Hoggeleve's Works.

I. THE MINOR POEMS.

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1892.
1. THE MINOR POEMS
IN THE PHILLIPPS MS. 8151 (CHELTENHAM)

EDITED BY
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TO THE MEMORY OF

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

Extra Series.

LXI.

E. CLAY & SONS, LIMITED, LONDON & BUNGAY.
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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.
FOREWORDS.

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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 Hocklyve, who may (or may not) have been the poet’s grandfather.

Lay Subsidy Roll, Bedford, ¾.
¾ 3 Edw. II (July, 1309-10), Roll of a 25th granted to the King.
Hundred of Manshead, Hokkelyve. (28 names.)
Of Richard de Hokkelyve, 4s. 6½d.
Of the Master of Hokkelyve, 6s. 5d.
Sum of the whole township, 73s.

¾ 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. 0½d.

¾ 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. 5½d.
30 names.
Sum of the township, 4l. 1s. 10d.

¾ 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 “Occleve or Hocclyf,” Bedfordshire, Tanner says, †Vet. Mon., B 2, back), “Here was an hospital of a master and several brethren, as ancient as King John’s Reign. It was dedicated to St. John Baptist.” See too Dugdale, VI. ii. 753.

† No month given.

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

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

Walker's Gazetteer, 1801, gives:


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


§ 1. Hoccleve's Life. Enterl the Privy-Seal Office at 19. ix

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 privy-seal I wone:
   To write there is my custome and wone
   Unto the seel, and have twenty yere
   And foure, come Estren, and that is nere."—Ed. Wright, p. 29.
And again, at p. 37 of the same Roxburghe Club book, and p. xvii below:—

"What man that twenty yere and more
   In writyng hath contynued, as hane I,
   I doe wele sey it smerteth hym luff sore
   In every yevne and place of his body;
   And yeu 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 signed with it. The Clerk of the Signet wrote out such Grants or Letters Patent as past, by Bills signed by the King, to the Privy Seal. This Signet-sealed copy was a Warrant to the Privy Seal; and the Privy Seal was a Warrant to the Great Seal: Lord Coke, Second Institute 556; Nicolas, ib. clxxxvi—vii. Statutes checking the wrong uses of the Signet and Privy Seal for illegal grants &c. are 13 Ric. II (1389), 8 Hen. IV (1406), and 18 Hen. VI, ch. i.

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

"While learning was to be found only in the cloister, the King's Secretary was a Priest; and a layman never appears to have held that situation until the middle of the reign of King Henry VIII. After a few years' service he was frequently promoted to the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal, and was sometimes rewarded with a Mitre . . . . Though the first of the King's Secretaries, of whom the name has been discovered, was a Member of the Council, it has 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. 551.
script. This document is presumed to belong to about the 9th or 10th Ric. II. (22 June, 1385, to 21 June, 1387), as Sir John Clanvowe, who is mentioned therein, was retained to serve in the King's expedition into Scotland in 1385, and is supposed to have died before April 1390.]

"Sensuent les nomz des persones as quaux le Conseil estoit accoritez que briefs de liberate soient grantez pour les causes desouz expressées, sur les fees et annuitées a eux grantez et confernez . . . .

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

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

1 The payment to 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 Pells Issue Rolls for Easter, 10 Ric. II:—Payment to divers clerks of the Chancery of the King's gift, for their labour in copying Chancery enrolments and sending them to the Exchequer for execution. The roll for Easter, 10 Ric. II (A.D. 1387), contains a payment of 6d. 13s. 4d. to Guy de Rostyff, 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 Pells Issue Rolls of 1388-90, tho there are others relating to payments for parchment, to Chaucer, &c.:—

1388, Easter, 11 Ric. II. Payment to John Blyth (as below).
1388, Mich., 12 Ric. II. 20 October, Tuesday. To John Blyth, "pergam-narius" of Lincoln, for parchment bought of him "as well for the office of the Privy Seal, as for the Great Exchequer and the Receipt thereof," &c., 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 lived in Chester's Inn.
promis’ him, and then meant to be ordain’d and take the endowment.
But no benefice came. Instead, after twelve years’ office-work, Hoc-
cleve 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 complain’d how in
Albion, above all lands, men shand tears and sighs to deceive
women, and then forsook them. His date of the month of May for
the poem is borrow’d 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
£3 0s. 8d. for parchment, ink and red-wax that he’d bought of divers
folk for work of the Privy-Seal Office (App. IX).

1 Compare the case of Thomas Purde, one of the Privy-Seal Clerks in
Henry VIII’s reign, “21 May, 1509. For Thomas Purde. To have a pension
which the late created abbot of the Monastery of Hyde is bound to give to a
clerk of the King’s nomination.”—Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, i. 12,
no. 75.
2 Prof. Paul Meyer told me this.
In the last quarter of 1406, our poet wrote *La Male Regle de T. Hoccleve*, p. 25-39 below, in which he begs my namesake "my lord the Foureval...pat now is tresorer" to pay him his Michaelmas £5; he dares not ask for the arrears\(^1\) due to him, p. 38, st. 53. In this poem Hoccleve also confesses his ill-regulated youth, and says that for twenty years past he had eaten and drunk outrageously,\(^2\)—ever since he 'd been in the Privy-Seal Office, if not before,—had frequented wine-houses, gone after pretty girls at the Paul's Head Tavern,\(^3\) treated em to wine and wafers, and kist em, but hadn't "done the deed" (p. 28-30), owing, no doubt, to his cowardice, which he confesses made him keep quiet and out of rows. He was well known to the taverners and cooks at Westminster Gate, paid them whatever they askt, and was cald "a versay 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\(^4\) and Offorde, Hoccleve writes to Sub-Treasurer Somer the Balade and Roundel on pages 59-60 below, praying him to get em their pay before Christmas. This pay seems to be for salaries, not annuities. But on 16 Jan., 1408, Hoccleve gets £4 3s. 2½d., the balance of the £7 9s. 10½d. due to him for 16

\(^1\) As Hoccleve's side-note to his past year's dues is "Annum ille fuit restrictionis annuitatum," he probably refers to the Act of 7 Henry IV (A.D. 1405), ch. 16, entitled, "Annuities 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. Hoccleve's fresh Pension. His "Regement of Princes" 1412.

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month's parchment, ink, and red wax (App. XIII); on 4 Feb., 1408, he is paid his half-yearly annuity of £5, due at Michaelmas, 1407. In 1408 Hoccleve also gets his Easter £5 on July 7 (App. XV), while his Michaelmas £5 is paid on Feb. 13, 1409 (App. XVI). In 1409 he surrenders his Annuity of £10, and on May 17 has a fresh grant of an Annuity of £13 6s. 8d. from Michaelmas, 1408 (App. XVII). Six days after, on May 23, he gets his first half-yearly Easter payment of his 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, 1410,1 if I read the lines aright, Hoccleve writes a chirpy poem to Somer,—then Sir Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer,—from their Temple2 Club, "the Court of good Company," p. 64-5 below, reminding him that he was to give em a good dinner on May-day, and had promist them £2 to buy flour or wheat. On June 23, 1410, Hoccleve is paid 22s. 2d. for 14 month's ink, parchment and red wax (App. XX); on the following July 17 he gets his Easter £6 13s. 4d., but no payment is made to him for Michaelmas (App. XXI), till July 8, 1411, when he gets his overdue £6 13s. 4d. (App. XXII). On 26 Feb., 1412, his annuity for the whole year 1411 is paid to him (App. XXIII). The Roll for Easter, 1412, is missing, and no payment to Hoccleve is on the Michaelmas Roll. So it was doubtless in 1412 that he wrote his Regement of Princes, or De Regimine Principum, to Henry, Prince of Wales, who became King Henry V on 21 March, 1413. On Nov. 5, 1412, Hoccleve is paid 32s. for parchment and ink (App. XXIV), by the hands of John Welde, afterwards his clerk.

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

---

1 The date is settled in this way. The Club dinner is to be on Thursday, May 1. I ask Prof. Skeat if he can tell me in what year, after 1408, May 1 falls on Thursday; and he answers, "Yes, certainly! The Prayer-book Calendar marks May 1 as b. Let this be Thursday. Then c = Friday, d = Saturday, and e = Sunday. So the Sunday-letter is E. The tables of years for which E is the Sunday-letter include 1410, 1421, 1427, 1482, 1438, 1449, and 1455. You can take your pick: 1410 looks probable.

Yours ever, W. W. SKEAT."

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

1 In the earlier entries in vol. i. of the Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, the name of "le gardien de notre prive seal" is not given. Those named afterwards—but who may have been appointed earlier,—are, in 1402, April 2. Thomas Langley, Keeper of the Privy Seal.—ib. i. 188.
1407, Nov. 16. John Prophete1 (i. 300-1, "Maist . . . Prophete, gardien de notre prive [seal]"); ii. 79, "John Prophete, Secretaire du Roys, notre souverain seigneur;"); Sec. to the King in Sept. 1402.—ib. 78."
1417, Feb. 15. H. Ware (ii. 20; Feb. 15, 4 Hen. V., "H. Ware, custode privati sigilli.")
1421, July 1. John Stafford (ii. 287; 1 Hen. VI, vi. 344), and till 1422, Dec. 16 (iii. 8).
1422, Dec. 16. William Alnewyke (iii. 8), and on 16 July, 1424 (vi. 346), and on 14 March, 1426 (vi. 348). Also frequently after he was Bp. of Norwich, as 10 March, 1427, "Episcopus Norwicensis, custos privati sigilli" (iii. 255), and in 1429 (iii. 426), &c.
1434. William Lyndewode (iv. 202, "custos privati sigilli") and "utriusque juris doctor," iv. 69. (When secondary in the Privy-Seal Office, he had £40 a year, with clothing, furs and lining: see in v. 150-1 the Petition to the King, June 3, 19 Hen. VI, A.D. 1441, of "your poore cler, Adam Moleyns, secondary in ye office of your prive seal, for such yerly reward and clothing for ye said office . . ., as was paied and delivered to Maister William Lyndewode, late secondary in ye said office . . ., in monnaye to be understande xl. li. and clothing, furrur and lynyng as ye said William Lyndewode receyved.")
1437. Thomas Beckington (v. 13, 313, "Th. Bekynto\n ... Custos privati sigilli"); 335 (A.D. 1439, "Thomas Bekynto\n, legnum doctor, Regis secretarius"); 336 (A.D. 1439, "Bekynto\n, secretario"); 350 (A.D. 1439, "Thome Bekynto\n, legum doctor"). &c.
1441. Adam Moleyns (v. 151, "Rex mandavit Custodi privati sigilli sui ut acceptaret Adam Moleyns, clericum, tunc consili sui secundarium officii, custodie privati sigilli, prout et dui Custos fuit antequam in custodia ejusdem privati sigilli sui fuit assumptus; recipiendo . . . xl li singulis annis," &c).
1444. Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Bath (vi. 24; Feb. 1, 22 Hen. VI: "Your humble chapellain, Thomas, bishop of Bath, keper of youre prive seal" [Adam Moleyns was present at the Council on Jan. 26.—ibid.])
1446. Bishop of Winchester (so Index, vi. 408: vi. 51, July 24, Hen. VI: "my Lord\n of Chichester, keper of his prive seal").
1450. Andrew Holes (vi. 93; May 17, 28 Hen. VI: "To our right trusty and welbeloved clere, Maister Andrew Holes, keper of oure prive seel").

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

1 He had 20s. a day.
2 "Master John Prophete was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal on 4 October, 8 Henry IV., 1406. See Issue Roll for Easter, 8 Hen. IV. Previously he was described as follows:—(1400). Mich. 2 Hen. IV. He is called Dean of Hereford, and had been 'retained' as one of the King's councillors.
(1402). Mich. 7 Hen. IV. John Prophect or Profyt, 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 corody was given him, he tired of waiting for it, and drifted into marriage:

Harl. 4866, lf. 26, bk.
I gasyd longë firste, & waytid faste

After some benefice, and whan non cam,
By proces I me weddid\(^1\) attë laste.
And, God it wot, it sorë me agaste
To byndë me / where I was at my large;
But done it was: I toke on me pat charge.

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. 4866, lf. 76, bk. st. 623, p. 156, ed. Wright.
A-mong foliës alle, is non, I leue,

More pan a\(^2\) man his gode ful largelý
Despende, in hope\(^3\) men wol hym relève.

Whan his gode is despendid vitterly,\(^4\)
The indigent, men settë no thynge by.

I, Hoccleue, in swich case\(^5\) am gilty,—Þis me touchith,—

So seith ponert, 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,

3it hath þe vice of prodigalite
Smérted me sore, & done me heynesse.

He þat but litil hath, may done excesse
In his degree, as wel as may þe riche,

Thogh hir dispenses were nat ylyche.\(^6\)

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

\(^1\) I weddede me, Reg. \(^2\) a Reg. om. II. \(^3\) hop H, hope Reg. \(^4\) MS. vitterly. \(^5\) swich a case H, suche case Reg. \(^6\) lyche H, ylyche Reg.
I spend my purse till it was empty; and I shall get nothing unless you, O Prince, give it me.

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

My annuity is in arrear; I can’t get paid. O, Prince, relieve me!

I desire your well-being, and your soul’s health too.

I repent my misguided life.

So hauie I plukked at my purses\(^1\) strynges, And made hem often for to\(^2\) gape and gane, but his smal stuff hath take hym to his wynges, And hath l-sworne\(^3\) to be my welthes bane, But if releef a-way my sorwe\(^4\) plane; And whens it come shall, can I nought gesse, Mi lorde, but it proceede of your hynesse,

st. 625.

My yeerly guerdon, myn annuite, [H. 77] That was me graunted for my long labour, Is al behynde; I may noght payde be; Whiche causeth me to lyue[n] in langour. O liberal prince, ensample of honour, Vn-to your gracé lyke it to promoote Mi poore estat,\(^7\) and to my woo beth boote.

st. 627.

And, worpy prince, at Cristes renuence, Herkeneth what I schal seyn, and be\(^8\) noght greued, But lat me stande in your benevolence; For if myn hertes wil wiste were and preened, How you to lone it stired is and meeved, Ye shulden knowe / Y your honour and welpe, Triste\(^9\) and desire, and eck your soules helpe, &c. 4396

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 think copying isn’t hard work. Many men, ladir, wenen þat wryntynge

No travaile is / þei hold it but a game:

\(^1\) purs H, purses Reg. \(^2\) for H, for to Reg. \(^3\) sworne Reg. \(^4\) my sorwe away Reg. \(^5\) myreuled Reg. \(^6\) 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. 658-5, l. 4789-4809. There’s a good bit of advice in l. 4893, p. 175, “No disdeyne have of the poorers sentence (opinion).”

\(^8\) beth Reg. \(^9\) Thurst Reg.
§ 1. Hocecleve's Life. His trying Work at the Priye-Scal. xvii

Aart hath no foo, but swich folk vnkonynge:—
But who-so list disport hym in þat same,
Let hym continue, and he shal fynd it grame:
It is wel gretter labour þan it seemeth;
þe blyndé man of coloure al wrong deemeth.

§ 143.

1 A writer mot thre thynge to hym knytte,
And in tho may be no disseruence;
Mynde / ee² / and hand / non may fro oþir flitte,
But in hem mot be ioyned contynuance.
The mynd, al hoole withouten variance,
On þe ee³ and hand / awayté mot alway,
And þei two eek on hym; it is no nay.

st. 144. p. 37.

2 Who-so schal wryté, may nat holde a tale
With hym and hym / ne syngé this ne that;
But alle his wittës gretë and smale
Ther must appere, and halden⁵ hem ther-at,
And syn he spekle⁶ may, ne syngé nat,
But bothé⁷ two he nedës moot forbere:
His⁸ labour to hym is the alengere.⁹

st. 145.

3 Thise¹⁰ artificers, se I day be day,
In þe hotteste of al her¹¹ bysynesse,
Talken and synge,¹² and makë game and play
And forth hir labour¹³ passith with gladnesse;
But we labour¹⁴ in tranciousst stilnesse;
We stowpe and stare vpon þe shepës skyn,
And keepë muste our song and wordës in.

st. 146.

4 Wrytynge also doth grete annoyës thre.
Of which ful fewë folkes¹⁵ taken heedë
Sauf we oure self; and þisë, lo, þei be:
Stomak is on, whom stowpyng out of dreede
Annyeth soore, and to our bakkes needë
Mot it be greuous; and þe thrid, our yen,¹⁶
Vp-on the whytë mochel for to dryen.

st. 147.

5 What man þat þre and twenti¹⁷ yere and more
In wrytyng hath continued, as haue I,

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

HOCECLEVE, M.P.

1. Just let 'em have a good turn at it!
2. A copier must always work mind, eye, and hand together.
3. He can't talk to other folk, or sing, but must give all his wits to his work.
4. Workmen talk, sing, and lack.
5. We labour in silence; stoop and stare on the sheepskin.
6. Our copying hurts our stomachs, our backs and our eyes.
7. Any one who's copied for 20 years,
In like wise, Hoccleve says to the old Beggar, *De Reg.*, p. 35:

> st. 138 (Harl. 4866).

Had I always lived in poverty,
Would I have, suffers for it
in every bit
of his body.

It's nearly
done for me.

I dar we sayn it smerteth hym ful sore
In every veyne and place of his body;
And ycn most it greeneth treuly
Of any crafte that man can ymagyne:
Fadir, in feith, it splt hath wey ny myne.

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

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

> Wold honest dethe come, and me overerve, And of my grave me putte in senty, To all my greffe that were a medicyne.

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

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

> There was also another Inne of Chauncery in the Strand, called Chester Inne, or Strand Inne, which, together with the houses of the Bishops of Chester, of Worcester, and of Landaffe, and the Church of S. Mary in the Strand, were all in the yere of our Lord 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 lie and common together, Attornies, Solliciteirs, and Clarks belonging to the Courts, as well of mere and strict law, as of equitie and conscience. The chiefe or governour in every Inne of these Innes of Chauncery, is called Principal. 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 colleges the Tyrones and young Gentlemen, at their comming vp are initiated to make first here an essay and a triall of the studie 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 be rather services and procurations than advancements and honors. Every Inne of Court hath two or three Innes of Chauncery belonging unto it, viz. to the middle Temple belong New Inne, and sometimes [formerly] Strand Inne. To the inner Temple belong Clifords Inne, Lyons Inne, and Clements Inne. Thaies Inne and Furninals 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. 31/845, 34/940.

1 The late Thomas Wright says in his Preface to his edition of De Regimine for the Roxburghie Club, 1869, 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 Columna 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, entitled the 'Game of Chess Moralized,' of which Caxton's celebrated book, 'The Game of the Chess,' was a translation through the French." After the Proem, and the long account of himself by the old Beggar who advises and tells his story to Hoccleve, the poet, says Mr. Wright, "in his introductory part, complaines 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 prevalance of covetousness among the gentry (p. 43); of the eagerness of the churchmen after rich benifices, and of the prevalance of pluralism and absenteeism (p. 51); of the mischievous influence of the aristocracy in the courts of law (p. 54); of the evil practice of betrothing children in their infancy (p. 59); and of the frequency of adultery (p. 64). When he enters upon the subject of his book, he complains of the want of truthfulness among the knights of his time (p. 82), and of the absence of righteousness in England (p. 89); he urges the prince [after, Henry V] to obey the laws when he should have become king, as one of the principal duties of royalty, and complains that in England the laws were neglected, and feuds and outrages passed unpunished. Poor men could get no justice, while rich men committed crimes with impunity (p. 102). He especially urges the prince as king to protect the free election of the bishops in the cathedral churches (p. 104). In treating of Pity he condemns the practice of granting pardons for offences, giving an illustrative anecdote of a king of 'this land'

the Prince of Wales, and p. 56-7 to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France. On March 21, 1412-13, the day of Henry V's accession, when the English lords did homage to him at Kennington, Hoccleve appears as a champion of orthodoxy and the Church, and writes the King the Balade on p. 39-40, exhorting him to be just, to govern with equity, and strengthen his Mother, Holy Church, by driving out heresy. Early in 1413 also comes the Balade on p. 47-8, about Henry V's enmity to Heresy, and his having Richard II's bones buried next to his Queen's in Westminster Abbey, one of the first things that the new King ordered to be done. On Sept. 28, 1413, Hoccleve got an Inspeiximus and Confirmation by Henry V of his Annuity of £13 6s. 8d.,—provided he should not be retained by any one else,—and a grant of his arrears from Michaelmas 1412 (App. XXV). Moreover, three days after, on Dec. 1, 1413, this year's arrears were paid to Hoccleve (App. XXVI). In 1414, he has a clerk, John Welde, and by his hands gets £1 6s. 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), Occeleve 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 Oldcastle 1415. Payments. xxi
st. 35, hoping they'll be burnt here, 18/320; arguing Popish doctrines with them and calling them asses, 19/352; denouncing their rising in St. Giles's Fields in Jan. 1414, p. 20, st. 49, defending images, p. 21, rebuking communism, p. 22, st. 57-8, declaring that the orthodox 'll go to Heaven, the heretics to Hell, p. 23, st. 60, shaming Oldcastle for not fighting by Henry's side in France, p. 24, st. 63, and appealing to him to flee the Devil and humble himself to Henry V, p. 24, st. 64.

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

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

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

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

---

1 Was this a relative of the Benedict Burgh who finisht Lydgate's verse englishing of the Secrcta Secretorum, now in the press for the E. E. T. Soc., edited by Mr. R. Steele of Bedford?
xxii § 1. Hoecl’s 5 Years’ Madness. His “Complaint” &c. of 1422.

Nov. 1417, 8 July 1419, 17 June and 26 Nov. 1420, and 5 July and 11 Nov. 1421.—Hoecl, 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 recover’d, 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.¹ Then Hoecl says he means to english the Latin Seiite mori, “Lerne for to dye” (p. 117). He is 53; his sight and mind are weaken’d (p. 119, st. 36), his insanity didn’t come from book-study, but from his long illness (p. 121, st. 61); he has long ow’d 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 receiv’d in payment but by the Kings weight.

“Item, to avoid the deceits and perils which long hane 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 advice and assent of all the Lords and Commons assembled in this Parliament, hath ordained and stablished, 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 subiects, unless it please him to relieue them in this case: Our Soveraigne Lord the King, of his speciall grace, hath remis’d 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 pertayneth for this new coinage of such gold as afore. Saining alwaies to the Master of the Mint, and to other officers of the same, that which to them reasonably pertayneth.”
§ 1. Hoccleve'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 1418¹), his winning Constantine—seemingly in 1417²,—and his valour at the siege of Rouen, 1418 (city surrendered Jan. 19, 1419). But as the Duke likes dalliance with ladies (p. 135, st. 101), and 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 English for them the tale of a true wife,—of Jereslaus or Gerclaus—from the Gesta Romanorum, which he accordingly does, p. 136, &c. On p. 136, st. 106, l. 739-42, Hoccleve'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 louynge tendrenesse
Is noon / as is the lune of a womman,
To hir chyld namely / & as I gesse,
To hire housbonde also / where-of witnesse
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 enganges the first Part of the Latin Seile 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 the earl of Suffolk and the lord of Burgundy, which had taken the town of Chierbourgh, and wer lodged before the porte of Sainct Hillarij, nerer their enemies by fortie roddes then any other persons of the armie."

² After Henry V took Caen in 1417, and the Duke of Gloster, Lisieux, Halle says (Chronicle, 1809, p. 80) that "diuere tonnes in the country of Constantine wer surrendered to the duke of Gloucester, where he appoynted these capitanes."

"At Caenton, the lorde Bôtrax. At Chierburg [Cherbourg], the lord At Scint Clow, Reignold West. Grey Codner, and after his decease, At Valoignes, Thomas Burgh. sir water Hungerford."
except the portion which tells what joy and bliss are prepared for those who shall go hence to the heavenly city of Jerusalem, and the torment that is in Hell. Then, at the asking of his friend, who wants a tale to warn his son of fifteen against the wiles of women, Hoccleve englisth a second Gesta story, p. 218 &c., of the prostitute who beguild an Emperor’s son (Jonathas) of his magic Ring, Brooch, and Cloth, tho at last he got them back again: the story of Fortunatus, of which William Browne printed Hoccleve’s text in his Shepheard’s 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. 1869:—

Willy,
By my hook, 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 upon our reuell day
If I sung it, I might chance
(For my paines) be tooke to dance
With our Lady of the May.

Roget,
Roget will not say thee nay,
If thou deeme’st it worth thy paines.
Tis a song, not many Swaines
Singen can; and though it be
Not so deckt with nycete.
Of sweet words full neatly chused
As are now by Shepheardes vsed,
Yet, if well you sound the sense,
And the Morals excellence,
You shall finde it quit the while,
And excuse the homely stile,
Well I wot, the man that first
Sung this Lay, did quench his thirst,
Deeply as did euer one
In the Muses Holizon.
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
Muffled Cynthia vp in cloudes,
Safely home they then would see him,
And from brakes and quagmaries free him.
There are few such swaines as he
Nowadayes for harmony.

Willie!
What was he thou praisest thus?

Roget.
Scholler vnto Titurus:
Titurus the branest Swaine
Euer liued on the plaine,
Taught him how to feed his Lambes,
How to cure them, and their Dams;
How to pitch the fold, and then
How he should remove azen:
Taught him when the Corne was ripe,
How to make an eaten Pipe,
How to luyne them, how to cut them,
When to open, when to shut them;
And with all the skil he had,
Did instruct this willing lad.

Willie.
Happy surely was that Swaine!
And he was not taught in vaine:
Many a one that prouder is,
Han not such a song as this,
§ 1. Lady Westmorland, Dedicatee of Hoccleve’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 Westmorland 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 Westmorland, Elizabeth and Margaret, before Hoccleve’s death in 1450 (?), according to Norroy’s pedigree printed below.²

And have garlands for their meed,
That but are as Skelton’s reed.

And his horses all in swathe,
In the Ocean code their heat;

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

THOMAS OCCLEVE, one of the privy Seal, 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. He wrote in CHAVER’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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lady Margaret Stafford</th>
<th>Ralph Nevill, esq. Earl of Westmorland</th>
<th>1337—ob. 31 Oct. 1425</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da. of Hugh, Earl of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stafford. She died</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>before 1397.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

John, Lord Nevill, ob. vitæ patris, 1423 =

2nd wife.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lady Joan Beaufort (widow of Sir Robert Ferrers)</th>
<th>da. of John Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; married before Feb. 1337; ob. 13 Nov. 1440</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

John Nevill =

1st wife.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elizabeth Percy</th>
<th>Ralph, 2nd Earl of Westmorland, grand-son and heir; born 1464; ob. 3 Nov. 1481</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(widow of John,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Clifford, who died 1511, ob. 29 Oct. 1517.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

John, Lord Nevill ob. vitæ patris, et s. p.

Ralph, 3rd Earl of — Margaret, da. of Sir Westmorland, nephew of Roger Booth; mar. and heir; born 1456; ob. 1499.

* Of these three Ladies, Joan was Countess c. 1397 to 1410; Elizabeth, 1425 to 1457: Margaret, c. 1457 to (?).
§ 1. Hoccleve leaves the Privy-Secal Office, and is provided for.

Before Hoccleve finisht his Complaint he must have written his Ballade in the Ashburnham MS (see below, p. xxviii), "pour la bien venue du tresnoble Roy H. le V... hors du Royaume de France (cestassauoir, sa daceine 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 clerc, 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 Aplestede. It had formerly a priory of Black Canons, in which Henry VI was married to Margaret of Anjou. At the Dissolution the revenues were returned at £257, and the site given to the Whites.—Hamilton's Gazetteer.

² See Dugdale, vi, Pt. 1, 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 Southwyke. Priors in Hoccleve's time: Thomas Curteis or Cortays, 22 July, 22 Ric. II; Edward Dene, 23 Sept., 11 Hen. VII; John Soburton, on whose death Philip Stanebrok received the temporalities, Sept. 29th, 3 Edw. IV.
§ 1. **Hoccl. perhaps dies in 1450. Ashburn. MS of his Poems.** xxvii above, and Appendix I)—Hoccleve received 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**:
   
   \[ \text{beg. To thee / we make our } \textit{inuocacioun} \]
   \[ \text{Thow god / the fadir / which vn-to } \textit{vs alle} \]
   
   20 stanzas of 7 lines each, \textit{ababb cc}, the last ending with
   
   \[ \text{And stifly graunte } \textit{vs in thy cause stonde} \]
   \[ \text{And flitte nat / whan we take it on honde.} \]

2. **Ad filium**:
   
   \[ \text{beg. } \text{O blessid chykld Ihesu / what haast thow do } \textit{pat} \]
   \[ \text{for } \textit{vs shuldist souffre swich Iewyse} \]
   
   10 stanzas of 7, the last ending
   
   \[ \text{And graunt vs grace thee to loue & drede} \]
   \[ \text{And yene } \textit{vs heuene / whan } \textit{pat} \textit{we be dede.} \]

3. **Ad spiritum sanctum**:
   
   \[ \text{beg. Now holy goost of the hy deitee} \]
   \[ \text{Loure and holy } \textit{communicacioun} \]
   
   10 stanzas of 7, the last ending
   
   \[ \text{Our soules / hem to hane in gourance} \]
   \[ \text{O Trinitee haue } \textit{vs in remembrance.} \]

4. **Ad beatam Virginem**:
   
   \[ \text{beg. Worshipful maiden to the world / Marie} \]
   \[ \text{Modir moost louyuge vn-to al man-kynde} \]
7 stanzas of 7, ababb cc, ending
For whom thou preyest / god nat list denye
Thyn axynge / blessid maiden Marie.

5. Item de beata Virgine:
beg. Syn thou modir of grace / haast euer in mynde
AH tho / /at vp-on thee han memorie
20 stanzas of 7, ababb cc, ending
His passion / witnesse bere may
Remembre on tat / and preye for vs aye

6. Item de beata Virgine:
   beg. Who so desirith to gete and conquere
The blisse of heuene
   needful is a guyde

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 Paten-
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 /
cestassai-nor, sa dareine venue. [?] 3 Feb., 1421, tho 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. 573-4.1]
   beg. Victorious cristn Prince / our lord souereyn
   Our lige lord ful dred and douted / we
5 stanzas of 7, ababb cc, ending
To be ful greet / for why / to vs echone
Welcome be your peereles persone.

1 “The morow after Trinitie sundae, being the third of June [1420],
the mariage was solemnised and fullie consummate betwixt the King of England
and the said ladie Katharine. Herewith was the king of England named
and proclaimed heire and regent of France.” Holinshed, iii. 573, lines 23-9, ed. 1587.
“25 Also that our said father, during his life, shall name, call, and write vs
in French in this manner: Nostre trescher filz Henry, roy d’Engleterre, heretere
de France. And in Latine in this manner: Proclarrissimus [for precarrissimus]
filius noster Henricus, rex Anglicc & heres 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 medlful of his time han defended
In priuate and for thy, O than, bide stilly, seeth
Up on hem falleth, and they nat amended
And she from hem byvene, eyned / seeth
Her shee to mede, firt hon, O than shee seeth
To helle up on the soules amsverable
They to Hell in queene fynable

Deeth Godde han ofte / a bridel put on thee
And thee With his led a day, the Godde
Gadded the hand of Godde mercy be

Thou art a sight medeful Son to God holdst for the God showed Ope in thine old
She span thee: thy spred noke for sake
And on to my Fortune: thou thee take

More to thee profite shall my love
Than choseth field or the books ethone
Of philosophes / for that the more
Oftentimes shold stve thy persone
And sensible ensample thee to one
To God / the the better for to the be
The mistere of my love / shall thee shue
§ 1. Hoccleve's Ashburnham MS and "Letter-Book." xxix

9. Cy ensuent trois chausceouns / lune complotyante a la Dame monioie / & lautre, La response dele a cellui qui se compleyt; & la tierce / la commendacion de ma dame.

I. Roundel:

beg. Wel may I pleyne on yow lady moneye
pat in the prison of your sharp 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 feynyt gladnesse
Synge of yow thus / & yow accuse & seye [Wel may I, &c.]

II. La response:

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

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

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

10. A Couplet:

Aftir our song / our mirth & our gladnesse
Heer folwith a lesoun of heuynesse.

11. Hic incipit ars Vitellissima 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 Hoccllyf, or Occlve, 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 Tresors 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.
8. "Pur la guerre"; to various persons, f. 73 b.
9. To the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, f. 75."
§ 1. Hoe cleve's Ashburnham MS and "Letter-Book." xxix

9. Cy ensennent trois channceouns / lune conpleynte a la Dame monioie / & lautre, La response dele a cellui qui se conpleynt; & la tierce / la comencion de sa dame.

I. Roundel:

beg. 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 feynyt gladnesse
Synge of yow thus / & yow accuse & seye [Wel may I, &c.]

II. La response:

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

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

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

10. A Couplet:

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

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8. "Pur la guerre"; to various persons, f. 73 b.
9. To the Keeper of the Great Warde, f. 75.
turning over the leaves I saw only two notes in English. Article 17 of this MS contains 28 pages of copied letters, and is headed *Omnegadrium*, a title that makes you smile when you see it. On leaf 101 back, Hoccleve adds a bottom line: “4 Hic finitur calendra 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 hocchief.” The two English notes are at the foot of leaf 102 front and 194 back. At the latter place Hoccleve had left seven lines blank at the bottom of the page, and therefore writes in:

“¶ Heere made y lepe yeer—ex negligencia &c. Witness on Petebat &c, in the neste syde folwyng, which sholde haue stonden on this syde / but how so it stonde / it is a membre of the matere precedent.”

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

§ 2. *Hoccleve’s Love of Chaucer.* The chief merit of Hoccleve is that he was the honoureer 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,
§ 2. **Hoccleve probably with Chaucer when he died.**

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):—

> pou were aqynted with Chaucer¹ parlee:
>  
> God saue² his soule, best of any wyght!—
>  
> Harl. 4866, lf. 34.

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

Of which I wont was han conseil and reed.**

st. 281.

**O maister deere / and fadir renerent,**

Mi maister Chaucer, flour of eloquence,

**Miroir of fructuous entendement,**

O universel fadir in science,

**Allas, pat pou thyn excellent prudence**

In pi bed mortel mightist noght byquethe!

What ciled deth / allas! why wold he sle the?

st. 283.

**O deth, pou didest naght harme singuleer**

In slaghtere of him, but al pis land it smertith;

But nathëlees / yit hast pou no power

His namë sle; his hy vertu astertith

Vnslayn fro pe / whiche ay vs lyfly hertyth,

With bookës of his ornat endytyng,

That is to al pis land enlumynyng.³

---

¹ Chaucer, Harl. 4866, lf. 34: Chancers, MS Reg. 17 D 6.
² haue II.
³ He goes on: "Hast pou nat ecke my maister Gower slayn [1408], Whos vertu I am insufficient
   For to descreyne, I wote wel in certayn."
He would have taught me, but I was dull.

Death has stript the land of his sweet rhetoric.

He was the highest in Philosophy.

Death regards the virtuous no more than the vicious.

Never shall England breed another Chaucer!

Pray for him, Queen of Heaven;

p. 75, st. 297:—Harl. MS 4866, ff. 37.
My dere maistir—God his soule quyte!—
And fadir Chaucer, fayn wolde han me tayght,
But I was dul, and lerned lite or nayght.

st. 298.
Allas! my worthi maister honorable,
This landes verry tresor and richesse!
Deth, by thi deth / hath harme irreparable
Vnto vs doon; hir vengeable duresse
Despoiled hath pis land of pe sweetnesse
Of rethorik / for vnto Tullius
Was neuer 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 eeeke, men wot wel ynow.
That combre-world pat pe my maistir slow,
Would I slayne were! Deth was to hastyf,
To renne on pe, and renë the thi lyf.

st. 300, p. 76.
Deth hath but smal consideracion
Vnto pe vertuous, I hawe espied,
No more—as shewith the pröbacion,—
Than to a vicious maister losel tried;
Among an heep / ever man is maistried;
With hire / as wel pe porre / as is pe riche,
Lerede1 and lewde eeeke / standen al yliche.

st. 301 (ed. Wright). Harl. 4866, ff. 37 lk.
She myghte han taryed hir vengeance a while
Til that some man had egal to the be.
Nay, lat be pat! shee knew wel pat pis yle
May never man forth bryngë lyk to the,
And hir officë nedës do mot she;
God bad hir do so, I truste as for the beste;
O maister, maister, God pi soule reste!

p. 179, st. 712:—Harl. MS 4866, ff. 87 lk.
The firstë fyndere of our faire langage
Hath seyde in caas semblable, & othir moo,
So hyly wel, pat it is my dotage
For to expresse or touche any of too.
Alasse! my fadir fro pe worlde is goo,

My worthi maister Chaucer, hym I mene:
Be pou aduoket for hym, heuenes quene!

1 Lered, Harl., Lerede, D Reg. 6.
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 Retractation fancified.)

HOCCLEYE, M.P.
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, 1836.

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

"My lord? the pryync is good lord the to."

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

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


"(In dorsa.) xijij: die Februarij, anno &c nono, concordatum est per consilium, quod sub privato sigillo, fiat garantum prout infinit petitur."
doubt jetted along the Strand in fine weather in the fashionable wide-sleeved cloak of the time, 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, stuff 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 after dinner, went for an outing on the river (31/190). The watermen, seeing he was weak, cald him “Maister” (31/201), which tickled his vanity—it was a term applied only to gentlemen—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 (62/8), beg, steal, or starve (De Reg. 65/1802). He was ashamed to beg; he wouldn’t steal; so he wisht to die (ibid. 65/1808). When the old Beggar in De Regimine reproacht him for not being content with £4 a year, which 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 spyynne” (ibid. 45/1226;

1 The old Beggar says to Hoccleve:
“I . . not so wide a gowne have as is thynne,
So smalle y-pynched, and so fresse and gay.”—De Reg., p. 15, l. 409-10.

2 “Hoom to the prince 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 Shakspere 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 wote wele, is none heritage;
When I am out of court another day,
(As I mote when upone me hastethe age,
And that I no longer laboure may,) Unto my poore cote—it is no nay—
I mote it drawe, and my fortune abide,
And suffre the storme after the mery tide. 847

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

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

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

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

The same weak, sensitive, look-on-the-worst side kind of man 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. 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

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 þi felawe lokyd to At homë? ben not thei wele benefised?"
"jis, fader, þis; þer is on cleft Nemo,
He helpe þem; by hym ben þei chericed.
Nere he, þey weren porely chevyced;
He hym auanceth; þe fully þir frende is;
Sauf only hym, þey han but fewe frendes."

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 dyn reed coral; And as the leet / his yen glistren ay.
Hir bowgy cheekes been as softe as clay With large lowes and substancial
Hir nose / a pentice is, pet it ne shal Reyne in his mouth / thogh shee vp-rightes lay. 8 Of &c.
Hir mouth is nothyng scant / with lippes gray;
Hir chin vmmethe / may be seen at al;
Hir comly body / shape as a foot-bal;
And shee synghth / ful lyke a Pape lay."

"Item: She hath a sweet mouth," as is said of Launce's milkmaid in The Two Gentlemen, III. i. 320 (Cambr. ed. 1).

1 Harl. hoom ben þey not wel. 2 Harl. omits "ben." 3 fully Reg., ful Harl.

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:
§ 4. Some of Hoccleve's Poems. His "Mother of God." xxxix

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

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

† There is at least one more—scripture, to honoure—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, 135/821 &c., and the adjective honurable 17/275, 128/632, &c. Hoccleve of course found honur, honurer in Old French, and no doubt often wrote them so himself in the French documents he copied. He has this line in the Ashburnham MS: "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 props appear again in Hoccleve, in 47/112.
lost its first leaf 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. But there is a phrase in De Regimine that I don't recollect having seen earlier, the original of our "I told you so!" When the Old Beggar has spent all his coin, the folk who used to flatter and give-in to him, turn on him—

st. 103, p. 26; Harl. 4866, ff. 13 bk.
Now seyn þey þus, "I wiste wel alway
þat him destroyë wolde his fool largesse;
I tolde hym so ; and euer he seydë, nay."
And þit they lyen al, [a]s God me blesse ... [MS ad] 718

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

Perhaps the oddest word that Hoccleve uses is delavee, Fr. délaçé, 172/901. He repeats it in the Ashburnham MS, "Becam I of my body delavee," in the Answer of Lady Money to Hoccleve. The Virgin is the "feynter of wo & stryf," 52/12; "without authority" is "vnhad 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 Cutt the same" leaf off, as a later hand says of the cut-away portrait of Chaucer on leaf 139 of Harl. MS 4826.

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

3 Isn't Chaucer the first user of "Why" or "Well then"? "What eyleth yow / to grecche thus and grone? Is it for ye wolde haue my quynte alone? Wy! taak it al / lo, haue it euer dyel! Peter, I shrew eow / but ye loun it weel." Wife of Bath's Preamble, D, § 1, l. 413-5. Ellesmere MS, p. 179, Six-Text, p. 346.
§ 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); tuastid (tasted) 123/485; tuasfe n. (taste) 7/214, vb. 29/123, vaar 11/88, 36/351, 129/652, &c.; but Beicar 14/193, 130/680; vaaw 26/41; waast (waste) n. 36/371.

c: Eenes (Eve's) 132/722; cheertee 48/32, 58/20, 62/7; eerly 31/180, 62/21; forgeete 68/29; reedly (ready) 66/41; seelden 30/165; attempree 40/13; beeth (be ye) 55/127, 58/18; eerthely 17/292-7; eerthe 55/90; theeew 144/240; kneev 45/50, 140/128; kneecen 31/196; recewe 12/131, 38/412, 121/414-15, 141/152; threeew 140/132; trewee 33/273, 34/277, 125/540, 127/598, 134/798, 137/48, 139/92, (but trewe 13/163); treweely 121/133, 111/158. 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; puried 44/36.


ou: doumb 38/433; souffyse 46/100, soufissance 51/70; souffre 34/288, 40/23, 30; souffred 68/51, (but suffre 30/151); soufridist 54/58, but souffrance 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:

Dudyly in his conceit's balancce 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 wyrytynge amendid 135/700.

He turns the pronoun hirë her, into two syllables:

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

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 / tell on what is best" 129/552.
"Or thou ayused 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 queeme 9/40,
pat he were of / nat shold e hardy be 14/189,
From thyn Hynessâ haue a tokne or tweye 38/419,
Of giltes 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 pat I byleeue 39/442,
With his mowth made / and off his noblesse 56/130,
O ground and rooté of prosperitee 25/2,
The hopé of myn exaudicioun 44/30,
It for to serue in his cleer brightnesse 18/308,
So moché is a popes auctoritee 18/315 (I So / moche is /),
How pat his gouernance is despysid 33/275,
The greter needé hath it of his cure 45/67,
So largeliche 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
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 Garter." 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 ye 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 Phillipps MS, in Anglia, vol. 5, with only three mistakes in the text that need be notist—novice for novice, and lore for lore, st. 27, lines 4 and 6; might for naglit in st. 36, line 7—and one in the Latin sidenote to st. 24: she left-out "vel militaris" after "Clericus." Next to La Male Regle, readers will probably be most interested in "The Court of good Company's balade to Sir Hy. Somer," p. 64.

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

¹ The Dedication is well known for its defence of Sir John Falstaffe, and its condemnation of Shakspeare's "ignorant shilte of abusing Sir Jhon" by substituting him for Oldcastle whom he had first put into 1 Henry IV, because Oldcastle's descendants objected to it. So in the Epilog to 2 Henry IV, Shakspeare wrote that he would "continue the Story . . . where Falstaffe shall dye of a sweat . . . For Old-Castle dyed a Martyr, and this is not the man."—See The Centurie of Praise, N. Sh. Soc., p. 164-5, 263-9.

but


*Prints of Hoccleve's Poems. The "Letter of Cupid."* 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. 110-1, 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 Seklen 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 touched up the final e's; but still many parts of the text were unsatisfactory, and the stanzas seemed 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 referred me—showed 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 right order, and improved the text, the 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 Feole" (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. Hoccleve’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, followed by his signature: see the Facsimile, with all the later scribbles on it.

On the pathos of the poor sensitive old poet’s sufferings under the coldness and suspicions of his former friends, after his madness, I have already 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. Herrtage (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 scoundrel brother-in-law, at p. 648-654, cap. 249, app. 53; the Magic Ring, Brooch and Cloth, at p. 466—470, cap. 120 (112), De mulierum subtili decepione. The king’s name is Darius; the third son’s, Jonathas; 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 Merchans for the Chaucer Society in 1872, no. 7 of its Second Series, Part I of the “Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales,” p. 55-70, in illustration of the Man of Law’s Tale of Constance. Of Magic Rings and Gems, Mr. Clouston has an interesting account in my edition of John Lane’s “Continuacion of Chaucer’s Squire’s Tale,” p. 271, 334-347, 464, and of Magic Carpets at p. 294 (Chaucer Society, 2nd Series, 1890).

Tho I’ve looke thro’ the Index De Morte (besides others) in Migne’s Patrologie 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 Mori appellatur.” It begins “Syppe al
maner men desirith by kynde to haue konnyg & knewliche on þe lyȝe and cuerlastyng wysdome," 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 rescuyue me by sacrement; And at þe last, how þou schuldest preysy me hysyli with a clene mynd."

Miss Elverson will edit this prose version for the Society, together with the best known englising (from the French) of the Latin Seiute Morë,¹ by John Gerson, properly Jean Charlier, born at Gerson. This is Caxton's "The Art & Crafte to knowe well to dye"—"translated oute of Frensse 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 2\frac{1}{2} pages, and begins:

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

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

¹ The Addit. MS 15, 105 in the Brit. Mus. is: "Tractatulus utilissimus de arte bene moriendi, doctoris Iacobi Cardusienisiam prope Staffordiam, Incipit: "Omnès morimur, et quasi aqua dilabimur in terram."
§ 5. Copying in 1882. Miss Teena Rochford Smith. xlvii

and last
On no
Could How
of sould to years,
churchyard,
town,
young-lady me.
by Stone,
summer Wills" Avriters which songs,
work and by my Introduction to the Leopold Shakspere and had written to me. Daily, after my work at the Hoccleve and Chancer MSS in the Phillipps collection at Thirlestaine House, my gifted and sweet-sould young friend took me for one of the pretty walks round the town, sometimes through level meads, sometimes through Lackington churchyard, or by other paths to the Cotswold Hills,¹ talking of the writers and people she honour'd, telling me of her Indian life, her work at Cheltenham College, and in the evening singing me favourite songs, such as I named in my Forewords to the "Earliest English Wills" (E. E. T. Soc., 1882, no. 78), last page. A pleasant time it was; and little did I then think that the happy and brilliant future which I lookt forward to for my young friend would be so soon ended by her sad burning, and her death a week after, on Sept. 4, 1883. The pain of that has now past, and the pleasure of the friendship remains. It mingles in my mind with the delightful summer Saturday afternoons and Sundays² last season on the river, when we dined on the bank opposite Hampton Court and teazed on Tatham's island—we, learned friends,³ gentle women, nice girls, and darling children, with their pretty ways and eager "Oh, Doctor,

¹ On one walk there, during a later short visit, the local hunt came on to the Hills; and very pretty it was to see the hounds searching the undergrowth while the red-coats watcht them, but no fox turnd out to give them a run.
² How different it was yesterday, in our narrow sculling-four!—dull sky, bare banks, hardly a boat to be seen; no fire in the lunch-room at Eelpie Island, keen cold wind for our run and walk on the bank, and dead against us all the way down. But still enjoyable, and the spurt enlivening.
³ And—talk of golden garters!—did not one man famous for folk-lore, fairies, philosophy, Hebrew, and all sorts of other things, sheen in the sunlight, when he peeld to scull bow down-stream, and disclosed to our astounisht eyes, a cream silk shirt! Could luxury further go?
§ 5. The proposed Lydgate and Hoccleve Society, 1872.

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 Hoccleve 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 Hoccleve’s Works for something like 20 years, though these works are wanted by students at once . . I can do Hoccleve’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 return’d to India,—to Mr. Fenwick of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, Mr. Fowler of Bp. Hatfield’s Hall, Durham, to Norroy,

1 Mr. A. B. Rogers at Cambridge, and Miss A. F. Parker at Oxford, have 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 w, and they have copied from every MS the three Chaucer stanzas p. xxxii-iii above, “The firste finder of our faire langage,” &c., as a sample of each. We can thus tell which are best worth collating further, if no autograph MS is heretafter found.
§ 3. 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,
COPIED FROM THE RECORD OFFICE
BY MR. R. E. G. KIRK.

I.

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

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

Pro Thoma Hoccleve.

For the good service of Thos. Hoccleve, one of our Privy-Seal clerks,
We (Henry IV.) have granted him £10 a year
for his life, or until we promote him to an ecclesiastical benefice (without care of souls) worth £20 a year.
12 Nov. 1399.

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 (vidit). 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.

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

Die Lune, xij° die Decembris.

Thome Hoccleve, cui Dominus Rex nunc, xij° die Nouembris proximo preterit°,¹ x. li. annuas, ad Scaccarum ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche, per equalis porcioines percipiendas, pro bono servicio per ipsum eodem Domino Regi impenso et impiendendo, per litteras suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis, per assignacionem factam² isto die, in persolucioem viij. li. xv. s. iiij. d. sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, tam pro rata a predicto xij° die Nouembris, vsque ultimum diem Marciij tunc proximum sequentem, per [blank] dies, ultimo die et non primo computato, quam pro termino Sancti Michaelis ultimo preterito, per breve suum de liberate hoc termino. . . . . . viij. li. xv. s. iiij. d.³

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 Mercurii, xxvj. die Aprilis.

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

IV. b.

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

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

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

Die Lune, xvº die Octobris.

