[1]

O litil book / who yaf thee hardynesse
Thy wordes to pronounce in the presence
Of kynges ympe and Princes worthynesse,
Syn thow al nakid art of eloquence?
And why approchist thow his excellence,
Vnclothid, sauf thy kiritl bare also?
I am right seur, his humble pacience
Thee yeueth hardynes to do so.

[2]

But o thyng woot I wel; go wher thow go,
I am so pryuee vn-to thy sentence,
Thow haast, and art / and wilt been eueremo,
To his hynesse of swich benevolence!
Thogh thow nat do him due reuerence
In wordes / thy cheertee nat is the lesse.
And if lust be, to his magnificence,
Do by thy reed / his welthe it shal witnesse!

[3]

Bysseehe him, of his gracious noblesse,
Thee holde excusid of thyn innocence
Of endytynge / and with hertes humblesse,
If any thyng thee passe of negligence,
Bysseehe him of mercy and indulgence,
And pat, for thy good wil / he be nat fo
To thee / pat al seist of loues feruence!
Pat knowith god / whom no thyng is hid fro.

Cest tout.

[XV.]

I Item au Roy, que vieu pardoint!

O King, give us  
Victorious Kyng, our lord ful gracious,
We, humble lige men to your hynesse,
Meekly byseechen yow (o kyng pitous!)
Tender pitee haue on our sharp distresse;

For, but the flood of your rial largesse
Flowe vp on vs / gold hath vs in swich hate,
Put of his loue and cheertee the scantnesse
Wole arte vs three\(^1\) to trotte vn-to Newgate.

Benigne lige lord! o hauene & yate
Of our confort! let your hy worthynesse
Ours indigences softne / & abate!
In yow lyth al / yee may our greef redresse!

The somme \(\text{\textit{pat}}\) we in our bill expresse,
Is nat excessive ne outrageous;

Our long service also berith witnesse,
We han for it be ful laborious.

O lige lord, \(\text{\textit{pat}}\) han be plenteuous
Vn-to your Liges / of your grace algate,

Stynith nat now for to be bounteous
To vs, your servauntz of the olde date!

God woot we han been ay, eerly & late,
Louynge lige men to your noblesse.

Lat nat the strook\(^1\) of indigence vs mate,
O worthy Prince! mirour of provesse!

Cest tout.

---

\(^1\) There were 4: Hoccleve, Baillay, Hethe and Offorde, on p. 60, l. 25-6.
[XVI.]

[Balade to my maister Carpenter.] [In 5-measure sevens, abab, &c.]

[1]
See heer, my maister Carpenter, I yow preye,
How many challenges ageyn me be;
And I may nat deliure hym by no weye,
So me warreyeth coynes scarsetee,
That my Cousin is to necessitee.
For why, vn-to yow seeke I for refut,
Which hat of confort am ny destitut.

[2]
Tho men / whos names I aboue expresse,
Fayn wolden hat they & I euene were:
And so wolde I / god take I to witnesse!
I woot wel, I woot heers / or elles where
Rekne of my dettes / & of hem answere.
Myn herte, for the dreede of god & awe,
Fayn wolde it qwyte / & for constreynt of lawe.

[3]
But, by my trouthe / nat wole it betyde!
And therfore, as faire as I can & may,
With aspen herte / I preye hem abyde,
And me respyte / to sum lenger day.
Some of hem grante / and some of hem seyn ' nay !'
And I so sore ay dreede an aftir clap,
That it me reueth many a sleep & nap.

[4]
If hat it lykid / vn-to your goodnesse,
To be betwixt [hem] and me, swich a mene

1 'Carpenter' is written over an erasure, the original having probably another name, to whose owner it had been sent, as it was doubtless afterwards sent to other monfeul folk. Carpenter was no doubt the famous town-clerk of London (1417-38), its M.P. and benefactor &c., born 1370, died 1441.
Pray keep me out of gaol!  
As pat I mighte kept be fro duresse:  
Myn heuy thoughtes wolde it voide clene.  
As your good plesance is / thi thyng demene!  
How wel pat yee doon / & how soone also,  
I suffre\(^1\) may in qwenchynge of my wo.  
Cest tout.

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XVII. THE COURT OF GOOD COMPANY, TO H. SOMER.

TRANSFER TO CORR. ED.  
(Same shelf no.)  
Edd. Mitchell & Doyle

Ceste balade ensuyante feust, par la Court de bone companiguie, enuoiee a lonure sire Henri Sommer, Chaunceller de lescheuer,\(^2\) & du de la dicte Court.  

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

[on leaf 41, back] Worshipful sir, and our freend special,  
And felawe, in this cas / we calle yow.

Sir Henry, your letter wants us  
Your letre sent vn-to vs / cleerly / al  
We hane red / & vndirstanden how  
It is no wit to your conceit, as now,  
Vse the rule foorth as we been Inne;  
But al an othir rule to beginne:

[leaf 42] Rehercynge how, in the place of honour,  
The Temple / for solace / & for gladnesse,  
Wher as nat ogthe said been erroor  
Of ouer mochil waast or of excessse,  
First wern we fowndid to vse largesse  
In our dispenses / but for to exceede  
Reson / we han espyed / yee nat beede.  

\(^1\) It's 'souffre' before, p. 50, l. 20; 54, l. 58, and at 68, l. 51.  
\(^2\) He was to come and preside at the Court's dinner on the Thursday following, May 1.
Yee allegge eek' / how a rule hath be kept
Or this / which was good / as yee haue herd seyn;
But it now late / ceased hath, & slept;
Which good yow thynkith / were vp take ageyn:
And but if it so be / our Court certeyn,
Nat likly any whyle is to endure;
As hath in mowthe, many a creature.

Also, that we were once moderate,
and we ought to be so again,
and have no outrageous waste.

Vn-to pat ende, .vj*. shippes grete,¹
To yeeue vs han yee grauntid & behight,
To bye ageyn our dyner, flour or whete;
And besyde it / as reson wole, & right,
Pael your lagh / as dooth an othir wight,
pat by mesure rulith him, and gyeth,
And nat as he / whom outrage maistrieth.

You've promist to give us 6 great Nobles to buy flour or wheat, and pay your score too.

And, if we'll not alter our new fashion, you'll dine with us on the 1st of May.

¹ The great Noble of Edward III. stampt with a ship, in which he sat, bearing his shield on his left arm, and his sword in his right hand, was issued in 1344, in honour of his naval victory over the French, off Sluys, on Midsummer Day 1340. Its worth was 6s. 8d. The Ship lasted thro' all our Kings to the early days of Q. Elizabeth. The half-Noble also had the Ship; the quarter-Noble, not. See Ruding, p. 219.
And to kepe it / yee woile be reedy:
This is theeffect of your letre soothly.

We answer:
To the whiche, in this wyse we answere:
Excesse for to do / be yee nat bownde,
Ne noon of vs / but do as we may bere:
Vp-on swich rule, we nat vs ne grownde.

The you're not bound to beextravagant.
Yee been discreet / thoght yee in good habownde
Dooth as yow thinkith for your honestee!
Yee, and we alt, arn at our libertee.

[7]

The you've plenty of money do as you think proper!
At our laste dyner / wel knownen yee
By our Stywardes limitacioun,
(As costume of our Court axith to be,)
And ay at our congregacion
Oberued / left al excusacion,

[8]

At our last Dinner
Warned yee wern / for the dyner arraye
Ageyn thorsday next, & nat it delaye.

[9]

you wer warned to provide dinner for next Thursday.
Pray don’t let us go without our dinner!
Be yow nat holde aysid in swich wyse
As for to make vs destitut, pat day,
Of our dyner / take on yow pat empryse,
If your lust be / dryueth excesse away.
Of wyse men / mochil / folk! lerne may:
Discrecion mesurth euery thyng:
Despende aftir your plesance & lykyng!

[10]

Put down excess, if you like!
Be a pattern to us,
Ensaumploth vs / let seen / & vs miroure;
As pat it seemeth good to your prudence,
Reule pat day / for the thank’ shall be youre;
Dooth as yow list be drawe in consequence; ¹
We trusten in your wys experience;
But keepith wel your tourn / how so befallle,
On thorsday next / on which we awayte alle.

Cest tout.

¹ Have as much wine drawn as you think fit.
Ceste balade ensuyante feust translatee
au commandement de mon Meistre
Robert Chichele.

[In 5-measure eights, abab, bcbe.]

[1]
A s pat I walkid in the monthe of May
Besyde a grove in an heuy musynge,
Flores dyuerse I sy, right freshe and gay,
And briddes herde I eek lustyly synge,
pat to myn herte yaf a confortynge.
But euere o thoght me stang vn-to the herte,
pat dye I sholde / & hadde no knowynge
Whanne, ne whidir, I sholde hennes sterte.

[2]
Thynkynge thus / byfore me I say
A crois depeynted with a fair ymage.
I thoghte I nas but ashes and foul clay :
Lyf passith as a shadwe in euery age ;
And my body yeueth no better wage
Than synne / which the soule annoyeth sore.
I preyde god / mercy of myn outrage,
And shoop me / him to offende no more.

[3]
On god to thinke / it yeueth a deylt,
Wel for to doon / & froo synne withdrawe ;
But for to putte a good deede in respyt /
Harmeth / swich delay is nat worth an hawe.
Wolde god, by my speeche and my sawe,
I mighte him and his modir do plesance,

[leaf 44, back]
AN ENGLISH BALADE TO THE VIRGIN AND CHRIST.

And, to my meryt, folwe goddes lawe,
And of mercy, housbonde a purreance!  

Mother of Jesus!
1 Modir of Ithesu, (verray god and man,
Dat by his deeth / victorie of the feend gat,)
Haue it in mynde / thow blessid womman,
For the wo / which vn-to thy nerte sat
In thy sones torment / forgeete it nat!

Grant me grace to be virtuous!
Grante me grace / to vertu me take,  
Synne despyse, & for to hate al that
That may thy sone & thee displeased make!

Jesus, with
Mercyful lord Ithesu / me heere, I preye,
Dat right vnkynde / & fals am vn-to thee!
I am right swich; I may it nat withsye.

contrite heart I crave thy pity!
With salte teeres craue I thy pitee,
And herte contryt / mercy haue on me
Dat am thy recreant caytif traitour!
By my dissertes, oghte I dampned be;
But ay thy mercy heetith me socour.

Lady, I trust by thy prayers to be saved.
Lady benigne / our souereyn refuyt!
Seur trust haue I, to han, by thy prayeere,
Of strength / & confort, so vertuous fruyt,

That I shal sauf be, Crystes modir deere!
My soules ship, gouerne thow, & steere!
Let me nat slippe out of thy remembrance,
Lest, whan dat I am rype vn-to my beere,
The feend me assaille, & haue at the outryne.

Lord, I thank thee who diest for my guilt!
To thanke thee, lord / hyly holde I am,
For my gilt / nat for thy nerte / dat woldest die,
Who souffred euere swich a martirdam.
Yit thy deeth gat of the feend the maistric,

1 This begins the alternate stanzas to the Virgin and Christ.
2 To betake myself to Virtue.
XVIII. AN ENGLISH BALADE TO THE VIRGIN AND CHRIST. 69

And pat, al kynde of man may testifie.
O! blessid be thy loue charitable,
pat list so deere our synful soules bie,
To make vs sauf / wher we weren damnable. 56

[8]

Now thy socour / o Heuenes Emperice,
Fro me, wrecche, torne thow nat thy face!
Ther as I deepe wrappid am in vice,
Gretter neede haue I / thyn help to purchace!
Vn-to the souerain leche, preye of grace,
pat he my wowndes / vouchesauf to cure,
So pat the seend my soule nat embrace,
Al thogh I haue agilt ouer mesure. 64

[9]

Wel oghten we thee thanke, gracious lord,
pat thee haast humbled, for to been allied
To vs! auctour of pees and of concord,
On the crois was thy skin in-to blood died!
Allas! why haue I me to synne applied?
Why is my soule encombrid so with synne?
Lord, in al pat I haue me mis gyed,
Foyeue / & of my trespas wole I blynne. 72

[10]

Lady / wardeyn of peple fro ruyne,
pat sauedest Theoffe and many mo!
Of thy grace, myn herte enlumyne!
For, as I trowe, & woot it wel also,
Thy might is me to warishe of my wo.
Of thy benigne sone, mercy craue,
Of pat forueyed haue I, & mis go.
His wil is thy / my soule keepe & saue!

[11]

Lord Ihesu Cryst / I axe of thee pardoun!
I yilde me to thee, lord souereyn!
My gilt confesse I / lord / make vnioun
Betwixt thee & my soule / for in veyn

Blessed be Thy love!
Empress of Heaven, turn not thy face from me!
Gracious Lord, forgive me, and I will stop my sin.
Lady, illumine my heart!
Crave mercy of thy Son!
Lord Jesus, confess my guilt. Unite my soul to Thine!
My tyme haue I despendid in certeyn.
Some of the dropes of thy precious blood
\( \frac{\text{pat the crois made as weet as is the reyn,}}{\text{Despande on me, lord merciable & good!}} \)

\[ 12 \]

Lady! \( \frac{\text{pat clept art 'modir of mercy,'}}{\text{Noble saphir'} to me \text{pat am ful lame}} \)
Of vertu, and am ther-to enemy,
Thy welle of pitee, in thy sones name,
Lete on me flowe / to pourge my blame,
Lest in to Despeir \( \text{pat I slippe & falle!} \)
For my seurtee to keepe me fro blame,
Of pitee, mirour, I vn-to thee calls!

\[ 13 \]

Synne, \( \text{pat is to euer} \) vertu fo,
Betwixt god & me / maad hath swich debat,
\( \text{pat my soule is damnyd for eueremo,} \)
But if \( \text{pat mercy / which hath maad thacat} \)
Of mannes soule, \( \text{pat was violat} \)
By likerous lust & disobedience,
For which our lord Ihesu was incarnat,
Me helpe make the feend resistence!

\[ 14 \]

Lady, let not
\( \frac{\text{pat art of grace spryng & sours,}}{\text{Port in peril / solas in heuynesse!}} \)
Of thy wont bontee, keepe alway the cours!
Lat nat the feend, at my deeth oppresse!
Torne the crois to me, noble Princesse,
Which vn-to eueri soor is the triacle!
Thogh my dissert be naght / of thy goodnesse,
Ageyn the feendes wrenches, make obstacle!

\[ 15 \]

Lord, on thy grace & pitee / myn herte ay
Awaitith / to purchase thy mercy.

\[ \text{leaf 46} \]

Allas! I caytif / wel I mourne may,
Syn the feend serued often sythe haue y.
It reewith me / do with me graciously, 120 Keep me from the Devil's snares!
For I purpose to stynte of my synnes. 121 Blessed Virgin,
What ageyn thee / mis take hath my body,
My soule kepe fro the feendes gymmes!

[16]

Blessid virgyne, ensample of al vertu, 121 Blessed Virgin,
pat peere hast non / of wommanhode flour!
For the louse of thy sone, our Lord Thereu,
Strengthe vs to doon him servise & honour! 124 strengthen us to serve Christ!
Lady! be mene vn-to our Sauueour,
pat our soules pat the feend waytith ay
To hente / & wolde of hem be possessour,
Ne sese hem nat in the vengeable day! 128

[17]
The fleesh / the world / & eek! the feend my fo, 129
My wittes alle han at hir retenance:
They to my soule doon annoy & wo.
For why, Lord, dreede I me of thy vengeance. 132 Lord, lift my soul to blisse!
With mercy, my soule in-to blisse enhance!
Worthy marchant! saue thy marchandie,
Which pat thow boghtest with dethes penance!
Lat nat the feend haue of vs the maistrie!

[18]
Excellent lady! in thy thought impresse 137 [leaf 46, back]
Lady, pray thy Child to save us from the Devil's net!
How & why thy chylde souffred his tormente!
Preye him to haue on vs swich tendrenesse,
pat in the feendes net we be nat hent!
At the day of his steerne iugement,
Lat nat him leesse pat he by deeth boghte!
I woot wel / ther-to hath he no talent:
Mynge him ther-on / for thee so to doon / oghte!

[19]
When in a man, synne growth & rypith, 144
The fruyt of it is ful of bittirnesse;
But penitence cleene away it wypith,
And to the soule yeueth greet sweytnesse.

Whan in a man, synne growth & ryppeth,
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

O Christ the Judge,
Mix Mercy with thy Judgment!

O steerne Iuge / with thy rightwisnesse,
Medle thy mercy / and shewe vs favoure!
Vu-to our soules, mad to thy likenesse,
Graunte pardoun of our stynkyng error!

O Queen,

O glorious qween / to the repentaunt
\textit{but} art refuyt / socour and medecyne!
Lut nat the foule feend make his auaunt,
\textit{but} he hath thee byreft any of thyne!

pray for us, and

[leaf 47]

Thurgh thy prayers, thow thy sone enclyne
His merciable grace / on vs to reyne!
Be tendre of vs / o thow blissid virgyne!

bring us to bliss!

For if thee list / we shuyn to blissye atteyne.

\text{Cest tout.}

[End of the Phillipps MS.]

[[Fairfax MS. 16 (Boll. Lib. about 1430-40), leaf 40.]

\texttt{1} \textit{Letter Cupidinis, dei Amatoris,} \texttt{2} \textit{directa subditis suis amatoribus.}\texttt{1}

[ concealed under 'Cupidit.']

\textit{[Hocclyffe (in Stone's hand).]}

\texttt{[In 68 five-measure sevens, ababb, &c.]}

[1]

\texttt{1} Cupido\textsuperscript{3} / Vu-to whos\textsuperscript{4} comandement
the gentil kynred\textsuperscript{7} / of goddis \textsuperscript{8} an hy,\textsuperscript{5}
And pepill infernal / ben obedient,
And mortel folke al / serven besely,
\textsuperscript{6} The goddesse sone / Sythera soothly,\textsuperscript{6}
to al[le] thoo / that to our dytey
greet my subjects. ben sugetes\textsuperscript{7} / hertly gretyng sende we!

\textit{1–1 The Lettre of Cupide, god of Love, B (Bodley MS. 638, leaf 38 bk.)}
\textit{2 Amoris T. (Tanner MS. 346, ff. 41).} \textit{3 Cupide B.} \textit{4 quhos S.} (But few of the after variations of spelling are given.) \textit{5–8} oonly S. (MS. Arch. Seld. B. 24, ff. 211 bk.) \textit{4–8} of the . . . oonly F, The goddesse Cithera soñ sothly S. \textit{7 subditis S.}
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

[2]

In general, we ¹wol[en] / that ye knowe,¹
that ladies of honour / and reverence,
and other gentil wymen / ²havent sowe²
²suche seed of³ compleynt / in our audience,
of men ⁴that do hem⁴ / outrage and offence,
that yt oure eeres greueth / for⁵ to here ;
so pitouse is theaffecte / of this⁶ materie.

[3]

⁷Passyng al londes / on the litel⁷ Ile
that cleped ys albyon⁸ / they most compleyn⁸ :
⁹they seye, that there⁹ ys / crompe and rote of gile :
¹⁰soo konne the men / dyssymule[n]¹⁰ and feyn¹¹
with stondyng dropes / on her eyen twynye,¹²
When that her herles / felth no distresse,
to blynden women / wyth her doublenesse.

[4]

¹³Her wordes spoken ben / so syghnygly,¹³
wyth so pitouse ¹⁴chere / and contynaucne,¹⁴
that euery wyght / that meneth tru[s]ly,
Demeth ¹⁵that they in hert / haue suche¹⁵ greuance.
they sey, so importable / ys her penauncce,
that but her lady / lust to schew hem grace.
they ryghtº anoone / [mote]¹⁶ sterven in the place.

[5]

"A, lady myn," they sey / "I yowe ensure,
¹⁷as doth¹⁷ me grace / and I shal ever be—
while that my lyfe / may last[en]¹⁸ and endure—
to yow as humble / and lowe in eek degre
as possible ys / and kepe al thing¹⁹ secre

¹-⁵ will that know ye S. ²-⁵ have we S. ³-⁵ Herd the trew S. ⁴-⁵ that domez thamne S: F reads wymen, as this MS. ⁶-⁵ so S. ⁷-⁵ thare S. ⁸-⁵ And passid all ye boundis of ye S. ⁹-⁵ thare S. ¹⁰-⁵ Thai seyn thare In S. ¹¹-¹⁵ So can thir mei dissvmilen S. ¹²-¹⁵ seyn B. ¹³-¹⁵ In thare syne twyne S; in, Speght 1602. ¹⁴-¹⁵ Thir wordis ben spoken generally S. ¹⁶-¹⁵ a chere and countenanc S. ¹⁷-¹⁵ In hert that thal haue high S. ¹⁸-¹⁵ S inserts most; Speght "must." ¹⁷-¹⁸ ye do S. ¹⁹-¹⁸ lesten S. ²⁰ thing A (Ashburnham MS) S, thing as F. ²¹ S omits as.
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

ryght as youre seluen 1 lyst[e] / that I do;
and elles myn 2 herte 3 / mote brest a-two." 35

[6]

But it's hard to know a man's heart.

full herd 4 yt is 4 to know / a manys hert;
for outwarde may 5 no man 5 / the trouthe deme;
6 when worde out of his mouth / may non astert;
but 7 yt by resoun semed / evry wight to 7 queme;
so is hit seyde 8 of hert / as hit wolde sem.

O 9 feythful woman / ful of 10 Innocence,
thou arte deceyved / be fals apparence!

[7]

Women are deceived by false appearance.

By processe 12 moveth / oft woman 12 pite:
wenyng al 12 thing were / as [pat] thiste 14 men sey,
they graunte hem grace / of hir benignite,
for that men shulde nat / for her sake 16 dey;
and with good hert[e] / set hem in the wey
of blesful loue / kepe yt yt they 16 konne:
thus other while 17 women beth y-wonne.

[8]

Women believe men, and grant 'em favours to save their lives.

And when the man has possession of the woman,
he runs after any other in the town,
Curse him!

And whann this man / the 18 pot hath be 18 the stele,
and fully is / in his possessyon,
with that woman / kepeth he not 19 to dele
after, yif he may / fynde[n] 20 in the town
any woman / his blynde affecson.

On 21 to bestowe[n] / euel 22 mote he preve!
a man, for al his 23 othes / is herde to leve 23

[9]

And for that evry fals man / hath a make,
(as vn-to evry wight / is lyght to knowe,)

1 selfe Sp., selfe F. seluen S. 2 that myn S. 3 herte Sp., hert F. 4-4 Is It S. 5 no S. 6-7 Quahañ word may noñ out of his mouth stert S. 7-7 it be resouñ any wight shuld S. 8-8 So It is S. B. 9 A S. 10 of Sp., om. F. 11 Stanzas 7-16. These verses are omitted in the Digby MS. 12-12 woman movit of S. of T also. 13 that all S. 14 om. S. 15-15 That they schul not for thare loue S. 16 he F. they S. ye F. 17 This oth quhilib S. And thus o. w. F. 18-18 the pot hath by A S. penne F. 19 more F. 20-20 After yat . . funder S. 21 On A, vn F. 22 foule S. 23-25 oth . . lene A S. belene F.
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

when this traytoure / this woman hath for-sake,
he¹ fast[e] spedeth him¹ / vn-to his felowe:
til he be there / his hert ys on a lowe;
hys fals decest ² [ne] may him not² suffice,
but of hys treson⁴ / telleth al³ the wise.⁴

[10]

Ys this a faire avaunte / is this honoure?¹
a man him sylfe ² accuse / thus, and diffame?⁵
³[Now] ys it good / confesse him⁶ / a traytoure,
and bringe a woman / to [a]⁷ sclaundrous name,
and tel⁸ how he hir body / hathe do shame?⁹
No worshippe ⁹ may he thus / to him⁹ conquer,⁴
¹⁰ but grete esclaundre¹⁰ / vn-to him and here!

[11]

¹¹[Vn] To hir ¹² name yet / was¹² yt no reprefe,
for, al for vertu / was [it]¹³ that she wroghtt⁶;
but he that brewed hath¹⁴ / al this myschefe,
that speke so faire / and falsly¹⁵ inward thoughtt;¹⁶
his be the sclaundre / as yt be reson⁰ oght⁶;
and vn-to hir / [a] thank¹⁷ perpetuel,
that in a nede¹⁸ / ¹⁹ helpe can¹⁹ so wel!¹⁷

[12]

²⁰ Al-thogh of men, thorgh slayghté / and sotilte,²⁰
a sely symple / and Innocent²¹ woman
²² betrayed ys / no wondre, sith the²² cyte
of Troye / (as [pat] the storye telle²³ can)
be-trayed was / thorgh the²⁴ disc eyt of man,

¹—¹ spedith him fast S (spedeth = spedth). ²—² ne / may nat him S. ³ at S.
⁴ gwyce T. ⁵—⁶ accuseñ & defame S. ⁶—⁷ Now Is it good confesse him S, ys it g. c. h. selfe F. ⁷ In a S, B om. ⁸ say S. ⁹—⁹ thus he may him self S.
¹⁰—¹⁰ Bot gett a scander S, disclauuer Sp. T. ¹¹ St. 11-16 are st. 1 to 6 in the Digby MS. ¹²—¹² name þhit is D, nay yet was F, nay B T, na S. ¹³ om. T. ¹⁴ om. S. ¹⁵ so falsy D. ¹⁶ wrot S. ¹⁷ a thank S. ¹⁸ nede D, rede F, in soch a need Sp. ¹⁹—¹⁹ can helpeñ meñ S. ²⁰—²⁰ Allithough that meñ by slicht & subtëtæ S, of men D, men F, through mens Sp. ²¹ Ignorant A S. ²²—²² Betrayse no wonder Is, señ ye S ²³ tel F D, tell Sp., tellen S. ²⁴ om. D.
and set on fire / and [al] dwayne ouer-throwe,  
and fynaly dystroyed / as men knowe.  

[13]

3 Betraied men not / Citees grete, and kynges?  
what wyght is yt / that kan shape remedye  
7 ayens these falsely / purposed things  
who can the crafte / suche craftes to esype,  
but 10 man, whos wytte / is ouer redy to alyse  
to 11 thynge that 12 sovnethe / in to [hy] 13 falshehe  
Women, beth ware / of 13 menys sleight, 13 I rede!  

[14]

And furthermore / han these 14 men in vsege,  
that, 15 where [as] 16 they / not lykly ben 17 to 16 sped,  
suche as [they] 18 ben / with a double visage  
they procuren 19 / for to purswe her ned;  
he prayeth him, in his cause / to procede,  
and largely 20 guerdoneth / he his 20 trauaylle:  
lytell wote 21 wommen / how men hem 22 assaylle!  

[15]

Another wretched / vnto his felowe seythe:  
'though fishest fayre / she that the hath fired,  
ys fals and 23 inconstant / and hath no feythe!  
she, 24 for the rode of folke / ys so desired, 24  
and 25 as an hors / fro day to day ys hired,  
that whow twynnest / fro hir companye,  
another cometh / and blered ys thyn ye!  

[16]

'I Now prikke ond fast / and ride thy journey  
while thou art there / for she, behinde thy bake,  

1 a S.  2 all S Sp.  3-5 men D, Betray not men B F S T.  4 realms S.  5 hit B, om. S.  6 a r. S.  7-7 Agayne falsely porposyd T, these falsy Sp., falsy D, false hid S.  8 castes S.  9 aspie D, espy Sp., spye F.  10-10 yt Is quho reddy ay Is S.  11 In S.  12-13 sowning is to Sp., is sownynge T, vnto hie S, into hy A.  13-13 false men Sp.  14 ethir S.  15 T inserts as, where as A.  14-16 quhare thai bene not likly for to S.  17 are D.  18 as D, as they B F Sp., where as T, as that S.  19 S inserts men.  20-20 to guerdoun their S.  21 know S.  22 men hem D Sp., men F.  23 om. S.  24-24 for hir fude of folk Is so disirit S., desered F.  25 That S.
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

so lyberal ys / she wol no wyght\(^1\) with-sey, but amerly of another / take a snake;\(^2\) for thus thes wommen / faren, al the pake; who so hem trusteth / hanged mot he be! ay\(^3\) they desyren chaunge / and nouelte!'

\(^{110}\) she'll take a snack with some one else,
\(^{112}\) as women like change.

[17]

\(^4\) Wherof procedeth this / but of envye? for he him selfe / hyre ne wynne\(^5\) may, he speketh hir reprefe / and vileyny\(^6\), as mannens blabbyng\(^6\) tong / ys wont alway: thus dyuers men / ful \(^7\)often make\(^7\) assay for to \(^8\)distourben folke / in sondry\(^8\) wyse, for they may not / acheven\(^9\) her empryse.

\(^{113}\) When a man can't win a woman, he abuses her.

\(^{117}\) Tho' everyone knows his lady refused him,
\(^{119}\) he begins to lie about her.

[18]

fful many a man\(^10\) \(^11\)eke / wolde\(^11\) for no good, (that hath \(^12\)in lour / his tyme\(^12\) spent and vsed,) Men wyste\(^13\) his lady,\(^13\) his axyon\(^14\) withstood, and\(^15\) that he\(^16\) were / of hyr pleynly\(^16\) refused, or wast and\(^17\) \(^18\)veyn, wer / al that he had\(^18\) mused; wherfore he can / no better\(^19\) remedye, but on\(^20\) his lady / shapith him to lye.

\(^{120}\) Tho' everyone knows his lady refused him,
\(^{123}\) he begins to lie about her.

[19]

' Every womman,' he sayth / 'ys lyght to gete, (kan noon sey nay) / if she be wol I-soght':\(^21\) who so may\(^22\) han leyser\(^22\) / with her\(^23\) to trete,

\(^{127}\) He says any woman can be got if she's well courted.

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\(^1\) nothing Sp.  \(^2\) smacks Sp.  \(^3\) Euer Sp.  \(^4\) The collations markt D are from the Digby MS. 131, in the Bodleian Library. This MS. begins the poem with stanzas 11—16 of the Ashburn. version. It then has stanzas 7—16 the same as 17—26 here, then leaves out stanzas 7—10, then takes as its stanzas 17—26 the Ashb. 37-9, 50-6, and after that runs with the Fairfax, its stanzas 37—58 corresponding with Fairfax 47—68. See p. 92 below.  \(^5\) wennen S.  \(^6\) blabbyng D Sp., babbyng St. B, labbing S T.  \(^7\) of will mak S.  \(^8\) distrouble folk on sunder S: distourble T.  \(^9\) haue D, obtaine Sp.  \(^10\) Many one Sp.  \(^11\)—\(^11\) wolde eko D, wald eke S.  \(^12\)—\(^12\) his tyme in love D.  \(^13\)—\(^13\) that sithe S.  \(^14\) askyng D.  \(^15\) Ere Sp.  \(^16\)—\(^16\) war planly of hir S.  \(^17\) or S.  \(^18\)—\(^18\) vayn att that he had D A, . . . hath F.  \(^19\) none other Sp.  \(^20\) onely T.  \(^21\) sought D.  \(^22\)—\(^22\) leisur haue D, leiser haue Sp., leyser haue T.  \(^23\) thame S.
of his purpose / ne1 shal he faile noght,
but he ow maddyng2 / be so depe ybrught3,
that he6 shende al / with open homelynesse,4
5 that louen wymmen / nat as that, I gesse.' 133

[20]
To sclaunder women / thus, what may profyte? 134
too gentils6 namely / that 7 hem armen sholde,7
and in8 defence of wommen / hem delyte,
9 as that9 the orde / of gentilesse10 wolde :
yf that a man / lyst gentil to be holde,
he 11 moot flee al11 that / ther-to ys contrarye :
a sclaundryng12 tong / is his grete aduersarye.18

[21]
A foule thing14 ys / of tonge to be lyght; 141
for who so mychel15 clappeth16 / gabbeth ofte.
the tonge of17 men17 so 18 swyft17 ys / and so18 wyght,
that when it is areysed / vp on19 loft, resoun yt seweth19 / so slowly and softe,
that it20 him neuer / ouer-take may :
lord ! so thise men / bethi trusty in asay !

[22]
Al-be-hyt that man21 fynde / o22 woman nyce, 148
In-constant, reccheles / or varriable,
23 Deynouse, or proude23 / fulfilled of malice,
Wythouten24 feyth or love / and deceyvable,
25 sly, queynt, and fals25 / in al vnthrif25 coupable, 152
Wikked, and feers / and27 ful of cruelte,
yt foloweth nat28 / that swich,29 al wommen be. 154

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XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

[23]
When that the high god / Aungels formed had, a-monge hem al[le] / wheither ther were noon that founden was / malicious and bad?
Yis! al men woot / that ther was many oon, that for hir pride / fil² from heven anoon:
³shul men therfore / al Aungels, proude name?
Nay! he that that⁴ susteneth / is to blame.

[24]
Of twelve apostels, oon⁴ / a traytour was:
the remenant, yit / good[e] were and triwe.
than⁵, yf it happe / men fynde[n], per caas,⁶ oo⁷ womman fals / swich⁸ is good for⁹ to eschiwe, and deme nat¹⁰ that they¹¹ / ben al[le] vntrewe!
I se¹² wel / mennes owne¹³ fals[e]nesse, hem causeth wommen / for to trusten lesse.

[25]
¹⁴O! every man⁴ ought¹⁴ haue / an herte tendre vn-to¹⁵ woman / and deme hir honourable, wheither his shap be / outher thickke or slender,¹⁶ or he be badde or good / this¹⁷ ys no fable.
Every man woot / that witte hath resonable, that of a woman / he descended¹⁸ ys:
than ys yt shame, of hir / to speke amys!

[26]
A wikked tre, gode frute / may noon forth bryng; for swiche¹⁹ the frute ys / as that is the tre.
take hede of whom / thou took thy bygynnyng!
lat thy moder / be Merour vnto the!
honure hir / yf thou wolt honured be!

---
¹-¹ god the his D. ² feftt D. ³-⁴ Shuld me for them yeue Sp. ⁴ that that D, that F. ⁵ So Sp. ⁶ paresa D. ⁷ A D. ⁸ suche D, a soch good is Sp. ⁹ om. B S T. ¹⁰ not D. ¹¹ all S. ¹² S inserts full. ¹³ owne Sp., one F. ¹⁴-¹⁵ Every ought to D. ¹⁶ vnto a Sp. ¹⁷ sklen dre B, sklen dir D. ¹⁸ it Sp. ¹⁹ destended F, descendit S, descended Sp. ²⁰ suche D.
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

Dispise thow hir nat / in no manere,
Lest that ther-by / thy wikkydnesse appere! 182

[27]
An olde proverbe / seyde ys in englyssh:
men seyn 'that brid or foule / ys dyshonest,
what that he be / and holden ful chirlyssh,
that seteth to defoule / his owne neste.'
men, to say wel of wymen / yat is best,
and nat to displesen hem / ne depraua,
yf that they wol hir honour / kepe and saue. 189

[28]
These ladyes eke / compleynen hem on clerkes, 190
that they han made bokes / of hir diffame,
In which dispisen they / woman[e] werkes,
and speken of hem / grete reprefe and shame,
and causeles yiven hem / a wikke name:
thus they dyspysey ben / on eery syde,
and sclaundred, and bylowen / on ful wyde. 196

[29]
Tho sory bokes / maken mensyon
how they betrayden / in especial,
adam, dauid, sampson / and salamon,
and many oon mo / who may rehersen al
the treson / that they haue done and [ay] shal 201
the world hir malice / may not comprehende:
as that thay clerkes seyn / yt hath noon ende.

[30]
Ouyde in his boke / called 'remedy'
of loue / grete reprefe of wommen writeth;
wherin, I trowe, he dide / grete folye,

XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

and euery wyght / that 1 in such case delyteth. 1
a clerkys custome ys / whan he endyteth
of women, be yt prose / or 2 ryme, or vers,
3 seye they 3 ben wikke / al knowe he the revers. 210

[31]
And that boke, scoler / lerne in 4 hir chyldehede, 4
for they of women / 5 be war sholde 6 in age,
and for to 6 louen hem / euer ben 6 in drede,
syn 7 to deceyve / is set al hire 8 corage.
they seyn, 9 perylle / to cast, ys avauntage, 9
10 and namely suche 10 / as men 11 han in be wrapped, 11
for many a man by woman 12 / hath myshapped. 13 217

[32]
14 No charge, whatso / thysse clerkys 14 seyn:
of al hir wrong wryting / I do no cure;
al hir tranayle and labour 15 / ys in veyn,
For, betwex me / and my lady 16 nature,
shal nat 17 be suffred / while the world may dure,
these 18 clerkys / by 19 hir cruel 19 tyranie,
20 thus vpon 20 wymmen / kythen hir maystri.

[33]
Whylom ful mony 21 of hem 22 / wer in my cheyne
y-tyed 23 / and now, what for vnweldy age,
and for vnlust, may not / to love atteyne, 24
and seyn, that love ys / but werry 25 dotage,
26 thus, for that they hem selve 26 / laken corage,
they folke excitn 27 / by hir wykked sawes,
for to rebelle 28 agayn 29 me / and my lawes.

1–1 of suich delitteth S. 2 om. D B. 3–5 To seye ye S. 4–4 ther childhode
D, S om. D B. 5–5 shuld be war S. 5–5 lone thame euir be S, love D. 7 Siuch S.
8 ther D. 9–9 of perel men should cast thauuantage Sp., tast D. 10–10 Namely of such Sp.
11–11 haue in be wrappes B, ben I-wrapped D, be-
wrapped Sp., be-wrappes F. 12 women D S. 13 myshapped D Sp., myshappes
F B. 14–14 Now charge is quhat so thir clerkis S, charge is Sp., howso this B.
15 labour and tr. Sp. S. 16 om. S. 17 not D, nat A S T, noon F. 18 Thus these
Sp. 19–19 out outrageous A. 20–30 on selie Sp. 21 many D, meny B. 22 them D.
24 ycheined S. 24 sustayfie S. 26 very D, veray S. 26–26 Thus for thame selueth
S, siff D. 27 excesses S. 28 reule S. 29 ayens D.

HOOCLEVE, M. P.—I.
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

[34]
But mawgre hem / that blamen wommen most,
suche is the force / of myn impressyon,
that sodenly / I felle can hir bost,
and al hir wrong / ymagynacion;
yt shal not ben / in her elleccion,
the foulest slutte / of al a tovn refuse,
yf that me lyst / for al that they can muse;

[35]
But hir in hert / as brenyngly desire,
as thoght she were / a duchesse or a queene;
so can I folkes hertys / set on fire,
and as me list hem sende / Ioy or tene.
they that to wommen / 'ben ywyhet so kene,
my sharp[e] persyng strokes / how they Smyte,
shul fele, and knowe / and how they kerve and byte.

[36]
Ovid too,
and other
Perde, this grete clerke / this sotil Ouyde,
and mony another / han decayved be
of womwn / as yt knowan ys ful wyde;
Wote no man more / and that is grete deynte,
so excellent a clerk / as that was he,
and other mo that koude / so wel preche,
betrapped wer / for aght they coude teche.

[37]
Women are up to
them and their
And trusteth wel / that yt is no mervayle,
for women knywen / pleynly hir entent;
they wiste how sotly / they koude assayle
hem, and what falsode / they in hert[e] ment;
and this clerkys / they in hir daunger hent;

---

1 is the D Sp., is F. 2-3 sottely y felle T. 4 in all the Sp., ye B. 4 to refuse B. 5 lust D. 6 sem T. 7-7 yhurt S. 8-8 strokis persyng quho ye S. 9-9 ye berñ S. 10 Parde D. 11 om. Sp. 12-12 many D, m. othe other haue S. 13 Wote no mañ S, What no men F. 14 full Sp. 15 ought D. 16 ye F, it Sp. 17-17 knewe full p. S. 18-18 y... thair hert S. 19-19 thus they clerkes Sp., haue for they S.
with oo venym / another was distroyed;

and thus thise clerkes / often were anoyed. 259

[38]

These ladyes ne thise gentils / nevertheless,
were noon of tho / that wroghten in this wysse; 1
but swych 2 filthes 3 / as weren vertulesse,
they quyten thus / this olde clerkis wisse; 4
To 5 clerkis, 6 for-thy, lesse 6 may 7 suffye
than to deprave 8 wommen / generally;
for worshippe shul they gete / noon therby. 266

[39]

If that thise men / that louers hem pretende,
to women weren 9 feythfull / good 9 and trewe,
and drenen hem / to deceyven or offende,
women, to loue hem / wolde nat eschewe;
but every day hath man / an herte 10 newe:
yt, vpon oon, abide / can no while.
what fors ys it / swich a wight to be-gile? 273

[40]

Men beren eke this womon / vpon honde,
that lyghtly / and wyth-outen 11 any peyne,
they 12 wonne ben / they can 12 no wyght withstonde,
that his dise 13 / list to hem compleyne : 277
13 they been so freel / they mowe hem nat refreyne ;
but who so lyketh / may hem lyghtly haue,
so ben hir hertys / esy in to graue.14 280

[41]

To 15 maister Ioan de Meun / as I suppose,
Then 16 yt was / a lewde ocupacion
In makyng of the Romance / of the Rose,

1 wise Sp. 2 suche D. 3 filokes S. 4 wise Sp. 5 To Sp., The F D. 6—8 for they lasse D. 7 might Sp. 8 disprau Sp. 9—3 g. f. T. 10 hert F D, hurte Sp. 11 wyth out D, without any B. 12—13 women ben that cañ S. 13—15 They be so fre T, not D B, Thai hau such mercj / they may no mañ with-seyne S. 14 graue D Sp., craue F. 15 To D Sp., I F. 16 Then D Sp., an F.
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in his Romance of the Rose, to devise so many a sly / ymagynacion
and perils\(^1\) / for to rollen\(^2\) vp and doun,
so longe processe / so many a slye cautele,
for to deceyve / a sely damesele!

[42]
Nat\(^3\) can I \(^4\) seen / ne\(^4\) my wytte comprehende,
that art and peyn\(^5\) / and sotilte [s]holde\(^6\) faylle
for to conquere / and sone make an ende,
\(^7\) whan m a feble place / shal\(^7\) assaylle,
and \(^8\) soone also\(^8\) / to venquys\(\overline{a}\) a bataylle,

[43]
of whiche no wyght / dar maken\(^9\) resitence,
Ne hert hath noon\(^9\) / to stonden\(^9\) at\(^10\) defence;

[44]
But if it takes so much trouble to deceive a woman,
surely she's more constant than some clerks say.

Than \(^11\) yt moot folowen\(^11\) / of necessite,
syn\(^12\) art asketh / so grete engyn and peyne
a woman \(^13\) to dysceve / what she \(^13\) be
of constance\(^14\) / they ben\(^15\) not so bareyn
\(^16\) as that somme of thise / sotil clerkys feyne;
\(^16\) but they ben / \(^17\) as that wommen oughten be,
sad / constant / and fulfilled of pite.

[45]
See what a friend Medea was to Iason
in the\(^19\) conquering / of the flees\(^20\) of golde!
how falsely quyt he / hir affection,
by whom victorie he gate / as he hath\(^21\) wolde!
how may this man, for shame / be\(^22\) so bolde
to falsen\(^23\) hir / that from his dethe and shame
him kept,\(^24\) and gat hir / so grete pris and name?