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

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

7 Dec. 1402. £1 18s. 9d. to Michs. 1402.

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 ultimo præteritis, deductis vero xx. s. quos dictus Thomas, de sua mera et spontanea voluntate, remisit et relaxavit dicto Domino Regi, pro soluzione heredenda de ix. li. residuis, per breve 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\(^{4}\) 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\(^{4}\) 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\(^{4}\) 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, "pergamenum" 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 Scaccariij.")

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

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

[PELLS ISSUE ROLL, EASTER, 7 HENRY IV.]

Die Sabbati, xiiij. die Augusti.

Thome Occlie, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolutionem lx. s. viij. d., quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandavit pro pergamo, incasso, [et] cera rubea, de diversis personis per ipsum ad opus dicti Domini Regis emptis, in officio predicato; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . lx. s. viij. d. To Thos. Hoccleve, Clerk in the Privy-Seal 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 Occlie [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 denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in partem solutionis viij li. ixs. xd. ob. quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandavit, pro pergamo, incasso, cera rubea, de diversis personis per ipsum ad opus Regis emptis, et in dicto officio a xxvij° die Marciij anno viij° Regis huius hucusque expenditis, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino lxvij. s. viij. d. Thomas Hoccleue. To him, a Clerk in the Privy-Seal 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.
XIII.

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

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

Tuesday, 16 Jan. 1408.

Payment to "Thomas Occlleve, clerk," of £4 3s. 2½d. (part of a larger sum of 7l. 9s. 10½d.) 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.

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

XV.

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

XVI.

Michs. 10 Henry IV., 1408. Wednesday, 13 February, 1409. To Thomas Occliff, 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 Hoccleve.

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

¹ These were not found on the Pells Issue Roll, which is incomplete.
Michaëlis, per equales porciones, pro termino vite ipsius Thome, vel quousque ipse ad beneficium ecclesiasticum, sine cura, valoris viginti librarum per annum, per nos foret promotus, prout in libris nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur; Nos, de vberiori gracia nostra ac in recompensacionem dicti servicii sui, pro eo quod idem Thomas, dictas literas nostras in Cancellariam nostram restituit cancellandas, concessimus ei viginti marcas, percipendas ad dictum Scaccarium nostrum, a festo Sancti Michaëlis ultimo preterito, singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaëlis, per equales porcionibus. In cuinis etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xvij1 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.

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

Die Veneris, xxiiij die Maij.

Thome Occlyue, cui Dominus Rex nunc x.li. [for xx marcas] singulisannis, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaëlis et Pasche, per equales porciones percipendas, pro bono servicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes conceessit: In denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolutionem x marcarum2 sibi liberandum unum huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche ultimo preterito, per breue suum de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xiiij.s. iiiijd.2

**XIX.**

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

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1 xvij is written on an erasure.
2 These sums are written on erasures, the amount having probably been originally written "C. s."; but the scribe omitted to alter the "x. li." at the beginning.
23 June, 1410. Payment to Hoccleve of £1 2s. 2d. for 14 months’ ink, wax, and parchment.

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

Die Lune, xxiiij die June.

Thome Hoccleve, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Johannis Weld,\(^1\) in persolucionem xxij.s. ijd. quos Dominus Rex sibi liberavi mandavit pro incausto, pergameno, ceri rubea, per ipsum emptis et expendendis in officio predicto, videlicet, a xxij\(^o\) die Februarij anno x\(^o\), vsque xxiiij\(^{us}\) diem Aprilis anno xj\(^{v}\) vltimo preterito, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandate de hoc termino xxij.s. ijd.

XXXI.

Easter, 11 Hen. IV. Thursday, 17 July. Thomas Hoccliffe. The King had granted him 20 marks [13\(^{1}\) 6\(^{o}\) 8\(^{d}\)] a year for life, by letters patent, payable half-yearly. (He is not called Clerk here. There is no payment to him for Michaelmas, 12 Hen. IV., A.D. 1410, either in the Pells or the Auditors’ Roll.)

XXXII.

1411, Easter,\(^2\) 12 Hen. IV., 8 July. To Thomas Hoccliff\(^3\) (or Hoccliff\(^4\)), one of the Clerks, &c., 6\(^{o}\) 13\(^{s}\) 4\(^{d}\).

XXXIII.

Michs. 13 Hen. IV. (1411), 26 Feb. 1412, Friday. To Thomas Oceclyve (or Ocliff\(^5\)), one, &c., 13\(^{1}\) 6\(^{o}\) 8\(^{d}\) for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last. This payment is also recorded in the Tellers’ Roll for Hilary, 13 Hen. IV.\(^6\)

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

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

\(^3\) 1412, Easter, 13 Hen. IV. The Pells Issue Roll is wanting. The Auditors’ Issue Roll and the Tellers’ Roll are also wanting.

\(^4\) 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.

XXIV.

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

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

Die Sabato, quinto die Nouembris.

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

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

XXV.

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

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

De confirmacione—Hoccleve.


. . . . . . . . . . .

Teste me ipso, apud Westmonasterium, decimo septimo die Maij, anno regni nostri decimo. Nos autem, de gratia nostra speciali, et pro bono servicio nobis per prefatum Thomam impenso et impendendo, concessi- onem predictam, ac omnia et singula in litteris predictis contenita, rata habentes et grata, ea pro nobis et heredi- bus nostris, quantum in nobis est, acceptamus, approba- mus, et prefato Thome, tenore prescencium, concedimus et confirmamus, prout littere predicte racionabiliter testan- tuntur. Ita semper quod idem Thomas, pro termino

1 There is also a payment to Thomas, late Lord of Furnyvall, and Sir John Pellian, 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 want. 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.

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,
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.

To Thos. Hoccleve,—a Privy Seal clerk, to whom Henry IV. granted £13 6s. 8d. a year, which was confirmed by Henry V. on 28 Sept. last in money paid to him for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last, £13 6s. 8d.

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 Hoccleue, vni Clericorum de officio privati sigilli, cui Dominus Henricus, nuper Rex Anglie, xx marcas annuas ad Scaccarium suum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones percepientd, per literas suas patentes conessit; quas quidem litteras Dominus Rex nunc, xxvii° die Septembrie proximo pretorito, confirmavit; in denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucioneem xx marcarum, quas idem Dominus Rex nune de vberiore gratia sua liberave mandavit, habendos de dono suo pro arreragijs annuitatis predicta, videlicet pro terminis Pasche et Sancti Michaelis ultimi pretorito, per breve suum de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino. xiiij.li. vjs. viijd.1

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

[PELLS ISSUE ROLL, MICHS. 2 HEN. V.]

Die Jouis, xvij° die Januarij.

Thome Ocleyfe, Clerico in officio privati sigilli, in denarijs sibi liberatis, per manus Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, in persolucioneem xxvj. s. viij. d. quos 1 Master John Prophete is still Keeper of the Privy Seal, and receives “wages and fees,” at the rate of 20s. a day. A payment to John Welde and five companions in the Privy-Seal Office, for copying out old “truces” with foreign countries, at the rate of 6s. 8d. to each, is quoted in Devon’s “Issues of the Exchequer,” p. 331.
Appendix. Payments to Hoccleve in 1414—1416.

Dominus Rex eadem Thome liberare mandavit, pro pergamento, incausto, cera rubea, per ipsum emptis, et expenditis in officio priuatī sigilli dieī Domini Regis, videlicet, a quinto die Mareij ultīmo prēterito, vsque xiiij diem December extuē proxime sequentem; per breve de privato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino xxvij s. viij d.

XXVIII.

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

[Thomas Chaucers, Esquire (sentifer), 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 Hokhyst 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 Occeleve, de certo suo annuo. x. maree.”

XXX.

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

“To Thomas Hoccleve, one of the Clerks of the Lord 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 die Julij.

Thome Hoccleve, vni Clericorum in officio priuatī sigilli Regis, cui Dominus Henricus nuper Rex Anglice, pater Domini Regis nune, xx marcas ad Scaccarium suum singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones per-

1 Expenditis, for expensis.

for parchment, ink, and red wax, expended in the Office, from 5 March 1413, to 13 Dec. 25s. 8d.

From 115. 2s. 4d. to Easter 1415.

To him, a Clerk of the Privy-UIL Office.

To Thomas Occeleve.
Appendix. Payments to Hoccleve in 1417.

paid thro'  
Jn. Burgh £2,  
three Rob.  
Welton, 6s. 8d.,  
three Jn. Welde,  
Hoccleve's clerk,  
£1 6s. 8d.,  
to Easter, 116s.  
£5 13s. 4d.,  
and thro'  
Jn. Welde,  
as a loan, 13s. 4d.  
cipiendae, per litteras suas concessit,—quas quidem litteras 
dictus Dominus Rex nunc confirmavit:—In denarijs 
sibi liberatis, videlicet, per manus Johannis Burgh,  
1 xl. s.; per manus Ioberti Wolton,  
vj. s. viij. d.; et  
per manus Johannis Welde,  
3 clerici sui, iiij. li. vj. s. 
 
viij. d., in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandam 
de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche 
ultimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de 
hoc termino . . . . . . . . vj. li. xiiij. s. iiij. d. 
Eidem Thome, In denariis sibi liberatis per manus 
predicti Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, de prestito super 
uuiusmodi certo suo . . . . . xiiij. s. iiij 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, xiiij° die Februarij. 

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

1 John Burgh, "Esquire," is still mentioned on m. 9 as 
receiving an annuity of 20l. under a grant of Richard II; see 
1 p. liii.  
2 Robert Wolton 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 Wolton, "one of the Clerks in the Office 
of the Privy Seal," received 20a., 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 Rolls, Easter, 6 Hen. V. 
"Die Veneris xiiij° die Maij. Johanni Welde et Willermo 
Albertyn, Clericis in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis 
per manus propriae, in persolucionem liij. s. iiij. d. eis 
liberandum de regario speciali, per suisamentum Consilij 
Domini Regis, eis facio pro laboribus per ipsos habitis in officio 
predicho per tres annos vltimos preteritos, tam apud Calesiam. 
[Calais] quem infra regnum Anglie, absque feodo vel annuitate 
de Rege percepit per idem tempus; per breue de privato sigillo 
inter mandata de hoc termino . . . . . liij. s. iiij. d."
Appendix. Payments to Hoccleve in 1417—1419.

Decembris anno secundo et iiij turm diem Aprilis anno quarto expendentis in officio predicto; per brevi de privato sigillo inter mandata de termino Pasche vltimo preterito . . . . . . . . . . . xlvj. s. viij. d. £2 6s. 8d.

XXXIII.

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

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").

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.

XXXVI.

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

XXXVII.

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

XXXVIII.

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

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° die Julij (1419).

Thome Hoccleve, vni Clericorum in officio privati sigilli, In denarijs sibi deliberatis per manus proprias, pro cera rubea et incausto,1 de Waltero Lucy, Ciui et haberlassher London', per ipsam emptis, et in officio predicto inter vij° diem Marciij anno quinto et x° diem Julij anno vij° expenditis; per breue de privato Sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . . xij. s. ij. d.

XL.

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

XLI.

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

XLII.

1420, Michs. 8 Hen. V. 26 Nov., Tuesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one, &c., “by his own hands,” for Michs., 6l. 13s. 4d.

XLIII.

1421, Easter, 9 Hen. V. 5 July, Saturday. Payment to Hoccleve for Easter, 6l. 13s. 4d. “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 Pell's Issue Roll, Mich. 7 Hen. V., A.D. 1419: “Die Jouis xxx° die Noembris, Waltero Lucy, Ciui et Haberdashher London', In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, pro pergamo pro officio privati 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.

XLV.

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

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

Die Lune, xxiiij. die Februarii [1422].

Thome Hoccleve, vnii Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Regis, et Willelmo Alberton, Clerico in codem officio, In denarijs eis liberatis, videlicet, per manus predicti Thome, xl.s. xj.d. ob. pro cera rubea et incaste1 emptis de Waltero Lucy, Cuii Londonie, ad opus Regis, et expenditis in dicto officio, videlicet, a xmo die Julij Anno viij, eiusdem Regis vsque xviij. diem Feb-
ruarij ultimo preteritum; et per manus dicti Willelmi, xvij.s. iij.d. tam pro pergamo per ipsum empto ad opus dicti Regis et expendito in dicto officio, tempore quo dictus Rex ultimo erat apud Eboracum et partes ibidem, quam pro solutione per ipsum nuper facta apud Cuiitatem Lincolnie diversis personis ibidem, pro certis literis Regis portandis in Comitatum Cornubie; per breve de privato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino lix.s. iij.d. ob.2

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, vnii Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, patris Regis
nunci, cui idem nuper Rex, pro bono et laudabili serviciio
per ipsum eadem empto nuper Regi impenso et impendendo,
xx marcas percpiciendos singulis annis ad Scaccarium
suum, pro termino vite ipsius Thome, ad terminos Pasche
et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas

1 So, for ‘incauto.’

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 manus proprias, pro pergamo ab eo empto, tam pro officio Theseaurarii et Camariorum de Scaccario, quam priuati Sigilli Domini Regis . . . . . . xliv.s. ij.d.” There is a duplicate of this roll.

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

and Hen. V, confirmed it,—

£6 2s. 7yd. by assignment, and 10s. 8d. in money;

£6 13s. 4d.
suas patentes concessit, quas quidem literas dictus Dominus Rex munere confirmavit; In denariis sibi liberatis per manus propriis, videlicet, per assignacionem factam isto die, vj.li. ij.s. viij.d. ob., et in moneta x.s. viij.d. ob., in persolucionem x marcam sibi liberatarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche ultimo preterito; per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino . . . . . . . . . . vj. li. xiijs. iiiijd.

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.]


Per breue de primato sigillo.

XLVIII.

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

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

1 Sic, for Hibernie.
Payments to Hoccleve in 1423.

To Thos. Hoccleve, late a Clerk in the Privy Seal Office, to whom Henry IV. granted £13. 6s. 8d. a year for his life, and Henry V. and VI. confirmed it,—
in money paid for a half-year's annuity to Mich. 1422, £6 13s. 4d.

XLIX.

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

Thome Hoccleve, 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 eadem nuper Regi impenso et impenendo, xx marcas percipientias ad Scaccarium sumum, singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porcièmes, per literas suas patentes concessit: quas quidem literas Dominus Rex confirmauerunt:

In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodo certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino . . . . . . . . vj.li. xiiij.s. iiiijd.

This is expressed more fully in the following Roll.

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

1 This is expressed more fully in the following Roll.

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

[PELLS ISSUE ROLL, EASTER, 1 HENRY VI.]

Thome Hoccleue, de officio priuati sigilli Domini Regis, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem xxij.s. iiij.d. quos Dominus Rex nuue eidem Thome liberare mandauit pro cerca rubea et incausto, per ipsum emptis de Waltero Lucy de London', et in dicto officio expenditis, a ix° die Februarij, anno ix° Regis Henrici quinti, patris Regis nuue, vsque xix die Maij ultimo preteritum, per breue de primato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . xxiiij.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 Conseil.

"Supplie votre treshumble clerc, Thomas Hoccleve, de l'office du prive seal, quil plaise a voz tresnobles seignuries lui grantier autiele sustenance, a prendre chascun an duranta sa vie, en la priore de Suthwyk en contée de Suthampton, come Nichol Mokkynge, que mort est,—nadgare Maistre de Saint Laurance de Ponteneye en Londres—avoit et prist en la dicte priorie quant il vesquist,³ pour Dieu et en oever 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 Michs. 1425, it isn't certain that this Southwick corrody was worth £20 a year so as to stop the King's annuity under the original (p. xlix) and the substituted Grants. But the Treasurer no doubt did stop it after 1425.
Appendix. Last Payment of Hoccleve’s Annuity, 1426.


“(In dorso) iiiij die Julij, anno secundo, apud Westmonasterium, concessa fuit praesens supplicatio in forma qua petitur, presentibus dominis infrascriptis.”

LII.

1424, Michs. 3 Hen. VI. Thomas Hocelyff, 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:—6l. 13s. 4d. for the half-year, paid into his own hands on Monday, 27 November.

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, xij die Februario.

Thome Hocclyff, nuper vni Clericorum in officio privati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, anni Regis nunc, ei idem nuper Rex—pro bono et laudabili servizio per ipsum Thomam idem 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, confirmauerunt: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huissumdi certo suo, videlicer, pro termino Sancti Michaelis ultimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj li. xij s. iiiij d.

To Thos. Hoccleve, late one of the Clerks in the Privy-Sell Office, for whom £13 6s. 4d. a year was granted by Henry V.,—

in money paid to him for his ½ year’s Annuity to Michs. 1425, £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 Franks, one of the Clerks, and Filacer in the office of the King's Privy Seal." But there is no reference to Hoccleve.

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

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

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

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

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

[7]

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

[8]

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

HOCCLEVE, M.P.—I.
O Father and Mother! why did ye breed me?

Ye cannot comfort me.

O Son,

Now Death takes Thee from me!

[9]

Ơ O. Ioachim / o deere fadir myn!
And seint Anne, my modir deere also!
To what entente / or to what ende or fyn
Brogghen yee me foorth / pat am greened so?
Mirthe is to me become a verray fo.
Your fadir David / pat an harpour was,
Conforted folk: pat stood in heny 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 woful torment.
Me to doon ese / han yee no talent,
And knowen myn conforteless distresse:
Yee oghten weepe for myn heuynesse.

[11]

Ơ O blessid sone / on thee woile I out throwe
My salte teeres / for oonly on thee
My look is set / o thynke / how many a throwe
Thow in myn armes lay / and on my knee
Thow sat / & haddist many a kas of me.
Eeek thee, to sowke, on my breestes yaf y,
Thee norisshyng faire & tendrely.

[12]

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

[13]

And this me sleeth / pat in the open day
Thyn hertes wownde shewith him so wyde
I. THE COMPLEYNT OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

Pat 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 greues,
Thow put art also, sone, amonges theeeues,

[14]
As thow were an euel & wikkid wight.
And, lest pat somme folk par auenyure
No knowleche hadde of thy persone aright,
Thy name, Pilat hath put in scripture,
pat knowe mighte it euer creature,
For thy penance sholde nat been hid.
O / wo is me / pat al this see betid!

[15]
How may myn yen, pat beholde al this,
Restreyne hem for to shewe by weepyng
Myn herdes greef / moot I nat weepe ! O yis!
Sone, if thow haddist a fadir lynyuenge,
That wolde weepe & make waymentynge,
For pat he hadde paart of thy persone,
That were a greet abregynge of my mone.

[16]
But thow in eerthe / fadir haddist nenne ;
No wight for thee / swich cause hath for to pleyne,
As pat hawe I / shalt thow fro me diussenere,
pat aart al heolly myn? my sorwees deepe
Han al myn hertes ioie leid to sleepe.
No wight with me, in thee, my sone, hath part :
Hoolly of my blood! / deere chylde / thow art.

[17]
That doublith al my torment & my greef:
Vn-to myn herte / it is confusion,
Thyn harm to see / pat art to me so leef:
Mighte nat, sone / the Redempeion

1 ? MS. bleod.
Of man han bee withoute effusion
Of thy blood? yis / if it had been thy lust.
But what thou wilt be done / souffre me must!

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

[19]
O Moon / o sterres / and thou firmament!
How may yee, fro wepynge yow restreynye,
And seen your Creatour in swich torment?
Yee oghten troublied been in euery 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,!
jet seest my child nakid this nones tyde,
Why souffrest thou him, in the open siglite
Of the folk! heere / vnkenered abyde?
Thou art as moche, or more, holde him to hyde,
Than Sem, jet helid his Fadir Noe
When he espyde jet nakid was he.

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

[22]

O Earth, cleave / what lust hast thou to susteene
The crois on which he put thee made, and it,
Is hangid / and aourned thee with greene
Which put thou werist / how hast thou thee qwit
Vn-to thy lord? / o do this for him yit!
O! wake for doel / & cleue thou in two,
And al put blood / restore me vn-to,

[23]

Which thou hast dronke / it myn is, & not thy;
Or elles thus / withouten tarynge
Tho bodyes dede / whiche in thee put lyn,
Caste out / for they, by taast of swich dewynge,
Hem oghte clothe ageyn in hir clothynge.
Thow Caluarie / thou art namely
Holden for to do so / to thee speke Y.

[24]

O deere sone / myn deeth neithithaste,
Syn to an othir / thou hast youen me
Than vn-to thee / & how may my lyf haste,
Thow Caluarie / thou art namely

[25]

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

[26]

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

Wel feele I put deeth his vengeable bowe
Hath bent / & me purposith down to throwe. 180
Of sorwe talke may I nat ynow,
Syn fro¹ my name / I-doon away is now. 182

Wel may men clepe and calle me 'Mara'!
From hennes forward, so may men me caH.
How sholde I lenger' clept be 'Maria',
Syn 'I', which is Ihesus, is fro me faH
This day / al my sweetnesse is in-to gaH
Torned, syn put 'I', which was the beautee
Of my name / this day bynome is me. 189

[leaf 6, back]

O John, how

can we avoid death?

So full of woe are we,

let us die!

O Angels, your
Creator is slain!

¹ 'me' left out, for want of power to work it in.
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
Vu-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 styng.
O poore modir / what shalt thow now seye?
Poore Marie / thy wit is aweye!

[32]

Marie? nay / but ‘marred’ I thee caH.
So may I wel / for thow art / wel I woot,
Vessel of care & wo, & sorwes aH!
Now thow art frosty cold / now fyry hoot;
And right as pat a ship, or barge, or boot,
Among the wawes dryneth steerelees,
So doost thow, woful womznan, confortlees!

[33]

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

[34]

His blody stremes, see now & beholde!
If yee to him han any affeccioun,
Now for his wo / your hertes oghten 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 heere is,
His cote hath torn / for your gilt, nat for his, 243
And hath his blood despent in greet foysoun;
And al it was for your Redempecioun. 245

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

[II.]

Ceste feust faire au temps que le Roy
Henri le VI, (que Dieu pardoint!)
feust a Hampton sur son primer
passage vers Harleste.
(In 5-measure eights, abab, cdcd.)

[1]

THe laddre of heune / I meene charitoe,
Comandith vs / if our brothir be falle
In to errour / to haue 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 haast1 heresies galle,
And art fro Crystes feith twynned & goon. 8

[2]

Allas! pat thow pat were a manly knyght,
And shoon ful cleer in famous worthynesse,
Standynge in the faunor of every wight,
Haast lost the style of cristelyn provwesse 12

1 The aa in 'haast,' l. 7, and 'aart, paart,' l. 150, 152, occurs elsewhere. The Latin side-notes, below, are in the MS.
Among alle hem / that stande in the cleernesse
Of good byleene / & no man with thee holdith,
Sauf cursed caitiffs, heires of dirknessse:
For verray routhe of thee / myn herte coldith.

[3]
Thow haast maad a fair permutacion
Fro Crystes lore / to feedly doctryne;
From honour & fro dominacion
Vn-to reprecef and meschenous v[e]nyne;
Fro cristen folk / to hetenly couyne;
Fro seuretee vn-to vsikirmesse;
Fro ioie and ese / vn-to wo & pyne,
Fro light of trouthe / vn-to dirke falsnesse.

[4]
O Oldecastel / allas / what eilid thee
To slippe in to the snare of heresie?
Thurgh which / thow foo arte to the Trinitee,
And to the blissid virgyne Marie,
And to the Innumerable holy compaignie
Of heuene / and to al holy chirche, allas!
To longe haast thow bathid in that folie!
Ryse vp / & pourge thee of thy trespas!

[5]
Seynt Austyn seith / 'whiles a man abyldith
In heresie or scisme / and list nat flee
Ther fro / his soule / fro God he diuidith,
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 that it be,
To helthe him profyte / ne god qeweeme.'

[6]
And yit more-ouer he seith thus also,
'Thogh that an heretyk, for Crystes name
Shede his blood / & his lyf for Cryst forgo,
Shall nat him saue' / allas, the harm & shame!
May nat thy smert thy sturdy herte attame?
Obeie / obeie / in the name of Jhesu!
Thou art of merit & of honor lame;
Conquere hem two / & thee arme in virtu!

If thyn hy herte, bolynge in errour,
To holy chirche can nat buxum be:
Beholde Theodosius Emperor,
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 forthoghite,
Obeyyng as pat holy chirche hath wold.
Thow pat thy soule / to the feend haast sold,
Bye it agayn thurgh thy hyn obedience!
Thow hast sold thy soule to the Devil.

And for thy soules helthe / do ceke so!
Thy pryde qwenche, & thy presumpcioon!
Wher thow hast been to Crystes feith a fo,
Plante in thyn herte a deep contricioun.
And hennes foorth be Crystes Champion!
The welle of mercy renmeth 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 natheees / if thow the wilt amende,
Thogh thy gilt wer a thousand1 tymes more,
Axe him mercy / & he wole it thee sende.
Thow art vmvys / tho thou the y wys pretended,  
And so been alle of thyn opinioun.  
To god & holy chirche thou the bende !  
Caste out thy venym thurgh confession !  
[11]  
Thow seist ' confession auriculeer  
Ther needith noon / but it is the contrarie;  
Thow lookist mis / thy sighte is nothyng cleer !  
Holy writ ther-in is thyn Aduersarie,  
And Clerkes alle fro thy conceit varie,  
pat Crystes partie holden & maynteene.  
Lene pat conceit / lest pat thow mis-carie !  
Waar of the sword of god / for it is keene.  
[12]  
Heere, in this lyf / vn-to god mercy cric,  
And with the ax or hamer of penance  
Smyte on the stoon / sleek thy obstinacie !  
Haue of thy synnes heny remembrance !  
Rowne in the preestes ere / & the greuance  
Of thy soule / meekly to him confesse ;  
And in the wal of heuene / is no doutance,  
Thow shalt a qwike stoon be / for thy goodnesse.  
[13]  
* O Oldcastel / how hath the feend thee blent !  
Where is thy knyghtly herte / art thow his thral ?  
Thow errest foule eke in the sacrament  
Of the Auter / but how in special  
For to declare: it needith nat at al ;  
It knowen 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 knyght, out of the slow  
Of heresie / o lurker / as a wreche  
Wher' as thou erred haast / correcte it now !  
By humblesse / thou mayst to mercy strecche.
To holy chirche go / & ther fieche  
The holsum oyle of absolucion.  
If thow of soules hurt ne shame recche,  
Thow leesist heuene / and al knyghtly renoun.  

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

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

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

Lete holy chirche medle of the doctrine  
Of Crystes lawes / & of his byleeue,  
And let alle othir folke / ther-to enclyne,  
And of our feith noon argumentes meeue.
II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

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

Some wommen ceke, thoghi hir wit be thynme,
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 / apparteneth pat aart
The knowleche of pat, god hath fro yow shit ;
Stynte and leuo of / for right selendre is your paart. 152

Our forefatbers olde & modres lyued wel,
And taglite hir children / as hem self taght 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 did he this wyse / and miglite han do thus?'
Our fadres medled no thyng of swich gere :
pat eglite been a good mirour to vs. 160

If land to thee be falle of heritage,
Which pat thy fadir heeld in reste & pees,
With title inst & 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 prees ;
Thy right thow woldest nat, thy thankes, leue. 168

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

Let us then keep their possession with all our might!

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

[MS.]

Lege Nemo, 'Nemo Clericus vel militaris, vel quislibet alterius condicionis de sile christianae publice turbis commutatis & audientibus tractare conetur in posterius ex hoc tumultus & perfida occasione requires &c. & ibi expresor pena in huicmodi causis exequendis.'

[leaf 10]

Oldcastle, don't read Holy Writ! Read Lancelot, or the Siege of Troy.

or Judges and Joshua:
To Judith / & to Paralipomenon, 204
And Machabe / & as siker as soon,
If þat thee list in hem bayte thyne ye,
More autentike thing / shalt thow fynde noon,
Ne more pertinent to Chivalrie.

[27] Knyghtes so dide in tymes þat be past,
Whan they hadde tendrenesse of hir office;
In Crystes feith they stooned stidefast;
And as þat the preest, hir soules Xorice,
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.

[28] O Constantyn, thow Prince of hy noble ye
O cristen Emperour / whos worthynesse
Desdeyned nat to holy chirche obeye,
But didest al thy peyne & bisynesse,
With wel disposid spirit of meeknesse,
The Ministres of god for to honure;
How thow wroghtist / hast thow so strong witnesse,
That lyue it shal / whil the world wolde endure!

[29] Thow took nat on thee hir correction,
Ne vp on hem / thow yaf no jugement!
Swich was to god thy good affeccioon,
Thow seidest / 'they been goddes to vs sent !
And þat it is nothing commenient,
That a man sholde goddes ige and deeme.'
Thow were a noble & a worthy Regent!
Wel was byset on thee / thy diadeeme!

[30] Blessid be god / fro whom deryued is
Al grace / our lige lord / which þat is now
Our feithful cristen Prince and King / in this
Oldcastle! Follow these Princes!

[? odd, this! If he 'does it no longer,' why should he be scolded? ? Read 'that' for 'thogh' in 28.]

Folwith thy steppes / or for shame thou
Oldcastel / thou hast longe tyme ynow
Folwed the feend / thogh thou no lenger do,

Do by my reed / it shall be for thy prow:
Flee fro the Feend / folwe tho Princes two!

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 thy vnfeith / men maken many mones;
To god retourne / & with his feith dwelle ay!

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

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

Almighty god / thou lord of al, and Syre,
Withouten whom is no goodnesse wroght,
This knyght, of thy habundant grace ensyre!
Remembre how deere / _pat_ thow haast him boght! 268
He is thy handwerk / lord! refuse _him_ noght,
Thogh he thee haue agilt outrageously /
Thow _pat_ for mercy deidest, change his theoght!
Benigne lord, enable _him_ to mercy! 272

_Yee pat_ perverted him / _yee folke_ damnable!
Yee heretikes _pat_ han him betrayed,
That manly was / worthy & honurable,
Or _pat_ he hadde of your venym assayed, 276
I doute it nat / your wages shal be payed
Sharply / but _yee_ correcte your trespas,
In your fals _error_ / shul _yee_ been outrayed,
And been enhabited with Sathanas. 280

_Yee, with your sly coloured argumentes_
Which _pat_ contenuen nothyng but falshode,
Han, in this Knyght, put so feendly ententes,
_Pat_ he is overcharged with the lode 284
Which _yee_ han leid on his good old knygthode,
That now 'a wrecchid knyght' men calle may.
The lak’ of feith / hath _wenchid_ his manhode;
His force ageyn god / naght is at assay. 288

‘Prynce of preestes’ / our lige lord _yee_ calle
In scorn / but it is a style of honour:
Auctoritee of Preest exceldith alle 292
Eerthely powers / thoght it seeme sour
To the taast of your detestable _error_.
They _pat_ in the feith been constanut & sad,
In seint Petres wordes han good _faunt,_
And fayn been to fullfille _pat_ he bad. 296

Alle eerthely Princes and othir men,
Bysshops to obeie / commandid he.
_Yee_ han no ground to holde ther ayen:

_HOCCLEVE, M.P.—I._
II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

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.

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

Looke, how moche & how greet dyuersitee
Betwixt the sonne ther is, & the moone;
So moche is a popes auctoritee
Aboue a kynges might / good is to doone
pat yee aryse out of your errore soone,
pat there-in walwid han / goon is ful yore.

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

Yee pat nat sette by preestes power,
‘Crystes Rebels, & foos’ men may you calle.
Yee waden in presumcioun to fer!
Your soules to the feend, yee foule thralle!

Ye say ‘a sinful priest can’t make Christ’s body,’
Ye seyn, ‘a preest in deedly synne falle,
If he so go to messe / he may not make
Crystes body’ / falsly yee erren alle,
pat holden so / to deepe yee ransake!

As wel may a preest pat is vicious,
pat precious body make, day by day,
As may a preest / pat is ful vertuous;
But war 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 / thurg6 whos wordes / trustith this ay,
The preest makith the blessed sacrament.

[43]
Yee medle of al thyng / yee moot shoo the goos:
How knowen yee what lyf a man is yinne?
Your fals conceites renne aboute loos!
If a preest synful be, & fro god twynne,
Thurg6 penitence he may ageyn god wynnne.
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,
But he the beste preest were vp-on lyne.'
O! wher-to graspen yee so fer, and grope
Aftir swich thyng / yee mowe it neure dryue
To the knowleche / nothyng there-of stryue!
Medle nat ther with / let al swich thyng passe!
For if \pat yee do / shul yee neure thrue;
Yee been ther-in as lewe as is an asse!

[45]
Many man outward / seemeth wondir good,
And inward is he wondir fer ther-fro:
No man be luge 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\s / this is admittid.

[46]
What is the lawe the worse of nature,
If \pat a luge vse it nat aright?
No thyng / god wot / anyse him \pat the cure
Put your false opinions to flight!

Ye live in lust, and care not whose wife ye take.

Ye hide in corners.

Christ's disciples faced death boldly.

Ther-of hath take / looke he do but right; 364
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! 368

[47]

Yee pat pretend folwers for to be
Of Crystes disciples / nat lyue sholde
Aftir the flesshly lustes / as doon yee
pat reken nat / whos wyf yee take & holde :
Swich lyf / the disciples nat lyne wolde,
For cursid is the synne of aduoutrie;
But yee ther-in, so hardy been & bolde,
pat yee no synne it holden, ne folie. 376

[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 380
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 arn of darknesse the lanternes. 384

[49]

Ne neuere they in forcible maneere
With wepnes roos / to slee folk, & assaille,
As yee diden late in this contree here,
Ageyn the King, stryf to rere, & bataille. 388
Blessid be god / of your purpos yee faille,
And faille shuln / yee shuln nat foorth ther with!
Yee broken meyne / yee wrecchid rascaille
Been al to weyke / yee han ther-to no pith! 392

[50]

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

What all is nat worth \(\text{pat}\) yee clappe \& muse. 396

How can yee, by reson, your self excuse \(\text{bat}\) yee nat erren \& whan yee folk excite

To vice \& and stire hem, vertu to refuse? 400

Waer goddes strook\(\text{a}\) / it peisith nat a lyte.

For to visite seintes / is vertu,

If \(\text{pat}\) it doon be for denocioun;

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

Meede wirkith in good entencioun.

The cleene of lyf / \& be in orisoun!

Of synne, talke nat in thy viage!

Let vertu gyde thee / fro town to town!

And so to man / profitith pilgrimage.

And to holde ageyn ymages makynge,

(\(\text{Be}\) they maad in entaille or in peynture,)

Is greet erroour / 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 euery creature

\(\text{bat}\) reson hath / \(\text{pat}\) a seint is it noght.

Right as a spectacle helpith feeble sighte,

Whan a man on the booko redith or writ,

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,

Thoghi the ymage nat the seint be / yit

The siglite vs myngith to the seint to preye.

Ageyn possessions / yee holden ecke,

Of holy chirche / \& that is ecke erroour:

Your inward ye / is ful of smoke \& reeke!
But Christ, while on earth, had Purse.

While heere on eerthe / was our Saumeour,
Whom Angels diden service & honour,
Purses had he / why: for his chirche sholdre
So haue eek: after / as seith mine Auctour:
Yee goon al mis / al is wrong / pat yee holde!

[I. 55]

Justinian Emperour had swich cheertekee
To holy chirche / as pat seith the scripture,
pat of goodes how large or greet plente.
It hadde of yifte of any creature!

Him thoghte it youe in the best mesure
pat mighte been / his herte it loyed so.
Yee neuer yaf hem good, per aventure:
What title han yee / aght for to take hem fro?

[56]

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

[57]

Presumpcion of wit, and ydilnesse,
And couetyse of good / tho vices three
Been cause of al your ydll bysysnesse.

[Yee seyn ecke: 'goodes, commune oghten be:'
pat ment is, in tyme of necessitee,
But nat by violence or by maistrie,
My good to take of me / or I of thee,
For pat is verray wrong & robberie.

[58]

If pat a man the soothe telle shal,
How pat your hertes in this cas been set,
For to ryffe, is your entente final;

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 oure handes / but a clod
Of eerthe / at your heedes to slynge or caste,
Were wepne ynow / or a smal twig or rod;
The feith of Cryst / stikith in vs so faste!

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

[61]
Yee holden many an othir errore mo
Then may be wrenen 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 pat is o god / & persones three.
Remembre yow / heuene is a miry place,
And helle is ful of sharp aduersitee.

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

\textit{pat} blissful lord / \textit{pat} for alle vs / was slayn! 492
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 knygghtly now vn-to his lore!

Repent! 496

Why art thou not fighting in France by King Henry's side? Shame on thee!

Repente thee / and with him make accord!
Conquere meryt and honour / let see,
Looke how our cristen Prince, our lige lord,
With many a lord & knygft beyond the See,
Labour in armes / & thow hydest thee!
And darst nat come / & shewe thy visage!
O, fy! for shame / how can a knygft be
Out of thomur of this rial viage?

[63]

Sum tyme was no knygghtly 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 despyse!
And \textit{pat} y-doon, vn-to our cristen kyng
Thee hie as faste / as \textit{pat} thow canst dyuyse,
And humble ecke thee to him / for any thyng!
Cest tout.
Cy ensuyt la male regle de T. Hoccleue.

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

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

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

[1]

O precious tresor incomparable!
O ground & roote of prosperitee!
O excellent richesse commendable
Abouen alle / pat in eerthe be!
Who may susteene thyn aduersitee?
What wight may him avante of worldly welthe,
But if he fully stande in grace of thee,
Ertely god / piler 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 / tho felte I no duresse,
Tho farsid was I with hertes gladnesse;
And now my body empty is, & bare
Of ioie / and ful of seekly heuynesse,
Al poore of ese / & ryche of enel fare!

[3]

If pat thy fauour twynne from a wight:
Smal is his ese / & greet is his greuance:
Thy lone / is lyf / thyn hate sleeth down right!
I have lost Health, and I know what penance is.

Who may compleyne thy diseuerance
Bette than I, pat, of myn ignorance,
Vn-to seeknesse am knyt / thy mortel fo.

Now can I knowe feeste fro penaunce ;
And whil I was with thee / kowde I nat sp.

My grief and bisy smert cotidian
So me labouren & tormenten sore,
pat what thow art now / wel remembre I can,
And what fruyt is in keepynge of thy lore.

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

But I haue herd men seye longe ago,
‘Prosperitee is blynd / & see ne may’: And verifie I can wel / it is so ;
For I my self put haue it in assay.

When I was weel / kowde I considere it? nay !
But what / me longed aftir nouvelie,
As yeeres yonge yernen day by day ;
And now my smert accusith my folie.

Myn vnwar yowthe kneew nat what it wroghte,
This woot I wel / whan fro thee twynned shee ;
But of hir' ignorance hir self shee soghte,
And kneew nat pat shee dwellyng was with thee ;

For to a wight were it greet nycket
His lord or freend wityngly for toffende,
Lest pat the weighte of his aduersite
The fool oppresse / & make of him an ende.

From hennes foorth wole I do reuerence
Vn-to thy name / & holde of thee in cheef,
And were make, & sharp resistence
Agyn thy fo & myn, *pat* cruel theef;
(pat vndir foote / me halt in mescheef*,
So thow me to thy grace reconcile.
O now thy help / thy socour and releef!
And I for ay / mis reule Wolfe exyle.

But thy mercy exceede myn offense /
The keene assautes of thyn adversarie
Me Wolfe 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 paart / youthe is rebel
Vn-to reson / & hatith her doctrine,
Reguyenge which / it may nat stande wel
With yowthe / as fer as wit can ymagyne.
O / yowthe / alas / why wilt thow nat enclyne,
And vn-to reuled reform bowe thee?
Syn resoun is the verray streighte lyne
*pat* ledith folk* / vn-to felicitee.*

Ful seelde is seen / *pat* yowthe takith heede
Of perils *pat* been likly for to fall;
For, hane he take a purpos / *pat* moot nede
Been excent / no conseil wole he caH;
His owne wit, he demeth best of aH;
And foorth ther-with / he renneneth brydillees,
As he *pat* nat betwixt hony and gaff
Can inge / 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 presumpeioun nat list consente
To doon as pat Salomon woot & mente,
pat rede men by conseil for to werke:
Now, youthe, now / thow sore shalt repente
Thy lightlees wittes duH, of reson derke!

My freendes 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 withdrawn it;
But pat nat miglite 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 scarcely I may it nat asterte.

Who-so cleer yen hath, & can nat see,
Ful smal, of ye, anauilith 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 chenice,
But wilfully fro reson me withdraue,

No wondir / ne no fanour in hir lawe.

Reson me bad / & reddde as for the beste,
To ete and drynke in tyme attemprely;
But wilful youthe nat oheie leste
Vn-to pat reed / ne sette nat ther-bye.

I take hane of hem bothe outrageously
And out of tyme / nat two yeer or three,
But .xx. wyntir past continually,

Excesse at borde hath leyd his knyf with me.

The custume 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
Of hire \textit{pat} werreieth every age,
Seeknesse, y meene, riotoures whippe,
Habundantly \textit{pat} paieth me my wage,
So \textit{pat} me neither daunce list, ne skippe.

[16]
The outward signe of Bachus & his lure,
\textit{pat} at his dore hangith day by day /
Excitith folk / to taaste of his moisture
So often / \textit{pat} man can not wel seyn nay.
For me, I seye / I was enclyned ay
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 bystand
By force of the penyees maladic,
For thanne in herte kowde I nat be glad,
Ne lust had noon to Bachus hows to hie.
Fy : Lak of coyn / departith compaignie,
And heuy purs, with herte liberal,
Qwenchith the thirsty hete of hertes drie,
Wher chynchy herte / hath ther-of but smal.

[18]
I dar nat telle / how \textit{pat} the fresshe repeir
Of venus femel lusty children deere,
\textit{pat} so goodly / so shaply 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.

[19]
Ther was sweet wyn ynow thurgh-out the hous,
And wafres thikke / for this compaignie
\textit{pat} I spak of / been sumwhat likerous,
Of course I paid for the girls.

Drinking wastes your money, and makes you talk scandal.

But I was so afraid of fighting, that I kept my tongue close.

Who was better known than I among Taverners

Where as they mowe a draught of wyn espie,
Sweete / and in wirkynge hoot for the maistrie
To warne a stomak with / ther-of they drank.
To suffre hem paie, had been no courtesie:
That charge I tooke / to wynne loue & thanks.

[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,
Bettre than I wolde han be with the deede:
Ther-on can I but smal; it is no dreede:
Whan put men speke of it in my presence,
For shame I wexe as reed as is the gleede.
Now wole I torne ageyn to my sentence.

[21]

Of him put hauntith tauerne of custume,
At shorte wordes / the profyt is this:
In double wyse / his bagge it shal consume,
And make his tongue speke of folk:" amis;
For in the cuppe / seelden fownden is,
bat any wight his neigieburgh commendith.
Beholde & see / what auantage is his,
bat god / his freend / & eek him self, offendith.

[22]

But oon auantage / in this cas I haue:
I was so ferd / with any man to fighte,
Cloos kepte I me / no man durste I deprane
But rownyngly / I spak no thyng on highte.
And yit my wil was good / if put I mighte,
For lettyng of my manly cowardyse,
bat ay of strookes impressid the wighte,
So bat I durste medlen in no wyse.

[23]

Wher was a gretter maister eek than y,
Or bet aqweyntid at Westmynstre yate,
Among the tauerneres namely,
And Cookes / whan I cam / eerly or late?  
I pynchid nat at hem in myn acate,  
But paied hem / as \textit{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  
\textit{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 superfluitee  
To walke vn-to the brigge / & take a boot /  
\textit{pat} nat durste I contrarie hem all three,  
But dide as \textit{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 bootmen took vp-on me keep,  
For they my riot kneewen fern ago:  
With hem was I I-tagged to and fro,  
So wel was him / \textit{pat} I with wolde fare;  
For riot paieth largely / eueremo;  
He styntith neure / til his purs be bare.  

[26]  
Othir than 'maistir' / callid was I neure,  
Among this meyne, in myn audience.  
Me thoghte / I was y-maad a man for euere:  
So tikelid me \textit{pat} nyce reuerence,  
\textit{pat} it me made larg'er of despense  
Than \textit{pat} I thought han been / o flaterie!  
The guyse of thy traiterous diligence  
Is, folk\textsuperscript{c} to mescheef\textsuperscript{c} haasten / & to hie.  

[27]  
Al be it \textit{pat} my yeeres be but yonge /  
Yit haue I seen in folk\textsuperscript{c} of hy degree,  
How \textit{pat} the venym of fauces tonge

\[180\]  
and Cookes at Westminster Gate?  
I paied freely, and was held 'A regular Gentleman!'  

\[183\]  
And after drinking and feeding, instead of going to work at the Privy-Seal Office,  
I'd take a boat.  

\[188\]  
In winter too, I'd have a boat,  
and the Boatmen fought for me, as I paid well.  

\[192\]  
[leaf 21]  
These fellows always call'd me "Master," and that tickled my vanity, and made me pay 'em largely.
Flattery's tongue has ruined many folk:

Flattery's tongue has ruined many folk:

Hath mortified his prosperity,
And broght hem in so sharp adversitee
pat it hir lyf hath also throwe a-down.
And yet ther can no man in this contree
Vnethe eschue this confusion.

[28]

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 leeneed is this losengeour:
His hony wordes / wrappid in error,
Blyndly conceyued been / the more harm is!
O! thow, fauele, of lesynges Auctour,
Causist al day / thy lord to fare amis!

[29]

Tho combreworldes clept been 'enchantours'
In booke / as pat I haue, or this, red,
That is to seye, solt deccyouns,
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.

[30]

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 mermaids in the See,
How pat so inly mirie syngith shee,
pat the shipman ther-with fallith a sleeepe,
And by hir' aftir deuoured is he:
From al which song, is good, men hem to keepe.

[31]

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

[32]

Holkote 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 armony
Hem mighte vn-to swich deedly 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 dide 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 may / al thogh thy tongue were ago,
Yit canst thoug 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 priuce and appert
With word and lookt / among our lordes heere
Preferred be / thoghli ther be no dissert.

[35]

But whan the sobre / treewe, & weel auysid,
With sad visage his lord enfourmeh pleyun,
How pat his gouernance is despysid

HOCCLEVE, M.P.—I.
Among the peple / & seith him as they seyn,
As man treewe oghte vn-to his soucreyn,
Conseillynge him amende his gouernance,
The lorde herte swellith for desdeyn,
And bit him voide blyue with meschaunce.

[36]

Men setten nat by trouthe now adayes;
Men love it nat / men wolde it nat cherice;
And yit is trouthe best at all assayes.

Let not Flattery nestle in your ears!

[37]

Be as be may / no more of this as now;
But to my mis rule wolde I refere.

Before I lived in excess, I was fairly off: now I am poor.

Or excesse vn-to me leef was, & deere,
And, or I knewe his eruestful maneere,
My purs of coyn had resonable wonne;
But now, ther-in can ther but scant appeere:
Excesse hath ny exyled hem echone.

[38]

The feend and excesse been convertible,

This is my skile / if it be admittible:
Excesse of mete & drynke is glotonye;
Glotonye awakith malencolie;
Malencolie engendrith werre & stryfe;
Stryf causith mortel hurt thurgh hir folie:
Thus may excesse rene a soule hir lyfe.

[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 all the prince seal with me to endure;
And to the cuppe ay took I heed & cure,
For pat the drynke apalle sholde noght.
But whan the pot emptid was of moisture,
To wake afterward / can nat in my thoght.

[40]
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 twynne fro my cowche:
By aght I woot / abyde / let me see!
Of two / as looth / I am seur, kowde I towche.

[41]
I dar nat seyn Prentys and Arondel
Me countrefete, & in swich wach go ny me;
But often they hir bed louen so wel,
pat of the day / it drawith ny the pryme,
Or they ryse vp / nat tell I can the tyme
Whan they to bedde goon / it is so late.
O helthe, lord / thou seest hem in pat cryme!
And yit thee looth is / with hem to debate.

[42]
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 ymagyne / and thus I gesse:
Thow meeued art, of tendre gentillesse,
Hem to forbere / and wilt hem nat chastyse,
For they, in merthe and vertuous gladnesse,
Lordes reconforten in sundry wyse.

[43]
But to my purpos / syn pat my seeknesse,
As wel of purs as body, hath refreyned
Me fro Tauerne / & othir wantonnesse,
my name is despised.

Among an heep / my name is now desteyned, 340
My greuous hurt ful litil is compleyned,
But they, the lak compleyne of my despense.
Alas pat euere knyt I was, and cheynd
To excese / or him dide obedience. 344

[leaf 24]

Dispenses large enhancement a mannes loos 345
Whil they endure / & whan they be forbore,
His name is deel / men keepe hir mowthes cloos,
As nat a peny had he spent tofore. 348
My thank is qweynt / my purs, his stuf hath lore,
And my Carkeis reflect with heuynesse.

Hoccleue! Be moderate now! 350

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

[leaf 24, back]

Who-so, passynge mesure, desyrith, 353
(As pat witnessen olde Clerkes wyse,)
Him self encombrith often sythe, & myrith;
And for-thy let the mene thee souffyse. 356
If swich a conceit in thyn herte ryse.
As thy profyt may hyndre, or thy renoun,
If it were execut in any wyse,
With manly resoun thriste thow it doun! 360

Thy rents are scanty; 361
To scarse been, greet costes to sustene;
And in thy cofre, pardee, is cold roost,
And of thy manuel labour, as I weene, 364
Thy lucre is swich / pat it vnethe is seen
Ne felt / of yiftes seye I eek the same;
And stel, for the guerdoun is so keene,
Ne darst thow nat / ne begge also for shame. 368

[leaf 24, back]

Than wolde it seeme / pat thow borwid haast 369
MochU of pat pat thow haast thus despent
In outrage & excesse, and verray waast,
Auyse thee / for what thyng *pat* is lent, 372
Of verray right / moot hoom ageyn be sent;
Thow ther-in haast no perpetuitee.
Thy dettes paie / lest *pat* thow be shent,
And or *pat* thow ther-to compellid be. 376

[48] Pay thy debts!

Sum folk in this cas dreeden more offene 377
Of man / for wyly wrenches of the lawe,
Than he dooth, eithir god or conscience;
For by hem two, he settith nat [an] have. 380
If thy conceit be swich / thow it withdrawe,
I rede / and voide it cleue out of thyn herte;
And first of god, and syn of man, haue awe,
Lest *pat* they bothe / make thee to smerte. 384

[49] Fear God, and the law!

Now lat this smert, warnynge to thee be; 385
And if thow maist heere-aftir be releene
Of body and purs / so thow gye thee
By wit / *pat* thow / no more thus be greeneed. 388
What riot is / thow taasted haast, and preeneed;
The fyr / men seyn / he dreedith *pat* is brennt;
And if thow do so / thow art wel y-meeneed:
Be now no lenger, fool / by myn assent! 392

[50] and don't be a fool!

Ey / what is me / *pat* to my self, thus longe, 393
Clappid haue I / I trowe *pat* I raue.
A / nay / my poore purs / and peynes stronge
Han artid me speke as I spoken haue. 396

My poverty and pains make me speak thus.

Who-so him shapith, mercy for to craue,
His lesson moot recorde in sundry wyse;
And whil my breath may in my body waue,
To recorde it / vnnethe I may souffyse. 400

[51] My lord! o helthe! vn-to thyn ordenance,
Weleful lord / meekly submitte I me.
I am contryt / & of ful repentance
III. LA MALE REGLE DE T. HOCOLEUE.

\[ \text{pat euere I swymmed in swich nycetee} \]
\[ \text{As was displeasment to thy deitee.} \]
\[ \text{Now kythe on me thy mercy & thy grace!} \]
\[ \text{It sit a god, been of his grace free;} \]
\[ \text{For yeue / & neure wole I left trespace!} \]

\[ \text{My body and purs been at oones seeke;} \]
\[ \text{And for hem bothe / I to thyn hy noblesse,} \]
\[ \text{As humbly as pat I can byseeke} \]
\[ \text{With herte vnfeyned / reewe on our distresse!} \]
\[ \text{Pitee haue of myn harmful heuynesse!} \]
\[ \text{Releeue the repentant in diseese!} \]
\[ \text{Despende on me a drope of thy largesse,} \]
\[ \text{Right in this wyse / if it thee lyke & plese.} \]

\[ \text{If Lo, lat my lord the Trowneval, I preye,} \]
\[ \text{My noble lord / pat now is tresoreer,} \]
\[ \text{From thyn Hynesse haue a tokne or tweye} \]
\[ \text{To paie me pat due is for this yeer} \]
\[ \text{Of my yeerly .x. ii. in theschequeer,} \]
\[ \text{Nat but for Michel terme pat was last:} \]
\[ \text{I dar nat speke a word of ferne yeer,} \]
\[ \text{So is my spirit symple and sore agast.} \]

\[ \text{I kepte nat to be seen importune} \]
\[ \text{In my pursuyte / I am ther-to ful looth;} \]
\[ \text{And yit pat gyse / ryt is, and commune} \]
\[ \text{Among the peple now, withouten ooth;} \]
\[ \text{As the shamelesse crauour wole / it gooth,} \]
\[ \text{For estaat real / can nat al day weare,} \]
\[ \text{But poore shamefast man ofte is wroth;} \]
\[ \text{Therfore, for to crane, moot I lerne.} \]

\[ \text{The prouerbe is / ' the doumb man, no lond getith;'} \]
\[ \text{Who-so nat spekith / & with neede is bete,} \]
\[ \text{And, thurgh argnnesse / his owne self forgetith,} \]
No wondir / thogh an uther him forgete.  
Neede hath no lawe / as pat the Clerkes trete,  
And thus to crane / arith me my neede;  
And right wole eek pat I me entremete,  
For pat I axe is due / as god me speed!  

And pat that due is / thy magnificence  
Shameth to warne / as pat I byleuee.  
As I saide / reewe on myn iupotence,  
pat likly am to sterue yit or eene,  
But if thou in this wyse me releeue.  
By coyn, I gete may swich medecyne  
As may myn hurtes alle, pat me greeue,  
Exyle cleene / & voide me of pyne.

[IV.

Ceste balade ensuyant feust faite au tres  
noble Roy .. le .., (que diu parz-  
doant!) le iour que les seigneurs de son  
Royalme lui sirent loro homages  
a Kenyngtown.

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

[1]

The Kyng of Kynges regnyng ouer al,  
Which stablishid hath in eternitee  
His hy 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.

[IV.]
God dreede & sicche in him your trust verray!
Be clene in herte & loye chastitee!
Be sobre / sad / iust / trouthe, observer alway!
Good conseil take / & aftir it do yee!
Be humble in goost / of your tongue attempree;
Pitous & merciable in special;
Prudent / debonaire, in mesure free;
Nat ouer large / ne vn-to gold thrall!

Be clene in herte & loue chastitee!
Be just. Be sobre / sad / iust / trouthe, observer alway!
Good conseil take / & aftir it do yee!
Be humble in goost / of your tongue attempree;
Pitous & merciable in special;
Prudent / debonaire, in mesure free;
Nat ouer large / ne vn-to gold thrall!

Govern with Law and Equity.
Hir wele and wo / in your grace lyth al.
Conquere hir lone / & haue hem in cheertee!
Be holy chirches Champion eek' ay ;
Sustene hir right / souffre no thyng doon be In preiudice of hir, by no way !

Drive out heresy!
Strengthe your modir / in chacyng' away
Therrour / which sones of iniquitee
Han sowe ageyn the feith / it is no nay,
Yee ther-to bownde been of duetee ;
Your office is it / now, for your seurtee,
Souffreth nat Crystes feith to take a fal !
Vu-to his peple / and youre, cheerly see,
In conseruyng' of your estat real !

Syn god hath sent yow wit substancial,
And kynges might / vertu, putte in assay !
And, lige lord / thogli my conceit be smal,
And nat my wordes peynte fressh and gay,
But clappe and iangle forth, as dooth a iay,
Good wil to yow shal ther noon faille in me,

I'll pray to God for you.
Byseechyng' vu-to god, jat, to his pay,
Yee may gouerne your hy dignitee.
[V. AND VI.]

Cestes balades ensuyantes

To yow, welle of honor and worthynesse,

Our right cristen kying / heir & Successour
Vn-to Instinians demont tendrenesse
In the feith of Ihesu, our Redemptour;
And to yow, lordes of the garter / flour
Of Chindrie / as men yow clepe & calle;
The lord of vertu, and of grace Auctour,
Granute / the fruyt of your loos nat appalle!

O Lige lord, pat han eek the liknesse
Of Constantyn, then saumple and the mirour
To Princes alle, in loue & buxumnessse
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!

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

1 There are two Balades, of 4 stanzas each, under this heading.
But ay we truste in yow our protectour;
On your constance we awayten alle.

O King, forbid
Commandith that no wight haue hardynesse,
(Our worthy kyng and eristyn Emperor!)
Of the faith to despute more or lesse
Openly among peple / where error
Sprynghith al day / & engendrith rumour.
Makith swich lawe / & for agit maybefalle,
Observe it wel / ther-to been yee dettour.
Dooth so / and god / in glorie shal yow stalle.

Lords of the Garter, slay Crist's foes!
Ye lوردes eek shynyrge in noble fame,
To whiche approped is the maintenance
Of Crystes cause: In honour of his name
Shone on / & putte his foos to the oultreance!
God wolde so / so wolde eek your ligeance:
To the two prikkith yow your dutee:
Who-so nat keepith this double obseruance,
Of meryt & honour / nakid is he.

Your style seith / that yee been foos to shame.
Now kythe of your feith / the persuerance
In which an heep of vs arn halt & lame.
Our Cristen kyng of Engeland and France,
And yee, my lordes, with your alliance,
And othir faithful peple that ther be,
Truste I to god, shul qwenche al this nusance,
And this land sette in hy prosperitee.

Conqueste of hy prowesse is for to tame
The wylde woodnesse of this mescreance
Right to the roote / rype yee that same!
Sleepe nat this / but for goddes plesance
And his modres / & in signifiannce
That yee been of seint Georges liueree,
VII. TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

Dooth him servise and knyghtly obeissance!
For Crystes cause is his / wel knowen yee!

Stif stande in put / & yee shuln greene & 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 remembraunce,
Lord of al is the blissid Trinitee,
Of whos vertu / the mighty habundaunce
Yow herte & strengthe in faithful vnitee! Amen!

Cest tout.

[VIIT.]

Ad bealam Virginem.
[In five-measure eights, abab, bcbc.]

[1]

Modir of lyf / o cause of al our welthe,
Fyndere 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 per dici on and ruyne;
That matrymoyne / thy virginitee
Dissolued / & vnbownden hath, virgyne,
And at our large / maad vs walke free!

[2]

O blessid be thow! vessel of clennessse,
In whom our soules salue list habyte!
O tree of lyf / swettest of al swetnesse,
In thy fruyt yewe vs grace to delyte!
And thogh thy sone, cause haue vs to smyte
VII. TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

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

My soule is stuffid so with stykn of synne,
pat ay it dreedit beforthee appeere,
Lest for the filthe / which pat it is yyne,
Thow torne away thy merciable cheere,
And deyne nat accepte my preyeere.
And if my trespas heere / I nat confess,
How shal I doon / o Cristes modir deere
Whan god shal inge vs alle, more & lesse?

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

Alias thy shame, o thow filthy offense
In the presence of shynyngge holynesse!
O shenshipe of vnclene conscience
In the beholdyngge of pured clennesse!
O caitiif soule involued in dirknesse!
What wilt thow do / where is thy remedie?
Who may thy mescheef and thy greef redresse,
Syn of thy gilk / thow darst nat mercy crie?

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 abydyth stille,
My thristy soule / drynke may hir fille
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 dar^1 hir dresse.

[7]
My synnes yernen pat thyn hy pitee
Fully hem kneew / for hir curacioun;
But they lothen appeere befrom thee
For hir cursid abominacion.
O spryng and welle of our sauuacioyn,
My dirke soule of thy grace eulumyne,
And keepe it fro the castigacion
That it disserued hath in helle pyne!

[8]
If I confesse myn iniquitee,
Lady / pat I wroght haue in thy presence,
Wilt thow me werne thy benigitee?
If pat my gilt / & my damnable offense
Of giltys alle haue an excellence,
Shal thy mercy be lesse / than it oghte?
May nat thy mercy, with my gilt dispense,
And pardon gete of pat pat it mis wroghte?

[9]
The more pat my gilt passith mesure,
And styknith 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 pat waytith it to slee / thow keepe!
His sotil snares, and cacchynge twyn,
In my memorie ficchid been ful deepe.

[10]
Lady / thyn help / nat wole I me despeire,
For in myn herte fully I conceyue
pat thow to heuene / art the laldre & sterre
By which men clymben, blisse to receyue.

1 Why not 'dar shee nat'?
Despeir heer-aftir shal me nat deceyue, 
\[9\] Thow, Crystes modir / sholdest neuere han be,  
\[11\] Ne had our synnes causid it certayn;  
\[12\] For why / it had be no necessitee  
\[13\] But for how qwikne shuldest vs agayn,  
\[14\] But for our gilt original wern slayn.

Disdain not to save me!
And the before hem / mercy for to grede:
Thy sone his body sheweth al bybled;
And to thy sone also, thy maydenhede
Sheweth the pappes / wher-with he was fed.

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

[15]

O blessid Ihesu! for thy modres lour;
And modir! for the hy dileccion
put thow hast to thy sone in heuene abone,
Haueth me, bothe, in your proteccion!
Plante in myn herte swich correccion,
put I, your grace / & your mercy may haue,
And fully stande in youre affeccion,
Or my body be clothid in his graue!

Cest tout.

---

[VIII.]

Ceste balade ensuyante fecst faitc toss
apres que les osses du Roy Richard
feurent apportc a Westmonster.
[A.D. 1413. In five-measure eights, abab, bcbe.]

Where-as put this land wont was for to be
Of sad byleeue & constant vnion;
And as put holy chircbe vs taghte / we
With herte buxum lernoed our lessou;
Now han we changid our condicioń!
Allas! an heep of vs, the feith werreye;
We waden so deepe in presumpcion,
put vs nat deyneth vn-to god obeye.

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

[leaf 31, back]
We have drunk the Devil's poison of Heresy!

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

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

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

What mighten folk of good byleene seye,
If bent were our kynges affecion
To the wrong part / who sholde hem help purueye?
A kyng set in pat wrong opinion,
Mighte of our feith be the subuersion;
But eterne god, in persones three,
Hath reyned dropes of compassion,
And sent vs our good kyng for our cheertee!

See eek how our Kynges benignete
And louyng herte / his vertu can bywreye.
Our kyng 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
Solemptically in Tombe leid adoun.

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

Regne on vs yeeres many a milion!
And where as pat men erren & foruye,
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!

[IX.]

[Balade to my gracious Lord of York.]
[Father of Edward IV. about 1448 A.D.]
[In 5-measure nines, aab, aab, bab.]

Go, little pamfilet, 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 hertes humblesse,
As he pat haue his grace & his fauour
Fownden alway / for which I am dettour
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 servuant / & shal ay,
To haue of my balades swich plentee
As ther weren remeynynge vn-to me ;
And for nat wole I 1 / to his wil seyn nay,
But fulfille it / as ferfoorth as I may,
Be thow an owter 2 of my nycetee,
For my good lordes lust, and game, & play.

1 Again, why not 'I wole nat'?
2 outputter, vent.
HOCCLEYE, M.P.—I.
My lord, byseeke eek in humble maneere,
That he nat souffre thee for to appeere
In thonorable sighte, or the presence,
Of the noble Princesse & lady deere,
My gracious lady / my good lordes feere,
The mirour of wommanly excellence.
Thy cheer is naglit / ne haast noon eloquence
To moustre thee before hir yen cleere :
For myn honour / were holsum thyn absence.

Yit ful fayn wolde I have a messageer
To recommande me, with herte exercise,
To hir benigne & humble wommanheide ;
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 hane of thee / poweer.
Axe him a licence / vp on him erie & grede !

When pat thow hast thus doon / than afterward
Byseeche thow pat worthy Prince Edward,
pat he thee leye apart / for what may tyde,
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.

If pat I in my wrytyng foleye,
As I do ofte, (I can it nat withseye,)
Meetryng amis / or speke vnfittyngly,
Or nat by iust peys / my sentences weye,
And nat to the ordre of endytyng 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 correccioun 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 siglite blyue hasthith me fro,
And lakkith pat pat sholde his confort be,
No wonder thoghi thow hane no beautee.
Out vp-on pryde / causen' of my wo!
My siglite is hurt thurgh hir aduersitee.

Now ende I thus / the holy Trinitee,
And our lady / the blissid mayden free,
My lord & lady hane in gouernance!
And graunte hem ioie & hy 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 lyues ioie it were, and sustenance!

Cest tout.

Fol. 25, Johannes Talbot, Dominus de Furnival, was first summoned to Parli. 11 H. 4, and to many subsequent Parli's in that reign and the next . . . . T. Tyrwhitt. [Note in MS.]

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

[X.]

Ad beatam Virginem.

(Generally said CHAUCER’s “Mother of God.”)

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

[1]

Mother of God,

To the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God.

O blisfiil queene / of queenes Emperice!

Preye for me / that am in synne mowled,

To god thy sone / punyssher’ of vice,

bat of his mercy / thogh bat I be nyce,

And negligent in keepyng 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 superlatyf;

Sauer’ of vs by thy beneuolence,

Humble lady / mayde / modir and wyf!

Causer of pees / feynter’ of wo & stryf!

My prayer’ vn-to thy sone presente,

Syn for my gilt I fully me repente.

[3]

[leaf 34, back]

Beigne confort of vs wreche alle!

Be at myn endyng’ / whan bat I shal deye!

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

Ful of sweetnesse / helpe me to weye

Ageyn the feend / bat with his handes tweye,

And his might, plukke wole / at the balance

To weye vs doun / keepe vs from his nusance!

[4]

And, for thou art ensaumple of chastitee,

And of virgynes / worshop and honour,

Among aH wommen blessid thou be!

Pray Christ to

Now speke and preye to our Sauueour,
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 cleer light of day!
Temple of our lord / and roote of al goodnesse!
Pat by prayere wypest cleene away
The filthes of our synful wikkidnesse,
Thyn hand foorth putte / & helpe 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 menlumyne.
Preye for vs, as ay hath be thy wone!
Lady / alle swiche emprises been thyn.
Swich an aduocatrice, who can dyuyne,
As thow / right noon / our greuues 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 remembraunce,
Lest our fo, the feend, thurgh his sotiltee,
Pat in awayt lyth for to eacche 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
Flessh and eek' blood / for this entenicioun,
Vp on a crois to die for our sake:
His precious deeth made the feendes qwake,
And cristen folk' for to reioisen euere.
From his mercy / helpe / vs we nat disseuere!

qwench 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!
Tendrely remembre on the wo & peyne
\( \text{pat} \) thow souffridist in his passioun,
Whan watir & blood, out of thyn yen tweyne,
For sorwe of him, ran by this cheekes down!
And syn thow knowest \( \text{pat} \) the enchesoun
Of his deeth was / for to saue al man kynde,
Modir of mercy, \( \text{pat} \) haue in thy mynde!

Wel ogften we thee worshippe & honoure,
Paleys of Cryst / flour of virginitee!
Syn vp on thee / was leid the charge & cure,
The lord to bere, of heuene & eerthe & see,
And alle thynges \( \text{pat} \) ther yrne be.
Of heuenes kyng, 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 sauyng / be they blessid ay!
The birthe of Cryst / our thraldom putte vs fro,
Joie & honour / be now & eueremo
To him and thee / \( \text{pat} \) vn-to libertee,
Fro thraldam, han vs qwit / blessid be yee!

By thee, lady, y-makid is the pees
Betwixt Angels and men / it is no doute.
Blessid be god, \( \text{pat} \) swich a modir chees!
Thogh \( \text{pat} \) oure hertes steerne been, & stoute,
Thow to thy sone caust be swich a mene,
That all our giltes he foryeueth clene.

Paradys yates opned been by thee,
And broken been the yates eek of helle!
By thee / the world restored is pardoe!
Of al vertu / thow art the spryng & welle!
By thee, al bountee / shortly for to telle,
In heuene & certhe, by thyn ordenance
Parforned is / our soules sustenance!

[14]
Now, syn thow art of swich auctoritee,
Lady pitous, virgyn wemmelces,
\[put our lord god nat list to wene thee
Of thy requeste / I wot wel / doutelees
Than spare nat / foorth thee to putte in prees
To preye for vs, Crystes modir deere!
Benyngele wole he, thyn axynge heere.

[15]
Apostle, and freend famillier of Cryst,
And his y-chosen virgyn / seint Ion /
Shynyngge apostle / & euangelyst,
And best beloved among hem echon!
With our lady, preye I thee to been oon,
\[put 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, shynyng in the presence
Of our lord god / now do your bysye peyne
To wasche away our cloudeful offensne,
So put we mowen make resistence
Ageyn the feend / & make him to bewaille
\[put your preyere may so moche auaille.

[17]
Yee been the two, I knowe verraily,
In which the fadir god gan edifie
(By his sone oonlygeten specially)
To him an hows / wherfore I to yow crye,
'Beeth leches of our synful maladie!
Preyeth to god / lord of misericorde,
Oure olde giltes / put he nat recorde!'
TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, REGENT OF FRANCE.

[18]

'Be yee oun help and our proteccion, Syn, for meryt of your virginitee, 
The priuilege of his dileccioun In yow confermed god, vp on a tree 
Hangynge / and vn-to oon of yow seide he Right in this wyse / as I reheere can, 
"Beholde! heere, lo / thy sone, womman!"'

[19]

'And to oun othir / "heer thy modir, lo!"
Than preye I thee / oun for the greet swetesne 
Of the hy loue / oun god, twixt yow two, 
With his mowth made / and of his noblesse 
Conioyned hath yow / thurgh his blisfulnesse, 
As modir and sone, helpe vs in our neede! 
And, for our giltse, make oun hertes bleede! 

[20]

Vn-to yow tweyne / I my soule commende, 
Marie and Iofin, for my sauacijoun! 
Helpith me oun I may my lyf amende! 
Helpith now / oun the habitacioun 
Of the holy goost, our recreacion, 
Be in myn herte now and eueremore! 
And of my soule / wasshe away the sore! Amen!

[1]

Vn-to the rial egles excellence, 
I, humble Clerc, with al hertes humblesse,
XI. TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, REGENT OF FRANCE. 57

This book 1 presente / & of your reverence
byseenche I pardon and foryeuenesse,
that, of myn ignorance & lewdenesse,
Nat haue I write it in so goodly wyse
As that me ought vn-to your worthynesse.
Myn yen / hath custumed bysynesse
So daswed / that I may no bet soufflyse.

[2]
I dreede lest that my master Massy,
that is of fructuous intelligence,
Whan he beholdith how vnconnyngly
My book is metrid / how raw my sentence
How feeble eek been my colours: his prudence
Shal sore encombrid been of my folie;
But yit truste I / that his beneuolence
Compleyne wole myn insipience
Secretly / & what is mis / rectifie.

[3]
Thow book 2 / by licence of my lordes grace,
To thee speke I / and this I to thee seye:
I charge thee / to shewe thow thy face
Befor my seid Maistir / & to him preye
On my behalue / that he peise and weye
What myn entente is, that I speke in thee,
For rhetorik 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 1:60. That has only, at end, the poem on p. 61, below.
My Lord, do

give me a Patent to get my arrears paid!

You've always been a good lord to me.

[FaR dir in god, benigne and reuerent,
My lord the Chancellor / with al humblesse
I, your servant at your commandement,
Byseche vn-to your excellent noblesse,
but my patente bere may witnesse
That myne arrerages been granted me:
Right as your staf / your warrant wole expresse /
Byseeche I, y, yow so my patente be.

I truste in yow / for euere or this han yee
Be my good lord / and now to stynte / I gesse,
Applied is nat your benignitee,
Specially / syn my poore 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.

O my lord gracious, wys, and prudent!
To me, your Clerc / beeth of your grace free!
Let see now cauche a lust and a talent
Me to haue in your fauour & cheertee.
Ther-on wayte I / I wayte on your bountee,
That to so manye han shewid gentillesse.
Let me not stepchylde been / for I am he
That hope haue in yow, confort & gladnesse.

Cest tout.

1 MS. me be.
[XIII.]

Cestes Balade & chanson ensuyant es feurent faites a mon Meistre H. Somer, quant il estoit Souzetresor. ¹

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

The sunshine, with his benes of brightnesse,  
To man so kyndly is, & norisshyng,  bat lakkyng it / day nere but dirknesse :  
To day he yeueth his enlumynynge,  And causith al fruyt for to wecxe & sprynge :  
Now, syn bat sonne² may so moche auaiH,  And moost with Somer is his soiournynge,  That sesoun bounteuous we wole assaïH.

[1]

The sun that nourishes man

The sun that nourishes man

Glad cheerid Somer / to your gouernaille  
And grace / we submitte al our willynge !  
To whom yee frendly been / he may nat faille  
But he shal haue his resonable axynge :  
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 henynesse.

[2]

Glad cheerid Somer / to your gouernaille  
And grace / we submitte al our willynge !  
To whom yee frendly been / he may nat faille  
But he shal haue his resonable axynge :  
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 henynesse.

[3]

We truste vp-on your frendly gentillesse,  
Ye wole vs helpe / and been our suppo[rt]aille.  
Now yewe vs cause ageyn this cristemesse  
For to be glad / o' lord / whethir our taille  
Shal soone make vs with our shippes saille  
To port salut / if yow list / we may syngle;

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 faunour vs sende releeunyng.

We 4, Hoecluve, Bailly, Hothe and Offorde, pray you
to get our Salaries paid;

and then we'll sing you this

We, your serverantes, Hoecluue & Bailleu,
Hethe & Offorde, yow beseeche & preye,
'Haasteth our hertuest / as soone as yee may!'
For fere of stormes / our wit is aweye;
Were our seed Inmed / wel we mighten pleye,' And vs desporte / & synge / & make game,
And yit this roundel shul we synge & seye
In trust of yow / & honour of your name.

Rowndel:

[Rowndel, or Chancecon to Somer.]

Somer, put rypest mannes sustenance
With holsum hete of the Sonnes warmnesse,
Al kynde of man thee holden is to blesse!

Ay thankid be thy frendly gouernance,
And thy glad look, And thy fressli look* of mirthe & of gladnesse!

which cheers all sad folk.

To heuy folk* / of thee the remembranc
Is salue & oynement to hir seeknesse.
For why / we thus shul synge in Cristemesse.

[1: Burden.]

Summer! all men ar bound to bless thee,

[leaf 33, back]

With holsum hete of the Sonnes warmnesse,
Al kynde of man thee holden is to blesse!

Ay thankid be thy frendly gouernance,
And thy glad look, And thy fressli look* of mirthe & of gladnesse!

Somer &c

To heuy folk* / of thee the remembranc
Is salue & oynement to hir seeknesse.
For why / we thus shul synge in Cristemesse.

Somer &c

(12—14.)
[XIV.]

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

[XIV.]

[See note 1, abov, p. 57; and p. 195-6, of T. Wright’s edition
In 5-measure eights, abab, bebc.]

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 kirtiil bare also?
I am right seur, his humble pacience
Thee yeueth hardynesse to do so.

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 eucremo,
To his hynesse of swich beneuolence!
Thogh thow nat do him due reverence
In wordes / thy cheertee nat is the lesse.
And if lust be, to his magnificence,
Do by thy reed / his welthe it shal witnesse!

Byseeche him, of his gracious noblesse,
Thee holde excusid of thyn innocence
Of endytynge / and with hertes humblesse,
If any thyng thee passe of negligence,
Byseeche him of mercy and indulgence,
And pat, for thy good wil / he be nat fo
To thee / pat al seist of loutes feruence!
Pat knowith god / whom no thyng is hid fro.

Cest tout.

[XV.]

I count au Roy, que dieu pardoint!

O King, give us three some money!

Or else we must trot into Newgate.

We don’t ask for much.

And we’ve worked long and hard for it!

Don’t stop your bounty to your old servants,

and let us turn paupers!

Victorious Kyng, our lord ful gracious,

We, humble lige men to your hynesse,

Meekly byseechen yow (o kyng pitous!)

Tendre pitee have on our sharp distresse;

For, but the flood of your rial largesse

Flowe vp on vs / gold hath vs in swich hate,

But of his loue and cheertee the scantnesse

Wole arte vs three to trotte vn-to Newgate.

Benigne lige lord! o hanene & yate

Of our confort! let your hy worthynesse

Oure indigences softne / & abate!

In yow lyth al / yee may our greef redresse!

The somme but we in our bith expresse,

Is nat excessif ne outrageous;

Our long service also berith witnesse,

We han for it be ful laborious.

O lige lord, but han be plentenuous

Vn-to your Liges / of your grace algate,

Styntith 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! of indigence vs mate,

O worthy Prince! mirour of prowessse!

Cest tout.

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

[Balade to my maister Carpenter.]
[In 5-measure sevens, ababb, &c.]

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

[2] Tho men / whos names I aboue expresse, Fayn wolden pat they and I euene were: And so wolde I / god take I to witnesse! I woot wel, I mooth heere / or elles where Rekne of my dettes / & of hem anawere. Myn herte, for the dreede of god & awe, Fayn wolde it qwyte / & for constreynt of lawe.

[3] But, by my trouthe / nat wolde it betyde! And therfore, as faire as I can & may, With aspen herte / I preye hem abyde, And me respyte / to sum longer 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 pat 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 moneyful folk. Carpenter was no doubt the famous town- clerk of London (1417-38), its M.P. and benefactor &c., born 1370, died 1411.
Pray keep me out of gaol!

As that I mighte kept be fro duressse!
Myn heuy thoghites wolde it voide elene.
As your good plesance is / this thyng demene!
How wel that yee doon / & how soone also,
I suffre may in qwenchynge of my wo.
Cest tout.

[XVII.]

Ceste balade ensuyante feast, par la Court
de bone compaigne, envoiose a lonure
sir Henry Sommer, Chaunceller de
leshequer, & vn de la diche
Court.

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

[1]
Worshipful sir, and our freend special,
And felawe, in this cas / we calle yow.

Sir Henry, your letter wants us
to start a fresh custom.

[2]
You tell us that our Club in the Temple
was founded to spend a lot of money.

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.
XVII. THE COURT OF GOOD COMPANY, TO H. SOMER.

[3]

Yee allege eek / how a rule hath be kept
Or this / which was good / as yee haue herd seyn;
But it now late / cessid hath, & slept;
Which good yow thynkith / were vp take ageyn:
And but if it so be / our Court certeyn,
Nat likly any whyle is to endure;
As hath in mowthe, many a creature.

[4]

Yee wolden, pat in conservacioun
Of our honour / & eek for our profyt,
pat thenente of our old fundacioun
Observed mighte been / & to pat plyt
Be broght as it was first / & passe al qwyt
Out of the daunger of outrageous waast,
Lest with scorne & repreef, feede vs swich taast.

[5]

VN-to pat ende, 6 shippes grete,1
To yeve vs han yee grauntid & behight,
To bye ageyn our dyner, flour or whete;
And besyde it / as reson wole, & right,
Paie your lagh / as dooth an othir wight,
pat by mesure rulith him, and gyeth,
And nat as he / whom outrage maistrieth.

[6]

In your lettre / contented is also,
pat if vs list to chaunge in no maneere
Our newe gyse, ne twynne ther-fro:
The firste day of May, yee wole appeere,
(pat day yee sette be with vs in feere,)

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 Rudling, p. 219.

HOCCLEVE, M.P.—I.
We answer:
You're not bound to be extravagant.

If you've plenty of money do as you think proper!

Put down excess, if you like!

Dinner we expect!

Be a pattern to us, and let us drink only what you please,

But do give us the dinner we expect!

And to keepe it / yee wole be reedy:
This is the effect of your lettre soothly:

To the whiche, in this wyse we answer:

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.

Yee been discreet / thogh yee in good habownde
Dooth as yow thinkith for your honestee!
Yee, and we aH, arn at our libertee.

At our laste dyner / wel knowen yee
By our Stywardes limitacioun,
(As custume of our Court axith to be,)
And ay at our congregacion
Obserued / left al excusacion,

Warned yee wern / for the dyner arraye
Ageyn thorsday next, & nat it delaye.

Be yow nat holde anysid 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 mesurith every thyng:
Despende aftir your plesance & lykyng!

Be yow list be drawe in consequence;
We trusten in your wys experience;

But keepith wel your tourn / how so befalle,

On thorsday next / on which we awayte alle.

Cest tout.

1 Have as much wine drawn as you think fit.
XVIII. AN ENGLISH BALADE TO THE VIRGIN AND CHRIST.

[XVIII.]

Ceste balade ensuyante feust translate
au commandement de mon Meistre
Robert Chichele.
[In 5-measure eights, abab, bebe.]

[1]

As pat I walkid in the monythe of May
Besyde a grove in an heuy musyng,
Floures dyuerse I sy, right fressh and gay,
And briddles herde I eek! lustyly syng
pat to myn herte yaf a confortyng.
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]

Thynkyng thus / byfore me I say
A crois depeynted with a fair ymage.
I thoghte I nas but asshes 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 thynke / it yeueth a deleyt,
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 speche and my sawe,
I migthe him and his modir do plesance,
And, to my meryt, folwe goddes lawe,  
And of mercy, housbonde a puruence!  

[4]  

Mother of Jesus!  
1 Modir of Ihesu, (verray god and man,  
ɔat by his deeth / victorie of the feend gat,)  
Haue it in mynde / thow blessid womman,  
For the wo / which vn-to thyn herte sat  
In thy sones torment / forgeete it nat!  

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 displesid make!  

[5]  

Jesus, with  
Mercyful lord Ihesu / me heere, I preye,  
ɔat right vnkynde / & fals am vn-to thee!  
I am right swich; I may it nat withseye.  
With salte teeres crave I thy pitee,  
And herte contryt / mercy haue on me  
ɔat am thy recreant caytif traitour!  
By my dissertes, oghte I damned be;  
But ay thy mercy hecith me socour.  

[6]  

Lady, I trust by thy prayers to be saved.  
Lady benigne / our souereyn refuyt!  
Seur trust haue I, to han, by thy prayeere,  
Of strength / & confort, so vertuous fruyt,  
That I shal sauf be, Crystes modir deere!  
My soules ship, gouerne thow, & steere!  
Let me nat slippe out of thy remembrance,  
Lest, whan ɔat I am rype vn-to my beere,  
The feend me assaille, & haue at the outrance.  

[7]  

Lord, I thank thee  
To thanke thee, lord / hyly holde I am,  
For my gilt / nat for thyn / ɔat woldest die,  
Who souffred eure swich a martirdam.  
Yit thy deeth gat of the feend the maistrie,  

1 This begins the alternate stanzas to the Virgin and Christ.  
2 To betake myself to Virtue.
And fpat, 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 dampnable.  

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 / thy help to purchase!

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,
Foryeue / & of my trespas wole I blynne.

Lady / wardeyn of peple fro rayne,
pat sauested Theoffe and many mo!
Of thy grace, myn herte enlumyne!
For, as I trowe, & woot it wel also,
Thy might is me to warisshe of my wo.
Of thy benigne son, mercy craue,
Of pat forueyed haue I, & mis go.
His wil is thyn / my soule keepe & saue!

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
My tyme haue I despendid in certeyn.
Some of the dropes of thy precious blood
pat the crois made as weet as is the reyn,
Despende on me, lord merciable & good!

Mother of Mercy, Sapphire!

Lady! pat clept art 'modir of mercy,'
Noble saphir / to me 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 pat I slippe & falle!
For my seurtee to keepe me fro blame,
Of pitee, mirour, I vn-to thee calle!

Lady, let not

Christ, I shall be damd unless

thou helpat me!

Me helpe make the feend resistence!

the Fiend oppress me at death!

Lat nat the feend, at my deeth me oppresse!
Torne the crois to me, noble Princesse,
Which vn-to everys soor is the triacle!
Thogh my dissert be naght / of thy godnesse,
Ageyn the feendes wrenches, make obstacle!

Lord, I watch to gain thy mercy!

Lord, on thy grace & pitee / myn herte ay
Awaitith / to purchase thy mercy.

Alas! I caytif / wel I mourne may,
Syn the feend serued often sythe haue y.
It reewith me / do with me graciously, 120
For I purpose to stynte of my synnes. 121
What ageyn thee / mis take hath my body,
My soule keepe fro the feendes gynnes!

Blessid virgyne, ensample of al vertu, 122
bat peere hast non / of wommanhode flour!
For the loue of thy sone, our Lord Ihesu,
Strength the vs to doon him seruice & honour!
Lady! be mene vn-to our Sauneour,
bat our soules bat the feend waytith ay
To hente / & wolde of hem be possessour,
Ne sese hem nat in the vengeable day!

The flesshe / the world / & eek the feend my fo,
My wittes alle han at hir retenance:
They to my soule doon annooy & wo.
For why, Lord, dreede I me of thy vengeance. 132
With mercy, my soule in-to blisse enhance!
Worthy marchant! saue thy marchandie,
Which bat thow boghitest with dethes penance!
Lat nat the feend haue of vs the maistrie!

Excellent lady! in thy thought impresse 137
How & why thy chyld soufrid his tormente!
Preye him to haue on vs swich tendrenesse,
bat in the feendes net we be nat hent!
At the day of his steerne ingement,
Lat nat him leese bat he by deeth boghte!
I woot wel / ther-to hath he no talent:
Mynge him ther-on / for thee so to doon / oglite!

Whan in a man, synne growth & rypith, 145
The fruyt of it is ful of bittynnesse;
But penitence cleene away it wypith,
And to the soule yeueth greet swetnesse.
O Christ the Judge, 
mix Mercy with thy Judgment!

O steerne Iuge / with thy rightwisnesse,
Medle thy mercy / and shewe vs fauour!
Vn-to our soules, maad to thy liknesse,
Graunte pardoun of our stynkyng error!

[20]

O Queen,

O glorious qweene / to the repentaunt
but art refuyt / socour and medecyne!
Lat nat the foule feend make his anaunt,
but he hath thee byreft any of thyne!

pray for us, and

Thurgh thy prayere, thow thy sone enclyne
His merciable grace / on vs to reyne!
Be tendre of vs / o thow blissid virgyne!
For if thee list / we shuln to blisse atteyne.

Cest tout.

[End of the Phillipps MS.]

[XIX.]

[Fairfax MS. 16 (Bodl. Lib. about 1430-40), leaf 40.]

1 Litera Cupidinis, dei Amatoris, 2 directa subditis suis amatoribus. 1

[A.D. 1402]. [Hocelyffe (in Stoute's hand).]

[In 68 five-measure sevens, ababb, cc.]

1, Cupid, whom gods, devils, and men obey,

I Cupido 3 / vn-to whos 4 comauendment
the gentil kynredé / of goddis 5 an hy, 5
And pepill infernal / ben obedient,
And mortel folke al / serven besely,
6The goddesse sone / Sythera soothly, 6
to al[le] thoo / that to our deyte

* The letter of Cupide, god of Love, B (Bodley MS. 638, leaf 38 bk.) 
2 Amoris T. (Tanner MS. 346, ff. 41). 3 Cypide B. 4 quhois S. (But few of the after variations of spelling are given.) 5—5 onely S. (MS. Arch. Seld. B. 21, ff. 211 bk.) 6—6 of the . . . oonly F, The goddesse Cithera soñ sothly S. 7 subditis S.
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

[2] In general, we 1 wol[len] / that ye knowe,1 that ladies of honour / and reverence, and other gentil wymen / 2 haven) sowe2 suche seed of3 compleynt / in our audience, of men 4 that do hem 4 / outrage and offence, that yt oure eeres grieveth / for5 to here; so pitouse is the effecte / of this6 materie.

[3] Passyng al londes / or the litel7 Ile that cleped ys albyon8 / they most compleyn9: they see ye, that there9 ys / crope and rote of gile: soo konne tho men / dyssymule[n]10 and fayne11 with stondyng dropes / on her eyen tweyne,12 When that her hertes / felith no distresse, to bylden wmen / wyth her doublenesse.

[4] Her wordes spoken ben / so syghyngly,13 wyth so pitouse 14 chere / and contynaunce,14 that euer wyghts / that meneth tru[e]ly, Demeth15 that they in hert / hane suche15 grevaunce. they sey, so importable / ys her pennaunce, that but her lady / lust to schew hem grace. they ryghte anoone / [mote]16 sterven in the place.

[5] "A, lady myn," they sey / "I yowe ensure, 17 as 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 echi degre as possible ys / and kepe al thing19 secrе.

1-1 will that know 3e S. 2-2 haue we S. 3-3 Herd the trew S. 4-4 that dome thamme S: F reads wymen, as this MS. 5 so S. 6 thare S. 7-7 And passid all ye boundis of ye S. 8 britannē S. 9-9 Thai seyn tharc In S. 10-10 So can thir men dissymile S. 11 seyn B. 12-13 In thare eyne tweyne S; in, Speght 1602. 13-13 Thir wordes ben spoken generaly S. 14-14 a chere and countenance S. 15-15 In hert that thay haue high S. 16 S inserts most; Speght 'must.' 17-17 3e do S. 18 lesten S. 19 thing A (Ashburnham MS) S, thing as F. S omits as.
ryght as youre seluen\(^1\) lyst\(^{[e]}\) / that I do;
and elles myn\(^2\) herte\(^3\) / mote brest a-two."

[0]

But it's hard to know a man's heart.

Women are deceived by false appearance.

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\(^{[b]}\) / the \(^{12}\) pot hath be\(^{18}\) the stele, 50
and fully is / in his possessyon\(^{[o]}\),
with that woman / kepeth he not\(^{19}\) to dele
20 after, yf he may / fynde\(^{[n]}\)\(^{20}\) in the tovne
any woman / his blynde affeccion\(^{[w]}\)
On\(^{21}\) to bestowe\(^{[u]}\) / euelp\(^{22}\) mote he preve!
a man, for al his \(^{25}\) othes / is herde to leve!\(^{23}\)

[7]

Women

And for that every fals man / hath a make,
(as vn-to every wight / is lyght\(^{[t]}\) to knowe,)

\(^{[i]}\) selfe Sp., self\(^{[f]}\) F, seluen S.  
\(^{[j]}\) that myn S.  
\(^{[k]}\) herte Sp., hert F.  
\(^{[l]}\) Is It S.  
\(^{[m]}\) noh S.  
\(^{[n]}\) Quha\(^{[n]}\) word may noh out of his mouth stert S.  
\(^{[o]}\) it be reson\(^{[n]}\) any wight shuld S.  
\(^{[p]}\) So It is S. B.  
\(^{[q]}\) A S.  
\(^{[r]}\) of Sp., om. F.  
\(^{[s]}\) Stanzas 7-16. These verses are omitted in the Digby MS. 181.  
\(^{[t]}\) 12-15 women movit of S, of T also.  
\(^{[u]}\) of S, \(^{[v]}\) That they schuld not for thare lone S.  
\(^{[w]}\) he F, they S, ye F.  
\(^{[x]}\) This othir qulilis S, And thus o. w. F.  
\(^{[y]}\) the pot hath by A S, pemne F.  
\(^{[z]}\) not S, no more F.  
\(^{[a]}\) After yat . . . funden S.  
\(^{[b]}\) On A, vn F.  
\(^{[c]}\) foule S.  
\(^{[d]}\) oth . . . leue A S, beleue F.
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when this traytoure / this woman hath for-sake,
he 3 fast[e] spedeth him 1 / vn-to his felowe :
til he be there / his hert ys on a lowe;
hys fals deceyt 2 may him not 2 suffice,
but of hys treson / telleth al 3 the wise. 4

[10]
Ys this a faire avaunte / is this honoure?
a man him silfe 5 accuse / thus, and diffame? 5
[Now] ys it good / confesse him 6 / a traytoure,
and bringe a woman / to [a] 7 schaundrous name,
and tel 8 how he hir body / hathe do shame?
No worshippe 9 may he thus to / to him 9 conquer,
but grete esclaundre 10 / vn-to him and here!

[11][Vn] To hir 12 name yet / was 12 yt no reprefe,
for, al for vertu / was [it] 13 that she wroght;
but he that brewed hath 14 / al this myschefe,
that spake so faire / and falsly 15 inward thingt;
his be the schaundre / as yt be resoun oght;
and vn-to hir / [a] thank 17 perpetuel,
that in a nede 18 / 19 helpe can 19 so wel!

[12]
Al-thoghgi of men, thorgfi sleught / and sotilte,
a sely symple / and Innocent 21 woman
betrayd ys / no wondre, sith the eyte
of Troye / (as [pat] the storye tellec 23 can)
be-trayed was / thorgi the 24 discyte of man,

1—1 spedeth him fast S (spedeth = spedeth). 2—2 ne / may nat him S. 3 at S. 4 gwyce T. 5 accord S & defame S. 6—6 Now Is It good confesse him S, ys it g. e. h. selfe F. 7 In a S, B om. 8 say S. 9—9 thus he may him self S. 10—10 But gett a schander S, dischaundre Sp, T. 11 St. 11-16 are st. 1 to 6 in the Digby MS. 12—12 name 3hit is D, nay yet was F, nay B T, na S. 13 om. T. 14 om. S. 15 so falsly D. 16 wrot S. 17 a thank S. 18 nede D, rede F, in soch a need Sp. 19—19 can helpen men S. 20—29 Althoyn that me[n] by slicht & subtiltye S, of men D, men F, through mens Sp. 21 Ignorant A S. 22—22 be-trayed no wonder Is, se[n] ye S. 23 tel F D, tell Sp., tellen S. 24 om. D.
and set ow1 fire / and [al] dovne2 ouer-thowe, and fynaly destroyed / as men knowe. 84

[13]
Betraied men not3 / Citees4 grete, and kynge5? what wyght is yt5 / that kan shape remedye6 ayens these falsely / purpos’d7 things? who can the craffe / suche craftes8 to espye,9 but 10man, whos wytte / is euer redy10 to aplye to11 thyng that 12sovneth / in-to [hy]12 falshe? Women, beth ware / of 13menyns sleight,13 I rede! 91

[14]
And furthermore / han these14 men in vsage, that,15 where [as]16 they / not lykly ben17 to16 spede, suche as [they]18 ben / with a double visage they procure19 / for to pursw her ned; he prayeth him, in his cause / to procede, and largely 20guerdoneth / he his20 trauaylle: lytell wrote21 women / how men hem22 assayle! 98

[15]
Another wretch’ll tell a man in love, that
his girl is hired daily by others,
and when his back’s turned

Another wretch’ll vnto his felowe seythe:
‘thow fishest fayre / she that the hath fired, ys fals and23 inconstant / and hath no feythe! she, 24for the rode of folke / ys so desired,24 and25 as an hors / fro day to day ys hired, that when thow twynnest / fro hir companye, another cometh / and blered ys thyn ye! 105

[16]
‘Now prikke ow fast / and ride thy journey while thou art there / for she, behinde thy bake,

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so lyeral ys / she wol no wyght\(^1\) with-sey, 110
but smertly of another / take a snake; 2
for thus thes wommen / faren, al the pake; 112
who so hem trusteth / hanged mot he be!
ay\(^3\) they desyre chaunge / and nouelte!

**[17]**

4 Wherof procedeth this / but of envye?
for he him selfe / hyre no wynne\(^5\) may,
he speketh hir reprefe / and vileyny[e],
as mannes blabbyng\(^6\) tong / ys wont alway:
thus dyuere men / ful 7 often make\(^7\) essay
for to \(^8\) distourben folke / in sondry\(^8\) wyse,
for they may not / achen\(^9\) her empryse.

**[18]**

fful many a man\(^10\) \(^11\) eke / wolde\(^11\) for no good,
that hath 12 in lone / his tyme\(^12\) spent and vsed,
Men wyse 13 his lady, 13 his axyng\(^14\) withstood,
and 15 that he 16 were / of hyr pleyly\(^16\) refused,
or wast and 17 veyn, wer / al that he had\(^18\) mused;
wherfore he can / no better\(^19\) remedye,
but on\(^20\) his lady / shapith him to lye.

**[19]**

'Every womman,' he seyth / 'ys lyght to gete,
(kan noon sey nay) / if she be wel I-soght\(^6\) : 21
who so may 22 han leysyer\(^22\) / with her\(^23\) to trete,

\(^1\) nothing Sp.  \(^2\) smacke Sp.  \(^3\) Euer Sp.  \(^4\) The collations markt D are from
the Digby MS. 181, in the Bodleian Library. This MS. begins the poem with
stanzas 11—16 of the Ashburn. version. It then has stanzas 7—16 the same as
17—26 here, then leaves out stanzas 7—10, then takes as its stanzas 17—26 the
Ashb. 37-9, 50-6, and after that runs with the Fairfax, its stanzas 37—58
corresponding with Fairfax 47—68. See p. 92 below.  \(^5\) weymeè S.  \(^6\) blabbyng
D Sp., babbyng St. B, labbing S T.  7—7 of will mak S.  \(^8\) distrouble folk on
sunder S; distourble T.  \(^9\) hane D, obtaine Sp.  \(^10\) Many one Sp.  \(^11\) wolde
eye D, wald ek S.  12—15 his tyne in love D.  13—13 that sithe S.  \(^14\) askyng D.
\(^15\) Ere Sp.  \(^16\) war planly of hir S.  17 or S.  \(^18\) vayn aH that he had D A,
\(\ldots\) hath F.  \(^19\) none other Sp.  \(^20\) onely T.  \(^21\) sought D.  \(^22\) leisur hane D,
leiser hane Sp., leysyer hane T.  \(^23\) thame S.
of his purpose / ne⁹ shalt he faile noght,
but he ow maddlyng⁶ / be so depe ybrought,
that he⁶ shende al / with open homelynesse,⁴
⁵that louen wynnen / nat as⁵ that, I gesse.'  

[20]
To slaundrer women / thus, what may profyte?  
too gentils⁶ namely / that⁷ hem armen sholde,⁷
and in⁸ defence of woman / hem delyte,
⁹as that⁹ the ordre / of gentilesse¹⁰ wolde :
yf that a man / lyst gentil to be holde,
he¹¹ moot flee al¹¹ that / ther-to ys contrarie :
a slaundryng¹² tong / is his grete aduersarye.¹³

[21]
A foule thing¹⁴ ys / of tonge to be lyght;  
for who so myche¹⁵ clappeth¹⁶ / gabbeth ofte.
the tonge of men¹⁷ so¹⁸ swyft⁰ ys / and so¹⁸ wyght,
that when it is areysed / vp on⁰ loft,  
reson yt seweth¹⁹ / so slowly and soft,  
that it²⁰ him neuer / ouer-take may :
lord! so thise men / beth trusty in asay!

[22]
Al-be-hyt that man²¹ fynde / or²² woman nyce,  
In-constant, recheles / or varriable,
²³Deynouse, or proude²³ / fulfilled of malice,
Wythouten²⁴ feyth or love / and deeyvable,
²⁵sly, queyth, and fals²⁵ / in al vnthrift²⁶ coupable,  
Wikked, and feers / and²⁷ ful of cruelte,
yt foloweth nat²⁸ / that swich,²⁹ al womanne be.  

When that 1 the high god 2 a-monge hem al[le] that founden was / malicious and bad 3 al men woot / that ther was many oon, that for hir pride / fil 2 from heven anoow 4: 5

Of the Angels, wasn't one bad? Yes.