\(^1\) perelous T, perillis S. \(^2\) roff D. \(^3\) Not D. \(^4\)—\(^4\) say ne Sp. S, ne in F. \(^5\) part S. \(^6\) shulde T, schulde S. \(^7\) When D, Quhe\(\overline{a}n\) a ma\(\overline{a}\) schall a f. p. S. \(^8\) also so\(\overline{f}\) S. \(^9\) may make Sp. \(^10\) to make any Sp. \(^11\) motte It falow S, ffolowe D. \(^12\) sich S, om. so. \(^13\) for to Dissauue quho S : what so Sp. \(^14\) confiance B, constaunte S. \(^15\) be they Sp. \(^16\) As ar sum men\(\overline{o}\) or othir subtile clerkes S. \(^17\) richt as Wo\(\overline{m}n\) ought to be S, ought to D. \(^18\) bountee S. \(^19\) the grete D, the om. S. \(^20\) flees D, fleece Sp., flee F, flesse S. \(^21\) haue D, S om. hath. \(^22\) durst be D. \(^23\) fayllen D T. \(^24\) helped\(\overline{f}\), om. him, a priss S.
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

[45]
Of troye also / the traytour 1 Eneas,
the feythes wretched / how hath he him for-sware 2
to dido, that queen / of Cartage was,
that him releved / of his  3 smertys sore  9
what gentilesse  4 myght  5 she / han doon more
than  5 she with hert vnfeyned / to hym kydde  9
and what myscheve  6 to hir / ther-of  8 betydde  6.

[46]
In my legende of Martres  7 / men may  8 fynde
(who so 9 that lyketh therin / for 10 to rede,)
that othe in no 11 behest / may no man  12 bynde;
of repreable shame / han they no drede;
In mannes hert[e] / trouthe hath no 13 stede;
the soyl ys noght / ther may no trouthe growe!
to womman namely / yt is nat un-knowe.  14

[47]
Clerkes seyn also / ' ther is no malice
vnto a  15 womans / crabbed wykkydnesse !'
O woman! how shalt thou  16 / thy self chevice,
syn men  17 of the / so  18 muchel harme wynewsse  18
No fors! doo forth / take  19 no  20 heuynesse!
kepe thy self owne / what men  21 clappe  21 or crake!
and somme of hem shul smerte / I undeke !

[48]
'Malice' of womans / what is yt to drede?
they ale no men / dystroyen  22 no citees!
they not oppresen folk ne over-ledge,  23

XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

betray Empires / Remes ne duches, ne men bereve hir landes / ne hir Mees, empysone folkys / ne houses set ou fire, ne false contractes / maken for non hire!

[49]

Trust, perfte loue / and entere charyte, fervent wyl / and entenlent corage be thwes good / as yt sytt wel to be, han women ay of custome and vsage; and wel they kan / a mannes yre aswage with soft wordes / discreet and benigne: what they be Inward / sheweth outwarde sygne.

[50]

Womman[ne]s herte / vn-to no cruelte enclyned ys / but they ben charitable, pitouse, devoute / ful of humylite, shamefast, debonarie / and amyable, Dredful / and of hir wordes mesurable: what woman thise hath not, perauenture, Ne folweth nat / the wey of hir nature.

[51]

Men seyn, 'oure firste moder / mathes, made al man-kynde / lese his lyberte, and naked yt of Ioy[e] / douteles; sfor goddis hestes / disobeyd she, when she presumed / tasten of tre wichch god forb'd / that she ne ete of sholde; and nade the deuel ben / namore she wolde.'

XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

[52]
The enviouse suellyng / that the fend, our fo,
had vnto man in herte\(^1\) / for his welthe,
sent a serpente / and made hir for to go
to deceyve Eve / and thus was mannes helthe\(^2\)
beraft \(^3\) him by the fende / ryght\(^3\) in a stelthe,
the woman \(^4\) nought \(^4\) knowyng \(^4\) / of the\(^5\) decey	
gode wote, ful \(^6\) fer was yt / from\(^6\) hir conceyt.

But it was the Devil who did this.

[53]
Wherfore I sey\(^7\) this / good\([e]\) woman Eve,
our fader Adam / ne deceyved nought.
ther may no man / for a deceyvt yt preve
propely, but yt that she / in hir thougt\(^7\)
had it compassed\(^8\) first / \(^9\) er yt was\(^9\) wroght;
and for swich was nat hir\(^10\) / impressyon;\(^11\)
Men\(^12\) calle / yt may,\(^12\) no deceyt\(^13\) by reas\(\)n.

Eve didn't deceive Adam.

[54]
No\(^14\) wyght deceyyveth / but he yt\(^15\) purpose;
the fend\(^16\) this deceyt cast / and nothing\(^16\) she;
than ys yt wronge / to demen or suppose
that she sholde of this\(^17\) harme / the cause be.
witeth the fend\(^18\) / and his be the\(^18\) Mawgre,
and for excused / haue\(^19\) hir Innocence,
sauf oonly that she / breeke\(^20\) obedience.

The Devil did.

[55]
And touching that\(^21\) / ful fewe men ther ben—
Vnneneth\(^22\) any / dar I saufly seye—
fro day to day / as \(^23\) that men now\(^23\) wel seen,
but that\(^24\) the heat / of god they dysobehe:
haue this in mynde / sires,\(^25\) I yow preye ;

The Devil did.

\(^{1}\) harte Sp., hert F D. \(^{2}\) wealth Sp. \(^{3}\) S om. him and reads and ry't: right even) D, by the fende Sp. \(^{4}\) kn. no\(^4\) S. \(^{5}\) that Sp. \(^2\) fer It was from S. \(^2\) S inserts that. \(^6\) purposit S. \(^2\) or she it Sp. \(^2\) hir D, hit F. \(^{11}\) entenciout S. \(^{12}\) may cait it D, may it call Sp. \(^{12}\) disciple of her Sp. \(^{14}\) Ne no Sp. \(^{15}\) om. Sp. \(^{15}\) yis desaite . . . nat S. \(^{17}\) his D, That of his harme she should Sp. \(^{20}\)\(^{15}\) hald S. \(^{20}\) brake D Sp. \(^{21}\) this Sp. \(^{22}\) Vnneneth. \(^{22}\)\(^{26}\) men mowe D, as men may all day see Sp., mow T. \(^{24}\) om. D. \(^{25}\) Seris D.
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

yf that ye be discreet / and resonceable,
1 ye wol hir hold[en] / the1 more excusable. 385

[56]

And when men say women are unstable,

And where2 men seyn / in man3 ys stedfastnesse,
386
and woman4 ys / of hir corage unstable,
Who may of Adam / bere swiche5 witnesse?6
telleth me this / was he nat chaungable?
they 4 bothe weren / in a caas semblable; 4
sauf willyngly the feende / deceyued Eve,
and so dice she nat Adam / by your leue. 392

[57]

Yet was this synne6 / happy to man7 kynde:
393
the feende deceyued was / for al his sleyght8;
for aught9 he coude him / in his sleythes wynde,
god, to discharge7 mankynde / of the weight8
of9 his trespass, cam10 dux / from the11 hevenes height,
took flesh and blood / he tooke of A12 virgyne,
and suffred deth / him13 to delyuer of pyne! 399

[58]

And god, to whom / ther may no thing hyd be,
400
yf he in woman knowe / had suche malyce
as men of hem recorde / in generale;
of14 our lady, of lyfe / reparatrice,
Nolde han be born / but15 for that15 she of vice
Was wyde / and of al vertu (wel he wyste)
endowed16 / of hir to be bore hym liste. 406

[59]

She is so full of
virtues that no
man can express
them.

Hir heped17 vertu / hath swich18 excellence,
407
that al to leene19 / ys mannes faculte
to declare yt / and ther-for in suspence,

1—1 ye wold hold woman ye S, hir wolde D. 2 when B. 3 suche D, soch a Sp, 4—4 boith ware cause symiable S, o case Sp. 5 MS. fynne. 6 though S. 7—7 God discharget S. 8 plicht S. 9 for S. 10 come D. 11 om. S. 12—12 taks of a cleyn S. 13 man D. 14 MS. yf. 15—15 om. D. 16 Endewed D. 17 happy D, hicht S. 18 such D. 19 low S.
hir due preysing / put moot nedes be;
but this I sey [right] verralay, that she,
next god, 1 the best frend ye 1 / that to men longeth:
The key of mercye by 2 hir girdille hongeth. 3

[60]
And of mercye / hath every man swich 3 nede,
that, cessyng 4 that / farewell the Ioy of man! 5
of her power / now taketh 6 ryght 6 good hede!
she mercye may / wol, 7 and purchase kan!
dysplese 8 hir nat 9 / honureth that woman,
and other women all[le] 10 / for hir sake!
and but ye do / your sorowe shal a-wake!

[61]
Thou precious gemme / O martir 11 Margarete,
of 12 thy blood / draddest noon effusion!
thy martirdome / 13 ne may I nat 13 foryte! 14
thou constant woman / in thy passyon
ouercoom 15 the feendis / temptacion:
and many a wyght 16 / conuerthy thy doctryne,
17 Vnto the feith of God / holy virgyne! 17

[62]
But vnderstondeth / I commende hir noght
by encheson 1 / of hir virginite.
trusteth ryght 18 wel 19 / it cam neuer in my thoght,
for euer were ye 20 / ayein 21 chastyte,
and ever 22 skal / but this, lo, meveth me,
hir louyng hert / and constant to hir lay,
drywe oute of my rem[em]braunce / I ne may!

1—1 is the best frende B. 2 at Sp. 3 suche D. 4 wanting S. 5 takith nowe D. 6 here S. 7 weft D Sp. 8 Dispise S. 9 not D. 10 And all othir women S. 11 of martir S. 12 That of Sp. 13—13 may I not D. 14 Speght's line is: 'Thou lower true, thou maiden mansuetie.' 15 ouercame Sp. 16 ma S. 17—17 From Ashb. MS. god / holy D. Speght, / holy God thou, 1602, fol. 312, back, col. 2. F B omit l. 441. 18 om. S. 19 om. 'ryght wel' Sp. 20 werrey F, I werrey D S T. 21 A yens D. 22—22 I shalt / but lo this mouyth D, (lo this) Sp, lo this commend me S.
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS

[63]
Who can find
In any boke also / where can ye fynde,
(that of the werkis / or the dethe or lyfe
of Ihesu speketh / or maketh any mynde,)
that wommen him forsook 2 / for woo or stryfes!
wher was 3 ther any wyght / so ententyef
a-bouten 4 him / as women 1 pardee 8 noon!
that apostels hym forsoken 6 / everychon!

[64]
Womman forsooke hym nought / for all the feyth
of holy chirche / in womman left oonly:
this is no lees / for thus 7 holy wrtyt seyseth.
Lok! and ye shal so fynde yt / hardely;
and therfore I may 9 preve / wel herby,
that in womman regneth / stable constance;
and in men / ys the 10 chaunge and 11 variance!

[65]
Now holdeth this ferme / and for no lye,
that this 12 trew / and Iust 12 commendacion
of women, tolde 13 / I nat 14 for flaterye,
ne to cause hem 15 pride / or 16 elacion,
but oonly loo / for this entencio,
to yeve hem corage / of perseveracne
In vertu / and 17 hir honoure to enhacne.

[66]
The more vertu / the lasse is the pride.
vertu so digne is / and so noble in kynde,
that vice and [s]he 19 / wol not 20 in feere abide:
[s]he putteth vyce 21 / clene out of hir[r] mynde,
[s]he fleeth from him / [s]he leneth 22 him behynde!

XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

O womman / that of wertu art hostesse,\(^1\)  
gret ys thy honor / and thy worthynesse!  

[67]  
Thau wol we thus / concluden and dyffyne:  
we yow comaunde / oure Ministres echon,  
that redy\(^2\) been / to oure hestes\(^2\) enclyne,  
that, of thise false\(^3\) men / our rebles\(^4\) foon,  
ye do punyshement\(^5\) / and that anoon!  
voide\(^6\) hem oure\(^6\) court / and banyssh hem\(^7\) for euer,  
so that\(^8\) ther-in / they ne come more\(^6\) neuer.  

[68]  
fulfilled be\(^9\) yt / cessyng all delay\(^9\)  
look [that]\(^10\) ther be noon\(^1\) / excusacion\(^1\)  
written in the ayer / the lusty\(^11\) moneth of May,  
In oure paleys / where many A Milion\(^1\)  
of louers trwe / han habitacion,  
the yere of grace / Loyful and Iocunde  
A thousand and\(^12\) foure houndred / and\(^13\) secounde.  

Explicit litera Cupidinis  
14 dei amatoris directa suis subditis.  

(In a late hand, Stowe's?)  
T. hocleve.

---

\(^1\) hostesse Sp., Hostes S.  
\(^2\) ye be oure hestes to Sp.  
\(^2\) false Sp., om. F D.  
\(^4\) rebell Sp.  
\(^5\) puniciones S.  
\(^6\) thame  
\(^7\) thame S.  
\(^8\) here after therin they come D, therein more come they Sp.  
\(^9\) yt / cessyng al delay \(\text{Sp.}\)  
\(^10\) ther be noon / excusacion \(\text{Sp.}\)  
\(^11\) written in the ayer / the lusty \(\text{Sp.}\) moneth of May,  
\(^12\) of louers trwe / han habitacion,  
\(^13\) thousand and foure houndred / and secounde.  

[At end of line, and of other poems, 'Lyty'; † the rubricator, B.]
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

The title of the poem in Stow's edition of 1561, Fol. ceçxxvi, back, and in Speght's edition of 1602, is:

"The Letter of Cupide. This letter was made by Thomas Ocleue of the office of the priu Seale, Chaucer's scholler; and was by him termed, A Treasu-tise of the concuersation of men and women in the little Island of Albion: which gate him such hatred among the gentlewomen of the Court, that he was inforced to recant in that booke of his, called Planctus proprius."—Speght 1602, Fol. 310, back, col. 1, at foot.

1 The Complaint that follows here, from the Durham MS.

The Fairfax MS has the stanzas of the Letter of Cupid in the following wrong order: 1-6, 17-26, 7-9, 30-36, 47-9, 10-16, 37-9, 50-9, 40-6, 27-9, 60, 61-2, 63-4, 65-8. In the text above, the stanzas are set in the right order of Hoccleve's autograph Ashburnham MS, which was got only at the last moment, years after the Fairfax MS had been printed, and collated with a lot of other poor MSS, and when I had no hope of getting access to the Ashburnham MS.

Speght has the order of stanzas right to no. 60, but then puts 63, 64 before 61, 62. Nos. 65-8 he has right.

A partial collation of the Ashburnham MS, as well as of Shirley's MS at Trinity Coll. Cambridge, is given in the Notes below, with extracts from Christine de Pisan's L'Epître de Cupide, from which Hoccleve adapted his poem. Mr. Gollancz will print the Ashburnham MS as Part II of Hoccleve's Minor Poems for the Early English Text Society.
II. HOCCLEVE'S COMPLAINT, &c.

DURHAM MS.

Collated in part with MS. *Arch. Seld. Supra* 53 (Bodleian Library).
Durham MS. III. 9.

After the two fly-leaves, the first 10 paper leaves of the poem—all the Complaint, and the beginning of the Dialog—are in the handwriting of John Stowe, the Chronicler.

Collation of vellum sheets: a and b in eights missing; c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, in eights; n 1—3.
XX.

[Durham Hoodlove: III. 9.]

Thomas Hocclive's Complaint.¹

[Leaf 8]

[The Prolog.]

1 After Michaelmas,

(1)

A fter that herest Ivered had his sheves,² and that the broune ³ season ⁴ of myelmesse
was come, and gan the trees robbre of ther⁵ leves
That grene had bene⁶ / and in lusty fresshnesse,
and them⁷ in-to colowre / of yelownesse
hadd dyen⁸ / and doune throwne vndar⁹ foote,
that chaunge sank¹⁰ / into myne herte roote.

7 the fall of the leaves

(2)

for freshely browght it¹¹ / to my remembraunce,
that stablenes in this world is there none;
there is no thinge / but chaunge and variance;
how welthye¹² a man be / or well be-gone,¹³
endure it shall not / he shall it for-gon.¹⁴
deathe¹⁵ vnder fote / shall hym thrist adowne :
that is every wites¹⁶ / conclusyon.

8 reminded me

(3)

whiche for to weyue / is in no mannes¹⁷ myght,
how riche he be / stronge, lusty, freshe, and gay.
and in the ende / of novembar, vpon a nyght,

Late in November

[The various readings are from the Selden MS, unless markt
Dm. for the Durham MS, or St. for Stowe's part of the Durham
MS.] ¹ Pencil: later. ² W. Browne [in margin].
³ broun, Selden; brome, Stowe. ⁴ sesoun ⁵ her ⁶ ben
⁷ hem ⁸ died ⁹ throwen vndir ¹⁰ alterd from 'sange' in Dm.
¹¹ browtite [browght Dm] ¹² welthi ¹³ wel be-goon
¹⁴ for-goon ¹⁵ Deeth ¹⁶ wijtes ¹⁷ manes (mans, St.)
I lay awake thinking.

syghenge sore / as I in my bed lay,
for this and othar thougths / whiche many a day
before I toke / sleape cam none in myne eye,
so vexyd me / the thoughtfull maladye.

Since my last illness.

I see well, sythen I with sycknes last
was scourged / cloudly hath bene the favoure
that shone [on] me / full bright in tymes past;
the sonne abatid / and the derke showre
hildyd downe right on me / and in langour
he made [me] swyme / so that my wite to lyve / no lust hadd, ne [no] delyte.

I didn't want to live;

The grefe abowte / my harte so sere swal
and bolned evar / to and to so sore,
that nedes / oute I must[e] there-with-all;
I thought I nolde it kepe cloos no more,
ne lett it in me / for to olde and hore;
and for to preve / I cam of a woman,
I brast oute on the morowe / and thus began.
here endythe my prologue . and folowythe my complaynt.

[The Complaint.]

A ll myghty god / as lyketh the his goodnes,
visyeth the folks alday / as men may se,
with lose of good / and bodily sikenese,
and amonget othar / he forgat not me;

God made me mad.

witnes vpon the wyld infirmyte
which that I had / as many a man well knewe,
and whiche me owt of my selfe / cast and threw.
HOCCLEVE'S COMPLAINT. I GOT WELL, BUT OLD FRIENDS OUT ME. 97

(7)
It was so knowen to the people / and kouthe, 43
that crowcourt was it none / ne none be myght[e];
how it with me stode / was in every man's mowthe,
and that full sore / my fryndes' affright[e];
they for myne helthe / pilgrimage hight[e], 47
and sowght them² / some on hors and some on foote,—
god yeit it thim³ / — to get[en] me [my] bote.⁴

(8)
but althowghhe the subsaunce / of my memory 50
went[e] to pley / as for a certayne space,
yet the lorde of vertew / the kyng of glory,
of his highe myght / and² his benynge grace,
made it to retorne / in-to the place
when[ne]s it cam / whiche⁶ at all hallwe messe,
was five yeere / neyther more ne lesse.

(9)
And evere⁷ sythen /—thanked be god owr lord, 57
of his good⁸ reconciliacion,—
my wyt and I / have bene of suche accorde
as we were / or the alteracion
of it was / but by my savacion,
[Sith] that⁹ tyme have I bee / sore sett on fire,
and lyved in great torment / and martire;

(10)
for though that my wit / were home¹⁰ come agayne,
men wolde it not¹¹ so vnderstond or take;
with me to dealé / hdden they dysdayne;
a rytows person I was / and forsake;
myn olde frindshiphe / was all ovarshake;
no wyte¹² withe me lyst make daliance;
the worlde me made a strauenge continance,

¹ manners: mans St. ² frendis: frynds St. ³ hem
⁴ me my boote ⁵ and his ⁶ was St. om. was ⁷ every St.
⁸ good and gracious St. ⁹ Sith pot ¹⁰ hoom
¹¹ not: no St. ¹² wist

HOCCLEVE, M.P.—II.
whiche[1] that myne herte / sore gan[2] torment[e];
for ofte when I / in westmynster hall[e],
and eke in london / amonge the pres[e] went[e],
I se[4] the chere / abaten and apalle
of them[5] that weren wonte me for to calle
to companye / her heed they caste a-wry[e],
when I them mette / as they not me sye.

As seide is in the sauter / might I say,
they that me sye / fledden a-wey fro me;
forgeten I was / all owte of mynde a-way,
as he that dede was / from hertes cherte;
to a loste vessell / lickened myght I be;
for many a wyght / abowte me dwellynge,
herd I me blame / and putte in dispreisinge.

Thus spake many one[6] / and seyde by me:
‘all-thowghe from hym / his siknesse savage
with-drawe and passyd / as for a tymbe be,
Resorte it Wolfe / namely in suche age
as he is of’ / and thanne my visage
bygan to glowe / for the woo and fere;
Tho wordis, them vnwar / cam to myn ere.

‘whane passinge hetre is,’ quod they, ‘trustyth this,
assaile hym Wolfe7 agayne that maladie;’
and yet parde / they token them amise;
one[8] effect at all / toke there[9] prophecie;
manie someres ben past / sithen remedye
of that, god of his grace me purveide:

1 with 2 gan to St. 3 prees 4 sy 5 hem 6 oone
7 him Wolfe; Wolfe hym St. 8 Noon 9 her
10—10 these lines as in Seld.: transposed by St. 11 shoop not
XX. HOECLEVE'S COMPLAINT. THEY SAID MY BRAIN WAS TOUGHT. 99

(15)
what fall[e] shall / what men so¹ deme or gesse, 99
 to hym that wott² [well] every mans³ secre,
 reservyd is / it is a lew[e]dnesse,
men wyser them pretend / then they be; 103
and no wight knoweth / be it he or she,
 whom, how ne whan / god wole hym visete;
It happethe ofte⁴ / whan men wene it lité. 105

(16)
Some tyme I wend / as lite as any man, 106
for to have fall / in-to that wildenesse
but god, whan [that] hym list / may, wole and can,
helthe with-drawe / and send a wyght sycknesse;
Thowghe man be well this day / no sykernesse
 to hym bighth is / that it shall endure;
god hurte now can / and nowe hele and cure. 112

(17)
he suffrith longe / [but] at⁵ the laste he smit; 113
whane that a man is / in prosperite,
To drede a fall comynge / it is a wit;
who so that taketh the hede / ofte may se
This worldes change / and mútabilité
In sondry wyse / howe nedeth not expresse:
To my mater / streit wole I me dresse. 119

(18)
Men seyden, I loked / as a wilde steer, 120
and so my loke about I gan to throwe;
myne heed to hie / a-nother seide I beer,
ful bukkysshe is his brayne / well may I trowe;
and seyde the thirde⁶/ and apt is in the Rowe
to site of them / that a resounles reed
Can geve⁷ / no sadnesse is in his heed. 126

¹ † whatso men ² woot ³ hertis ⁴ often
⁵ but at ⁶ thridde ⁷ Can he ñene

[leaf 4, back] God sends sickness or health
110

as He likes.
(19) Chaungid had I my\(^1\) pas / some seiden eke, 127
for here and there / forthe stirte I as a Roo,
one abode\(^2\) / none arrest, but all brain-seke.
A-nother spake / and of me seide also,
my feete weren aye / wavynge to and fro
whane that I stonde shulde / and withe men talke,
and that myne eyne\(^3\) / sowghten every halke.

(20) I leide an ere aye to / as I by\(^4\) wente;
and herde all / and thus in myne herte I cast:
of longe abydynghe here / I may repent[e];\(^5\)
leste, of hastinesse / I at the last[e]
answere a-mys / best is hens hye fast[e];
for yf I in this preace / a-mysse me gye,
to harme will\(^6\) it me turne / and to folly[e].

(21) And this I demyd well / and knew well eke,
what-so-ever I shuld answere or sey,
they wold[en]\(^7\) not have\(^8\) holde it wortha a leke;
for why / as I hadd lost my tonges key,
Kepte I me cloos / and trussyd me my wey,
drowpynge and heyye / and all woo bystad;
small cawse had I / me thowght[e], to be glade.

(22) My sprites / laboryd [euere] bysly\(^9\)
to peinte countinaunce\(^10\) / chere and loke,
for that men spake of me / so wonderingly,
and for the very shame / and fere I qwoke;\(^11\)
thowghhe myne herte had be / dypped in y\(^*\) broke,
It wete and moyste I-now was of my swot,
wichce was nowe frostye colde / now firy hoot.

\(^1\) me  \(^2\) Noon abood  \(^3\) yen  \(^4\) by; be St.
\(^5\) may me repent  \(^6\) wole  \(^7\) wolden  \(^8\) han
\(^9\) labouriden / euere ful bisily  \(^10\) countenaunce  \(^11\) wook
XX. HOCCLEVE'S COMPLAINT. MY GLASS SHOWD ME SANE. 101

(23)
And in my chamber at home when I was my selfe alone / I in this wyse wroght;
I strete vnto my myrrowr / and my glas,
to loke how that me / of my chere thought[e],
yf any [other] were it / than it owght[e];
for fayne wolde I / yf it had not be right,
amendyd it / to my künynge and myght.

(24)
Many a sawte made I to this myrrowre,
thinkynge, "yf that I loke in this manere
amonge folke / as I now do,[e] none errowr
of suspsecte loke / may in my face appere,
this countinace, I am svre,[e] and this chere,
If I forthe vse / is no thinge repreveal
to them that have / conseyttes resonable."

(25)
And there-with-all / I thought[e] thus anon :
"men in theyr owne case / bene blynd alday,
as I haue hard say / many a day agon,
and in that [same] plyght / I stonde may ;
how shall I doo / which is the best[e] way,
my troubled spirit / for to bringe at [rest[e] ?
yf I wist howe / fayne wolde I do the best[e]."

(26)
Sythen I recoveryd was / have I full ofte
Cawse had of angre / and ympacience,
where I borne have it / esely and softe,
sufferynge wronge be done to me, and offence,
and owght answeryd ageyn / but kept sylence,
lest that men of me / deme would, and seyne,
's how this man / is fallen in agayne.'

---

1 yat 2 alone 3 othir were 4 not had bene 5 nowe do 6 sure 7 her 8 same plite 9 in 10 it 11 not
Coming from Westminster,
I thought I was a fool to show myself;

As that I ones\(^1\) / fro westmynstar cam,  
vedid full greuously / withe thoughtfull hete,  
thus thowght I / "a great fole I am,  
this pavyment / a dayes thus to bete,  
and in and out / labour[e] fast and swete,  
wonderinge / and hevynes to purchase,  
sythen I stand \(^2\) out / of all favour and grace."

And then thowght I / on that othar syde:  
"If that I not be sene / amonge the prees,  
men deme wele\(^3\) / that I myne heade hyde,  
and am worse than I am / it is no lees."  
O lorde, so my spirite / was rest[e]les,  
I sowght[e] reste / and I not it found,  
but aye was trouble / redy at myn hond.

I can't stop folks' fancies;  
I may not lett a man / to ymagine  
ferre above the mone / yf that hym lyst;  
there-by the sowthe / he may not determyn[e],  
but by the prefe / bene thing[e]s knowne\(^4\) & wiste;  
many a dome / is wrappyd in the myst;  
man by his dedes / and not by his lokes,  
shall knowne be / as it is writen in bokes.

by taste of frewte / men may well wete and knowe  
what that it is / othar prefe is there none;  
every man wott well that / as that I trove,  
right so they / that demen my witt is gone,  
as yet\(^5\) this day / there demythe many a one\(^6\)  
I am not well / may, as I by them goo,  
taste and assay / yf it be so or noo.

\(^1\) oones \(^2\) stone \(^3\) wole \(^4\) knowen \(^5\) zit \(^6\) many eon
XX. HOOCLEVE’S COMPLAINT. I HAVE MY WITS AGAIN.

(31)
Vpon a looke / is harde, men them to grownde
what a man is / there-by the sothe is hid;
whither his wittes / seke bene or sounde,
by cowntynaunce / it is not wist ne kyd;
throwghe a man harde / have ones bene bityde,
God shilde it shuld / on hym contynue alway;
by comunynge / is the best assay.

(32)
I mene to comon of thing[e]s mene,
for I am but right lewde / dowt[e]les,
ygnoraunte / my cunynge is full lene,
yet homly reason / know I nevertheles;
not hope I founden be / so resonles
as men demen / marie, christ forbede!
I can no more / prove may the dede.

(33)
If a man ones / fall in dronkenesse,
shall he contyneewe / there-in evar mo? 
nay, throwghe a man doo / in drinkynge excesse
so ferforthe / that not spoake he ne can, ne goo,
and his wittes / weylne ben refte hym froo,
and buryed in the Cuppe / he afterward
Comythe to hym selfe agayne / ellis were it hard;

(34)
Right so / throwghe my witt / were a pilgrime,
and went[e] fer fro home / he cam agayne;
God me voydyd / of this grevous venyme
that had enfectyd / and wilddyd my brayne.
se how the curtse leche moste sovereyne,
vnto the sycke / gevthe medisyne
in nede / and hym relevythe of his peyne.

1 Thou  2 commone  3 nat my  4 deuoided
5 the  6 soueth  7 greuous pine
XX. HOOULSEVE'S COMPLAINT. IT'S TIME FOR ME TO DIE

(35)

Now let this passe / god wott, many a man
semythe full wyse / by cowntenaunce and chere,
whiche, and he tastyd were what he can,
men myghten licken hym / to a fooles pere;
and some man lokethe / in foltyshe maner[e]
as to the outward dome / and Judgement,
that at the prese / descere is and prudent.

(36)

[leaf 6, back]

Still, tho' I look sane,

but algates, howe so be / my countynaunce,
debate is now none / bytwyxt me and my wit,
all-thowghere there were / a dysseveraunce
as for a tyme / betwyxt me and it;
the greater harme is myne, that never yet
was I well lettered / prudent and discrete,
there never stode yet / wyse man on my fete.

(37)

and small wit as I had,

The sothe is this / suche conceit as I had,
and vndarstondynge / all were it but small,
byfore that my wytt[e]s / wearen vnsad,
(thanked be owr lorde Theeu christ of all!)
suche have I now / but blowe is ny ovar all
the reverse / where-thorwghhe is the mornynghe
whiche cawsethe me / thus syghe in complaynynghe.

(38)

It's high time for me to die;

sythen my good fortune / hathe changed his chere,
hye time is me / to crepe in-to my grave,
to lyve l[a]y[e]les / what do I here!
I in myne herte / can no gladnes have;
I may but small sey / but yn men demise I rave,
sythen othar thinge the[n] woo / may I none grype,
vnto my sepulture / ame I nowe ripe.

1 fit 2 syge 3 hir 4 pan
(39)

My well, adwe / farwell, my good fortune!
out of yowr tables / me playned have ye;
sythen well ny eny wyght / for to comune
with me lothe is / farwell prosperite!
I am no lengar / of your lyverye;
ye have me put / out of yowr remembrunce;¹
adewe, my good adventure / and good chaunce!

(40)

And as swithe after / thus by-thowght I me:
yf that I in this wyse / me despeyrre,
It is purchas / of more advarsatyte;
what nedethe it / my feble wit appeire;
sythe god hathe made / myne helthe home repayre
blessed be he / and what men deme or² speke,
suffre it, thinke I / and me not on me wreke.

(41)

but some dele had I / reioysynge amonge,
and gladnesse³ also / in my spirite,
that thowghe the people / toke them mis & wronge,
me demynge / of my syck[e]nesse not quite,
yet for they / compleyned / the hevy plite
that they had sene me in / with tendernesse
of hertes cherte / my grefe was the lesse.

(42)

In them put I no defawlte but one;
that I was hole / they not ne deme kowlde,
and day by day / they se me by them gon
In heate and colde / and neythar still nor lowde
knew they me do suspsectly / a dirke clowde
ytheir⁴ syght obscuryd / with-in⁵ and with-out[e],
and for all that / were they⁶ in suche a dowt[e].

¹ retenance ² and ³ a gladnesse ⁴ Hir ⁵ withynne ⁶ ay
Axeid ha\textsuperscript{1}y / full ofte sythe, and freined of my fellow[e]s / of the prive scale, and prayed them to tell them / with\textsuperscript{2} hert vnfeynyd, how it stode wyth me / whither yll\textsuperscript{3} or well. and they the sothe / told them every dell, but they helden / ther word[e]s not but les; they myghten as well / have holden ther pes.

This troublly lyfe / hathe all to longe enduryd, not have I wyst / how in my skynne to turne; but now my selfe / to my selfe have ensured, for no suche wondrynge / after this to morne; as longe as my lyfe / shall in me soiorne, of suche ymagynyng / I not ne reche; lat them drem\textsuperscript{4} as them\textsuperscript{5} lyst / and speke & dreche.

This othar day / a lamentacion of a wofull man / in a boke I sye, to whome word[e]s / of consolation Reason\textsuperscript{6} Reason gav\textsuperscript{7} / spekyng effactly; and well easyd / myn herte was ther-by; for when I had a while / in the boke red, with the speche of Reason / was I well fed.

The hevy man / wofull and angwysshioys, compleyned in this wyse / and thus seyd he: ‘my lyfe is vnto me / full enconberows; for whithar / or vn-to what place I fyte, my wyckednes sees / evar follow\textsuperscript{8} me, as men may se / the shadow a body swe, and in no maner / I may them eschwe.

\textsuperscript{1} Axeid han \textsuperscript{2} wip \textsuperscript{3} yuel \textsuperscript{4} deem \textsuperscript{5} hem \textsuperscript{6} added later in margin \textsuperscript{7} sal \textsuperscript{8} solowen
XX. HOOGLEVE'S COMPLAINT. REASON COMFORTS THE MOURNER. 107

(47)

‘ vexation of spirite / and torment
lake I right none / I have of them plente;
wondarly byttar / is my taa[s]t\(^1\) and sent;
wo be the \(^2\) tyme / of my natvyte,
\(\textit{vnhappy man} / \text{that ever shuld it}^3\) be l
O deathe, thy strooke / a salve is of swetnes
to them that lyven / in suche wretchednes.

323 vexation,
327
329

(48)

‘Gretar plesаunce / were it me to dye,
by many folde / than for to lyve soo;
sorows so many / in me multiplye,
that my lyfe is / to me a arcry\(^4\) foo;
comfortyd / may I not be of my woe;
of my distrese / se none end I can,
no force how sone / I stinte to be a man.’

330 and wight for
deanth.
334
336

(49)

Than spake Reason / ‘what menythe al this fare\(^5\)
thowghe welthe be not freundly to the yet,
out of thyn herte / voyde wo and care!’
‘by what skyl / how / and by what rede and wit,’
seyd[e] this wofull man / ‘myght I done it?’
‘wrastle,’ qwode Reason / ‘a-gayne hevynesses
of the worlde / troubles, suffring and duresses.

337 Reason\(^5\)
341
343

(50)

‘belholde how many a man / suffreth the desseas[e]
as great as thow / and all a way gretar;
and howghe it them pinche / sharply and sese,
yet paciently / they it suffar and bere:
thynke here-on / and the lesse it shall the dere:
suche sufferaunce is / of mans gylt clensyng,
and them inablethe / to Ioye everlasting.’

344 to look at other
folks' greater illa
348
350

\(^1\) last \(^2\) be be \(^3\) l \(^4\) verre \(^5\) later, in the margin.
XX. HOOLEVE'S COMPLAINT. I HEAR REASON.

(51)

'wro, bewynes / and tribulation,
comon are to men all / & profitable.
thowghe grevows be / man[e]s temptacion,
It alythe man not / to them that ben sufferable,
and to whom god[de]s stroke / is acceptable,
purveyed Ioye is / for god woundythe tho
that he ordeyned hath / to bylyse to goo /

(52)

'Gold purgyd / thou seyst, in the furnes,
for the fyner and cleynner / it shall be ;
of thy disease / the weyght and the peis
bere lyghtly / for god, to prove the,
sorgyd the hath / with sharpe adveresitie ;
not gruche and sey / " why susteyn I this ?"
for ye thow do / thow the takest amis ;

(53)

'but thus thow shuldyst / thinke in thyn herte,
and sey, " to the, lorde god / I have a-gylte
so sore : I moot / for myn offensis smerte
as I am worthy / O lorde, I am spilt,
but thow to me / thy mercy graun[e] wilt.
I am full swre / thow maist it not denye ;
lord, I me repent / and I the mercy crye."'

(54)

lenger I thought[e] / red haue in this boke,
but so it shope / that I ne myght[e] nowght ;
he that it owght / agayne it to hym toke,
me of his haste vnware / yet have I cawght
sume of the doctryne / by reason tawght

to the man / as a-bowe have I sayde,
where-of I hold[e] me / full well apayde.

1 aren 2 me 3 y'; the St. 4 naujt 5 to, Dm.
6 Wel]. 7 rof.
XX. HOOLEVE'S COMPLAINT. I'LL BEAR MY TROUBLES.

(55)
for evyr sythen / set haue I the lesse
by the peoples / ymagination,
talkyng this and that / of my sycknesse,
which came of god[de]'s visytacion;
myght I have be found / in probation,
not grutchynge / but have take it in soffraunce,
holsome and wyse / had be my governaunce.

(56)
farwell my sorow / I caste it to the cok.
with pacience / I hens-forthe thinke vnpike
of suche thowghtfull diissease and woo / the lok,
and let them out / that have me made to sike;
here-after owr lorde god / may, yf hym lyke,
make all myne olde affection resorte;
and in hope of that / woll I me comforte.

(57)
Thrwgh[e]² gods just dome / and his iudgement,
and for my best[e] / now I take and deme,
gave² that good lorde / me my punishment:
in welthe I toke of hym / none hede or yeme,
hym for to please / and hym honoure and queme,
and he me gave a bone / on for to knaw[e],
me to correcte / and of hym to have awe.

(58)
he gave me wit / and he toke it away
when that he se³ / that I it mys dyspent[e],
and gave agayne / when it was to his pay,
he grauntyd me / my gitles to repent[e],
and hens-forwarde / to set myne entente[e],
unto his deitie / to do plesaunce,
and to amend / my synfull governaunce.

1 Thorun;   2 se;   3 sy

and have since
put up with folks'
talk of my illness.

[leaf 8, back]
I'll unpick the
lock of my woes,
let them out,

and take my
punishment for
the best.

God gave me a
bone to gnaw.

I'll now try to
please God and
to amend.
I thank Him lawde and honore / and thanke vnto the be, lorde god / that salve art / to all hevyne." thanke of my welthe / and myne adverstye, thanke of myne elde / and of my sek[e]nese; and thanke be / to thyne Infinite goodnesse for thy gyftes and benefices all[e], and vnto thy mercye and grace I call[e].

A nd, endyd my ‘complaynt’ / in this manere, one knocked / at my chambe dore sore, and cryde a-lowde / ‘howe, hoccleve! arte thow here? open thy dore / me thinketh the [it] full yore sythen I the se / what, man, for god[de]s ore come out / for this quartar I not the sy, by owght I wot’ / and out to hym cam I.

This man was my good frynde / of farn a-gon, that I spake of / and thusⁱ he to me seyde: ‘Thomas / as thow me lovest, tell a-non² what dydist thow / when I knocked and leyde so fast upon thy dore’ / And I obeyde vnto his will / ‘come in,” quod I, “and se.” and so he dyd / he streygth went in with me.

To my good frind / not thowght I to make it queinte,² ne my laboure / from hym to hyde or leyne; and right anon / I redd hym my ‘complaynt’; and that done / thus he seyde, ‘sen we twayne bene here / and no mo folke / for god[de]s peyne,

¹ purs. ² anoon ³ quette
HOGGLYVE'S DIALOG. I INSIST ON PUBLISHING MY 'COMPLAINT.' 111

Thomas, sorre me speke / and be not wrothe,
for the to offend[e] / were me full lothe. 21

(4)
'That I shall say / shall be of good entent[e]:
hast thou made this complaynte / forthe to goo
amonge the people' / "ye, friend;" so I ment[e];
what ells? / 'Nay, Thomas, ware, do not soo!
yf thou be wyse / of that mattar hoo,
reherse thow it not / ne it a-wake;
kepe all that cloos / for thy honours saka. 28

(5)
'how it stode with the / leyde is all a-slepe;
men haue forget it / it is owt of mynd;
that thou towche there-of / I not ne kepe;
let be; that rede I / for I can not finde
O man to speake of it / in as good a kynde
as thou hast stonde / amonge men or this day,
standyst thow nowe' / "A, nay," quod I, "nay, nay!" I refuse, 33

(6)
"Thowghe I be lewde / I not so fere-forthe dote;
I wott what men haue seyde / and seyne of me;
ther word[e]s have I not / as yet forgote;
but greate marvaile have I / of yow, that ye
no bet of my 'compleynte' / avysed be,
sythen, mafey / I not redd it vnto yow
so longe a-gone / for it was but right now. 42

(7)
"If ye toke hede / it makethe mention
that men of me speke / in myne audience
full hevely / of your entencion
I thanke you / for of benevolence,
wott I full well / procedith your sentence;
but certis, good frinde / that thinges that I here,
can I witnesse / and vnto it refere. 49

1 ellis
"And where as that ye / me counseile and rede, 
that for myne honore / showlde I by no weye 
any thinge mynge / or towche of my wildhede, 
I vnto that / annswered thus and saye:
of god[de]a stroke / how so it peyse or waye, 
ought no man to thinke / repere or shame; 
his chastisynge / hurtithe no mans name.

"An othar thinges / ther mevithe me also; 
sythen my syck[e]nesse / sprad was so wyde 
that men knew well / how it stode with me tho,
so would I now / vpon that othar syde 
wist were / how our lord Ihesu, which is gyde 
to all relefe / and may all hertes cure,
relevyd hath me / synfull creature.

"had I be for an homysede yknowe, 
or an extorcioner / or a robbowr, 
or for a coin 2 clypper / as wyde y-blowe 
as was my syckenese / or a werniowr 
a-gayne the faythe / or a falce mayntaynowr 
of cawys / thowghe I had a-mendyd me, 
them to have mynged / [would] have been nicete; 

"And why / for tho proceden of frailltie 
of man hym selfe / he brewythe all[a] tho; 
for sythen god to man / gyven 3 hathe libertie, 
which chese may / for to do well or no, 
yf he myse-chese / he is his owne foo; 
and to reherse his gilt / whiche hym accusethe, 
honor saythe nay / there he scilence excusithe.

1 meney 2 coin S. comon Dm. 3 joue
XXI. HOCCLEVE'S DIALOG. HE COMPLAINS OF LIGHT COIN.

(12)

"but this is / all a-nother case sothelye:
this was the stroke of god / he gave me this;
and sythe he hathe / with the-drawe it curteisly,
am I not holden [tell] it owt / O yes;
but yt god had this thanke / it wer amyse. 1
In feythe, frinde / [I thenke] make an open 2 shryste,
and hyd[e] not / what I had of his gyfte.

(13)

"If that a leche / curyd had me so,—
as they lacken all / that science and myght,—
a name he shulde / have had for ever mo,
what cure he had done / to so seke a wight.
and yet my purs / he wolde have made full lyght;
but curteys Iheu / of his grace pacient,
axith not / but of gilte amendement.