Are all angels therefore proud?

Of the Apostles, one was a traitor, but the rest were true.

Every man ought to think women honourable.

It's a shame to speak ill of her.

A wikked tre, gode frute / may noon forth bryng; 167 for swiche 19 the frute ys / as that is the tre.

As the tree, so is the fruit.

Honour your Mother!

1-1 god the hie D. 2 2 let D. 3-3 Shuld me for them yene Sp. 4 that that D, that F. 5 So Sp. 6 parcas D. 7 A D. 8 suche D, a soch good is Sp. 9 om. B S T. 10 not D. 11 all S. 12 S inserts full. 13 owne Sp., oone F. 14-14 Every ought to D. 15 vuto to D. 16 sklende B, skleendir D. 17 it Sp. 18 destended F, discendit S, descended Sp. 19 suche D.
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Dispise thou hir nat / in no manere,
Lest that ther-by / thy wikkynnesse appere!

[27]

An olde proverbe / seyde ys in englyssh:
men seyn 'that brid or foule / ys dyshonest,
what that he be / and holden ful2 chirlyssh,
that vseth to defoule / his ovne neste.'

[28]

These ladyes eke7 / 8 compleynen hem on8 clerkes, 190
that 9they han made bokes / of hir diffame,
In which 10dispisen they / woman[e]s10 werkes,
and spoken of hem / grete reprefe and shame,
and causes yiven11 hem / a wikked name:
thus they dyspysed ben / on every syde,
12 and sclaundred,12 and bylowen13 / on ful wyde.

[29]

Tho sory bokes / maken mensyon, 197
how they betrayden14 / in especial,15
adam, dauid, sampson16 / and salomon,
and many oon17 mo / 16who may reheersen al16
the treson17 / that they haue done 17 and [ay] shal?17
13the world hir malice / may not comprenede :18
as that theys19 clerkes seyn / yt hath noon ende. 203

[30]

Ouyde in his boke20 / called ' remedye 204
of loue / grete reprefe of womnen writeth ;
wherin, I trowe, he diide / grete folye,

1 that he D Sp., he F. 2 for S. 3—3 Is ye S, is the D. 4—4 deprise thame nor 3it d. S, not for to dispyse DB T. 5—5 2e wald your S. 6 or Sp. 7 euer Sp. 8—8 complene thame of S, compleyn D. 9 That that D. 10—10 they dispise women and her Sp. 11 yeve D. 12—12 Disclaundred Sp. 13 blown S, belyed T. 14 betrayed D, haue betrayed S. 15 espeeyar D, especial Sp., special F, speciall S. 16—16 quho reheersen schall S. 17—17 and all S. 18—18 The world may nat yer malice c. S: wordle D, worde T. 19—19 And that ye S. 20 bokis B.
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and every wyght / that in such case delitteth.\(^1\) a clerkys custome ys / whan he endyteth of women, be yt prose / or\(^2\) rynne, or vers,\(^3\) seye they\(^8\) ben wikke / al knowe he the revers.\(^{210}\)

[31]
And that boke, scolers / lerne in \(^4\)hir chyldehede,\(^4\) for they of women / \(^5\)be war sholde\(^5\) 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,\(^9\) for they of women / \(^be\) war sholde in age, and for to \(^louen\) hem / euer ben in drede, syn\(^"\) to deceyve / is set al hire\(^courage). Authority.

they folke exciten\(^25\) / by hir wykked sawes, for to rebelle\(^25\) agayn\(^29\) me / and my lawes.\(^{231}\)

\(^{1-1}\) on such delitteth S. \(^{2}\) om. D B. \(^{3-3}\) To seye ye S. \(^4-4\) ther childhode D, S om. hir \(^5-5\) schuld be war S. \(^6-6\) lione them 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. \(^11-11\) have in be wrappes B, ben I-wrapped D, be-wrappes Sp., be-wrappes F. \(^12\) women D S. \(^13\) myshapped D Sp., myshappes F B. \(^14-14\) Now charge Is quhat so thir clerkis S, charge is Sp., howso this B. \(^15\) labour and tr. Sp. S. \(^16\) om. S. \(^17\) not D, nat A S T, noon F. \(^18\) Thus these Sp. \(^19-19\) outrageous A. \(^20-20\) on selie Sp. \(^21\) many D, meny B. \(^22\) them D. \(^23\) ycheined S. \(^24\) susteyfe S. \(^25\) verry D, veray S. \(^26-26\) Thus for them seluen S, iff D. \(^27\) exercies S. \(^28\) reule S. \(^29\) ayens D. Authority.

HOCCLEVE, M. P. — I.
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Yet, those who blame women most,

But maugre hem / that blamen wommen most, 232
suche is the force / of myn impressyon, 3
that sodenly / I felle can hir bost,
and al hir wrong / ymagynacion; 2
yt shal not ben / in her elleccion, 236
the foulest slutte / of al a tovn refuse, 4
yt that me lyst / for al that they can muse ; 238

[34]

But hir in hert / as brenyngly desire,
as thogh she were / a duchesse or a quene;
so can I folkes hertys / set on fire,
and as me list hem sende / Ioy or tene.
they that to wommen / ben ywhett so kene,
my sharp[e] persyng strokes / how they Smyte,
shul fele, and knowe / and how they kerve and byte.

[35]

Ovid too, and other

Perdee, this grete clerke / this sotil Ouyde,
and mony another / han deecyved be
of womwen / as yt knowen 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.

[36]

And trusteth wel / that yt is no mervaylle,
ffor womwen knywen / pleynly hir entent;
they wiste how sotyly / they koude assayle
hem, and what falsode / they in hert[e] ment;
and this clerkyes / they in hir daunger hent;

1 is the D Sp., is F. 2—2 sotelly y felle T. 3 in all the Sp., pe B. 4 to refuse B. 5 lust D. 6 sem T. 7—7 yhurt S. 8—8 strokis persyng quho S. 9—9 ye bern S. 10 Parde D. 11 om. Sp. 12—12 many D, m. one other have S. 13 Wote no man. S. What no men F. 14 full Sp. 15 ought D. 16 ys F, it Sp. 17—17 knewe full p. S. 18—18 y thair hert S. 19—19 thus they clerkes Sp., have for they S.
with oo venym / another was destroyed;
and thus thise clerkes / often were anoyed. 259

[38]
These ladyes ne thise gentils / neuerthelesse,
were noon of thoo / that wroghten in this wyse;¹
but swyche² filthes³ / as weren vertulese,
they quynten thus / this olde clerkis wisse;⁴
To⁵ clerkis, Ṣfor-thy, lesse⁶ may⁷ suffye
than to deprave⁸ women / generally;
for worshippe shul they gete / noon therby. 266

[39]
If that thise men / that louers hem pretend,
to women weren ⁹feythfull / good⁹ and trewe,
and dreden hem / to deceyve or offende,
women, to lone hem / wolde nat eschewe;
but every day hath man / an herte¹⁰ newe:
yt, vpon oon, abide / can no while.
what fors ys it / swich a wight to be-gile? 273

[40]
Men beren eke this women¹¹ / vpon honde,
that lyghtly / and wyth-outen¹¹ any peyne,
they¹² wonne ben / they can¹² no wyght¹³ withstonde,
that his disese / list to hem compleyne:
¹³they been so freel / they mowe hem nat refreyne;¹³
but who so lyketh / may hem lyghtly haue,
so ben hir hertys / esy in to graue.¹⁴

[41]
To¹⁵ maister Iolyn de Meun / as I suppose,
Than¹⁶ yt was / a lewde ocupacion
In makynge of the Romance / of the Rose,

¹ wise Sp. ² suche D. ³ filHokes S. ⁴ wise Sp. ⁵ To Sp., The F D. ⁶—²flor they lasse D. ⁷ might Sp. ⁸ dispragne Sp. ⁹—²g. f. T. ¹⁰ hert F D, hurte Sp. ¹¹ wyth out D, without eny B. ¹²—¹² women bëi that cañ S. ¹³—¹³ They be so fre T, not D B, Thai haue such merej / they may no mañ with-seyne S. ¹⁴ graue D Sp., craue F. ¹² To D Sp., I F. ¹⁶ Then D Sp., an F.
in his Romance of the Rose, to devise so many tricks to deceive a poor girl.

so many a sly / ymagynacion
and perils\(^1\) / for to rollen\(^2\) vp and down,
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 man a feble place / shal\(^7\) assaylle,
and \(^8\)soone also\(^8\) / to venquyss th a bataylle,
of whiche no wyght / dar maken\(^9\) resistence,
Ne hert hath\(^n\) noon) / to stonden\(^n\) at\(^10\) defence;

[43]

But if it takes so much trouble, i.e.,
surely she's more constant than
some clerks say.

Than \(^{11}\) yt moot\(^11\) 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 bareyne
\(^{16}\)as that somme of thise / sotil clerkys feyne;\(^{16}\)
but they ben / \(^{17}\)as that wommen oghten be,\(^{17}\)
sad / constant / and fulfilled of pite.\(^{18}\)

[44]

See what a friend Meeda was to the false Jason,

How frendely was / Medea to Jason\(^\) in the\(^{19}\) conquering / of the flees\(^{20}\) of golde!
how falsly quyt he / hir affecccion,
by whom victorie he gate / as he hath\(^{21}\) wole!
how may this man, for shame / be\(^{22}\) so bolde
to falsen\(^{23}\) hir / that from his deethe and shame
him kept,\(^{24}\) and gat him / so grete pris and name?\(^{30}\)

XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

[15]

Of troye also / the traytoure\(^1\) Eneas, the feythles wretch\(^2\) / how hath he him for-swor\(^3\) to dido, that queen / of Cartage was, that him releved / of his \(^3\) smertys sore \(^3\). what gentilesse \(^4\) myght\(^5\) she / han doow more than\(^6\) she with hert vnfeyned / to hym kydde? and what myscche\(^6\) to hir / ther-of\(^6\) betydde!

[16]

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 repreuable 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.\(^14\)

[17]

Clerkes seyn also / ther is no malice vnto a\(^1\)\(^1\) womans / crabbed wykkydnesse! O woman! how shalt thow\(^16\) / thy self chevice, syn\(^17\) men\(^1\) of\(^1\)\(^1\) the / so\(^18\) muchel harme wytnesse? No fors! doo forth / tak\(^19\) no\(^20\) heuynesse! kep\(^\text{e}\) thy\(^\text{w}\) own\(^\text{e}\) /\(^21\) what men\(^\text{w}\) clappe\(^21\) or crake! and somme of hem shul smert / I vndertake!

[18]

‘Malice’ of wom\(^\text{e}\) / what is yt to drede? they sle no men\(^\text{w}\) / dystroyen\(^22\) no citees!\(^23\) they not oppressen folke / ne over-lede,\(^22\)

---

\(^1\) Duke D. \(^2\) forfare S. \(^3\)—3 hertes s. S. \(^4\) gentilnesse D. \(^5\) Than\(\text{d} D.\) That F B. \(^6\) thare-of to hir S. \(^7\) Cupid’s or Chaucer’s ‘Legend of Good Women’ [Skeat]. Speght wrongely reads ‘natures.’ \(^8\) may men\(D T.\) \(^9\) om. D. \(^10\) om. D. \(^11\) othe ne Sp. S T. \(^12\)—12\) men may finde S. \(^13\) neuir S. \(^14\) not vnkipn\(j\)owe D. \(^15\) om. D. \(^16\) shaltow T. \(^17\)—17 Sith D. Sich mei to S. \(^18\) moche harb\(\text{m}\) alle gois S; moche D, soch (for ‘so muchel’) Sp. \(^19\) and\(\text{s}\) take S. \(^20\) noon D. Speght’s line is ‘Beth ware, women, of her fikelnese.’ \(^21\) quhat so mei clepe S. \(^22\) ne distroy S. \(^23\) ne not oppressen folk In no sey\(\text{n}\) led S.
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

betray Empires / Remes ne duches,1
ne men bereve hir landes / ne hir Mees,2 3
empoysone folkys / ne houses set on fire,
ne false contractes / maken for now4 hire!

[49]

Trust, perfyte loue / and entere5 charyte,
fervent6 wyl / and entenlented7 corage
be thewes8 good / as yt sytt9 wel to be,
han women ay10 / of custume and vsage;
and wel they kan / a11 mannnes yre aswage
with soft[e] wordes / discreet12 and benigne:
what they be13 Inward / sheweth14 outwarde sygne.

[50]

Women have, as a rule, trust, love and good morals.

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[51]

Men say that Eve made all folk lose their liberty.

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[51]

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The envious suellyng / that the fend, our fo, had vnto man in herte1 / for his welthe, sent a serpent / and made hir for to go to deceyve Eve / and thus was mannes helthe2 beraft 3 him by the fend. / ryght3 in a stelthe, the woman 4 noght4 knowyng5 / of the5 deceyt: gode wote, ful 6 fer was yt / from6 hir conceyt.

Wherfore I seyn7 this / good[e] woman) Eve, our fader Adam / ne deceyved noght. ther may no man / for a deceyt yt preve proprely, but yt that she / in hir thoughyt had it compassed8 first / 9er yt was9 wroght; and for swich was nat hir10 / impressyon11. Men12 calle / yt may,12 no deceyt13 by resoun.

No14 wyght deceyveth / but he yt15 purpose; the fend16 this deceyt cast / and nothing16 she; than ys yt wronge / to demen or suppose that she sholde of this17 harme / the cause be, witeth the fend / and his18 be the18 Mawgre, and for excused / hau19 hir Innocence, sauf oonly that she / breeke20 obedience.

And touching that21 / ful fewe men ther ben— Vunethes22 any / dar I saufly seye— fro day to day / as23 that men now23 wel seen, but that24 the hest / of god they dysobeye: haue this in mynde / sires,25 I yow preye;
And when men say women are unstable, I ask 'Wasn't Adam changeable?'

Yet God took flesh of a Virgin, and if He'd known that woman was so bad as men say she is, He'd never have been born of her.

She is so full of virtues that no man can express them.

1—388 ye wold hold womei ye S, hir wolde D. 2 when B. 3 suche D, soch a Sp. 4—4 boith ware cause symitable S, o case Sp. 5 MS, fynne. 6 thoich S. 7—7 God dischargit S. 8 plicht S. 9 for S. 10 come D. 11 om. S. 12—12 take of a cleyi S. 13 man D. 14 MS, yf. 15—15 om. D. 16 Endewet D. 17 happy D, hicht S. 18 such D. 19 low S.
hir duô preysing / put moot nedes be;
but this I sey / [right] verraly, that she,
next god, the best frend y^1/ that to men longeth:
the key of mereye by*hir girdille hongeth.

[60]
And of mereye / hath every man swich^2 nede,
that, cessyng^4 that / farewell the Joy of man! 
of her power / now taketh^5 ryght^6 good heede!
she mereye may / wol,^7 and purchase kan!
dysplese^8 hir nat^9 / homureth that woman,
and other women al[le]^10 / for hir sake!
and but ye do / your sorowe shal a-wake!

[61]
Thou precious gemme / O martir^11 Margarete,
of thy blood / draddest noon^12 effusion! 
thy martirdome / ne may I nat^13 foryte !^14
thou constant womman / in thy passyon^15 
ouercom^15 the feendis / temptacion):
and many a wyght^16 / converted thy doctrine,
\text{Unto the feith of God / holy virgyne!}^17

[62]
But vnderstandeth / I commend hir noght
by enchesow^1 / of hir virginite.
trusteth ryght^18 wel^19 / it cam neuer in my thoght,
for euer werre y^20 / ayein^21 chastyte,
and ever^22 shal / but this, lo, meveth me,^22
hir louyng hert / and constant to hir lay,
dryve oute of my rem[em]braunce / I ne may!

\text{Witness the constancy of St. Margaret the martyr.}

\text{Her I praise, not for her virginity,}

\text{but for her constancy.}
XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

Who can find
In any boke also / where can ye fynde,  . 435
(that of the werkis / or the dethe or lyfe of Ihesu speketh / or maketh any mynde,)
that wommen him forsook 2 / for woo or stryfe?
wher was 3 ther any wyght/ so ententyfe 3
a-bouten 4 him / as women? pardee 5 noon!
thapostels hym forsoken 6 / euerychon!  441

[64]
Womman forsooke hym noght / for al the feyth
of holy chirche / in womman left oonly:
this is no lees / for thus 7 holy wryt seyeth.
Lok! and ye shal so fynde yt / hardly; 8
and therfore I may 9 preve / wel herby, 9
that in womman regneth / stable constance;
and in men / ys the 10 chaunge and 11 variance!

[65]
Now holdeth this for ferme / and for no lye,
that this 12 trew / and lust 12 commendacion
of women, tolde 13 / I nat 14 for flaterye,
ne to cause hem 15 pride / or elacion,
but oonly loo / for this entencion, 16
to yeve hem corage / of perseueraunce,
In vertu / and 17 hir honoure to enhaunce. 18

[66]
The more vertu / the lasse is the pride.
vertu so digne is / and so noble in kynde,
that vice and [s]he 10 / wol not 20 in feere abide:
[s]he putteth vyce 21 / clene out of hi[r] mynde, 459
[s]he fleeth from him / [s]he leueth 22 him behynde!

O woman! that of wertu art hostesse, 1
gret ys thyn honor / and thy worthynesse! 462
of which, woman
is the hostess.

[67]
Than wol we thus / conclouen and dyfLyne :
we yow comaunde / oure Ministres echon,
that redy 2 been / to oure hestes 2 encyve,
that, of thise false 3 men / our rebles 4 foon,
ye do punyshement 5 / and that anoon! 467
voide 6 hem oure 6 court / and banyssli hem 7 for euer,
so that 8 ther-in / they ne come more 8 neuer. 469
turn these false
rebels of men ouf
of my Court!

[68]
fulfilled be 9 yt / cesyng al delay! 9
look [that] 10 ther be nooon / excusacion
11 written in the ayer / the lusty 11 moneth of May,
Written in May,
In oure paleys / where many A Milion
of loners trwe / han habitacion,
the yere of grace / Joyful and Iocunde
A thousand and 12 foure thousand / and 13 seconde. 476

Explicit littera Cupidinis 14 dei amatoris
directa suis subditis. 14

(In a late hand, Stowe's?)  T. hocleve.

1 hostresse Sp., Hostes S.  2—2 ye be oure hestes to Sp.
3 false Sp., om. F D.  4 rebell Sp.  5 punicion 6n S.  6—8 thane  
S.  7 thane S.  8—8 here after therin they come D. therein
more come they Sp.  9—9 this precept without D S.  10 S in-
serts that.  11—11 Wretyn) in the lusty D Sp. (Read 'th' ayer'
as one syllable.)  12 om. D Sp. S.  13 the D.  14—14 Explicit etc
S. directa subditis suis amatoribus D T, the lettre of Cupide
god of love directed to his suggestys loners, B.  [At end of
line, and of other poems, 'Lyty'; ? the rubricator, B.]
The title of the poem in Stowe's edition of 1561, Fol. cccxxvi, back, and in Speght's edition of 1602, is:

"The Letter of Cupide. This letter was made by Thomas Occleue of the office of the priuy Seale, Chancers scholler; and was by him termed, A Trea-tise of the contuerstion 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 Planetus proprius."—Speght 1602, Fol. 310, back, col. 1, at foot.

The Complaint that follows here, from the Durham MS.

The Fairfax MS has the stanzas of the Letter of Cupid in the following wrong order: 1-6, 17-26, 7-9, 30-36, 47-9, 10-16, 37-9, 50-9, 40-6, 27-9, 60, 61-2, 63-4, 65-8. In the text above, the stanzas are set in the right order of Hoccleve's autograph Ashburnham MS, which was got only at the last moment, years after the Fairfax MS had been printed, and collated with a lot of other poor MSS, and when I had no hope of getting access to the Ashburnham MS.

Speght has the order of stanzas right to no. 60, but then puts 63, 64 before 61, 62. Nos. 65-8 he has right.

A partial collation of the Ashburnham MS, as well as of Shirley's MS at Trinity Coll. Cambridge, is given in the Notes below, with extracts from Christine de Pisan's L'Epistre de Cupide, from which Hoccleve adapted his poem. Mr. Gollancz will print the Ashburnham MS as Part II of Hoccleve's Minor Poems for the Early English Text Society.
II. 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.
[Durham Hoccleve: III. 9.]

Thomas Hoccleve[’s Complaint.]

[The Prolog.]

(1)

After that herest Inned had his sheves,
and that the borene season of myhenesse
was come, and gan the trees robbe of ther leves
That grene had bene / and in lusty fresshnesse,
and them in-to colowre / of yclownesse
hadd dyen / and doun throwne vncler foote,
that chaunge sank / into myne herte roote.

(2)

for fresshely brought it / to my remembreauence,
that stablenes in this worlde is there none;
there is no thinge / but chaunge and variaunce;
how welthe a man be / or well be-gone,
endure it shall not / he shall it for-gon.
dethe vnder fote / shall hym thirst adowne:
that is every wites / concluyson.

(3)

whiche for to weyue / is in no mannes myght,
how riche he be / stronge, lusty, freshe, and gay,
and in the ende / of novembar, upon a nyght,

[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.]
I lay awake thinking.
syghenge sore / as I in my bed lay,
for this and other thoughts / whiche many a day
before I took / sleepe 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 / clowdy 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] deyte.

I didn't want to live;

The grefe abowte / my harte so [sore] swal
and bolned evyr / 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 olore and here;
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,
visytethe folks alyday / as men may se,
with lose of good / and bodily sikenese,
and amonge othar / he forgat not me;
witnes vpon the wyld infirmytce
which that I had / as many a man well knewe,
and whiche me owt of my selfe / cast and threw.

1 opir poujtsis 2 Byforme 3 I sywel sithin 4 shoon on
5 Me 6 spirite [for wite] 7 ne no [no added above the line]
8 myn 9 so sore [sore added above the line] 10 nolde / kepe it
11 celde 12 preue: pryve St. 13 vesitep folke 14 silfe
HOCCLEVE'S COMPLAINT. I GOT WELL, BUT OLD FRIENDS CUT ME. 97

(7)
It was so knowne to the people / and kouthe, that crownsell was it none / ne none be myght\[e]; how it with me stode / was in every mans\[1] mowthe, and that full sore / my fryndes\[2] affright[e]; they for myne helthe / pilgrimages hight[e], and sowght them\[3] / some on hors and some on foote,—

(8)
but althowghe the substaunce / of my memory went[e] to pley / as for a certayne space, yet the lorde of vertew / the kynge of glory, of his highe myght / and\[5] [his] benyng grace, made it to returne / in-to the place when\[ne]s it cam / whiche\[6] at all hallwe messe, was five yeere / neyther more ne lesse. 56

(9)
And evere\[7] sythen /—thanked be god owr lord, of his good\[8] reconsilacion,—
my wyte and I / have bene of suche accorde as we were / or the alteracion
of it was / but by my savacion,
[Sith] that\[9] tyme have I be / sore sett on fire, and lyved in great torment / and martire;

(10)
for thowgli that my wit / were home\[10] come agayne,
men wolde it not\[11] so vnderstond or take;
with me to deale\[10] / hadden they dysdaynve;
a rytoys person I was / and forsake;
myn olde friendshipe / was all ovarshakve;
no wyte\[12] with me lyst make daifiance;
the worlde me made a strange continuance,
In Westminster Hall and London they turned their heads from me. I was forgotten.

Folk said I should go mad again.

Yet I haven't gone mad:

(11) whiche\(^1\) that myne herte / sore gan\(^2\) torment[e];
for ofte when I / in westmynster hall[e],
and eke in london / amonge the prese\(^3\) 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.

(12) As seide is in the sauter / might I say,
they that me sye / fledden a-wy frome 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.

(13) Thus spake many one\(^6\) / and seyde by me:
'all-thowghe from hym / his siknesse savage
with-drawne and passyd / as for a tyme be,
Resorte it wol / namely in suche age
as he is of\(^7\) / and thanne my visage
began to glowe / for the woo and fere;
The wordis, them vnwar / cam to myn ere.

(14) 'whane passinge hete is,' quod they, 'trustyth this,
assaile hym wole\(^7\) agayne that maladie,'
and yet parde / they token them amise;
one\(^8\) effect at all / toke there\(^9\) prophecic;
manie someres ben past / sithen remedye
of that, god of his grace me purveide:
thanked be god / it shope nought\(^11\) as they seide.

---

\(^{1}\) with \(^{2}\) gan to St. \(^{3}\) prees \(^{4}\) sy \(^{5}\) hem \(^{6}\) come
\(^{7}\) him wole: wole hym St. \(^{8}\) Noon \(^{9}\) her
\(^{10}\)—\(^{11}\) these lines as in Seld.: transposed by St. \(^{11}\) sheep nott
XX. LOCLEVE'S COMPLAINT. THEY SAID MY BRAIN WAS TOUCHT. 99

(15)
what fall[e] shall / what men so^1 deme or gesse, 99

to hym that wott^2 [well] every mans^3 secre,

reservyd is / it is a lew[e]dnesse,

men wyser them pretend / then they be;

and no wight knoweth / be it he or she,

whom, how ne whan / god wol hym visete;

It happethe ofte^4 / whan men wene it lite.

(16)
Some tyme I wend / as lite as any man,

for to have fall / in-to that wildenesse

but god, whan [that] hym list / may, wol and can,

helt he with-drawe / and send a wyght sycknesse;

Thowghe man be well this day / no sykernesse

to hym blicht is / that it shall endure;

god hurte now can / and nowe hele and cure.

(17)
he suffrith longe / [but] at^5 the laste he smit;

whane that a man is / in prosperite,

To drede a fall comynge / it is a wit;

who so that takethe hede / ofte may se

This worldis change / and mutabilite

In sondry wyse / howe nedeth not expresse:

To my mater / streit wole I me dresse.

(18)
Men seyden, I loked / as a wilde steer,

and so my loke abowt I gan to throwe;

myne heed to hie / a-nother seide I beer,

ful buckyshe is his brayne / well may I tweo;

and seyde the thirde^6/ and apt is in the rowe

to site of them / that a resounles reed

Can geve^7 / no sadnesse is in his heed.

1 whatso men 2 woot 3 hertis 4 often

5 but at 6 thridde 7 Can he 3one
(19)
Chaungid had I my 
for here and there / forthe stirte I as a Roo, none abode / 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 / sowghten every halke.

(20)
I leide an ere aye to / as I by 
and herde all / and thus in myne herte I cast: of longe abydynge here / I may repent[e]; 
leste, of hastinesse / I at the last[e] answere a-myse / best is hens hye fast[e]; 
for yf I in this preace / a-mysse me gye, to harme will 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] not have holde it worth e a leke; for why / as I hadd lost my tongues key, Kepte I me cloos / and trussyd me my wey, drowpyng and hevye / and all woo bystand; small causse had I / me thought[e], to be glade.

(22)
My sprites / laboryd [euere] bysly 
to peinte countenaunce / chere and loke, for that men spake of me / so wonderingly, and for the very shame / and fere I qwoke; thowghe myne herte had be / dypped in y broke, It wete and moyste I-now was of my swot, whiche was nowe frostye colde / nowe firy hoot.
And in my chamber at home when I was my selfe alone / I in this wyse wroght:
I streite 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 kynynge and myght.

Many a sawte made I to this myrrowre,
thinkynge, "yf that I loke in this manere
amonge folke / as I now do,6 none errowr
of suspecte loke / may in my face appere,
this countinance, I am svre,6 and this chere,
If I forthe vse / is no thinge reprevable
to them that have / conseuytes resonal:"

And there-with-all / I thought[e] thus anon:
"men in theyr7 owne case / bene blynd alday,
as I haue hard say / many a day agon,
and in that [same] plyght8 / I stonde may;
how shall I doo / which is the best[e] way,
my trowbled spirit / for to bringe at9 rest[e]?
yf I wist howe / fayne wolde I do the best[e]."

Sythen I recoveryd was / have I full ofte
Cawse had of angre / and yumacience,
where I borne have it10 / celsey and softe,
sufferynge wronge be done to me, and offence,
and owght11 answeryd ageyn / but kept sylene,
lest that men of me / deme would, and seyne,
'se how this man / is fallen in agayne.'
As that I ones¹ / fro westmynstar cam,  

vexid full greviously / withe thoughtfull hete,  

thus thought I / "a great foole I am,  

this pavyment / a dayes thus to bete,  

and in and out / labour[e] fast and swete,  

wonderinge / and heystyns to purchase,  

sythen I stand² out / of all favour and grace."

And then thought I / on that othar syde:  

"If that I not be seene / amonge the prees,  

men deme wele³ / 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 sought[e] reste / and I not it found,  

but aye was trouble / redy at myn hond.

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 knowne⁴ & 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;  

eye⁵ this day / there demythe many a one⁶  

I am not well / may, as I by them goo,  

taste and assay / yf it be so or noo.

¹ ones ² stone ³ wole ⁴ known ⁵ zit ⁶ many oon
Upon a looke / is harde, men them to grounnde what a man is / there by the sothe is hid; whither his wittes / seke bene or sounde, by countynance / it is not wist ne kyld; thowghe' a man harde / have ones bene bityle, God shilde it shuld / on hym contynue alway; by commynynge / is the best assay.

I mene to comon of thing[e]'s mene, for I am but right lewde / dowt[e]les, and ygnoraunte / my cunnynge is full lene, yet homly reason / know I nevartheles; not hope I founden be / so resonles as men demen / marie, christ forbede! I can no more / preve may the dede.

If a man ones / fall in dronkenesse, shall he contynewe / there-in evar mo? nay, thowghe a man doo / in drinkynge excesse so ferforthe / that not speake he ne can, ne goo, and his wittes / wely ben refte hym froo, and buryed in the Cuppe / he aftarward Comythe to hym selfe agayne / ellis were it hard;

Right so / thowghe 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 wildyd my brayne, se how the curtese leche moste sovereignty, vnto the sycke / gevythe medisyne in nede / and hym releythe of his peyne.

1 Thou 2 commone 3 hat my 4 denoide 5 the 6 fane 7 greuous pine
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[c]
as to the outward dome / and Judgement,
that at the prese / descrete is and prudent.

but algates, howe so be / my countynaunce,
debate is now none / bytwyxt me and my wit,
all-thowghe there were / a dysseveraunce
as for a tyme / bytwyxt me and it;
the greatar harme is myne, that nevar yet
was I well lettered / prudent and discrete,
there nevar stode yet / wyse man on my fete.

The sothe is this / suche conceit as I had,
and vnderstondynge / all were it but small,
byfore that my wytt[c]s / wearen vnsad,
(thanked be owr lorde Ihesu christ of all!)
suche have I now / but blowe is ny ovar all
the reverse / where-thorwghe is the mornynge
whiche cawsethe me / thus syghe 2 in complaynynge.

sythen my good fortune / hathe changed his chere,
lye time is me / to crepe in-to my grave,
to lyve Ioy[c]les / what do I here?
I in myne herte / can no gladnes have;
I may but small sey / but yf men deme I rave,
sythen othar thinge the[n] 4 woo / may I none grype,
vnto my sepulture / ame I nowe ripe.
XX. HOCCLEVE'S COMPLAINT. FOLKS CAN'T SEE THAT I'M WELL. 105

(39)
My well, adwe / farwell, my good fortune! 267 my good hap
out of yowr tables / me playned have ye;
sythen well ny eny wyght / for to comune
with me lothe is / farwell prosperitie!
I am no lengar / of your lyverye;
ye have me put / out of yowr remembraunce;
adewe, my good adventure / and good chaunce! 273

(40)
And as swithe after / thus by-thought I me: 274 But still,
yf that I in this wyse / me despeyre,
It is purchase / of more adversytie;
what nedethe it / my feble wit appeire;
sythe god hathe made / myne helthe home repayre 278 I am well again,
blessed he he / and what men deme or^2 speke, thank God;
suffre, thinke I / and me not on me wreke. 280

(41)
but some dele had I / reiоysyne amonge, 281 [leaf 7]
and gladnes^3 also / in my spirite,
thoughe the people / toke them mis & wronge, and the' folk
demynge / of my syck[e]nesse not quite, don't think me so,
yet for they / compleyned / the hevy plite 285 they feel for me.
that they had sene me in / with ternelnesse
of hertes cherte / my grefe was the lesse. 287

(42)
In them put I no defawlte but one; 288 They can't believe
that I was hole / they not ne deme kowldre, I'm well,
and day by day / they se me by them gon
In heate and colde / and neythar still nor lowde
knew they me do suspectly / a dirke clowde 292
theyr^4 syght obscureyd / with-in^5 and with-out[e],
and for all that / were they^6 in suche a dowt[e]. 294

^1 retenance  ^2 and  ^3 a gladnesse  ^4 Hir
^5 withynne  ^6 ay
(43)

Axiil have they / full ofte sythe, and freined of my fellow[e]s / of the priye scale, and prayed them to tell them / with hert vnfeynyd, how it stode wyth me / whither yl³ 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 helden ther pes.

(44)

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 / aftar this to morne; as longe as my lyfe / shall in me soiorne, of suche ymaginynge / I not ne reche; lat them drem⁴ as them¹⁵ lyst / and speke & dreche.

(45)

The other day / a lamentacion of a wofull man / in a boke I sye, to whome word[e]s / of consolation Reason⁶ gave⁷ / spekynge effectually; 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.

(46)

The hevy man / wofull and angwyssliiows, compleyned in this wyse / and thus seyd he: 'my lyfe is vnto me / full enconberows; for whithar / or vn-to what place I flye, my wyckednesses / enar fellowe⁸ me, as men may se / the shadow a body swe, and in no maner / I may them eschwe.

¹ Axiil have ² wip ³ yul ⁴ deem ⁵ hem ⁶ added later in margin ⁷ zaf ⁸ fowoken
‘vexation of spirite / and torment
lake I right none / I have of them plente;
wondarly byttar / is my taa[s]t and sent;
wo be the tyme / of my natyvyte,
vnhappy man / that evar shulde it be!
O death, thy stroke / a salve is of sweetnes
to them that lyven / in suche wretchednes.

‘Gretar plesaunce / 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 wery foo;
comfortyd / may I not be of my woo;
of my distrese / se none end I can,
no force how sone / I stinte to be a man.’

Than spake Reason / ‘what menythe all this fare?
thowghe welthe be not friendly to the yet,
out of thyne herte / voyde wo and care!’
‘by what skyll / how / and by what rede and wit,’
syd[e] this wofull man / ‘myght I done it?’
‘wrestle,’ qwode Reason / ‘a-gayne hevynesses
of the worlde / troubles, suffring and duresses.

‘beholde how many a man / suffreth the desseas
as great as thow / and all a way greater;
and thoughe it them pinche / sharply and sese,
yet paciently / they it suffar and bere:
thyne here-on / and the lesse it shall the dere:
suche sufferaunce is / of mans gylt clensynge,
and them inableth / to Joyme edvlarstinge.

1 laast  2 be be  3 I  4 verre
5 later, in the margin.
'woo, hevynes / and tribulation,
thewghe grevows be / maun[c]e]s temptacion,
It sleythe 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 hathe / to blysse to goo /

'Trouble is corriMii to all,
and should be burnt as a imnishmeut for sill.

'took Reason's teaching to heart,

as a punishment for sin.

(lengr 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-bove have I sayde,
where-of I hold[e] me / full well apayde.

XX. HOCCLEVE'S COMPLAINT. I'LL BEAR MY TROUBLES.

(55)
for evar sythen / set hau me I the lesse
by the peoples / ymagination,
talkynge this and that / of my sycknesse,
whiche came of god[de]s visytacion ;
myght I have been 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-forth theinke vnpike
of suche thoughtfull disseece and woo / the lok,
and let them out / that have me made to sike ;
here-aftar owr lorde god / may, yf hym lyke,
make all myne olde affection resorte ;
and in hope of that / woll I me conforte.

(57)
Thrwghe\(^1\) gods just dome / and his indugement,
and for my best[\(e\)] / now I take and deme,
gave\(^2\) that good lorde / me my punishement :
in welthe I toke of hym / none hede or yeme,
hym for to please / and hym honoure and queue,
and he me gave a bone / on for to knaw[\(c\)],
me to correcte / and of hym to have awe.

(58)
he gave me wit / and he toke it away
when that he se\(^3\) / that I it mys dyspent[\(c\)],
and gave agayne / when it was to his pay,
he grauntyd me / my gitles to repent[\(c\)],
and hens-forwarde / to set myne entent[\(c\)],
vnto his deitie / to do plesaunce,
and to amend / my synfull governaunce.

1 Thora\(^3\) 2 3af 3 sy

379 and have since
put up with folks' talk of my illness.
383
385
386 [leaf 8, back]
I'll unpick the
lock of my woes,
let them out,
390
392
393
394
399
400
404 I'll now try to
please God and
to amend.
XXI. HOCCLEVE'S DIALOG. HIS TALK WITH A FRIEND

I thank Him
lawde and honore / and thanke vnto the be, 407
lorde god / that salve art / to all hevynes!
thanke of my welthe / and myne adversyte,
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]. 413

Dialogue with a Friend.

[Thomas Hoccleve (in Stowe's hand).]

[Dialogus cum Amico.] (later, in pencil)

A friend knocks at my door.

A nd, endyd my 'complaynt' / in this manere, 1
one knocked / at my chambre dore sore,
and cryed a-lowde / 'howe, hoccleve! arte thow
here?
open thy dore / me thinkethe [it] full yore
sythen I the se / what, man, for god[de]s ore
come out / for this quartar I not the sy,
by owght I wot' / and out to hym cam I. 7

This man was my good frynde / of farn a-gon,
that I spoke of / and thus 1 he to me seyde:
'Thomas / as thow me lovest, tell a-non 2
what dydist thow / when I knocked and leyde
so fast upon thy dore' / And I obeyde
vnto his will / "come in," quod I, "and se."
and so he dyd / he streyght went in with me. 14

To my good frind / not thought I to make it queinte, 3
ne my labowre / from hym to hyde or leyne;
and right anon / I rodd hym my 'complaynt';
and that done / thus he seyde, 'sen we twayne
bene here / and no mo folke / for god[de]s peyne,

1 pus. 2 anoon 3 quette
Thomas, so far me speke / and be not wrothe, for the to offend[e] / were me full lothe.

(4) ‘That I shall saye / 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, rehearse thow it not / ne it a-wake; kepe all that cloos / for thyn honours sake.

(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 thow hast stonde / amonge men or this day, stondyst thow nowe’ / “A, nay,” quod I, “nay, nay! I refuse,

(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 marvayle 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.

(7) “If ye toke hede / it makethe the 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 yourr sentence; but certis, good frinde / that thinge that I here, can I witnesse / and vnto it referee.

1 ellis
And where as that ye / me counsile and rede, that for myne honore / showlde I by no weye any thinge mynge / or towche of my wildhede, I vnto that / answere thus and saye:

of god[de]s stroke / how so it peyse or waye,
ought no man to thinke / reprefe or shame; his chastisyng / hurtithe no mans name.

And where as that ye / me counsile and rede, 
that for myne honore / showlde I by no weye any thinge mynge / or towche of my wildhede, I vnto that / answere thus and saye:

and I'm not a channel of God's punishment.

I also want men to know that Jesus has cured me.

I'm not a thief or a coin-clipper, or

And why / for tho proceden of frailtie of man hym selfe / he brewythe all[e] tho; for sythen god to man / gyven 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 accuseth, honor saythe nay / there he scilence excusith.

1 mend 2 coin S. comon Dm. 3 soue
"but this is / all a-nothar case sothelye:
this was the stroke of god / he gave me this;
and sythe he hathe / withe-drawe it curteisly,
am I not holden [tell] it owt / O yes;
but yf god had this thanke / it wer amyse."
In feythe, frinde / [I thenke] make an open
de ye, not / what I had of his gyfte.

"If that a leche / curyd had me so,—
as they lacken all / that science and myght,—
a name he shulde / have had for evar mo,
what cure he had done / to so seke a wight,
and yet my purs / he wolde have made full lyght;
but curteys Ihesu / of his grace pacient,
axith not / but of gilte amendement.

"The benefice of god / not hyd be shuld[e]:
sythen of myne hele / he gave me triacle,
It to confese / and thanke hym, am I hold[e],
me hathe shewyd his myracle;
sytacion is a spectacle
liche that I / beholde may and se,
then I dyd / how great a lorde is he.

"but, frind, amonge the vises that right now
rephersed I, one of them, dare I saye,
hathe hurt me sore / and I wot well ynow
so hathe it mo / which is feble moneye:
many a man this day / but they gold wey[e],
of men / not wolte it take ne receyve,
and yf it lake his peis / they wolde it weive.

1 MS. anyse 2 make I thenke an open 3 as Dm.
4 feole St. 5 wolfe

HOCCLEVE, M.P.—II.
hoccleve's dialog, he complains of washt and clipt coin.

(16)

"how may it holde his peise / when it is waishé 1 / somewhat in thickness? the falce people / no thinge them abashe to clyp it eke / in² brede and in roundnesse, in that³ it shulde be / alwaye the lesse:

the pore man / amonge all othar is full sore anoyed / and grevyd in this.

(17)

"If it be golde and hole / that men hym profre
for his labowre / or his chaflar lent, take it yf him lyst / and put it in his coffre, for wasshinge or clupplynge / hold hym content or leve / he got none othar paymente;
it semythe but small / othar is there;
trewthe is absent / but falshed is not fer.

(18)

"how shall the pore do / yf in his holde
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 escweeney ovari all?
not will it goo / but moche⁴ he there-one lose;
he mote do so / he may none other chese.

(19)

"I myselfe in this case / bene have, or this, wherefore I know it / a grete dell⁵ the bett.
he that in falsynge of coyne / guiły is, hathe great wronge / that he nere⁶ on a⁷ gebet;
It is pitte / that he there-from is let,
sythen he there-to hathe / so great title and right:
Reigne Justice / and preve on them thy myght!

---

1 lacke   2 it eke it in   3 in than ; is that St. 4 miche   5 dele   6 nere S.   7 ye.
"when I this wrote / many me dyd amyse;
they weyed gold / vuhad authoritie;
no statute [made] was¹ then / as [pat] now² is;
but sythen golde to wey / chargid now ben we,
Reason axith / that it obeyed be;
now tyme it is / unto weight[e]s vs draw[e],
sythen that the parlyament / hathe made it a lawe.

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 same gold / they swinke and swete
In hell[e] for to purchace / them a sete:
If thethar lede them / theyr ³ falce covetise,
that purchas made was / in a foltyshe wyse.

"what cawsethe, trowe⁴ ye / all this mischance?
what comforte gyven⁵ is / to this vntrwthe?
In feythe, men seyne / it is the mayntynance
of great[e] folke / whicke is great⁶ harme & ruthe,
god graunt here-aftar / that ther be no slowthe,⁷
of this treason / punishment to do,
ryght such as that is / partinent ther-to.

"they that consenten / to do that falshe,
as well as the werkars / withe peyne egall
punished⁸ owght to be / as that I rede,
now, manyteynors / be ware now of a fall!
I speke of no parson / in especiall⁹;
In contrys dyvers / is there many one
of yow / and hathe bene¹⁰ / many a day a-gon.

¹ made was ; was Dm. ² pat nowe ; now St. ³ her
⁴ trowen ⁵ souen ⁶ a great ⁷ sloupe ; showe Dm.
⁸ punishid ⁹ special ¹⁰ be
False-coiners harms the king and the people,

"Alas! that to our Kyng[e]'s prejudice, and harme to all / his lige people trew[e], Continue shall / this fowle and cursed vice of falsynge of coyne / not begone of new[e], whiche / and it forthe goo / many one shall it rew[e]. God and our Kyng / remedye all this grefe, for to the people / it is a foule mischefe.

(25) "by comon harme / is not small to set[te] ; that venom / ovar wyde and brod[e] spredeth : grete merit were it / suche thinges stope and let[te], as that the comon / in-to myschefe ledythe. the voyce of the people / vengaunce on yow gredithe, ye cursed men / ye false moneyers, and on yowre outeris / and yowr maynteynours!

(26) "O, this I drede alweye / this heviethe me many a sythe / that punishement none fall[e] shall / on this cursed meynye ; how trewe so be / ther enditement,\(^1\) owr lyge lorde / shall be so Innocent, that vnto hym / shall hyd be y* notice ; vnwashe gold / shall washe \(^2\) a-way that vice.

(27) "Enformed shalbe / his hie excellence by menes / whom that the lady moneye hath rowned with / and shewyd evidence In plate / that all wronge is that men seye of that false folke / my sowle dare I laye, tho mens \(^3\) shullen have / no defectyve plate ; here receyte shall be / good and fyne algate.

\(^1\) enditement ; entendement St. \(^2\) washe ; vanyshe St. \(^3\) meenes
"Nowe in good faytbe / I drede there shall be suche multitude / of that false secte
with-in this two yere / or ellis thre,
but if this styknynge errowr / be correcte,
that so myche of this land / shall be infecte
there-with, that trewthe shall a-downe be throw[e],
and that cursed falsed / it overgrow[e].

"Io, frinde / nowe haue I myne entent vnreke
of my longe tale / displesse yow nowght."

"nay, Thomas, nay / but late me to the speke:
when thy compleynt / was to the end ybrowght,
cam it owght in thy purpos / and thy thought,
ought ell[e]s ther-with / to have made than that?
"ye, certayne, frind" / 'O nowe, good Thomas, what?'

"frinde, that I shall you tell / as blyve, y-wys :
in latyn have I sene / a small tretis[e],
whiche 'lerne for to dye' / I-callyd is :
a better restreynte / know I none fro vice :
for whan that death / shall men from hence trice,
but he that lesson / lerned have or than,
war that / for death comeethe, wot ther no wyght whan.

"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 me bodys gilt / fowle & vuclenc,
to clens it / some-what by translation
of it, shall be / myne occupation.
XXI. HOCCLEVE’S DIALOG. I’LL ENGLISH ‘LEARN TO DIE.’

(32)

“This 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 lyfe / wroght, great & 2 small,
while he tyme hathe / & freshe wit and vigour,
and not abyde / vnto his deethes hour.

(33)

“Man may in this tretis / here-aftarward,
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] rekenynge;
sharpnes of peyne / is there-to great hindringe.

(34)

“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 hond[e]
this labowr / and as I cane, 4 wole I fond[e]
his reade, thrwgh the gods grace, to parforme,
thowgh I be bare / of intellecte and forme.

(35)

“And whan that endyd is / I nevar think, 239
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 approcbethe / it is fer past none.

1 this 2 or 3 corr. from ‘have I,’ in St.
4 came
"Of age am I fifty winter and thre;  
Ripeness of dethe / fast vpon me hastethe;  
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 a-not her is my sentement."  

"More am I heuy now vp-on a day,  
Than I sum tyme was in dayes fyue;  
Thynge pat or this me thoghte game & play,  
Is ernest now / the hony fro the hyue  
Of my spirit withdrawith wondir blyue;  
Whan al is doon / al this worldes sweetnesse  
At ende torneth in-to bittirnesse."  

"The fool, thurgh loue of this lyf present,  
Deceyued is / but the wys man woot weel  
How ful this world of sorwe is, and torment;  
Wherfore in it / he trustith nat a deel:  
Thogli a man this day / sitte hye on the wheel,  
To morwe he may be tryced from his sete;  
This hath be seen often / among the grete.  

"How fair thyng / or how precious it be  
Pat in the world is / it is lyk' a flour,  
To whom / nature yeuen hath beantee  
Of fressh beewe / and of ful pleasant colour;  
With soote smellynge also, and odour;  
But as soone as it is bicomen drye,  
farwel colour / and the smel gymneth dye.  

1 now hasthid  2 sentement  
3 A later hand (I Stowe's) has written 'then' over the line as if it were left out.  
4 'torne the in to bittirnesse', is repeated below in a later hand.  
5 A later hand writes 'be gymneth to.' At foot: 'hongrie men seeme diyures,' &c.
"Rial might and eerthely magestee,
Welthe of the world / and longe & faire dayes,
Passen / as dooth the shadwe of a tree;
Whan deeth is come / ther be no delayes;
The worldes trust is brotil at assayes;
The wyse men / wel knowen this is sooth,
They knowen / what deceit to man it dooth.

Property is lent us for a time;
but Death soon deprives us of it.

"Lond / rente / cattel / gold / honour / riches, 
\textit{pat} for a tyme lent been to been oursis,
fforge we shole / sonner than we gesse.
Paleses / Maners / Castels grete & touris
Shal vs bireft be / by deeth \textit{pat} ful sour is;
Shee is the rogh besom / which shal vs all
Sweepo out of this world / when god list it fah.

"And syn \textit{pat} 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 comyng of \textit{pat} messageer,
That we may stande in conscience cleer ?"

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{yis}, Thomas, \textit{yis} / thow hast a good entente,\footnote{Iohan Medwell, Master my lord Chamberlain, \ldots per prise [at top]. Also, later, \textquoteleft W. Browne.\textquoteright At foot, \textquoteleft Thomas Carterys.\textquoteright}  
  \item But thy werk / hard is to parfourme, I dreede ;
  \item Thy brayn, par cas / ther-to nat woile assente,
  \item And wel thow woost / it moot assente neede
  \item Or thow aboute brynge swich a decee : \footnote{broti, first.}
  \item Now in good feith / I rede as for the beste,
\end{itemize}
HOCCLEVE’S DIALOG. BUT I’M STILL WELL ENOUGH TO WORK. 121

(44)
‘Thy busi studie aboute swich mateere    Hath causid thee / to stirte in-to the plyt
That thow were in / as fer as I can heere ;   That thow deeme / thow be there-of qwyt /
And thogh thou deeme / thow be there-of qwyt /
Abye / and thy purpos putte in respyt
Then ther right wel stablisshid be thy brayn ;
And ther-to thanne / I wol assente fayn.

(45)
‘Thogh a strong fyr / that was in an herth late,
Withdrawen be / and swept away ful cleene /
yit afirward / bothe the herth and plate
Been of the fyr warm / thogh no fyr be scene
There as that it was / and right so I meene :
Al-thogh past be the grete of thy seoknesse /
yit lurke in thee may sum of hir warnmesse.’

(46)
“O, what is yow, freendl / benedicitee?
Right now, when I yow redde my ‘compleyne,’
Made it nat mynde / it standith wel with me?
Myn herte with your speeche gymnth feyne.
Shuld we be now / al neewe to aqweynte,
That han so wel aqweynted be ful yore?
What / han yee now lerned a neewe lore?

(47)
“Han yee lerned / your freendl for to mis-truste
And to his wordes / yeue no credence?
If your frendshipe canere so and ruste,
Sore wolte it trouble myn innocence,
That yee nat leeue / how god me hath releued.1

1 Later, in margin: ‘Ryght worshipesfull Fa.’ At foot, ‘Hereof se . . . Thomas C.’
"Who so nat leueth / what \textit{but} a man seith,
Is signe \textit{but} he trustith him but lyte.

A verry freind yeueth credence & feith
\textit{But} so he speke & \textit{wryte},
ffrendshipes lawe / nat worth \textit{worth} a myte,
If \textit{but} vntrust / \textit{but} it wer\textit{it} annexid;
Vntrust hath many a wight ful sore vexid.

I with my seluen made foreward,
Whan with the knotte of frendshipe I me knytte
\textit{But} I neuere aftirward
Fro \textit{but} hy bond parte wolde, or flitte;
Which keepe I wole / o, your wordes sitte
Ny to myn herte / and thogh yee me nat lone,
My lone fro yow / shal ther no wight shoue.

"Tullius seith / \textit{but} frendshipe verry
Endurith euere / how-so men it assai\textit{H};
ffrendshipe is noon / to lone wel this day,
Or yeeres outbir / and aftirward fail\textit{H}.
A freend to freend / his peyne & his trauai\textit{H}
Dooth ay / frendshipe to keepe & conserue
Til dethes strook\textit{t but} bond a-sondir kerne.

To this matir acconli\textit{th} Salomon—
yee knowe it bet than I by many fold:
Ones freend / and holde enere ther vp\textit{on}.
In your frendshipe wer\textit{er} a slipirir hold,
If it abate wolde and wexe cold,
\textit{But} vn-to now hath been bothe hoot & warm;
To yow wer\textit{er} it repre\textit{f} / and to me harm.
"If pat me list in this mateere dweH, And it along / for to drawe and dilate, Auctoritees an heep, kowde I yow teH Of frendshipe / but stynte I moot algate, Or elles wole it be ful longe & late Or I have endid my purposid werk, for feeble is my conceit, & dul & derk."

But as pat I seide eer / and sooth it is, My selendre wit feele I as sad and stable As euere it was at any tyme or this: Thankid be our lord Ihesu merciable!"

"Yit, Thomas, herkne a word, and be souffrable, And take nat my speeche in displesance; In me shalt thow fynde no variance.

'I am thy freend / as pat I haue ay been, And euere wole / doute it nat al, But truste wel, it is but seelden seen pat any wight / pat caght hath swich a fal As thy seeknesse was / pat aftir shal Be of swich disposicioun and might As he was erst / and so seith euery wight.

"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 ene (?) . . . he me life in.'
2 In a later hand at top: 'per me peter hardy of halyfax'; then, rubd out, 'ows this bok.'
(56)  
' My reed procedeth nat of froward wil,  
But it is seid of verray freundly-hede  
for so-causid seeknesse on me fil  
As dide on the: right 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 therto.

(57)  
' He pat hath ones in swich plyt y-faH,  
But he wol rule him / may in slippen eft;  
This rede I thee / for aglit pat may befaH,  
Syn pat seeknesse god hath thee byref,  
The cause eschue / for it is good left,  
Namely, thyng of thoghtful studie kaght,  
Perillous is / as pat hath me been taght.

(58)  
[leaf 16, back]  
' Riht as a theef pat hath eschapid ones¹  
The roop / no dreede hath eft his art to vse,  
Til pat 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 pat it thy wit / consume and denoure.

(59)  
'I can no more / the latter? errour?  
Wers is, rede I / than pat pat was beforne;  
The smert of studie / oghte he mirour?  
To thee / let yit thy studie be forborn.  
Hauue of my wordes / no desdeyn or scorn;  
ffor pat I seye / of freundly tendernessse  
I seye it al / as wisly god me blesse.

¹ Written up the side in a later hand:  
Know er thou kynt [knyt, p. 152], and then thou mayst slake;  
If thou knyt er thou know, then hytt ys to late.  (See p. 152.)
HOCCLEVE's Dialog. My Madness didn't come from Bookwork. 125

(60) 'If thee nat list vp-on thy self to reewe, 414 If you won't take pity on yourself, who will?
Thomas, who shal reewe vpon thee, I preye?
Now do foorth, let see / and thyh harm reeneewe;
And heuyer / shal it peise and waye;
Than it dide eer / ther-to my lyf I leye;
Which thee wolde ouer mochil harms & greene,' 418
"freend, as to pat / answer' I shal by leene.1

(61) "Where-as pat yee deemen of me, and trowe 421 [leaf 17] My insanity
That y of studie my disese took:—
Which conceit eek' / among the peple is sowe /—
Trustith right wel / pat neuere studie in book' 425
did not come from book-study,
Was cause / why my mynde me forsook1
But it2 was causid of my long seeknesse, 427
And othir wyse nat / in soothfastnesse.

(62) "And for-thy neuer aftir this / preye y yow, 428 I don't care that
deevneth no more so / ne nat it mynge.
That men kneew I had seeknesse / is ynow.
Thogh they make of the cause no serchynge:
Ther cometh but smal fruyt of swich deemynge. 432
To yow told hane I treewely the cause;
Now let vs stynten heer' / & make a pause. 434 Let's drop it,

(63) "In this keepe I no replicacioun; 435 As to my intended work,
It is nat worth / the labour is in veyn;
Shal no stirynge or excitacioun
Lette me of this labour, in certeyn.
Trustith wel this pourpos is nat sodeyn;
Vp-on my wittes stithie hath it be bete
Many a day / of this no lenger trete.3 441

1 Later scribbles at foot: 'William... thi... nunny ny,' &c.
2 MS. is.
3 Later, at foot: 'Lord, Hane meerce upon all cresten solles... John taler... sone frome the beg', &c.
HOCCLEVE’S DIALOG. I WON’T GIVE UP MY WRITING.

(64)

[Xleaf 17, back]

“\nI have a tyme resonable abide Or that I thoghte in this labour me; And al to preeue my self, I so dide: A man in his conceit / may serchee & see In .v. yeer / what he do may, pardee, And aftir that take vp-on him, and do Or leve / reso accordith beer-to.”

(65)

If \O Thomas, holdist thow it a prudence, Seide y nat eer / that 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 that yee were As constant as yee han been or this hour, By yow wolde I be red / but swich errore In your conceit I feele now, sanz faille, That in this cas yee can nat wel conseillH.¹

(67)

“Iffor god woot / a blynd Conseillour is he Which that conseille shal in a mateere, If of a soothe / him list nat lerned be; And euene swich oon fynde I now nowhere.²

¹ In the begynnyng god be my speade wythe grace & vertu [later, at bottom].
² MS. now heere.
"Han yee aght herd of me in communynge, Wherburgh yee oghten deeme of me amis? Hau I nat seid reson / to your thynkygne?"

"Havent I spoken reason? Hoceleve's friend.

Haven't I spoken reason?
Hoceleve's friend.

Yes; but your mind won't bear this new work.

Hau I nat seid reson / to your thynkygne?"

Haven't I spoken reason?
Hoceleve's friend.

But euer I am agast, & dreede this,

Thy wit is nat so mightly to susteene
That labour / as thow thy self woldest weene.'

"frend, as to pat, he lyueth nat pat can
Knowe / how it standith with an othir wight,
So wel as him self / al-thogh many a man
Take on him more / than lyth in his might
To knowe / pat man is nat ruled right
pat so presumeth in his jugement:
Beforn the doom / good wer' amisament."

Hoceleve.
Who can judge a man's state as well as he him-self?

"frend, as to pat, he lyueth nat pat can
Knowe / how it standith with an othir wight,
So wel as him self / al-thogh many a man
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pat so presumeth in his jugement:
Beforn the doom / good wer' amisament."

Hoceleve.
Who can judge a man's state as well as he him-self?
Hoccleve's Dialog, I Write by Fits and Starts.

(72)

"ffreend, I nat medle of matires grete;
Ther-to nat streche may myn intellect;
I neuer yit was brent with studies hete;
Let no man holde me ther-in suspect:
If I lightly / nat caeche may theffect
Of thyng in which / laboure I me purpose,
A dieu my studie / anoon my book I close.

(73)

"By stirtes / whan þat a fresh lust me takith,
Wole I me bisye now and now a lyte;
But whan þat my lust dullith and asslakith,
I stynte wole / and no lenger' wryte;
And pardee, freend / þat may nat hyndre a myte,
As þat it seemeth to my symple auys;
Lugeth your self / yee been prudent and wys."

(74)

I sikir, Thomas / if thow do in swich wyse
As þat thow seist / I am ful wel content
þat thow vp-on thee take þat empryse
Which þat thow has purposed and y-ment;
Vn-to þat ende / yeue y myn assent,
Go now ther-to / in Ihesu Crystes name;
And as thow haast me seid / do thou þat same.

(75)

I am seur þat thy disposicions
Is swich / þat thow maist more take on hoonde
Than I first wende in myn oppinioun,
By many fold / thankid be goddes soonde!
Do foorth in goddes name / & nat ne woonde
To make and wryte / what thyng þat thee list:
þat I nat eer kneew / now is to me wist.

1 Later scribble at top: 'Thomas . . Tomas Gairdymayr' (?)
XXI. HOCCLEVE'S DIALOG. MEANT FOR THE DUKE OF GLO'STER. 129

(76)

'And of o thyng / now wel I me remembre, Why thow purposist in this book trouaiH: I trowe pat in the monthe of Septembre Now last, or nat fer from / it is no faile,— No force of the time / it shal nat auaiH To my mateer / ne it hyndre or lette,— Thow seidist / of a book thow wei'' in dette

(77)

'Vn-to my lord / pat now is lieutenant, My lord of Glocestre / is it nat so?' 'Yis soothly, freend / and as by couenant He sholde han had it many a day ago; But seeknesse and vnlust / and othir mo Han be the causes of impediment.' 'Thomas / than this book' haast thow to him ment?'

(78)

'Yee sikir, freend, ful treewe is your deemyng; for him it is / pat I this book' shal make. As blyue as pat I herde of his comynge fru franche / I penne and ynke gan to take, And my spirit I made to awake, pat longe lurkid hath in ydilnesse fror any swich labour or bisynesse.

(79)

'But of sum othir thyng / fayn trete I wolde, 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 / teH on what is best, Me for to make / and folwe it am I prest.
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 al 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 ffro me, his humble servant & his man.

I thought of englissing for him Vegetius on Chivalry, but he knows it all.

Cherbourg bears witness to his valour.

"ffor him I thoght he translated Vegece Which tretith of the art of Chiualrie, But I see his Knyghthode so encrece, pat no thyng my labour sholde edifie, ffor he pat art / wel can for the maistrie. Beyonde, he preeued hath his worthynesse, And among othre / Chirburgh to witnesse.

"This worthy Prynce lay before pat hold Which was ful strong / at seege many a day, And thens for to departe hath he nat wold, But knyghtly ther' abood / vp-on his pray Til he by force it wan / it is no nay. Duc henri, pat so worthy was and good, ffolwith this Prince / as wel in deede as blood.

"Or he to Chirburgh cam / in iourneyynge, Of Constantyn he wan the cloos and yle, ffor which / laude and honour and hy preysyngne Rewarden him / and qwyten him his whyle. Thogh he beforne pat had a worthy style, yit of noble renoun is pat encrees: He is a famous Prince / doutelees!

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 teH in special
Every act [put his sword] / in steel wroot there,
And many a place / elles [I woot nat al];
And though every act come had to myn ere,
To yepresse[1] hem / my spirit wolde han fere,
Lest I his thank[2] par chaunce mighte abregge
Thurgh fnkonynge / if I hem sholde allegge.

(85)
"But this I seye / he callid is Humfrey
Conueniently, as [pat it seemeth me,
for this conceit is in myn herte al-wey,
Bataillous Mars / in his natuiteme
Vn-to [pat name] / of verray specialteee
Titled him / makyng e hem ther-by promesee
[pat strecche he sholde in-to hy worthynesse ;

(86)
"ffor humfrey / as vn-to myn intellect,
'Man, make I shal' / in englissli is to seye ;
And [pat byheeste / hath taken treewe effect,
As the commune fame / can bywyre :
Who-so his worthy knyghthode / can weye
Duely in his conceites balancæ,
Ynow hath / wher-of his renoun enhance.

(87)
"To chronicle his actes / wer a good deede,
for they ensaumple migthe, and encorage
ful many a man / for to taken heede
How for to gouerne hem in the vsage
Of armes / it is a greet aunantage

1 For 'expresse'?
2 Humfrey, quasi 'homme feray' [in margin] ? in a 17th-Century hand. Other scribble: 'John, Thomas ... John ... I winsaym bene ... as ... so p ff H Hon ... Ar mo ... stoke ... ginger ... Wylyam.'
A man before him / to have a mirour, 
Ther-in to see the path vn-to honour. 

(88)

"O lord / when he cam to the seege of Roon fro Chiburgh / whether fere or cowardly, 
So ny the walles / made him for to goon 
Of the town / as he diile? I nat souffysse 
To telle yow / in how knyghtly a wyse 
He logged him ther' / and how worthyly 
He baar him / what / he is al knyght soothly. 

(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, pardce, Thomas / o, no, aseuinance,' 
¶ "No, certein, freend / as now no chenuissance 
Can I ; your conseil is to me holsum; 
As I truste in yow, mynystreth me sum." 

(90)

¶ "Wel Thomas / trowest thow his by noblesse 
Nat rekke / what mateere þat it be 
þat thow shalt make of?" ¶ "no, freend, as I gesse, 
So þat it be mateere of honestee." 
¶ "Thomas, and thanne I wole auyse me; 
for who-so reed & conseil yeue shal, 
May nat on heed / foorth renne ther-withal. 

(91)

'And þat1 so noble a Prince, namely, 
So excellent / worthy and honourable, 
Shal haue / needith good anys soothly, 
þat it may be pleasant and agreeable 
To his noblesse / it is nat couenable 
To wyte to a prince so famous, 
But it be good mateer2 and vertuous. 

1 What poem.
XXI. HOCCLEVE'S DIALOG. HE MUST THINK BEFORE HE WRITES. 133

(92)
Thow woost wel / who shal an hous edifie, 642
Gooth nat ther-to withoute auisament, 642
If he be wys, for with his mental ye 642
first is it seen / pourposid / cast & ment, 642
How it shal wrought been / elles al is shent. 642
Certes, for the deffaupte of good forsighte, 642
Mis-tyden thynge / pat wel tyde mighite. 642

(93)
This may been vn-to thee / in thy makynge 645
A good mirour / thow wilt nat haaste, I trowe, 645
Vn-to thy penne / and ther-with wirke heedlynyge, 645
Or thow auysed be wel / and wel knowe 648
What thow shalt wryte / o, Thomas / many a throwe 648
Smertith the fool / for laky of good auys; 648
But no wight hath it smerted pat is wys; 651

(94)
ffor wel is he waar / or he wryte or speke, 652 [leaf 22, back]
What is to do or leue / Who by prudence 652
Rule him shal / no thynge shal out from him breke 652
Hastily ne of rakil negligence.' 652
¶ "freend, pat is sooth / o / now your assistance 656
And help / what I shal make, I now byseecche;
In your wys conceit / serche yee & seeche." 658

(95)
¶ He a long tyme in a studie stood, 659
And aftir pat, thus tolde he his entente: 659
¶ 'Thomas, sauf bettre auys, I holde it good, 663
Syn now the holy seson is of lente 663
In which it sit every man him repente 663
Of his offfense / and of his wikkidnesse / 665
Be heuy of thy gilt / and the confesse, 665

Hoccleve's friend.
Thomas, as it's now Lent,
hoccleve's dialog, how he can get women's favour again.

(96)  
And satisfaccion do thow for it.  
Thoost wel / on wommen, greet wyt & lak.  
Ofte haast thow put / be waar / lest thow be qwit.  
Thy wordes fille wolde a quarter sak,  
Which thow in whyt / depeynted haast with blak;  
In hir repreef, mochil thyng haast thow write,  
That they nat foryene haue / ne foryite.  

(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 hir3 affeccioni;  
Now syn it is in thyn eleccioun  
Whethir thee list / hir lone ageyn purchase,  
Or stonde as thow doost / out of lone & grace /  

(98)  
Bewar, rede I / cheese the bettre part.  
Truste wel this / wommen been feH and wyse;  
Hem for to plese / lyth greet craft & art.  
Wher no fyr maad is / may no smoke aryse;  
But thow haast ofte / if thow thee wel anyse,  
Maad smoky brondes / and for al pat gilt,  
yit maist thow stonde in grace / if pat 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 partic / art thow nothyng able;  
Humble thy goost / be nat sturdy of herte;  
Bettre than thow art / han they maad to smerte.  

1 wyte, blame; not wit, the little brain that Hoccleve had.  
2 A sack that holds a quarter (being a double sack), = a lot of words.—T. Austin.
hoccleve's dialog. praise of women 'll please the duke. 135

(100)
'the wyf of Bathe, take I for auctrice
pat wommen han no ioie ne deynte
pat men sholde vp-on hem putte any vice;
I woot wel so / or lyk't to pat, seith shee.
By wordes written / Thomas, yilde thee;
Euene as thow by scripture hem haast offendid,
Right so / let it be by wrytynge amendid.'

(101)

"ffriend / thogh 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 ladies / 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 thogh 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)

Adam begyled was with Evees reed,
And sikir so was shee by the Serpent,
To whom god seide / “this woman thy thyn ead
Breke shal / for thurgh thy thyn enticement
Shee hath y-broken my commandement.”

Now, syn woman had of the feend swich might;
To breke a mannes head / 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,
Thoghi his wyf do to him pat selue same.

Hir reson axith hauve of men maistrie
Thoghi holy writ witnesse and testifie
Men sholde of hem han dominacioun,
It is the reuers in probacioun.

(106)

Hang up your hatchet, and sit down.

If I sholde in swich cas / pleye a soleyn.”

(107)

If you want to live in ease,

take patiently all that women say.

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)

"frend, hard it is / wommen to greene, 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 / so largeliche said,
That they been swart wrooth / & ful euclie apaid."

(109)

"frend / doutelees sumwhat ther is ther-in
pat sowneth but right smal to hir honour;
But as to pat / now, for your fadir kyn,
Considereth / ther-of / was I noon Auctour;
I nas in pat cas / but a reportour
Of folkes tales / as they seide / I wroth:
I nat affermed it on hem / god woot!"

(110)

"Who so pat shall reheere a mannes sawe,
As pat he seith / moot he seyn & nat varie, 1
for, 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 dispierce hir condicions and port,
for pat I made of hem swich a report,' /

(111)

"He mis-ausyed is / and cek to blame.
Whan I it spak / I spak compleynyngly;
I to hem thoghte no repreef ne shame.
What world is this / how vnndirstande 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 cheereetee,

1 This is Chaucer's excuse for telling his naughty Tales.
“And elles / woot I neuer what is what.
The book' conclueth for hem / is no nay,
Vertuously / my good freend / dooth it nat?”
¶ ‘Thomas, I noot / for neuer it yit I say.’
“No, freend?” ¶ ‘no, Thomas’ / ¶ “Wel trowe I,
in fay;
ffor had yee red it fully to the ende,
yee wolde seyn / it is nat as yee wende.”

“Thomas / how so it be / do as I seide:
Syn it displesith hem / amendes make.
If þat some of hem thee ther-of ypbreide,
Thow shalt be bisy ynow, I vudirtake,
Thy kut to kepe / now I thee bytake
To god / for I moot needes fro thee weende:
The love and thank of wommen / god thee seende!

‘Among, I thynke thee for to visyte
Or þat thy book' fully finisshid be,
ffor looth me were / thow sholdest aght wryte
Wherthurgh / thow mightest gete any maugree;
And for þat cause / I wolde it oversee;
And, Thomas / now a dieu & fare weel;
Thow fynde me shalt / al so treewe as steel.’

Whan he was goon / I in myn herte drede
Stonde out of wommennes beneuolence;
And to fulliie þat / þat he me redde,
I shoop 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 friend.
‘Well, Thomas, do as I bid you;
please the women.
God send you their love!

Now and then I shall visit you
before your book’s done,
and see that you don’t write any-
thing to annoy women.’

When my friend was gone,
I resolv’d to work
to win women’s love.
hoccleve's dialog.  i'll english a tale to please the ladies.  139

(116)

"my ladyes all / as wisly god me blesse,
why yat yee meued been / can i nat knowe;
my gilt cam nemere yit" to the ripnesse,
al-thogli yee for your fo / me deeme & trowe;
but I your freind be / byte me the crowe!
I am al othir to yow / than yee weene;
by my wrytynge / hath it, & shal be, scene.

806  but, ladies,
    tho' you think me your foe, I'm your friend, or else may the Crow bite me!

(117)

but natheles / I lowly me submitte
To your bontees / as fer as they han place
In yow / vn-to me, wrecche, it may wel sitte
To axe pardoun / thogli I nat trespase;
Leuer is me / with pitous cheere & face,
And meek spirit, do so / than open werre
yee make me / & me putte atte werre.1

813

810

817

819

(118)

A tale eek1 / 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 frrance,—
Thogli I nat shapen be / to prike or prance,—
Wole I translate / and yat shal pourge, I hope,
My gilt / as cleene / as keuerchiefs dooth sope.

820  [leaf 26, back1]
    and, to please you, ladies,

824  I'll english you a tale from the Gesta Romanorum.

826

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.

Tabula de quandam Emperatricce Romana.

(1) In the Romain actes writen is thus:
Whitom an Emperour in the Citee Of Roome regned, clept Jereslaus, Which, his noble estat & hy dignitee Governed wysly ; & weddid had he The doghtir of the kyng of Vngarie, A fair lady / to every mannes ye.

(2) And for pat beautee in womman, allone
Withouten bontee, is nat commendable,
Shee was ther-to / a vertuous persone,
And specially pitous & merciable
In aH hir wirkes / which ful crouenable
And pertinent is / vn-to wommanhede :
Mercy causith / good renon fer to spred.¹

(3) Now in my tale foorth wole I proocede :
As pat this Emperour in his bed lay
Vp-on a nyght / a thoght gan in him breede,
Vn-to the holy land / to take his way ;
And on the morwe / left² lenger delay,
His wyf and his brothir / he made aparee
Before him / and hem seide in this maneere :

(4) “My deere wyf / myn hertes ioie and hele,
pat thyng pat stablisshid in myn herte is,
I can nat hyde fro thee / ne concele,
Ne nat ne wole / and shortly it is this :
Vn-to the holy lond / I wole ywis ;

¹ b b b h h h .... Thomas kngston hath Rede this gufily boke [ln a later hand at the bottom of the page]. ² ? MS. lest.
And for thy / make I thee principally
Of al thempyre / me absent / ‘lady,’

(5) Bytakinge and committinge vn-to thee,
Of peple and land / the charge special;
And vndir thee / my brothir heer shall be
Steward of it / to rule & gouerne al
That to me and my peple, greet & smal,
Profitable is / by Conseil & assent
Algate of thee / and thyn anysament.¹

(6) Al-though thee thynke / this purpos sodeyn,
Yit be nat heuy / but in gree it take.
With goddes grace / my comynge ageyn
Shal nat be longe to / I, for thy sake,
Wole the shorter abood / there make.
Truste me weil / as blyue as pat I may,
Haaste I me wole / fro thennes away.”

(7) To whom / with spirit of humilitie,
She seide / “syn it is your good plesance
To departe hens / & / go to pat Contree,
I take moot algates, in souffrance,
Your wil / and shal, with hertes obeissaiice,
As treewe as turtle / pat lakkith hir feere
In your absence / I shal be / my lord deere.

(8) “fful sore I am agast, & greetly dreede
pat neuere yee shuln themmes with your lyf;
Retorne / almighty ged yow saue & speede!”
he [to] hir’ yaf wordes confortatyf;
And kiste hir’ / and seide, “farewel, wyf!
Be nat abassht / ne nat dreedith, I preye;”
And foorth he hastith him in his iournye.

¹ Later scribble at side; ‘h h ham for . . . L. L . . . L. L,’ &c.

He makes his wife “Lady” of the Empire,
with charge of the folk and land;
and his brother “Steward,” to rule all
by her advice.

He promises, for her sake, to come back home as soon as he can.

His wife, the Empress,
submits to his will.
She will be as true to him as the turtle-dove to its mate.

The Emperor starts for the Holy Land.
JERESLAUS'S WIFE.  HIS BROTHER TRIES TO CORRUPT HIS WIFE.

(9) The sorwe of herte / and cheer' of heuynessem
Which this good lady at his departynge
Made / the book' nat can telle or expresse;
Wherfore / of pat haue I no knowlechynge;
Eek' kepe I nat / the belle of sorwe out rynge,
Thogh pat I kneew wel ever'y circumstance
Of hir' wo / & hir' heuyn contenance.

(10) But whan this Emperour was thus agoon,
His brothirs herte was so eleuat
And so proud / 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.

(11) And yit this wikkid man / this Seneschal,
Meened was worse / and to fulfiH it / thoghtte;
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 womanly nay.

(12) He day by day lay / on this Emperice
To make hir' vn-to him fleshly consente;
But shee answerde / "it wer' oner greet vice
To me / if I ther-to myn herte bente.
Nay, brothir, nay / god woot, I neuere it mente,

1. Thomas ... Thomas kaye the sonne of thomas kay ... Thom-mas Kaye the son of Thommas Kaye ... Thomas Kaye the sonne ... s hus' [in a later hand in the margin].
2. In a later hand, at top: 'be it kounge vnto all men be thes present Wryting.'
Ne neuere shal / I truste in goddes grace;
Yee goon wrong / yee mis-chosen han your place. 84

(13)
"In al your lyf / yee neuere, ne noon othir,
Shal make me consente to pat synne.
for shame, fy / pat yee, my lordes brothir,
And whom pat he right faithful trust hath Inne,
Sholde any swich tale / to me begynne,
Which wer' ageyn his / and your honesty,
And myn / pat am his wyf, wel knowne yee. 89

(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 & stowne
he stired hire / when he fond hir soul,
Vn-to this deede vicious and foul. 96

And whan shee sy / shee mighte haue no reste,— 99
Nat wolde he stynte of his iniquitee,—
Shee aftir three / or foure / of the gretteste
Of al thempire sente / and thus spake shee:
"Sires / the cause / pat hath meened me
for yow to sende / is this / as I shal seyn,
Of which / I sore encombred am / certeyn:

(15)
And whan shee sy / shee mighte haue no reste,— 99 (leaf 29)
The Empress sends for 3 or 4
Magnates, and tells them

(16)
"yee woot wel / pat my lord the Emperour,
In his absence / hath maad me principal
Of thempire / and his brothir gounernour
And Steward vndir me / for to rule al,
With this addicion / pat he nat shal
Wirke / my Conseil and assent vnbad:
This was my lordes wil / and thus he bad;

and reproaches
him for his
treachery to his
brother,

She will be a
true wife to her
husband.

But still this bad
Steward urges her
to vice.

that the Emperor
made her Chief
of the Empire,
and his brother
Steward, to rule
by her advice.
But the Steward has oppress and robd, and tried to do worse to her.

The Magnates must imprison

(17)

"And nathelees / the poore he hath oppressid, And robbid ryche folk / yee woot, I trowe; And were thyng / whichshal nat been expressid As now / he wolde han doon / my self it knowe; 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)

"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.”

(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 boght. Pat I yow charge / wole I stande by.”

They made anoon areest on his body, And in-to prison / they him threew & caste, And fettred him in yren bondes faste,

(20)

Where he abood / til pat word comen was, How pat the Emperour was hoom comynge. Thanne he thus thoghte / “how shal I doon / allas, Now knowe shal my lord, by enquerynge, The verray cause of myn enprisonynge, 1

1 Later, at foot: 42 — 10 — 2

[1 crost thro' for 2] 2 2 10 100

S* to to Summa totalis 42 10
Wherthurgh, his grace / I vvtrily 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 ordeyned he,
And made him / to the Emperice go,
And byseeche hir / of hir hy[e] bontee,
Syn shee had ay been of hir grace free,
pat shee so mochil grace / wolde him do,
As come / and speke a word with him or two.

(22)
Vn-to the dore / of his prison / shee cam;
Withouten danger / shee ther-to obeide:
"What is your wil," quod shee / "lo, heei'' I am."
He lookid pitously // and meekly preide,
"O gracios lady / reewe on me," he seide;
"If pat my lord me fynde heei'' in prison,
My deeth wolde it been, & confusion.

(23)
"My gentil lady / what shal yow profyte
To do me of a mescheuous deeth stertie?
If pat I lyue may / wolde I me qwyte
Treewely to yow / and your thank disserue.
What yow list me commande / I wolde obserue,
And do as humblely as any man
pat in this world lyueth / do may or can."

(24)
And shee anoon right, meeued of pitee,
Seide / "if [pat] I wiste pat of thy folie
Thow stynte woldest, & amende thee
Hens-fouthe / and thee vn-to vertu applie,
My grace wolde I nat to thee denye."
He seide and swoor / al pat he cowde swere,
Amende he wolde / and wel aftir him bere.

1 Later, at side: 'hyghte... Thomas... bee.'

HOCCLEVE, M. P.—II.
14G
XXn.
JERESLAUS'S
WIFE.
SHE FRES HER FALSE BROTHER-IN-LAW.

(25)

O noble lady / symple and Innocent,
Trustynge vp-on his ooth and his promesse,
fful wo is me / for thy wo consequent!
Often happith / wommannes tendrenesse
This Emperice fond it so by preef,
Whom pat forsworn man / greet harm dide, & greef.

(26)

sets him free,
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.

(27)

[leaf 31]
As they ride,
And as they riden / right in the hy way
a hart starts,
Ny a fforest / an hert before hem ran:
and every man
and every man dooth his peyne / in what he can,
rushes after it.
The hert to suë / ther leftë no man
The Empress is
With this good lady / sauf this wikkid wight,
left alone with
This Steward / which brakë al pat he had hight.
the Steward.

(28)

Par aventure / men wole han meruaiH,
That damoisele / with hir had shee noon:
That tyme par cas / was no swich array
(25)

Alas, she trusts
him,

(26)

sets him free,

(27)

[leaf 31]

(28)

This happened
long ago.)

1 Later, at top: ‘within . . . from eve dep.’
Whan this knyght sy / ther was noon but they two, 197

To themperice / he seide in this maneere:

"It is ago fern / syn I spak yow to
Of loue / come on now, my lady deere,
With me / in-to this pruue foreste heere,
That y of yow / may haue my talent!
Now shal be doon / pat I longe haue ment."

He asks her
to come into the forest and yield to his desire.

She reproaches him,

She reproaches

bids him hold his tongue,

bids him hold his tongue,

and absolutely refuses him.

He declares that if she won't give herself to him,

he'll hang her on a tree by her hair,

to starve and die.

JERESLAUS'S WIFE. SHE SHUNS HER BROTHER-IN-LAW'S PROPOSALS. 147

(29)

(30)

(31)

(32)

And he answarde / and spak vnuuerently:

"But if pat thow / consente wilt to me
In this foreste / as swythe the right woyle y
Hange thee by thyn heer / vp-on a tree,
Wher no wight shal thee fynde / and so," quod he,

Of wikkid deeth / thow sterne shalt & die;

Truste on noon help at al, ne remedie."
JERESLAUS’S WIFE. SHE IS STRIPT AND HANDED UP BY HER HAIR.

(33)

She scorns his threats.

He shall never have her alive.

The Steward strips the Empress to her smock, hangs her on an oak by her hair, and rides off, the tyrant.

Then he lies to his men, and says that the Empress was carried off by force from him,

[leaf 32, back]

Liar, stinking adulterer, traitor,

(34)

“Thow woost wel / in effect / thus seide I cer.”

He strypid hir anoon / left al delay,

Vn-to hir smok / and heng hir by hir heer

Vp-on an ook / and by hir, hir palfray

He stonde leet / and fourth on deuel way

Rood this tirant / this man malicious,

This cruel-herted man enemious.

(35)

And when he had his felawshiphe atake,

He bleew and blustred / and made heny cheere;

And a strong lesyng / he gan to hem make;

He seide, “allas / pat I nere on my beere,

So wo is me / for pat my lowdes feere,

My lady, is me reft / by force of men.”

God yeue him sorwe // and aH swiche [Amen]!

(36)

O false lyer / o thow cofre and cheste

Of vnclennesse / o stykynge Aduontour

In wil, seye I / and willy to inceste;

O false man to god / and thow traiyur:

To thy lord and brothir, the Emperor;

O enemey to wyfly chasitice,

And in thy wirkes ful of crueltee;

1 Later, at top: ‘O false lyer.’
XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE. SHE IS SEEN IN THE OAK BY AN EARL. 149

(37)

O cursid feendly wrecche / why hast thow 253 devilish wretch!
Deceyued & betrayed Innocence?
What wilt thow seye / & how wilt thow looke, how,
Whan thow comest / to thy Lordes presence,
And art opposid by his excellence,
How pat it with his lady betid[de]?
I am seur / pat the trouthe shal been [hide].

(38)

ffor as wel as pat to thy compaignie
Thow lyedist / whan thow hem ouertook / 
As lowde wilt thow / vn-to thy lord lye,
I woot wel / and with bole face and look.
Nathelit / of this tretith nat the book;
Wherforè to my talè woI go,
Of this lady / and foorth teH of hir wo.

(39)

Whan pat shee so had hanged dayes three, 1
By pat forestè / rood ther on huntynge
An Erl / pat was of a strangè contree;
Beforn whos howndes was a foX rennynge,
And they aftir it blyuè folowyng;
And as pat they ran / they hadden a sent
Of the lady / and thidir be they went;

(40)

And there as shee heeng / they stood at a bay.
This Erl, of pat meruaillynge him greetly,
Thidir him hyeth / in al pat he may;
And whan he hire / there hangynge sy,
He seide / "wommán / what art thow, & why
Hangest thow in this wyse vp-on the tree?"
A strange womman / sire, am I" / quoèl shee, 280

1 Later, at top: 'Wh . . . Beneamè . . . benefold . . . Beniamia . . . Benee e e e e.' At side: 'Thomas, I haue my hertili comendyd vnto you of du . . .'

An Earl, while hunting,
"Of fer[re] parties / how in-to this place
I cam / god woot" / shew wolde by no way
Deskeuere what shew was / ne what fallace
Was doon to hire / cloo she kephe 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 vndistood
pat it noon othir wyse miglyte be,
But shee sum gentil womman was of blood;
And in his herte / routhe of hire had he,
And seide to hire / "if it lyke thee,
Vn-to my wil / thee confourme and enclyne /
Deliure wol I thee / out of thy pyne.

"Lo, this I meene / 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 gouerneresse,
And teche hire / as longith to a Maistresse
pat Lordes children han in gouernaiH;
And wel wol I thee qwyte thy travaiH;

"Myn entente is pat / and othir right noon."

\[ "Sire," quod shee / gladly wol 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 wyte;
And of the chyld / shee tooke the gouernance,
Which torned hire aftir to greet nusance."
She with this yong chyld in the Chambre lay

Every nyght / wher lay therl and the Contesse,
Betzwixt 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,
Giltles, 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 ay this lady gracious,
"Maad haue I an avow to god aboue,
Loueres alle / fro myn herte shoue,
Sauf onely him / whom, of goddes precept,
To Loue / I holde am / and pat shall be kept.

I truste in god / myn herte shal nat change
fro pat, whil my lyf shal soiourne in me."
"O / wilt thow so / wilt thow make it so strange;
Wilt thow noon othir wyse do," quod he.
"pat I seid haue / I wolde holde," quod she.

And whan he sy / noon othir remedie,
He wroothly wente / out of hir compaignie.

And fro thens foorth / compassid in his wit,

How to be venged / vp-on hire, & wroken.

And on a nyght / vnhappyly shoop it,
Left was the Erles Chambre dore vnstoken;
To which he com / and fond it was nat loken,

She sleeps with the child in the Earl's room.
The Earl's Steward wants to lie with her.
She refuses him.
He resolves to be
revenge on her.

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.'

Later letters often scribbled in margins: D, h, y, a, w, n h u, and 'myn... And for... where... hyl.'
The Steward steals into her bedroom,

And theefly in staa / this wikkid persone, 336

Where as he fond hem slepynge euyechone. 336

(49)

And he espys / by the lampes lighe,

The bed / where as pat lay the Emperice

With therles doghtir / and as blyue right

This feendly man his purposid malice

Thoghte for to fulfiH and accomplice ; 341

And so he did / 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 ; 344

And as this Emperice / lay slepynge,

In-to hire hand / this bloody knyf he putte, 348

for men sholde haue noon othir demynghe,

But shee had gilty been / of this murynghe.

And whan pat he / had wroght this cursidnessse,

Anoon out of the Chambre / he gan him dresse. 350

(51)

[leaf 33]

¶ 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 fere / shee tremblid and qwookt 355

And rogged on hir lord / and him awook',

Preyynge 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 besoghite,

And it byheeld / and of it took' good keep,

And of pat meschief / him sore forthoghite

Demynghe pat this cursid deede wroghte 362

This Emperice / as pat it was ful lyk'

To been / and vp he threew an heuyn syk', 364

\(^1\) Later, at top and in margin: ‘The Contesse . . . dan (?) . . . H . . . pr . . . p . . .'
And hire awook / and thus to hire he cryde, 365
“Womman! what is pat in thyn hand I see?
What hast thou doon, womman? for him pat dyde,
What wikked spirit / hath travaillid thee?”
And as soone / as pat adawid was shee, 369
The knyf fil out of hire hond in the bed[de],
And shee byheeld the clothes al bybled[de] /

(54)
And the chyld deed: “Allas!” shee cryde, “allas! 373
How may this be / god woot al / I noot how;
I am nat pryuee to this heuy cas;
The gitt is nat myn / I the chyld nat slow.”
To which spak' the contesse / “what seist thou?
Excuse the nat / thou maist nat seyn nay;
The knyf al bloody / in thyn 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 slayn!
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, 386
ffor causes two / me thynkith it smal vice,
Shee was in pat in partie excusable:
ff 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.’
JEUESLAUS'S WIFE IS TURNED OUT OF THE EARL'S CASTLE.

(57)

(pat othur cause / as woot every man:

In [al] the world / so louyng tendrenesse

Is noon / as is the loue of a womman

To hir chyld namely / & as I gesse,

To hire housonde also / where-of / witnesse

We weddid men may bere / if pat vs lyke,

And so byhoueth / a thank1 vs to pyke.

(58)

Now foorth / how the erl to themperice him hadde,

And how pat he gouerned pat mateere,

Herkneth / with heuy cheere & wordes sadde,

To hire he spak1 / and seide in this maneere:

"Womman / with my swerd / slee wolde I thee heere,

Sauf for awe of god / at whos reuerence

pat deede wole I putte in abstinence.

(59)

"Thow haue shalt for me noon harm at al;

But who-so trystith on the curtesie

Of thee / ful soone he decayued be shal.

Whan pat thow were / on a tree hangid hye,

Where as thow likly haddest been to dye,

Thow woost wel / ther-from I deliured thee,

And with my Doghtres deeth / thow qwit hast me!

(60)

"Vnkynde womman / walke on foorth thy way;

Hye thee hens / and neuere see my face;

ffor if pat I / heere-afthur thee see may,—

Outhir in this / or eny othir place

Of my lordshiphe /—thow noon othir grace

Shalt han / but die a deeth ful villenous,

Thow wikkid womman, fals and traiterous!

(61)

This Innocent lady / no word ageyn

Spak1 / for shee spoken had ynow beforh,
Excusynge hire / but, al was in veyn;—her first excuses were in vain—
sir whan pat shee had al y-seyd and sworn,
Shee with the Erl and his wyf / was doun born;
And sikerly / where as pat no credence
May been had / wysdam conseillith silence.

(62)

¶ What leeue pat shee took / ne woot I nat, 428
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 forth roode toward the orient.
O Emperice / our lord god gye thee,
ffor yit thee folwithe more aduersitee.¹

(63)

As shee rood, on hir right hand / shee espyde 435 436
A galwe tree / to which men a theef ledde,
Hanged to been / and to hire horses syde
The spore gooth / shee faste hire thidir spedde,
ffor verray routhe hir thoghte hire herte blodde,
And to the Officers / meekly shee preide
In this wyse / and right thus shee to hem seide : 441

(64)

"Sires, if yow list / this mannes lyf sane 442
I reedy am / to yene yow good meede."
¶ "We wole wel," quod they / "what shul we haue?"
What lykith yow / for his lyf vs to beede?
Paieth thersfore wel / and yee shul speede." 446
They of the paiement / accordid were ;
Shee paide / and this man / foorth shee took with here.

¹ In margin, in a later hand : At foot : s d.
Of ahte thing as that I can fynde,
Hope dothe help the carefull mynd, quod Carter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>20</th>
<th>10 — 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>9 — 4</td>
<td>39 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE AND THE RESCUED THIEF GO TO A CITY.

The rescued Thief promises to serve the Empress faithfully.

(65)

"Be to me treewe" / now quod shee, "my freend, Syn fro thy deeth / deliured hane y thee."

"Yis, certes, lady / elles to the feend, Body and soule bytake y," seide he;

"Noon othir wolde I / for al cristientee, Been vn-to yow" / and foorth shee rood hir way, And on his foot / this man hire folwith ay,1

(66)

Til pat they drow / vn-to a Citee ny,2 Whidir befrom / shee bad him for to go And take hire In / so pat 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 brynge hire thidir / faste wente & ran.

(67)

Shee cam in-to hir In / and abood there Dayes dyuerse / for hire ese and reste; And in the Citee / fame wydewhere Sprang / how a lady / the womanlyeste Of cheere / port / shap / and eek the faireste That any wight beholde mighte or see, Was come / and Inned hire in the Citee.

(68)

Many a lusty man / in loues art Expert and sotil / drow hem to hir In, Wegenyng he geten pat / of which no part

1 At foot, later:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & - & 10 \\
9 & - & 4 \\
\hline
1 & 19 & 6
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{Summa totalis} = 39^a 6d\]

2 In margin, in a later hand:

Thys ys Ichyn Hanook ys boke, ho so euer saye naye, the denyll of hell bere Thomas Carter awaye! Know er thow knyt, and then thow mayst slake; (see p. 124) If thow knyt [ Ms. kynt] er thow know, then hyt ys to late.
They gete kowde / for noon art ne gyn.
To thententes corrupt / pat they were In,
Shee wolde for no thyng / bowe & enclyne;
Hire hertes Castel / kowde they nat myne.

(69)
As fer as the boundes of honestee
Requeren / shee made hem disport and cheere;
But passyng it / for al hir sotiltee,
Sfor profre of meede / ne for faire preyeere,
Shee change molde hir vertuous maneere;
The lessons pat they in Ouyde had red,
Halp hem right noght / they wenten thens vnsped.

(70)
O. yee pat seyn / wommen be variant,
And can nat sad been / if they been assaillid!
Yee been ful vnkonnynge and ignorant,
And of the soothe / foule yee han failliid;
Constance is vn-to wommanhode entailliid;
Out of pat fee / they nat be dryue may;
Swich hir nature is / thogli sum men seyn nay,

(71)
They stidefast been / as fer as y woot,
But it be / wher they take han a purpos
Pat nagli is / which, be it neuere so hoot,
They change / lest it hurte miglit hir loos,
And keepen it secre / couert & cloos,
Vuexecut / thogli 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 thidir, and see / and him wel anyse

1 At top, later: A nunni a A a nunni A nunni k k k (?).
XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE ASKS THE SHIPMAN TO SHOW HIS GOODS.

What's on board of it.

What thyng ther-in was / & word hoom hirz brynge,
Withoute any delay or taryynge. 504

(73)

Her man (the Thief) finds rich stuffs,

He thidir wente / & clothes precious,
Amonges othir thynges / there he fond;
ful ryche was the stuf, and plenteuous,
Of the ship / and the maistir, by the hond
he took / and seide / "ga we to the lond,
[IN]To my ladyes In / shee wolde bye,
If pat yow list / sum of your marchandie." 511

(74)

and takes the Shipman

¶ "I wolde 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 comen / he hir tole,
Axynge hire / if shee with him speke wolde. 518

(75)

[leaf 39]
to the Empress.

¶ "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,
Dyuerse precious clothes / and if yee
Wolden some of hem brynge hidir to me,
As pat we miglite accorde, wolde y paye
In honde / and nat your paiement delaye." 525

(76)

He agrees,

¶ "Ma dame, I grante," he seide / and took' his leeue;
And with him / hir servant to the ship wente,
To whom / the shipman by the way gan meeue:
¶ "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. 532

and takes the Shipman

¶ "I wolde 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 comen / he hir tole,
Axynge hire / if shee with him speke wolde. 518

(75)
XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE. HER THIEF-SERVANT WILL BETRAY HER. 159

(77)

"O, may I truste / may I truste in thee?
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 servaunt, "that I make avow
To god / if pat it in my power lye,
Myn help to thee / ne wole y nat denye.

(78)

"If thow heere-aftir / fynde pat I gabbe,
Of my promesse / thanne dokke me;
I neuere was yit / of my tongue a labbe;
pat thyng / pat me told is in priuete,
Keepe I can wel / be in noon aweertee,
But anoon to me telle out al thy gole,
ffor treewe and trusty / be to thee y wole."

(79)

¶ "Grant mercy," seide the Shipman; "I-wis,
Now feele I confort / now dar y bywreye
To thee myn hertes secrete / which is this:
Swich excellence of beautee is, y seye,
In thy lady / pat but if thow purweye
ffor me / pat y hir loue may obtene,
ful shorte shuln my dayes been / y weene."

(80)

¶ Quod this servaunt / "looke how y may profyte
In this, let see / and me sette in the way
How y shal do / and so shal y me qwyte,
pat y thy thank / disserue shal for ay;
Al shal be doon right to thyn owne pay;
Telle on / how wilt thow pat I me gounene."

The Shipman seide / "and pat I wole as yerne:
(81)

"On my behalue / to thy lady weende,
And to hire seye / pat in no maneere,
Clothes out of my ship may I hire seende;
If hir good lust be, in my ship appeere,
Shee shal seen what hir list / with ful good cheere;
But out of my ship / wole y nothyng selle:
Right euene thus / vn-to hir seye and telle;

(82)

"But of o thyng / thou must thee wel auyse,—
Good heede ther-of take / and nat ne fail,—
Be thou wel waar / in al maneere wyse
pat the wynd thanne / be good, hens to sayl;
Al pat thou doost elles / may nat anaill;
fior lede hir hoom / wole y to my contree:
Lo, this is al / pat y desire of thee."

(83)

ful sooth is seid / the fals and sucheits
Been soone accordid / alas! this onhede
Synful shal be / wikkid and treecherous.
O / Emperice / god the gye 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 thou shalt eschape.

(84)

"Now to purpos / than seide this servuant
To the Shipman / " come of, yeue me meede,
for heere y swere / and make couenaunt,
This shal be doon / haue there-of no dreede."
He had[de], y not what / the deuel him speede
for his labour / to be doon in this caas;
And to his lady / dressith he his paas.
(85)

He tolde hire / how the Shipman wolde naght
Deliure clothes / out of his vessel;
But if it lykid hire / to bye[n] agh / Thidir shee muste come / and he ful wel
With hire wolde do / shee knewe 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 pat y shal,
Syn pat thow seist / it may noon othr be,
But outhir moot y goon / or leuen al.
Let vs go thidir as swythe,” quod shee.

“Ma dame / vs muste abyden his leisir;”
There-on I wole awayte bysly;
And whan tyme is / yee shuln han your pleisir.
Ofter vp-on him awayte moot y,
To wite and knowe / wel and redily,
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 haunye,
Seide / “as pat thow doost / holde y me content.”
Thus hir servaunt delayed hir goynge
Til pat the wynd wel stood / the ship to brynge
Out of the port / and thidir he hir spedde,
And pat in haaste, he to the ship hire lezde.

1 Later scribble in margin: After my most . . . Thomas, you be a good samoner (?) . . . thom . . This hiff made the . . . bll . . . Shi.

HOCCLEVE, M.P.—11.
Whan shee withyn the Shipbord entred was,
Vp gooth the sail / to the top of the mast.
Hire man, of purpos / lette on londe / alas.
Quod Shee / “nat was y waar of this forcast;”
And ther-with-al / out to weepe shee brast,
And seide, “what treson / doost thow, Shipman,
To me?” ¶ “nay,” quod he, “no treson / womman,
Nat meene I, but thus / lo / thus wole I do,
flieshly the knowe / and aftir wedde thee.”
¶ “A vow,” quod shee / “maad hane I god vn-to,
pat neuere so / shal ther man do to me,
ffor thynge in this world / outake oonly he
To whom y am y-bownden to / and1 knyt;
The labour is in vein / to speke of it.”