(14)

"The benefice of god / not hyd be shulde:
sythen of myne hele / he gave me triacle,
It to confese / and thanke hym, am 3 I hold[e],
for he in me hathe shewyd his myracle;
his vysytacion is a spectacle
in whiche that I / beholde may and se,
bet then I dyd / how great a lorde is he.

(15)

"but, frinde, amonsthe the vises that right now
rehered I, one of them, dare I saye,
hathe hurt me sore / and I wot well ynow
so hathe it mo / which is feble 4 moneye:
many a man this day / but they gold wey[e],
of men / not wole it take ne receyve,
and yt it lake his peis / they woll 5 it weive.

1 MS. anyse  2 make I thanke an open  3 as Dm.
4 feole St.  5 wolle

HOCCLEVE, M.P.—II.
“how may it holde his peise / when it is waisheth
so that it lacketh / somewhat in thiynesse?
the falce people / no thinge them abaseth
to clyp eke / in brede and in rowndnesse,
in that it shulde be / alwaye the lesse:
the pore man / amonge all othar is
full sore anoyed / and greyvd in this.

If it be golde and hole / that men hym profres
for his laboure / or his chaffar lent,
take it yf him lyst / and put it in his coffre,
for wasshinge or clyppyng / hold hym content
or leve / he got none othar payment;
it semythe but small / othar is there;
trewthe is absent / but falshed is not fer.

The poor are injuried by coins
no more money / he ne have at all,
par cas / but a noble / or halfpeny of golde,
and it so thin is / and so narowe and smale,
that men the eschaunge eschewen ovaer all?
not will it goo / but moche he there-one lese;
he mote do so / he may none other chese.

I have been.
“l Label me in this case / bene have, or this,
wherefore I know it / a grete dille the bett.
he that in falsynge of coyne / gilty is,
hathe great wronge / that he nere on a gebet;
It is pitie / that he there-from is set,
sythen he there-to hathe / so great title and right:
Reigne Justice / and preve on them thy myght!

1 lacks  2 it eke it in  3 in than; is that St.
4 miche  5 dele  6 nere S.  7 pe.
XXI. HOOCLEVE'S DIALOG. OF SWEATERS AND FALSE COINERS. 115

(20)
"when I this wrote / many me dyd amyse;
they weyed gold / vnhad auctoriti;
no statute [made] was 1 then / as [pat] now 2 is;
but sythyn goldel to wey / chargid now ben we,
Reason axith / that it obeyed be;
now tyme it is / unto weigh[es] vs draw[e],
sythe[n that the parlyament / hathe made it a lawe. 140

(21)
"yet othar shrewes / done a worse gyn;
and tho bene they / that the coyne countarfete,
and they that with gold / coper, cloth and tyn,
to make all some gold / they swinke and swete
In hell[e] for to purchase / them a sete:
If thether lede them / theyr 3 false covetise,
that purchas made was / in a foltyehe wyse. 147

(22)
"what cawsethe, trowe 4 ye / all this mischance?
what confort ye gyven 5 is / to this vntrwthe?
In feythe, men seye / it is the mayntyance
of great[e] folke / whiche is great 6 harme & ruthe.
god graunt here-affar / that ther be no slowthe, 7
of this treason / punishment to do,
ryght such as that is / partinent ther-to. 154

(23)
"they that consenten / to do that falshe,
as well as the werkars / withe peyne egall
punished 8 owght to be / as that I rede.
now, manyteynors / be ware now of a fall!
I speke of no parson / in especiall 9;
In contrys dys / is there many one
of yow / and hathe bene 10 / many a day a-gon. 161

1 made was ; was Dm. 2 pat nowe ; now St. 3 her
4 trowen 5 zoonen 6 a great 7 sloue ; show[e Dm.
8 punischid 9 special 10 be
False-colinng
harmo the king
and the people,
(28) "Nowe in good faythe / I drede there shall be suche multitude / of that falce secte with-in this two yere / or ellis thre, but yf this styrynyge errorr / be correcte, that so myche 1 of this land / shall be infecte there-with, that trewe the shall a-downe be throw[e], and that cursed falshed / it 2 overgrow[e].

(29) "lo, frinde / nowe haue I mynte entent vnreke of my longe tale / displese yow nowght." 'nay, Thomas, nay / but late me to the speke: when thy compleyn / was to the end ybrowght, cam it owght in thy purpos / and thy thowght, owght ell[e]s ther-with / to have made than that?" "ye, certayne, frind" / ' O nowe, good Thomas, what?'

(30) "frinde, that I shall you tell / as blyve, y-wys: in latyn have I sene / a small tretis[e], whiche 'lere for to dye' / I-callyd is: a better restreynte / know I none fro vice: for whan that deate / shall men 8 from hence 4 trice, but he that lesson / lerned have or than, war that / for 6 deate the comethe, wot ther no wyght whan.

(31) "And that have I purposed to translate, If god his grace / lyst ther-to me lene, sythen he of helthe / hathe openyd me the gate; for where my sowle is / of vertwe all lene, and thrwgh my bodyes gilt / fowle 6 & vnclene, to clens it / some-what by translation of it, shall be / myne occupation.

1 moche  2 it; is St.  3 man  4 hennes  5 for; and St.  6 & fowle St.
"for I not only / but, as that I hope,
many an othar wight / eke there-by shall
his consyence / [ful] tenderly grope,
and withe hym selfe acompte, & reken of all
that he hathe in his 1 lyfe / wrowght, great & 2 small,
while he tyme hathe / & freshe wit and vigowr,
and not abyde / vnto his dethes howr.

"man may in this tretis / here-afterward,
yf that hym lyke / rede and beholde,
consyder and se well / that it is full hard
delay acompts / tyll lyfe begyne to colde;
short tyme is then / of his offencis olde
to make a iust / and trew[e] rekenyng;
sharpnes of peyne / is there-to great hindringle.

"Not hath 3 me stiryd / my devocion
to do this labour / ye shullan vndarstond[e],
but at the exitynge / and monicion
of a devout man / take I here on hod[e]
this labowr / and as I cane, 4 wole I fond[e]
his reade, thrwge gods grace, to performe,
thowghe I be bare / of intellecte and forme.

"And whan that endyd is / I nevar thinke,
more in englyshe aftar / be occupied;
I may not labowr / as I dyd, and swinke;
my lust is not there-to / so well applied
as it hathe bene / it is ny mortyfied;
wherefore I cesse thinke. / be this done,
the night approcheth / it is fer past none.

1 this 2 or 3 corr. from 'have I,' in St. 4 came
XXI. HOCCLEVE'S DIALOG. I'M 53, OLD AND SORROWFUL. 119

(36)
"Of age am I fifty winter and thre; 246 I am 53;
Ripenesse of dethe / fast vpon me hastethe; 1
my lymes sumdell / now vnweldy be;
all my syght apperithe faste, and wastithe,
and my conceyte / a dayes now / not tastethe
as it hathe done / in yeres precedent;
now all another is my sentement. 2

[Stowe ends.] 252

(37) [Hoccleve's parchment begins.]
"More am I heuynow vp-on a day,
Than I sum tymey in dayes fyue;
Thynge pat or this me thoghtye game & play,
Is ernest now / 3 the hony fro the hyue
Of my spirit withdrawith wonderly hue;
Whan al is doon / al this worldes swetynesse
At ende torneth in-to bittirynesse. 4

253

(38)
"The fool, thrgn loue of this lyf present, 5
Deceyued is / but the wys man woot weel
How ful this world of sorwe is, and torment;
Wherfore in it / he trusith nat a deel:
Thoght a man this day / sitte hye on the wheel,
To morwe he may be tryed from his sete;
This hath be seen often / among the grete.

257

(39)
"How fair thynge / or how precious it be
pat in the world is / it is lyk' a flour,
To whom / nature yeuen hath beautee
Of fresh heewe / and of ful pleasant colour;
With soote smellynge also, and odour;
But as soone as it is bicomyn drye,
ffarwel colour / and the smel gynneth 5 dye.

259

1 now hasteth 2 sentement
3 A later hand († Stowe's) has written 'then' over the line as if it were left out.
4 'torneth in to bitterynesse, is repeated below in a later hand.
5 A later hand writes 'be gynneth to.' At foot: 'hongrie men seem diyures,' &c.
Hoccleve's Dialogue. I Have to Prepare for My Death.

(40)

"Rial might and eertheely magestee,
Welthe of the world / and longe & faire dayes,
Passen / as dooth the shadowe of a tree;
Whan death is come / ther be no delays;
The worldes trust is brotil\(^1\) at assayes;
The wyse men / wel knownen this is sooth,
They knownen / what deceit to man it dooth.

(41)

"Lond / rente / cattel / gold / honour / richesse,\(^2\)
\[etat\] for a tyme lent been to been ouris,
ffo wol we shole / sonner than we gesse.
Paleses / Maners / Castels grete & touris
Shal vs bireft be / by deeth \[etat\] ful sour is;
She is the rogh besom / which shal vs aht
Sweepe out of this world / whan god list it fa\(\text{H}\.\)

(42)

"And syn \[etat\] shee shal of vs make an ende,
Holsum is, hir haue ofte in remembrance,
Or shee hir messager seeknesse vs sende.
¶ Now, my freend / so good yene yow good chaunce,
Is it nat good to make a puruance
Ageyn the comynge of \[etat\] messageer,
That we may stande in conscience cleer?"

(43)

¶ 'yis, Thomas, yis / thow hast a good entente,\(^2\)
But thy werk / hard is to parfourme, I dreede;
Thy brayn, par cas / ther-to nat Wolfe assente,
And wel thow woost / it moot assente neede
Or thow aboute brynge swich a deede:
Now in good feith / I rede as for the beste,
\[etat\] purpos caste out of thy myndes cheste.

---

\(^1\) brotil, first.

\(^2\) Johan Medwall, Master my lord Chamberlain, . . per prisse [at top]. Also, later, 'W. Browne.' At foot, 'Thomas Carterys.'
HOOCLEVE'S DIALOG.  BUT I'M STILL WELL ENOUGH TO WORK.  121

(44)
'Thy bisy studie aboute swich mateere
Hath causid thee / to stirte in-to the plyt
That thow were in / as fer as I can heere;
And thogh thou deeme / thow be thers-of qwyt /
Abyde / and thy purpos putte in respyt
Til pat right wel stablisshid be thy brayn;
And ther-to thanne / I wole asentte fayn.

302  'Your writing has made you cracht again.
306  'Stop work till your brain's right.'
308

(45)
'Thogh a strong fyr / pat was in an herth late,
Withdrawen be / and swept away ful cleene /
yit aftirward / bothe the herth and plate
Been of the fyr warm / thogh no fyr be seene
There as pat it was / and right so I meene:
Al-thogh past be the grete of thy seeknesse /
yit lurke in thee may sum of hir warmnesse.'

309
313
315

(46)
"O, what is yow, frend? / benedicite?"
Right now, whan I yow redde my 'conpleynte,'
Made it nat mynde / it standith wel with me?
Myn herte with your speche gynmeth feynte.
Shuld we be now / al neewe to aqweynte,
Pat han so wel aqweynted be ful yore?
What / han yee now lerned a neewe lore?

316  [leaf 16, back]
Hoccleve re-
proaches his
friend:
I told you I was
well.

320
322

(47)
"Han yee lerned / your frend for to mis-truste
And to his wordes / yeue no credence?
If your frendshippe cancre so and ruste,
Sore wole it trouble myn innocence,
Pat ay yow holden hause in existence
A verray frend / certes, sore am I greued,
That yee nat leeue / how god me hath releued."

323  Why do you mistrust me?
327
329

1 Later, in margin: 'Ryght worshipfull Fa.' At foot,
'Hereof se . . . Thomas C.'
(48)

"Who so nat leeueth / what pat a man seith, 330
Is signe pat he trustith him but lyte.
A verry freend yeueth credence & feith
Vn-to his freend / what so he speke & wryte.
Frendshipes lawe / nat worth wer' a myte,
If pat vntrust / vn-to it wer' annexid ;
Vntrust hath mayny a wight ful sore vexid. 336

(49)

"I with my seluen made forward,
Whan with the knotte of frendshipe I me knytte
Vn-to yow, pat I neuer afterward
Fro pat by bond departe wolde, or fitte ;
Which kepe I wre ole ay / o, your wordes sitte 341
Ny to myn herte / and thogh yee me nat loue,
My loue fro yow / shal ther no wight shoue. 343

(50)

"Tullius seith / pat frendshipes verry
Endurith euere / how-so men it assaiff ;
Frendshipes is noon / to loue wel this day,
Or yeerees oathir / and afterward faiff.
A freend to freend / his peyne & his travaiff
Dooth ay / frendshipes to kepe & conseuere
Til dethes strook pat bond a-sonder kerue. 350

(51)

"To this matir' accodith Salomon—
yee knowe it bet than I by many fold :
Ones freend / and holde euere ther vp-on.
In your frendshipes wer'a slipir hold,
If it abate wolde and wexe cold,
pat vn-to now hath been bothe hoot & warm ;
To yow wer' it repreef / and to me harm. 357
XXX. HOCOLEVE'S DIALOG. HIS FRIEND BIDS HIM NOT OVERWORK. 123

(52)
"If pat me list in this mateere dweH, And it along / for to drawe and dilate, Auctoritees an heep, howde I yow tell Of frendships / but stynte I moot algate, Or elles wolde it be ful longe & late Or I haue endid my purposid werk, for feeble is my conceit, & dul & derk."

(53)
"But as pat I seide eer / and sooth it is, My scldre wit feele I as sad and stable As euere it was at any tyme or this: Thankid be our lord Theseu merciable!"

'Q Yit, Thomas, herkne a word, and be souffrable, And take nat my speche in dispesance ; In me shalt thow fynde no variance."

(54)
'I am thy frend / as pat I haue ay been, And euere wolde / doute it nat al, But truste wel, it is but selden seen pat any wight / pat caghit hath swich a fal As thy seeknesse was / pat aftir shal Be of swich disposicioun and might As he was erst / and so seith every wight."

(55)
'Of studie was engendred thy seeknesse, And pat was hard / woldest [thow] now agayn Entre into pat laborious bisynesse, Syn it thy mynde and eek thy wit had slayn? Thy conceit is nat worth a payndemayn : Let be / let be/ bisye thee so no more, Lest thee repente / and reewe it ouersore."

1 Later, in margin: 'Is the same een (?] . . . he me life in.'

2 In a later hand at top: 'per me peter hardy of halyfax'; then, rubd out, 'ows this bok.'
124 XXI. HOCOLEVE'S DIALOG. HE JOYS IN MUSING OVER HIS BOOKS.

(56)
'My reed procedeth nat of froward wil,
But it is seid of verray frendly-hede
ffor if so-causid seeknesse on me fil
As dide on the righ euene as I thee rede,
So wolde I do my self / it is no drede;
And Salomon bit / aftir conseil do;
And good is it / conforme thee ther-to.

386
390
392

(57)
'He pât hath ones in swich plyt y-fall,
But he wol rule him / may in slippen eft :
This rede I thee / for aghit pât may befall,
Syn pât seeknesse god hath thee byreft,
The cause escue / for it is good lef,
Namely, thyng of thoughtel studie kaght,
Perillous is / as pât hath me been taght.

393
397
399

(58)
The roop / no dreede hath eft his art to vse,
Til pât the trees him weye vp, body and bones,
So looth is him / his sory craft refuse /
Sa farest thow / ioie hastow for to muse
Vp-on thy book / and ther-in stare & poure,
Til pât it thy wit / consume and deuoure.

400
404
406

(59)
'I can no more / the latter errore
Wers is, rede I / than pât pât was beborn;
The smert of studie / oghte be mirour
To thee / let yit thy studie be forborn.
Haue of my wordes / no desdeyn or scorn ;
ffor pât I seye / of frendly tendernesse
I seye it al / as wisly god me blesse.

407
411
413

1 Written up the side in a later hand:
Know er thou kynyt [kynyt, p. 152], and then thow mayst slake ;
If thou kynyt er thou know, then hytt ys te late. (See p. 152.)
HOOKEVE'S DIALOG. MY MADNESS DIDN'T COME FROM BOOKWORK. 125

(60)
'If thee nat list vp-on thy self to reewe,
Thomas, who shal reewe vpon thee, I preye?'
Now do foorth, let see / and thy harm reeneewe;
And heuyer? / shal it peise and weye
Than it dide eer / ther-to my lyf I leye,
Which thee wolde ouer mochil harme & greeue.'
"ffeend, as to pat / answer I shal by issue. 1"

(61)
"Where-as pat yee deemen of me, and trowe
That y of studie my dissece took',—
Which conceit eek' / among the peple is sowe /—
Trustith right wel / pat neuer studie in book'
Was cause / why my mynde me forsook'
But it2 was causid of my long seeknesse,
And othir wyse nat / in soothfastnesse.

(62)
"And for-thy neuer aftir this / preye y yow,
Deemeth no more so / ne nat it mynge.
That men knew I had seeknesse / is ynow,
Thogh they make of the cause no serchynge;
Ther cometh but smal fruyt of swich deemynge.
To yow told haue I treewely the cause;
Now let vs stynten heer' / & make a pause.

(63)
"In this keepe I no replicacioun;
It is nat worth / the labour is in veyn;
Shal no stirynghe or excitaicioun
Lette me of this labour, in certyn.
Trustith wel this pourpos is nat sodeyn;
Vp-on my wittes stithie hath it be bete
Many a day / of this no lenger trete. 3

1 Later scribbles at foot: 'William . . . thi . . . nunny ny,' &c.
2 MS. is.
3 Later, at foot: 'Lord, Haue merce upon all cresetn solles . .
John taler . . . sone frome the beg', &c.
(64)

"I haue a tyme resonable abide
Or that I thoughte in this laboure me;
And al to preeue my self, I so dide:
A man in his conceit / may serchee & see
for 5 years.

In .v*. yeer / what he do may, pardee,
And aftir pat take vp-on him, and do
Or leve / reson accordith heer-to."

(65)

"O Thomas, holdist thou it a prudence,
Reed, weyue, and wirke aftir thy nowne wit!
Seide y nat eer / pat Salomons sentence
To do by reed / and by Conseil, men bit;
And thow desdeynest / for to folwen it.
What art thow now / presumptuous become,
And list nat of thy mis / been vndirnome?"

(66)

"Nay, freend / nat so / yee woot well, elles-where
Salomon bit / 'oon be thy Conseillour
Among a .Mt.' and if pat yee were
As constant as yee han been or this hour,
By yow wolde I be red / but swich errour
In your conceit I feele now, sanz faille,
That in this cas yee can nat wel consaill."

(67)

"ffor god woot / a blynd Counseillour is he
Which pat conseille shal in a mateere,
If of a soothe / him list nat lerned be;
And euene swich oon fynde I now nowhere.
I've told you plainly how I stand.

How pat it with me standen hath / and stant;
But of your trust to me ward, be ye scant.

1 In the begynnynge god be my speade wythe grace & vertu
2 MS. now heere.
XXI. HOCOLEVE'S DIALOG. HE IS NOT TO WORK TOO HARD. 127

(68)

"Han yee aght herd of me in communynge,
Wherburgh ye oghten deeme of me amis?"
Hauen I nat seid reson / to your thynkygne?"
¶ 'ffor soothe, Thomas / to my conceit / yis;
But euere I am agast, & dreede this,
Thy wit is nat so mighty to susteen
That labour / as thow thy self woldest weene."

(69)

"ffreend, as to þat, he lyueth nat þat can
Knowe / how it standith with an othir wight,
So wel as him self / al-thogh maný a man
Take on him more / than lyth in his might
To knowe / þat man is nat ruled right
Þat so presumeth in his iugement:
Beforn the doom / good wer' ausament."

(70)

¶ 'Now, Thomas / by the feith I to god owe,
Had I nat taastid thee / as þat I now
Doon haue / it had been hard, maad me to trowe
The good plyt / which I feele wel þat thow
Art in / I woot wel thow art wel ynow,
What-so men of thee ymagyne or clappe,
Now haue I god, me thynkith, by the lappe.

(71)

' But al so hertly / as I can or may,
Syn þat thow wilt to þat labour thee dresse,
I preye thee / in al maneere way
Thy wittes to conserve / in hir fresshnesse;
Whan thow ther-to goost / take of hem the lesse;
To muse longe / in an hard mateere,
The wit of man abieth it ful deere.'
Hoccleve's Dialog. I Write By Fits and Starts.

(72)

Hoccleve.

If frend, I nat medle of matieres grete;
Ther-to nat streche mayyn intellect;
I neuere yt was brent with studies hete;
Let no man holde me ther-in suspect:
If I lightly / nat cacche may the effect
Of thyng in which / laboure I me purpose,
A dieu my studie / anoon my book: I close.

(73)

"By stirtes / whan pat a fressh lust me takith,
Wole I me bisye now and now a lyte;
But whan pat my lust dullith and asslakith,
I stynte wole / and no lenger' wryte;
And pardee, freend / pat may nat hyndre a myte,
As pat it seemeth to my symple ays;
Iugeth your self / yee been prudent and wys."

(74)

Hoccleve's friend.

If 'Sikir, Thomas / if thow do in swich wyse
Then I'm content.

As pat thow seist / I am ful wel content
pat thow vp-on thee take pat empyse
Which pat thow has purposed and y-ment;
Vu-to pat ende / yeue y myn aysent,
Go now ther-to / in Thesu Crystes name;
And as thow haast me seid / do thou pat same.

(75)

' I am seur pat thy disposicioun
Is swich / pat thow maist more take on hoonde
Than I first wende in myn oppinioun,
By many fold / thankid be goddes soonde!
Do foorth in goddes name / & nat ne woonde
To make and wryte / what thyng pat thee list:
pat I nat eer kneew / now is to me wist.

1 Later scribble at top: 'Thomas . . Tomas Gairdynnayr' (?).
XXI. HOCCLEVE'S DIALOG. MEANT FOR THE DUKE OF GLO'STER. 129

(76)

'And of o thynge / now wel I me remembre,
Why thow purposist in this book trauaiH:
I trowe pat in the monthe of September
Now last, or nat fer from / it is no faiH,—
No force of the time¹ / it shal nat auaH
To my mateer' / ne it hyndre or lette,—
Thow seidist / of a book' thow wer' in dette

526  [leaf 15, back]

(77)

'Ven-to my lord / pat now is lieutenant,
My lord of Gloucestre / is it nat so?'

¶ "Yis soothly, freend / and as by couenant
He shole han had it many a day ago;
But seeknesse and vnlust / and othir mo
Han be the causes of impediment."

¶ 'Thomas / than this book' haast thow to him ment?'

533  to the Lord Lieu-
537  tenant, the Duke
537  Hoccleve.
537  Yes, and he ought
537  to have had it
537  long ago.

(78)

¶ "Yee sikir, freend, ful treewe is your deemynge; 540
ffor him it is / pat I this book' shal make,
As blyue as pat I herde of his comynge
ffro ffrance / I penne and ynke gan to take,
And my spirit I made to awake,
pat longe lurkide hath in ydilinesse
ffor any swich labour or bisynesse.

540  My new book is
544  As soon as I heard
544  acilicet de
544  of his coming
544  secundo reeditu
544  from France, I
544  suo de francia
544  took pen and ink.

(79)

"But of sum othir thynge / fayn trete I wolde, 547  [leaf 20]
My noble lordes herte / with / to glade,
As ther-to bownden am I deepe, & holde;
On swich mateere / by god pat me made,
Wolde I bestowe many a balade,
Wiste I what / good freend / telH on what is best,
Me for to make / and folwe it am I prest.

551  But I'd like to
553  write something
to gladden him
553  with.

¹ MS thine; but this is surely a writing mistake.

HOCCLEVE, M.P.—II.
Next to our King Henry V.,

no lord has been so good to me for years as the Duke.

"Next our lord lige, our kyng victorious,
In all this wyde world / lord is ther noon
Vn-to me so good ne so gracious,
And haath been swich / yeeres ful many oon:
God yilde it him / as sad as any stoon
His herte set is / and nat change can
Sfo me, his humble servant & his man."

I thought of enquiring for him Vegetius on Chivalry,

but he knows it all.

"ffor him I thoghte han translated Vegece
Which tretith of the art of Chivialrie,
But I see his Knyghthode so encrece,
\bat no thynge my labour sholde edifile,
ffor he pat art / wel can for the maistrie.
Beyonde, he preueed hath his worthynesse,
And among othre / Chirburgh to witnesse."

[leaf 30, back]

He besieged it

and won it.

"This worthy Prynce lay before pat hold
Which was ful strong / at seege many a day,
And then for to departe hath he nat wold,
But knygthly ther abood / vp-on his pray
Til he by force it wan / it is no nay.
Duc henri, pat so worthy was and good,
Sfolwith this Prince / as wel in deede as blood."

And before, he won Constantine.

He is a famous Prince.

"Or he to Chirburgh cam / in iourneyynge,\nOf Constantyn he wan the cloos and yle,
ffor which / laude and honur and hy preysynge
Rewarden him / and qwytten him his whyle.
Thoghe befor pat had a worthy style,
yit of noble renoun is pat encrees :
He is a famous Prince / doutelesse!"

1 Chirburgh, in John Stowe's hand, in the margin.
XXI. HOCCLEVE'S DIALOG. PRAISE OF THE DUKE OF GLO'STER. 131

(84) "ffor to reherce or teff in special
Euery act pat his swerd / in steel wroth there,
And many a place / elles I woot nat al;
And thogh euery act come had to myn ere,
To yepresse1 hem / my spirit wolde han fere,
Lest I his thank' par chance mighte abregge
Thurgh vnkonnynge / if I hem sholde allege.

(85)
" But this I seye / he callid is Humfre "
Conueniently, as pat it seemeth me,
ffor this conceit is in myn herte al-wey,
Batailous Mars / in his natuuitee
Vn-to pat name / of verray especialte
Titled him / makynge him ther-by promesse
pat streche he sholde in-to hy worthynesse ;

(86)
"ffor humfrey / as vn-to myn intellect,
' Man, make I shal' / in englissi is to seye ;2
And pat byheeste / hath taken treewe effect,
As the commune fame / can bywreye :
Who-so his worthy knygthode / can weye
Dueley in his conceites balaunce,
Ynow hath / wher-of his renoun enhaunce.

(87)
"To cronicle his actes / wer' a good deede,
ffor they ensample mighte, and encourage
fful many a man / for to taken heede
How for to gouerne hem in the vsage
Of armes / it is a greet auauntage

1 For 'expresse'!
A man before him / to haue a mirour,
Ther-in to see the path vn-to honour. 609

(88)

"O lord / whan he cam to the seege of Roon
Sro Chirburgh / whether fere or cowardyse,
So ny the walles / made him for to goon
Of the town / as he dide? I nat souffysse
To telle yow / in how knyghtly a wyse
He logged him ther' / and howorthyly
He baer him / what / he is al knyght soothe.

614

(89)

" Now, good freend / shoue at the cart, I yow preye;
What thyng may I make vn-to his plesance?
Withouten your reed / noot I what to seye."
" O / no, pardee, Thomas / o. no, ascaince.'
" No, certein, freend / as now no cheuissance
Can I; your conseil is to me holsum;
As I truste in yow, mynystreth me sum."

621

623

(90)

 Wel Thomas / trowest thow his hy noblesse
Nat rekke / what mateere hat it be
hat thow shalt make of?" " no, freend, as I gesse,
So hat it be mateere of honestee."
" Thomas, and thanne I wole auyse me;
for who-so reed & conseil yeue shal,
May nat on heed / fourth renne ther-with-al.

624

628

630

(91)

And hat¹ so noble a Prince, namely,
So excellent / worthy and honoureable,
Shal haue / needith good auyse soothe,
hat it may be plesant and agreeable
To his noblesse / it is nat couenable
To wryte to a prince so famous,
But it be good mateer² and vertuous.

631

635

637

¹ What poem.
XXI. HOCCLEVE’S DIALOG. HE MUST THINK BEFORE HE WRITES. 133

(92)

‘Thow woost wel / who shal an hous edifie,
Gooth nat ther-to withoute ausament,
If he be wys, for with his mental ye
first is it seen / pourposid / cast & ment,
How it shal wroght been / elles al is shent.
Certes, for the deffaute of good forsighte,
Mis-tyden thynges / pat wel tyde mighte.

(93)

‘This may been vn-to thee / in thy makyng
A good mirour / thow wilt nat haaste, I trowe,
Vn-to thy penne / and ther-with wirke heedlynge,
Or thow auysed be wel / and wel knowe
What thow shalt wryte / o, Thomas / many a throwe
Smertith the fool / for lak’ of good auys;
But no wight hath it smerted pat is wys;

(94)

‘ffor wel is he waar / or he wryte or speke,
What is to do or leue / Who by prudence
Rule him shal / no thinge shal out from him breke
Hastily ne of rakil negligence.’

[leaf 82, back]

(95)

¶ He a long tyme in a studie stood,
And aftir pat, thus tolde he his entente:
¶ ‘Thomas, sauf bettre auys, I holde it good,
Syn now the holy seson is of lente
In which it sit every man him repente
Of his offense / and of his wikkidnesse /
Be heuy of thy gilt / and the confesse,

¶ Impetuosa manus, &c.
¶ Si quis habet fundarem domum, non currit ad actum.
No one begins to build a house without advice.

¶ 642

¶ 644

¶ 645

¶ 648

¶ 651

¶ 652

¶ 656

¶ 658

¶ 659

¶ 663

¶ 665

Hoccleve’s friend.
Thomas, as it’s now Lent,
repent and con- fess your sins,
Hoccleve's Dialogue. How He Can Get Women's Favour Again.

(96)

'And satisfaccion do thow for it.
Thow woost wel / on wommen, greet wyt & lak'
Ofte haast thow put / be waar / lest thow be qwit.
Thy wordes fille wolde a quarter sak, 2
Which thow in whyt / depeyned haast with blak;
In hir repreef, mochil thyng haast thow write,
That they nat foryeue haue / ne foryte.

(97)

'Sumwhat now wryte in honour & preysynge
Of hem / so maist thow do correccioun
Sumdel of thyn offense and mis-beryng.
Thow art cleene out of hir affeccioun;
Now syn it is in thyn eleccioun
Wether thie list / hir loue ageyn purchase,
Or stonde as thow doost / out of loue & grace /

(98)

'Bewar, rede I / cheese the bettre part.
Truste wel this / wommen been fel and wyse;
Hem for to plese / lyth greet craft & art.
Wher no fyr maad is / may no smoke arypse;
But thow haast ofte / if thow thee wel auyse,
Maad smoky brondes / and for al hat gilt,
yit maist thow stonde in grace / if hat thow wilt.

(99)

'By buxum herte & by submission
To hir graces / yildinge thee coupable /
Thow pardon maist haue, & remission
And do vn-to hem plesance greable.
To make partie / art thow nothyng able;
Humble thy goost / be nat sturdy of herte;
Bettre than thow art / han they maad to smerte.

1 wyt, blame; not wot, the little brain that Hoccleve had.
2 A sack that holds a quarter (being a double sack), = a lot of words.—T. Austin.
HOCCLEVE'S DIALOG.  PRAISE OF WOMEN 'LL PLEASE THE DUKE.  135

(100)

'The wyf of Bathe, take I for auctrice
pat wommen hian no ioie ne deyntee
pat men sholde vp-on hem putte any vice;
I woot wel so / or lyk' to pat, seith shee.
By wordes writen / Thomas, yilde thee;
Euene as thow by scripture hem haast offendid,
Right so / let it be by wrtynghe amendid.'

(101)

"ffreend / thoğh I do so / what lust or pleisir
Shal my lord haue in pat / noon / thynkith me."

'Yis, Thomas, yis / his lust and his desir
Is / as it wel sit / to his hy degree,
ffor his desport / & mirth in honestee,
With ladys / to haue daliance:
And this book' / wole he shewen hem par chance.

(102)

'And syn he thy good lord is / he be may
ffor thee swich mene / pat the lightlyere
Shuln they foryeue thee / putte in assay
My conseil / let see / nat shal it thee dere;
So wolde I doon / if in thy plyt I were.
Leye hond on thy breest / if thow wilt so do,
Or leue / I can no more seyn ther-to.

(103)

"But thoğh to wommen thow thyn herte bowe,
Axynge hir graces / with greet repentance
ffor thy giltes / thee wole I nat allowe
To take on thee swich rule and gouernance
As they thee rede wolde / for greuance
So greet / ther folwe mighte of it, par cas,
That thow repente it sholdest ay, Thomas.
HOCCLEVE'S DIALOG. TAKE PATIENTLY WHATEVER WOMEN DO.

(104)

Eve beguilid Adam, and the serpent her.

But God said Eve should break the serpent's head.

‘Adam begyled was with Eeues reed, And sikir so was she by the Serpent, To whom god seide: “this womman thyn heed Breke shal / for thurfgh thyn enticement Shee hath y-broken my commandement.”

Now, syn womman had of the feend swich witch; To breke a mannes1 heed / it seemeth light.

(105)

So let no husband feel shame if his wife break his head.

‘ffor why, let noon housbonde / thynke it shame Ne repreef vn-to him / ne vilenye,

Thogh his wyf do to him pat selue same.

Hir reson axith haue of men maistrie

Thogh holy writ witnesse and testifie

Men sholde of hem han dominacioun.

It is the reuers in probacioun.

(106)

[leaf 24, back]

Hang up your hatchet, and sit down.

How do you and your wife get on?

Hocclese. She wouldn't like me to tell you.

‘Hange vp his hatchet / & sette him adoun;2

ffor wommen wolde assente in no manere

Vn-to pat poynt / ne pat conclusioun.

‘Thomas / how is it twixt thee & thy feere?

‘Wel, wel, quod I / what list you ther-of heere?

My wyf mighte haue hokir & greet desleyyn

If I sholde in swich cas / plye a soleyn.’

(107)

Hocclese's friend.

If you want to live in ease,

take patiently all that women say.

‘Now Thomas / if thee list to lyue in ese,

Prolle aftir wommennes beneuolence.

Thogh it be dangerous / good is hem plese,

ffor hard is it / to renne in hir2 offense.

What so they seyn / take al in paciencie.

Bettre art thou nat / than thy fadres before,

Thomas, han been / be right wel waar therafore.’

1 Why is a man's head easier to break than a serpent's?
2 Compare the Wife of Bath's Prolog and Tale.
HOCCLEVE’S DIALOG. I NEVER REPROVED WOMEN IN MY ‘CUPID.’ 137

(108)
¶ "ffreend, hard it is / wommen to greeue, I grante;
But what haue I agilt / for him pat dyde,
Nat haue I doon why / dar I me auante,
Out of wommennes graces slippe or slyde."
¶ ‘Yis, Thomas, yis / in thepistle of Cupyde
Thow haast of hem / & ful largeliche said,
That they been swart wrooth / & ful euele apaid.’

(109)
¶ "ffreend / doutelees sumwhat ther is ther-in
pat sowneth but right smal to hir honour;
But as to pat / now, for your fahir kyn,
Considereth / ther-of / was I noon Auctour;
I nas in pat cas / but a reportour
Of folkes tales / as they seide / I wroot:
I nat affermed it on hem / god woot!

(110)
“Who so pat shal reherce a mannes sawe,
As pat he seith / moot he seyn & nat varie,¹
ffor, and he do / he dooth ageyn the lawe
Of trouthe / he may tho wordes nat contrarie.
Who-so pat seith ‘I am hir’ Aduersarie,
And dispreise hir condicions and port,
ffor pat I made of hem swich a report,’ /

(111)
“He mis-auysed is / and eek to blame.
When I it spak / I spak compleynyngly;
I to hem thoghte no reprefe ne shame.
What world is this / how vndirstande am I?
Looke in the same book / what stikith by?
Who so lookith aright / ther-in may see
pat they me oghten haue in greet cheerte,

¹ This is Chaucer’s excuse for telling his naughty Tales.
(112)

"And elles / woot I neuere what is what."

The book' conclude for hem / is no nay,
Vertuously / my good freend / dooth it nat?"

"'Thomas, I noot / for neuere it yit I say.'"

"No, freend?" " 'no, Thomas' / 'Wel trowe I,
in fay;"

If you'd read it you'd confess your mistake.

ffor had yee red it fully to the ende,
yee wolde seyn / it is nat as yee wende."

(113)

Hoccleve's friend.

'Well, Thomas,
do as I bid you;
please the women.

God send you their love!

'Thomas / how so it be / do as I seide:
Sync it displeth hem / amenodes make.
If ut some of hem thee ther-of vpbreide,
Thow shalt be bisy now, I vudirtake,
Thy kut to keepe / now I thee bytakke

To god / for I moot needes fro thee weende:
The love and thank' of wommen / god thee seende!

(114)

Now and then I shall visit you before your book's done,

and see that you don't write anything to annoy women.'

'Among, I thynke thee for to visyte
Or pat thy book' fully finisshid be,
ffor looth me were / thow sholdest aght wryte
Wherthurgh / thow mightest gete any maugree;
And for pat cause / I wole it ouersee;
And, Thomas / now a dieu & fare weel;
Thow fynde me shalt / al so treewe as steel.'

(115)

When my friend was gone,

I resolv'd to work to win women's love.

When he was goon / I in myn herte drede
Stonde out of wommennes beneuolence;
And to fullfille pat / pat he me redde,
I shoep me do my peyne and diligence
To wynne hir loue by obedience.
Thogh I my wordes can nat wel portreye /
Lo, heer the fourme / how I hem obeye.
Hoccleve's Dialog. I'll English a Tale to Please the Ladies. 139

(116)

¶ My ladyes aß / as wisly god me blesse,
Why þat yee meuesed been / can I nat knowe;
My gilt cam neuere yit to the ripnesse,
Al-thogh yee for your fo / me deeme & trewe;
But I your freend be / byte me the crowe!
I am al othir to yow / than yee weene;
By my wrytynge / hath it, & shal be, scene.

(117)

But nathelesse / I lowly me submitte
To your bountees / as fer as they han place
In yow / vn-to me, wrecche, it may wel sitte
To axe pardoun / thogh I nat trespass;
Leuer is me / with pitous cheere & face,
And meek spirit, do so / than open werre
yee make me / & me putte atte werre. 1

(118)

A tale eek / which I in the Romayn deedis
Now late sy / in honur & plesance
Of yow, my ladyes /—as I moot needis,
Or take my way / for fere in-to ffrance,—
Thogh I nat shapen be / to prike or prance,—
Wole I translate / and þat shal pourage, I hope,
· My gilt / as cleene / as keuerchiefs dooth sope.

806 But, ladies,
810 tho' you think me your foe, I'm your friend, or else may the Crow bite me!
812
813
817
819
820 [leaf 26, back 1]
824
826 I'll english you a tale from the Gesta Romana.

1 At foot, in a later hand: 'Hyharie' (!).
2 Per me gabriell curtys [in a later hand at top].
XXII. THE EMPEROR JERESLAUS'S WIFE.

[For various readings from MS Reg. 17 D 6, see p. 243.]

XXII.

Fabula de quadam Imperatricce Romana.

In the Romain actes writen is thus:  1
Whilom an Emperour in the Citee
Of Roome reigned, clept Iereslaus,
Which, his noble estat & hy dignitee
Gouverned wysly; & weddid had he
The doghtir of the kyng of Vngarie,
A fair lady / to euery mannes ye.  7

(2)
And for hat beautee in womman, allone
Withouten bontee, is nat commendable,
Shee was ther-to / a vertuuous persone,
And specially pitous & merciable
In al hir wirkes / which ful couenable
And pertinent is / vn-to womanhede:
Mercy causith / good renoun fer to sprede.  14

(3)
Now in my tale foorth wole I proceede:
As hat this Emperour in his bed lay
Vp-on a nyght / a thoght gan in him breede,
Vn-to the holy land / to take his way;
And on the morwe / left\(^2\) lenger delay,
His wyf and his brothir / he made appeere
Before him / and hem seide in this maneere:

(4)
"My deere wyf / myn hertes ioie and hele,
but thyng hat stablishid in myn herte is,
I can nat hyde fro thee / ne concele,
Ne nat ne wole / and shortly it is this:
Vn-to the holy lond / I wole wywis;  26

\(^1\) b b b h h h . . . . Thomas kyngston hath Rede this gudly boke [in a later hand at the bottom of the page].  
\(^2\) l MS. lest.
And for thy / make I thee principally
Of al thempyre / me absent / 'lady;'

(5)
"Bytakynge and committyng vn-to thee,
Of peple and land / the charge special;
And vndir thee / my brothir heer shal be
Steward of it / to rule & gouerne al
That to me and my peple, greet & smal,
Profitable is / by Conseil & assent
Algat of thee / and thyn ayusament.\(^1\)

(6)
"Al-thoght thee thynke / this purpos sodeyn,
Yit be nat heuy / but in gree it take.
With goddes grace / my comyngge ageyn
Shal nat be longe to / I, for thy sake,
Wole the shorter abood / there make.
Truste me well / as blyue as that I may,
Haaste I me wole / fro thennes away."

(7)
¶ To whom / with spirit of humilitee,
She seide / "syn it is your good plesance
To departe hens / & / go to that Contree,
I take moot algates, in souffrance,
Your wil / and shal, with hertes obeissance,
As treewe as turtle / that lakkith hir feere
In your absence / I shal be / my lord deere.

(8)
"fful sore I am agast, & greetely dreede
that neuere yee shuln thennes with your lyf
Retorne / almighty god yow saue & speede!"
he [to] hir' yaf wordes confortatyf;
And kiste hir' / and seide, "farewel, wyf!"
Be nat abasshit / ne nat dreedit, I prey e;"
And foorth he hastith him in his iourneye.

\(^1\) Later scribble at side; 'h ham for . . . L L L . . . L L,' &c.
The sorwe of herte / and cheere of heuynesse
Which this good lady at his departynge
Made / the book' nat can telle or expresse;
Wherfore / of pat haue I no knowlegeynge;
Eek' kepe I nat / the belle of sorwe out rynge,
Thogh pat I kneew wel evry circumference
Of hir' wo / & hir' heuy contenance.

But when this Emperour was thus agoon,
His brothirs herte was so eleuat
And so prowde / pat by wight ne sette he noon;
Him self forgat he / for his hy estat;
The pore & simple folk / this potestat
Oppressid sore / and dide hem greet duresse;
The riche / he robbid eek' of hir' richesse.

And yit this wikkid man / this Seneschal,
Meeued was wersse / and to fullfih it / thoghtie;
he dide his might / and his peyne total,
And alle weyes / serchid he & soghte,
And to brynge it aboute he faste wroghte;
Al-thogh he faillid / at preef and assay,
He was knyt vp / with a wommanly nay.

He day by day lay / on this Emperice
To make hir' vn-to him flesshly consente;
But shee anserde / "it wer' ouer greet vice
To me / if I ther-to myn herte bente.
Nay, brothir, nay / god woot, I neuer it mente,

thomas . . Thomas kaye the sonne of thomas kay . . Thom-
mas Kaye the son of Thomas Kaye . . Thomas Kaye the sonne
. . s hus' [in a later hand in the margin].