¶ “Keepe in thy wordes / womman, I thee rede,”
Quod he / “considere and thynke wel, pat thow
Of thy lyf stondist in peril and drede,
ffor in middes of the See been we now.
To me conforme / it shal 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
My deeth / but y your entente fulfille,
Al-thogh it be greetyl ageyn myn herte:
Yit rather than pat yee me sle or kille,
Wole y assente / so it be your wille,
In the ende of the ship / for to ordeyne
An honest place / and pryuee / for vs tweyne.
1 MS. and and.
XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE. SHE PRAYS. THE SHIP SPLITS IN TWO. 163

(93)

"It is nat / as I hope / your entente. In open sight 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 / pursuye ffor vs / pat folk see nat / how we foleye."

(94)

"He in the ship / where as was his plesance, A place ordeneid / curtyned aboute, In-to the which / with heuy contenance, Whyles he speek't with his meynee withoute, Shee entred hath / and anoon gan to loute To god / right on hir knees she hir prayeere Made / as I to yow shal reheeuen here:"

(95)

"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 clothes 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 deffense & sheeld, 672

1 In margin, later scribble: A nunnuy ... A num ... how ...
XXII.
JERESLAUS'S WIFE ENTERS A NUNNERY. HEALS THE SICK.

(97)

The Empress is carried safely to land.
The Shipman is also saved.

And broughte hire vp / vn-to the land saufly. 673
To an othir bord / this maister shipman
Eek claf / and was sauf / this fil won dirly:
Many maistries our lord god do can;
And pat this lady, this noble woman 677
Was sauf / this maistar 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 684
Receyued hire / al thogfi pat no notice
They hadde / of hire estat of Emperice. 686

(99)

[leaf 43]

And there aboord shee / a long tymes space 687
In holy lyf / and vertuous clennesse;
Vn-to whom god yaf / and shoop swich a grace,
pat shee kowde hele folk of hir seeknesse,
What so it were / and thidir gan hem dresse 691
ffrom euery part / and euery Contree,
They pat felten any infirmitie.1 693

(100)

Her cursed brother-in-law

Than shoop it / he pat to the Emperour 694
Was brothir / which this lady on a tree
By hire heer vp heeng / pat cursid traitour,
Mour of malice and iniquitee,
As foul a leepre was / as mighite be: 698
Lo, thogfi god him / to wreke a whyle abyde,
The fals and wikkid, qwytith he sum tyde. 700

1 Later scribble in margin: 'Righte welle . . Robarte . . Robarte . . if hrmum.'
The knyght eek which the Erles doghtir slow—
The Emperice & shee / bothe sleepynge,
As I before told haue / vn-to yow—
Was blynd and deef / and also the tremblynge
Of palesie / sore gan him wrynge:
No force how sore / swich a wreeche smerte,
That to wommen / so cruel is of herte.

The false knight who kild the Earl's daughter
is blind, deaf, and palsied.

The thief / 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 gowy / & halt he was eek',
And was in othir sundry wyse seekt.

The thief-senant
is gouty and lame.

The Shipman had also the franesie,
pat with this Emperice / hadde ment
ffulfillid his foul lust of aduontric,
Which was in him / ful hoot and ful fervent:
See how aH hem / pat to this Innocent,
This noble lady / had y-doon greuance,
Our lord god qwitte / with strooke of vengeance.

The Shipman has the frenzy.
God's vengeance falls on deceivers of women.

Yee men, whos vsage is, wommen to greeue,
And falsely deceuyue hem and bytraye,
No wondir is / thogh yee mis happe & cheue:
God qwyte yow wolde / and your wages paye
In swich[e] wyse / pat it yow shal aftraye.
Let goddes wrecches hens-foorth yow miroure,
ffor, but if yee do / yee shul bye it soure.
When the Emperor hears of the Holy Woman who heals all sicknesses,

he bids his leprous brother go with him to her, and get cured.

The Abbess and Convent meet the Emperor, and tell him they have a Woman of unequald power.

XXII. JER.'S WIFE. HER FALSE BROTHER-IN-LAW COMES TO HER.

(105)

¶ Now to the Emperour, torné Wolfe y,
Which, whan he herde / pat in an Abbeye
Of Nonnes / was a woman so holy,
And ther-to so konnynge, he herd[e] seye,
That voide kowde shee / and dryue aweiye
Seeknesse aff / of what kynde or nature
They weren / and hem hele wel & cure,

(106)

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 haaste & hye
In what they may / vn-to pat Nonnerie.

(107)

Knowen vn-to thabbesse & hir Couent
How pat the Emperour / was ny comynge,
Ageyn him in procession / arn they went,
Hir service ful denoulyt syngynge,
And dide al / pat was to swich cas longynge.
And whan he in thabbye was alight,
Thus of thabbesse / he axid anoon right:

(108)

"Is ther any swich womman in this hous,
As folkes hele can of hir seeknesse?
Men seyn, heere is a womman merueillous:
Shal it be fownden soo / he seide, "Abbesse?"
¶ And shee answerde / "Sire, in soothfastnesse
A good womman / dwellynge is / with vs heere,
Which in vertu / we knownen noon hir peere."
XXII. JERESL.'S WIFE BIDS HER 4 BETRAYERS CONFESS THEIR SINS. 167

(109)
She did her come anoon / to his presence; 757 The Empress comes veild to the Emperor,
But with her veil / her face hid had shee,
To been vnknowne / and dide him reverence,
As longid vn-to his hy Dignitee.
And right as blyue / of hire axid he,
“Can yee my brothir / of his maladie
Of lepre, cure, and of meselrie? 763

(110)
“If pat yee can / now teH on, y yow preye,
flor your labour / ful wel qwyte wole y.” 764
But or pat shee / agfit wolde answere & seye,
She caste her look about[en] / and there sy
The Emperoures brothir stande by, 768
pat lepre was / and eek tho othir three
pat had her doon so greet aduersitee,

(111)
That is to seyn / the knyght, theif, 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 soufyse—
But if pat they / an open shrifte make
Of hire offenses dirke & synnes blake.” 777

(112)
“TO his brothir / than spak’ this Emperour: 778 The Emperor bids
“Among aH vs / thee openly confesse ;
Spare nat to deskeuere thyn errour,
Syn pat thow ther-by / maist, of thy seeknesse
Cured be / telle out al thy wikkidnesse ; 782
Be nat abassht / it manly is to synne, 1
But feendly is / longe lye ther-yune.”

1 Later, above this: Iohn.
The Brother makes a sham confession,

 forfe form / a confession made he, 785
 Swich as it was / but how the Empresse,
 his lorde wyf / he heeng vp-on a tree
 By hire hear / tolde he nat / pat curstd vice,
 forfe torne it sholde him / in-to preijudice 789
 And harm also / deskezer kephe noghth, Yit affiward / he ther-to was y-broght.

(113)

But not of his sin against the Empress.

(Leaf 45, back)

She says he has not made full shrift.

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,
 forfeiture he maad haath / noon hool[ε] shrifte, ne pleyn."

¶ This Emperour vn-to him spak ageyn : 796
 "Woost thow nat weel / thow art a foul mesel? Telle out, let see / shryue thee cleene and wel,

(114)

"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 promptte / 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

(115)

¶ "Now," quod the Emperour / "and haast thow so?" 807
 And of the Emprice / he thoghte nat,
 But weenynge / shee many a day ago,
 Deed had been / seide / "what offense is that?
 Be nat aferd / but tel on plein & plat,
 forfeiture 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 CONFESSION HX SIN.  169

(117) Ther-with, al was his brothir herted weel:
   Al how the Emperice had he betrayed,
  Before hem all / he tolde out everydeel;
  Where-of / the Emperour was sore affrayed.
  His brothers reward / had nat been vpneyd,
  Nad promesse of the Emperour him bownde
  To pardon / for which wo was him pat stownde;

(118) Almost he was / out of him self certeyn;—
  So seith the bookt / and pat was no mermaith.
  What lord is pat / if swich a word sodeyn
  To him cam of his wyf / whos gouvernaiht
  Was hires lykt / but ny to sholde him failt
  his wit and his good disposiciow
  for the sodeyn woeful impression)?

(119) for falle anoon sholde in his remembrance
  Hir vertuous manere and wommanhede,
  hir beautee / shap / good cheere & daliance:
  Al this considered / withouten drede,
  Out of the weye of ioie / him wolde lede,
  The mis / of so vertuous a persone;
  And yit nat for pat encheson) allone; 1

(120) But also the vnkyndely tresoñ
  Of his brothir / pat him to him had qwit
  So falsely / me thynkith by resou̍
  Stike right ny / vn-to his herte egliite it,
  And causen him / ful many an heuy fit;
  But natheees / wit axith, & prudence,
  Al thyng pat fallith / take in paciencce.

1 Later scribble in margin: 'spindlye (?) Rslm . . . Rv 2 (?) be that . . he that
my . . he that in youth no verke will vse, all . . thomas . . dden . . god . . y, d,
'd M e. e) . d . d . . ij dyae. And . . iiij D . . hud . . h . . m, m.'
XXII. JERESL.'S WIFE. THE FALSE KNIGHT ALSO CONFESES HIS SIN.

(121)

The Emperor curses his brother,

"Thow cursid wreche / thow demoniak!"

The strook of his vengeance / vp-on thee leide,

No wondir is / had y this beforne wist,

Thy body sholde han the grownd swept & kist;

(122)

punish him sharply if he hadn't promist to forgive him,

"And ther-to cek / as sharpe[?]" punishshement

As pat dyuyse ther kowde any wight,

Thow sholdest han y-reened by the sent;

But holde wolde y / pat y thee haue hight."

(123)

Then the Knight

"And thanne confesse him / began the knyght

pat the Erles doghtir slow / "as shee sleep,"—

lo, thus he seide / takith now good keep1—

(124)

confesses that his lord, the Earl, found a lady hanging by her hair,

"And to his Castel / with him hire he ladde,

And the charge / bytookt to hire, and cure,

To kepe a yong Doghtir / which pat he hadde,

Hire to teche and to lerne nurture.

But to me shoop ther / a mis-aunture;

I bisyed me / to haue by hire leyn;

And al my labour / ydil was and veyn.

1 Later, at foot: 'Thomas Onsior... moste.'
J.'s WIFE. KNIGHT AND THIEF CONFESS THEIR SINS AGAINST HER. 171

(125)
"for any craft / that ever kowde y do, To me shee wolde assente by no way; I kowde in no wyse / brynge hire ther-to; hire answer was evere 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"

(126)
"And in hir bed / as shee lay on a nyght, This yonge maide / and shee sleepynge faste, I kilde the chyld / and ther-with, foorth-right The bloody knyf / in-to the hand y thraste Of the lady / for that men sholde caste And suppose / how that no wight but shee Migte of this slaglitre and munde gilty be,"

(127)
"And thens / my lord maade hire voyde anoon; But wher shee becam / am y nat priuue; 2 God woot / that knowleche / haue y ther-of noon."

(128)
"And whan that this lady benigne & good, Had hir look toward me cast, and espayed From a-fer / in what mescheef that y stood, Hire herte anoon / of pitee was applyed, Me to socoure and helpe / and hath hire hyed Von to the place / wher deed sholde y be, And payde for my lyf / and saued me;"

1 In margin, by a later hand, c. 1500: 'of all good thinges the worlde brought forth, a faithful frende ys thinge moste worthi'...

'gournor.' (later still) 'shall the thynges the world brought forth'. 'y'... 'H. Pershe' ()

2 'lay' (later, at side).
"And afterward, I, as a false traitor
Ageyn hir gentillesse and by bontee,
To a shipman / which was a foul leechour,
Betrayed hir / and to his Contree
him shoop lede hir / this man delanee,
And fer in-to the See y saw hem saifi;
But what fil aftir / woot y nat sanz failH."

"Swich a fair lady, certein y receyed
In-to my ship" / seide the Shipman tho,
"And thoghite haue hire defsioulid & deceyued
Amiddes the See / but shee preide so
To god / pat my desyr was y put fro;
I mighte nat acheue my purpoos.

Whan shee had preid / an hidous storm aroos,

"And shortly / of this for to speke and telle,
The wynd ful sore / in the sail bleew & haf,
And the wawes began to bolne & swelle,
And our taklynge brast / and the ship claf
In two / of seurtee loste y ny the staf;
Vndir the watir / wenten euerychone;
My self except / knowe I no sauf persone.

By a bord of the ship, heeld y me faste;
And as pat my fortune shoop pat tyde,
The wawes me sauf vp-on the land caste."

What pat shee was / but spak / and sumdel cryde
On hy / and to hem seide in this manere:
"Now been yee cleene shryuen / freendes deere;

1 In margin, later: 'Iohn bo... b b.'
"Now shul yee aH haue of me medecyne."

Shee dide hire art / & helid every wight
Of his seeknesse / & voidd al his pyne;
And from hire heed / shee hath hire veil y-plight,
And hem hire face shewid aloon right.
And as swythe / as the Emperour hir sy,
\[bat\] shee his wyf was / knew he verraily;

And withoute delay / to hire he sterte,
And hire embraced in his armes tweyne,
And kiste hire often / with vnfeyned herte;
But fro weepyng he knowde him nat restreyne,
Thogli it nat causid were of greef & peyne,
But of the inward ioie which \[bat\] stownde
He took, by-cause he had his wyf y-fownde.

\[O \] many a wrecche is in this lond, y weene / \[bat\] thogli his wyf lengere had been him fro,
No kus / but if it had been of the spleene,
Shee sholde han had / & forthemore also,
flyndyng of hire / had been to him but wo,
for him wolde han thogli \[bat\] swich a flyndyng,
To los sholde han him torned, and harmynge.

No force of \[bat\] / my tale I now thus cende:
Hoom vn-to his Paleys this Emperour
And his good lady themperice weende,
And lyuoden in ioie and hy honour
Til \[bat\] the tyme of deeth cam, and his hour,
Which \[bat\] no wight eschue may, ne flee;
And whan god list / also dye shul we.

Explicit fabula de quodam Imperatrixe Romana.
My friend came

My freend, aftir, I trowe, a wike or two
That this tale enidid was / hoom to me cam,
And seide / "Thomas / hastow almoost 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 ouersy;
And aftirward / he seide thus therby:

and lookt thro' this tale,

"Thomas, it is wel vn-to my lykyng;
But is ther aght pat thou 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?"

I'd never seen one.

I'd never seen one.

He cam ther-with / and it vn-to me redde,
Leuyng it with me / & hoom wente ageyn;
And to this moralizynge I me spedde,
In prose wrtyng it / hoomly and pleyn,
for 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:
XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE. THE MORALIZING OF THE STORY.

This Emperor \( \text{pat y spak'} \) of aboue / is our lord Ihesu
Cryst / his wyf / is the soule; Themperoures
brothir is man / to whom god committed and bytook:
the cure and the charge of his Empire / \( \text{pat is to seyn} \)
of his body / & natheles principally of the soule / but
the wrecchid flessh ful often sythe stirreth and excitith
the soule vn-to synne / but the soule \( \text{pat enterly loneth} \)
god abouen alle thynge / makith eure resistance vn-to
synne / and takith his mightes & powers / \( \text{pat is to} \)
seye, resoun / & intellect and conscience, & makith
swich inobedient flessh to the spirit, to been enprisoned
in the prison of penance / til it obeye in all thynge / to resoun.

\( \text{Hic incipit moralizacio.} \)

\( \) The Emperor is Christ; his brother, man; the Empire, man's body and soul.

\( \) The soul resists the flesh.

\( \) The flesh cries for mercy, and then sins again.

\( \) Maledeictus homo qui pecat in spe.

\( \) The hounds are wicked thoughts.

\( \) Delectacion of synne / and all the wittes rennen aftir synne / and the howndes / \( \text{pat is to seyn} \)
the wikkid thoghtes, alway berken, & maken swich
instigacion / \( \text{pat man, pat is to seyn} \), the flessh and the
soule, been to-gidere left with-oute any vertu / and
the flesh apparcheyyunge \textit{pat} / solicitith and bysyeth hire / stirynge the ful noble soule, which is Crystes spowse / vn-to symne / but natheles the soule \textit{pat} is wel beloved of god, and vn-to Cryst weddid & oned, wole nat forsake god and consent to symne / wherfore the wrecchild fleshis despoilith often and robbith the soule of hir clothes / \textit{pat} is to seyn, goode vertues / and hire honigth on an ook\textsuperscript{t} / \textit{pat} is to seyn, worldly delyt & delectacion / by the heeres / \textit{pat} is to seyn / by wikkid concupiscences and desirs, til the Erl / \textit{pat} is to seyn, the 1prechour or discreet confessour, hunte in the foreste of this world with vertuous sarmonyng & prechynge / yeuynge Conseil and reed to Do goode and vertuous deedes / berkyngge / \textit{pat} is to seyn, pronoumyngge the wordes of holy scripture / and thus the discreet Confessour or prechour ledith the lady / \textit{pat} is to meene, the soule / vn-to the hows of holy churche / for to teche & norisssh the maiden / \textit{pat} is to seyn / to hele the conscience with the wirkes of mercy. \textit{Q} The Erl, before his bed hath a laumpe / \textit{pat} is to seyn, the discreet confessour, prelat or prechour / hath alway befor the yen of his herte the laumpe of holy scripture / in which he seeth the griefs and annoyes of the soule, & tho thynges eek\textsuperscript{t} \textit{pat} ther-to been profitable and necessarie / \textit{pat} is to seyn / drawynge or plukkyngge out of it / vices / and puttyngge or ympyngge in it vertues. \textit{Q} The Styward \textit{pat} excited and stired hire to synne / certein, \textit{pat} is pryde of lyf / which is the Styward of this world / by whom many folk been deceyyued and begyled / but the soule of god beloved / wole nat consente to pryde / what 2dooth therfore worldly pryde / certein, it takith the knyf of anarice / whan shee profirth a man a purs ful of moneye / castynge it before the yen of a man / and so shee sleeth the maiden, \textit{pat} is to seyn, good conscience / where-of

\textsuperscript{3} At top, later: \textit{"Munera execean oculos Judicium."}
it is written thus: ¶ “Yiftes or meede blynden the Iuges yen / and perueren wyse men /” so put equitee or enenchede mighte nat entre / but stood al a-fer / and the jugement was torned vp so doun / Swiche been they put been, or oglite been, put out of the Chirches lappe and bosome. ¶ The lady rood soul or allone / and apparecuyng a man led to the galwes, &c / This man may be led to his deeth by deadly synne wyrkyng / let vs therfore do / as di.de put lady / shee smoot hir hors with hir spores / so sholde we do / we shollen prikke our flessh with the spores of penance / and helpe and socoure our neighborhugh in his necessitee, nat oonly with goodes temporel / but also with goodes spirituell. ¶ Where-of seith Salomon: ¶ “wo is put man put lyth soul in synne & hath no wight to be holpen by or conforted.” ¶ O hye thee, man, hye thee / areise or rere vp thyne neighborhugh 1 put is doun fah / for the brothir put 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 put betrayed his lady aftir shee had saved him from his deeth / Some men yileden euel ageyn good to hem doon / where-of spekith ysaye thus: ¶ “wo be to them put callen good euel / and euel good.” ¶ The Maistir of the ship is the feend / by whom many folk been deceyued in the See / put is to seyn, in this world / AH thynges been vaniteit, seith Ecclesiastes / but the ship is broken as ofte as ayy wight echesith wilful pouert / and he put obeith to his Prelat in AH thynges for god / thanne hatith he the world and the concupiscence of it / It is impossible to plese the world and god. ¶ The lady wente to the Abbeye / So torned the soule to holy lyf fro worldly tribulacions /

2 At top, later: “Item to wylliyam harugh for my pond of cheres [i] ij.”

HOCCLEVE, M.P. —II.
wherthurgh all the wittes by whiche the soule vexed was, and troubled / been infect with dyuercse seeknisses / as ye / by the concupiscence of yen / heerynge / by detraction, \(^1\) and so forthe / wherfore the soule may nat openly be seen of Cryst, hir spowse / til \(\hat{p}at\) all the wittes be confessed openly / and thanne doutelees the soule may be led to the ioie of paradys, to which he vs brynge, \(\hat{p}at\) starf for our redempcion, amen.

\(\frown\) Explicit moralizatio.

XXIII.

& incipit ars ftillissima sciendi mori .. Cum omnes homines naturaliter seire de-

\(s\)iderant \& c' ..

\(1\)

Since all men
desire knowledge,

\(S\)yn alle men naturally 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 \(\hat{p}at\) al seest & woost,

This axe y thee / thow lord of mightes moost,

\(2\)

to open Thy
treasure of
wisdom to me.

Thy tresor of wisdym / \& the konnynge

Of seintes / opne thow to me, y preye,

\(\hat{p}at\) y ther-of / may haue a knowlechynge;

Enforme eek me / and vn-to me by-wrye—

Syn thow of al science berst the keye—

Sotil matieres right\(^1\) profownde & greete,

Of whiche / y fermently desire trete.

\(3\)

\(\frown\) "O sone myn / saoure nat so hye, \(\hbar\) Sapientia."

But dreede / herkne / and y shal teche thee

Thyng \(\hat{p}at\) shal to thy soule fractifie;

\(^1\) Sotile materes A (Ashburnham MS).
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

A chosen yifte shalt\(^1\) thow haue of me;
My lore / eternel lyf shal to thee be,
The dreede of god / which the begynynge is
Of wisdom / shalt thow lerne\(^2\) / & it is this :

(4)
"Now herkne a doctrine substancial,
¶ first, how Lerne Dye / telle wole y ;
¶ The .iij.\(^{de}\) how pat a man lyue shal ;
¶ The iij.\(^{de}\) how a man sacramentally
Receyue me shal / wel and worthyly ;
¶ The .iiiij.\(^{e}\) how with an herete cleene & pure
That a man loue me shal and honoure."

(5)
¶ "Tho thynges .iiiij.\(^or\) good lord, haue y enere ¶ Discipitus
Desired for to knowe / and hem to leere ;
Vn-to myn herete ther is nothyng enere ;
A bettir thyng / can y nat wisshen heere ;
But tellyth me this / this fayn wolde y heere
What may profyte the lore of dyyenge, ¶ Ad quid prodest lac
doctrina &e .
Syn deeth noon hauynge is / but a pryynge ?

(6)
"ffor shee, man reueth of lyf the swetnesse."
¶ "Sone, the art to lerne for to dye ¶ Sapien
tia
Is to the soule an excellent swetnesse,
To which y rede / thow thynte herte applie ;
Ther is noon art / pat man can specifie
So profitable / ne worthy to be
Preferred artes aH / as pat is shee.

(7)
"To wite and knowe / pat man is mortel,
Is commune / vn-to folkes alle ;
pat man shal nat lyue ay heer / woot he wel ;
No trust at al / may in his herete falle,
That he escape 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 thouw seen;
It is the yfte 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 hire to take / and receyue also
As he that the comyng of his felawe
Desirith / and is ther-of1 glad & fawe. 56

(9)
"But more harm is / ful many oon shalt thouw fynde,
pat ageyn deeth / maken no purueance;
Hem lothen / deeth for to haue in hir mynde;
pat thoghth / they holden thooght of encombrance;
worldly sweetnesse / sleeth swich remembrance;
And syn to die / nat lerned han they,
ffro the world twynne / they wolde in no way. 63

(10)
"They mochil of hir tyme / han despended
In synne / and for-thy / whan, vnwaarly, deeth
Vp-on hem fellith / and they nat amendid,
And shal from hem byrene wynd and breeth,
ffor shee vnreedy fynt hem / whan shee sleeth /
To helle goon tho soules miserable,
There to dwelle in peyne 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 mercye be.
Thow art ful2 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!

1 ther-of is A. 2 right A.
"More to thee profyte shal my lore
Than chosen gold / or the bookes echone
Of Philosophres / and for pat the more
Ferently / sholde it stire thy persone
Vndir sensible ensample thee to one
To god / and thee the bettre for to thewe,
The misterie of my lore / y shal the shewe."

Beholde now the liknesse and figure
Of a man dyynge and talkyng with thee.

The disciple, of pat speche took' good cure,
And in his conceit / bysyly soghte he,
And ther-with-al / considere he gan, & see
In him self put / the figure & liknesse
Of a yong man of excellent fairnesse,

Whom deeth so ny ransakid had, & soght,
pat he withynne a whyle sholde dye.
And for his soules helthe / had he right noght
disposid / al vnreedy hens to hye
Was he / and therfore he began to crye
With lamentable vois / in this maneere,
pat sorwe and pitee greet / was it to heere: 3

"Environd han me, dethes waymentynges,
Sorwes of helle han compaced me;
Alas, eternel4 god! .o. kyng of kynges,
Wher-to was y born / in this world to be;
O. alas / why in my natuuitee

1 In the Ashburnham MS the inside double-leaf of the next quire has been sewn up as the outside of the other, so that stanzas 19-24 here come before stanzas 13-18. In like wise, stanzas 25-30 here come in the Ashburnh. M. S. after stanzas 31-36 here.

2 In margin, later, ? about 1500,
Before thou pretend any evill in thy harte, 1 quad
Remember the end when thou shalt departe, 1 Carter.
Nadde I perisshid? o, the begyunynge
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 norisshid in delicat swetnesse,
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;
flul vnwaar was y / of thy theefty 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;
Eschape y may nat now / my mortel wownde.
(18)
"Thow me with thee drawist in yren cheynes,
As a man damnéd / wont is to be drawe
To his torment / outrageous been my peynes.
A, now for sorwe / and fere of thee & awe,
With handes clight / y crye / and wolde fawe
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.
firendshipe / gold / ne noon othir richesse
May thee deliure / out of dethes duresse.

(20)
"Thyn eende is comen / comen is thyn eende,
It is decreed / ther is no resistance.'
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 put A. 133
Shal y out of this world so soone go?
Allas / wole it noon othir be than so?²

(21)
"O deeth, o deeth, greet is thy crueltee!
Thyn office al to sodeynly doost thow.
Is ther no grace? lakkist thow pitee?
Spare my youth / of age rype ynow
To dye / am y nat yit / spare me now !³ D adds 'ynow."
How cruel þat thow art / on me nat kythe!
Take me nat out of this world so swythe!"

(22)
If Whan the disciple this complaynte had herd,
He thoghte al þat he spak / nas but folie,
And in this wyse / he hath him answerd ; ¼ hath vn to A. The Disciple
"Thy wordes, freend / withouten any lye,
þat thow haust but smal lerned / testifie ;
Euene to aH / is dethes iugement;
Thurgh-out the world / strechith hir paiement.

(23)
"Deeth / favorable is to no⁵ maner wight ; ⁵ om. no A. 155 ⁶ Death has no
To aH / hir self / shee delith equally ;
Shee dreith hem nat / þat been of greet might,
Ne of the olde and yonge / hath no mercy ;
² In margin, later, c. 1500 :
Some desarve or they desyer / and yett they lacke ¹⁴ and
that they Re quyre ;
Some desyre or they desarve / and yett they[y] Carter.
gayne whylle other starve,
The ryche & poore folk\textsuperscript{t} cek\textsuperscript{t} certainly
She sereith / shee sparith right noon estaat;
Al pat lyf berith / with hir chek\textsuperscript{t} is maat.\textsuperscript{1}

(24)

"Ful many a wight / in youthe takith shee,
And many \textsuperscript{2} an othr\textsuperscript{2} cek\textsuperscript{2} in middil age, \textsuperscript{2-2} oon also A.
And some nat / til they right olde be:
Wendist thow han been / at swich auantage
\textsuperscript{pat} shee nat durste / han paied thee thy wage,
But oonly han thee spared & forborn,
And the prophetes deid han heer-beform?"

(25)

\textsuperscript{5} Than spak\textsuperscript{t} thymage / answerynge in this wyse:
"Soothly thow art an heuy confortour;
Thow vndirstandist me nat / as the wyse:
They \textsuperscript{pat} continued han in hir errour,
Lyynge in synne / vn-to hir dethes hour,
Worthy be dampned for \textsuperscript{pat} they han wroght;
And how ny deeth is / they ne dreede noght.

(26)

"Tho men ful blynde been, & bestial.
Of \textsuperscript{pat} shal folwe / aftir this lyf present,
fforsighte / swiche folk\textsuperscript{t} han noon / at al.
I nat bewaille dethes iugement;
But this is al the cause of my torment;
The harm of vndisposid deeth / y wepee;
I am nat reedy / in the groundw to creepe,

\textsuperscript{1} At foot of leaf 56, later, c. 1500:
The brwett of evitt tonges / what woman can eschew?
or who can let a fowle to wytt / the thinge that is vntrew:
\textit{quod Carter} //

In margin of leaf 56:
Since of a womans breestes I was fostered / 
Dame Nature sayth / I sholde them Love / \textit{quod}
Why shold any man / ther-wyth by offended / \textit{Carter} //
In generally it is gevin from hym above /
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(27)

"I kepe\(^1\) nat / \(\text{pat}\) y shal hennes twyne, \(^{1}\)wepe A. 183
But of my dayes / I the harm bewaiH,
fruytyles past / sauf with bitter fruyt of synne;
I wroghte in hem nothyng / \(\text{pat}\) mighte anaiH
To soules helthe / y dide no tranaiH
To lyue wel / but lened to the staf
Of worldly lustes / to hem y me gas.

(28)

"The way of trouchte y lefte / & drow to wronge; 190
On me nat shoon the light of rightwisnesse;
The soune 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)

"Alas, what hath pryde profytid me,
Or what am y bet / for riche riches hepyuge? 197
Ah they as a shadwe passid be,
And as a messager faste rennynge,
And also / as a ship \(\text{pat}\) is sayllynge
In the wawes / & floods of the See,
Whos kerfe nat fownden is / whan past is shee.

(30)

"Or as a brid / which in the eir \(\text{pat}\) fleeth,\(^3\) 204
No preef\(^4\) fownde is / of the cours of his flight;
No man espie can it / ne it seeth,
\(^3\) At top, in a later hand: "Post bellum auxilium: Ayde after the felde is alredy faught." In margin: "fortune not favoring, things not without highe consell and wisdom enterprised, have a very vnlnucky ende; and contrarie things donne temerously, yf she favor, have right prosperous chauce / example, 'Sirenu persian, a Captain' / What I speeke lyethe in myne owen powre / but how so the things as I do, shall ende or be taken, standethe in the pleasur of fortune & ye kinage."

\(^{1}\) I did nothing for my soul's health.
\(^{2}\) weery am A.
\(^{3}\) Pride and riches have past away
\(^{4}\) way A.
Sauf with his wynges / the wynd softe & light
He betith / and cuthith their\(^1\) / by\(^2\) the might;
Of swiche stirynge / & forthe he fleeth his way;
And tookne aftir \(\ddot{p}t\) / no man see ther may.

(31)

or an arrow shot from a bow.

"Or as an arwe / shot out of a bowe,
Twynneth the eir / which \(\ddot{p}t\)t continuelly
Agayn is closyd / \(\ddot{p}t\)t man may nat knowe
Where \(\ddot{p}t\)t it paste / no wight the way sy:
Right so / syn \(\ddot{p}t\)t y born was / fare haue y
Continuely\(^3\) / y stynted for to be,\(^5\)
And tokne of vertu / shewid noon in me.

(32)

"I am consumed in my wikkidesse;
Myn hope is / as it were a wolle-loke
Which the wynd / vp reisith\(^4\) / for his lightnesse,
Or small foom / \(\ddot{p}t\)t desparplid is, and broke \(^4\) blowe away \(\ddot{p}t\).
With tempest / or as with wynd waastith smoke,
Or as mynde of an oost / \(\ddot{p}t\)t but a day
Abit / and aftir passith foorth his way.

(33)

"ffor why my speeche is now in bittirnesse,
And my wordes / been ful of sorwe & wo;
Myn herte is plunged deepe in heynesse,
Myn yen been al dynme and dirke also.
Who may me grante / \(\ddot{p}t\)t y may be so
As I was / whan y beautee hadde, & strengthe,
And had beforne me / many a dayes\(^5\) lengthe,

(34)

"In wiche y the harm mighite han seen beforne,
\(\ddot{p}t\)t now is on me fah / I yaf no charge
Of the good precious tymse / y haue it lorn;
But as the worldly wynd / bleew in my barge,
ffoorth droof y ther-with / and lect goon at large

\(^1\) their \(\ddot{p}t\) (the air). \(^2\) with \(\ddot{p}t\).
\(^3\) Anon rightes \(\ddot{p}t\).
\(^4\) In maigntate propria consumptus sub. spes mna, &c.
\(^5\) yeeres \(\ddot{p}t\).
Al los the brydil of concupiscence,
And ageyn vertu / made y resistance.¹

(35)
“My dayes I despent in vanitee;
Noon heede y tooke of hem / but leet hem passe,
Nothyng considerynge hir preciouste,
But heeld my self free born as a wylde asse
Of thatirclap / insiglite had no man lasse;
I ouer blynd was / y nat sy ne drede,
With what wo / deeth wolde haaste me to bedde.

(36)
“And now as fisses been with hookes kaght,
And as pat briddes / been take in a snare,
Deth hath me hent / escheape 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,
Aughte haue in it purchaced many oon,
Exceedynge in value / aH eerthy thynges
Incomparably / but to his wynges
The tyme hath take him / & no puruance
There-in made I / my soule to auance.

(38)
“Allas, I, caytif / for angwissli & sorwe,
My teeres trikelen / by my cheekes doun;
No salt watir / me needith begge or borwe;

¹ In margin, in a later hand: “He lyvetlie so moche the easier, who to delightes was vsed neuer.” At foot: “Quod caret alterna requie, durabile non est.

What thing restethe not now & then amonge,
But still traveyleth, cannot endure longe.”

Below, in another hand: “Be ytt knouen vnto aH men by these presentes that I, Wylliam Wyllow[?].”
Myn yen flowen now in greet foysoun;
Allas / this is a sharp conclusion,
Thogh y the tyme past / conpleyne & mourne;
ffor al my care / wole it nat retourne. 1

(39)

"O my lord god / how laach and negligent 2
Haue y been / why haue I put in delay
And taryynge myn amendement?
Wher-to haue y dissuumule / welaway
Allas / so many a fair and gracious day
Haue y lost / & arr 3 from me goon & ronne,
pat mighte in hem / my soules helthe han wonne.

(40)

"Myn hertes woful waymentacions,
Who can hem telle / who can hem expresse?
Now fallen on me accusacions
Wondirly thikke / of my wroght wikkidnesse.
In flesshly lust / and ydii bysynesse,
Leet y 4 my dayes / dryue foorth and slippe,
And nat was beten / with penances whippe.

(41)

"Why sette y so myn herte in Vanitee? 
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
Of me / why? for my spirit was rebel,
And list nat vndirstonde / to do wel.

1 At foot, in a later hand: "Love ys the occupacyon or business of yeell folkes, that have nothing eles to sette them selve on werke with-alle / Diogenes / Of wilde bestes, the backebyter is the worse; Of tame bestes, the flatere / Dio[genes]."  At side: "Beneficium dando accepit, qui digno dedit.
Himself, by geving, receyveth a beneficé.
Who geveth to a person worthie to have yt."

2 In margin, in a later hand: "Diogenes being asked what was the most miserable thinge in this worlde, ansuwered, 'An aged man in extreme pouertie/' At foot: "Vertuus and good men, the lyvelye and true ymage of god / Diogenes."
(42)
"O, alle yee pat heere been present,
Yee pat floure in Youthes lusty greennesse,
And seen / how deeth / his bowe hath for me bent,
And tyme couenable han / to redresse
pat youre vnruely youthes wantonnesse
Offendid hath / considereth my miserie,
The stormy seson / folwith dayes merie.

(43)
"Let me be your ensaumple and your mirour,
Lest ye slippe in-to my pyt miserable.
With God, despended of your youthe\(^1\) the flour; \(^1\) dayes A.
If yee me folwe / in-to peril semblable,
Yee entre shuln / to god yee yow enable;
In holy wirkes your tyme occupie,
And whyle it tyme is / vices mortifie.

(44)
"Alias, o youthe / how art thow fro me slipt!
O, god eterne / y vn-to thee complaye\(^2\) wrecchidnesse / in
The wrecchidnesse / in whiche\(^2\) y am clipt;
Lost is my youthe / y smerte in every veyne,
The gilt / pat wroght hath my synful careyne.
O youthe / thy fresshenesse and iolitee
Hatith thy soothes / be told vn-to\(^3\) thee.\(^4\)

(45)
"No lust had y to doon as y was taght,
THER-of had y right\(^5\) greet desdeyn & hokir;\(^6\)

\(^1\) dayes A.
\(^2\) wrecchidnesse / in which pat A.
\(^3\) to be told to A.
\(^4\) 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\'/''
\(^5\) At foot, in a later hand: \('2. Hokir, Lothesome.'\)
\(^6\) At top, in a later hand: \('2. Hokir, Lothesome.'\)
Whan men conserve wel / y herde it naglit:
Nat so moche / as by an old boote or cokir
Sette y ther-by / in-to myn hertes lokir
Entre mighte / noon holsum disciplyne;
No wil had y / to good conseil enclyne.

(46)

"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\(^1\) befall,
Neuere han be born of my modres body,
But there-in han perisshid vttirly,
\(\text{flbr y despente in pryde and in bobance}\)
The tyme grantid\(^2\) me / to do penance."

(47)

The Disciple says
"To which anserwe the disciple tho:
"Lo / we die alle / and as watir we slyde
In-to the eerthe / which \(\text{pat neuere mo}\)
Retoune shal / but on a sikir syde
We standen alle / for god nat wolde hyde
His mercy fro man / who-so list it craue,
Be repentant / and mercy axe & haue.

(48)

"God haastith nat / the gilt of man to wreke,
But curteisly / abydith repentance.\(^3\)
Heere me now / what y shal to thee\(^3\) speke:
Sfor \(\text{pat thow hast offendid} / \text{do penance}\);
Torne vn-to god / with hertes obeissance;
Axe him mercy / \(\text{pat}\)\(^4\) is al merciable,
And saued shalt thow been / it\(^5\) is no fable."

\(\text{[leaf 60, back]}\)

& 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 warkemen of whome we se some number of
Images well-favorly and minonly [?] made a-fore; So shold we
take vn[to] no persons owre frendeship, but soche as we perfectly
know to have tried [?] themselves faythefull and cerviceable
frende to other a-fore, to other folkes."
IX.

HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(49) Thymage of deeth answerde anoon to pat:

"How spekist thow, man / shal y me repente, Shal y me torne / o man, ne seest thow nat, Ne takist thow noon heede ne entente

Of dethes 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 heuht

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 thoght ne cast

Othir than serche a way / how deeth eschape

But y in veyn / ther-aftir looke and cape."

(51) "Nat wolde it be / for deeth me doun oppressith;

The twynnynge of my lyf / ful bittir is,

pat hurth me greuously / and distressith;

ful holsum had it be2 / to me or this,

Penance han doon / for pat y wroghte amis

Whyles my tyme / was in his rympesse,

for pat had been / the way of sikirnesse;

(52) "But he pat late / to penance him taki:th,

Whethir he verrailly or feynyngly

Repente / he noot / vncertain it him makith,

Wo is me / pat my lyf so synfully

I ledde / and to correcte it / lachid y;

Agyen my soules helthe haue y werreiched,

pat for it haue no bettre purueied.

(53) "Allas, to longe hath be2 the taryynge

And the delay of my correccioh!"

2 Alterd to 'rePenance.' Penance A.
A good purpos / withoute begynnynge,
Good wil / withouten operacion,
Good promesse / and noon executioñ,
ffourth dryue amendes / fro morwe to morwe,
And neure doon / þat causith alþ my sorwe.¹

(54)

[leaf 61, back]
"O morwe, morwe / thow haast me begilt! ³
O / whethir this miserie / nat exceede
Alas, my gilt!
Al worldly wrecchidnesse / allass, my gilt!
Wel worthy is it / þat myñ herte bleede,
And with angwissh and wo / me² fostre & feede. ⁴
See how my dayes a† / arm slipt me fro ; ⁴
xxx†. yeer of myñ age / a-way been go.
(55)

"Ful wrecchidly, god woot / y haue¹ hem lost,
And al myñ owne self / is it to wyte ; ⁵
So good a piler / was y neure, or post
In vertu / or agít wel to god me qwYTE,
As þat y mygiteit haue doon or oghte ;
By agít y woot / y neure aftir þat soglite.
(56)

"Lord god, how shamefully stande y shal
At the doom beford thee and seintes a†,
Where y shal arted be to rekne of al
That y doon haue & left / whom shal y ca†
To helpe me / o, how shal it befa†?
My torment and my wo / me haaste and hye,
Hens for to / twynne / 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 ydelnes 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 desguising in a stage playe ;
Owr lyff nedethe them not a dele /"

⁶ Later scribble in margin: "Thomas, Pardy, I sayd yt not . . . O longa
nimis . . . P . . . Pr . . . r r r . . . pryñn . . . nung . . . d . . . Thomas &e."
"O now this hour / gretter ioie & gladnesse
I wolde haue of a litil orisoun
By me seyd / with hertes deuout sadnesse,
As the angelyk salutacioun:
Than y wolde haue / of many a milioun
Of gold and siluer / foule haue y me born,
And synfully / pat sy nat this beforne.

"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
Aageyn 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.

"More than was neede or expedient,
Vn-to the help of many an othir wight
Entendid y / y was ful imprudent;
I tooke noon heede / to my self aright;
By soules profyt / sette y nat but light;
Whan tyme was / fynde kowde y no tyme,
Me to correcte / of myn offense and cryme.

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
Helpe me mighte / any mannes preyere.
Thogh .xxx. yeer / he preid had for me heere.

2 At foot, in a later hand: "So[crates] 30. Who-so eatethe drie breade with pleasure, the same nedethe no meate to hit; and to whomo no maner of drinke comethe a-misse, the same requirith none other cuppe but soche as ys redye in the waye."

HOCCLEVE, M. P.—II.
"O, herkneth now / herkneth now alle yee
pat lieree been / and seen my wrecchidnesse!
The tyme as pat yee seen / now faullith me;
My freendes 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 helte;

And eek in reliefe and amendement
Of my giltes / but hire answer was 'nay';
They seiden, 'ther-to yen euere assent,
Wole we nat in no manere\(^1\) way
Lest it vs and yow nat souffyse may.'
On euery part / thus am y destitute;
flynde can y no socour me refut.\(^2\)

"O god benigne / o fadir merciable,\(^3\)
Beholde and reewe vp-on thy pacient!
To me, thyn handwerkse / be thow socourable!
pat y greetly haue erred and mis-went,
Me wel remembrith this tyme present.
Allas / why stood y in myn owne light
So foule / o. lord, me now\(^4\) helpe of thy might!

\(^1\) manere of A.
\(^2\) At foot, in a later hand: "So[crates] 35. Seyence and connyng is the onely good thing of the world; and contrarweys, ignorance the onely evell thinge /
\(^3\) In later hands, at top: "O god benigne, o fader merciable, ... Oratio,"
\(^4\) now me

At side: "Thomas hecker hane Red a\(\uparrow\) Thys boke. so hane now hane [?MS. som] of my filos done ... Thomas hecker hane Red a\(\uparrow\) This boke. soo haue nott, haue not, hane of of. Herro ... of Repentance with any good deel / So[crates] 38. The begynninge ys half of the wholle.
44. Celum non animum mutat, qui trans mare currit.
Who runmeth oversee ffrom place to place,
Though he change aire, his minde is as yt was /"
I might have gathered heavenly treasure, but didn’t.

Now, I can get no crumb.

[leaf 65, back]

Do you all, while your strength lasts, gather heavenly treasure?

The Disciple

asks for advice
how to avoid the peril of death, unprepared.

[leaf 64]

The supposed dying man says: 'Repent, confess your sins, do amends for them, and give up vice.'

Behave as if you were to die to-day.

"And so / with al thyne herte / it is\(^3\) the beste, \(^4\) is it A.

"Caste in thyne herte / as now thy soule were in purgatorie / and hadde pyned be\(^5\).

Thy soule / in the flaumbes of fyre brennynge, with a wrecchid voys / thus to thee crynyng:\(^5\)

1. At foot, in a later hand: "Socrates exerted yung springalkes, now and then earnestly to ven and behold themselves in a glasse, to the ende—\(\text{yf theye were beautiful and of good feactur of body—they shold beware to commyt nothing vncomly for the same} / \text{yf otherwise, that the defautes of the body myght, with exercysy or furniture of the wytte, & with honnest of maners & behaveur, be redoubled.}\)"

2. That heuenes blisse mighten thee byrene A. At right side, later: 'Cumber youre'; at left side, 'R B A.'

3. At foot, later: "\text{Non uiuas ut edas} / \text{sed edas, ut ninere possis. Lyue not as a glutton, styll for to eate, But fede to maintayne lyfe by thie meate.}"
"Of alle freendes / thow, the derwortheste, Do to thy wrecchid soule help and socour, But is al desolat / purchase it reste. See how y brene / o, reewe on my langour; Be for me so friendly a purveyour, But in this hoot prison / y walengre, Tormentid be / lat it nat thus me dere!"

"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 helply hand / slipt out of mynde; I am / in peyne sharpe y walwe & wynde; And of my wo / ther is no wight But recchith; Nat knowe y frendshipe / or to whom it strecchith."

"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 cheere stable Seide / "thy lore were profitable, Who-so it hadde by experience As thow haast / ther-to yeue y may credence;"

"But thogli thy wordes sharpe & stirynge seeme, To many a man / profyten they but lyte; They looke a-part / and list take no yeeme Vn-to the ende / which miglthe hem profyte. Yen they haan / and seen nat worth a myte;"

1 At foot, in a later hand, "Ouidius de Ponto:
While fortune the favorethe, frendcs thow hast plenteie; The tyme being troublous, thow arte aff alone:
Thow seest Culvers haunt, howsies made white & daintye; To the ruynus towre, almoost comethe none /
In emptie barnes, where faylthe substaunce, Happenetho no frende in whome 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,  
florsighte at al / ne haau 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 dreed & doute,  
Or pat hir lyues light / be fullyoute.  

(77)

" Whan dethes messager comth / sharp seeknesse,  
ffreendes and felawes hem haue & hye,  
The seeke man to conforme of his feblesse,  
And al thyng pat good is / they prophecie;  
They seyn / " thogh thow seeke in thy bed now lye,  
Be nat agast / no dethes euel haast thow,  
ffor this / thow shalt eschape wel ynow."  

(78)

"Thus bodyes freendes been maad enemys  
To the soule / for whyl seeknesse greeueth  
The man continuelly / yit so vnwys  
Is he / pat his enformours he wel leeueth;  
He hopith to been hool / and he miscueueth  
where as he wende han reconered be;  
Vndisposid to dye / sterneth 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,  

2 At foot, in a later hand, "Martialis, lib. 12:  
Yf thow wilt eschew Bytter adventure,  
And avoyde the knawinge of a pensive harte,  
Sette in no one persone wholly this pleasure,  
The lesse shalt thowe yoye, but lesse shalt thou smarte /"
To execute thyn holsum sentence;
Thow mightist as wel keepe thy silence;
They by thy wordes yeuen nat a lecke."

To which, thyn mage thus answerde & speeke:

"For thy, whan they in deethes net been hent,
Whan sodein wrecchidnesse hem shal assaillH,
Whan deeth, as tempest sharp & violent,
With woful trouble hem shal veve & travaillH,

They shun crie aftir help / and ther-of faiH,
sorthey in hate / sapience hadde,
And despysed my reed / & heeld it balde."

"And right as now ther been but fewe fownde,

pat of my wordes compunct wole hir lyf
Correcte / ne amende in no stownde,
Nat may to hem auaille my motyf;
But they / hir synnes vseen ay foorth ryt,
And han no lust / fro synnes hem withdrawe,
No more / than they neuere had herd my sawe:

"Right so for the malice of tyme / and lak
Of goostly lone / and for the iniquitee
Of the world / vertu gooth so faste a-bak,
potfewe to the deeth disposid be
So weel / pat list this worldes vanitee
Lene / and for desir of lyf / pot shal euere
Endure / conciten hens to disseuere.

"But whan deeth on hem stelith with hir darte,

They vnreedy / wowndid in conscience,
Nat oonly goon hens / when they hens departe /
they're carried off by force.

But they with a manere of violence
Been hent away / so pat ful greet prudence
They wolde han hold it / han deid as a man
And nat as a beest / pat no reson can.¹

(84)

"If of this commun peril, thencheson²
Thee lyke knowe / y wole it now expresse :
The desir of honours out of reson,
The body bathynge in worldly swetnesse,
Eerthely loue / and to greet greedynesse
In muk-hepynge / blynden many an herte,
And causen men in-to tho perils sterte.

(85)

" If thow desire / the perils to flee
Of vndisposed deeth / my Conseil heere :
This heuy plyt / in which thow seest now me,
Revolue ofte in thy mynde / & by me leere
Sor to be waar / if thow in this maneere
Wilt do / it shall be thy greet auantage,
And ese thee at thy laste passage ;

(86)

" It shall vn-to thee profyte in pat hour,
pat nat oonly dye it shal nat thee gaste,
But deeth / eek as eende of worldly labour,
And beganynyng of blisse / ay pat shal laste /
Abye thow shalt / and desire faste
With al thy herte / it to take & receyue,
And al worldly lust leye a-part & weyue.

¹ At foot, in a later hand :
"The good or eveH fortune of aH a mans lyffe,
Y's in the good or eveH chowsinge his friend 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.

(87)

"Every day have of me deep remembrance; In-to thyn herte / let my wordes synke; The sorwe and angwisshe & grieved penance Which thou haast seen in me / considere / & thynke That of peril / thoug thy having the brynke; Remembre on my doom / for swich shal thyn be; Myn yistirday / and this day vn-to thee.