In a later hand, at top: 'be it kouge vnto all men be thes
present Wryting.'
Ne neure shal / I truste in goddes grace;
Yee goon wrong / yee mis-chosen han your place.

(13)
“In al your lyf / yee neure, ne noon othir,
Shal make me consente to pat synne.
Shalfor shame, fy / pat yee, my lordes brothir,
And whom pat he rightfeul trust hath Inne,
Sholde any swich tale / to me begynne,
Which wer ageyn his / and your honestee,
And myn / pat am his wyf, wel known yee.

(14)
“A treewe wyf / I lyue wole & dye;
his wole I be / to whom pat I am bownde
Whyle he luyeth and I / withouten lye;
Trustith wel / it noon othir shal be fownde.”
But for al this / at every tyme & stownde
he stired hire / whan he fond hir soul,
Vnto this deede vicious and foul.

(15)
And whan shee sy / shee mighte haue no reste,—
Nat wolde he stynte of his iniquitee,—
Shee aftir three / or foure / of the grotteste
Of al thempire sente / and thus spake shee:
"Sires / the cause / pat hath meeued me
ffor yow to sende / is this / as I shal seyn,
Of which / I sore encombred am / certeyn:

(16)
"yee woot wel / pat my lord the Emperour,
In his absence / hath maad me principal
Of thempire / and his brothir gouernour
And Steward vnadir me / for to rule al,
With this addiccion / pat he nat shal
Wirke / my Conseil and assent vnhad:
This was my lordes wil / and thus he bad;
(17)

"And nathelees / the poore he hath oppressid, 113
And robbid ryche folk: / yee woot, I twe; 114
And worse thyng / which shal nat been expressid
As now / he wolde han doon / my self it knowe; 116
Wherfore / vp-on the feith / which pat ye owe
To my lord / and on his part, I yow charge
Enprisone him / let him nat goon at large; 1

(18)

ffettreth him faste" / and they answerden thus: 120
¶ "Ma dame / he hath doon many a wikkid deede
Syn our lord wente / it wel knowe is to vs.
To your commandement / as we moot neede /
We wole obeie / but withoute dreede
yee muste in this / warrante vs and allowe,
Lest our lord / when he comth / vs disallowe." 126

(19)

¶ "What, Sires," quod shee / "doutith yow right noght;
for if my lord kneew / as mochil as I,
That he hath doon / sholde be deere boggis.
pat I yow charge / wole I stande by."
They made anoone arrest on his body,
And in-to prison / they him threew & caste,
And fettred him in yren bondes faste, 133

(20)

Wher' he aboood / til pat word comen was,
How pat the Empour was hoom comyng.
Thanne he thus thoughte / "how shal I doon / alas,
Now knowe shal my lord, by enquerynge,
The verray cause of myn enprisonynge,

1 Later, at foot:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
10 & 2 & 10 & 100 \\
9 & 3 & 84 & \\
4 & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

S* to to Summa totalis 42 10
JERSELAUS'S WIFE.  HER BROTHER-IN-LAW BEGS HER FORGIVENESS.  145

Wherthergh, his grace / I vttirly shal leese,  
Or per cas / my lyf / I ne shal nat cheese;  

(21)

"In feith if I may / it shal nat be so."
A messager / as blyue ordyned he,
And made him / to the Emperice go,
And byseeche hit / of hir hy[e] bontee,
Syn shee had ay been of hir grace free,
Dat shee so mochil grace / wolde him do,
As come / and speke a word with him or two.  

(22)

"I Vn-to the dore / of his prison / shee cam;  
Withouten danger / shee ther-to obeide:
"What is your wil," quod shee / "Io, heer' I am."
He lookid pitously // ar.d meekly preide,  
"O gracious lady / reewe on me," he seide;
"If Dat my lord me fynde heer' in prison,
My deeth wole it been, & confusion.  

(23)

"My gentil lady / what shal yow profyte
To do me of a meschewous deeth sterue?  
If Dat I lyue may / wole I me qwyte
Treewely to yow / and your thank disserue.
What yow list me commande / I wole observe,
And do as humblye as any man
Dat in this world lyueth / do may or can."

(24)

And shee anoon right, meeued of pitee,  
Seide / "if [Dat] I wiste Dat of thy folie
Thow stynte woldest, & amende thee
Hens-foorth / and thee vn-to vertu applie,
My grace wolde I nat to thee denye."
He seide and swoor / al Dat he cowde swere,
Amende he wolde / and wel aftir him bere.  

1 Later, at side: 'hygte.. Thomas.. bee.'

HOCCLEVE, M. P.—II.

1 Leaf 30, back.
O noble lady / symple and Innocent,
Trustyng e vp-on his ooth and his promesse,
ful wo is me / for thy wo consequent!
Often happith / wommannes tendrenesse
Torneth hir vn-to harm / and to duresse:
This Emperice fond it so by preef,
Whom pat forsworn man / greet harm dide, & greef. 175

This man shee took' out of the prison hous,
And made him bathid been, and fresshly shawe,
And dide him clothe in clothes precious,
And a fressh Courser / eek shee made him haue,
And seide, "now, brothir / so god yow saue!
Takith your hors / and ryde foorth with me
toward my lord" / and foorth with hir rood he.

And as they riden / right in the hy way
Ny a ffores / an hert before hem ran:
Ther nas but "ryde on, ryde / and hay, dogge, hay!"
Every man dooth his peye / in what he can,
The hert to sué / ther lefte no man
With this good lady / sauf this wikkid wight,
This Steward / which brak' al pat he had hight.

Par auenture / men wole han meruaiH,
That damoisele / wit hir had shee noon:
No force of pat / the book withouten faHT
Makith no mynde / as mochil as of oon;
This chaunce shoop / many a yeer agoon;
That tyme par cas / was no awicht array
As pat in sundry Contrees is this day.

1 Later, at top: 'with' . . from eve dep.
JERESLAUS'S WIFE. SHE SHUNS HER BROTHER-IN-LAW'S PROPOSALS. 147

(29)
When this knyght sy / ther was noon but they two, 197
To themplerce / he seide in this manere:
"It is ago fern / syn I spak yow to
Of loue / come on now, my lady deere,
With me / in-to this priuue foreste heere,
That y of yow / may haue my talent!
Now shal be doon / pat I longe haue ment."

(30)
"What, fool / took I thee nat out of prono,
No lenger hens / than yestirday," quod shee,
In trust and hope / of thy correccion,
As thow svoor / and behightest vn-to me;
And now to thy folie and nycete
Retourne woldest thow / nay, doutelees
It shal nat be / stynte and holde thy pees!

(31)
"Ther neuere shal man / do with me pat deede,
Sauf my lord themplour / which pat of right
Licenced is ther-to / o, god forbeede,
pat by myn honestee / sette I so light!
Payne thee nat ther-to / for in thy might
Shal it nat be / thy wil for to perfourme;
By no way wole I me ther-to confourme."

(32)
And he answerde / and spak vnuereurently:
"But if pat thow / consente wilt to me
In this foreste / as swythe the right wole y
Hange thee by thyn heer / vp-on a tree,
Wher no wight shal thee fynde / and so," quod he, 222
Of wikkid deeth / thow sterue shalt & die;
Truste on noon help at al, ne remedie."
("By thy manaces / sette I nat a myte,"
She seide / "of hem haue I no dreede at al.
Thogh thow me thretne / myn heed of to Smyte,
And do me what torment thow canst / I shal
Thee werne ay hat / this for answer final
Take if thee list / for, to hat poynte my dryue,
Thow neure shalt / whyles I am on lyue.

"Thow woost wel / in effect / thus seide I cer."
He strypid hir anoon / left al delay,
\textit{Vn-to hir smok} / and heng hir by hir heer
\textit{Vp-on an ooke} / and by hir, hir palfray
He stonde leet / and forth on deuel way
Rood this tirant / this man malicious,
This cruel-herted man enuemyous.

And whan he had his felawshipes atake,
He blewe and blustred / and made heuy cheere;
And a strong lesyng / he gan to hem make;
He seide, "allas / hat I nere on my beere,
So wo is me / for hat my lorde seere,
My ladyd, is me reft / by force of men."
God yeye him sorwe // and a\$h\$ swiche [Amen] !

"O false lyer / o thow cofre and cheste\textsuperscript{1}
Of vnclennesse / o stynkynge Aduoutour
In wil, seye I / and willy to inceste ;
O false man to god / and thow traitour
To thy lord and brothir, the Emperour;
O enemy to wyfly chastitee,
And in thy wrike ful of cruelteee ;

\textsuperscript{1} Later, at top: 'O false lyer.'
XXIII. JERSELAUS'S WIFE. SHE IS SEEN IN THE OAK BY AN EARL.

(37)
O cursid feendly wrecche / why hast thou
Deceyued & betrayed Innocence?
What wilt thou seye / & how wilt thou looke, how,
When thou comest / to thy Lordes presence,
And art opposid by his excellence,
How that his lady hath betid[de]?
I am seur / that the trouthe shal been [hidde].

(38)
ffor as wel as that to thy compaignie
Thow lyedist / when thow hem ouertook?
As lowde wilt thou / vn-to thy lord lye,
I woot wel / and with bolde face and look.
Nathelees / of this tretith nat the book;
Wherfore to my talie wole I go,
Of this lady / and forth tell of hir wo.

(39)
Whan that she so had hanged dayes three;
By that forest / rood ther on huntynge
An Earle / that was of a strangé contree;
Beforn whoes howndes was a fox rennynge,
And they aftir it blyue folowyng;
And as that they ran / they hadde a sent
Of the lady / and thidir be they went;

(40)
And there as she heeng / they stood at a bay.
This Earle, of that meruaillynge him greetly,
Thidir him hyeth / in al that he may;
And whan he hire / there hangynge sy,
He seide / "womman / what art thou, & why
Hanglest thou in this wyse vp-on the tree?"
That "A strange womman / sire, am I" / quod shee.

1 Later, at top: 'Wh . . . Beniamen . . . benefold . . . Beniamin . . . Bones e e e e.' At side: 'Thomas, I haue my hertili comendyd vnto you of du . . . '
"Of fer[re] parties / how in-to this place
 I cam / god woot" / shee wolde by no way
 Deskeuere what shee was / ne what fallace
 Was doon to hire / cloes shee kepte hire ay,
 And tolde nat o word of hire affray.
 Than axed hire the Erl / "whos hors is this
 pat by thee standith " // quod shee, "myn it is;"

WERBY the Erl anoon right vndirstood
 pat it noon othir wyse mighte be,
 But shee sum gentil womman was of blood;
 And in his herto / routhe of hire had he,
 And seide to hire / "if it lyke thee,
 Vn-to my wil / thee confourme and enclyne /
 Deliure wole I thee / out of thy pyne.

“Lo, this I mcene / this is myn entente;
 A yong doghtir / haue I in soothfastnesse,
 Of which I wolde / if pat thee list assente,
 Thow tooke on thee to be gouneresse,
 And teche hire / as longith to a Maistresse
 pat Lordes children han in gouernaH;
 And wel wole I thee qwyte thy trauaiH;

“Myn entente is pat / and othir right noon.”
 ¶ "Sire," quod shee / gladly wole I obeye
 To yow in pat" / and shee was take anoon
 Doun fro the tree / & shortly for to seye,
 With him to his Castel / shee rood hir weye;
 And of the chykl / shee tookes the gournance,
 Which torned hire aftir to greet nusance.
Shee with this yong chylde in the Chambre lay
Every nyght / wher lay therl and the Contesse,
Betwixt whos beddes brente a lampe alway;
And wel beloued / for hire hy goodnesse,
Of every wight was / bothe more and lesse,
This Emperice / til vp-on a nyght,
Giltlesse, hir good loos / refte a wikkid wight.

Ther was a Styward / in this Erles hous,
pat to hire ofte had spoke of flesshly loue;
To whom seide athis lady gracious,
"Maad haue I an avow to god aboue,
Loueres alle / fro myn herte shoue,
Sauf only him / whom, of goddes precept,
To Loue / I holde am / and pat shal be kept.

"I truste in god / myn herteshal nat change
fro pat, whil my lyfshal soiourne in me."
"O / wilt thou so / wilt thou make it so strange;
Wilt thou noon othir wyse do," quod he.
"pat I seid haue / I woled holde," quod shee.
And whan he sy / noon othir remedie,
He wroothly wente / out of hir compaignie.

And fro thens forth / compassid in his wit,
How to be venged / vp-on hire, & wroken.
And on a nyght / vnhappily shoop it,
Left was the Erles Chambre dore vnstoken;
To which he com / and fond it was nat loken,

1 Later scribble at top and side: 'o... of... of the saide saide... of the saide... 4,000,000,000... 278231459... as... of the Of... Sy... 400,000,000... 29,000,000.'
2 Later letters often scribbled in margins: D, h, y, a w n h n, and 'myn... And for... where... hyl.'
XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE. SHE IS WRONGLY ACCUSED OF MURDER.

And theffly in staal / this wikkid persone,
Where as he fond hem slepyng euerychone. 336

(49)
And he espyde / by the lampes light,
The bed / where as pat lay the Emperice
With therles doghtir / and as byue right
This feendly man his purposid malice
Thoghite for to fullfi and accomplice;
And so he dide / a long knyf he out drow,
And ther-with-al / the mayden chyld he slow. 343

(50)
Hir throte with pat knyf / on two he kutte;
And as this Emperice / lay slepynge,
In-to hire hand / this bloody knyf he putte,
Sfor men sholde haue noon othir demyngne,
But shee had gilty been / of this murdyngne.
And whan pat he / had wroght this cursidnesse,
‘Anoon out of the Chambre / he gan him dresse. 350

(51)
¶ The Contesse aftir / of hir sleep awakid,\(^1\)
To themperices bed gan caste hir look,
And sy the bloody knyf in hire hond nakid,
And for the sere / shee tremblid and qwook\(^1\)
And roggen on hire lord / and him awook,
Preynge him / to the bed he looke wolde,
And there a meruaillous thyng / seen he sholde. 357

(52)
¶ Whan he was wel awakid of his sleep,
He lookid ther-to / as shee him besoghte,
And it byheeld / and of it took\(^1\) good keep,
And of pat meschief / him sore forthoghite
Demynge pat this cursid deede wroghte
This Emperice / as pat it was ful lyk\(^1\)
To been / and vp he threwe an heuy syk\(^1\).

\(^1\) Later, at top and in margin: ‘The Contesse . . dan (t) . . . H . . pr . . p . . .’
JERUSALEM'S WIFE. HER DEATH DEMANDED BY THE COUNTESS. 158

(53)
And hire awook' / and thus to hire he cryde,
"Womman! what is pat in thy hand I see?"
What hast thow doon, womman? for him pat dyde,
What wikkid spirit / hath trauallid thee?"
And as soone / as pat adawid was shee,
The knyf fil out of hire hond in the bed[de],
And shee byheeld the clothes al bybled[de] /

(54)
And the chyld deid? "Allas!" shee cryde, "allas!"
How may this be / god woot al / I noot how;
I am nat pryuee to this heuy cas;
The gilt is nat myn / I the chyld nat slow."
To which spak' the contesse / "what seist thow?"
Excuse the nat / thow maist nat seyn nay;
The knyf al bloody / in thy hand I say."

(55)
And thus / vn-to hir lord / shee cryde anoon:
"Slee this cursid feend / pat our chyld hath slayn!
Lat hire no lengere [now] on lyue goon!
Pat y neuere had hire seen / wolde I ful fayn,
But or shee heer cam / pat shee had be flayn!
ffor so greet wo / cam neuere to myn herte:
Slee hire as blyue / lat nat hire asterte!"

(56)
Al-thogh pat shee were in this cas vengeable,
ffor causes two / me thynkith it smal vice,
Shee was in pat in partie excusable:
\[Oon is / shee wende / pat the Emperice
Hire chyld had slayn of purposid malice;
And so it seemed / as by liklyhede,
Al be it / pat nat were it so in dede.

1 Scribbles of letters at top and in margin: 'H . Hn . f .
the loh, H H, y y y y y y, h h h h, h h, h h, non ny non, h h, s.'
pat othir cause / as woot euer y man:
In [al] the world / so louunge tendrenesse
Is noon / as is the loue of a womman
to hire chyld namisly / & as I gesse,
To hire housbonde also / where-of / witnesse
We weddide men may bere / if pat vs lyke,
And so byhoueth / a thank vs to pyke.

Now foorth / how the erl to themperice him hadde,
And how pat he gourne pat mateere,
Herkneth / with heuy cheere & wordes sadde,
To hire he spak / and seide in this maneere:
"Womman / with my swerd / slee wolde I the heere,
Sauf for awe of god / at whos reuerence
pat deede wole I putte in abstinenence.

Thow haue shalt for me noon harm at al;
But who-so strysth on the curtesie
Of thee / ful noen he deuyued be shal.
When pat thow were / on a tree hangid hye,
Where as noylikly haddest been to dye,
Thow woost wel / ther-from I deliured thee,
And with my Doghtres deeth / thow qvit hast me!

"Vnkynde womman / walke on foorth thy way;
Hye thee hens / and neuer see my face;
fir if pat I / heere-after thee see may,—
Outhir in this / or euy othir place
Of my lordshippe /—thow noon othir grace
Shalt han / but die a deeth ful villenous,
Thow wikkid womman, fals and traiterous!

This Innocent lady / no word ageyn
Spak / for shee spoken had ynow befor,
XXII. JERUSALEM'S WIFE LEAVES THE CASTLE, AND SAVES A THIEF. 155

Excusynge hire / but, al was in veyn;
ffor whan pat shee had al y-seyd and sworn,
Shee with the Erl and his wyf / was doun born;
And sikirly / where as pat no credence
May been had / wysdam conscillith silence.

(62)

If What leuee pat shee took / ne woot I nat,
Or pat shee fro pat place was y-went;—
The booke maketh no mencion of that;—
But hire palfray / shee hire self hath hent,
And so fourth roode toward the orient.
O Emperice / our lord god gyte thee,
ffor yit thee folwith more aduersitee.¹

(63)

As shee rood, on hir right hand / shee espyde
A galwe tree / to which men a theef ledde,
Hanged to been / and to hire horses syde
The spore gooth / shee haste hire thidir spedde,
ffor verray routhe hir thoghte hire herte bledde,
And to the Officers / meekly shee preide
In this wyse / and right thus shee to hem seide:

(64)

"Sires, if yow list / this mannes lyf saue
I reedy am / to yeue yow good meeede."

if "We wole wel," quod they / "what shul we haue?"
What lykith yow / for his lyf vs to beede?
Paith therfore wel / and yee shul speede."

They of the paiement / accordid were;
Shee paide / and this man / fourth shee took with here.

¹ In margin, in a later hand:

At foot:  s  d.

Of the things that I can fynde,
Hope dothe help the carefull mynde, quod Carter.

20
10 — 2
9 — 4

89 6
"Be to me treewe" / now quod shee, "my freend, 449
Syn fro thy deeth / deliured haue y thee."

"Yis, certee, lady / elles to the feend,
Body and soule bytake y," seide he;
"Noon othir wolde I / for al cristentee, 453
Been vn-to yow" / and foorth shee rood hir way,
And on his foot / this man hire folwith ay,1

Til [at] they'drow / vn-to a Citee ny,2
Whidir beform / shee bad him for to go
And take hire In / so [at] shee honestly
Mighte Inned been / and he dide right so,
And taried nat his lady longe fro,
But ageyn hire / as blyue right this man,
To bryng he hire thidir / faste wente & ran.

Shee cam in-to hir In / and aboord there
Dayes dyuerse / for hire ese and reste;
And in the Citee / fame wydewhre
Sprang / how a lady / the womanlyeste
Of cheers / port / shap / and eek' the faireste
That any wight beholde mighte or see,
Was come / and Inned hire in the Citee.

Many a lusty man / in loues art
Expert and solit / drow hem to hire In,
Weenynghe han geten [at] / of which no part

1 At foot, later:
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
  & 1 & 9 \\
 1 & 10 & 2 \\
 9 & 6
\end{array}
\]

Summa totalis: 39s 6d

2 In margin, in a later hand:
Thys ys loyn Hanock ys boke, ho so euer sayes naye,
the denyll of hell bere Thomas Carter awaye!
Know er thou knyt, and then thou mayst slake; (see p. 124)
Iff thou knyt [MS. kynt] er thou know, then hyt ys to late.
XXXI. JEREMIAH'S WIFE INQUIRES WHAT GOODS ARE IN A SHIP. 157

They gete kowde / for noon art ne gyn.
To thententees corrupt / pat they were In,
Shee wolde for no thyng / bowes & enclyue;
Hire hertes Castel / kowde they nat myne.

(69)
As fer as the boundes of homeste1 477
Requeren / shee made hem disport and cheere;
But passynge it / for al hir sotiltee,
flor profre of meede / ne for faire preyeere,
Shee change holde hir vertuous maneere;
The lessons pat they in Ouyde had red,
Halp hem right noght / they wenten thens vnsped. 483

(70)
¶ O. yee pat seyn / wommen be variant,
And can nat sad been / if they been assailid;
Yee been ful vnkonnynge and ignorant,
And of the soothe / foule yee han faillid;
Constance is vn-to wommanhode entaillid;
Out of pat fee / they nat be dryue may;
Swich hir nature is / thogh sum men seyn nay,

(71)
They stidefast been / as fer as y woot,
But it be / wher they take han a purpos
pat naght is / which, be it neuere so hoot,
They change / lest it hurte mighte hir loos,
And keepen it secree / couert & cloos,
Vnexecut / thogh of hem nat a fewe
The reuers doon / what / the feend is a shrew.

(72)
Let al this passe / ther cam to the port
Of this Citee / a ship with marchandyse
Charged / where-of hir man made report
To his lady / shee bad him in al wyse
Go thildir, and see / and him wel auyse

1 At top, later: A nunni a A a nunni A nunni k k k (?).
what's on board of it. What thyng ther-in was / & word hoom hire brynge,
Withoute any delay or tarynges. 504

(73) He thidir wente / & clothes precious,
Amonges othir thynge / there he fond;
suff ryche was the stuf, and plenteuous,
Of the ship / and the maistir, by the hond
he took / and seide / “ga we to the lond,
[\*] To my ladyes In / shwe wolde bye,
If pat yow list / sum of your marchandie.”

(74) “I wole gladly” / seide the Shipman;
And to the ladyes In / they bothe two
Goon / but before dressith him hir man,
And reported hire / as him oghte do,
What he had in the ship seen / and ther-to,
That the Shipman was come / he hir tolde,
Axynge hire / if shwe with hir speke wolde.

(75) “Yis,” quod shee / “let him in come, I the preye.”
He entred / and vn-to him thus spak shee:
“Sire / yee han in your ship heere, y seye,
Dyynere precious clothes / and if yee
Wolden some of hem brynge hidir to me,
As pat we migythe accorde, wolde y paye
In honde / and nat your paiement delaye.”

(76) “Ma dame, I graunte,” he seide / and took his leue;
And with hir / hir seruant to the ship wente,
To whom / the shipman by the way gan meuee:
“Ffreend, I am set / on a certein entente,
Vn-to the whiche / if pat thow wilt assente,
And do thy deuer / and my Conseil hyde,
That thow me kneew / thow blisse shalt the tyde.
XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE. HER THIEF-SERVANT WILL BETRAY HER. 159

(77)
"O, may I truste / may I truste in thee? 533
Thow helpe me maist / and no wight but thow.
If thow wilt so / in this necessitee,
Gold and siluer wole I thee yeue ynow."
¶ "Yis," quod this servuant, "that I make avow 537 Her thief-servant
To god / if that in my power lye,
Myn help to thee / ne wole y nat denye. 539 agrees to take the
Shipman's bribe,

(78)
"If thow heere-aftir / fynde that I gabbe, 540 [leaf 39, back]
Of my promesse / thanne dokke me;
I neuere was yit / of my tongue a labbe;
that thynge / that me told is in priuete,
Keepe I can wel / be in noon aweierte,
But anoon to me telle out al thy gole,
for treewe and trusty / be to thee y wole."
546 and vows to be
true to him.

(79)
¶ "Grant mercy," seide the Shipman; "I-wis, 547
Now feele I confort / now dar y bywreye
To thee myn hertes secree / which is this:
Swich excellence of beautee is, y seye, 551 The Shipman
In thy lady / that but if thow purweye
for me / that y hir loue may obteene,
fylshorte shuln my dayes been / y weene." 553 says he must
get hold of the
Empress.

(80)
¶ Quod this servuant / "looke how y may profyte 554 Her servant
In this, let see / and me sette in the way
How y shal do / and so shal y me qwyte,
that thy thank / disserue shal for ay;
Al shal be doon right to thyw owne pay;
Telle on / how wilt thow that I me gouerne." 558 promises to help
The Shipman seide / "and that I wole as yerne : 560 him.
160 XXII. JEREBLAUS'S WIFE. THE SHIPMAN'S PLOT TO ENTRAP HER.

(81)

[leaf 40]

The servant is to say that the Empress must come to the ship to see the cloths.

On my behalve / to thy lady weende,
And to hire seye / pat in no maneare,
Clothes out of my ship may I hire seende;
If hir good lust be, in my ship appeere,
Shee shal seen what hir list / with ful good cheere; 565
But out of my ship / wole y nothyng selle:
Right euene thus / vn-to hir seye and telle;

(82)

"But of o thyng / thow must thee wel auyse,—
Good heede ther-of take / and nat ne faitl,—
Be thow wel waer / in al maneere wyse
pat the wynd thanne / be good, hens to saith;
Al pat thow doost elles / may nat auacht;
ffor lede hire hoom / wole y to my contree:
Lo, this is al / pat y desire of thee."

(83)

fful sooth is seid / the fals and coueitous
Been soone accordid / allas! this onhede
Synful shal be / wikkid and treecherous.
O / Emperice / god the gyse and lede!
Thow haast, or this, had trouble greet & drede,
And yit a sharp storm is vn-to thee shape;
But, thankid be god / al thow shalt escate.

(84)

[leaf 44, back]

The man swears he'll do this.

Now to purpos / than seide this servant
To the Shipman / "come of, yeue me meede,
ffor heere y swere / and make couenaunt,
This shal be doon / haue theer-of no dreede."
He had[de], y not what / the deucl him speede
ffor his labour / to be doon in this caas;
And to his lady / dressith he his paas.
XXII. JERESLAUS’S WIFE. SHE IS TAKEN ABOARD THE SHIP. 161

(85)
He told hire / how the Shipman wolde nagh 589 Her thiefservant
deliure cloves / out of his vessel; tells her
But if it lyked hire / to bye[n] agh 593 she must go to
Thidir shee muste come / and he ful wel the ship to buy
clothes.
With hire wolde do / shee kneew no del
Of the treson / purposid twixt hem two,
And seide / “in goddes name / it shal be do;”

(86)"
“I reedy am to go / whan þat y shal, 596 She agrees.
Syn þat thow seist / it may noon othir be,
But othir moost y goon / or leuen al.
Let vs go thidir as swythe,” quod shee.
Ò “A / nay, madame / it may nat be” / seide he, 600
“Swich occupacioun hath he this day,
That he vn-to yow / nat entende may.

(87)
"Ma dame / vs muste abyden his leisir; 603 [leaf 41]
There-on I wole awayte bysyly;
And whan tyme is / yee shuln han your pleisir.
Often vp-on him awayte moost y,
To wite and knowe / wel and redily,1 607
The tyme / whan we shal vs thidir dresse:
Ma dame / for yow / this best is, y gesse.”

(88)
This humble lamb / this lady Innocent,
Of al this treson no notice haunyng,
Seide / “as þat thow doost / holde y me content.”
Thus hir servaunt delayed hir goynge
Til þat the wynd wel stood / the ship to brynge 614 the wind is off
shore, and then takes
Out of the port / and thidir he hir spedde,
And þat in haaste, he to the ship hire ledde. 616 her to the ship.

1 Later scribble in margin: After my most... Thomas, you be a
good samener (!)... thom... This biff made the... bII... Shi.
Whan shee withyn the Shipbord entred was, 
Vp gooth the sail / to the top of the mast.
Hire man, of purpos / lefte on londe / allass.
Quod Shee / "nat was y waar of this forcast;"
And ther-with-al / out to weep shee brast,
And seide, "what treson / doost thou, Shipman,
To me?" ¶ "nay," quod he, "no treson / womman,

"Natl meene I, but thus / lo / thus wole I do,
filesshly the knowe / and aftir wedde thee."
¶ "A vow," quod shee / "maad haue I god vn-to,
pat neuere so / shal ther man do to me,
ffor thyng in this world / outake oonly he
To whom y am y-bownden to / and knyt;
The labour is in vein / to speke of it."

¶ "Keepe in thy wordes / womman, I thee rede," 631
Quod he / "considere and thynke wel, pat thow
Of thy lyf standist in peril and drede,
ffor in middes of the See been we now.
To me conforme / it shall be for thy prow,
Elles in-to the See wole I thee caste;
Truste me wel / so wole y do as faste."

¶ "Now wel," quod shee / "syn y may nat asterte 638
My deeth / but y your entente fulsille,
Al-thogh it be greetly ageyn myn herte;
Yit rather than pat yee me sle or kille,
Wole y assente / so it be your wilt,
In the ende of the ship / for to orderyne
An honest place / and pryue / for vs twyne.

1 MS. and and.
(93)

"It is nat / as I hope / your entente\textsuperscript{1}

In open sighte of folk / do with me so:

Hard were it make me / ther-to consente,

for pat / a greet encrees were of my wo;

Yit leuer were it me / my lyf forgo.

A pryuee place, as I seide / puruye

ffor vs / pat folk see nat / how we foyleye."

(94)

\textquoteleft He in the ship / where as was his plesance,

A place ordeyned / curtyned aboute,

In-to the which / with heuy contenance,

Whyles he speek\textsuperscript{2} with his meynée withoute,

Shee entred hath / and anoon gan to loute

To god / right on hir knees she hir prayere

Made / as I to yow shal rehercen heere:

(95)

\textquoteleft O god, our Lord, Ihesu, our Saueour,

pat fro my youthe / haast kept me to this day,

Curteys Ihesu / me keepe now this hour

from al pollution / so pat y may,

With herte cleene / in this woful affray,

My soule yilde to thy deitee;

Mercyful lord / of this byseeche y thee!"

(96)

Nat endid was hire orison vnnethes,

But swich a tempest / aroos in the See,

pat the ship brast / and there took hire dethes

They pat ther in weren / the hool meynee,

Sauf oonly this maistir shipman / and shee:

By oon of the bordes / shee faste hire heeld,

Which from hire deeth was hire defense & sheeld, 672

\textsuperscript{1} In margin, later scribble: A nunny . . A nunn . . hou . .

In the . . In the . . In the . . In.

M 2
XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE ENTERS A NUNNERY. HEALS THE SICK.

(97)

And broghte hire vp / vn-to the land saufly. 673
To an othir bord / this maister shipman
Eek claf / and was sauf / this fil worsdirly:
Many maistries our lord god do can;
And pat this lady, this noble woman
Was sauf / this maistir shipman kneew no deel,
Ne shee / pat he fortuned had so weel. 679

(98)

¶ Of this shipman / speke y no more as now; 680
But this lady / vn-to a Nonnerie
pat was but there faste by / hir drow,
Wher the ladyes / of hir conpaignie
Were ful glad, & of hir genterie
Recayeundi hire / al thoght pat no notice
They hadde / of hire estat of Emperice. 686

(99)

[leaf 43]

And there abood shee / a long tymes space 687
In holy lyf / and vertuous clennesse;
Vn-to whom god yaf / and shooop swich a grace,
pat shee kowde hele folk of hir seekeynesse,
What so it were / and thidir gan hem dresse
ffrom euery part / and euery Cuntree,
They pat felten any infirmitie.1 693

(100)

Her cursed brother-in-law

Than shooop it / he pat to the Emperour 694
Was brothir / which this lady on a tree
By hire heer vp heeng / pat cursid traitour,
Miroir of malice and iniquitee,
As foul a leepre was / as mighte be: 698
Lo, thoght god him / to wreke a whyle abyde,
The fals and wikkid, qwityth he sum tyde. 700

1 Later scribble in margin: 'Righte welle... Robarte... Robarte... if hrmmm.'
XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE. HER & BETRAYERS ARE ALL DISRAED. 165

(101)
The knyght eek which the Erles doghtir slow—
The Emperce & shee / bothe sleepeynge,
As I before told haue / vn-to yow—
Was blynd and deef / and also the tremblyngge
Of palesie / sore gan him wrynge:
No force how sore / swich a wreche smerte,
That to wommen / so cruel is of herte.

(102)
¶ The theef / which to the maistir of the ship
Betrayed themperice, his lady, als
from harm ne greef / kowde nat make a skip—
God sheelde he sholde / he pat was so fals
To hire / pat from the roop[e] kepte his hals—
Potagre and gowty / & halt he was eek',
And was in othir sundry wyse seek'.

(103)
¶ The Shipman had also the franesie,
pat with this Emperce / hadde ment
fulfillid his foul lust of adnoutrie,
Which was in him / ful hoot and ful feruent :
See how sH hem / pat to this Innocent,
This noble lady / had y-doon greuance,
Our lord god qwitte / with strooke of vengeance.

(104)
¶ Yee men, whos vsage is, wommen to greeue,
And falsely deceyue hem and bytraye,
No wondir is / thogh thys mis happe & cheeue:
God qwyte yow wole / and your wages paye
In swich[e] wyse / pat it yow shal affraye.
Let goddes wrecches hens-fouorth yow miroure,
ffor, but if yee do / yee shul bye it soure.
(105)

[leaf 44]

When the Emperor hears of the Holy Woman who heals all sicknesse,

Now to the Emperour, torné Wolfe y,
Which, when he herde / pat in an Abbeye
Of Nonnes / was a womman so holy,
And ther-to so konnynge, he herd[e] seye,
That voide kowde shee / and dryue aweye
Seeknesse aft / of what kynde or nature
They weren / and hem hele wel & cure,

(106)

he hides his leprous brother go with him to her,

Right thus vn-to his brothir seide he tho :
"To this holy womman / best is pat we,
As faste as we may make vs reedy, go,
Syn, so good / and so gracious is shee,
pat of thy leepre / shee may cure thee."
This was assentid / they hem haste & bye
In what they may / vn-to pat Nonnerie.

(107)

The Abbess and Convent meet the Emperor,

Knowen vn-to thabbesse & hir Couent
How pat the Emperour / was ny comynge,
Ageyn him in procession / arn they went,
Hir servise ful deolutely syngynge,
And dide al / pat was to swich cas longynge.
And when he in thabbeys was alight,
Thus of thabbesse / he axid anoon right :

(108)

[leaf 44, back]

and tell him they have a Woman of unequald power.

"Is ther any swich womman in this hous,
As folkes hele can of hir seeknesse?
Men seyn, heere is a womman merueillous :
Sial it be fownden soo" / he seide, "Abbesse?"

¶ And shee answerde / "Sire, in soothfastnesse
A good womman / dwellynges is / with vs heere,
Which in vertu / we knownen noon hir peere."
She dide hir come anoon / to his presence; 757 The Empress
But with hir veil / hir face hid had shee,
To been vnknowe / and dide him reverence,
As longid vn-to his hy Dignitee.
And right as blyue / of hirs axid he,
"Can yee my brothir / of his maladie
Of leepre, cure, and of meselrie?"
761

"If pat yee can / now tell on, y yow preye,
for your labour / ful wel qwyte wole y."
But or pat shee / aght wolde answeres & seye,
She caste hir look about[en] / and there sy
The Empoures brothir stande by,
pat leepre was / and eek' tho othir three
pat had hir doon so greet aduersitee,
768
764
768
770

That is to seyn / the knyght, theef, and shipman;
771 [leaf 45]
And thanne shee spak' / and seide in this wyse:
"Sire / noon pat is heere, y cure can;
I may nat take vp-on me pat empryse—
Ther-to may nat my konnynge souffyse—
But if pat they / an open shritfe make
Of hire offenses dirke & synnes blake."
775
777

"To his brothir / than spak' this Empour:
"Among aH vs / thee openly confesse;
Spare nat to deskuere thyn errour,
Syn pat thow ther-by / maist, of thy seeknesse
Cured be / telle out al thy wikkidnesse;
782 Be nat abasshit / it manly is to synne,
1 f humanum est "pecare, &c.
But feendly is / longe lye ther-ynne."
784

1 Later, above this: Iohn.
The Brother makes a sham confession,

ffor forme / a confession made he, 785
Swich as it was / but how the Emperice,
his lorde wyf / he heeng vp-on a tree

but not of his sin against the Empress.

By hire hear / tolde he nat / pat cursid vice,
ffor torne it sholde him / in-to præjudice 789
And harm also / deskeuere kepte he noght,
Yit afterward / he ther-to was y-broght. 791

Whan pat his lewde shrifte was y-do, 792
"Sire," quod shee / " laboure y sholde in veyn,
If aght I leide / your brothir vn-to,
ffor he maad haath / noon hool[e] shrifte, ne pleyn."

¶ This Emperour vn-to him spak' ageyn :
"Woost thow nat weel / thow art a foul mesel?"
Telle out, let see / shryue thee cleene and wel, 798

"Or truste me weel / for pat encheson) 799
Thow voide shalt / out of my compaignie."

¶ "O Lord" he seide / " but if your pardon
Yee me promette / I dar nat specifie
O word of my gilt / I yow mercy crye."

¶ Quod themperour / "what, haast thow agilt me?"
¶ "Certes, right greeuously / my lord," seide he. 805

¶ "Now," quod the Emperour / "and haast thow so?"
And of the Emperice / he thoght he nat, 807
But weenyng / shee many a day ago,
Deed had been / seide / " what offense is that?
Be nat aferd / but teH on plein & plat,
ffor what so pat it be / y foryeue al;
Truste wel / pat y seye, y holde shal."1 812

1 Later scribble at foot, c. 1500, 'per me wylyam . . per me me wylyam Hopkins.'
JERESL.'S WIFE. HER FALSE BROTHER-IN-LAW CONFESSIONS HIS SIN. 169

(117)
Therewith, al was his brothir herted weel: 813
Al how the Empyrice had he betrayed,
Before hem aH / he tolde out euvrydeel;
Whereof / the Empyraur was sore affrayed.
His brothir's reward / had nat been vnpayed,
Nad promesse of the Empyraur him bownde
To pardoñ / for which wo was him pat stownde; 819

(118)
Almoost he was / out of him self certyn;— 820
So seith the book / and pat was no meruailH.
What lord is pat / if swich a word sodeyn
To him cam of his wyf / whos gouernaíH
Was hirs lykH / but ny to sholde him faíH
his wit and his good dispositiñ
ffor the sodeyn woful impression)? 824

(119)
ffor falle anoon sholde in his remembrance 827
Hir vertuous manere and wommanhede,
hir beautee / shap / good cheere & daliñce:
Al this considered / withouten drede,
Out of the weye of ioie / him wolde lede,
The mis / of so vertuous a persons;
And yit nat for pat encherson) allone! 831

(120)
But also the vnkyndely treson 834
Of his brothir / pat him to him had qwit
So falsely / me thynkith by resoñ
Stike right ny / vn-to his herte ogfite it,
And causen him / ful many an heuy fit;
But natheles / wit axith, & prudence,
Al thyng pat falith / take in paciñce. 840

1 Later scribble in margin: 'spindlye (?) Ralm . . Rv 2 (?) be that . . he that my . . he that in youth no verke will vae, all . . thomas . . ddcn . . god . . y, d, d d M c. c' . . d . . d . . ij daye . . And . . iiij D . . hud . . h . . m, m.'
(121)

"Now to my purpos / themperour tho spak'" 841
To his brothir / and thus he to him seide:
"Thow cursid wrecche / thow demoniak'!
pat our lord god / which for vs alle deide,
The strook of his vengeance / vp-on thee leide, 845
No wondir is / had y this befor wist,
and said he'd
Thy body sholde han the grownd swept & kist; 847

(122)

punish him sharply if he hadn't promist to forgive him.
"And ther-to eek / as sharpe[e] punishement 848
As pat dyuye ther kowde any wight,
Thow sholdest han y-pressed by the sent;
But holde wole y / pat y thee haue hight."

Then the Knight
"And thanne confesse him / began the knyght 852
pat the Erles doghtir slow / "as shee sleep,"—
lo, thus he seide / takith now good keep1— 854

(123)

[leaf 47]
"Notice noon," seide he, "ne knowlechynge 855
haue y of pat lady / ne who it is,
But as my lord the Erl rood on huntynge
In a foreste ones / wel woot y this,
A fair lady he fond hangynge Iwis 859
On a tree by hire heer / and of pitee
And routhe meeued / hire adoun took he, 861

(124)

"And to his Castol / with him hire he ladde, 862
And the charge / bytook to hire, and cure,
To keepe a yong Doghtir / which pat he hadde,
Hire to teche and to lerne nurture.
But to me shoop ther / a mis-aventure;
I bisyed me / to haue by hire leyn;
And al my labour / ydil was and veyn.

1 Later, at foot: 'Thomas Onalor . . . moste.'
J. 's Wife. KNIGHT AND THIEF CONFESSION THEIR SINS AGAINST HER. 171

(125)
"f for any craft / pat euere kowde y do,
To me shee wolde assente by no way;
I kowde in no wyse / brynge hire ther-to;
hire answere was euere oon / & that was 'nay;'
Which was nothyng / vn-to my lust and pay;
Wherfore meued was y, nat a lyte,
But ful greetly / and hire y thoghte qwyte,1 875

(126)
"And in hir bed / as shee lay on a nyght,
This yonge maide / and shee sleeepyng faste,
I kilde the chyld / and ther-with, foorth-right
The bloody knyf / in-to the hand y thraste
Of the lady / for pat men sholde caste
And suppose / how pat no wight but shee
Mighte of this slaghitre and murdre gilty be, 882

(127)
"And thenes / my lord maade hire voyde anoon;
But wher shee becam / am y nat priuue;2
God woot / pat knowleche / haue y ther-of noon.”
If Than spak' the theef / " y noot whom meene yee,
But a lady of excellent beautee
Allone and soul / cam by the way rydynge,
Whan for my gilt / y led was to hangynge;

(128)
"And whan pat this lady benigne & good,
Had hir look toward me cast, and espyed
from a-fer / in what mescheef pat y stood,
hire herte anoon / of pitee was aplyed,
Me to socoure and helpe / and hath hire hyed
Vn-to the place / wher deed sholde y be,
And payde for my lyf / and saued me; 896

1 In margin, by a later hand, c. 1500:
'of all good things the worlde brought forth,
a faithful frende ys things moste worthe' . . .
'governor.' (later still) 'i shall the thynges the world brought forth'. . . 'y'. . . 'H. Pershe' (l)
2 'lay' (later, at side).
172 JERESL'S WIFE. THE SHIPMAN CONFESSIONS HIS SIN AGAINST HER.

(129)

"And afterward, I, as a fals traitour
Ageyn hir gentillesse and hy bontee,
To a shipman / which was a foul lechhour,
Betrayed hir / and to his Contree
him shoop lede hire / this man delauze,
And yer in-to the See y saw hem saift;
But what fil aftir / woot y nat sanz fait."  

(130)

The Shipman confesseth that he did so,

 ¶ "Swich a fair lady, certein y receuyed
In-to my ship" / seide the Shipman tho,
"And thoghte hane hire defrouid & deceuyed
Amiddes the See / but shee preide so
To god / pat my desyr was y put fro;
I mighte nat achedee my purpoos.

but a storm

Whan shee had preid / an hidous storm aroos,

(131)

"And shortly / of this for to speke and telle,
The wynd ful sore / in the sail bleew & haf,
And the wawes began to bolne & swelle,
And our taklynge brast / and the ship claf
In two / of seurtee loste y ny the staf;
Vndir the watir / wenent euerychone;
and he alone

My self except / knowe I no sauf persone.

(132)

[leaf 68, back]

"By a bord of the ship, heeld y me haste;
And as pat my fortune shoop pat tyde,
The wawes me sauf vp-on the land caste."

¶ This Emperice list no lengere hyde

escaped to land.

The Empress says the four guilty men are now clean shriven.

What pat shee was / but spak' / and sumdel cryde

1 On hy / and to hem seide in this manere:
"Now been yee cleene shryuen / freendes deere;

1 In margin, later: 'Iohn bo... b b.'
XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE REJOINS HIM. 173

(133)

"Now shul yee alle haue of me medecyne."
Shee dide hir art / & helid eueri wyght
Of his seeknesse / & voidid al his pyne;
And from hir heed / shee hath hir veil y-plight,
And hem hir face shewid anoon right.
And as swythe / as the Emperour hir sy,
pat shee his wyf was / kneew he verraily;

(134)

And withouté delay / to hire he sterte,
And hire embraced in his armes tweyne,
And kiste hire often / with vnfeyned herte;
But fro weepynge / he kowde him nat restreyne,
Thogh it nat causid were of greef & peyne,
But of the inward ioie which pat stownde
He took', by-cause he had his wyfe y-fownde.

(135)

¶ O / many a wrecche is in this lond, y weene / 'pat thogh hir wyf len gere had been him fro,
No kus / but if it had been of the spleene,
Shee sholde han had / & furthermore also,
fyndynge of hire / had been to him but wo,
for him wolde han thoght pat swich a fyndynge,
To los sholde han him torned, and harmynge.

(136)

No force of pat / my tale I now thus eende:
Hoom vn-to his Paleys this Emperour
And his good lady themperice weende,
And lyueden in ioie and by honour
Til pat the tyne of deeth cam, and his hour,
Which pat no wyght eschue may, ne flee;
And whan god list / also dye shul we.

Explicit fabula de quadem Imperatrice Romana.
My friend came
M y freend, aftir, I trowe, a wike or two
That this tale endid was / hoom to me cam,
And seide / "Thomas / hastow almost do?"
To see thy werk? / hidir comen y am."
My tale anoon y fette / and he it nam
In-to his hand / and it al ouresy ;
And aftirward / he seide thus therby :

and lookt thr' this tale,

(1)

[leaf 69, back]

"Thomas, it is wel vn-to my lykyng ;
But is ther aghit pat thow purposist seye
More on this tale?" " nay, my freend / no thyng."
"Thomas / heere is a greet substance aweye:
Where is the moralizynge / y yow preye,
Bycome heere-of / was ther noon in the book?
Out of the which / pat thow this tale took?"

(2)

I'd never seen
one.

So my friend
went home,

(3)

I'd never seen
one.

" No certes, freend / ther-in ne was ther noon."
"Sikirly, Thomas / there-of I meruaiH;
Hoom wole y walke / and retourne anoon ;
Nat spare wole y / for so smal trauaiH,
And looke in my book / there y shal nat faiH
To fynde it / of pat tale it is parcel,
ffor y seen hauce it ofte / & knowe it wel."

(4)

fetcht it, and left
it with me.

And I at once
Enlgišt it in
prose.

He cam ther-wiTh / and it vn-to me redde,
Leuynge it with me / & hoom wente ageyn ;
And to this moralizyng I me spedde,
In prose wrytyng it / hoomly and pleyn,
ffor he conseillid me / do so / certeyn ;
And lo / in this wyse and maneere it seith,
Which to pat tale is good be knyt, in feith :

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)
Hic incipit moralizacio.

This Emperor pat y spak of aboue / is our lord Ihesu Christ / his wyf / is the soule; Themperoures brothir is man / to whom god committed and bytook the cure and the charge of his Empire / pat is to seyn, of his body / & natheles principally of the soule / but the wrecchid flesh ful often sythe stirreth and excith the soule vn-to synne / but the soule pat entierly loueth god abouen alle thynge / makith euere resistance vn-to synne / and takith his mightes & powers / pat is to seye, reson / wil / intellect and conscience, & makith swich inobedient flesh to the spirit, to been enprisoned in the prison of penance / til it obeye in all thynge to reson. ¶ Themperour, pat is to seye, Cryst, is to come to the synners / & thanne the flesh cryeth, axynge grace / and as often as he hath mercy / he hath hope / & for trust & hope of mercy / the rathele wole he synne. ¶ Agyyn swiche folk spekith holy scripture in this wyse: ¶ "Accursid is or be pat man pat synneth in hope" / to which the soule is often sythe enclyned / shee leith the flesh goon out of the prison of penance / shee wasshith & pourgith the flesh of the filthes of synne / clothynge it with goode vertues, & makynge it ascende / and worthye vp on the steede of charitee / to ryde in good wirkes and deedes / pat it may mee with god in the holy day of Estren / but allass and wele-away / often sythe the synnere offendith and trespacheth by the way in pat holy tyme / where-of the hert rysith / pat is to seyn, Delectacion of synne / and all the wittes rennen aftir synne / and the howndes / pat is to seyn, the wikkid thoghtes, alway berken, & maken swich instigacion / pat man, pat is to seyn, the flesh and the soule, been to-gidere left with-outen any vertu / and
the flessh apparecyuynge þat / solicitith and bysyeth hire / stirynge the ful noble soule, which is Crystes spowse / vn-to synne / but natheless the soule þat is wel beloued of god, and vn-to Cryst weddid & oned, wol nat forsake god and consente to synne / wherfore the wrecchid flessh despoillith often and robbith the soule of hir clothes / þat is to seyn, goode virtues / and hire hougith on an ook / þat is to seyn, worldly deleyt & delectacion / by the hecre / þat is to seyn / by wikkid concupiscences and desires, til the Erl / þat is to seyn, t.l.e 1prechour or discreet confessour, hunte in the foreste of this world with vertuous sarmonynge & prechynge / yeuynge Conseil and red to Do goode and vertuous deeds / berkyng / þat is to seyn, pronuncynge the wordes of holy scripture / and thus the discreet Confessour or prechour ledith the lady / þat is to meene, the soule / vn-to the howes of holy chirche / for to teche & norisshe the maiden / þat is to seyn / to hele the conscience with the wirkes of mercy. ¶ The Erl, before his bed hath a laumpe / þat is to seyn, the discreet confessour, prelat or prechour / hath alway befor the yen of his herte the laumpe of holy scripture / in which he seeth the grieves and annoyes of the soule, & tho thynges eek þat ther-to been profitable and necessarie / þat is to seyn / drawynge or plukkyng out of it / vices / and puttyng or ymptyng in it vertues. ¶ The Styward þat excited and stired hire to synne / certein, þat is pryde of lyf / which is the Styward of this world / by whom many folk been deceyued and begyled / but the soule of god beloued / wol nat consente to pryde / what 2dooth therfore worldly pryde / certein, it takith the knyf of auarice / whan shee profrith a man a purs ful of moneye / castynge it befor the yen of a man / and so shee sleeth the maiden, þat is to seyn, good conscience / where-of

* At top, later: "Munera execant oculos Judicium."
it is writen thus: ¶ "Yiftes or meede blynden the
Iuges yen / and perueren wyse men /" so pat equitee
or euenehede mighte nat entre / but stood al a-fer / and
the iugement was tornd vp so doun / Swiche been
they pat been, or oghte been, put out of the Chirches
lappe or bosom. ¶ The lady rood soul or allone / and
apparceuyynge a man led to the galwes, &c / This man
may be led to his deeth by dealdy synne wirkynges / let
vs theryfore do / as dide pat lady / shee smoot hir hors
with hir spores / so sholde we do / we sholden prikke
our flesh with the spores of penance / and helpe and
socour our neibourgh in his necessite, nat oonly
with goodes temporel / but also with goodes spirituell.
¶ Where-of seith Salomon: ¶ "wo is pat man pat
lyth soul in synne / & hath no wight to be holpen by
or comforted." ¶ O hye thee, man, hye thee / areise or
rere vp thyn neibourgh 1pat is doun faHT / for the
brothir pat is holpen of his brothir is lyk a strong or
sad Citee / "who so oonly yeueth cold watir to his
brothir to drynke / he shal nat leese his meede" / but
manye vnkynde folk' ther been, as was the theef pat
betrayed his lady aftir shee had saued him from his
deeth / Some men yildenafil euel ageyn good to hem
doon / where-of spekith ysaye thus: ¶ "wo be to them
pat callen good euel / and euel good." ¶ The Maistir
of the ship is the feend / by whom many folk been
decyued in the See / pat is to seyn, in this world /
AH thynges been vanitee, seith Ecclesiastes / but the
ship is broken as ofte as any wight cheeheet wilful
pouert / and he pat obeieth to his Prelat in ah thynges
for god / thanne hatith he the world and the con-
cupiscence of it / It is impossible to plese the world
and god. ¶ The lady wente to the Abbye / So
torned the soule to holy lyf fro worldly tribulacionis /

² At top, later: "Item to wylylyam harugh for my pond of
chereis [i] j."
wherthugh all the wittes by whiche the soule vexed was, and troubled / been infect with dyuerse seeknesses / as ye / by the concupiscence of yen / heerlynge / by detraccon, ¹ and so foorth / wherfore the soule may nat openly be seen of Cryst, hir spowse / til pat all the wittes be confessed openly / and thanne douteles the soule may be led to the ioie of paradys, to which he vs brynge, pat starf for our redempcon, amen.

 Explicit moralizatio,

& incipit ars stillissima sciendi mori ...
Cum omnes homines naturaliter scire desiderant & c’ ..

Since all men desire knowledge,

Syn alle men naturelly desyre
To konne / o. eterne sapience,
O vniuersel Prince / Lord & Syre,
Auctour of nature / in whos excellence
Been hid alle the tresors of science,
Makere of al / and pat al seest & woost,
I ask Thee, Lord,
This axe y thee / thow lord of mightes moost,

(1)

to open Thy treasure of wisdom to me.

Thy tresor of wisdam / & the konnyng
Of seintes / opne thow to me, y preye,
pat y ther-of / may haue a knowlechynge ;
Enforme eek me / and vn-to me by-wreye—
Syn thow of al science berst the keye—
Sotil matires right¹ profownde & greete,
Of whiche / y feruently desire tretre.

(2)

[leaf 53]

¶ "O sone myn / saouure nat so hye, ¹ Sapientia. 15
But dreede / herkne / and y shal teche thee
Thyng pat shal to thy soule fructifie ;
¹ Sotile materes A (Ashburnham MS).
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

A chosen yifte shalt thou haue of me;
My lore / eternal lyf shal to thee be,
The dreede of god / which the begynynge is
Of wisdom / shal thou lerne / & it is this:

Wisdom says the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom. (Ps. xvi. 10.)

(4)
"Now herkne a doctrine substancial,
1st, how Lerne Dye / telle wolde y;
2nd, how that a man lyue shal;
3rd, how a man sacramentally Receyue me shal / wel and worthyly;
4th, how with an herte cleene & pure That a man loue me shal and honoure."

(5)
"Thynges good lord, haue y euere
Desired for to knowe / and hem to leere;
Vn-to myn herte ther is nothyng leuere;
A bettir thyng / can y nat wishen heere;
But tellith me this / this fayn wolde y heere
What may profyte the lore of dyynge,
Syn deethe noon haunynge is / but a pryuyynge

(6)
"for shee, man reueth of lyf the sweetnesse."
" Some, the art to lerne for to dye
Is to the soule an excellent sweetnesse,
To which y rede / thou thyng herte applie;
Ther is noon art / that man can specifie
So profitable / ne worthy to be
Preferred artes all / as that is shee.

(7)
"To wite and knowe / that man is mortel,
It is commune / vn-to folkes alle;
That man shal nat lyue ay heer / woot he wel;
No trust at al / may in his herte falle,
That he eschape or flee may dethes galle,

1 shalt A, om. D. 2 leere A.
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

But fewe pat can die / shalt thou see;
It is the yifte of god / best pat may been. 49

(8)

"To lerne for to die / is to han ay
Bothe herte and soule / redy hens to go,
That whan deeth cometh / for to cacche hir pray,
Man rype be / the lyf to twynne fro,
And hir to take / and receyue also
As he that the comynge of his felawe
Desirith / and is ther-of glad & fawe. 56

(9)

"But more harm is / ful many oon shalt thou fynde,
pat ageyn deeth / maken no purueance;
Hem lothen / deeth for to haue in hir mynde;
pat thoght / they holden thoght of encombeance;
worldly sweitnesse / sleeth swich remembreance;
And syn to die / nat lerned han they,
sfro the world twynne / they wolde in no way. 63

(10)

"They mochil of hir tyme / han despended
In synne / and for-thy / when, vnwaarly, deeth
Vp-on hem fallith / and they nat amendid,
And shal from hem byrue wynd and breeth,
ffor shee vnreedy fynt hem / whan shee sleeth / 68
To helle goon tho soules miserable,
There to dwelle in payn perdurable. 70

(11)

"Deeth wolde han ofte a brydil put on thee,
And thee with hire / led away shee wolde,
Nadde the hand of goddes mercy be.
Thow art ful mochil / vn-to pat lord holde,
pat, for thow wrappid were in synnes olde,
he spared thee / thy synnes now forsake,
And vn-to my doctrine / thow thee take! 77

1 ther-of is A. 2 right A.
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(12)

"More to thee profyte shal my lore
Than chosen gold / or the bookes echone
Of Philosophers / and for that the more
Feruently / sholde it stire thy persone
Vndir sensible ensample thee to one
To god / and thee the better for to thewe,
The misterie of my lore / y shal the shewe." 1

(13)

"Beholde now the liknesse and figure
Of a man dyyng and talkyng with thee." 2
¶ The disciple, of that espeche took good cure,
And in his conceit / byslyly soghte he,
And ther-with-al / considere he gan, & see
In him self put / the figure & liknesse
Of a yong man of excellent fairnesse,

(14)

Whom deeth so ny ransakid had, & soght,
that he withynne a whyle sholde dye.
And for his soules helthe / had he right noght
disposid / al vnready hens to hye
Was he / and therfore he began to crye
With lamentable vois / in this maneere,
that sorwe and pitee greet / was it to heere: 3

(15)

¶ "Environd han me, dethes waymentynges,
Sorwes of helle han compaced me;
Alias, eternel god! o. kyng of kynges,
Wher-to was y born / in this world to be;
O. alias / why in my natuitlee

1 In the Ashburnham MS the inside double-leaf of the next quire has been sewn up as the outside of the other, so that stanzas 19-24 here come before stanzas 13-18. In like wise, stanzas 25-30 here come in the Ashburnham MS. after stanzas 31-36 here.

3 In margin, later, † about 1500,
Before thou pretend any evill in thy harte,
Remember the end when thou shalt departe, † Carter.
Nadde I perisshid o, the begynnynge
Of my lyf was with sorwe & with weepynge,

(16)
"And now myn ende comth / hens moot y go
With sorwe / waylynge and greet heuynesse.

O. deeth, thy mynde is full of bittir wo;
Vn to an herte wont vn-to gladnesse,
And norissynd in delicat sweetnesse,
Horrible is thy presence / and ful greeuable
To him pat vong is / strong and prosperable.

(17)
"Litil wende y so soone to han deid:
O cruel deeth / thy comynge is sodeyn;
Sful vnwaar was y / of thy theefly breid;
Thow haast as in awayt / vp-on me leyn;
Thy comynge vn-to me / was1 vncerteyn;
Thow haast vp-on me stolen / and me bownde;
Escappe y may nat now / my mortel wownde.

(18)
"Thow me with thee drawist in yren cheynes,
As a man dammned / wont is to be drawe
To his torment / outrageous been my peynes.
A, now for sorwe / and fere of thee & awe,
With handes slight / y crye / and wolde fawe
Wite the place whidir for to flee;
But swich oon / fynde can y noon / ne see.2

(19)
"I looke on euery syde bisly,
But help is noon / help and confort been dede;
A vois horrible of deeth / sownynge heere y,
Pat seith me thus / which encressith my drede:
Thow dye shalt / reson noon / ne kynrede,

1 Thyn hour was vn-to me ful—A.
2 A. goes on with st. 31, p. 186: "Or as an arwe shot out of a bowe," the leaf being misplaced.
How to Learn to Die.

friendship / gold / ne noon othir richesse
May thee deliure / out of deethes duresse. 133

(20)
"Thyn ende is comen / comen is thyne ende,
It is decreed / ther is no resisteence.'
lord god / shal y now die / and hennes weende? Whethir not changed may be this sentence;
O. lord, may it nat put been1 in suspense? 1 be pat A. 138
Shal y out of this world so soon go?
Allas / wole it noon othir be than so? 2

(21)
"O deeth, o deeth, greeet is thy crueltee!
Thyn office al to sodeynly doost thow.
Is ther no grace? lakkist thow pitee?
Spare my youthe / of age ryte ynow
To dye / am y nat yit / spare me now !3 3 Dadd's ynow.'
How cruel pat thow art / on me nat kythe!
Take me nat out of this world so swythe!" 147

(22)
¶ Whan the disciple this complayne had herd,
He thoghte al pat he spak / nas but folie,
And in this wyse / he hath4 him answerd: ką hatch vn to A. The Disciple answers the dying man:
¶ "Thy wordes, freend / withouten any lye,
pat thow hast but smal lerned / testifie;
Euene to al / is deethes iugement;
Thurgh-out the world / strechthir hir paiement. 154

(23)
"Deeth / favorable is to no5 maner wight; osw. no A. 155 'Death has no
To al / hir self / shee delith equally;
Shee dredithe heth nat / pat been of greet might,
Ne of the olde and yonge / hath no mercy;

2 In margin, later, c. 1500:
Some deserv or they desyer / and yett they lackes
that they Requyre;
Some desyer or they desarve / and yett the[y] quod Carter.
gayne whylle other starve,
The ryche & poore folk eek certainly
She sesith / shee sparith right noon estaat;
Al pat lyf berith / with hir chek is maat.¹

(24)

"Ful many a wight / in youthe takith shee,
And many ² an othir eek² in middil age, ² [con also A.
And some nat / til they right olde be:
Wendist thow han been / at swich avantage
Pat shee nat durste / han paied thee thy wage,
But oonly han thee spared & forborn,
And the prophets deid han heer-beform?"

(25)

¶ Than spak thymage / answerynge in this wyse:
"Soothly thow art an heuy confortour;
Thow vndirstandist me nat / as the wyse:
They pat continued han in hir erroour,
Lyuynge in synne / vn-to hir dothes hour,
Worthy be dampned for pat they han wroght;
And how ny deeth is / they ne dreede noght.

(26)

"Tho men ful blynde been, & bestial.
Of pat shal folwe / aftir this lyf present,
fforsighte / swiche folk han noon / at al.
I nat bewaille dothes iugement;
But this is al the cause of my torment;
The harm of vndisposid deeth / y weepe;
I am nat reedy / in the ground to creepe,

¹ At foot of leaf 56, later, c. 1500:
The bwrett of evil tongues / what woman can eschew?
or who can let a fowle to wytt / the things that is vntrew:
\[\text{quod Carter} /\]

² In margin of leaf 56:
Since of a womans breestes I was fostered /
Dame Nature sayth / I sholde them Love /
Why shold any man / ther-wyth by offended /
\{\text{quod Carter} /\}

In generally it is gevin from hym above /
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(27)
"I keepe nat / pat y shal hennes twyne, 1 wepe A. 183
But of my dayes / I the harm bewaile,
fruytles past / sauf with bitter fruyt of synne;
I wroghte in hem nothyng / pat mighte ausiiff
To soules helthe / y dye no trauiiff
To lyue wel / but lened to the staff
Of worldy lustes / to hem y me gaf.

(28)
"The way of trouthe y lefte / & drow to wronge; 190
On me nat shoone the light of rightwisnesse;
The sonne of intellect / nat in me spronge;
y am weery 2 of my wroght wikkidnesse;
y walkid haue, weyes of hardnesse
And of perdicion / nat kowde y knowe
The way of god / wikkid seed haue y sowe.

(29)
"Allas, what hath pryde profyted me,
Or what am y bet / for riche richesse hepynge?
Aft they as a shadwe passid be,
And as a messenger faste rennynge,
And also / as a ship pat is sayllynge
In the wavys / & floodes of the See,
Whos kerfe nat fownden is / whan past is shee.

(30)
"Or as a brid / which in the eir pat fleeth, 3
No preef 4 fownde is / of the cours of his flight;
No man espaie can it / ne it seeth,

3 At top, in a later hand: "Post bellum auxilium: Ayde after the fulde is alredy faught." In margin: "fortune not favoring, thinges not without highe consell and wisdom enterprised, have a very vnlukey ende; and contrarie thinges donne temerously, yf she favor, have right prosperouse chaunce / example, 'Sirenes persian, a Captain' / What I specke lysthe in myne owen powre / but how so the thinges as I do, shall ende or be taken, standeth in the pleasur of fortune & y° kinge."
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

Sauf with his wynges / the wynd softe & light
He betith / and cuttith their¹ / by² the might 208
Of swiche stirynge / & forth he fleeth his way;
And tookne aftir pat / no man see ther may. 210

(31)

"Or as an arwe / shot out of a bowe,
Twynmeth the eir / which pat continually
Agayn is closyd / pat man may nat knowe
Where pat it paste / no wight the way sy:
Right so / syn pat y born was / fare haue y
Continuelli⁵ / y stynted for to be, ² Anon rightes A.
And tokne of vertu / shewid noon in me. 217

(32)

"I am consumed in my wikkidnesse;
Myn hope is / as it were a wolle-loke
Which the wynd / vp reisith⁴ / for his lightnesse,
Or small foome / pat desparplid is, and broke * blows away A.
With tempest / or as with wynd waastith smoke, 222
Or as mynde of an oost / pat but a day
Abit / and aftir passith foorth his way. 224

(33)

"ffor why my speeche is now in bittirmesse,
And my wordes / been ful of sorwe & wo;
Myn herte is plunged deepe in heuynesse,
Myn yen been al dymme and dirke also.
Who may me grante / pat y may be so
As I was / whan y beautee hadde, & strengthe,
And had beforne me / many a dayes⁶ lengthe, ² yeeres A.

(34)

"In wiche y the harm mighte han seen beforne,
pat now is on me faie / I yaf no charge
Of the good precious tyme / y haue it lorn;
But as the worldly wynd / bleew in my barge,
ffoorth droof y ther-with / and leet goon at large 236

¹ their A (the air). ² with A.
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

Al loos the brydil of concupiscence,
And ageyn vertu / made y resistence.  

(35)

"My dayes I despente in vanitee;
Noon heede y tooke of hem / but leet hem passe,
Nothyng consideryng his preciousstee,
But heeld my self free born as a wylde asse
Of thattirclap / insigfite had no man lasse;
I ouer blynd was / y nat sy ne dreddde,
With what wo / deeth wolde haaste me to bedde.  

(36)

"And now as fisshes been with hookes kaght,
And as pat briddes / been take in a snare,
Deth hath me hent / eschape may y naght;
This vnwaar woful hour / me makith bare
Of my custumed ioie / and my welfare;
The tyme is past / the tyme is goon for ay;
No man reuoke / or calle ageyn it may.

(37)

"So short was not the tyme / pat is goon,
But y, of goostly lucres / & wynnynges,
Aughite9 haue in it purchased many oon,
Exceedynge in value / aft eartly thynges
Incomparabely / but to his wynges
The tyme hath take him / & no puruence
There-in made I / my soule to auance.

(38)

"Allas, I, caytif / for angwissh & sorwe,
My teeres trikelen / by my cheekes doun;
No salt watir / me needith begge or borwe;

1 In margin, in a later hand: "He lyveth so moche the easier, who to delightes was vset neuer." At foot: "Quod caret alterna requie, durabile non est.

What thing resteteth not now & then amonge,
But still traveyleth, cannot endure longe."

Below, in another hand: "Be ytt knownen vnto all men by these presentes that I, Wyliam Wyllon[i]."
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

Myn yen flowen now in greet foebloun;
Allas / this is a sharp conclusion,
Thogh y the tyme past / compleyne & mourn;
For al my care / wolde it nat retourne.1 266

(39)

"O my lord god / howlaach and negligent2 267
Haue y been / why haue I put in delay
And tarynge myn amendement?
Wher-to haue y dissomule / welaway
Allas / so many a fair and gracious day 271
Haue y lost / & arn3 from me goon & ronne, 2 be A.
Bet mighte in hem / my soules helthe han wonne. 273

(40)

"Myn hertes woful waymentacions, 274
Who can hem telle / who can hem expresse?
Now fallen on me accusacions
Wondirly thikke / of my wroght wikkidnesse.
In flesshly lust / and ydil bysynesse, 278
Leet y4 my dayes / drye foorth and slippe, 4 I leet A.
And nat was beten / with penances whippe. 280

(41)

"Why sette y so myn herte in Vanitee? 281
O, why ne had y lerned for to die?
Why was y nat ferd of goddes maugree?
What eilid me / to bathe in swich folie?
Why nadde reson / goten the maistrie 285
Of me / why? for my spirit was rebel,
And list nat vndirtonde / to do wel. 287

1 At foot, in a later hand: "Love ys the occupacyos or business of ydell folkes, that have nothing eles to sette them something on werke with-all / Diogenes / Of wilde bestes, the backebyter is the worse; Of tame bestes, the flaterer / Dio[genes]." At side: "Beneficium dando acceptit, qui digno dedit,
Himself, by geving, receyveth a benefisch.
Who gevethe to a person worthie to have yt."

2 In margin, in a later hand: "Diogenes being asked what was the moost miserable thinge in this worlde, answeard, 'An aged man in extreme pouertie'" At foot: "Vertuus and good men, the lyvelye and true ymage of god / Diogenes."
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE. 189

(42)
"O, alle ye pat heere been present,
Yee pat floure in Youtes lusty grennesse,
And seen / how deeth / his bowe hath for me bent,
And tyme couenable han / to redresse
pat youre vnruuly youtes wantonnesse
Offendid hath / considereth my miserie,
The stormy seson / folwith dayes merie.

(43)
"Let me be your ensample and your mirour,
Lest ye slappe in-to my plyn miserable.
With God, despande of your youte\(^1\) the flour;\(^2\) dayes A.
If yee me folwe / in-to peril semblable,
Yee entre shuln / to god yee yow enable;
In holy wirkes your tyme occupie,
And whyle it tyme is / vices mortifie.

(44)
"Allas, o youte / how art thow fro me slipt!
O. god eterne / y vn-to thee compleyne
The wrecchidnesses / in whiche\(^2\) y am clipt;
Lost is my youte / y smerte in euerey veyne,
The gilt / pat wroght hath my synful careyne.
O youte / thy fresshenesse and iolitee
Hatith thy soothes / be told vn-to\(^3\) thee.\(^4\)

(45)
"No lust had y to doon as y was taught,
Ther-of had y right\(^5\) greet desdeyn & hokir;\(^6\)

\(^1\) The word "youte" is misspelled as "youtes".
\(^2\) The phrase "in whiche" is misspelled as "in whiche".
\(^3\) The phrase "vn-to" is misspelled as "vn-to".
\(^4\) The phrase "thee" is misspelled as "thee".
\(^5\) The phrase "right" is misspelled as "right".
\(^6\) The phrase "hokir" is misspelled as "hokir".

At foot, in a later hand: "11. Socrates being asked *'by what means a man myght optaine an onnest name & fame, 'To be,' quod he, 'A man in deede, as he desireth to be' '/"
At side: "2. Socrates. Nothing owesth to be desired of god in mennes prayers, but vnder this furme, and with these wordes: 'S suche things as bee good for us,' withoute any further addy-
cioun.' . . . "Socrates: The best sauce in the worlde for meats is to be hungrye.'

At top, in a later hand: "2. Hokin, Lothesome' . . .
At foot: "8. Socrates said that soche as hadde well broken themselves to vertuua living and temperate dyet, did perceve . . . * 'asked' is crost thro', 'demaundt' is written over it.
Good counsel
I cared no more
for than an old boot.

Now I'm in the
snare of Death.'

The Disciple says
¶ To which anserde the disciple tho :

Whan men conseillid wel / y herde it naght :
Nat so moche / as by an old boote or cokir
Sette y ther-by / in-to myn hertes lokir
Entre mighte / noon holsum discipline ;
No wil had y / to good conseil enclyne.

"Lord god, now / in a deep dych am y fall ;
In-to the snare of deeth / entred am y ;
Bet had it been / than thus had it befell, 1
Neure han be born of my modres body,
But there-in han perisshid vttirly,
For y despente in pryde and in bobance
The tyme grantid2 me / to do penance." 3 lent to A. 322

(46)

(47)

¶ Repent; ask mercy, and you'll have it.

¶ God haastith nat / the gild of man to wrike,
But curtisely / abydith repentance. 4 shal saye and A.

Heere me now / what y shal to thee6 speke :
Sfor pat thow hast offendid / do penance ;
Torne vn-to god / with hertes obeissance ;
Axe him mercy / pat4 is al merciable,
And saued shal thow been / it5 is no fable." 5 this A. 336

& take of the same, bothe moche more pleasure and lesse paynes,
then soche as, with all highe cure and diligence, did on every
syde make provision to have all thinges of pleasure."

At side : "Socrates. 14. As we do not put Images to making,
but onely to soche workemen of whom we se some soumber of
Images well-favorly and minonly [1] made a-fore ; So sholdes we
take vn[to] no persons owser frendeship, but soche as we perfectly
know to have tried [1] themselves fathefull and servcieable
frende to other a-fore, to other folks."
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(49)

Thymage of deeth answerde anoon to pat:
"How spekest thou, man / shal y me repente,
Shal y me torne / o man, ne seest thou nat,
Ne takist thou noon heede ne entente
Of dothes angwisshes / pat me tormente
And oppressen / so greuously and sharpe
That y not what to do / or thynke or carpe."

(50)

"As a partrich / pat with the hawk' is hent
And streyned with his clees / so is agast
pat his lyf ny from him is goon and wente:
Right so / my wit is cleene fro me past,
And in my mynde / is ther no thoghth ne cast
Othir than serche a way / how deeth eschepe
But y in veyn / ther-aftir looke and cape."

(51)

"Nat wole it be / for deeth me doun oppressith;
The twynnynge of my lyf / ful bittir is,
pat hurtith me greuously / and distressith;
ful holsum had it be / to me or this,
Penances han doon / for pat y wroghte amis
Whyles my tyme / was in his ryppesse,
for pat had been / the way of sikernesse;

(52)

"But he pat late / to penance him takith,
Whethir he verraily or feynyngly
Repente / he noot / vn certain it him makith.
Wo is me / pat my lyf so synfully
I ledde / and to correcte it / lachit y ;
Ageyn my soules helthe haue y werried,
pat for it haue no bettre purried.

(53)

"Allas, to longe hath be / the tarrynyge
And the delay of my correccion!

* Alterd to 'rePentaunce.' Penance A.
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

A good purpos / withoute begynnynge,
Good wil / withouten operacion,
Good promesse / and noon execution,

ffoorth dryue amendes / fro morwe to morwe,
And neuere doon / pat causith al\(^1\) my sorwe.\(^2\) now A. 371

("O morwe, morwe / thow haast me begilt!"
O / whethir this miserie / nat exceede
Al worldly wrecchidnesse / allass, my gilt!
Wel worthy is it / pat myn herte bleede,
And with angwissi\(h\) and wo / me\(^3\) fostre & feede. \(\*\) him A.
See how my dayes att\(^4\) / arn slipt me fro; \(\*\) ny A.

xxx\(^4\) yeer of myn age / a-way been go.

("ffull wrecchidly, god woot / y haue\(^5\) hem lost,
And al myn owne self / is it to wyte; \(\*\) have I A.
So good a piler / was y neuere, or post
Vn-to my soule / as o day me delyte
In vertu / or aght wel to god me quyte,
As pat y mighte haue doon or oghte;
By aght y woot / y neuere aftir pat soghte.

("Lord god, how shamefully stande y shal
At the doom befor thee and seintes a\(H\),
Where y shal arted be to rekne of al
That y doon haue & left / whom shal y ca\(H\)
To helpe me / o, how shal it bea\(H\)\!
My torment and my wo / me haaste and hye,
Hens for to / twynme / as blyue shal y dye.\(^6\)

\(^2\) In margin, by a later hand:
"So[crates] 21. No kinde of Labore is a thing of shame,
But ydlene evermore worthie of blame.
So[crates] 27. What ys a-bove owre reche,
We have no thing to do with all."

\(^3\) At foot: "So[crates] 28. This silver plate, and riche araye
Of purple hewe, dothe wonderous well
For deguising in a stage playe;
Owr lyff nedethe them not a dele /"

\(^4\) Later scribble in margin: "Thomas, Pardy, I sayd yt not ... O longa
nimit... F. Fr... r r r... prynmo... nng... d... Thomas &c."
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(57)

"O now this hour / gretter1 ioie & gladnesse
I wolde haue of a litil orisoun
By me seyd / with hertes deuout sadnesse,
As the angelyk' salutacioun:
Then y wolde haue / of many a milioun
Of gold and siluer / foule haue y me born,
And synfully / pat sy nat this beforne.

(58)

"Whan y mighte haue it seen / than wolde y noght;
How many houres haue y lost / pat neuere
Retorne shuln / how mochil haue y wroght
Ageyn my self / my lust was to perseuere
In vicious lyf / & from it nat disseuere;
I lefte pat good was, & necessarie
Vn-to my soule / and dide the contrarie.

(59)

"More than was neede or expedient,
Vn-to the help of many an othir wight
Entendid y / y was ful inprudent;
I tooke noon heed / to my self aight;
By soules profyt / sette y nat but light;
Whan tyme was / fynde kowde y no tyme,
Me to correcte / of myn offense and cryme.2

(60)

But now feele y / pat vn-to the gretnesse
Of merites celestial / had been bet
My wittes han kept / with soules clennessse,
Than pat left / with herte corruptly set,
And ageyn deedes vertuous y-whet / 418
Helpe me mighte / any mannes prayere,
Thogh .xxx". yeer / he preid had for me heere.

2 At foot, in a later hand: "So[crates] 30. Who-so esteithe drie breade with pleasure, the same nedethe no meate to hit; and to whom no meaner of drinks comethe a-misse, the same requireth none other cuppe but soche as ys redye in the waye."

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(61)

"O, herkneth now / herkneth now alle yee
put heere been / and seen my wrecchidnesse!
The tyme as pat yee seen / now faillith me;
My frendes preide y / pat they sum almesse
Of thabundance of hir goostly richesse
And wirkes goode / wolden to me dele
In my greet neede / for my soules hele;

(62)

"And eeye in reliefe and amendement
but they said No.
Of my giltes / but hire answer was 'nay';
They seiden, 'ther-to yeuen ourse assent,
Wole we nat in no manere way
Lest it ys and yow nat souffysse may.'
On every part / thus am y destitut;
ffylde can y no socour ne refut.

(63)

"O god benigne / o fadir merciable,
Beholde and reewe vp-on thy pacient!
To me, thy handwerke / be thow socurable!
pat y greitly haue erred and mis-went,
Me wel remembrith this tyme present.
Alas / why stood y in myn owne light
So foule / o. lord, me now helpe of thy might!

2 At foot, in a later hand: "So[c]rates 35. Scyence and con-
nyenge is the onely good thing of the world; and contrarye-
wyse, ignorance the onely evell thinge /

2 In later hands, at top: "O god benigne, o fader merciable.
. . Oratio."

At side: "Thomas hecker haue Red a[ ] Thys boke . so haue
now haue [T MS. som] of my files done . . Thomas hecker haue
Red a[ ] This boke. soo haue nott, haue not, haue of of. Herro
. . . of Repentance with any good deed /
So[c]rates 38. The beginnyinge ys half of the whole.
44. Calum non animum mutat, qui trans mare currit.
Who runneth oversee from place to place,
Though he change aire, his minde is as yt was /"
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(64)

"How grete richesses spirituell
And heueneely tresors / had y been wys,
Mighte y han gadered / and nat dide a del.
O good lord god / o lord of paradys,
ful leef to me now were / and of greet prys
Of satisfaccioun / the leeste deede
Right dereworthe / were it in this neede.

(65)

"O / now the leeste crommes / pat ther faH
ffro the lordes bordes / and tables doun,
Refresshe wolden me ful wel with-aH,
But noon fynde y / of swich condicioun
pat yeue me wole any porcioun.
Y haue espyd / the frenshipe is ful streit
Of this world / it is mirour of deceit.

(66)

¶ "Reewe eek on me, yee aH / and pitee haue !
And whyles your force and vigour maylaste,
And tyme han eeke / or yee be ny your graue,
In-to bernes of heuene gadereth faste
Tresors celestial / pat at the3 laste
Yee may receyue / when pat yee shul twynne
from hens / the blisse pat shal neuere blynne.

(67)

"And beeth nat voide of vertu, ne empty,
When pat the deeth / an othir day to yow
Approche shal / as yee may see pat y
Am voide of deedes vertuous right now."
¶ "freend," quod the disciple / "y see wel ynow
Thy torment and thy greuous passioun,
Of which / myn herte hath greet compassioun ;

(68)

"And by almighty god / I thee coniure
Pat howe me yeue reed / how me to gye,
Lest pat heere-aftir / y,2 par aventure,

I might have gathered heavenly treasure, but didn't.

Now, I can get no crumb.

Do you all, while your strength lasts, gather heavenly treasure.

The Disciple

asks for advice
how to avoid the peril of death, unprepared.

In-to lyke peril / haaste may and hye, Of vndisposed sodein deeth / and drye The wo / which y considere / pat thee vexith, wherthburgh / myn herte sore agrysed wexith.”¹

(69)

¶ Than spak thymage / “the best purueance, And wit is / han verray contricious In strengthe & hele / of the mis-gouernance Of thy lyf / and plener confessedoun Make of thy gilt / and satisfaccion, And asseeth do / and aH vices leue pat thee mighten the blisse of heuene reue.”²

(70)

Behave as if you were to die to-day. “And so / with al thyn herte / it is⁸ the beste, Keepe thee foorth / as pat thow this day right, Or to-morwe / or this wike atte⁴ fertheste, Sholdist departe fro this worldes light, And ther-with-al / enforce thow thy might, As y shall seyn / in thyn herte to thyynke, And thow shalt it nat reewe ne forthynke.

(71)

Suppose your soul has been 10 years in Purgatory, “Caste in thyn herte / as now thy soule were In purgatorie / and hadde pyned be .x. yeer in a fourneys brennynge there, And this oonly yeer were grantid thee for thy hulp / so beholde often & see Thy soule / in the flaumbes of fyr brennynge, With a wrecchid vois / thus to thee cryynge :⁵

¹ At foot, in a later hand: “Socrates exerted yung springalike, now and then earnestely to veu and behold themselves in a glasse, to the ende—yf theye were beautifull and of good feactur of body—they shold beware to commyt nothing vncomly for the same / yf otherwise, that the defautes of the body myght, with exerçye or furniture of the wytte, & with honnest of maners & beavour, be redoubed.”

² That heuenes blisse mighten thee byreue A. At right side, later: ‘Cumber youre’; at left side, ‘R B A.’

⁵ At foot, later: “Non uiuas ut edas; sed edas, ut uiuere possis. Lyne not as a glutton, styll for to eate, But fede to maintayne lyfe by thie meate.”
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(72)
¶ "Of alle freendes / thow, the derwortheste,
Do thy wrecchid soule help and socour,
But is al desolat / purchase it reste.
See how y brenne / o, reewe on my langour;
Be for me so freendly a purueyor,
But in this hoot prison / y no lengers
Tormentid be / lat it nat thus me ders!

(73)
"The worldes fauour / cleene is fro me went;
forsake y am / frendshipe y can noon fynde;
Ther is no wight / but to the indigent
Puttith his helpy hand / alipt out of mynde
I am / in paynes sharpe y walwe & wynde;
And of my wo / ther is no wight pat recchith;
Nat knowe ye frendshipe / or to whom it strecheth.

(74)
"Men seeken thynges / but to hem self longe,
And me leuen in the flaumbes vengeable.
O good freend / lat me nat thus pyne longe!
¶ To which the disciple, with cheers stable
Seide / "thy lore were profitable,
Who-so it hadde by experience
As thow haast / ther-to yeue y may credence;¹ 516

(75)
"But thogh thy wordes sharpe & stiryngs seeme,
To many a man / profyten they but lyte;
They looke a-part / and list take no yeeme
Vn-to the ende / which mighte hem profyte.
Yen they haan / and seen nat worth a myte; 523

¹ At foot, in a later hand, "Ouidius de Ponto:
While fortune the favorethe, frendes thow hast plentye;
The tyme being troublous, thow arte aff alone:
Thow seest Culvers haunt, hawses made white & daintye;
To the ruymus towre, almoost comethe none /
In emptie barnes, where faylethe substaunce,
Happenethe no frende in whom is assurance."
And eres han also / and may nat heere;
They weenen longe for to lyuen heere.

(76)

"And for they, vndisposid deeth nat dreede,
fforsighte at al / ne haan tho wrecches noon
Of the harm / which ther-of moot folwe neede,
They deemen stonde as sikir as a stoon;
But weel y see / by thee / so moot y goon,
They shuln haan cause / it for to dreede & doute,
Or pat hir lyues light / be fully oute.

(77)

When sickness comes to them,
ffreindes and felawes hem haaste & hye,
The seeks man to conforte of his feblesse,
And al thyng pat good is / they prophecie;
They seyn / "thogh thow seekse in thy bed now lye,
Be nat agast / no dethes euel haast thow,
for this / thow shalt eschape wel ynow."

(78)

Thus bodyes freendes been maad enemys
To the soule / for whyl seeknesse greeueth
The man continually / yit so vnwys
Is he / pat his enomours he wel leeueth;
He hopith to been hool / and he mischeeueth
where as he wende han recovered be;
Vndisposid to dye / stenueh he.

(79)

"Right so thyn herknners and thyn Auditours,
Tho pat greet trust han in mannes prudence,
Nat list hir peynes putte, or hir labours,

1 Later scribble at side: "Hund... nb... Thomas... Ch
... Thomas." (For 'vndisposed deeth' see 200/590).
2 At foot, in a later hand, "Martialis, lib. 12:
Yf thow wilt eschew Bytter adventurous,
And avoyde the knowinge of a pensive harte,
Sette in no one persone wholly thie pleasure,
The lesse shalt thowe yoye, but lesse shalt thou smarte/"
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

To execute thyn holsum sentence;
Thow mightist as wel keepe thy silence;
They by thy wordes yeuen nat a lekke."