(88)

"Looke vp-on me / & thynke on this nyght ay Whyles thou lyuest / o how good & blessid Art thou Arsenius / which that alway This ilke hour haddest in thyn herte impressid, Pat man / as in holy writ is witnessid, Which whan god comth and knokkith at the yate, Wakyngge him fynt / he blessid is algate;" 

(89)

Blessid is he pat thanne founden is Reedy to passe / for he blissfully Departe shal / and truste right wel this, Thogh death assaile and vexe gretously The rightwys man / or slee him sodeynly, How so he dye / he shal go to pat place Where-as confort is / refresshynge & grace.

(90)

He shal be pourged cleene & purifid, And disposid the glorie of god to see; Angels shuln keepe him / & he shal be gyed

1 Latin scribble at top and sides: "wo... woman, man sent woman... Father and mother... w... sir John... th... the Father... A Thowsand, a hundreth, fyve and fyfty / I Love/... woman mast... Vm... women"... "Pardylc, I sayd yt not / nor never yt Intended/... "Barnard" (?)... "Choos 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 heunene vp taken be;
And of his spirit / shal be the issynge,
In eternal blisse / the entrynge.  

(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 frendshiphe / shal it haue tho?
O soule abiect / desolat & forsake,
Greet cause haast thow / for fere & wo to qwake.

(92)

" Wherfore y, hauynge of my self pitee,
I shed tears, amonges heuy wordes / y out shede
but in vaine.

Teres / in greet habundance & plente ;
But nat anaillith me / it is no drede.
Hens-foorth compleyne / weepe & crye & grede,
flor in no wyse / changed it be may ;
Al man-kyndes fo / stoppid hath my way.

(93)

" In hiddles, in awayt as a Leoun
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 speeche / now compellith me :
y may no more hens-foorth / speke & bewaith,
My tonge and ecke my wit / now so me failth.

(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 weepe and compleyne A.
3 Later scribble at side: "Gefferye thirgood... Ryght... gefferye thir... put to... p p p p p p p p p p p... put to... to the sayd gefferyth de vez... th... d d d."
4 so now A.
See how my face waxeth pale now,
And my look ful dyn / & hen as leed;
Myn yen synke eeeke / deepe in-to myn heed,
And torne vp so doun / and myn honds two
Wexen al stif and starke / & may nat do;

(95)
"Prikkynges of deeth me, wreche, compace;
Stirtemeel gooth my pows2 / and elles nght;
Mortel pressures / sharchly me menace,
My breeth begynneth fail / and eke the draghit
Of it fro fer is fet / & deepe caghit;
No longere y now see this worldes light;
Myn yen lost han hir office & might.

(96)
"But now y see with myn yen mental3
Thesat of al4 an-othir world than this;
I am ny goon / as faste passe y shal;
O my lord god / a gastful sighte it is!
Now of confort haue y greet lak5 & mis;
Horrible feendes and innumerabell
Awayte vp-on5 my soule miserable;6

(97)
"The blake-faced ethiopiens
Me emyrone / and aftir it abyde
To hente it / whan pat it shal passen hens,
If pat par aventure it so betyde
pat the lot ther-of / saH 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 whare I doo moste humbly Bygge [?] that (lf. 69, top)
this Byll mayd the iiiith daye of may in) ye yer."
4 component A.
5 Awayten on A.
6 The Ashburnham MS ends.
7 grisly Reg.
The stern Judge
condemns me.

(98)

O streit and steerne Inge & domesman,
Thow weyest moche / in deemynge me, wrecche,
Tho thynges whiche fewe folkes can
But smal by sette / or of hem charge or recche;
Lo / deethes strooke haastith me hens to fecche;

My membres, shee\(^2\) so thirlith & distressith,
That nature ouercome is / shee witnessith.

(99)

"O gastful is the iust Iuges lookynge
Vn-to me, now present / thurgh fere & dreede,
which sodeynly shall come / him self sheewynge.

Farewell, friends!

And thens twynne y nat / til maad haue y gree
Of the leeste ferthyng \(\text{pat}\) y men shal;
In whiche place y beholde and see
Affliccio\(\text{m}\) and sorwe ynow at al;
There y no ioie see, but wo oueral;
The fyry flaumbes vp-on heighpte ryse,
In which / the soules brenne in woof.Uy wyse.

(100)

"They vp now possid been / \& now doun throwe,
Riglit as sparcles of fyr / aboute sprede,
Whan \(\text{pat}\) a greet toun / set is on a lowe,
And al is fyred / bothe in lengthe \& brede.
Wo been tho soules / in tho brondes rede,
\(\text{ffor}\) peyne of which torment / ful lowde \& hype
They in this wyse / ful pitously crye:

\(^3\) Later scribble at side and foot: "Richard Lyon .. god\(\text{h}\) haue mercie vpon all Crysten solvles .. and yf thou .. knewes Thoun knewest .. 869 .. v .. 12" .. 'hast' .. 'hayll mygh & ..
"Now, mercy have on our captinity; To yow our frendes / namely we preye; Wher is your help now / wher is your chiertee? Whidir been the promises goon to pleye Of yow, our Cousins ecke / can yee portreye Your wordes so gayly⁴ / and effect noon ffolwith / but al as deed is as a stoone?

"By youre desires inordinat,
And ecke of othir² mo / our self han we Broght in-to this plyt and wrecchid estat;
Ioe han we noon / but of wo greet plentee.
Allas / why nat vp-on vs rewen yee?
We dide al our might / to do yow plesance;
And yee no routhe han / on our sharp greuance.

"fful euile we rewarded been of yow;
We brene / and yee the fyr nat qwenche a deel.
Allas! we nadden for our self or now Y-doon / we were aysid 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

"The leeste torment of this purgatoric
Pat we soufren / exceedith in sharpnesse
Tormentes a³H of the³ world transitoric.
Heere, of torment / more is the bittirnesse
In an hour / then the worldes wikkidnesse
May hurte or greene in an .C.⁵ yeer:
Greet is thatafflicciou pat we han heer.

³ Later scribble at side (repeated from leaf 61, p. 192 n. above):
"No kinde of labore is a thinge of shame, but idelnes evermore worthi of blame.
love is the occupac¿on or busines of idle Folkes, that hane no thinge
cells to sett themselves & worke with-a³H." In the beginning.
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(106)

"But aboue alle kyndes of tormentis, 736 Of goddes blissid face the absence
Greene th most / pat lak' our moost wofull sentis:
for a memorie / leue y this sentence
To thee / and heere y die in thy presence."

(107)

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 spirit & my goost.

(108)

"This sighte of deeth so sore me astoneth,
pat wite y can vnnethe in soothfastnesse,
But am in doute / wher the soothe woneth,
That is to meene / if this be in liknesse
Or in deede / swich is my mazidnesse;
But how it be / lord, y byseeche thee,
Be my confort in this perplexitee!

(109)

"Neuere the perils of deeth vndisposid
In my lyf' kneew I, as y do now right;
Withyn myn herte been they deepe enclosid,
And so sadly / ther-in picchid and pight,
pat hem foryete / lyth nat in my myght.
That gastful sighte / y hope shal profyte
Vn-to my soules helthe / nat a lyte.

(110)

"Dwellynge place / y hane espyd, and see,
Han we noon / in this wrecchid world changeable."
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

flor 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 for to die / y me purpose;
Hens-foorth / penance wole y nat delaye;
My lyf to amende wole y me dispose;
flor syn thoghtes 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 !!

(112)
``Now woot y voide fethirbeddes softe,
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 clothynge ecke, fy on the preciousetee,
And slouthe of sleep also lettynge me.

(113)
``Syn y tormentid am so gremenly
With thynges smale / how sorwes so grete
Souffre mighte y, if now die sholde y,
pat neuerre or this / my synnes kowde lete !
O, what matte / of helle fyr / the hete
Mighte in me thanne fynde / certes greet,
flor which / my body of cold swoot is al weet.

(114)
``Now woot I weel / what thyng pat may auaiH
My soule / and it keepe fro perisshyng:
By souffrance of greet labour & trauaiH,
And exerçye of vertuous lyuynge,

1 Later scribble in margin: "sapience . . presence . . softe."
Wole ye it helpe / left al tarynge,
pat in swich an hours extremitee,
No peyne / but reste, stynde may shee.

(115)

"O holy and merciful Sauuour,
Of so bitter deeth / souffre me nat dye,
Thogli y be thikke wrappid in errour?
See / beforne thee / plat on the grownd y lye,
Weepynge / for myn excessyf folye;
And, cureys lord / of thy benigneete,
This grace vouche-saunt to grante me,

(116)

and prays for punishment here

"Aftir thy lust / be my punysshemet
Whyle y am heere / and, good lord, nat reserve
To othir place / the chastisement
Which pat y, wrecche / heere in this world disserue!
let me abyde it heere / or pat y sterue,
for in pat place horrible / is swich sharpuessse
Of peyne / pat no wight can it expresse.

(117)

Tho' he has here-

[of leaf 72]

"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 veyne,
pat yaf me lettynge and impediment
To thynke vp-on the perils consequent;

(118)

'But now, thogli fadirly amonestynge,
My myndes yen pat cloos were and shit /
I opne / and of tho perils am dredyngne.'

¶ And sapience ansuerede anoon to it :

Wisdom bids him amend while he is young,

he now fears Death.

¶ "My sone / to do so / it is greet wit,
Whiles thow yong art / & haast strengthe & force;
Thy lyf for to correcte / thee enforce.
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(119)

"Whan that deeth cometh / which cruel and fel is, Whom thou nat maist withstandst ne withsitte / Help ne refuyt / is ther for thee noon ellis / But to the mercy of god / thee committet, By no way / that nat leue ne omittet; My passion putte eeye / twixt my doom & thee, Lest more than neede is / adrad thou be.

and letake him to God's mercy.

(120)

"My rightwisnesse nat so mochil dreede 
that thou fro trust and hope of mercy twynne;
Contrytly mercy axe / and thou shalt speede.
Now restfullere in thy goost be withynne,
that ouer ferd art / thee pounce of thy synne,
Scourge thy self / with repentances rod;
Begynnynge of wisdom / is dreede of god.

The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom.

(121)

T" Scriptures serche / & by hem shalt thou leere,
that vn-to man is it greet auantage,
Deeth to haue ofte in mynde, in this lyf heere.

If yeeres manye / and vn-to good age
Man lyue / and in all hem glad & saugage
Be / good is, the dirke hour & dayes wikke
Remembre / or that he come to the prikke:

Let him remem-ber Death in time,

(122)

"ffor whan that tyme is comen, and that hour,
Repreeued shal be the past vanitee;
Remembre therfore on thy Creatour
In thy fressh youthe & lusty iolitee,
Or tyme come of sharp aduersitee,
And or that yeeres approche of diseese,
In whiche thou wilt seyn / they nat thee plese.

HOCCLEVE, M.P.—II.
The way of salvation is open.

Few think of the unsteadiness of the world, and the everlasting joy of heaven.

And, or ashen in-to hir eerthe also

**Whereof they were / ageyn hem thidir dresse,**

And thy spirit to god / whens it cam fro

Retourne / god, with al thyne herte blisse,

Thanke him / shewe vn-to him thy kyndenesse;

ffor he to thee now opned hath the way

Wherthurgh thoue maist be saued, is no nay.

**The way of salvation is open.**

**And,** or ashen in-to hir eerthe also**¹**

**Whereof they were / ageyn hem thidir dresse,**

And thy spirit to god / whens it cam fro

Retourne / god, with al thyne herte blisse,

Thanke him / shewe vn-to him thy kyndenesse;

ffor he to thee now opned hath the way

Wherthurgh thoue maist be saued, is no nay.

**The way of salvation is open.**

**ittal fewe been / ?at so with hertes cre,**

Konne apparcuye thinstabilitee

Of the world / and konne of the deoth han fere,

Which ?at alway lyth in awayt pryuce,

Ne ?at of the ioie and felicitee

Of heuene / which ay shal laste & endure,

Take any manere heede at al / or cure.

**The way of salvation is open.**

**Diligently / how many folkes blynde** [² Ms. then]

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.

**The way of salvation is open.**

**"Lifte vp thyn yen" / looke aboute & see**

Diligently / how many folkes blynde

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.

**The way of salvation is open.**

"They stoppe hire eres / for they nat ne keepe"

Heere how conuerted be / and reecuye heithe;

Correccion is noon / they let it sleepe;

They been so dronken of this worldes welthe,

That deoth, or they be waar / right in a stelthe

ffallith up-on hem / which condiciooun

Hem cause shal hastyf perdiciooun.

¹ Later scribble at top and side, with monograms or figures: "(?) Saueu Eumedye . . now must I die, and have not deferred . . Harrison late [?F . . . To my approved freunde m? Geaven (f) . . . try and then trust, quod body# . peace and Grace be with yow, fronce god the father for euer and euer . . W. W . . W . . n."

²
XXIII. HOW TO LEARN TO DIE.

(127)
"The peple now let seen innumerable pat for deeth vndisposid / lost han be /
Considere / and if thy wit be ther-to able /
 Noumbre of hir multitude the plente 
Ecke of hem pat in thy tyme with thee

Dwelt han / looke how pat they been take away:
Thow seest wel / they from hens been past for ay ;

(128)
"And as they heere han do / so shuln they haue. What multitude in yeeres fewe ago,
Thee yit lyuynge / han leid been in hir grane ! What brethren / Cousins / felawes and mo

Of thy knowleche / beholde alle tho ! Thyne ecke, with hem / hire olde synne goon is ;
Touche vn-to hem / speke and axe hem of this,

(129)
"And they with wepynge and with waymentyng
Shuln to thee seye / and thus ageyn answere :
'Blessid is he / pat can see the endyng,
And synnes / pat the soule hurte & dere,¹
Eschue can / and hem flee and forbere,‘
And pat in my Conseil hath good sauour,
Disposynge him alway vn-to pat hour.

(130)
"And therfore / alle vicious thynges left,
Weel thee dispose / and reedy make thee
To dye / lest the tyme be thee reft
Or pat thow be waar / for no certeintee
Haast thow ther-of / thow art no thyng pryuce
Ther-to / deeth is nat fer / right atte yate
Shee is / be reedy for to dye algate !

¹ In margin, later: "John Jarlin, & Elizabethe his welle-belovinde Wiffe, dme.” At foot: "Ryghte wellbeloned father and mother.”
"Right as a Marchant stondynge in a port, his ship pat charged is with marchandyse. To go to fer parties / for confort Of him self / lookep / pat it in sauf wyse. Passe out / Right so, if thou wirke as the wyse, See to thy soule so / er thow hens weende, pat it may han the lyf pat haath noon eende. Amen!"

Explicit illa pars / per quam sciendum est mori.

The other .iii. partes which in this booke Of the tretice of deeth expressid be, Touche y nat dar / pat labour y forsooke, for so greet thyng / to swich a fool as me Ouer chargeable is, by my leautee, To medle with / ynow the,firste part for my smal konnynge is / and symple art ;

But as the .ix. lesson which is rad
In holy chirche / vp-on all halwen day witnessith / syn it ioeiful is and glad ffor hem pat hens shuln wel departe away, And to the blisse go pat lastith ay,
Translate wole y / nat in rym, but prose, ffor so it best is / as pat y suppose,

How greet ioe and blisse / is shapen to hem pat so shuln passe hens / vp to the Citee Callid celestial, Jerusalem.
After our might and possibilitee
Let vs considere / al thogh it so be,
That for to comprehende pat gladnesse,
Verraily / no wit may, ne tonge expresse.
L o, thus is seid of \textit{pat} Citee in a place / There-in is no sorwe / heuynesse ne waymentynges. what is more blisful / than \textit{pat} lyf is / where no dreede is of ponerte / of maladie / no feeblenesse / there is no wight hurt / no wight wrooth / no wight hath enuye / ther is no brennyngge or hette of coneyse / no desir of mete / noon ambicioun of honoure or of power / no dreede of the feend / noon awayte. of deues / the fre of his / fer thens / no deeth of body ne soule / but ioieful yiftes and ioicounde of immortalitee / there shal neuer be discord / stryf ne debat / but alle thynges conueniei and accordynge / no divi-
sion, but onhede / for ther shal been o concord of all seintes / o pees & gladnesse continuell / all thynges peisible / all in quiete and reste / there is an excellent brightnesse and shynynge / nat this light / \textit{pat} now is / but in so mochil cleere / as it is bettre and more noble / for, as it is red / "\textit{pat} Citee shal noon neede hauere of the sonses light / but our lord god al-mighty shal enluyme it" / & the lamb is his lanterne / where as seintes shuln shyne as sterres in perpetuel eternitees / and as the shynynge of the firmament \textit{pat} spredith his bemes vp-on many men / wherfore in \textit{pat} place is no 2nyght / no dirknesses / no concours of clowdes / no fretyngge cold / no sharpnesse / but swich attemperance of thynges shal be there / whiche neither ye of man neuer sy / ne ere herde / ne herte can thynke ne compr-
prehende / sauf of hem \textit{pat} been worthy & han dis-
served to haue \textit{pat} blisse / whos names are written in the booke of lyf / & whiche wasshid hir stoles in the lambes blood / & been beforne the See of god / and servue him day and nyght / noon age is there / ne miserie or wrecchidnesse 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.]

\textit{And abouen all thynges} / is to been assoocied to

\[1\text{ leaf 75.}\]

\textit{No sorrow is there, or waiting, no envy, no fear of hell, no strife; but unity, peace, brightness. God lights it.}

\[2\text{ leaf 75, back}\]

\textit{There, is no night or cold, but joys unthinkable;}

\[\text{"robert ascene", later, at side.}\]

\textit{no misery, but one perfect body in Christ.}
the companyes of the trones / dominacions / Principatz & potestatz of Angels & Archangels / & to been in the compagnie of all the celestial angels and hy vertues / & to beholde the compagnie of seintes, brighter & yeunyng more light then the sterres / shynyng in the feith of Patriarks / gladyng & ioyynge in the hope of prophetes deemyng the world of apostles in xij. tribes of Israel / & to beholde eke the shynynges of martirs with purpurat coro-nes of victorie / and to see the compagnies of virgines weryng brighte gerlandes.  [No break in MS.]

And for to speke of the kyng that 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 passyng all the seintes ioyes / is to beholde the inestimable brightnesse of pat kyng / & to be spred with the bemes of his magestee / let thise thynges sadly synke in-to oure hertes / let vs vnderstande hem with ful feith / let hem be beloued with alle oure hertes / let hem be gotten by the greetnesse and by the multitude of goode wirkes and continuell / this thyng6 is put in the might of the wirkere / for the kyngdalm of heuene souffrithe forcible and mightly assantes of vertu.  [No break in the MS.]

O man / this thyng / pat is to seyn, the kyngdalm of heuene, seekith noon othir prys / but thy owne self / it is as mochil worth as thou art / yeeue thee / & thou shalt haue it / what, artow astoned or adrad of the prys: Cryst yaf him self / to purchase thee the Regne to god the Adar / Right so yeue 2thow thy self / pat thow maist been his kyngdalm / and pat no synne regne in thy mortel and deedly body / but let thy good spirit regne in thee to purchase thee the ternel lyf.  And therfore, who-so desirith to haue the merites enere lastynghe / he moost de-lyte him to gete hem thurgh
goode and vertuous wirkes / That is the path and the
straight way to blisse endeles / the which he vs
grante, pat boghite 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 greec sorwe, angwissi and
torment is in pat othir part in heh / to expresse hem /
needith nat / for they been the reners and contrarie to
the ioies aboue named / wherby yery persone may
resonablely conceive pat in pat place of torment the
peynes been mereuexciously sharpe & grecous: And yit
for al pat smert / if any ende sholde sue or folwe / that
wolde yene the souls right by confort, and greetly
abregge and lesne hir grief / but awayte nat aftir pat /
for it wolde nat betyde / for right as the seid ioies been
eternal and ay lastynge: so been tho peyne infynyt
and endeles / And sikirly, syn god of his hy grace and
benigne courtesie hath yeuen vs libertee and freedam
for to purchase by our wyrkes in this present lyfe: pat
oon or pat othir / al standith in our choys and elec-
cioun: to grete fooles been we / but if we2 cheese the
bettre part / which part, god of his infynyt goodnesse
graunte vs alle to cheese / Amen!

XXIV.

Hic additior alia fabula ad instanciam
amici mei predilecti assiduam — — —

[Prolog.] (1)

This booke thus to han endid had y thogh,
But my freend made me change my cast;
Cleene out of pat purpos hath he me brough:

1 I meant to stop my book here,
2 MS faded
but my friend prest me to

[leaf 77, back]

English another Tale to warn young men

against buying female flesh.

He said, bought women slay the soul, and empty the purse.

And he had a wild son of 15,

for whom he wanted the Tale English.

"Thomas," he seide / "at Estren that was last,
I redde a tale / which y am agast
To preye thee, for the labours sake
That thaw haast had / for to translate & make;\(^1\)

(2)

"And yit tu, tayn wolde y \(\hat{p}at\) it maad were;
Thensaumple of it / to yonge men mighte auaille,
And par cas / cause hem riot to forbere
The rathere / and be bettre of gouernai\(H\);
Youthe in no wyse / wole his thankes fai\(H\),
filesh\(h\) for to chepe, femel and venal,
Paynyng for it / more than worth is al.

(3)

"\(\hat{p}at\) thyng is deere and ouer deere beght,
That soule sleeth / and the body destroieth,
And the purs emptith, lenyng\(e\) in it noght
Or smal / swich chaffare often sythe annoieth,
And yonge folke encombrith and accloith,
Lettynge hem to purchace hem good renoun,
And haastynge hem to hir confusioun.\(^2\)

(4)

"For this is \(\hat{p}at\) y speke / and to this ende:
A same hane y .xv. yeer of age,
For whom it is as wisly, god namende,
\(\hat{p}at\) ye desire, in-to our langage
\(\hat{p}at\) tale be translated / for Sauage
And wylde is he / and likly to soleye
In swich cas / now helpe if thaw maist, y preye.

(5)

"Nat fer the tale fro / which thaw maad haast
Of themperice / this tale is, y trowe,
And is of a womman / \(\hat{p}at\) was vnchaast

\(^1\) Later scribble at foot: 'g p d . . . This balws (?).' At back: 'Thomas . . nm) . . M d,' 
\(^2\) At side, later: 'Mr. Joelyne.'
XXIV. HOCCLEVE AGREES TO TELL THE TALE OF JONATHAS.

And deceunable and sly / as thou shalt knowe
By that 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)

"srieend, looth me were nay seye vn-to yow,
But y suppose / it may noon othir be,
Lest wommen vn-to Magge, the good kow,
Me likne / and thus seye / o, beholde & see
The double man / o, yondir, lo, gooth he
That honly first yaf / and now yeneth galle:
He fo in herte is / vn-to wommen alle;

(7)

"Til he of wommen oute1 wordes wikke,
He fastynge is / him seemeth; al the day,
Out of his mowth / lesynges swarмен 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!'

(8)

"This pat yee me now reede is al contrarie
Vn-to pat yee me red han heer-before;
Yee senden2 / syn y many an aduersarie
Had of wommen / for y mis had me bore
To hem or 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 reyne,
And y so mochil rered hane or now
By your sawe than were y nat to preise."

1 out, vb. = utter. [The proof of the next 3½ pages has been lost.]
2 ? for seiden.
To goode wommen shal it be no shame,
Al thogh pat thow / vnhonest wommen blame;
(10)

"No woman 'll abuse you except those who've gone wrong.
No womman wole / to thee ward maligne,
But swich oon / as hath trode hir shoo amis;
tor 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 / wryte on par charitee!
(11)

"Nat onely for my sones tendrenesse
Coueite y / pat this tale were makid /
But to rebuke also / the wantommen
Of lyf of many a womman / pat is nakid
Of honestee / and with deshonour blakid;
Ecke to miroure wommen vertuous:
What ende takith swich lyf vicious?"
(12)

"On goddes half, freend / than let the copi
Of pat tale / whan yow list, be me sent;
And with good wil / wole y ther-to me hye
Whan y there-of / take hane anisament."
"He glad was ther-wth-al / & wel content.
The copie on the morwe sente he me:
And thus y wroot as yee may heere see.
 Explicit prologus, & incipit
fabula de quadam muliere mala.

1 Later scribble at top and side:
"He that in yothe no vartue (?) well ves [= use],
in age all honor will hym refuse;
therefore better yt were, a poner house to holde,
then to lye in preason in letteres of golde.
Le the Ryght Ryght Reverent suther in god, maister honor,
doctor Wylyam) Willon) of Kyrke-lande in the dyolke [? MS.]
afore-sade dothe all vuto tie . , thay thay that . . Can
natt, nor may nott, nor yett, I thinke, shall not Lede my Lyfe
quyet-lye ; my wyfe well not lett me."
W
tilom an Empeour prudent & wys

Regned in Rome / and hadde sones three, which he hadde in greet chiertee & greet prys;
And whan it shoop so / pat thinfirmitee
Of deeth / which no wight may eschue or flee,
Him threew down in his bed / he leet do call
His sones / and before him they cam aH;

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 & al pat of my bynyng
was / with my peny / al3 my purchacynge,
My second sone / byqwethe y to thee."

And to the .iijde. sone / thus seide he :

"Vmmeeble good right noon, withouten ooth,
Thee yene y may / but y to thee dyeuyse
Jewelles .iij. a ryng / brooch & a clooth,
with whiche / and thow be gyed as the wyse;
Thow maist gete al pat ogihte thee souffyse.
who-so pat the ryng vsthe for to were,
Of alle folke the lone he shal conquere ;

"And who so the brooch berith on his brest,
It is eek of swich vertu and swich kynde,
That thynke vp-on what thyng him lykith best,
And he as blyue shal it hane & fynde.

My wordes, sone, enprynte wel in mynde ;

The cloth ceke hath a merueillous nature,
which pat committed shal be to thy cure :

"Who-so sit on it / if he wisshe where
In al the world to been / he sodeynly

* 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.

wherever he wishes to go.

Without more labour shall be there. Sone, the three Jewelles byqweythe y
To thee / vn-to this effect certeynly, 117

The third Son is to study at the University.

Thow go / and pat y bidde and charge thee.” 119

(18)

The Emperor dies,

When he had thus seid / the vexacioun 1 yside Reg. 120
Of deeth so haastid him, 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 solempnitye
As fil to his imperial dignitee.

(19)

[leaf 80, back]
I shall tell you only of the third son, Jonathas.

*f Of the yongeste sone I telle shal,
And speke no more of his brethren two,
flor with hem haue y nat to do 2 at al.
Thus spak the modir, Jonathas vn-to:
“Syn god his wil hath of thy fadir do, 3
To thy fadres wil / wolte y me confourme,
And trewely / his testament 4 parfourme: 4 entente R. 133

(20)

the three Jewels.

“He 5 .iij. Jewelles / as thow knowest weel, 5 Here Reg.
A ryng / a brooch & a clooth, thee byqweeth,
Whos vertues / he thee tolde enerydeel
Or pat he paste hens / & yald vp the breeth.
O goode god / his departynge, his 6 deeth
ful gresnously stikith vn-to myn herte; 7 I Reg.
But souffred moot been al / how sore it 7 smerte.” 140

(21)

But her husband's death sticks in her heart.

In pat cas wommen han swich heuynesse,
But wyse wommen konne take it light,
And in short whyle 9 putte vn-to the flight 9 wise R. 145

3 Sithen god hath his will / of thy fader ydo.—Reg.

2 done Reg.

6 and Reg.

7 I Reg.

8 lith nat Reg.

9 wise R.
XXIV. JONATHAS, AT COLLEGE, PICKS UP A PROSTITUTE.

Al sorwe and wo / and cacche ageyn confort:
Now to my tale make y my resort.

(22)
Al surve and wo / and cacche ageyn confort:
Now to my tale make y my resort.

(23)
He wente vn-to the studie general,
Wher he gat loue ynow, and aqueyntance
Right good and frenedly / the ryng cansynge al.
And on a day / to him befit this chance:
With a woman, a morsel of plesance,
By the streetes of the vniuersitee
As he was in his walkyne, mette he;

(24)
And right as blyue he with hire had a tale,
And ther-with-al / sore in hir loue he brente:
Gay / fresh and pykid was shee to the sale,
for to pat ende and to pat entente
Shee thidir cam / and bothe forth they wente,
And he a pistle rowned 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.
This man to folkes alle was so leef,
pat they him yaf3 habundance of moneye. 3 vafe Reg.
he feestid folke / and stood at hy boncheef;
Of the lake4 of good / he felte no greef, 4 lakke Reg.

1 Later scribble at foot: "This bitte made the xth daye of maye In the fy[ripe yeere of] the raygne of ore moste sohere lord ky". Above: "youth. B. he. yon."
He gets plenty of money from his Ring.

Al whyles þat the ryng he with him hadde;
But saylyng it / his frendship gan sadde.  

(26)

His paramour Fellicula

His paramour, which þat / y-callid was
ffellicula / meruaillé right greetly
Of the despenses of this Ionathas,
Syn shee no penny at al with him sy;
And on a nght / as þat shee lay him by
In the bed / thus shee to him speke & seide,
And this peticion assoH him preyde:

(27)

prays him,  

if "O reuerent sire / vn-to whom," quod shee, 

"Obeye y wolde ay with hertes humblesse,
Syn / þat yee han had my virginitee,
yow y byseeche, 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 tresor."  

(28)

He says women can't keep a secret.

"If y telle it," quod he / "par auenture
Thow wilt deskeuere it / & out it publishe:
Swich is wommannes inconstant nature,
They can nat kepe conseil worth a rishe;
Bettre is, my tonge kepe / than to wishe
þat y had kept cloos þat is goon at large,
And repentance is thyng þat y moost charge."

(29)

But, as she says she can,

"Nay, goode sire / haldith me nat suspect;
Doutith nothynge; y can be right secre.
wel worthy were it me to been abiect
from al good compaignie / if y," quod shee,
"Vn-to yow sholde so mis take me;"  

(30)
JOXATHAS GIVES FELLICULA HIS MAGIC RING.

(30)

"My fadir, the ryng which ♦ put thou maist see ♠
On my fyngir / me at his dyng day ♠
By qweeth / which this vertu & propriete ♠
hath / ♦ put the loue of men, he shal hane ♦
put werith it / and ther shal be no nay,
Of what thyng ♦ put him lykith axe & crane,
But with good wil / he shal as blyue it hame

(31)

"Thurghi ♦ put rynges vertuous excellence:
Thus am y rych, and hane enere ynow."
"Now, sire, yit a word, by your licence,
Suffrith me for to seye and speke now:
Is it wysdam / as ♦ put it seemeth yow,
were ♦ put it on your fyngir continually?"
"what ♦ put woldest thou mene," ♦ wold he, ♦ ther-by?

(32)

"What peril ther-of mighte ther befaH?"
"Right greet," ♦ wold she / as yee in compaignye
walke often / fro your fyngir mighte it fah,
Or plukkid of been ♦ put in a ragerie,
And so be lost / and ♦ put were folie.
Take it me / let me been of it ♦ put in wardyn;
for as my lyf, kepe it wole y ♦ certeyn."

This Jonathas / this innocent yong man,
Yeuyngne ♦ put to hir wordes / ful credence,——
As yonthe nat auysed best be can:——
The ryng hir tooke, of his insipience.
When this was doon / the hete & the feruence

8 Later scribble in margin: "harye ollyxe xe to caunnd [?]...
Who seketh the renowne to have,
And eke the prayse of vertuos name
Of wisdoms ways, he ought to crave
Withe gladsom will to work the same."
XXIV. FELLICULA STEALS JONATHAS’S MAGIC RING.

Of loue / pat he had beforne purchased,
Was qweynt / & loues knotte\(^1\) was vnlaced.\(^2\) 231
1 the knotte of love Reg.

Men of hir yiftes for to stynte gan : 232
“Alas,” thoghte he / “for the ryng y nat ne bere,
ffaillith my loue / feche me, womman,”
Seide he, “my ryng / anoon y wolde it were.”
She roos / and in-to Chambre dressith her ;
And whan shee there-in / hadde been a whyle,
“Alas,” quod shee / “out on falsshode and gyle, 238

(34)

She declares it’s been stolen.

“The chiste is broken / and the ryng take out.” 239
And whan he herde hir conplaynte and\(^3\) cry, 239
He was astoned sore / and made a shout,
And seide / “cursid be pat day pat y
The mette firste, or with myn yen sy.”
She wepte, and shewid outward cheere of wo,
But in hire herte / was it no thyng so ; 245

(35)

The ryng was sanf ynow / and in hir cheste 246
It was / al\(^4\) pat shee seide was lesyng, 246
And alle Reg.
As sum womman / othir whyle atte beste
Can lye and wepe / when is hir lykyng.\(^5\)
If This man sy hir wo / and seide, “derlyng, 250
Weepe no more / goddes help is ny ;” 252

(36)

Jonathas tells her not to mind.

To him vnuist / how fals shee was and sly.\(^6\)

2 Later, at side: “Felix quem faciant alioa pericula cautesn : Fortunate is he who hathe the happe
to bewarre by an-other namees clappe.”
6 In a later hand (? c. 1500), at foot :
“A sufficent salve for eache disease,
The chiefe revenge for cruell yre,
Ys patyence, the present ease.
For to delaye ech flame fyre.”

At side:
“I count his conquest greate,
That canne, by reasons scyelle,
Subline 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 comen1 was he, 3 that thider come Reg.

"My sone," quod shee / "what was thynt entente,
Thee fro the scoole / now for to absente?"

What causid thee / fro scoole hidir to2 lye?"

"Modir, right this," seide he / "nat wole y lye : 259

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 gretously Reg.

"Sone / often haeu y warned thee / & yit
foryr thy profyt y warne thee, my sone;
Vnhonest wommen / thow heere-aftir shone.

His Mother gives
Shee broghte 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,
est he the los / bewaille6 sholde and weepe."

To the vniuersitee / shortly to seyn, 6 for the losse he walle Reg.
In what he kowde / he haastid him ageyn.7

And whan he comen was / his paramour8 274

Him mette anoon / and vn-to hire him tooke,
As pat he dide erst / this yong reuelour;
Hir compaignie he nat a deel forsooke,

Thogh he cause hadde / but, as with the hooke
Of hir sleiglile / he beforne was caghft & hent /
Right so he was deecyued eft & blent.

7 At foot, later, "Thomas."
8 In margin, later: "tho... Gefferye thurgood... Gefferye thurgood... Gefferye thurgood... Dut to th D fayde."

HOCCLEVE M. P.—II.
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 thogfite, “how may this be?
Sum pryuee thyng / now causith this richesse:
As did the ryng / heer-before, y gesse.” 287

Wondrynge heer-on / shee preide him, and besogfite
Bysyly nyght and day / pat telle he wolde 289
The cause of this / but he an othir thogfite;
He mente / it cloos for him1 / it kept be sholde;
And a long tyne 2 it was / or he2 it tolde.

Shee kepte3 ay to and to / and seide, “allas
The tyme and hour / pat euere y bore4 was 5 294

“Truste yee nat on me, sire?” she seide;
“leuer me were be slayn6 in this place 6 dede Reg.
By pat good lord / pat for vs alle deceide,
Than purpose agyen7 yow any fallace.
Vn-to yow wolde y be, my lyues space,
As treewe as any womenman in eerthe is
Vn-to a man / dountith no thyng of this.” 301

Thogfite hir wordes 9 so swee, 306
Thogli nat parfourned be swich a promesse. 8 kan Reg.

This Jonathas thogfite hir wordes 9 so sweete,
pat he was dronke of the plesant swetnesse
Of hem / and of his foolish tendrenesse,
Thus vn-to hire he spak and seide tho:
“Be of good confort / why weepist thou so?” 308

5 At foot, later, “John Bargain / Ann. 1551.”
9 . . . . . . . sweete
To hym, and of his foolish tendrenesse,
Why makest thou aft this wo and heynesse Reg.
PELLICULA STEALS JONATHAS’S MAGIC BROOCH.

(45) ¶ And shee ther-to answerte thus / sobbynge:

“Sire,” quod shee / “myn heuynesse and dreede

Is this / y am a rad of the leesynge

Of your brooch / as almighty god forbeede

It happid so” // “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.

He should let her keep it

(46) He seide, “y haue a fere & dreede algate,

If y so dide, thow woldest it leese,

As thow lostist my ryng / now goon but late.”

¶ “first, god preye y,”2 quod shee / “pat y nat cheese [2 pray I god R.]

But pat myn herte / as the cold frost may freese, 320

Or elles be it brent / with wylde fyr;

Nay / seurly it to kepe / is my desyr.” 322 safe for him.

(47) To hir wordes / credence he yaf3 pleneer, 4 he yafe credence R. Jonathas gives her the Brooch,

And the brooch tooke hire / and aftir anoon, 324 and loses his money and friends.

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

“Womman / me fecche the brooch,” quod he, “swythe5

In-to thy chambre for it go / now hy the!” 6 329 He asks for the Brooch again.

5 the brooche me fette. he seide now Reg.

(48) 6 go theriover. and tarye nat thow Reg.

Shee in-to Chambre wente / as pat he7 bad, 7 he hir Reg.

But she nat broghte / 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 broowch away is bore! 334

for which y wolde anoon right, with my knyf

My self slee / y am weery of my lyfe.” 336

4 Later, at side: “Hoiind . . 7 God, my duty don, I humble commend me vnto you, trustinge In the lonyng god long to contenue.”

Q 2
This noyse he herde / & blyue he to1 hir ran,1 blewe unto R. weenyng e shee wolde han doon as shee spak2; 337
And the knyt, in al haaste pat2 he can, 2 as hastily as Reg. from hire tooke / & threu3 it behynde his bak; And seide / “for the los / ne for the lak4 caste Reg. 341
Of the brooch / sorwe nat / y foryeue al;
I truste in god / pat yit vs helpe he4 shal.”  he vs helpe R. (49)

He goes back again to his Mother, to themperice his modir / this yong man 344
Ageyn him dressith / he5 wente hire vn-to, 5 dressed, and R. And when shee sy him / shee to wondre gan;
Shee thoghte / ‘now sumwhat ther is mis-do’;
And seide / “y dreede thy Iewelles two 348
Been lost now / per cas the brooch 6 with the ryng.”
6 the brooche per cas Reg.
(50)

She warns him against riotous women, “Some, thow woost wel / no Iewel is left 351
Vn-to thee now / but7 the clooth precious, 7 save Reg.
Which y thee take shal / thee chargyng eft,
The compaignie of wommen riotous
Thow flee / lest it be to thee so greuous
That thow it nat susteene shalt,8 ne bere : 355
Swich compaignie, on my blessyng, forbere!” 9 ne shall not it sustene Reg.
(51)

And of his lady his modir, his leeue it fette, and he take,11 358
And gives him his magic cloth. And his lady his modir, his leeue it fette, and hath it Reg.
(52)
He tooke / but first this forward gan he make:

"Modir," seide he / "trustith this weel, & leue

pat y shal seyn / for sooth yee shul it preeue:

If ye leese this cloth / utterely y your face

Hens-forth se wole / ne yow preye of grace.

(53)

"With goddes help / yshal do wel ynow."  He goes back to

Hir blessyng he tooke / and to studie is go;

And as beforne told hauene y vn-to yow,

his paramour / his princemortel fo,

Was wont for to meete him / right euene so and takes him

Shee dide thanne / & made him plesant cheere:

They clippe and kisse / and walke homward in feere.

(54)

When they were entred in the hows / he spradde

This cloth 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.

had shee his thought / and vertu of the cloth

wist / to han sete on it / had shee been looth.

(55)

Shee for a whyle was ful sore affesid.  and then wishes

If This Iohnathas wishe in his herte gan:

"wolde god pat y mighte thus been esid,

That as on this cloth y and this womman

Sitte here / as fer were, as pat neuere man

Or this cam" / and vnnethe had he so thought,  At once they

But they with the cloth thidir weren broght

(56)

Right to the worldes ende, as pat it were.

If Whan apperseuyed had shee this / shee cryde

1 Later scribble at top: "Shee for a goddes wis fulli sorye

sas" . . "Th Tho y y y y y."  At left side: "Wolld godd

Wolld Wolld . . stumm."
As thogh she thurgli-girt had be with a spere:
“Harrow / allas pat euere shoop this tyde!
How cam we hidir” / “nay,” he seide / “abyde;
Wers is comynge / beer, soul wole y thee leue;
Wylde beestes thee shuln demoure or eue,

(57)

“This Jonathas kowde no thyng be waar,¹
Ne take ensample of the deceites twyne
pat shee dide him beforne / but fieh him² baar,
And hire he comanded, on dethes peyne,
ffro swiche offenses / thens-forth hir restreyne.

(58)

‘This Jonathas tells Fellicula about the Magic Cloth.
As thogh she thurgli-girt had be with a spere:
“Harrow / allas pat euere shoop this tyde!
How cam we hidir” / “nay,” he seide / “abyde;
Wers is comynge / beer, soul wole y thee leue;
Wylde beestes thee shuln demoure or eue,

(57)

“This Jonathas kowde no thyng be waar,¹
Ne take ensample of the deceites twyne
pat shee dide him beforne / but fieh him² baar,
And hire he comanded, on dethes peyne,
ffro swiche offenses / thens-forth hir restreyne.

(58)

‘This Jonathas kowde no thyng be waar,¹
Ne take ensample of the deceites twyne
pat shee dide him beforne / but fieh him² baar,
And hire he comanded, on dethes peyne,
ffro swiche offenses / thens-forth hir restreyne.

(59)

Whan shee sy and kneew pat the wrathe & ire
pat he to hire had born / was goon & past,
And al was wel: shee thoghte him eft to fyre;
In hir malice ay stood shee stidefast,
And to enquire of him / was nat agast,
In so short tyme / how pat it mighte be
That they cam thidir out of hir contree.

(60)

“Swich vertu hath this clooth on which we sitte,”
Seide he / “pat where / in this world vs be list,
Sodeynly with the thoghte shuln thidir fitte,

¹ Later scribble at side: “This comon (?) . . William . .
This is geff.”

² ? hir
And how thidir come / vn-to vs vnwist,
As thyng fro fer / vnkownen in the mist.”
And ther-wi/ to this womman fraudulent,
“ To sleepe,” he seide / “ haue I good talent;

(61)
“Let see,” quod he / “strecche out anoon thy lappe,¹
In which wol I myn heed doun leye and reste.”
If So was it doon / and he anoon gan nappe:
Nappe nay / he sleep / right wel 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 morwenynge.”
And ther-wi/ this roote of iniquitee
Had hir wisfi / and soul lefte him ther slepynge.
¶ "O Jonathas, lyke to thy perisshynge
Art thow / thy paramour maad hath thy berd;
When thow wakist / cause hast thow to be ferd;

(63)
“But thow shalt do ful wel / thow shalt obteene
Victorie on hire / thow haast doon sum deede
Pleasant 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 bittirly,
And seide, “allas / now is ther in no lond
Man wers, I trowe, begoon / than am y!”
On every syde his looke he caste, and sy

¹ Later scribble at top: ‘Recognise . . Dr.’
Nothyn but bridles / in the eir flynge,  
And wylde beestes / aboute him reannyge.  

(65)  
Of whos sighte / he ful sore was agrysid:  
He thoghte / "al this wel disserued y haue,  
What eilid me to be so euel auysid,  
That my Conseil / kowde I nat keepe & saue?  
Who can fool pleye / who can madde or raue,  
But he pat to a womman his secre  
Deskenere eth / the smert eleueth now on me."  

(66)  
¶ He thenes departed / as god wolde harmles,  
And foorth of auenture his way is went,  
But whidirward he drow / he conceitles  
Was / he nat knew / to what place he was bent,  
He paste a watir / which was so feruent  
pat flessh vp-on his feet / lefte it him noon;  
Al cleene was deparid fro the boon.  

(67)  
¶ It shoop so pat he had a lytil glas,  
Which, with pat watir / anoon filled he;  
And whan he ferthere in his way goon was,  
Before him he behedel and sy a tree  
pat fair fruyt baar / and pat in gret plente:  
He cet ther-of / the taast him lykid wel,  
But he ther-thurgh becam a foul mesel;  

(68)  
ffor which, vn-to the ground, for sorwe & wo  
He fil / and seide / "cursid be pat day  
pat I was born / and tyme and hour also  
pat my modir conceyued me / for ay  
Now am I lost / alas 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 other watir before him he sy,
Which for to comen in he was adrad;
But natheles / syn ther by / other way,
Ne aboute it / ther kowde noon been had;
He thoghite / "so streytly am I bystald,
Pat thogh it sore me affese or gaste,
Assaye it wolde I" / and thurgh it he paste.

(70)
And right as the firste watir his flessh
Departed from his feet:
Restored it / and made all hool and fressh.
And glad was he, and ioiefull Pat stownde
When he felte his feet hool were and sownde.
A viole of the watir of Pat brooke
He fille / & fruyt of the tree with him tooke.

(71)
ffoorth his iourneye this Ionathas 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 mowth / and eet of it sadly,
And of the leopre / he pourged was ther-by.

(72)
Of Pat fruyt more he raghte / & thens is goon;
And a fair Castel from a-fer sy he,
In compas of which / heedes many oon
Of men ther heeng / as he mighe wel see;
But nat for Pat / he shone noilde or flece:
He thidirward him dressith the streight way,
In al Pat euere Pat he can or may.

1 Later scribble at side: "This biH made the x (? y) daye of t maye In the fy[r]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 leeche I am / and thogh myself it seye,
Can for the helthe of seeke folke wel purueye." ⁵₀₉
¶ They seide him / "of yondir Castel, the kyng
A lepre is / and can hool be for no thyng!

(74)

"With him ther hath been many a sundry leeche
and kills all the doctors who can't cure him.

JONATHAS says

¶ "Sires," seide he / "yow thanke I of your reed,
flor gentilly yee han yow to me qwit;
But I nat dreede to leese myn heed;
By goddes help / ful sauf keepe I wole it,
God, of his grace, swich konnynge & wit
hath lent me / pat I hope I shal him cure;
fful wel dar I me putte in auenture."

(75)

They to the kynges presence han him lad;²
And him, of the fruyt of the second tree
He yaf to ete / & bad him to be glad,
And seide anoon / "your helthe han shul yee."
To drynke / and whan he tho two had receyued,
His lepre from him / voided was & weyued.

¹ Scribble at top, "Item."
XXIV. JONATHAS ARRANGES TO RETURN HOME. 235

(77)

¶ The kyng / as vn-to his hy dignitee 533 The King pays
Connenient was / yaf him largely,
And to him seide : "if \(\hat{p}at\) it lyke thee,
Abyden heere / I more habundantly
Thee yeue wole" ¶ "my lord, sikirly,"
Quod he / "fayn wolde I your pleisir fulfiH,
And in your hy presence abyde stille ;

(78)

But I no whyle may with yow abyde,
So mochil haue 1 to doone elles where."
¶ Jonathas euery day to the See syde
Which was ny / wente / to looke & enquire
If any ship drawyne thidir were,
Which him hoom to his Contree lede miglite.
And on a day, of shippes had he siglite,

(79)

Wel / a xxx\(^{th}\), toward the Castel drawe ;¹
And atte tyme of euen-song they ah
Arryueden / of which he was ful fawe ;
And to the Shipmen erie he gan & caH,
And seide / "if it so happe miglite & faH
\(\hat{p}at\) some of yow, me hoom to my Contree
Me brynge wolde / wel qwit shold he be ;"

(80)

And tolde hem whidir / \(\hat{p}at\) they sholden go.
¶ Oon of the shipmen foorth stirte atte laste,
And to him seide / "my ship, and no mo
Of hem \(\hat{p}at\) heere been / hem shape & caste
Thidir to weende / Let see / teH on faste,"
Quod the Shipman / "\(\hat{p}at\) thou for my trauaiH
Me yeue wilt / if \(\hat{p}at\) I thidir saiH."

They were accorded / Ionathas fourth gooth
Vin-to the kyng / to axe of him licence
To twynne thens / to which the kyng was looth;
And nathelees, with his beneuolence,
This Ionathas from his magnificence
Departed is / and foorth to the Shipman
his way he takith / as swythe as he can.

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 foorth / & cam to the Citee
In which this serpentyn woman was / shee
That had him terned with false deceitis;
But where no remedie folwith / streit is;

Tornes been qwit / al be they goode or badde,
Sumtyme / thoghi they put been in delay.
But to my purpos / shee deemed he hadde
Been deuoured with beestes many a day
Goon / shee thoghte / he deliured was for ay.
folke of the Citee / kneew nat Ionathas,
So many a yeer was past / pat he ther was;

Mislykyng ey & thoght / changed eek his face.
Abouten he gooth / and for his dwellynge
In the Citee / he hyred him a place,
And ther-in excercysid his konnynge
Of phisyke / to whom weren repeirynge
Many a seeke wight / and aH were helid;
wel was the seek man / pat with him hath delid!

1 Later scribble in the margin: "In the... k... k... 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.

(85)
Now shoo it thus / pat this Fellicula—
The welle of deceuyable doublenesse,
fiollowere 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 mighte it been kid,
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 quyte
Or he wente / & no lengere it respyte;

(87)
But what pat he was / shee ne wiste nat.
He sy hire vryne / & ecke felte hir pous,
And seide / "the soothe is this, pleyn & plat :
A seeknesse han yee strange & merucillous,
Which for to voide / is wondir dangerous;
To hele yow / ther is no way but oon;
Leche in this world / othir can fynde noon:

(88)
"Auyisith yow / whethir yow list it take1
Or nat / for y told hane yow my wit."
II "A, Sire," seide shee / "for goddes sake,
pat way me shewe / and y shal folwen it,
What-euer it be / for this seeknesse sit
So ny myn herte / pat y woot nat how
Me to demene / telle on, preye y yow."
FELLICULA CONFESSES HER ROBBERY OF JONATHAS.