To which, thymeage thus answorde & speeke:

(80)

"ffor thy, whan they in dethes net been hent,
Whan sodein wrecchidnesse hem shal assaiH,
Whan deeth, as tempest sharp & violent,
With woful trouble hem shal vexe & travaileH,
They shuln crie aftir help / and ther-of faitH,
Sfor they in hate / sapience hadde,
And despyseyd my reed / & heeld it badde."

(81)

"And right as now ther been but fewe fownde,
Dat of my wordes compunct wole hir lyf
Correcte / ne amende in no stownde,
Nat may to hem auaille my motyf;
But they / hir synnes seyn ay foorth ryf,
And han no lust / fro synnes hemm withdrawe,
No more / than they neuere had herd my sawe:

(82)

"Right so for the malice of tyme / and lakt
Of goostly loue / and for the iniquitee
Of the world / vertu gooth so faste a-bakt,
Dat fewe to the deeth disposid be
So weel / dat list this worldes vanitee
Leue / and for desir of lyf / dat shal euere
Endure / coueiten hens to disseuere.

(83)

"But whan deeth on hem stelith with hir darte,
They vnreedyd / woundid in conscience,
Nat oonly goon hens / whan they hens departe /

1 At foote, in a later hand: "In tyme of prosperite, a man shal not knowe his frendes, and in adversitie an enmy will not be hidde." "Yf thow be ashamed to speeke even, be more ashamed to doe the same."
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

they're carried off by force.

But they with a maner of violence
Been hent away / so that ful greet prudence
They wolde han hold it / han deid as a man
And nat as a beest / that no reson can.  

(84)

[leaf 66, back]
The cause of their neglect is

worldly pleasure, and covetousness.

"If of this commun peril, thencheson"
Thee lyke knowe / y wole it now expresse :
The desir of honours out of reson,
The body bathyng in worldly sweetnesse,
Eerthely louse / and to greet greedynesse
In muk-hepyng / blynden many an herte,
And causen men in-to tho perils sterte.

(85)

"If thou desire / the perils to flee
Of vndisposed deeth / my Conseil heere :"
This heuy plyt / in which thou seest now me,
Resolue ofte in thy mynde / & by me leere
for to be waer / if thou in this manere
Wilt do / it shal be thy greet auantage,
And ese thee at thy lyaste passage ;

(86)

"It shal vn-to thee profyte in that hour,
but nat oonly dye it shal nat the gaste,
But deeth / eek as eende of worldly labour,
And begynnynge of blisse / ay that shal laste /
Abyde thou shalt / and desire faste
With al thyn herte / it to take & receyue,
And al worldly lust leye a-part & weyue.

1 At foot, in a later hand:
"The good or eveyt fortune of all a mans lyffe,
Ys in the good or eveyt chowsinge his frend or his wiffe."

2 At top, in a later hand: "Woman cam of syd of a doog wherfor I besech the to . . ." At side: "W. Barnabe" . . . "To the right worshipfull . . . master Hanna (?) . . He that hath . . . "Thomas Carter."
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE. 201

"Every day haue of me deep remembrance; 603
In to thyn herte / let my wordes synke;
The sowe and anguishe & grousous penance
Which thow haast seen in me / considere / & thynke
That of peril / thogh art ful ny the brynke;
Remembre on my doom / for swich shal thyn be;
Myn yistirday / and this day vn-to thee. 609

"Looke vp-on me / & thynke on this nyght ay 610 and think how
Whyles thow lyuest / o how good & blessid
Art thow Arsenius\(^3\) / which pat alway
This ilke hour haddest in thyn herte impressid,
\[\text{\textit{Beatus quae cum remitti dem"\textit{}}\text{\textit{nus & pulsaturit \&d}}\]
Which when god comth and knokkith at the yate,
Wakynge him fynt / he blessid is algate;

Blessid is he pat thanne founden is 617 blessed is he who
Reedy to passe / for he blissfully
Depart shal / and truste right wel this,
Thogh deeth assai\(H\) and veze grousously
The rightwys man\(^4\) / or sleu him sodeynly,
How so he dye / he shal go to\(^5\) pat place / 621
Where-as confort is / refresshynge & grace.

He shal be pourged cleene & purifid, 624 [leaf 67, back]
And disposid the glorie of god to see;
Angels shuln keepe him / & he shal be gyed

\[\text{\textit{Beatus quae cum remitti dem\"\textit{nus & pulsaturit \&d}}\]

1 Latin scribble at top and sides: "wo . woman, man sent
woman . . . Father and mother . . w . . sir Iohn) . . th . . the
Father . . A Thowsand, a hundreth, fyve and fyfty / I Love /
. . woman mast . . Vm . . women" . . . "Pardy, I sayd yt
not / nor never yt Intended /" . . . "Barnard" (i) . . . "Choo
and Crave not, quod Carter."
2 for "thow."
3 Arsenius A.
4 The good lyuer A. 5 he gooth vn-to A.
And led by Citeins of the hy Contree,
And to the Court of heuene vp taken be;
And of his spirit / shal be the issynge,
In-to eternal blisse / the entrynge.¹

(91)

But alas / where shal my wrecchid goost
This nyght become / whidir shal it go?
What herbergh shal it haue / or in what coost
Shal it arryue / who shal receyue it / who?
O! what frendshipe / shal it haue tho?
O soule abiect / desolat & forsake,
Greet cause haast thow / for fere & wo to qwake. ⁶

(92)

"Wherfore y, hauynge of my self pitee,
Amonges heuy wordes / y out shede
Tere / in greet habundance & plente;
But nat auailith me / it is no drede.
Hens-foorth compleyne / weepe² & crye & grede,
ssor in no wyse / changed it he may;
Al man-kyndes fo / stoppid hath my way.

(93)

"In hidles, in awayt as a Leoun³
He hath leyn / & my soule led hath he
In-to the pit of deeth al deepe adoun.
O my lord god / this sharp aduersitee,
To stynte of spechee / now conpellith me:
y may no more hens-foorth / speke & bewaiH,
My tonge and eek my wit / now so⁴ me faiH.

(94)

"Ther is noon othir / y see wel ynow
The tyme is come / as blyue y shal be deed;

¹ Later scribble at side: "'he shal be . . . H. 5, 3.'
² wepe and compleyne A.
³ Later scribble at side: "'Gefferye thirgood . . Ryght . .
gefferye thir . . put to . . p p p p p p . . put to . . to the sayd
defferyeth de vez . . th . . d d d.'
⁴ so now A.
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

See how my face wexith pale now,
And my look ful dym / & heuy as leed;
Myn yen synke eke / deeps in-to myn heed,
And torne vp so doun / and myn hondes two
Wexen al stif and stark / & may nat do;

(95)
"Prikkynges of deeth me, wrecche, conpace;
Stirtemeal gooth my powes / and elles naght;
Mortel pressures / sharply me menace,
My breeth begynneth faiH / and eee the draght
Of it fro fer is fet / & deeps caght;
No lengers y now see this worldes light;
Myn yen lost han hir office & might.

(96)
"But now y see with myn yen mental
Thes tat of al an-othir world than this;
I am ny goon / as faste passe y shal;
O my lord god / a gastful sighte it is!
Now of confort haue y greet lak' & mis;
Horrible feendes and innumerable
Awyte vp-on5 my soule miserable;6

(97)
"The blake-faced ethiopiens
Me enuyrone / and aftir it abyde
To hente it / whan pat it shal passen hens,
If pat par auenture it so betyde
pat the lot ther-of / faît vp-on hir syde;
hir viserly7 faces, grim & hydous,
Me putte in thoghtful dreedes encombrous.

1 dun my look and as A.
2 pous A; powr D.
3 Later pencil writing at top: "Thomas Wylton) of kyrke
Landes where I doo moste humbly Bygge [I] that (If. 69, top)
this Byll mayd the iiiijth daye of may in) ye yer."
4 al of A. 5 Awayten on A.
6 The Ashburnham MS ends. 7 grisly Reg.
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(98)

The stern Judge condemns me.

\[ "O\ streit\ and\ steerne\ Iuge\ &\ domesman,\]
Thow weyeest moche / in deemyng me, wrecche,
Tho thynges whiche fewe folkes can
But smal by sette / or of hem charge or recche;
Lo / deethes strokke haastith me hens to fecche;

\[ My\ membres, shee\ so\ thirtith &\ distressith,\]
That nature overcome is / shee witnesseith.

(99)

\[ "O\ gastful\ is\ the\ iust\ Iuges\ lookynge\]
Vn-to me, now present / thurgh fere & dreede,
which sodeynly shal come / him self sheewynge.

Farewell, friends!

\[ "O\ horribile\ as-\]
\[pectus\ iusti\ ludicia\]
\[m/Al\ iam\ presenti/\]
\[per\ timoram/\]
\[subito\ venturus\ &/\]
\[Nune\ valet\ soci\ &/\]

(100)

"And thens twynne y nat / til maad haue y gree
Of the leeste ferthyng pat y men shal ;
In whiche place y beholde and see
Afliccioun and sorwe ynow at al ;
There y no ioie see, but wo oueral ;
The fyry flaumbes vp-on heighe ryse,
In which / the soules brenne in wooldy wyse.

(101)

"They vp now possid been / & now doun throuwe,
Right as sparcles of fyr / aboute sprede,
Whan pat a greet toun / set is on a lowe,
And al is fyred / bothe in lengthe & brede.
Wo been tho soules / in tho brondes rede,
ffor peyne of which torment / ful lowde & lyse
They in this wyse / ful pitously crye : 3

3 Later scribble at side and foot: "Richard Lyon . . god\ haue mercie vpon all Crysten sovilles . . and yf thou . . knewes Thomu knewest . . 869 . . v . . . 12" . . 'hast' . . 'hayll mygh &' . .
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(102)

"Now, mercy haue on our captiuitee;" 708
To yow our freendes / namely we preye;
Wher is your help now / wher is your chiertee? 716
Whidir been the promisses goon to pleye
Of yow, our Cousins eek / can yee portreye
Your wordes so gayly1/ and effect noon
stolwith / but al as deed is as a stoon?

(103)

"By youre desires inordinat,
And eke of othir2 mo/ our self han we
Brog hit in-to this plyt and wrechid estat;
Ioie han we noon / but of wo greet plente.
Allas / why nat vp-on vs reeven yee?
We dide al our might / to do yow plesance;
And yee no routhe han / on our sharp greuance.

(104)

"fful euele we rewarded been of yow;
We brene / and yee the fyr nat qwenche a deel.
Allas! we nadden for our self or now
Y-doone / we were auysid no thyng weel;
Worldly trust is / as slipir as an eel;
Al is nat trewe / pat the world promettith;
fful wys is he / pat ther-by litil settith.3

(105)

"The leeste torment of this purgatorie
pat we souffren / exceedith in sharpenesse
Tormentes aht of the world transitorie.
Heere, of torment / more is the bittirnesse
In an hour / then the worldes wikkidnesse
May hurte or greue in an .C.5 yeer:
Greet is thafflicciou pat we han hear.

3 Later scribbles at side (repeated from leaf 61, p. 192 n. above):
"'No kinde of labor is a thinge of shame,
but idelines evermore worthi of blame.
love is the occuppacion or busines of idle Folkes, that haue no thinge
ealls to sett themselves & worke with-all.'" In the beginning.
(106)

"But aboue alle kyndes of tormentis,
Of goddes blissed face the absence
Greeneth most / pat lak', our moost wofull sentis:
for a memorie / leue y this sentence
To thee / and heere y die in thy presence."

(107)

¶ When the disciple sy pat he was past
And deed / he trembld and was sore agast;

Aboute he torned him / and thus seide he:

¶ "Wher art thow now / o sapience eterne?
O / good lord, haast thow now forsaken me?
Wilt thow thy grace me denye and werne?
Thow seidest / 'sapience y sholde lerne;'
And now y am broght to the deeth almoost,
So troublid is my spirt & my goost.

(108)

"This sighfte of deeth so sore me astoneth,
bat wite y can vnethe in soothfastnesse,
But am in doute / wher the soothe woneth,
That is to meene / if this be in liknesse
or in deede / swich is my mazidnesse;
But how it be / lord, y byseeche thee,
Be my confort in this perplexitee!

(109)

"Neuere the peril of deeth vndisposid
In my lyf² kneew I, as y do now right;
Withyn myn herte been they deepe enclosid,
And so sadly / ther-in picchid and pight,
pat hem foryte / lyth nat in my myght.
That gastful sighfte / y hope shal profyte
Vn-to my soules helthe / nat a lyte.

(110)

"Dwellynge place / y haue espyd, and see,
Han we noon² / in this wrecchid world changeable.
ffor why / vn-to pat blissful hy contree
which nat may varie / but is permanable,
Shape y me streeche / o lord god merciable,
Y mercy axe / vp-on me, wrecche, reewe !
Hens forward / wole y lede a lyf al neewe.

(111)

"Now lerne tor to die / y me purpose ;
Hens-foorth / penance wole y nat delaye ;
My lyf to amende wole y me dispose ;
ffor syn thoghites of deeth / so me esmaye /
Wel more y am seur / deeth me shal affraye
Whan pat eschue / y shal nat hir presence ;
O, ther thyn help / eterne sapience 1

(112)

"Now wole y voide fethirbeddes softe, 778
The pilwes nesshe / and esy materas
On whiche my careyne / hath tymes ofte
Walkid and leyn / now stande I in swich cas
pat me thynkith / al greet folie it was.
Of clothyng eek, fy on the preciouste,
And sloute of sleep also lettyng me.

(113)

"Syn y tormentid am so greuously 785
With thynge smale / how sorwes so grete
Souffre mighte y, if now die sholde y,
pat neuere or this / my synnes kowde lete ?
O. what matire / of helle fyr / the hete
Mighte in me thanne fynde / certes greet,
ffor which / my body of cold swoote is al weet.

(114)

"Now woot I weel / what thung pat may auaiH 792 [leaf 71, back]
My soule / and it keepe fro perisshynge :
By souffrance of greet labour & travaill,
And exercyse of vertuous lyuyng,

1 Later scribble in margin: "sapience .. presence .. softe."
Wole y it helpe / left al tarynge, 796
pat in swich an houres extremitiee, 798
No peyne / but reste, fynde may shee.

(115)
"O holy and mercyful Sauueour, 799
Of so bitter deeth / souffre me nat dye,
Thogh y be thikke wrappid in errour:
See / beforne thee / plat on the grownd y lye,
Weepyng / for myn excessyf folye;
And, curteys lord / of thy besignitee,
This grace vouche-sauf to grante me,

(116)
"Aftir thy lust / be my pulyiasshement
Whyle y am heere / and, good lord, nat reserve
To othir place / the chastisement
Which pat y, wreche / heere in this world disserue!
let me abye it heere / or pat y sterue,
sfor in pat place horrible / is swich sharpnesse
Of peyne / pat no wight can it expresse.

(117)
"O how vnwys or this haue y been ay,
Syn pat deeth vndisposid and the peyne
Of purgatorie / y kowde by no way
Consider / ne how it kowde distreyne.
Set was myn herte in othir thoghtes vayne,
pat yaf me lettynge and impediment
To thinke vp-on the perils consequent;

(118)
"But now, thurgh fadirly amonestynge, 812
My myndes yen pat cloos were and shit /
I opne / and of tho perils am dreadynge."
"And saipence ansueerde anoon to it:
"My sone / to do so / it is greet wit,
Whiles thou yong art / & hast strengthe & force;
Thy lyf for to correcte / thee enforce.
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE. 209

(119)

"Whom that death cometh / which cruel and fell is, 827
Whom thou nat maist withstande ne withsithe /
Help ne refuyt / is ther for thee noon ells /
But to the mercy of god / thee committe,
By no way / that nat leue ne ommite; 831
My passion putte eke / twixt my doom & thee,
Lest more than neede is / adrad thou be. 833

and betake him to God's mercy.

(120)

"My rightwisnesse nat so mochil dreede 834 [leaf 73, back]
that thou fro trust and hope of mercy twynne;
Contrtyly mercy axe / and thou shalt speede.
Now restfullere in thy goost be withynne,
that ouer ferd art / thee pourge of thy synne, 838
Scourge thy self / with repentances rod;
Begynnynge of wisdam / is dreede of god. 840

The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom.

(121)

¶ "Scriptures serche / & by hem shalt thou leere 841
that vn-to man is it greet auantage,
Deeth to haue ofte in mynde, in this lyf heere. 843
If yeeres manye / and vn-to good age
Man lyue / and in all hem glad & sauage
Be / good is, the dirke hour & dayes wikke
Remembre / or that he come to the prikke;

¶ Sì annis, inquit sapiens, multa vixit
serit homo / & in quantum vixit
fuerit / meminit et
debet tenebrosem
temporis, &c.
Let him remem-
ber Death in
time.

(122)

"ffor whan that tyme is come, and that hour, 848
Repreeceued shal be the past vanitee;
Remembre therfore on thy Creatour
In thy fresshe youthe & lusty iolitee,
Or tyme come of sharp aduersitee,
And or that yeeres approche of disese,
In whiche thou wilt seyn / they nat thee plese. 854

HOCCLEYE, M.F.—II.

and his Creator
in his youth.
And, or ashen in-to hir eerthe also
Where-of they were / ageyn hems thidir dresse,
And thy spirit to god / whens it cam fro
Retourne / god, with al thyn herte blisse,
Thanke him / shewe vn-to him thy kyndenesse;
ffor he to thee now opned hath the way
Wherthurgh thow maist be saued, is no nay.

Few think of
the unsta[t]bility of the world,

“fful fewe been / pat so with hertes ere,
Konne apparcuyue thinstabilties
Of the world / and konne of the deeth han fere,
Which pat alway lyth in awayt pryuyee,
Ne pat of the ioie and felicitie
Of heuene / which ay shal laste & endure,
Take any manere heede at al / or cure.

They shut the
eyes of their
mind,

“Lifte vp thy nyn / looke aboute & see
Diligently / how many folkes blynnde
In hir conceites now a dayes be;
They close & shitte the yen of hir mynde;
They nat keepe, in hir conceit serche & fynde
Vn-to what ende / needes they shuln drawe,
And al for lak of dreede of god, and awe.

They stoppe hire eres / for they nat ne keepe
Heere howconverted be / and receuyue helthe;
Correccion is noon / they let it sleepe;
They been so dronken of this worldes welthe,
That deeth, or they be waer / right in a stelthe
ffallith up-on hem / which condicioun

And are drunk
with this world's
wealth.

Hem cause shal hastyf perdicioun.

1 Later scribble at top and side, with monograms or figures: “"(f) Sauled Edmedye . . . now must I die, and have not deferred . . . Harrison late ffr . . . To my approved firende m’Geaven (f) . . . try and then trust, quod body! . . . peace and Grace be with yow, frome god the father for euer and euer . . . W. W . . . W . . . n. —"
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(127)
"The peple now let seen innumerable 883
\hat for deeth vndisposid / lost han be /
Considere / and if thy wit be ther-to able /
 Noumbre of hir multitude the plenteet
Ecke of hem \hat in thy tyme with thee 887
Dwelt han / looke how \hat they been take away:
Thow seest wel / they from hens been past for ay; 889

(128)
"And as they heeres han do / so shuln they haue. 890
What multitude in yeeres fewe ago,
Thee yit lyuynge / han leid been in hir graue!
What brethren / Cousins / felawes and mo
Of thy knowleche / beholde alle tho!
Thyne eke, with hem / hire olde synne goon is;
Touche vn-to hem / speke and axe hem of this, 896

(129)
"And they with wepynge and with waymentynge 897
[leaf 76]
Shuln to thee seye / and thus ageyn answere:
'Blessid is he / \hat can see the endynge,
And synnes / \hat the soule hurte & dere,\textsuperscript{1}
Eschue can / and hem flee and forbere;'
And \hat in my Conseil hath good sauour,
Disposynge him alway vn-to \hat hour.

(130)
"And therfore / alle vicious thynges left, 904
Therefore prepare to die.
Weel thee dispose / and reedy make thee
To dye / lest the tyme be thee ref
Or \hat thow be waar / for no certeintee
Haast thow ther-of / thow art no thyng pryuee
Ther-to / deeth is nat fer / right atte yate
Shee is / be reedy for to dye algate!

\textsuperscript{1} In margin, later: "John Jarlin, & Elizabethe his welle-
belovinde Wiffe, dme." At foot: "Ryghte wellbeloued father
and mother."
(131)

"Right as a Marchant stondynge in a port,
his shipp that charged is with marchandyse
To go to fer parties / for confort
Of him self / lookep / that it in sauf wyse
Passe out / Right so, if thou wirke as the wyse,
See to thy soule so / or thouw hens weende,
that it may han the lyf that hath noon cende.
Amen:"

Explicit ills pars / per quam scendunt est morti.

(132)

The othir .iij. partes which in this booke
Of the tretice of deeth expressid be,
Touche y nat dar / that labour y forsooke,
for so greet thyng / to swich a fool as me
Ouer chargeable is, by my leantee,
To medle with / ynow the firste part
for my smal konnyng is / and symple art;

(133)

But as the .ix. lesson which is rad
In holy chirche / vp-on all halwen day
witnessith / syn it ioeful is and glad
for hem that hens shuln wel departe away,
And to the blisse go that lastith ay,
Translate wole y / nat in rym, but prose,
for so it best is / as that y suppose,

(134)

How greet ioie and blisse / is shapen to hem
that shuln passe hens / vp to the Citee
Callid celestial, Jerusalem.
Aftir our myght and possiblee
Let vs considere / al thoght it so be,
That for to comprehende that gladnesse,
Verraily / no wit may, ne tonge expresse.
XXIII. THE JOYS OF HEAVEN.

Le, thus is said of pat Citee in a place / Ther-in is no sorwe / heuynesse ne waymentynge. what is more blisful / than pat lyf is / where no dreede is of pouere / of maladie / no feebleness / there is no wight hurt / no wight wrooth / no wight hath enuye / ther is no brennyngge or hete of coustys / no desir of mete / noon ambicioun of honour or of power / no dreede of the feend / noon awaytes of deuele / the fere of hell / fer thens / no deeth of body ne soule / but ioiefull yiftes et iacounde of immortalitee / there shal neuer be discord / stryf ne debat / but alle thynges conuenient and accordynge / no diuision, but onhede / for ther shal been o concord of all seintes / o pees & gladnesse continuell / all thynges peisible / all in quiete and rye / there is an excellent brightnesse and shynyngge / nat this light / pat now is / but in so mochil cleere / as it is bettre and more noble / for, as it is red / "pat Citee shal noon neede hau of the sonnes light / but our lord god al-mighty shal enlumyn e it" / & the lamb is his lanterne / where as seintes shuln shyne as sterres in perpetuel eterntees / and as the shynyngge of the firmament pat spredith his bemes vp-on many men / wherfore in pat place is no 2nyght / no dirknesses / no concours of clowdes / no fretynge cold / no sharpnesse / but swich attemporance of thynges shal be there / whiche neither ye of man neuer sy / ne ere herde / ne herte can thynke ne compreheende / sauf of hem pat been worthy & han disserued to hauce pat blisse / whos names arn writen in the booke of lyf / & whiche wasshid hir stoles in the lambes blood / & been beform the See of god / and servue him day and nyght / noon age is there / ne miserie or wretchednesse of age / whyles all shal been o parfyt body, o parfyt man, in the mesure of the ful age of Cryst / [No break in MS.]

And abouen all thynges / is to been associed to
There folk company with Angels, and Saints,
and see Martyrs and Virginns.

The chief of all joys is,
to see the brightness of God.

Win this realm by good works.
The Kingdom of Heaven is taken by assaults of Virtue.

It seeks no other prize but thee.

As Christ gave Himself for thee, give thyself for Him.

the compaignies of the trones / dominacions / Principatz & potestatz of Angels & Archangels / & to been in the compaignie of all the celestial and by vertues / & to beholde the compaignie of seintes, brightere & yeuynge more light than the sterres / shynynge in the feith of Patriarks / gladyngge & ioyynge in the hope of prophetes deemyng the world of apostles in .xij. tribes of Israel / & to beholde eke the shynynge of martirs with purpurat corolines of victorie / and to see the compaignies of virgynes brighte gerlandes. [No break in MS.]

¶ And for to speke of the kyng pat sittith in the middes of hem / no vois ther-to souffisith / it may nat be told ne expressid / that honour / pat vertu / pat magnificence and pat glorie exceedith and passith all wittes & intellectes of man / and passynge all the seintes ioyes / is to beholde the inestimable brightness of pat kyng / & to be spred with the bemes of his magestee / let thys thyngs sadly synke in-to our hertes / let vs understande hem with ful feith / let hem be beloued with alle our hertes / let hem be goten by the grentesse and by the multitude of goode wirkes and continuell / this thyng is put in the might of the wirkers / for the kyngdam of heuene soufrith forcible and mighty assauies of vertu. [No break in the MS.]

¶ O man / this thyng / pat is to seyn, the kyngdam of heuene, seekith noon othir prys / but thyn owne self / it is as mochil worth as thow art / yeuee thee / & thou shalt haue it / what, artow astoned or aadrad of the prys? Cryst yaf him self / to purchase thee the Regne to god the fhadir / Right so yeue to thow thy self / pat thou wast been his kyngdam / and pat no synne regne in thy mortel and deedly body / but let thy good spirit regne in thee to purchase thee theeternel lyf. ¶ And therfore, who-so desirith to haue the merites euere lastynge / he moot de-lyte him to gete hem thurgh
goode and vertuous wirkes / That is the path and the
straight way to blisse endelees / the which he vs
grante, pat boghte vs with his precious blood. Amen!
Amen!

Now vndirstandith wel and considerith in your
hertes, pat as mochil ioie as ther is in that
blisful place of heuene: as greet sorwe, angwissi
and torment is in pat othur part in heffe to expresse hem / needith nat / for they been the reuers and contrarie to
the ioies above named / wherby very persone may
resonably conceyue pat in pat place of torment the
peynes been merueillasly sharpe & greuous / And yit
for al pat smert / if any ende sholde sue or folwe / that
wolde yeue the soules right hy confort, and greetly
abregge and lesne hir grief / but awayte nat attir pat /
for it wole nat betyde / for right as the seid ioies been
erneel and ay lastynge: so been the 1peynes infynyty
and endeles / And sikirly, syn god of his hy grace and
benigne courtesie hath yeuen vs libertee and freedam
for to purchase by oure wirkes in this present lyfe 2 pat
oon or pat othir / al standith in oure choys and elec-
cioun: to grete fooles been we / but if we 2 cheese the
bette part / which part, god of his infynyty goodnesse
graunte vs alle to cheese / Amen!

\[a1430 (\text{?c}1425)\] XXIV. Hoccl. Jonathanae (\text{Dur. VI})

Hic additur alia fabula ad instanciam
amici mei predilecti assiduam = = =

[Prolog.] (1)

This bookes thus to han endid had y thoght,
But my freend made me change my cast;
Cleene out of pat purpos hath he me broght;

1 I meant to stop my book here.
2 MS faded
XXIV. A TALE WANTED AGAINST BUYING GIRLS' FLESH.

"Thomas," he seide / "at Estren that was last,
I rede a tale / which y am agast
To preye thee, for the laboures sake
That show haast had / for to translate & make; ¹

(2)
"And yit tu. tayn wolde y pat it maad were;
Thensample of it / to yonge men mighte suaill,
And par cas / cause hem riot to forbere
The rathere / and be bettre of guernaiH;
Youte in no wyse / wolde his thankes failH,
MessH for to chepe, femel and venal,
Payyng for it / more than worth is al.

(3)
"Pat thyng is deere and ouer deere boght,
That soule sleeth / and the body destroieith,
And the purs emptith, leuyng in it noght
Or smal / swich chaffare often sythe annoieth,
And yonge folke encombrith and acclaieth,
Lettynge hem to purchace hem good renoun,
And haastynge hem to hir confusioun.²

(4)
"ffor this is pat y speke / and to this ende:
A sone haue y .xv. yeer of age,
ffor whom it is as wisly, god mamende,
pat y desire, in-to our langage
Pat tale be translated / for Sausage
And wylde is he / and likly to Foleye
In swich cas / now helpe if thow maist, y preye.

(5)
"Nat fer the tale fro / which thou maad haast
Of themperice / this tale is, y trawe,
And is of a womman / pat was vnchaast

¹ Later scribble at foot: 'g p d ... This balws (1).' At back: 'Thomas ... nn) ... M 4.'
² At side, later: 'Mr. Joclyme.'
And deceuyable and aly / as thou shalt knowe
By pat the lyues / thou red haue on Rowe.
Brynge y shal thee / the copie verray
There-of / if thee list / seye on yee or nay."  

(6)

"If frend, looth me were nay seye vn-to yow,
But y suppose / it may noon othir be,
Lest wommen vn-to Magge, the good kow,
Me likne / and thus seye / 'o, behokle & see
The double man / o, yondir, lo, gooth he
That hony first yaf / and now yeueth galle:
He fo in herte is / vn-to wommen alle;"

(7)

"'Til he of wommen oute\(^1\) wordes wikke,
He fastynge is / him seemeth ; al the day,
Out of his mowth / leeynges swarven thikke ;
On wommen / no good word / affoorthe he may ;
And if he wel speke / or wryte / is no nay,
He nat meueth / as he spekith or writ :
O lewde dotepe / straw for his wit!'  

(8)

"This pat yee me now reede is al contrarie
Vn-to pat yee me red han heer-before ;
Yee senden\(^2\) / syn y many an aduersarie
Had of wommen / for y mis had me bore
To hem or this! yee redden me therfore
Humble me to hem / and of grace hem preye ;
But this reed haldith al an othir weye.

(9)

"Sholde y a neewe smoke now vp reyse,
And y so mocchil rered haue or now
By your sawe than were y nat to preise."

"' Thomas, to wikkid wommen wel maist thow
Yeue hir pers / & wryte of hem euele ynow ;"

\(^1\) out, vb. = utter. [The proof of the next 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) pages has been lost.]
\(^2\) for seiden.
XXIV. THE TALE IS TO REBuke WOMEn’S WANTONNESS.

To gooDe wommen shal it be no shame,
Al thogh that shou / vnhonest wommen blame; 63

(10)
“fyor, thomas / thow shalt vndirstonde this,
No womman wole / to thee ward maligne,
But swich oon / as hath trode hir shoo arnis;
For who so dooth / ful suspect is the signe;
The vertuous womman / good and benigne,
Noon encheson but good / may han to thee
For this tale / wyte on par charitee! 70

(11)
“Nat oonly for my sones tendrenesse¹
Coueite y / pat this tale were makid /
But to rebuke also / the wantonness
Of lyf of many a womman / pat is nakid
Of honestee / and with deshonour blakid;
Eeke to miroure wommen vertuous;
What ende takith swich lyf vicious?” 77

(12)
¶ “On goddes half, freend / than let the copie
Of pat tale / whan yow list, be me sent;
And with good wil / wole y ther-to me hye
Whan y there-of / take haue auisament.”
¶ He glad was ther-with-al / & wel content.
The copie on the morwe sente he me:
And thus y wroth as yee may heere see.

¶ Explicit prologus, & incipit
fabula de quadam muliere mala.

¹ Later scribble at top and side:
“He that in yothè no vartue (t) well vse [= use],
in age all honor will hym refuse;
therefore better yt were, a pouver house to holde,
than to lyne in preason in letteres of golde.
Let the Ryght Ryght Renereuent fayther in god, maister honor,
docter Wylyam) Willon) of Kyrrke-lande in the dyoulle [? MS.]
afore-sade dothe all vnto the . . that thay thay thay thay . . Can
natt, nor may nott, nor yet, I thenke, shall not Lede my Lyfe
quyet-lye ; my wyfe well not lett me.”
(13) Somtyne Reg.

WHILOM an Emperor prudent & wys
Regned in Rome / and hadde sones three,
whiche he hadde in greet chiereet & greet pryse;
And whan it shooped / pat thinfrimitee
85

Of deeth / which no wight may escheue or flee,
Him threwe down in his bed / he leete do caH
His sones / and before him they cam aH;
89

(14)
And to the firste / he seide in this maneere:
"Al theritage which at the dyynge
Of my fadir he me lefte: al in feere
leue y thee ¶ and al pat of my byynge
was / with my peny / alstripe my purchaxyng, ¶ and R.
My second sone / byqwethe y to thee."
¶ And to the .iijth sone / thus seide he:
96

(15)
"Vnmeable good right noon, withouten cooth,
Thee yeue y may / but y to thee dyuyse
Iewelles .iij. a ryng / brooch & a clooth,
with whiche / and thowe be gyed as the wyse,
Thowe maist gete al pat oghte thee souffysse.
who-so pat the ryng vsith for to were,
Of alle folkes the loue he shal conquere;
99

(16)
"And who so the brooch berith on his brest,
It is eek of swich vertu and swich kynde,
That thynke vp-on what thyngh him lykith best,
And he as blyue shal it haue & fynde.
My wordes, sone, enprynte wel in mynde;
¶ The clooth eke hath a merueillous nature,
which pat committed shal be to thy curre:
103

(17)
"Who-so sit on it / if he wisse where
In al the world to been / he sodeynly
106

[leaf 79, back]

A Roman Emperor, with three sons, is dying,

and sends for his sons.

To the first, he leaves his inherited land.

To the second, his acquired property.

To the third, three Jewels, a Ring, a Brooch, and a Cloth.

The Ring 'ill get its wearer the love of every one.

The Brooch 'ill get him whatever he likes.

The Cloth

'll carry any sittre on it

* A few of the many differences of the worse MS. Reg. 17 D VI are given in this sheet.
XXIV. JONATHAS’S MOTHER GIVES HIM THE MAGIC RING.

220

\[\text{220}\]

\text{whatever he wishes to go.}

Withoute more labour shal be there.
Sone, tho three Jewelles byqwethe y
To thee / vn-to this effect certeyny,
\text{pat to the studie of the vniuersitee}
Thow go / and \text{pat y bidde and charge thee.”}

(18)

\[\text{117}\]

\[\text{119}\]

\text{The Emperor dies,}

Whan he had thus seid\textsuperscript{1} / the vexacioun \textsuperscript{1} yeeside Reg. \textbf{120}

Of deeth so haastid him, \text{pat his spiryt}
Anoon forsooke his habitacioun
In his body / deeth wolde no respyt
him yeue at al / he was of his lyf qwyt,
And biried was with swich solempnitee
As fil to his imperial dignitee.

(19)

\[\text{124}\]

\[\text{126}\]

\text{[leaf 80, back]}

\text{I shall tell you only of the third son, Jonathas.}

\text{\textsuperscript{1} Of the yongeste sone I telle shal,}
And speke no more of his brethren two,
ffor with hem haue y nat to do\textsuperscript{2} at al. \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{2} done Reg.}
Thus spak the modir, Jonathas vn-to:
“Syn god his wil hath of thy fadir do,\textsuperscript{3}
To thy fadres wil / wole y me confourme,
And trewely / his testament\textsuperscript{4} parfoure : \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{4} enteute R.}

(20)

\[\text{127}\]

\[\text{131}\]

\[\text{133}\]

\text{His mother says she’ll give him}

\text{“He\textsuperscript{5} .iij. Jewelles / as thow knowest weel,  \textsuperscript{5} Here Reg.}
A ryng / a brooch & a clooth, thee byqweeth,
Whos vertues / he thee tolede everydeel
Or \text{pat he past hens / & yald vp the breeth.}
O goode god / his departynge, his\textsuperscript{6} deeth \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{6} and Reg.}
\text{ful greuously stikith vn-to myn herte ; \textsuperscript{7} I Reg.}
But souffred moot been al / how sore it\textsuperscript{7} smerte.”

(21)

\[\text{138}\]

\[\text{140}\]

\[\text{141}\]

\text{But her husband’s death sticks in her heart.}

\text{In \text{pat cas wommen han swich heuynesse,}
\text{pat it nat lyth\textsuperscript{8} in my konnyinge aright \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{8} lith nat Reg.}
Yow telle of so greet sorwe the excesse,
But wyse wommen konne take it light,
And in short whyle\textsuperscript{9} putte vn-to the flight \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{9} wise R.}

(21)

\[\text{145}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{9} Sithen god hath his wille / of thy fader ydo.—Reg.}\]
Al sorwe and wo / and cacche ageyn confort:
Now to my tale make y my resort.

(22)

¶ "Thy fadres wil, my sone, as y seide eer,
wole y parfoume / haue heer the rynge, and go
To studie anoon / and whan pat thow art theer,
As thy fadir thee bad / do euene so;
And as thow wilt, my blessyng haue also."
Shee vn-to him as swythe tooke the rynge,
And bad him keepe it weel / for any thyng.

(23)

He wente vn-to the studie general,
Wher he gat loue ynow, and akeyntance
Right good and freundly / the rynge causynge al.
And on a day / to him besif this chance:
With a womman, a morsel of plesance,
By the streetes of the vniuersitee
As he was in his walkynge, mette he;

(24)

And right as blyue he with hire had a tale,
And ther-with-al / sore in hir loue he brente:
Gay / fresshi and pykid was shee to the sale,
sfor to pat ende and to pat entente
Shee thidir cam / and bothe foorth they wente,
And he a pistle rovened in hire ere:
Nat woot y what / for y ne cam nat there.¹

(25)

Shee was his paramour, shortley² to seye. ² shortly R. 169
This man to folkes alle was so leef,
pat they him yaf³ habundance of moneye. ³ vafe Reg.
he feestid folkes / and stood at hy boncheef;
Of the lake⁴ of good / he felte no greef, ⁴ lakke Reg. 173

¹ Later scribble at foot: "This biff made the xth daye of
mays In the fy[r]ste yeere of the raygne of ore moste soueren
lord ky". Above: "youth . . . B . . . he . . . yom.

² And get comforted again.

³ Jonathanas's mother gives him the Magic Ring.

⁴ He meets a woman, a morsel of pleasure.
Al whyles pat the ryng he with him hadde;
But saylynge it / his frendshipe gan sadde. 1 175

(26)

His paramour, which pat / y-callid was
Ffelicula / meruaille right greety
Of the despenses of this Jonathas,
Syn shee no peny at al with him sy;
And on a nyght / as pat shee lay him by
In the bed / thus shee to him speke & seide,
And this peticion assoi8 him preyde: 182

(27)

prays him,
¶ "O reuerent sire / vn-to whom," quod 2 shee,
"Obeye y wolde ay with hertes humblesse,"
Syn / pat yee han had my virginitee, 3 koth (always) Reg.
yow y byseche, of your hy gentillesse,
Tellith me whens comth the good & richesse
That yee with feesten folke / and han no stoor,
By aght y see can / ne gold ne 3 treser." 4 no colgne in Reg.

(28)

[leaf 82]
"If y telle it," quod he / "par auenture
Thow wilt deskeuer it / & out it publishe:
Swich is wommannes inconstant nature,
They can nat keepe consile worth a risshe;
Bette re is, my tonge keepe / than to wishe
pat y had kept cloos pat is goon at large, 5 For Reg.
And 4 repentance is thyng pat y moot charge." 5 196

(29)
¶ "Nay, goode sire / haldith me nat suspect;
Doutith nothyng; y can be right secrete.
wel worthy were it me to been abiect
from al good compaignie / if y," quod shee,
"Vn-to yow sholde so mis take 6 me; 6 mystake Reg. 201
Beeth nat adrad your Conseil me to shewe."

he tells her
¶ "wel," seide he / "thus it is, at wordes fewe: 203

1 At side: "ynof." 5 At side: "Robert askewe. He the! . LWillm."
XXIV. JONATHAS GIVES FELLICULA HIS MAGIC RING.

(30)
"My fadir, the ryng which pat thow maist see that his Ring
On my fyngir / me at his dyyng\(^1\) day\(^2\) endyng Reg.
Byqweeth\(^2\) / which this vertu & propretie\(^2\) Bequathe Reg.
hath / pat the loue of men, he shal haue ay makes men
pat werith it / and ther shal be no nay, love him,
of what thyng pat him lykith axe & craue, and give him
But with good wil / he shal as blyue it haue all he wants.

(31)
"Thurgh pat rynges vertuous excellence:
Thus am y ryche, and haue euere ynow."
¶ "Now, sire, yit a word, by your licence,
Suffrith me for to seye and speke now:
Is it wysdam / as pat it seemeth yow, were\(^3\) it on your fyngir continuelly?"
¶ "what 4 woldest thow mene," quod he,\(^4\) "ther-by!
and 4 wold ye my love koth he. mene Reg.

(32)
"What peril ther-of mighte ther befall?"
¶ "Right greet," quod she / "as yee in conpaingyne him how easly
walke often / fro your fyngir mighte it faH, he may lose his
Or plukkid of been\(^5\) in a ragerie,\(^5\) be plukked of Reg.
And so be lost / and pat were folie. and offers to keep
Take it me / let me been of it\(^6\) wardeyn ;\(^6\) be therof Reg.
ffor as my lyf, kepe it wole y\(^7\) certeyn.\(^8\)
kepe wole I it Reg.

(33)
This Ionathas / this innocent yong man,
Yeuynge vn-to hir wordes / ful credence,—
As youthe nat anysed best be can:—
The ryng hir tooke, of his insipience.
Whan this was doon / the hete & the feruence

---

8 Later scribble in margin: "harye ollyc xe to caunend [[I]].
Who seketh the renoune to have,
And eke the prayse of vertuus name
Of wisdoms ways, he ought to crave
Withe gladsom will to work the same."
and her love at once cools,

Of loue / pat he had befor purchaced,
Was qweynt / & loues knotte\(^1\) was vnlaced.\(^2\)

(34)

Men of hir yiftes for to stynte gan:
“\(\text{A},\) thoughe he / “for the ryng \(\text{y} \) nat ne bere,
ffaillith my loue / fecche me, womman,”

Seide he, “my ryng / anoon \(\text{y} \) woile it were.”
She roos / and in-to Chambre dressith here;
And when shee there-in / hadde been a whyle,
“Alas,” quod shee / “out on falshode and gyle,

(35)

“The chiste is broken / and the ryng take out.”
And when he herde hir conplaynt and\(^3\) cry,\(^4\)
He was astoned sore / and made a shout,
And seide / “cursid be \(\text{pat} \) day \(\text{pat} \) y
The mette first, or with myn yen sy.”
She wepte, and shewid outward cheere of wo,
But in hire herte / was it no thyng so;

(36)

The ryng was sauf ynow / and in hir cheste
It was / al\(^5\) pat shee seide was lesyng,
As sum womman / othir whyle atte beste
Can lye and wepee / whan is hir lykyng.\(^6\)

\(\text{If} \) This man sy hir wo / and seide, “derlyng,
Weepe no more / goddes help is ny;”\(^7\)
To him vnwist / how fals shee was and sly.\(^8\)

\(\text{Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cantun}:\)
Fortunate is he who hath the happe
to beware by an-other mannes clappe.”

\(\text{In a later hand (f.} \text{c. 1500), at foot:}\)
“A sufficent salve for eche disease,
The cheef revenge for cruell yre,
Yspatyence, the present case
For to delaye eche flamy fyre.”

At side:
“I count his conquest greate,
That canne, by reasons scyle,
Subdue affections heate,
And conquer wanton wyll.”
He twynned thens / and hoom to his Contree, 253
Vn-to his modir, the streight way he wente.
And whan shee sy / thidir comen was he, 1 that thidir come Reg.
¶ "My sone," quod shee / "what was thy thyn entente,
Thee fro the scoole / now for to absente? 257
What causid thee / fro scoole hidir to2 hye?"
¶ "Modir, right this," seide he / "nat wole y lye: 259

"fior soothe, modir / my ryng3 is ago ; 3 The Ryng that
My paramour, to keepe y betooke it,
And it is lost / for which y am ful wo;
Sorwefully4 vn-to myn herte it sit." 4 Right greunously Reg.
¶ "Sone / often haue y warne thee / & yit 264
ffor thy profyt y warne thee, my sone;
Vnhonest wommen / thow heere-aftir shone.

"Thy brooch anoon right wole y to thee5 fette." 267
Shee broghite it him / and charged him ful deepe—
When he it tooke / and on his brest it sette,—
Bet than he dide his ryng / he sholde it keepe,
lest he the los / bewaille6 sholde and wepee.” 271
To the vnuersitie / shortly to seyn, 4 for the losse he waile Reg.
In what he kowde / he haastid him ageyn.7 273

And whan he comen was / his paramour8 274
Him mette anoon / and vn-to hire him tooke,
As pat he dide erst / this yong ruelour;
Hir compaignie he nat a decil forsooke,
Thogh he cause hadde / but, as with the hooke 278
Of hir sleighte / he beform was caghth & hent /
Right so he was decephued eft & blent.

7 At foot, later, "Thomas."
8 In margin, later: "tho .. Gefferye thurgood .. Gefferye thurgood .. Gefferye thurgood .. Dut to th D sayde."
HOCCLEYE M. P.—II.
XXIV. FELLICULA LEARNS ABOUT JONATHAS'S MAGIC BROOCH.

(41)
And as thurgh vertu of the ryng before, 281
Of good he hadde habundance & plente, while it was with him / or he hadde it lore.
Right so / thurgh vertu of the brooch, had he
What good him list / shee thoghite, "how may this be?
Sum pryuee thyng / now causith this richesse?
As did the ryng / heer-before, y gesse." 287

(42)
Wondrynge heer-on / shee preide him, and besoghite
Eysyly nyght and day / pat telle he wolde 289
The cause of this / but he an othir thoghite;
He mente / it cloos for him1 / it kept be sholde;
And a long tyme it was / or he2 it tolde. 292
Shee kepte3 ay to and to / and seide, "allas
The tyme and hour / pat euere y bore4 was 15 294

(43)
"Truste yee nat on me, sire?" she seide; 295
"leuer me were be slayn6 in this place 6 dede Reg.
By pat good lord / pat for vs alle deide,
Than purpose ageyn7 yow any fallace. 7 ayenst Reg.
Vn-to yow wole y be, my lyues space,
As treewe as any woman in eerthe is
Vn-to a man / douteith no thyng of this." 301

(44)
¶ Smal may8 shee do / pat can nat wel byheete, 302
Thogh' nat parfourned be swich a promesse. 8 kan Reg.
¶ This Jonathas thoghite hir wordes 9so sweete,
pat he was dronke of the plesant sweetnesse
Of hem / and of his foolisshe tendrenesse,9 306
Thus vn-to hire he spak and seide tho:
"Be of good confort / why weepist thow so?" 308

5 At foot, later, "John Bargain / Ann. 1551."
9 . . . . . . swete
To hym, and of his foolish tendrinesse,
Why makest thou al this wo and heynesse Reg.
XXIV. FELLICULA STEALS JONATHAS'S MAGIC BROOCH.

(45)

¶ And shee ther-to answerde thus / sobbynge: “Sire,” quod shee / “myne heynynesse and dreede
Is this / y am adrad of the leesynge
Of your brooch / as almighty god forbeede
It happido s" // “now, what so, god thee speede,” 313
Seide he, “woldist thow in this cas consaille?”
¶ Quod shee, “pat y kepe mighte it,1 sanz faille.” 315
1 I myght it kepe Reg.

(46)

He seide, “y haue a fere & dreede algate,
If y so dide, thow woldest it leese,
As thow lostist my rynge / now goon but late.”
¶ “first, god preye y,”2 quod shee / “pat y nat cheese [pray I god R.]
But pat myn herte / as the cold frost may freese,
Or elles be it brent / with wyldye fyr;
Nay / seurly it to keepe / is my desyr.”

(47)

To hir wordes / credence he yaf3 pleneer, 4 he yafe credence R.
And the brooch tooke hire / and after anoon,
Where-as he was beforne ful leef & cheer4 dere Reg.
To folke / and hadde good / al was agoon:
Good and frendshiphe him lakkid / ther was noon. 327
“Wommans / me fecche the brooch,” quod he, “swythe5
In-to thy chambre for it go / now ly the!”6
5 the broocche me fette. he seide now Reg.
6 go therfore. and tarye nat thow Reg.

(48)

Shee in-to Chambre wente / as pat he7 bad, 7 he hir Reg.
But she nat broghite / pat he sente hir fore;
Shee mente it nat / but as shee had be mad,
hir clothes hath shee al to-rent & tore,
And cryde, “allas / the brooch away is bore1
ffor which y wolde anoon right, with my knyf
My self slee / y am weery of my lyfe.” 336

° Later, at side: “Hoid! . . . God, my duty done, I humble commend me vnto you, trustinge In the louyng god long to contynue.”

Q 2
XXIV. JONATHAS GETS HIS MAGIC CLOTH FROM HIS MOTHER.

(49)

This noyse he herde / & bylyue he to 1 hir ran, 1 blive vnto R. weenyngshe she wolde han doon as shee spak; 337
And the knyf, in al haaste pat 2 he can, 2 as hastily as Reg.
ffrom hire tooke / & throw 3 it behynde his bak,
And seide / "for the los / ne for the lak" 4 caste Reg. 341
Of the brooch / sorwe nat / y foryeue al;
I truste in god / pat yt vs helpe he 4 shal." 4 he vs helpe R.

(50)

To themperice his modir / this yong man 344
Ageyn him dressith / he 5 wente vnto. 5 dressed, and R.
And whan shee sy him / shee to wondre gan;
Shee thoghtte / 'now sumwhat ther is mis-do' ;
And seide / 'y dreede thy Jewelles two 348
Been lost now / per cas the brooch 6 with the ryng.'
"Modir," he seide / "yee / by heuene kyng." 350
the brooch per cas Reg.

(51)

"Sone, thow woost wel / no Jewel is left 351
Vnto thee now / but 2 the clooth precious, 7 save Reg.
Which y thee take shal / thee chargyng eft,
The compaignie of wommen riotous
Thow flee / lest it be to thee so grousous 355
That thow it nat susteene shalt, 8 ne bere :
Swich compaignie, on my blessyng, forbere!" 9 357
ne shalt not it sustene Reg.

(52)

The clooth shee fette / and it hath 10 him take, 11 358
And of his lady his modir, his leuee 10 it fette . and hath it Reg.

9 By a later hand in the margin :
"Know er thow kynnt, and then thow mayst slake;
yf thow kynnt er thow know, t:hen hyt ys to late, &c,"
(see pages 124, 152, above : footnotes).
"He that wyll not whan he maye,
When he wolde, he shall haue naye."

At foot, upside down :
"Better hyt hys, seeten to abyde,
then hastily to clym, and hastily to clyde [glyde]."
11 Later scribble at top and side : "Hary ollyxe (!) Ha Molynex .
This it good . hys feyndes . to vnderstand . mihm ."
XXIV. JONATHAS AND FELLICULA GO OFF ON THE CLOTH. 229

He tooks / but first this forward gan he make:
¶ "Modir," seide he / "trustith this weel, & leeeu
pat y shal seyn / for sooth yee shul it prueue: 362
If y leese this clooth / neuer ye your face
Hens-foorth se wole / ne yow preye of grace. 364

(53)
"With goddes help / y shal do wel ynow." 365
Hir blesyng he tooks / and to studie is go;
And as beforne told haue y vn-to yow,
his paramour / his priuose mortel fo,
Was vont for to meete him / right euene so 369
Shee dide thanne / & made him plesant cheere:
They clippe and kisse / and walke homward in feere.

(54)
Whan they were entred in the hows / he spradde 372
This clooth vp-on the ground / and ther-on sit,
And bad his paramour, this womman badde,
To sitte also / by him adoun on it.
Shee dooth as pat he commandith and bit. 376
had shee his thougft / and vertu of the clooth
wist / to han sete on it / had shee been looth. 378

(55)
Shee for a whyle was ful sore affesid.1 379 [leaf 86, back]
¶ This Jonathas wishe in his herte gan:
"wolde god pat y mighte thus been esid,
That as on this clooth y and this womman
Sitte here / as fer were, as pat neuere man 383
Or this cam" / and vnnethe had he so thougft,
But they with the clooth thidir weren brough
385 At once they

(56)
Right to the worldes ende, as pat it were. 386
¶ Whan apparcayed had shee\textsuperscript{e}this / shee cryde

1 Later scribble at top: "Shee for a godes wis fulli sorye sas" ... "Th Tho y y y y y." At left side: "Wolde godd Wolld Wolld ... stumm."
XXIV. JONATHAS TELLS FELICULA ABOUT THE MAGIC CLOTH.

As thogh she thurgh-girt had be with a spere:
"Harrow / allas þat euere shooe this tyde!
How cam we hidir" / "nay," he seide / "abyde; 390
Wers is comyng / heer, soul wole y thee leue;
Wylde beestes thee shuln deoures or eue, 392

(57)
"ffor thow my ryng and brooch haast fro me holden."
¶ "O reuerent Sire, haue vp-on me pitee," 394
Quod shee / "if yee this grace do me wolden,
As me brynge hoom ageyn to the Citee
Where as y this day was / but if þat yee 397
hem haue ageyn / of foule deeth do me dye;
Your bontee on me kythe / y mercy crye."

(58)
¶ This Ionathas kowde no thyng be waer,¹ 400
Ne take ensample of the deceites tweyne
þat shee dide him befor / but feith him² baar,
And hire he comande, on deshe peyne,
ffro swiche offens / then forth hir restreyne. 404
Shee swoor, and made ther-to forwared;
But herkeneth how shee baar hir aftirward:

(59)
Whan shee sy and kneew þat the wrathe & ire 407
þat he to hir had born / was goon & past,
And al was wel! shee thegohte him eft to fyre;
In hir malice ay stood shee stidfast,
And to enquire of hir / was nat agast, 411
In so short tyme / how þat it mighte be
That they cam thidir out of hir contree. 413

(60)
¶ "Swich vertu hath this clooth on which we sitte,"
Seide he / "þat where / in this world vs be list, 415
Sodeynly with the thoght shuln thidir flitte,

¹ Later scribble at side: "This comon (I) . . William . . This is goff."
² i hir
And how thidir come / vn-to vs vnwist,
As thyng fro fer / vnknowen in the mist."  
And ther-wit\th / to this womman fraudulent,
"To sleepe," he seide / "haue I good talent;
and says he wants to sleep

(61)
"Let see," quod he / "strecche out anoon thy lappe,\nIn which wole I myn heed doun leye and reste."  
¶ So was it doon / and he anoon gan nappe:
Nappe! nay / he sleep / right wol atte beste.
What dooth this womman / oon the fikileste
Of wommen alle / but pat clooth \pat lay
Vndir him / shee drow lyte & lyte away.

(62)
Whan shee it had al / "wolde god," quod shee,
"I were as I was this day morwenyng."  
And ther-wit\th / this roote of iniquitee
Had hir wissli / and soul lefte him ther slepyng.
¶ "O Ionathas, lyke to thy perisshyng
Art thow / thy paramour maad hath thy berd;
Whan thow wakist / cause hast thow to be ferd;
Wishes herself at home,

(63)
"But thow shalt do ful wel / thow shalt obteene
Victorie on hire / thow haast doon sum deede
Plesant to thy modir / wel can I weene,
ffor which our lord god / qwyte shal thy meede,
And thee deliure out of thy woful dreede.
The chyld / whom \pat the modir vsith blesse,
fful often sythe is esid in distresse."

(64)
Whan he awook / and neithir he ne fond
Womman ne clooth / he wepte bittrily,
And seide, "allas / now is ther in no lond
Man werse, \I trowe, begoon / than am y!"
On every syde his lookz he caste, and sy
He wakes, and finds neither his paramour nor his Cloth.

1 Later scribble at top: 'Recognise . . Dr.'
Nothyng but briddles / in the eir fleynge,
And wyld beestes / aboute him rennyng.

(65)
Of whos sighte / he ful sore was agrysid:
He thoghte / 'al this wel disserued y haue,
What elid me to be so euel aysid,
That my Conseil / kowde I nat keepe & saue?
Who can fool playe / who can madde or raue,
But he put to a womman his secrete
Deskeuereth / the smert cleyne now on me.'

(66)
¶ He thens departed / as god wolde harmlesse,
And foorth of auenture his way is went,
But whidirward he drou / he conceitlesse
Was / he nat kneew / to what place he was bent.
He paste a watyr / which was so fervent
but flesh vp on his feet / lefte it him noon;
Al cleeve was departid fro the boon.

(67)
¶ It shoop so put he had a lytil glas,
Which, with put watir / anoon filled he;
And whan he ferthere in his way goon was,
Before him he beheld and sy a tree
put fair fruet baar / and put in greet plente:\nHe eet ther-of / the taast him lyklyd wel,
But he ther-thurgh became a foul mesel;

(68)
¶for which, vi-to the ground, for sorwe & wo
He fil / and seide / 'cursid be put day
put I was born / and tyme and hour also
put my modir coneyued me / for ay
Now am I lost / allas and weleaway!'
And whan sumdel slakid his heuynesse,
He roos / and on his way he gan him dresse.
XXIV. JONATHAS IS CURED, AND GETS WATER AND FRUIT. 233

(69)
¶ An othir watir before him he sy,
Which for to comen in he was adrad;
But natheles / syn ther by / othir way,
Ne aboute it / ther kowde noon been had?:
He thoghite / “so streytly am I bystad,
pat thoghi it sore me affese or gaste,
Assaye it wole I” / and thurgh it he paste.

(70)
And right as the firste watir his fleshe
Departed from his feet: so the secownde
Restored it / and made al hool and fressh.
And glad was he, and ioyeful pat stownde
When he felte his feet hoole were and sownde.
A viole of the watir of pat brooke
He filde / & fruyt of the tree with him tooke.

(71)
ffoorth his iourneye this Jionathas heeld:
And as pat he his looke aboute him caste,
An-othir tree from a-fer he byheeld,
To which he haastid and him hyed faste:
Hungry he was / and of the fruyt he thraste
In-to his mouth / and eet of it sadly,
And of the leepre / he poured was ther-by.

(72)
Of pat fruyt more he raghe / & thens is goon;
And a fair Castel from a-fer sy he,
In compass of which / heedes many oon
Of men ther heeng / as he mighite wel see;
But nat for pat / he shone nobe or fleo;
He thidirward him dressith the straigthe way,
In al pat euere pat he can or may.

1 Later scribble at side: “This biff made the x (1 v) daye of maye In the fy[2]st year of the rayne of kyng” . . . “Thomas” (6 times).
XXIV. JONATHAS CURES A KING OF LEPROSY.

(73)

Walkynge so / two men cam him ageyn,\(^1\)
And seiden thus / “deere freend, we yow preye,
What man be yee” ¶ “Sires,” quod he certeyn,
A leecche I am / and thogh myself it seye,
Can for the helthe of seeke folke wel pursueye.”  
¶ They seide him / “of yondir Castel, the kyng
A leepre is / and can hool be for no thyng:

(74)

“With him ther hath been many a sundry leech
pat undertooke / him for to cure and hele
On peyne of hire heedes / but al to seeche
Hire art was / waer / pat thow nat with him dele,
But if thow canst the chartre of helthe ensele,
Lest pat thow thyne heed leese / as diden they.
But thow be wys / thow fynde it shalt no pley.”

(75)

Jonathas says ¶ “Sires,” seide he / “yow thanke I of your reed,
for gentilly yee han yow to me qwit;
But I nat dreede to leese myn heed;
By goddes help / ful sauf keepe I wolde it,
God, of his grace, swich konnynge & wit
hath lent me / pat I hope I shal him cure;
ful wel dar I me putte in aventure.”

(76)

They to the kynges presence han him lad;\(^2\)
And him, of the fruyst of the second tree
He yaf to ete / & bad him to be glad,
And seide anoon / “your helthe han shul yee.”
Eeke of the second watir, him, yaf he
To drynke / and whan he tho two had receyued,
His leepre from him / voided was & weyued.

\(^1\) Scribble at top, “Item.”
\(^2\) Scribble at top and side: “d d d d d . . and he idil . . .
XXIV. JONATHAS ARRANGES TO RETURN HOME. 235

(77)

¶ The kyng / as vn-to his hy dignitee 533 The King pays
Conuenient was / yaf him largely, Jonathas well.
And to him seide: “if put it lyke thee,
Abyden heere / I more habundantly
Thee yeue wole” ¶ “my lord, sikerly,” 537
Quod he / “fayn wolde I your pleisir fullfiH,
And in your hy presence abyde stills ; 539

(78)

But I no whyle may with yow abyde,
So moochil haue I to doone elles where.” 540
¶ Jonathas evere day to the See syde
Which was ny / wente / to looke & enquerre
If any ship drawynge thidir were, 544
Which him hoom to his Contree lede mighte.
And on a day, of shippes had he sighte,

(79)

Wel / a xxx[4]. toward the Castel drawe ;¹ 547 [leaf 90, back]
And atte tyme of euen-song they aH
Arryueden / of which he was ful fawe ;
And to the Shipmen crie he gan & caH,
And seide / “if it so happe mighte & faH
¶at some of yow, me hoom to my Contree
Me brynge wolde / wel qwit sholde he be ;” 553

(80)

And tolde hem thidir / ¶at they sholden go. 554
¶ Oon of the shipmen foorth stirte atte laste,
And to him seide / “my ship, and no mo
Of hem ¶at heere been / hem shape & caste
Thidir to weende / Let see / tehH on faste,” 558
Quod the Shipman / ¶at thou for my trauaiH
Me yeue wilt / if ¶at I thidir saiH.” 560

¹ Scribble in margin: “Thomas... Thomas... Thomas... Thomas.”
XXIV. JONATHAS SETS UP AS A PHYSICIAN.

(81)
They were accorded / Ionathas fowrth gooth
Vn-to the kyng / to axe of him licence
To twynne thens / to which the kyng was looth;
And natheles, with his beneuolence,
This Ionathas from his magnificence
Departed is / and fowrth to the Shipman
his way he takith / as swythe as he can.

(82)
In-to the ship he entrith / & as blyue
As wynd and wedir, good shoop for to be,
Thidir as he purposid him arryue,
They saillid fowrth / & cam to the Citee
In which this serpentyn womman was / shee
That had him ternen with false deceitis;
But where no remedie folwith / streit is;

(83)
Tornes been qwit / al be they goode or badde,
Sumtyme / thoght they put been in delay.
\nBut to my purpos / shee deemed he hadde
 Been deuoured with beestes many a day
Goon / shee thoght / he deliured was for ay.
Folke of the Citee / kneew nat Ionathas,
So many a yee was past / pat he ther was;

(84)
Mislykyng & thoght / changed eek his face.
Abouten he gooth / and for his dwellynge
In the Citee / he hyred him a place,
And ther-in excercyseid his konnynge
Of phisyke / to whom weren reperynge
Many a seeke wight / and all were helid;
wel was the seeke man / pat with him hath delid!  

1 Later scribble in the margin: “In the... h... I... h... k...” (each repeated). “This bill made the... k k... viz... This bill made... This byll made the v day of maye. This bill... Romane.”
XXIV. JONATHAS ATTENDS THE SICK FELLICULA. 237

(85)
Now shooit thus / pat this Fellicula—
The welle of deceuyable doublenesse,
sfloweres of the steppes of dalida—
Was thanne exaltat vn-to hy richesse,
But shee was fallen in-to greet seeknesse,
And herde seyn / for nat migltie it been hid,
How maistreful a leche he had him kid: .

(86)
Messages solempe to him she sente,
Preyynge him to do so mochil labour
As come and seen hire / and he thidir wente.
When he hir sy / pat shee his paramour
had been, he wel kneew / and for pat, dettour
To hire he was / hire he thoghte to qwyte
Or he wente / & no lengere it respyte;

(87)
But what pat he was / shee ne wiste nat.
He sy hire vryne / & eekke felte hir poux,
And seide / "the soothe is this, pleyn & plat:
A seeknesse han yee strange & merueillous,
Which for to voide / is wondir dangerous;
To hele yow / ther is no way but oon;
Leche in this world / othin can fynde noon:

(88)
"Auysith yow / whethir yow list it take1
Or nat / for y told haue yow my wit."
"A, Sire," seide shee / "for goddes sake,
pat waye me shewe / and y shal folwen it,
What-euere it be / for this seeknesse sit
So ny myn herte / pat y woot nat how
Me to demene / telle on, praye y yow."

1 Later, at top: "Ceste lettre fait le trouesme foure de soulte entre James et moyse Poir du vinge: 33r 39e et demi et quoy et fouct farre, &c (!)." At side: "‘This biff made the xxd day of may In the fy[r]st yer of the rayne of."
XXIV. FELLICULA CONFESSIONS HER ROBBERY OF JONATHAS.

(89)

Jonathas says
she must confess
if she's stolen
any thing,
and must restore
it;

"Lady, yee muste openly yow confesse;
And if ageyn good conscience & right,
Any good han yee take, more or lesse,
Beforn this hour of any maner wight,
yilde it anoon / elles nat in the might
Of man is it / to yeue a medecyne
bat yow may hele of your seeknesse & pyne.

(90)

"If any swich thyng be / telle out, y rede;
And yee shul been al hool, y yow byheete;
Elles myn art is naght, withouten dreede."
"O lord," shee thoghte / helthe is a thyng ful sweete;
Therwith desire y souerainly to meete.
Syn y it by confessioun may rekenuere,
A fool am I, but I my gilt deskeuere."

(91)

She confesses
how she robd
Jonathas.

How falsy to the sone of themperour
Jonathas / had shee doon / before hem aH,
As yee han herd aboue / al þat errour
Byknew shee / o Fellicula, thee caH
Wel may y so / for of the bittir gat
Thow takist the begynnynge of thy name,
Thow roote of malice / and mirour of shame!

(92)

¶ Than seide Jonathas / "where arn tho three
Iewelles / þat yee fro the Clerk withdrow?"
¶ "Sire, in a Cofre / at my beddes feet yee
Shul fynde hem / opne it / and see, preye y yow."
He thoghte nat to make it qweynte and tow,
And seye nay / and streyne courtese,
But with right good wil / thidir he gan hye.
XXIV. JONATHAS GETS HIS JEWELS, AND POISONS FELLICULA. 239

(93) The Cofre he opned / and hem therse fond. 1
Who was a glad man but Ionathas, who? 645
The ryng vp-on a fyngir of his hond
he putte / and the brooch on his brest also;
The clooth eek eke vndir his arm heeld he tho,
And to hire him dressith / to doon his cure,
Cure mortel / way to hir sepulture. 651

(94) he thoghhte, reewe shee sholde, and forthynke 2
pat shee hire hadde vn-to him mis borg;
And of pat watir hire he yaf to drynke,
Which pat his flesshe / from his bones before
had twynned / wherthurgh he was almoost lore,
Nad he releued been / as yee aboue
Han herd / and this he dide eek for hir loue. 658

(95) Of the fruvt of the tree he yaf hire ete,
Which pat him made in-to the leepre sterte;
And as blyue in hir wombe gan they frete
And gnawe so / pat change gan hir herte.
Now herkneth / how it hire made smerte:
Hir wombe opned / and out fil echc entraill.
That in hire was / thus seith the booke sanz fafh. 665

(96) Thus wrecchidly, lo / this gyle [wo]man 3 dyde;
And Ionathas, with tho Jiewelles three,
No lengere therse thoghhte to abyde, 666

1 "leyenge" added by a later hand. In the margin are also,
"Louyng brother, I dan (!) . . . my haryly cuddy r (!) . . . p . . . all . . . ifand . . . stoope . . . . This ys Jamys."

2 Later, at top: "This bill made the xvj days of maye In
the fy[r]st yeares of the Rayne of kyng Edwarde the syxt, by the
grace of god, of Ingland, france, and yrelond, kyng."

3 'guile-y woman died' it must be; not 'this guile, man did.'
goes back to his Mother, and lives in joy till he dies.

But hoom to themperice, his modir, hastith he,
Where as in ioie and in prosperitee
his lyf ledde he / to his dyynge day:
And so god vs graunte pat we do may!

Amen.

[XXIV. MORALIZATION OF THE STORY OF JONATHAS.]

Themperour, pat y spake of aboue, is oure lord god, pat hath .iiij. sones. ¶ By the firste sone, we shul vndirstonde Angels / to whiche / god yaf swich confirmacion pat they may nat synne / for aftir pat the wikkid Angels fillen: the goode angels so sadly weren adherent to god, and by him so confermed / pat they mighten nat synne. ¶ By the seconde sone, we shul vndirstonde Patriarchs and Prophetes / to whiche god yaf and bytook the olde lawe / pat is to seye, the lawe of Moyses / which was meuable / for it changid by the comyng of Cryst / ¶ To the .iiij. sone, this Emperor yaf the Iewelles / pat is to seyn, the ryng / the brooch & the cloth / ¶ By the ryng pat is rownd / We shul vndirstande feith / which is rownd, withouten obliquiteitie or crookidnesse / and who-so hath the ryng of verry feith / he shal haue the loue of god and of his angels. ¶ Where-of our Sauour spekith and seith thus: ¶ "If yee haue as mochil feith as is the greyn of Senefee; yee shuln mowe seye to this hil, passe & go / and it shal passe" / & therfore he pat hath the ryng of verry feith: he shal haue al 1 thynge at his lust and plesance. ¶ God yaf also to the Cristen man a brooch / pat is to seyn, the holy goost / and seyde / "I shal sende to yow the holy goost / & he shal telle and informe yow of al pat y seye" / and if we haue the holy goost in oure hertes / withouten doute we shul han al godes pat prufyten to the helthe of soule / ¶ Also god yaf to the
Cristen man the .ii: Iewel / paz is to seyn, the precious clooth / this clooth is parfyte charitee / which god shewid vs in the Cros / he loued vs so mochil paz he deide for vs / to brynge vs to eternel bliss / theryfure who-so sitteth vp-on parfyte charitee: dowtelees he shal be translated out of this world / vn-to perpetuel reste. ¶ The seid Ionathas may be clept a Cristen man / which is sliden or fallen in-to synne. ¶ His paramour, paz is to seyn, his wrecchid flessh, cometh to hym and meetith hym / stirynge hym to synne / and so he leesith the ryng of feith / which he recyued & tooke in his baptisme. ¶ Also the brooch, paz is to seyn, the holy goost, fleeth from hym by cause of his synne. ¶ The clooth eek is with-drawn from him, paz is to seye, parfyte charitee / as often as he consentith to synne / and thus the wrecchid man dwellith or abydith withouten help among bestes / paz is to seyn / with the feend / the world and the flessh. ¶ Do therfore as dide Ionathas. ¶ Ryse vp fro thy synne, ryse vp / for al to longe haast thou slept in the lappe of carnalitee or flesshlyhede / as it is writen: ¶ "Aryse vp thow paz sleepist, and y shal enlumyne thee." ¶ Right so Sampson slepte in the lappe of Dalida, and loste his strengthe. ¶ Ionathas roos and entred in-to the watir of penance / which twynneth and disseuereth the flessh, paz is to seyn, flesshly affeccions / ¶ Afterward he eet of the fruyt of sharpnesse / which changed his cheere in-to the manere of a leepre / as it is red of Cryst: ¶ "we sy him as hauynge no chiere or contenance.” ¶ Right so of the soule, which is in bitternesse for the wrogth offense and synne. ¶ wher-of it is seid in the figure and liknesse of the soule: ¶ "Blake y am, but y

Later, at top: “Radufus Wilcokes.” ¶ "Ihesus, ¶ "Ihesus, hauie mercy vpon vs and this Inglisha nacyon, which hath bene of christs flock an habitation." At foot: “Thomas, late Pokes Wales (f)" and some French, upside down.

HOOCLEVE, M.P.—II.
am fair" / that is to seyn, blake in body, and fair in soule. ¶ Ionathas entred the second watir, which restored al, &c. ¶ This watir is the holy communio[n] after penitence, ¶ Wher-Of spake ous 1 Saaueour: 2 ¶ "I am the well / who-so drynketh of that watir, he shall nat thirste ageyn." ¶ Aftir, this Ionathas est of the fruit of the second tree, which restored al that was lost, that is to seyn, whan man is glorified in eternel lyf, and helith the kyng, that is to seyn, resoun. and so he enthrith the ship of the chirche / and to his paramour, that is to seyn, his fleshe, he pursieth watir of contricioun & fruyt of penance andSharpenesse / for which the fleshe / that is to seyn, carnell or fleshely affectioun, sternel and dieith / and the man purchaseth & getith by penitence the goodes that were lost / and so he gooth in to his Contree, that is to seyn, the Regne of heuene: to which, god of his grace brynge vs all. Amen!

Go, smal book / to the noble excellence
Of my lady / of Westmowland / and seye,
Hir humble servaunt / with al reuerence
Him recomman dieth vn-to hir noblesse;
And byseeche hire / on my behawle, & preye,
Thee to receyue / for hire owne right;
And looke thow / in al manere weye
To plese hir wommanhede / do thy might.

Humble servaunt \\

T: Hoccuscleve.

At foot, later, "Perlegi 1666."

2 Later, at top: "Vnto the glorious Resurreccyons of the Body and the lyfe Euer lastyng." At side "radulfus Wicke.. honerif irnilitatibus . Bu?, the sayd def (1)."
Summons: From the Bell. The 14th day of July, he shall not stir from hence. He shall not taste any fruit from this garden, set of the fruit of the second tree. Which resteth in him. This left to John Chan- 
man to stand in eternal life, and he shall the king 
and to be seen to, and to his name, to be in his flesh, he 
proven to watch, and to converse in absence of 
penance and sharpness, for which, the flesh, 
man shall stand or flesh, after the murder 
and death, and the man purchased a greeted, by 
penitence the good of Christ, left, and he goeth 
man to his house in the same to be in the absence, to 
which god of his grace, because we are, Amen 

I will speak to the noble excellence 
of my lady of Westmead and one 
her humble servant with reverence and 
whose recommendations to his noble. 
And he requests him, on my behalf, of 
these to everyone in his name, right. 
And look to the same as in order, that 
endeavour his, Wingham. 

Humble servant, to your gracious lord. 

J. de Cobham
NOTES.

I.

Extracts from Christine de Pisan's *L'Epître au Dieu d'Amours* (May 1399).—*Œuvres Poétiques* de C. de P. publiées par Maurice Roy. ii. 1—27. Soc. des Anciens Textes Français, 1891.

[The nos. of the English lines are on the left; those of the French on the right.]

1 Cupido, roy par la grace de lui,
   Dieu des amans, sans aide de nullui
2 Regnant en l'air du ciel très reluisant
5 Filz de Venus la deesse poissant,
   Sire d'amours et de tous ses obgiez,
6 A tous nos vrais loiaux servans subgiez,
7 Salut, Amour, Familierité!
8 Savoir faisons en generalité
11 Qu'au nostre Court sont venues complaintes
   Par devant nous, et moult piteuses plaintes
9 De par toutes dames et damaiselles,
10 Gentilz femmes, bourgoises et pucelles,
   Et de toutes femmes généralement,
   Nostre secours requérant humblement . .
11 Si se plaignet les dessusdites dames,
12 Des grans extors, . . des oulfragez très griefs,
   Que chacun jour des desloiaux reçoivent,
13 Qui les blasment, diffament et décoivent.
15-16 Sur tous pais se complaignent de France . .
18 Car a present sont plusieurs chevaliers
   Et escuiers mains dais et consument
21 D'elles trây par beauxx blandissements,
18 Si se faignent estre loyaux amans
21 Et se cueuvrent de diverse faintise ;
22-25 Si vont disant que griefment les atise
   L'amour d'elles, qui leur cuer tient en serre,
20 Que chacun jour des desloiaux reçoivent
   Donc l'un se plaint, a l'autre le cuer serre,
29 22 L'autre pleuré par semblant et souspire,
   Et l'autre fait que trop griefment empire
25 23 Par trop amer tout soit descoulouré,
   Et presque mort et tout alangoré,
29 29 Et jurent fort, et promettent et mentent
33 Estre loiaux, secrez, et puis s'en vantent . .
41 33 Ainsi, se trop ne sont aperçues,
41 41 Car simples sont, n'y pensent se bien non,
Dont il avient souvent, veulent ou non, 102
Qu'amer leur fault ceulz qui si les deçoivent, 42
Traies sont ains qu'elles l'aperçoivent, 49
Mais quant ainsi sont fort envelopées,— 50-1
Les desloiauzlz qui les ont attrapées,
Or escoutez comment il s'en chevissent : 57
Ne leur souffist ce qu'ainsi les trahissent,
Ains ont compaigns de leur male alliance ; 59
Si n'y remaingt ne fait ne couvenance
Qu'iez n'ont de bien, se vantent que reclus
Sont devenus en la chambre leurs dames
Dont sont amez ; puis jurent corps et ames
Comment du fait il leur est avenu,
Et que couché braz a braz y ont nu...
Mais s'aucunes attraient en tel guise,
Quel merveille ? Ne fu pas, par faimtise,
Par faulx consaulz, par traison bastie,
Par parlemens, engins et foy mentie,
La grant cité de Troye jadis prise,
Qui tant fu fort, et toute en feu esprise?
Et tous les jours par engins et desrois
Ne traist on et royaumes et roys ?...
Et fust ores malicieuse et sage
Si n'est ce pas en ce grant vasselage.
A homme agu, de grant malice plein,
Que peyne y met comme il en est tout plein.
La rigolent l'un l'autre, et par reproches
S'entrendent: "Je say bien de tes faiz,
"Telle est ta mie, et tu le jolis faiz"
"Pour sienne amour; mais plusieurs y ont part;"
"Tu es receu quant un autre s'en part."
Et puis après s'en moquent et s'en vantent,
Et vont disant que femmes se consentent
Legierement, com legierces et fraillies,
Et qu'un ne doit avoir fiancée en elles...
La diffam les enviuez la belle
Sanz achoison, ne nul mal savoir d'elle ;
Et lors cellui qui en est rigolé
Monstre semblant qu'il en soit adoulées...
Si en y a qui se sont mis en peine
Qu'on les amast, mais perdu ont leur peine;
Si sont honteux dont ilz sont refusé;
Ne veulent pas qu'on croie que musé
Ayent en vain, pour de ce se vantent
Qu'onques n'avint...
Et quel profit vient d'ainsi diffamer
A ceulz meines qui se deussent armer
Pour les garder, et leur honneur defendre?
Car tout homme doit avoir le cuer tendre
Christine de Pisan’s “L’Epistre au Dieu d’Amours.” 245

174 Envers femme qui a tout homme est mere ...

148 Et supposé qu'il en y ait de nyces

150 Ou remplies de plusieurs divers vices,

151 Sanz foy, n'amour, ne nulle loialtée,

153 Fieres, males, plaines de cruauté,

149 Ou pou constans, legieres, variables,

152 Cautelleuses, fausses et decevables,

154 Doit on pour tant toutes mettre en fremaille,

Et temoignier qu'il n'est nulle qui vaille ?

155 Quant le haut Dieu fust et forma les angelz ...

156-7 N'en y ot il de mauvais en leurs fais ?

160 Doit on pour tant angelz nommer mauvais ? ...

169 Par ces preuves justes et veritables

Je conclus que tous hommes raisonables

170 Doivent femmes priser, cherir, amer;

175 Et ne doivent avoir cuer de blasmer

174 Elles de qui tout homme est descendu ...

190 Si se plaingnent les dessusedites dames

191 De plusieurs cleris qui sus leur mettent blasmes,

Dittiez en font, rimes, prose et vers,

192 En diffamant leurs meurs par moz divers ...

197 En vers dient, Adam, David, Sanson,

199 Et Salemon et autres a foison,

198 Furent deceuz par femme main et tart;

202 Et qui sera donc li homes qui s'en gart ? ...

204 Ovide en dit, en un livre qu'il fist,

206 Assez de maulz, dont je tiens qu'il meffist,

204-5 Qu'il appella le "Remede d'amours,"

205 On leur met sus moult de villaines mours,

Ordus, laides, pleines de villainie ...

Si ont les cleris apris très leur enfance

211 Cellui livret en premiere science

De gramaire, et aux autres l'aprenent

213 A celle fin qu'a femme amer n'emprenent.

219 Mais de ce sont folz, et perdent leur peine,

220 Ne l'empeschier, si n'est fors chose vaine,

221 Car, entre moy et ma dame Nature,

222 Ne souffrerons, tant com le monde dure,

224 Que cheries et amées ne soient,

226 Malgré tous ceulz qui blasmer les vouldroient,

Et qu'a plusieurs meismes qui plus les blasment

228 N'ostent les cuers, et ravissent et embient ...

225 Et aucuns sont qui iadis en mes las

227 Furent tenus, mais il sont d'amor las,

226 Ou par vieilce ou defaulte de cuer,

227 Si ne veulent plus amor a nul fuer,

Et convenant mont de tous poins nyé,

230 Moy et mon fait guerpy et renié

231 Comme mauvais serviteurs et rebelles,

228 Et telle gent racontent telz nouvelles

Communemment, et se plaingnt, et blasment

232 Moy et mon fait, et les femmes diffament ...

Si hé tel gent trop plus qu'autre riens, certes
254 Et les paye souvent de leurs dessertes;  
256 Eux assortir d'aucunes femmes folles;  
262 De poup d'on neur, males, maurenommées;  
239 Je fais yeux: de tel gent sont amées...  
246 Qui tant en vout, puis diffamer les cuide;  
247 Et tous les clers, qui tant en ont parlé;  
247 Plus qu'autre gens en furent affolé,  
259 Non pas d'une seule mais d'un millier, ...  
274 Li autres dit que moulent soeteuables,  
275 Caillieux, faulx, et peu valables.  
279 Variables, inconstans et legieres...  
274 Et maisement pouette si soubtil  
281 Et Jehan de Meun ou Romant de la Rose,  
286 Quel long procés! quel difficile chose!...  
287 Pour decevoir sanz plus une pucelle...  
291 A foible lieu faut il donc grant assault?  
296-7 Que grant peine faille a foible lieu prendre,  
299 Ne engin, ne grant soubtivitë.  
300 Dont convient il tout de necessité,  
300-1 Puis qu'art convient, grant engin et grant peine,  
302 A decevoir femme noble ou villaine.  
304 Très loialle, et lui fust la toison  
308 D'or conquerir par son engin soubtil,  
309 Par elle fut renommé dessus tous,  
309 Vers Eneas qui, exillé de Troye,  
311 Que fu Dido, royne de Cartage,  
309 Si lui promist que loial ami doux  
311 Seroit tout sien, mais sa foy lui menti,  
311 Que fu Dido, royne de Cartage,  
309 Vers Eneas qui, exillé de Troye,  
311 Que fu Dido, royne de Cartage,  
311 Alot par mer las, despri et sanz joye,  
310 De la belle, qu'il faussement deçut...  
310 De la belle, qu'il faussement deçut...  
315 Don't a la fin celle, pour samisté

1 Hoccleve wisely leaves out Christine's retort that the books against them weren't written by women (609-10); had they been (416), things ud have been differently put.
Christine de Pisan's "L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours." 247

Morut de dueil, dont ce fu grant pitié.
Si trouvèrent, se vient a droit jugier,
Que le plus grant mal peut pou dommagier:
N'occint gent, ne blescent, ne mabhagiment,
Ne traisons ne pourchacent n'empregnent,
Feu ne boutent, ne desheriten gent,
N'empoisonnent, n'emblent or ne argent,
Ne décoivent d'avoir ne d'eritage,
N'en faulz contras, et ne portent domagage
Aux royannes, aux duchiés, n'aux empires ;
Mal ne s'ensuit gaires, meisme des pères . . . 652
. . . . elles n'ont pas les cuers
Enclins ad ce, ne a cruaulté faire;
Car nature de femme est debonnaire, [See also 168-178.]
Moult piteuse, pourouse et doutable,
Humble, doule, coye, et moult charitable,
Amiable, devote, en payz honteuse,
Et guerre craint, simple et religieuse,
Et en courroux tost apace son yre . . .
. . . . mais du decevement
Dont on blasme dame Eve nostre mere,
Dont s'ensuivi de Dieu sentence amere,
Je di pour vray qu'oneq Adam ne deçut,
Et simplement de l'anemi conçut
La parole qu'il lui donna a croire,
Si li cuida estre loial et voire,
En celle foy de lui dire s'avance;
Si ne fut donc fraude ne decevance
Car simples, sans malice celée,
Ne doit estre decevance appellée.
Nul ne deçoit sans cuditie decevoir,
Ou autrement decevance n'est voir.
Quelz granz maulx donc en pevent estre diz ?
Par desservir n'ont elles paradis?
De quelz crismes les peut on accuser ?
Mais, qui qu'en ait mêsdit ou mal escript
Je ne truis pas en livre n'en escript
Qui de Jhesus parle, ou de sa vie,
Du sa mort pourchacée d'envie . . .
N'euvangile qui nul mal en tesmoigne,
Mais maint grant bien, mainte haute besoigne,
Grant prudence, grant sens, et grant constance,
Parfaite amour, en foy grant arrestance,
Grant charité... et grant semblant en firent, 569, 71
Car, mort ne vif, oncoque ne le guerpirent.
Fors des femmes fu de tous delaisié
Le doulz Jhesus, navré, mort et blecié.
Toute la foy remaint en une femme . . .
Et se jay dit d'elles bien et louenge,
Comme il est vray, ne l'ay fait par losange
N'a celle fin que plus orgueil en aient,
Mais tout a fin que toudis elles soyent
Curieuses de mieulz on mieulz vatoir,
Christine de Pisan’s “L’Epistre au Dieu d’Amours.”

Sanz les vices que l’en ne doit avoir; 764
Car qui plus a grant vertu et bonté,
En doit estre moins d’orgueil surmonté,
Car les vertus si enchacent les vices.
Et, s’il est des femmes aucunes nyces,
C’est’ Epistre leur puit estre doctrine,
Le mal laissent; les bonnes veuillent en ce
Prendre vouloir d’auoir perseverence,
Si aront preu, grant bonner, joye et los
Et Paradis a la fin, dire l’os.
Pour ce conclus en diffincion,
Que des mauvais soit fait punicion
Qui les blasment . . . . . . si soient tuit
De nostre Court chacié, bani, destruit . . . .
Et commandons de fait a no maiyne
Generalement et a noz officiers . . . .
. . . . que tous ceuz maubaillis
Et villennez soient très laident
Injuriez, punis honteusement . . . .
Accomi soi sanz faire aucun delais.
Donné en l’air, en nostre grant palais,
Le jour de May la solemnité feste
Où les amans nous font mainte requeste,
L’Au de grace Mil trois cens quatre vins
Et dix et neuf, present dieux et divins . . . .

Explicit l’ Epistre au dieu d’amours. 928
II.

LETTER OF CUPID, p. 72—91.

COLLATION OF THE ASHBURNHAM MS 53, & SHIRLEY'S
MS TRIN. COLL. CAMB. R. 3. 20, p. 116 &c.

72/1. comaundementes Sh.
— 4. the mortel A, al mortel Sh.
— 5. the om. A, Sh., citheres sone oonly Sh.
— 6. alle A Sh.
— 7. gretyngherty Sh., gretynges senden A.
73/8. wole A, wol Sh.
— 9. and A, of Sh.
— 10. esowe Sh.
— 11. Swich A, . . . of F, as Sh.
— 12. doon A, which doone Sh.
— 14. this F, bir A, þe Sh.
— 15. And passyng A, . . . ou F, ypon Sh., . . . the litel F, this A.
— 18. can . . . 'dissimulen A.
— 19. on F, in A, Sh.; her F, þeþre Sh.
— 20. herte A, feelen Sh.
— 23. and with A, a chere Sh.
— 24. treweþy A, truwy Sh.
— 25. in hert that they Sh.; han swich A.
— 26. seyne Sh.
— 27. list Sh.
— 28. most Sh.
— 29. seyn A, seyne Sh.
— 30. as doth F, Shewen A.
— 31. Whyles . . . lasten A; last . . . or Sh.
— 32. and . . . ech F, in every A.
— 33. al F, yche A.
74/34. ryght as F, As þat A Sh.; fyste F, lkyth A.
— 35. moot myn herte A; . . . herte I prey Sh.
— 38. worde maynon A; non astert F, ther noon sterte A.

74/39. resou . . . to F, sholde any wight by resun A, resou any wight sholde Sh.
— 43. moveth . . . F, women meued of A Sh.
— 44. as þat tho A.
— 45. they graunte F, graunten A, Sh.
— 46. that . . . nat F, they nat shulden A, that þey shulde nat Sh.
— 48. of F, In Sh.; they A, ye F.
— 49. thus A, Sh., and thus F; while þees Sh.
— 50. this F, the A Sh.; pot A penne F; þus haþe þe potte by stel Sh.
— 51. is in his F, of hire hath A.
— 52. kepeþ . . . more F, he kepith nat A, with her ne keþeþe he more Sh.
— 53. after, om. Sh.; fynden A, f. owber Sh.
— 55. bestowe so Sh.
— 56. þees men for alle þeyre oþes been harde to leede Sh.
75/59. this woman this traytoure Sh., this tr. the w. A.
— 60. faste . . . F, fast him spedeth F, spedeth him fast Sh.
— 61. on a lowe F A, ouer throwe Sh.
— 62. ne A Sh.
— 63. telleth him Sh.
— 65. to accuse A.
— 66. to . . . selfe F, confesse him A; Nowe is þis witte / confesse himself thraytour Sh.
Collations of 'The Letter of Cupid.'

75/87. a A.
— 68. tellen how hir body he Sh.;
  do F, doon A.
— 69. he . . . him F, to him thus
  loo Sh.
— 70. grete esclaundre F Sh., ful
  grecet reprefe A; vnto F,
  boope to Sh.
— 71. name yet F, nay / yit A.
— 72. vertu F, pitee . . . it A,
  goode . . . it Sh.
— 74. inwarde Sh.
— 75. esclaundre F, shame A.
— 76. thanke A, hye thank Sh.
— 77. whiche . . . helpen Sh.
— 78. pa men by sl. A Sh.
— 79. Innocent F, ignorant A.
— 80. ys . . . sith F A, sith ys
  Sh.
— 81. as pa A.
— 82. om. the Sh.
76/83. al A Sh.
— 85. Betrayen A Sh.
— Citere F A, Resumes Sh.
— 86. is yit . . . shape F, is . . .
  shape a A Sh.
— 87. Ageynes false & hid A, A,
  falsely hidde Sh.
— 88. suche F, tho A; craftes F A,
  castes Sh.
— 89. wytte . . . redy F, wil ay
  reedy is A Sh.
— 90. thinges that souenepe Sh.;
  hy A, hye Sh.
— 91. beth F, be A.
— 92. these F, the A.
— 93. as A Sh.
— 94. they A, pey Sh.
— 96. om. to A.
— 97. guerdoneth he F, him qwytith
  A.
— 98. lytell wote F, Smal witen A,
  l. knowe Sh.
— 99. To his felaw an othir wrecche
  A.
— 100. the bath F, hath thee A.
— 102. deseerd A.
— 106. ride F, ride on Sh.
77/108. wol F, can A; with-sey F,
  sey ney Sh.
— 109. smertyly F, qwikly A; snak
  A.
— 110. thus these F, so the A.

77/111. so . . . mot F, pat . . . oft
  gyled shal Sh.
— 112. ay . . . F, For . . . noul-
  lerye Sh.
— 114. self / hyre F, self / here A.
— 115. Reprofe of her he spekth A.
— 117. dyuers A, sundry A; oft
  maken Sh.
— 120. Ful . . . wolde F, For . . .
  wolde eke Sh.
— 121. spent his tyne A.
— 123. hyr pleyenly F, his ludy A.
— 1.4. and F, or Sh.; had A.
— 127. For euery Sh.
— 129. leiser han A Sh.
78/131. on maddynghe . . . broght A.
— 132. he shoulde Sh.
— 133. which wymmen loven Sh.
— 134. To F, And Sh.
— 135. too F, To A.
— 136. and in F, For þe Sh.
— 138. yf that F, And if Sh.
— 139. Al moote he flee þat is to it
  A.
— 140. his grete F, ther-to A, mans
  g. Sh.
— 141. A fowl vice A, Right foule
  it Sh.
— 143. men F, man A Sh.
— 147. thise . . . in F, the . . . at
  A; beth F, been Sh.
— 148. man . . . a woman Sh.
— 151. and F, al Sh.
— 153. and ful F, al ful Sh.
— 154. that . . . al F, swiche alle A.
79/156. al . . . were F, alle war A.
— 158. al men woot F, men wel
  knowen A.
— 159. that F, whiche Sh.
— 161. he that . . . is F, which . . .
  is moche Sh.
— 163. yit of hem were goode Sh.
— 164. fynden A; happen men to
  fynde Sh.
— 165. good is for teschuwe Sh.
— 166. deeme . . . alle A, deme it
  . . . al Sh.
— 167. se . . . falsenesse A, se it
  . . . f. Sh.
— 168. trusten F A, trust þe Sh.
— 170. hit F, hem Sh.
— 171. þe w. hir shap be thikke or
  ellys Sh.
— 172. good or badde Sh.
Collations of 'The Letter of Cupid.' 251

79/173. every m. w. F, for ych wight Sh.
— 175. ys yt F, habe he Sh.; shame speke F, shame / speke of his A.
— 176. forth F, out Sh.
— 179. be . . . F, py M. vnto the bee Sh.
— 180. thou . . . F, man shal hon- nour bee Sh.
80/181. hir nat F, nat hire A; And d. t. h. in Sh.
— 182. by F, thurgh A.
— 183. ys seyde in oure e. Sh.
— 184. foule F, beest Sh.
— 185. that he F, so it A.
— 186. vseth F, wont is A.
— 187. wel . . . F, of woman wel A.
— 188. to dispelsen F, for to despise A Sh; ne F A, and Sh.
— 189. they wol F Sh, hem list A.
— 190. These, om. A.
— 191. bokes of hir F, makeynes of Sh.
— 192. dispisen t. w. F, they lakken wommenes A.
— 194. hem yeue A, gyf hem Sh.
— 196. belowen A.
— 197. Tho F, peire Sh.; sory F, wikkid A.
— 200. may F, koude Sh.
— 201. done . . . F, edoo and yet Sh.
— 202. the . . . not F, who may hire by malice A; hir F, heyre Sh.
— 203. as that theys F, Not the world A, as that the Sh.
— 205. represe F, vilanye Sh.
81/208. a F A, as Sh.
— 209. or ryme F, ryme A.
— 210. he F A, pey Sh.
— 211. hir F A, heyre Sh.
— 213. to louse hem ever to Sh.
— 214. syn F, sithe Sh.
— 215. They F shete A.
— 216. and, om. A; suche . . . wrapped F, sweche . . . trapped Sh.
— 218. No F, Ye no Sh.; thye F, bat the A.
— 219. I do F Sh., do we A.

81/220. labour and travaile A.
— 221. betwixt vs A.
— 222. noon F, nat A, not Sh.
— 223. these F, om. A; cruel F, outrageous A.
— 225. my F, our A.
— 226. ytied F, Tyd A.
— 228. ys F, nis Sh.
— 229. they F, om. Sh.
— 231. me . . . my F, vs . . . our, A.
82/233. myn F, oure A.
— 234. I F, We A.
— 243. pouthe that no w. bee ewhette Sh.
— 244. persyng . . . how F, strokes how sore A.
— 245. kerve F, brest Sh.
— 248. as it is known wyne Sh.
— 249. man F, men Sh.
— 251. koude F, come Sh.
— 256. they F, in herte they A.
— 257. this F, tho A, so thees, Sh.
83/258. oon v. and oper they were, Sh.
— 259. this F, the A; often F, wel oft Sh.
— 260. this F, om. A.
— 261. weren nat they / A.
— 262. as weren F, that wern A.
— 263. this F, thees Sh.
— 266. worshippe F, honour A.
— 267. this F, tho' A.
— 272. For v. o. he can abyde Sh.
— 273. a wight F, oon for A, folkes for Sh.
— 274. this F, the A.
— 276. wonne F A, conquerd Sh.
— 278. refreyne F, restreyne A.
— 282. occupacio[n] F, opynyoun Sh.
84/286. Aparaylles for to tellen vp Sh.
— 286. lone F, large Sh.
— 288. I . . . my F, we . . . our A, "'Nough . . . ne in . . . com- prende Sh.
— 291. shall soo, Sh.
— 295. moost yt, Sh.
— 297. for to . . . whatever Sh.
— 299. thys F, tho A; feyne F A, seyne Sh.
— 304. quyt be hir F, pane q. his Sh.
— 306. this man F, þees men Sh.
Collations of 'The Letter of Cupid.'

84/307. hir...his F, hem...
—308. gat hym...name F, grete...fame Sh.
85/310. wrecche F Sh., man A.
—311. Vnto Dido whiche Sh.
—312. smertye F, greestes A.
—313. ban doon F, do A.
—315. therof F, of it a.
—316. my...may F, our...may
men A, pe...may men Sh.
—318. no...F, noon/ne byheste
may men, A.
—319. reproueable F, repreef ne
of A.
—320. In herte of man/conceites
trew arn dede A.
—321. noght F, nght A, barreine
Sh.
—322. namely yt is F, /is hir vice
A.
—324. a womans F, wommanes
A, pees wynnennes Sh.
—327. No fors...no F, Yee/strab...noon A; no F,
lytel Sh.
—328. kepe wel...what so Sh.
—331. dystroyen no F, ne d. Sh.
86/335. Folke enpoysone/or h. A.
—339. To t. A, To al thewes, Sh.
—341. wel...a F, so wel kan pe,
Sh.
—342. softe A, soft Sh.
—343. be...F, been...pe
sygne Sh.
—344. Wommanes h. to A.
—347. ful anyable Sh.
—349. hath not thise Sh.
—350. Ne...nat I, Folwyth
nothing A.
—351. firste A; natheles F A,
neuer be leese Sh.
—352. lese his F, to lese hir Sh.
—354. heestes F A, heest woo Sh.
—355. tasten of a F, to cete of the
A, to tasten of te Sh.
—356. ne F, nat A.
—357. deuel...ne F, feende been
/ no more she A, feende
ebee n, she Sh.

87/358. penvyous Sh.
—360. for to F, to A.
—361. Eve to decesyeve Sh.
—363. noght F, nat A, made Sh.
—365. I sey F, we seyn A; goode
Sh.
—366. ne F A, she Sh.
—367. may F, cane Sh.
—368. hat she F, she bee Sh.
—369. er F, or A.
—371. calle...no F, may not
calle yt Sh.
—372. yt F, yt first Sh.
—374. to demen F, for to deeme A.
—375. she F A, Eve Sh.; this
harne F Sh., hat gilte A.
—377. hir F, Eves Sh.
—379. Touchyng which/A.
—380. I F, We A.
—381. that...now F, men nowe
A, that men now may Sh.
—383. This haeve A; I F, We A.
88/385. hir hold F, hir holde, A,
holde Eve Sh.
—391. feende F A, worme Sh.
—393. this F, hat A Sh.
—395. sleythes F, sleightes A.
—396. of F A, hool of Sh.
—397. from the F, from A Sh.
—399. him...of F A, man...
frome Sh.
—400. to F Sh., fro A.
—404. that she F A, she cleen Sh.
—406. hir...bore F, hire be
borne A, hir hir be borne
Sh.
—408. leene F Sh., weyke A.
89/410. preyising F, lauce A.
—411. I sey, F Sh., We Witen A.
—412. men F, man A Sh.
—415. that F Sh., it A.
—416. now...good F, it is to
taken A.
—418. honureth F A, worshippe
Sh.
—419. al F, alle A Sh.
—420. and...a F, For...oft
Sh.
—421. O F Sh. om. A.
—422. blood F A, blood heere Sh.
—423. I F, We A.
—424. thou F Sh., o A.
—425. Ouercaum A, In ouerkomyng
Sh.
Collations of 'The Letter of Cupid.' 253

89/427. Vn-to the seith of God / holy virgyne A; of God / A, bou goode Sh.
—— 428. I F, We A, hat I Sh.
—— 429. by F, Oonly by Sh.
—— 430. neuer in my F, nat in one A, not in my Sh.
—— 431. euer werre y F, ay We wer-
—— 432. lo . . . me F, leueth wel ye A.
—— 434. remembrance We nat may A.
90/437. maketh F A, made Sh.
—— 440. pardee as w. Sh.
—— 442. Wommman F A, Wymmen Sh.
—— 444. for . . . F, holy wrtyt thus Sh.; sayeth F, seith A.
—— 445. shal . . . yt shoule so f. Sh.
—— 446. 1 . . . F Sh, it may preeued be ther-by A.
—— 447. stable F, al the A.
—— 448. the F, al A, om. Sh.
—— 90/451. tolde F Sh.; is nat told A.
—— 452. or F, ne Sh.
—— 455. hir F, þeyre Sh.
—— 457. digne . . . noble F Sh., noble is / and worthy A; in F A, of Sh.
—— 458-60. he F Sh., she A.
—— 91/461. vertu A.
—— 463. wol . . . c. F, thus we wolen conclude A; we F A, yee Sh.
—— 464. yow F A, wol Sh.
—— 466. thise F, tho A.
—— 467. punisshement A.
—— 469. in F, ynee A; more F, om. A; come more F, retoune Sh.
—— 471. that Sh.
—— 472. the ayer F, their A, þeyre Sh.
—— 473. Million F A, legyoun Sh.
—— 476. and . . . and F A, foure h. yeres and Sh.
JERESLAUS'S WIFE, p. 140-178.

Some Various Readings from MS. Reg. 17 D 6, leaf 99 &c.

140/1. actes D, Iestes R.
— 2. Whilom D, Somtyme R.
— 3. Jereslaus D, Gerelaus R.
— 6. Vngarie D, Hungerye R.
— 15. foorth wole I D, wole I forth R.
— 16. bed D, bedde R.
— 17. gan in him D, in hym gan R.
— 19. left R.
— 24. hyde fro thee D, from the hide R.
— 25. Ne nat D, Nor not R.
141/27. for thy D, thesore R.
— 32-3. al ... smal D, aif, smaif R.
— 39. longe to D, long to. I R.
— 40. abood D, abode R.
— 44. syn D, sithen R.
— 53. hire D, to hir R.
— 54. kiste ... farewel D, left ... now farewele R.
— 55. nat dreeth D, drede not R.
142/57. and D, the R.
— 59. the boke kan not R.
— 61. kepe R, kepte D ; R om. out.
143/66. hat D, no R.
— 88. R alters this line and puts it for 91.
— 95. Truste welte it. none other it R.
— 97. hir, whan he fonde R.
— 99. sy D, sawe R.
— 100. Nat ... stynte D, And that he ne stynte wold R.
— 102. thempire D, the Empire R.
— 108. thempire D, this Empire R.
143/109-10. al ... shal D, all ... shaft R.
— 111. vnhad ... bad D, not hadde ... badde R.
144/122. it ... is D, it is wele known R.
— 125. vs warante and avowe R.
— 127. doutith D, dredeth R.
— 131. anoon areest D, areste anone R.
— 136. Then thought he thus R.
145/139. vvttirly shaft I R.
— 144. hye R, by D.
— 154. & D, & my R.
— 156. of ... deeth D, on mys-chenous deth to R.
— 163. yf that I wish R.
146/172. often it hatheth. that womans R.
— 175. did grete harm R.
— 180. now D, goode R.
— 181. ryde foorth D, now rideth R.
— 187. sue D, folwe R.
— 194. shoop D, shope R.
147/199. ago ... syn D, ferne agone ... sithen R.
— 203. be doon D, I do R.
— 212. But my lords the Emperour R.
— 224. help at al D, other helpe R.
148/225. manaces D, manace ne R.
— 226. Koth she. of the R.
— 229. thist this for D, this for an R.
— 232. left al D, withouten more R.
— 240. blustred D, blasted R.
— 246. false D, thou fals R.
— 248. willy to D, wyllyng to do R.
— 250. the D, and worthy R.
— 251. O foule enemye R.
149/258.bettidde Reg., betid D.
— 259. kidde Reg., hid D.
— 263. I ... and þat with bold D.
I wote wele with bolde R.
— 265. go D, ayen go Reg.
— 266. forth teft D, telle forth R.
— 267. þat ... had D, she so hade R.
— 269. Er D, Erle R.
— 271. blyue D, fuht blive R.
— 279. the D, this R.
— 280. quad D, koth R.
150/281. ferre R, fer D.
— 297. þat thee list D, the luste to R.
— 307. the D, this R.
— 308. hire aftar D, after hir R.
151/310. lay therl D, as lay the Erle R.
— 313. was ... This D, Was this R.
— 315. good ... reft D, goode ... bereft R.
— 320. herte D, hert to R.
— 322. holde D, holden R.
— 324. shal D, may R.
— 325-6. wilt D, wolt R.
— 328. sy D, sawe R.
— 330. fro ... foorth D, bisily R.
152/338. bed ... þat D, bedde ... where as R.
— 340. purposid D, purpos and R.
— 361. him D, he hym R.
153/366. þat D, that ... that R.
— 370. bed D, bedde R.
— 371. bybled D, forbledde R.
— 381. now no longer R.
— 383. flayn D, slayn (so in 380) R.
— 392. that it not so were R.
154/394. In the D, In at the R.
— 396. namely / & D, and namely R.
— 403. He to hir spak R.
— 405. he deceyued D, deceyued he R.
— 413. qwit hast D, hast quytte R.
— 414. walke forth R.
— 422. for shee had seide R.
155/430. broke R.
— 442. saue D, to saue R.
156/455. foot D, fete R. [leaf 107]
— 457. Whidir D, Wherto R.
— 460. longe his lady frot R.
— 461. agayn D, ayesent R.
— 466. how D, that R.
— 467. shap ... eek D, and shap ... and R.
157/475. & D, nor R.
— 477. fer D, ferre R.
— 480. of ... ne D, or ... or R.
— 485. can D, kun R.
— 490. her ... thoghe D, is her nature and yit R.
— 494. chaunge wole ... lest it myght hurt R.
— 499. this D, that R.
158/509. ga D, go R.
— 510. Vnto my ladys In. for she R.
— 521. heere y D, I here R.
— 526. he seide D, koth he R.
159/535. wilyt so D, wolt now R.
— 544. in no weerte R.
— 558. to thyn owne D, vnto thy R.
160/569. Take goode heede therof R.
— 570. thow D, right R.
— 571. be than goode ... hens forto R.
— 572. Elles aß thy labour may the R.
— 573. For I wole lede ... hir home R.
— 579. Thow hast hade or this R.
— 583. yeue D, and yeve me R.
— 586. had ... deuel D, hade ... fend R.
161/590. clothes ... his D, his clothes out of the R.
— 591. to bye D, forte bey R.
— 597. Syn þat D, Sithen R.
— 609. this best is D, this is best R.
— 616. hire he to the ship D, he to the shipman hir R.
162/626. maad ... I D, have I made R.
— 627. That there shal ... never man ... so R.
— 628. thyn ... outake D, no thyng ... saue R.
— 632. wel D, this R.
— 634. middes D, the myddes R.
— 643. the D, your R.
163/656. and gan anone R.
163/857. she D, and R.  
— 658. Made she, as I shal to you 
reherce R.  
— 664. deitee D, dignitee R.  
164/875. fil D, shope R.  
— 683. Where, the ladyes R.  
— 689. yaf ... a D, shope and yafe 
suche R.  
165/703. told haue D, haue tolde R.  
— 712. roop D, rope R.  
— 713. Potagre D, Potakir R.  
— 725. qwyte ... D, wole you 
 quyte R.  
— 726. swich D, suche R.  
— 728. ye shaff it bey full soure.  
166/732. herd D, herd R.  
— 735. hele wel D, wethe hele R.  
— 741. they ... D, and they haste 
R.  
— 746. denoutly D, denoutely R.  
167/757. The Abbesse hir made.  
approche his hye pre-
 sence R.  
— 758. lid D, couered R.  
— 767. about D, aboute R (there).  
— 771. That was the knyght, the 
thief, and the shipman 
R.  
— 777. dirke D, grete R.  
— 782. Be cured. teft on R.  
— 784. is ... D, it is, to perseure.  
168/785. For the fourne R.  
— 795. hool D, hole R.  
— 798. Telle out D, Sey on R.  
— 803. I ... D, mercy I you R.  
— 807. he thougthte D, thought he R.  
— 811. ȝat D, euer R.  
169/813. And how he ... hate be-
 traide R.  
— 817. been vnpayed D, be delaide 
R.  
— 831. him wolde D, it wolde him R.  
— 892. mis D, lakke R.  
170/841. purpus D, tale R.  
— 842. thow dem. D, and demony-
 sake R.  
— 847. han ... D, the grounde 
haue R.  
— 848. sharp D, sharpe R.  
— 852. confesse D, to confesse R.  
— 863. And betooke hir, the charge 
and the cure R.  
— 864. a D, his R.  
— 866. there a mis D, a wikkeD R.  

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171/872. euere D, ay R.  
— 873. vnto ... D, to my luste nor 
R.  
— 878. the D, this R.  
— 881. And thynke, that no wight 
elles R.  
— 882. this D, that R.  
— 883. Whan that I for my gilt R.  
— 893. of D, for R.  
— 895. where I dede shuld haue 
be R.  
— 896. lyf D, gilt R.  
172/897. as D, was R.  
— 898. hy D, hir R.  
— 900. Betraide I hir R.  
— 901. him ... D, Shope hym ... 
delaye R.  
— 902. fer D, forthe R.  
— 904. aj ... I D, a faire gentiiff 
lady I R.  
— 906. hane hire D, hir haue R.  
— 912. haf ... D, hafe ... 
clafe R.  
— 923. On ... seide D, On curtey 
hight, right R.  
173/925. haue of me D, taken R.  
— 927. seeknesse ... his D, desese 
... her R.  
— 939. wrecche D, man R.  
— 941. kus D, cosse R.  
— 946. Inow thus D, is at an R.  
— 947. vnto his Paleys D, to his 
paleys gott R.  
— 948. good, lady the Empierce. 
with hym gan wende R.  
— 949. lyuened D, ledde her lyfe R.  
— 950. his D, the R.  
— 952. list D, wole R.  
MS. Reg. 17 D vi. leaves out page  
174.  
175/16. the rather D, the r. and the 
sonner R.  
— 17. scripture D, writte R.  
— 22. & makynge D, ȝat maken R.  
— 27. wherof D, wherfore R.  
176/14. hukynge D, Wirkynge R.  
— 30. soule wole D, soules wolen R.  
177/4. vp so doun D, bakward R.  
— 26. the feend D, pis world R.  
— 34. torned D, turneth R.  
178/2. infest D, effect R.  
178. R, has in margin ‘Discipulus. 
Cun omnes homines n. 
s. d...’
Collations of *Jeruslaus's Wife.*

178/15. so D, to R.
179/23. lerne to dye R.
— 33. But telle me this. herof wold
I lere R.
— 34. R adds to Latin *moriendi
cum mors mon habitus
set priuacio esse nos-
catur.*
— 38. sweetnesse D, riches R.

179/41. me D, me so R.
— 45. ay. wote he fult wett R.
180/54. hire D, hym R.
— 57. many oon D, hym R.
— 72. led away D, awey haue ledde
R.
— 74. vs to holde D, to that lord yhold R.

(Collation incomplete.)
GLOSSARY.

By MR. THOMAS AUSTIN.

Aart, ab. art, 13/150, 26/32.
Abiect, pp. cast off, 222/199.
Abstinence, ab. putte in a., forbear
from, 154/406.
Acat, acate, ab. purchase, 31/181,
70/100.
Accomplice, vb. t. accomplish, 152/
341.
Adawid, pp. adawed, awakened,
153/369.
Affese, vb. t. scare, 238/482.
Affesid, pp. scared, 229/379.
Affoorthe, vb. t. bestow, 217/46.
Ageyn, prep. before, in presence of,
166/745.
Aght, aught, 22/440, 82/252.
Agilt, vb. int. sin, 69/64, agylte,
108/366; v. t. sin against, 17/270,
168/804.
Agrysid, pp. terrified, 196/476.
Alleggen, vb. t. alleviate, 6/198.
All halwen day, ab. All Souls’ Day
(No. 1), 212/926.
Almesse, ab. alms, 194/424.
Amonestyng, vb. warning, 208/320.
Apalle, vb. int. slacken, 98/74.
Appert, adj. apart, open, 33/270.
Arrettist, vb. t. imputest, layest, 12/
113.
Argghnesse, ab. timidity, reluctance,
38/435.
Art, vb. compel, constrain, 37/396,
62/8.
Aspen, adj. trembling, 63/17.
Asseeth, ab. expiation, penance, 196/
482.
Assoill, vb. t. grant, 222/182.
Atake, vb. overtake, 148/239.
Attame, vb. t. atame, subdue, 10/
45.
Atte = at the, 195/460, 196/486.

Attempree, adj. temperate, 40/13.
Auriculeur, adj. auricular, 11/81.
Awerette, ab. cautiousness, 0. Fr.
averti, 159/544.

Baar, vb. t. bare, 8/241.
Bake, ab. back, 29/127.
Bapteeme, ab. baptism, 9/38.
Bayte, vb. t. refresh, 16/206.
Beer, vb. t. bare, imp. tense, 1/44.
Begilt, pp. ? deluded, 192/372.
Begone, pp. well b., prosperous,
95/11; wers begone, worse beset,
231/445; comp. woe-begone.
Bete, vb. t. beat; ‘bete this pavy-
ment’ (pavement), 102/186. Com-
pare Fr. battre le pavé.
Bille, ab. bill of a bird, 44/42.
Bit, vb., bad, 34/280, 229/376.
Blent, pp. blinded, 225/280.
Blyue, adv. quickly, 4/125, 34/280.
Bobance, ab. boasting, 190/321.
Bolne, vb. int. swell, rise, 172/913.
Bolynge, ppl. bolning, swelling,
10/49.
Boncheef, ab. good fortune, pro-
spereity, 221/172.
Bote, ab. cure, 97/49.
Brede, ab. in b., abroad, 10/70.
Breeth, ab. breath, 2/80.
Breid, ab. braid, attack, 182/115.
Brid, ab. bird, 80/184.
Brigge, ab. bridge, boat-stairs, 31/
194: cp. ‘y* Quenes bridge* and
‘Preuy bregde’ at Westminster,
in Braun and Hogenberg’s map
of 1572.
Broke, ab. brook, 100/152.
Brydilless, adj. brideless, 27/78.
Brygeless, adj. brideless, without
dispute, 13/164.
Bukkyshe, adj. flighty, skittish, unsettled, 99/123.
P.t., comp. unless, 27/57, 190/326.
Byled, pp. bebled, bloody, 7/230.
Bye, vb. t. aby, pay for, suffer for, 165/728.
Byheete, vb. int. promise, 226/302.
Bykneweth, vb. t. confessed, 238.
Bymeneth, vb. t. bemoan, bewail, imper. 7/231.
Bynome, pp. of benem, taken away from, 6/189.
Bytake, vb. t. hand over, 156/452.
Calate, vb. f. drab, quean, 13/147.
Cape, vb. int. gape, A., 191/350.
Careyne, vb. carcass, O. Fr. caroigne, 189/306.
Cast, vb. intention, 191/348.
Cheerteet, chiertee, vb. affection. 22.
Cheek, vb. check, at chesa, 184/161.
Chepe, vb. t. buy, 216/13.
Cheuice, vb. provide, provide for, 28/101, 34/285.
Cheuissance, vb., achievement, comp.
Cheuiss, Cursor M. I. 8329, 132.
Chineshy, adj. niggard, 29/136.
Chylldly, adj. childhood, childish, 27/84.
Citeen, sb. citizen; comp. Fr. citoyen, 202/627.
Clappe, vb. chatter, 21/396, 37/394.
Claw, vb. claw, 191/345.
Clout, pp. clenched, 182/124.
Cloudful, adj. cloudy, dark, black, 55/109.
Cokir, sb. high-low, 190/312.
Combrowworldes, sb. cumberworlds, useless mortals, 32/225.
Complexne, vb. t. complain of, blame, Fr. se plaindre, 36/342.
Conceitless, adj. ignorant, 232/458.
Compaigne, sb. company, attendants, companionship, 149/260, 151/329, 164/683.
Compassid, vb. compassed, devised, 161/330.

Compel, vb. t. compel, 26/30.
Corpleyne, pity, Fr. plaindre, 36/341.
Conputct, pp. touched with com- 
Puction, 199/362.
Costance, sb. constancy, Fr. con-
Pance, 157/468.
Cotidian, adj. quotidian, daily, Lat. quotidienus, 26/25.
Couyne, sb. scoundrelism, 9/21. "Il 
'en est bien toute la courine. 
Hee is well acquainted with thine 
packing; he knows full well how 
the matter hath beene carried, 
1611. Cotgrave.
Cristenie, sb. Christendom, O. Fr. 
creational, 156/453.
Crois, sb. cross, Fr. croix, 5/149.
Cure, sb. care, heed, 81/219.

Daswed, pp. dazed, 57/9.
Deceyuable, adj. deceitful, 237/590.
Deeth, sb. death, 5/162.
Delauce, adj. O. Fr. delauce; washed away (Cotgrave), loose, lawless, 172/901.
Deliure, vb. t. deliver, 154/412, 161/590.
Demoniak, sb. one possessed with a devil, 170/843.
Depraue, vb. t. speak ill of, scandal, slander, 30/171.
Dere, sb. t. hurt, harm, 107/348.
Dereworth, sb. precious, 195/448, 197/498.
Deskeuer, sb. discover, let out, 150/283.
Despende, vb. t. dispense, expend, spend, 8/244, 38/415, 187/239.
Despense, sb. dispense, laying out, liberality, 36/342.
Desteynde, pp. sullied, 36/340.
Dever, sb. devoir, duty, 158/531.
Dewynge, sb. dewing, moistening, 5/158.
Deynouse, adj. proud, 78/150.
Diadeeme, sb. diadem, 15/232.
Do foorth, keep on, 41/15.
Doel, sb. dole, pity, O. Fr. doel, Fr. deuil, 5/153.
Doghire, sb. daughter, 150/296, 152/339.
Dokke, vb. t. cut off, kill, 169/541.
Dotepol, sb. dodipoll, fool, 217/49.
Glossary.

Doubleness, sb. deception, 78/21, 237/590.
Dreche, vb. vex, 106/308.
Dress, dressé, vb. t. direct, bend, 160/588, 164/691, 210/856.
Drye, vb. t. suffer, 196/474.
Dumb, adj. Prov.—the dumb man, no lord getith, i.e. one must speak, if one wants anything, 188/433.
Duyxse, vb. devise, 24/511.

Eerly, adv. early, 81/180, 82/21.
Egal, adj. equal, Fr. egal, 5/168; egall, 115/156.
Eild, vb. ailed, 9/25.
Enable, vb. t. make fit for, 17/272.
Enchantour, sb. enchanter, deceiver, 32/225.
Enchesoun, sb. cause, reason, O. Fr. enceson, 48/18, 54/61, 89/429.
Enhabit, vb. t. set as inhabitant, 17/280.
Ensamble, vb. t. give example to, 66/64, 131/604.
Ensele, vb. t. enseal, seal, 234/516.
Entaille, sb. entail, intaglio, 21/410.
Entailld, pp. unalterably attached, 157/488.
Enteer, adj. entire, 50/29.
Eschu, adj. shy, O. Fr. eschin, 21/403.
Eschue, vb. t. avoid, O. Fr. eschever, 6/192, 14/192, 32/216.
Esmye, vb. t. dismay, 207/774.
Estaat, sb. estate, 38/430.
Euenhede, sb. evenness, fairness, 177/3.
Exaltat, pp. exalted, 237/592.
Exaudicoun, sb. pardon (i.e. God hearing him), 44/30.
Exitynge, sb. exciting, urging, 118/234.

Fallace, sb. outrage, O. Fr. fallace, 150/283, 226/298.
Fauel, sb. flattery, O. Fr. fauel, 81/211, 32/223, 33/244.
Fawe, adj. fain, 182/124, 235/549.

Feendly, adj. fiendly, devilish, 149/253, 162/340.
Feere, in, in company, together, 229/371.
Felawshipe, sb. fellowship, company, retinue, 149/239.
Femel, adj. female, Fr. femelle, 216/13.
Ferdful, adj. fearful, timid, 45/47.
Fern, adv. far, long, 31/196, 147/199.
Fet, pp. fetched, 203/663.
Feynter, sb. appeaser, stayer, 52/12.
Feynyngly, adj. feigningly, 191/359.
Fichche, vb. t. fix, 40/9, 45/72, 53/45.
Flambes, sb. flames, O. Fr. flambe, 197/513, 204/699.
Foleie, folcye, vb. int. act foolishly, be stupid, play the fool, 49/47, 50/46, 163/651.
Foltyshe, adj. foolish, 104/243, 115/147.
Folwe, vb. t. follow, 68/23.
Foreward, sb. bargain, 230/405.
Forthynke, vb. repent, 239/652.
Forthoghete, vb. t. repented, 10/59.
Foruyve, vb. int. go out of the path, stray, Fr. fourvoyer, 49/44, 69/79.
Pourneys, sb. furnace, Fr. fournaisse, 196/493.
Foryte, vb. t. forget, 134/672.
Foysoun, sb. poison, abundance, Fr. foison, 8/244, 10/71.
Fransesie, sb. frenzy, Fr. frénésie, 165/715.
Freend, sb. friend, 26/46.
Fretynge, adj. fretting, vexing, 213.
Frete, vb. int. fret, devour, 239/661.
Fructifie, vb. int. be fruitful, 178/17.
Fructuous, adj. fruitful, 57/11.
Fyn, sb. fine, end, Fr. fin, 2/59.
Fynt, vb. finds, 180/68.

Gabbe, vb. int. lie, comp. O. Fr. gaber, 159/540.
Galwe tree, sb. g'bbet, 155/436; galwes, 177/7.
Gaste, vb. t. aghast, frighten, 200/597.
Gastful, adj. ghastly, dreadful, 203/669, 204/687.
Gastnesse, sb. fearful state, 44/27.
Genterie, sb. gentleness, kindness, courtesy, 164/684.
Gere, sb. gear, 13/159.
Girt, pp. thurg g., struck through, 230/388.
Gleede, sb. glede, glowing coal, 30/159.
Gole, sb. al thy gole — all that is in thy mouth, Fr. gueule, 169/545.
Goos, sb. goose; Prov. 'shoo the goos,' 19/337. Ferrer les oyes.
To spend both time and labour verie vainly. 1611. Cotgrave.
Gounrell, sb. governance, 150/300.
Governercase, sb. f. governance, 150/298.
Graine, vb. t. vex, 43/57.
Grede, vb. t. cry for, 47/109; call, 50/36, 116/173.
Gree, sb. recompense, O.Fr. gre, 204/604.
Gresuable, adj. grievous, 182/111.
Gresuces, sb. griefs, 3/90.
Grownde, vb. t. ground, base (as groundwork), 66/46.
Grype, vb. t. grip, get, 104/265.

Haan, han, vb. have, 3 sing. 197/523, 198/524-7.
Ilaat, vb. hast, 7/211, 8/7, 192/372.
Haaste, vb. int. haste, 31/208, 166/741, 190/330.
Haf, vb. int. heaved, 172/912.
Halke, sb. recess, 20/482; dirke halke of Helle, 23/478; 100/133.
Hals, sb. neck, 165/712.
Hawe, sb. haw, 'not worth an l.' (used like straw, trifle, 37/380, 67/20.
Heedlyng, adv. headlong, hastily, 133/647.
Ieeng, vb. int. hung, 149/274, 164/606.
Heer, sb. hair, 170/860.
Heetith, vb. t. promise, 68/40.
Helply, adj. helping, 197/508.
Hente, vb. t. seize, 203/675.
Heolly, hoolly, adv. wholly, 3/109, 112.
Herkne, vb. t. hearken to, 179/22.
Herne, sb. nook, recess, 20/382.
Hertly, adj. hearty, 72/7.

Hidles, in, secretly, slyly, Fr. en uapinois, covertly, closely, secretly (Cotgrave), 202/645.
Hokir, sb. scorn, 136/741, 189/310.
The gloss has app. 'loathsomeness,' in last case.
Honure, vb. t. honour, 21/412.
Housbonde, vb. t. husband, 68/24.

In, sb. house, dwelling, 156/453, 158/513.
Incomparable, adv. incomparably, 6 syl., 187/257.
Inne, vb. t. take in, house, 156/459, 469.
Ipynce, sb. shamelessness, 27/62.
Issynge, sb. issuing, exit, comp. O.Fr. isser, 202/629.

Kakele, vb. int. cackle, chatter, 13/148.
Keene, vb. int. heed, reck; wepe, A. ; 185/183.
Kerfe, sb. wake of ship, 185/203.
Kneew, vb. knew, 26/44.
Knyf, sb. leyd his k., set his knife by me, sat by me, 28/112.
Konynge, adj. clever, skilful, 166/732.
Kus, sb. kiss, 2/75, 30/155, 178/941.
Kut, sb. luck, lot (bit of cut stick), 138/789: 'the cut fil to the Knight.'—Cant. Tales, ProL 845.
Kythe, vb. t. make known, bestow, show, 4/120, 38/406, 42/42, 81/224.

Laach, adj., lax, O. Fr. lasche, Fr. lâche, 188/267.
Labbe, sb. blab, blabber, 159/542.
Lache, vb. int. be lax, or remiss, 191/362.
Laddre, sb. ladder: charity the ladder to heaven, 8/1.
Lagl, sb. scot, score, 66/33.
Lame, adj. lacking, wanting, 10/47, 70/90.
Large, adj. liberal, Fr. large, 40/16; 'at our large,' in freedom, 43/8.
Leante, sb. good faith, O.Fr. leante, 212/922.
Leene, adj. lean, poor, 88/408.
Leepre, sb. leprosy, 166/740, 167/763.
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Leepre, sb. leper, 164/698.
Let seen, interj. let us see! come!
66/64, 211/883.
Lewde as an asse, ignorant as an
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Lightlee, adj. lightless, unenlight-
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Liuree, sb. livery, ‘of St. George’s
I.’ a true knight, 42/54.
Loken, pp. closed, locked, 151/334.
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Loos, sb. praise, reputation, O. Fr.
los, 36/345, 157/494.
Los, sb. loss, 173/945.
Losengour, sb. losenger, flatterer,
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Lowe, sb. flame, 75/61, 204/703.
Lyme, vb. t. lime with birdlime,
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Lyte, adj. lite, little, 21/400; ‘a
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Maad, pp. made, 9/17; ‘maad hath
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Faire barbe de fourte à. To de-
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Macche, sb. match, 34/307.
Madde, vb. ind. act madly, 232/453.
Mafey, interj. Bless me! O. Fr. Ma foi,
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Maistrie, sb. mastery, masterpiece,
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Nycetee, sb. nicety, O. Fr. nicete, simplicity or simpleness (Cotgrave), 49/17; stupidity, 147/208.

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Ore, sb. mercy, 110/5.

Ouery, vb. t. oversaw, perused, 174/6.

Outake, pp. except, 162/628.

Oute, vb. t. utter, 217/43.

Outrance, sb. last gasp, 2/82, 42/36, 66/48.

Outrayed, pp. deleted, blotted out, 17/279.

Ower, sb. outer, utterer, 49/17.

Paart, sb. part, share, 3/104, 13/152.

Palesie, sb. palsy, 165/705.

Pamfilet, sb. pamphlet, poem, book, 49/1.

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Performed, pp. performed, 55/91.

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Picchid, pp. thrown, 206/760.

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Pill, sb. grave, 28/95.

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Plenteuous, adj. plentiful, 158/507.

Possid, pp. pushed, 204/701.

Potsgre, adj. gouty, 165/713.

Potestat, sb. prince, great man, potentate, 142/68, 214.

Pouert, sb. poverty, 177.

Pows, sb. pulse, Fr. pouls, 203/660.

Prayer, sb. prayer, 22/446.

Preciousse, sb. preciousness, value, costliness, 187/241, 207/783.

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Processe, sb. suit, pleading, 74/43.

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Reme, sb. realm, 86/333.

Reparatrice, sb. f. renewer, Fr. reparatrice, 88/403.

Repe, vb. t. rear, raise, 20/388.

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Rode, sb. road, 76/102.


Rood, vb. int. rode, 149/268.

Roop, sb. rope, 165/712.

Roost, sb. roast, 36/363.

Rowne, sb. round, whisper, 11/93.

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Salut, adj. safe, 59/22.
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Ser, adj. sure, Fr. sur, 48/14, 149/259.
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Shamely, adv. in a shameful way, 2/84.
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Slow, sb. slough (of heresy), 11/105.
Smerte, adj. smart, painful, 5/90.
Snake, sb. snack, 77/109.
Soleyn, adj. solitary, morose, sullen, 136/742.

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Staal, vb. int. stole, 182/335.
Staf, sb. staff, comp. staff of life, 172/915.
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Stepchyld, sb. stepchild, treated as one, 58/23.
Sterue, vb. starve, die; Ger. sterben, 2/83, 6/202.
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Stirtenneel, adv. by starts, 203/660.
Suppo[r]talle, sb. support, 59/18.
Suspectly, adv. in a suspicious way, 105/292.
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