(89)

"Lady, yee muste openly yow confesse; 617
And if ageyn good conscience & right,
Any good han yee take, more or lesse,
Beforn this hour of any maner wight,
yilde it anoon / elles nat in the might 621
Of man is it / to yeue a medecyne
pat yow may helo of your seeknesse & pyne.

(90)

"If any swich thyng be / telle out, y rede; 624
And yee shul been al hool, y yow byheete;
Elles myn art is naght, withouten dreede."
"O lord," shee thoughte / helthe is a thyng ful sweete;
Therwith desire y soueraaily to meete. 628
Syn y it by confessioun may rekeuere,
A fool am I, but I my gilt deskeuere."

(91)

How falsly to the sone of themperour 631
Ionathas / had shee doon / before hem alH,
As yee han herd above / al pat errorr
Bykneew shee / o Fellicula, thee caH
Wel may y so / for of the bittir gaH
Thow takist the begynnynge of thy name,
Thow roote of malice / and mirour of shame!

(92)

¶ Than seide Ionathas / "where arn tho three 638
Iewelles / pat yee fro the Clerk withdraw?"
¶ "Sire, in a Cofre / at my beddes feet yee
Shul fynde hem / opne it / and see, preye y yow."
He thoughte nat to make it qweynte and tow, 642
And seye nay / and streyne courtesie,
But with right good wil / thidir he gan hye.
The Cofre he opned / and hem there fond. 1 645 Jonathas finds his Jewels there,
Who was a glad man but Jonathas, who? puts the Ring on his finger,
The ryng vp-on a fyngir of his hond the Brooch on his chest;
he putte / and the brooch on his brest also; and the Cloth under his arm.
The clooth eeke vnadir his arm heeld he tho, 649
And to hire him dressith / to doon his cure, Cure mortel / way to hir sepulture.
Cure mortel / way to hir sepulture.

he thoghte, reewe shee sholde, and forthynke2 652 [leaf 93]
pat shee hire hadde vu-to him mis bore;
And of pat watir hire he yaf to drynke,
Which pat his flessh / from his bones before 656
had twynned / wherthurgh he was almoost lore, Nad he releued been / as yee aboue
Han herd / and this he dide eekte for hir lone. 658

Of the fruyt of the tree he yaf hire etc, 659 and the leper-fruit.
Which pat him made in-to the lepre sterte ;
And as blyue in hir wombe gan they frete
And gnawe so / pat change gan hire herte.
Now herkneth / how it hire made smerte : 663 They burst her belly open, and her bowels fall out.
Hir wombe opned / and out fil eche entraille
That in hire was / thus seith the booke sanz failH. 665

Thus wrecchidly, lo / this gyle [wo]man3 dyde ; 666 Jonathas, with his 3 Jewels,
And Jonathas, with tho Jewelles three,
No lengere there thoghtie to abyde,

1 “leyenge” added by a later hand. In the margin are also, “Lounyng brother, I dan (?) . . . my harpyly cuddyr (?) . . . p . . . all . . . iand? . . . stoop . . . This ys Jamys.”
2 Later, at top: “This bill made the xvij daye of maye In the fy[r]st year of the Rayne of kyng Edwarde the syxt, by the grace of god, of Inglond, france, and yrelond, kyng.”
3 ‘guile-y woman died’ it must be ; not ‘this guile, man did.’
But hoom to thempervice, 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.]

Temperour pat y spake of aboue, is oure lord god, pat hath .iij. sones. ¶ By the firste sone, we shul vndirstonde Angels / to whiche / god yaf swich confirmacion pat they may nat synne / for affir pat the wikkid Angels fillen: the goode angels so sadly weren adherent to god, and by him so confermed / pat they mightten nat synne. ¶ By the second 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 comynge of Cryst / ¶ To the .iij. sone, this Emperour yaf the Jewelles / pat is to seyn, the ryng / the brooch & the clooth / ¶ By the ryng pat is rownd / We shul vndirstande feith / which is rownd, withouten obliquitee or crookidnesse / and who-so hath the ryng of verray feith / he shal haue the loun of god and of his angels. ¶ Where-of oure Sauneour 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 verray feith: he shal haue al 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 aH goodes pat profyten to the helthe of soule / ¶ Also god yaf to the
Cristen man the .iiij° Iewel / pat is to seyn, the precious clooth / this clooth is parfyt charitee / which god shewid vs in the Crois / he loued vs so mochil pat he deide for vs / to brynge vs to eternel blisse / theryfore who-so sitteth vp-on parfyt 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, pat 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 receyued & tooke in his baptene. ¶ Also the brooch, pat is to seyn, the holy goost, fleeth from hym by cause of his synne. ¶ The clooth eek is with-drawn from hym, pat is to seye, parfyt charitee / as often as he consentith to synne / and thus the wrecchid man dwellith or abydith withouten help among beestes / pat is to seyn / with the feend / the world and the flessh. ¶ Do theryfore as dide Ionathas. ¶ Ryse vp fro thy synne, ryse vp / for al to longe haast thow slept in the lappe of carnalitee or flesshilyhede / as it is written: ¶ "Aryse vp thow pat sleepist, and y shal enlumyne thee." ¶ Right so Sampson slept in the lappe of Dalida, and loste his strengthe. ¶ Ionathas roos and entred in-to the watir of penance / which twynneth and disseuerith the flessh, pat is to seyn, flesshily affeccions / ¶ Aftirward he eet of the fruyt of sharpenesse / which changed his cheere in-to the manere of a leepre / as it is red of Cryst: ¶ "we sy hym as hanynge no chiere or contenance," ¶ Right so of the soule, which is in bittirnesse for the wroght offense and synne. ¶ wher-of it is seid in the figure and liknesse of the soule: ¶ "Blake y am, but y

2 Later, at top: "Radufus Wilcokes." "Ihesus, "Ihesus, hane mercy vppon vs and this Inglishe nacyon, which hath bene of christs flock an habitacioni." At foot: "Thomas, late Pokes Walere (?)" and some French, upside down.
am fair” / pat is to seyn, blake in body, and fair in soule. ¶ Jonahas entred the second watir, which restored al, &c. ¶ This watir is the holy communion aftir penitence, ¶ Wher-of spake our 1Saunour: 2 ¶ “I am the well / who-so drynkith of pat watir, he shal nat thriste ageyn.” ¶ Aftir, this Jonahas eet of the fruyt of the second tree, which restored al pat was lost, pat is to seyn, whan man is glorified in eternel lyf, and helith the kyng, pat is to seyn, resoun. and so he entrith the ship of the chirche / and to his paramour, pat is to seyn, his flessh, he purneith watir of contricioun & fruyt of penence and sharpenesse / for which the flessh / pat is to seyn, carnel or flesshily affeccion, sterueth and dieth / and the man purchaceth & getith by penitence the goodes pat were lost / and so he gooth in to his Contree, pat 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 Westmerland / and seye,
Hir humble servant / with al reverence
Him recommandith vn-to hir nobleye;
And byseeche hire / on my behalune, & preye,
Thee to receyue / for hire owne right;
And looke thow / in al manere weye
To plese hir womanhede / do thy might.

Humble servant
To your gracious nobleesse
T: Hoccleue.

At foot, later, “Perlegi 1666.”

Later, at top: “Vnto the glorious Resurrection of the Body and the lyfe Euer lastyng.” At side “radulfnus Wilcok... • honerif isuilitatibus... But, the sayd def (?)”
THE DURHAM MS. OF HOCCLEVE'S "COMPLAINT," &C., LEAF 95.
NOTES.

I.

Extracts from Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* (Mai 1399).—Œuvres Poétiques de C. de P. publiées par Maurice Roy. ii. 1—27. Soc. des Anciens Textes Français, 1891.

[The nos. of the English lines are on the left; those of the French on the right.]

1 Cupido, roy par la grace de lui, 1
   Dieu des amans, sans aide de nullui
2 Regnant en l'air du ciel très refusant 4
5 Filz de Venus la deesse poissant,
   Sire d'amours et de tous ses obziez,
6 A tous nos vrais loiaux servans subgiez,
7 Salut, Amour, Familiarité!
8 Savoir faisons en generalité
11 Qu'a nostre Court sont venues complaintes
   Par devant nous, et moult piteuses plaintes
9 De par toutes dames et danoiselles,
10 Gentilz femmes, bourgoises et pucelles,
   Et de toutes femmes generamment,
   Nostre secours requerant humblement ...
11 Si se plaignent les dessusdites dames,
12 Des grans extors, .. des outrages très griefs,
   Que chasem jour des desloiaux reçoivent,
   Qui les blasinent, diffament et deçoivent.
15-16 Sur tous pais se complaignent de France ...
18 Car a present sont plusieurs chevaliers
   Et esniers mains dais et constumiers
21 D'elles trayr par beaux blandissemens.
18 Si se faignent estre loiaux amans
21 Et se cueuvrent de diverse faintise ;
22-5 Si vont disant que griefment les atise
   L'amour d'elles, qui leur cuer tient en serre,
   Dont l'un se plaint, a l'autre le cuer serre,
   Par trop amer tout soit desconcloure,
   Et presque mort et tout alangoré,
   Et jurent fort, et promettent et mentent
33 Estre loiaux, secrez, et puis s'en vantent ...
36 Sonz maintes fois les dames deceus.
34 Ainsi, se trop ne sont aperceües,
41 Car simples sont, n'y pensent se bien non,
234 Et les paye souvent de leurs dessertes;
   Car, en despit de leurs males paroles,
236 Eulx assorzer d'aucunes femmes foles,
237,239 Je fais yceulz: de tel gent sont amées ...
   La sont surpris et bien envelopé
   Cecil qui les mieulx cuident estré eschappé.
238 Comme il afferit sunt tel gent avoyé;
245 Si leur est bien tel meschief emploïé ... 
246 D'autres plusseurs, et meismeument Ovide
   Qui tant en voult, puis diffamer les cuide;
247 Et tous les cler, qui tant en ont parlé,
252 Plus qu'autre gens en furent affolé,
259 Non pas d'une seule mais d'un millier. ...
274 Li autres dit que moult sont decevalables,
275 Cautilleuses, faulzes et pou valables.
   Autres dient que tref sont meugongieres,
279 Variables, inconstans et legieres ... 
   Et meismeument pouête si soubtil
   Comme Ovide, qui puis fu en exil,
281,286 Et Jehan de Meun ou Romant de la Rose,
287 Pour decevoir sanz plus une pucelle ... 
302 Que fu jadis Médée au faulz Jason?
308 Trés loialle, et lui fist la toison
309 D'or conquérir par son engin soubtil,
   Dont il acquist loz plus qu'autres cent mil ...
309,310 Par elle fu renommé dessus tons,
   Si lui promist que loial ami doulz
312 Presque pery, lui et ses chevaliers?
   Recueilid fu, dont lui estoit mestiers
315 Dont a la fin celle, pour s'amisté

1 Hoecelewis wisely leaves out Christine’s retort that the books against them weren’t written by women (609-10); had they been (116), things ud have been differently put.
Morut de deuil, dont ce fu grant pitié. 460

Si trouvera, se vient a droit jugier, 643

330 Que le plus grant mal puet pou dommagier:
331 N’occuent gent, ne blesseent, ne mahagnent,
Ne trafisons ne pourчиacent n’empregnent, 648
334 Feu ne bontent, ne desheritent gent,
335 N’empoisonnent, n’emblent or ne argent,
Ne deçoivent d’avoir ne d’eritage,
336 N’en fault contras, et ne portent dommage
333 Aux royannes, aux duchies, n’aux empires;

Mal ne s’ensuit gaires, miemmes des pères . . . 652
. . . . elles n’ont pas les cuers
Enclins ad ce, ne a cruauté faire;

337-40 Car nature de femme est debonnaire, [See also 168-178.]
346 Moult piteuse, paourouse et doubleable,
345 Humble, doucé, coye, et moult charitable,
347 Amiable, devote, en payz honteuse,
346 Et guerre eraint, simple et religieuse,
341 Et en courroux tost apaïse son yre . . . 677
361 . . . mais du decevement 608

351-7 Dont on blasme dame Eve nostre mere,
354 Dont s’ensuivi de Dien sentence amere,
365-6 Je di pour vray qu’once Adam ne déçunt,
364 Et simplement de l’anemi conçut
363 La parole qu’il lui donna a croire,
Si li cuída estre loïd et voire,
En celle foy de lui dire s’avance;
367 Si ne fut donc fraude ne decepvance
Car simplece, sanz malce celée,
367 Ne doit estre decepvance appelée.
372 Nul ne deçoit sanz cuïdier decepvoir,
371 Ou autrement decepance n’est voir.

374-5 Quelz granz mauz donz en pevent estre diz ?
Par desservir n’ont elles paradis?
375 De quelz crient mes que on accuser . . . 623
Mais, qui qu’en ait mesdit ou mal escrjpt
435 Je ne truis pas en livrre n’en escript
437 Qui de Jhesus parle, ou de sa vie,
436 Ou de sa mort pourchacée d’envie . . . 562
444 N’envanglie qui nul mal en testmoigne,
Malz maint grant bien, mainte haute besoigne,
447 Grant prudence, grant sens, et grant constance,
Parfaite amour, en foy grant arrestance,
Grant charité . . . et grant semblant en firent, 569, 71
438 Car, mort ne vif, oncque ne le gnerpirent.
442 Fours des femmes fu de tons deleissié
Le douz Jhesus, navré, mort et blecié.
443 Toute la foy remaint en une femme . . . 575
450 Et se jay dit d’elles bien et louenge, 759
451 Comme il est vray, ne l’ay fait par losange,
452 N’a celle fin que plus orgueil en aient,
453 Mais tout a fin que toudis elles soyent
454 Curieuses de mieulz en mieulz valoir,
Sanz les vices que l'en ne doit avoir; 764
456 Car qui plus a grant vertu et bonté,
En doit estre moins d' orgueil surmonté,
457-8 Car les vertus si enchacent les vices.
Et, s'il est des femmes aucunes nyces,
C'est Epistre leur puist estre dottrine,
Le mal laissent ; les bonnes vuillent en ce
454 Prendre vouloir d' auoir perseverence,
455,62 Si aront preu, grant honneur, joye et los
Et Paradis a la fin, dire l'os.
463 Pour ce conclus en diffinicion,
466-7 Que des mauvais soit fait punicion
Qui les blasment . . . si soient tuit 777, 779
468 De nostre Court chacié, bani, destruit . . .
464 Et commandons de fait a no maisnie
465 Generaument et a noz officiers . . .
466 . . . que tous ceuz maubaillis
467 Injuriez, punis honteusement . . .
470 Accompli soit sanz faire aucun delais,
472-3 Donné en l'air, en nostre grant palais,
Le jour de May la solempnée feste
474 Ou les amans nous font mainte requeste,
475 L' An de grace Mil trois cens quate vins
Et dix et neuf, present dieux et divins . . .

CREINTIS [= Cristine].

Explicit l' Epistre au dieu d'amours.
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. comandalementes Sh.
— 4. the mortel A, al mortel Sh.
— 5. the om. A, Sh., citheres some
oonly Sh.
— 6. alle A Sh.
— 7. gretyng hertly Sh., gretynges
senden A.
73/8. wole A, wot Sh.
— 9. and A, of Sh.
— 10. esowe Sh.
— 11. Swich A, . . . of F, as Sh.
— 12. doon A, which doone Sh.
— 14. this F, hir A, pe Sh.
— 15. And passyng A, . . . on F,
upon Sh., . . . the litel F, this A.
— 18. can . . . dissimulen A.
— 19. on F, in A, Sh.; her F, peyre
Sh.
— 20. herte A, feelen Sh.
— 23. and with A, a chere Sh.
— 24. trewely A, trawly 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 cuer A.
— 33. al F, yche A.
74/34. ryght as F, As þat A Sh.;
lyste F, lykith A.
— 35. moot myn herte A: . . .
herde I prey Sh.
— 38. wordes maynon A; non astert
F, theer noon sterte A.
74/39. reson . . . to F, sholde any
wight by reson A, reson
any wight sholde Sh.
— 43. moveth . . . F, women
meened 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 stelhe Sh.
— 51. is in his F, of hire hath A.
— 52. kepeth . . . more F, he
keepith nat A, with her ne
keþpe he more Sh.
— 53. after, om. Sh.; fynden A,
f. owher Sh.
— 55. bestowe so Sh.
— 56. þees men for alle þeþre 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. teldeþ him Sh.
— 65. to accuse A.
— 66. to . . . selfe F, confesse him
A; Nowe is þis witte /
confesse himself thraytoure
Sh.
Collations of 'The Letter of Cupid.'

75/67. a A.
- 68. tellen how hir body be Sh.;
do F, doon A.
- 69. he . . . him F, to him thus
too Sh.
- 70. grete esclaundre F Sh., ful
greet repreef A; vnto F,
booke 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. pat men by sl. A Sh.
- 79. Innocent F, ignorant A.
- 80. ys . . . sith F A, sith ys
Sh.
- 81. as pat A.
- 82. om. the Sh.
76,83. al A Sh.
- 85. Betrayen A Sh.
- a. Cites F A, Resumes Sh.
- 86. is yt . . . shape F, is . . .
shape a A Sh.
- 87. Ageynes false & hid A, A.
falsely hidde Sh.
- 88. suche F, tho A; craftes F A,
castes Sh.
- 89. wytte . . . redy F, wil ay
reedy is A Sh.
- 90. thinges that souene F Sh.;
hy A, hye Sh.
- 91. beth F, be A.
- 92. these F, the A.
- 93. as A Sh.
- 94. they A, be Sh.
- 96. om. A.
- 97. guerdoneth he F, him qwytith
A.
- 98. lytell wote F, Smal witen A,
1. knowe Sh.
- 99. To his felaw an othir wreche
A.
- 100. the hath F, hath thee A.
- 102. desyrd A.
- 106. ride F, ride on Sh.
- 107. whilst Sh.; for, om. A.
77,108. wol F, can A; with-sey F,
sey ney Sh.
- 109. smertly F, qwikly A; snakl
A.
- 110. thus these F, so the A.

77/111. so . . . mot F, pat . . . oft
gyled shal Sh.
- 112. ay . . . F, For . . . nouel-
lerye Sh.
- 114. self / hyre F, self / here A.
- 115. Reprefe of her he spekth A.
- 117. dyuers F, sundry A; oft
maken Sh.
- 120. Ful . . . wolde F, For . . .
wolde eke Sh.
- 121. spent his tyme A.
- 123. hyr pleylny F, his lady A.
- 124. and F, or Sh.; had A.
- 127. For euer Sh.
- 129. leiser han A Sh.
78/131. om maddyngele . . . 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 the Sh.
- 138. yf that F, And if Sh.
- 139. Al moot he flece pat is to it
A.
- 140. his grete F, ther-to A, mans
g. Sh.
- 141. A foul vice A, Right foule
it Sh.
- 143. men F, man A Sh.
- 147. thise . . . in F, the . . . at
A; beth F, been Sh.
- 148. man . . . a woman Sh.
- 151. and F, al Sh.
- 153. and ful F, al ful Sh.
- 154. that . . . al F, swiche alle A.
79/156. al . . . were F, alle was A.
- 158. al men woot F, men wel
knowen A.
- 159. that F, wheele 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, deeme it
. . . al Sh.
- 167. se . . . falsenesse A, se it
. . . f. Sh.
- 168. trusten F A, trust the Sh.
- 170. hir F, hem Sh.
- 171. the w. hir shap be thikke or
ellys Sh.
- 172. good or badde Sh.
79/173. enery m. w. F, For yeh wight Sh.
— 175. ys yt F, haje he Sh.; shame ... speke F, shame / speke of hir A.
— 176. forth F, out Sh.
— 179. be ... F, by M. vnto the bee Sh.
— 180. thou ... F, man shal hounor bee Sh.
80/181. hir nat F, nat hire A; And 
— 182. by F, thurgh A.
— 183. ys see ye in our e. Sh.
— 184. foule F A, beast Sh.
— 185. that he F, so it A.
— 186. vseth F, wont is A.
— 187. wel ... F, of wommen wel A.
— 188. to displesen F, for to de-
— 189. they wol F Sh., hem list A.
— 190. These, om. A.
— 191. bokes of hir F, makynges of Sh.
— 192. dispisen t, w. F, they lakken wommanes A.
— 194. hem yene A, gyf hem Sh.
— 196. belowen A.
— 197. Tho F, yeire Sh.; sory F, wikkid A.
— 200. may F, konde Sh.
— 201. done ... F, edoo and yet Sh.
— 202. the ... not F, who may hire by malice A; hir F, yeure Sh.
— 203. as that theys F, Not the world A, as that the Sh.
— 205. reprehe F, villayne Sh.
81/208. a F A, as Sh.
— 209. or rynne F, rynne A.
— 210. he F A, bye Sh.
— 211. hir F A, yeure Sh.
— 213. to lene hem ever to Sh.
— 214. syn F, sithe Sh.
— 215. They s. &. A.
— 216. and, om. A; suche ... wrapped F, sweche ... trapped Sh.
— 218. No F, Ye no Sh.; thys F, at the A.
— 219. I do F Sh., do we A.
81/220. labour and traitille A.
— 221. betwixt vs A.
— 222. noon F, nat A, not Sh.
— 223. these F, om. A; cruel F, outrageous A.
— 225. my F, our A.
— 226. ytyed F, Tyd A.
— 228. ys F, his 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. troughe that no w. bee ewhette Sh.
— 244. persyng ... how F, strokes how sore A.
— 245. kerve F, brest Sh.
— 248. as it is knowne wyde Sh.
— 249. man F, men Sh.
— 251. konde F, come Sh.
— 256. they F, in herte they A.
— 257. this F, tho A, so thees, Sh.
83/258. oon v, and oter they were, Sh.
— 259. thise F, the A; often F, wel oft Sh.
— 260. thise F, om. A.
— 261. weren nat they / A.
— 262. as weren F, that wern A.
— 263. this F, thees Sh.
— 266. worshippe F, honor A.
— 267. thise F, tho' A.
— 272. For v. o, he can abyde Sh.
— 273. a wight F, oon for A, folkes for Sh.
— 274. this F, the A.
— 276. wonne F A, conquerd Sh.
— 278. refreyne F, restreyne A.
— 282. occupacion F, opynyoun Sh.
84/285. Aparayile for to tellen vp Sh.
— 286. longe F, large Sh.
— 288. I ... my F, we ... our A, Nough ... ne in ... comprende Sh.
— 291. shall soo, Sh.
— 295. moot yt, Sh.
— 297. for to ... whatener A.
— 299. thise F, tho A; feyne F A, seyne Sh.
— 304. quy0t 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 him . . . name F, grete . . . fame Sh.
85/310. wrecheh F Sh., man A.
311. Vnto Dido whiche Sh.
312. smertos F, greues A.
313. han 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 byhste may men, A.
319. repreaule F, reprefe ne of A.
320. In herete of man / conceites trewe arn dede A.
321. hath F, hath nowe Sh.
321. noght F, noght A, barreine Sh.
322. trouthe F A, feyth Sh.
322. namely yt is F, / is hir vice A.
324. a womans F, wommannes A, pees wymmens 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 enpowson / 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. Wommannes h. to A.
347. ful amiable Sh.
349. hath not thise Sh.
350. Ne . . . nat I, Folwyth nothing A.
351. firste A; natheles F A, neuer pe leese Sh.
352. lese his F, to lese hir Sh.
354. heestes F A, heest boo Sh.
355. tasten of a F, to ete of the A, to tasten of pe Sh.
356. ne F, nat A.
357. denel . . . ne F, feend been / no more she A, feende ebec n. she Sh.

87/358. penvyous Sh.
360. for to F. to A.
361. Eve to deccyve Sh.
363. neght F, nat A, nade Sh.
365. I sey F, we seyn A ; goode Sh.
366. ne F A, she Sh.
367. may F, cane Sh.
368. pat she F, she pe 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 barme F Sh., bat gilt A.
377. hir F, Eves Sh.
379. Touchyngge which / A.
380. I F, We A.
381. that . . . now F, men nowe A, that men now may Sh.
383. This hane 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, pat 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 eelen Sh.
406. hir . . . bore F, hirre be borne A, hir hir be borne Sh.
408. leenee F Sh., weyke A.
89/410. preysing F, launde 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. honored 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. Overcam A, In ouercomyng Sh.
Collations of 'The Letter of Cupid.' 253

89/427. Vnto the feith of God /
    holy virgyne A; of God
    A, shou goode Sh.
    — 428. I F, We A, pat I Sh.
    — 429. by F, Oonly by Sh.
    — 430. neuer in my F, nat in one
        A, not in my Sh.
    — 431. enuer werre y F, ay We wer-
        rey A, enuer I werre Sh.
    — 432. lo . . . me F, leenueth wel
        ye A.
    — 434. remembrance We nat may
        A.
90/437. maketh F A, made Sh.
    — 440. parcel as w. Sh.
    — 442. Womman F A, Wymmen
        Sh.
    — 444. for . . . F, holy wryt thus
        Sh.; seyeth F, seith A.
    — 445. shal . . . yt shoule so f. Sh.
    — 446. I . . . F Sh, it may preued
        be ther-by A.
    — 447. stable F, al the A.
    — 448. the F, al A, om. Sh.
    — 451. tolde F Sh., is nat told A.
    — 452. or F, ne Sh.
    — 455. hir F, þeyre Sh.
    — 457. digne . . . noble F Sh., noble
        is / and worthy A; in
        F A, of Sh.
    — 458-60. he F Sh., she A.
91/461. vertu A.
    — 463. wol . . e. F, thus we wolen
        conclude A; we F A,
        yee Sh.
    — 464. yow F A, wol Sh.
    — 466. thise F, tho A.
    — 467. punishment A.
    — 469. in F, yyne A; more F, om.
        A; come more F, retourne
        Sh.
    — 471. that Sh.
    — 472. the ayer F, their A, þeyre
        Sh.
    — 473. Million F A, legyoun Sh.
    — 476. and . . and F A, foure h.
        yeres and Sh.
III.

JERESLAUS'S WIFE, p. 140-178.

Some Various Readings from MS. Reg. 17 D 6, leaf 99 &c.

140/1. actes D, Icestes R.
— 2. Whilom D, Sonytyme R.
— 3. Jereslaus D, Gerelans 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, thercfor R.
— 32-3. al . . . smal D, aft, 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 dredeith D, drede not R.
142/57. and D, the R.
— 59. the boke kan not R.
— 61. kepe R, kepeth D; Rom, out.
143/86. fat D, no R.
— 88. R alters this line and puts it for 91.
— 95. Truste wele it. none other it R.
— 97. hir, when 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, aft . . . shalt R.
— 111. vnhad . . . bad D, not hadde . . . hadde R.
144/122. it . . . is D, it is wele knownen R.
— 125. vs warante and avowe R.
— 127. douthith D, dredeth R.
— 131. anoon arcest D, areste anone R.
— 136. Then thought he thus R.
145/139. vttirly shal I R.
— 144. hye R, hy D.
— 154. & D, & my R.
— 156. of . . . deeth D, on mystone deth to R.
— 163. yt I wish R.
146/172. often it happeth. that womans R.
— 175. did grete harm R.
— 180. now D, goode R.
— 181. ryde foorth D, now rideth R.
— 187. sue D, folwe R.
— 194. shoop D, shope R.
147/199. ago . . . syn D, ferne agone . . . sithen R.
— 203. be doon D, I do R.
— 212. But my lords the Emperor R.
— 224. help at al D, other helpe R.
148/225. manaces D, manace ne R.
— 226. Koth she. of the R.
— 229. fat this for D, this for an R.
— 232. left al D, withonten more R.
— 240. blasted D, blasted R.
Collations of 'Jerseaus's Wife.'

— 246. false D, thou fals R.
— 248. willy to D, willyng to do R.
— 250. the D, and worthy R.
— 251. O foule enemye R.
149/258. bettidle Reg., betid D.
— 253. kidde Reg., hid D.
— 263. I... and ðat with bold D.
150/281. I wote wele with bolde R.
— 265. go D, ayein go Reg.
— 266. forth t eth D, telle forth R.
— 267. ðat... had D, she so hade R.
— 269. Erl D, Erle R.
— 271. blyue D, fað blive R.
— 273. the D, this R.
— 280. quod D, koth R.
150/281. ferre R, fer D.
— 297. ðat thee list D, the luste to R.
— 307. the D, this R.
— 308. hire aftir D, after. hir R.
151/310. lay therl D, as lay the Erle R.
— 313. was... This D, Was this R.
— 315. good... reft D, goode... be-ref 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... ðat D, bedde... where as R.
— 340. purposid D, purpos and R.
— 361. him D, he hym R.
153/366. ðat D, that... that R.
— 370. bed D, bedde R.
— 371. bybled D, forbledde R.
— 381. now no lenger R.
— 383. slayn D, slayn (so in 380) R.
— 392. that it not so were R.
154/394. In the D, In að the R.
— 396. namely / & D, and namely R.
— 403. He to hir spak R.
— 409. he deceyued D, deceyued he R.
— 413. wæst hast D, hast quytte R.
— 414. walke forth R.
— 422. for she had seide R.

155/430. broke R.
— 442. saue D, to saue R.
156/455. foot D, fete R. [leaf 107]
— 457. Whildir D, Wherto R.
— 460. longe his lady fro R.
— 461. agayn D, ayenst R.
— 466. how D, that R.
— 467. shap... eek D, and shap... and R.
157/475. & D, nor R.
— 477. fer D, ferre R.
— 480. of... ne D, or... or R.
— 485. can D, kun R.
— 490. her... thogh D, is her nature and yit R.
— 494. chaunge wole, lest it myght hurt R.
— 499. this D, that R.
158/509. ga D, go R.
— 510. Vnto my ladyes In. for she R.
— 521. heere y D, I here R.
— 526. he seide D, koth he R.
159/535. wilt so D, wolt now R.
— 544. in no weertee R.
— 558. to thyn owne D, vnto thy R.
160/569. Take goode heede theroe R.
— 570. thow D, right R.
— 571. be than goode, hens forto R.
— 572. Ellas að thy labour may the R.
— 573. For I wolde lede, hir home R.
— 579. Thow hast hade or this R.
— 583. yene D, and yeye me R.
— 586. had... deuel D, hade... fend R.
161/590. clothes... his D, his clothes out of the R.
— 591. to bye D, forto bey R.
— 597. Synaðbat D, Siten 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... 1 D, haue I made R.
— 627. That there shal never man... so R.
— 628. thyng... outake D, no thyng... saue R.
— 632. wel D, this R.
— 634. middes D, the myddes R.
— 643. the D, your R.
163/656. and gan anone R.
257. she D, and R.
- 658. Made she, as I shal to you
hercresse R.
- 664. deitee D, dignitee R.
- 675. fil D, shope R.
- 683. Where. the ladyes R.
- 689. yaf ... a D, shope and yafe
sucche R.
- 703. told haue D, haue tolde R.
- 712. roop D, rope R.
- 713. Potagre D, Potakir R.
- 725. quyte ... D, wole you
quyte R.
- 726. swich D, sucche R.
- 728. ye shal it bey ful soure.
- 732. herd D, herk R.
- 735. hele wele D, wel hele R.
- 741. they ... D, and they haste
R.
- 746. denotly D, denotely R.
167/757. The Abbesse hir made.
approche his lyke pre-
sence R.
- 758. hid D, couered R.
- 767. about D, aboute R (therē).
- 771. That was the kyght, the
thief, and the shipman
R.
- 777. dirke D, gret R.
- 782. Be cured. lefte on R.
- 784. is ... D, it is. to perseeure.
168/785. For the foume R.
- 795. hool D, hole R.
- 798. Telle out D, Sey on R.
- 803. I ... D, mercye I you R.
- 807. he thoughte D, thought he R.
- 811. pat D, euer R.
169/813. And how he ... hade be-
traide R.
- 817. been vnpayed D, be delaide
R.
- 831. him wolde D, it wold him R.
- 832. mis D, lakke R.
- 841. purpos D, tale R.
- 842. thow dem, D, and demony-
ake R.
- 847. han ... D, the gronde
haue R.
- 848. sharp D, sharpe R.
- 852. confesse D, to confesse R.
- 863. And betokee hir, the charge
and the cure R.
- 864. a D, his R.
- 866. there a mis D, a wiakde R.

HOCOLEVE, M.P.—II.

171/872. enere D, ay R.
- 873. vnto ... D, to my luste nor
R.
- 878. the D, this R.
- 881. And thynke, the no wight
elles R.
- 882. this D, that R.
- 889. Whan that ly for my gitel R.
- 893. of D, for R.
- 895. where I dede shuld haue
be R.
- 896. lyf D, gift R.
172/897. as D, was R.
- 898. by D, hir R.
- 900. Betraide I hir R.
- 901. him ... D, Shope hym ...
delavce R.
- 902. for D, forthe R.
- 904. a ... I D, a faire gentil
lady I R.
- 906. haue hire D, hir haue R.
- 912. haf ... claf D, hafe ...
chafe R.
- 923. On ... seide D, On curtceys
height. right R.
173/925. hau of me D, taken R.
- 927. seeknesse ... his D, dese
... her R.
- 939. wrecche D, man R.
- 941. kus D, cosse R.
- 946. Inow thus D, is at an R.
- 947. vnto his Paleys D, to his
paleys goth R.
- 948. good lady the Emperice,
with hym gan wende R.
- 949. lyueden D, ledde her lyfe R.
- 950. his D, the R.
- 952. list D, wole R.
MS. Reg. 17 D vi. leaves out page
174.
175/16. the rather D, the r. and the
sonner R.
- 17. scripture D, writte R.
- 22. & makynge D, fat maken R.
- 27. wherof D, wherfore R.
176/14. hukynge D, Wirkyng R.
- 30. soule wole D, soules wolen R.
177/4. vp so don D, bakward R.
- 26. the feend D, pis worlde R.
- 34. torned D, turneth R
178/2. infest D, effect R.
178. R. has in margin 'Discipulus.
Cum omnes homines n.
s. d . . .'
Collations of 'Jerusalem'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. swetnesse D, richesse R.

179/41. me D, me so R.
— 45. ay, wote he suft weft R.
180/54. hire D, hym R.
— 57. many con D, hym R.
— 72. led away D, awey haue ledde R.
— 74. vnto . . holde D, to that lord?
     yholde R.

(Collation incomplete.)
GLOSSARY.

BY MR. THOMAS AUSTIN.

Aart, sb. art, 13/150, 26/32.
Abitect, pp. cast off, 222/199.
Abstinence, sb. putte in a., forbear from, 154/406.
Acet, acate, sb. purchase, 31/181, 70/100.
Accomplie, vb. t. accomplish, 152/341.
Adawid, pp. adawed, awakened, 153/369.
Affes, vb. t. scare, 233/482.
Affesid, pp. scared, 229/379.
Affoorthbe, vb. t. bestow, 217/46.
Ageyn, prep. before, in presence of, 166/745.
Aght, aught, 22/440, 82/252.
Agilt, vb. int. siu, 69/64, a-gylte, 108/366; V. t. sin against, 17/270, 168/804.
Agrysid, pp. terrified, 196/476.
Allhalwen day, sb. All Souls’ Day (Nov. 1), 212/926.
Almesse, sb. alms, 194/424.
Amonestynge, sb. warning, 208/820.
Apalle, vb. int. slacken, 98/74.
Appert, adj. apert, open, 33/270.
Arrettist, vb. t. imputest, layest, 12/113.
Argnises, sb. timidity, reluctance, 38/435.
Aspen, adj. trembling, 63/17.
Asseeth, sb. 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.
Auriculeer, adj. auricular, 11/81.
Awoertee, sb. cantiousness, O. Fr. averti, 159/544.
Baar, vb. t. bare, 8/241.
Bake, sb. back, 29/127.
Bapteeme, sb. baptism, 9/38.
Bayte, vb. t. refresh, 15/206.
Beer, vb. t. bare, imp. tense, 1/44.
Begilt, pp. ? deluded, 192/372.
Begone, pp. well b., prosperous, 95/11; wors begoon, worse beset, 231/445; comp. woe-begone.
Bete, vb. t. beat; ‘bete this pavement’ (pavement), 102/180. Compare Fr. battre le pavé.
Bille, sb. bill of a bird, 44/42.
Bit, vb., bad, 34/280, 229/376.
Bent, pp. blinded, 225/280.
Bluye, adv. quickly, 4/123, 34/280.
Bobanc, sb. boasting, 190/321.
Bolne, vb. int. swell, rise, 172/913.
Bolynuge, ppl. bolning, swelling, 10/49.
Bouchef, sb. good fortune, prosperity, 221/172.
Bote, sb. eure, 97/49.
Brede, sb. in b., abroad, 10/70.
Breeth, sb. breath, 2/80.
Breid, sb. braid, attack, 182/115.
Bril, sb. bird, 80/184.
Brigge, sb. bridge, boat-stairs, 31/194; cp. ‘3e Queenes brede’ and ‘Prey bledge’ at Westminster, in Braun and Hogenberg’s map of 1572.
Broke, sb. brook, 100/152.
Brydillees, adj. bridleless, 27/78.
Brygelees, adj. brigneless, without dispute, 13/164.
Bukkyshe, adj. flighty, skittish, unsettled, 99/123.
But, conj. unless, 27/57, 190/326.
Byble, pp. blebly, bloody, 7/230.
Bye, vb. t. aby, pay for, suffer for, 165/728.
Byheete, vb. int. promise, 226/302, 238/625.
Byknew, vb. t. confessed, 238/634.
Bymenneth, vb. t. bemoan, bewail, inper. 7/231.
Bynome, pp. of benime, taken away from, 6/189.
Bytake, vb. t. hand over, 156/452.
Calate, sb. f. drab, quean, 13/147.
Cape, vb. int. gape, A., 191/350.
Careyne, sb. carcass, O. Fr. coroine, 189/306.
Cast, sb. intention, 191/348.
Cheetractive, sb. affection, 22/433, 40/21, 137/777, 205/710, 219/87; comfort, 48/32.
Cheek, sb. check, at chess, 184/161.
Chepe, vb. t. buy, 216/13.
Cheunie, vb. provide, provide for, 28/101, 34/285.
Cheuissance, sb., achievement, comp. vb. cheuis, Cursor M. 1, 8329, 132/621.
Chinchy, adj. niggard, 29/136.
Chylldly, adj. childly, childish, 27/64.
Citain, sb. citizen; comp. Fr. citoyen, 202/627.
Clappe, vb. chatter, 21/396, 37/394, 40/37, 127/489.
Clee, sb. claw, 191/345.
Clight, pp. elenched, 182/124.
Cloudful, adj. cloudy, dark, black, 55/109.
Cokir, sb. high-low, 190/312.
Combreworldes, sb. cumberworlds, uselesse mortals, 32/225.
Complieyne, vb. t. complain of, blame, Fr. se plaindre, 36/342, 57/17.
Conceitless, adj. ignorant, 232/458.
Compaignie, sb. company, attendants, companionship, 149/260, 151/329, 164/653.
Compassid, vb. compassed, devised, 151/330.

Compel, vb. t. compel, 26/30.
Compleyne, pity, Fr. plaindre, 36/341.
Compunct, pp. touched with compunction, 199/562.
Constanse, sb. constancy, Fr. constance, 157/488.
Cotidian, adj. quotidian, daily, Lat. quotidians, 26/25.
Conyne, sb. scoundrelism, 9/21. ‘Il en srit bien toute la courage. Hee is well acquainted with thine packing; he knows full well how the matter bath beene carried.’ 1611. Coggrave.
Cristieete, sb. Christendom, O. Fr. crestiente, 156/453.
Crois, sb. cross, Fr. croix, 5/149.
Cure, sb. care, heed, 81/219.

Daswed, pp. dazed, 57/9.
Deceuyable, adj. deceitful, 237/590.
Deeth, sb. death, 5/162.
Delanee, adj. O. Fr. destavel; washed away (Cotgrave), loose, lawless, 172/901.
Deliure, vb. t. deliver, 154/412, 161/590.
Demoniak, sb. one possessed with a devil, 170/434.
Deprane, vb. t. speak ill of, scandal, slander, 30/171.
Dere, vb. t. hurt, harm, 107/348.
Dereworth, vb. t. precios, 195/448, 197/498.
Descuere, vb. discover, let out, 150/283.
Despace, vb. t. dispand, expend, spend, 8/244, 38/415, 187/239.
Despence, sb. dispense, laying out, liberaly, 36/342.
Desteyned, pp. sullied, 36/340.
Dever, sb. devoir, duty, 156/531.
Dewynge, sb. dewing, moistening, 5/158.
Deynouse, adj. proud, 78/150.
Diadeine, sb. diadem, 15/232.
Do foorth, keep on, 41/15.
Doel, sb. dole, pity, O. Fr. doel, Fr. deuil, 5/153.
Doghtir, sb. daughter, 150/296, 152/339.
Dokke, vb. t. cut off, kill, 159/541.
Dotepol, sb. dodipoll, fool, 217/49.
Doublenesse, sb. deception, 73/21, 237/590.
Dreche, vb. vex, 106/308.
Dress, dresse, vb. t. direct, bend, 160/583, 164/691, 210/856.
Drye, vb. t. suffer, 196/474.
Doubm, adj. Prov.—'the doubm man, no lond getith,' i. e. one must speak, if one wants anything, 38/433.
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Egal, adj. equal, Fr. égal, 5/168; egall, 115/156.
Eilid, vb. ailed, 9/25.
Enable, vb. t. make fit for, 17/272.
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Enchesoun, sb. cause, reason, O. Fr. enchelesoun, 48/18, 54/61, 89/420.
Enhabit, vb. t. set as inhabitant, 17/240.
Ensampla, vb. t. give example to, 66/64, 131/604.
Ensele, vb. t. enseal, seal, 234/516.
Entaille, sb. entail, intaglio, 21/410.
Entailleid, pp. unalterably attached, 157/488.
Enteer, adj. entire, 50/29.
Eschun, adj. shy, O. Fr. eschvin, 21/403.
Eschue, vb. t. avoid, O. Fr. eschever, 6/193, 14/192, 32/216.
Esmaye, vb. t. dismay, 207/774.
Estat, sb. estate, 88/430.
Eucnhede, sb. evenness, fairness, 177/3.
Exaltat, pp. exalted, 237/592.
Exauidicious, 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.
Fanel, sb. flattery, O. Fr. favel, 31/211, 32/223, 35/244.
Fawe, adj. fain, 182/124, 235/549.

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Feere, in, in company, together, 229/371.
Felawship, sb. fellowship, company, retinue, 148/239.
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Feriful, adj. fearful, timid, 45/47.
Fern, adv. far, long, 31/196, 147/199.
Fet, pp. fetched, 203/663.
Feyner, sb. appeaser, stayer, 52/12.
Feynyngly, adv. feigningly, 191/359.
Fieche, vb. t. fix, 40/9, 45/72, 53/45.
Flambes, sb. flames, O. Fr. flambe, 197/513, 204/699.
Foleic, foleye, vb. int. act foolishly, be stupid, play the fool, 49/47, 50/46, 163/651.
Foltsyse, adj. foolish, 104/243, 115/147.
Folwe, vb. t. follow, 68/23.
Foreward, sb. bargain, 235/405.
Forthynke, sb. requent, 239/652.
Forthoghite, vb. t. repented, 10/59.
Forneye, vb. int. go out of the path, stray, Fr. fourvoyer, 49/44, 69/79.
Fournyes, sb. furnace, Fr. fournaire, 196/493.
Foryit, vb. t. forget, 134/672.
Foysoun, sb. foison, 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.
Fructiche, vb. int. be fruitful, 178/17.
Fructuous, adj. fruitful, 57/11.
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Fynt, vb. finds, 180/68.
Gabbe, vb. int. lie, comp. O. Fr. gaber, 159/540.
Galwe tree, sb. gibbet, 155/436; galves, 177/7.
Gaste, vb. t. aghast, frighten, 200/597.
Gasful, adj. ghastly, dreadful, 203/669, 204/687.
Gastness, sb. fearful state, 44/27.
Genterie, sb. gentleness, kindness, courtesy, 164/684.
Gere, sb. gear, 13/159.
Girt, pp. thurgh g., struck through, 250/358.
Gleede, sb. glede, glowing coal, 30/159.
Gole, sb. at thy gole — ? all that is in thy mouth, Fr. *gueule*, 159/545.
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Gonernaille, sb. governance, 150/300.
Governesses, sb. f. government, 150/298.
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Hals, sb. neck, 165/712.
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Hiddles, in, secretly, slyly, Fr. _en tapinois_, covertly, closely, secretly (Cotgrave), 202/645.
Hokir, sb. scorn, 136/741, 189/310.
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Honure, vb. t. honour, 21/412.
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In, sb. house, dwelling, 156/458, 158/513.
Incomparably, _adv._ incomparably, 6 syll., 187/257.
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Keepe, vb. _int._, heed, reck; _weepe_, A.; 185/183.
Kerfe, sb., wake of ship, 185/203.
Knew, vb. knew, 20/44.
Kynf, sb. leyd his k., set his knife by me, sat by me, 28/112.
Konnynge, _adj._ clever, skilful, 166/732.

Kus, sb. kiss, 2/73, 30/155, 173/941.
Kut, sb. luck, lot (bit of cut stick), 138/789: ‘the cut fil to the Knight.'—Cant. Tales, ProL 845.
Kythe, vb. t. make known, bestow, show, 4/120, 38/406, 42/42, 81/224.

Laech, _adj._, lax. O. Fr. _lasche_, Fr. _lâche_, 188/267.
Labbe, sb. blab, blabber, 159/542.
Lache, _vb. int._ be lax, or remiss, 191/362.
Laddre, _sb._ ladder: charity the ladder to heaven, 8/1.
Lagh, sb. scot, score, 65/33.
Lame, _adj._ lacking, wanting, 10/47, 70/90.
Largre, _adj._ liberal, Fr. _large_, 40/16; ‘at our large;’ in freedom, 43/8.
Leanee, sb. good faith, O. Fr. leante, 212/922.
Leene, _adj._ lean, poor, 88/408.
Leepre, sb. leprosy, 166/740, 167/703.
Leepre, sb. leper, 164/698.
Let seen, interj. let us see! come!
Lewde as an asse, ignorant as an ass, 19/352.
Light, sb. 'stand in own l.' fig. 194/440.
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Linere, sb. livery, 'of St. George's l.' 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, 173/455.
Losengeour, sb. losengery, flatterer, 32/220.
Love, sb. flame, 75/261, 204/703.
Lyne, vb. t. lime with birdlime, 33/244.
Lyte, adj. lite, little, 21/400; 'a lyte and lyte,' by little and little, 28/92, 231/427.
Maad, pp. made, 9/17; 'maad hath thy beudd,' deceived thee; comp. Fr. faire la barbe à, 231/433.
Faire barbe de foarre à. To deceive, delude, abuse. 1611. Cotgrave.
Macche, sb. match, 34/307.
Madde, vb. int. act madly, 232/453.
Mafei, interj. Bless me! Fr. Ma foi, O. Fr. Ma foi, 111/41.
Maiscri, sb. mastery, masterpiece, wonderful thing, O. Fr. maistrie, 164/676.
Maiscrieth, vb. masters, overcomes, comp. O. Fr. maistre, 65/35.
Make, sb. mate, companion, 74/57.
Manly, adj. human, like a man, 167/783.
Marchandie, sb. merchandise, L. Lat. marchandia, 158/511.
Martire, sb. martyrdom, Fr. martyre, 97/63.
Martre', sb. torment, torture, 1/55.
Mate, vb. t. overwhelm, crush, 62/23.
Maugree, sb. ill-will, blame, 138/795; mauagree, 87/376.
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Mee, sb. meed, reward, 177/20.
Mermaide, sb. mermaid, 32/236.
Mees, sb. messuages, O. Fr. mês, 86/344.
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Mis gyed, pp. misguided, 32/228; 'mis' belongs also to 'led.'
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Mis-tyden, vb. happen ill, 133/644.
Mofir, sb. mother, i. e. the church, 40/25.
Monstre, vb. t. muster, shew, 50/26.
Mowled, pp. become mouldy, 52/3.
Myhellesse, sb. Michaelmas, 95/2.
Myunge, vb. t. touch, call to mind, mention, 21/424, 112/52, 125/429.
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Nad, had not, 41/18, 169/818; hadde, 180/72; nade, 86/357.
Naght, sought, 17/288.
Nake, vb. t. strip, 86/353.
Nappe, vb. int. take a nap, 231/423.
Nart = art not, 1/48.
Nas = ne was, was not, 67/11, 183/149.
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Nere, vb. ne were, were not, 114/130, 148/242.
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Nobleye, sb. nobility, grandeur, 15/217, 48/42.
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Noot, vb. ne wot, know not, 171/886.
Norture, sb. breeding, 170/865.
Nouelrie, sb. novelry, novelty, 26/38.
Nusance, sb. hurt, damage, 150/308.
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Nyecte, sb. nicety, O. Fr. niceté, sim-
plicitic or simpleseness (Cotgrave), 49/17; stupidity, 147/208.
Obliquitee, sb. obliquity, bias, falsity, 240.
On, prep. over, 49/43; occupied with, 149/268.
One, vb. t. unite, 181/82; oned, pp.
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Ore, sb. mercy, 110/5.
Onerys, 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, 68/48.
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Owter, sb. outer, outerer, 49/17.
Paart, sb. part, share, 3/104, 13/152.
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Picchid, pp. thrown, 206/700.
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Possid, pp. pushed, 204/701.
Potagre, adj. gouty, 165/713.
Potestat, sb. prince, great man, potentate, 142/68, 214.
Pouert, sb. poverty, 177.
Pows, sb. pulse, Fr. pouls, 203/660.
Prayeere, sb. prayer, 22/446.
Precioustee, sb. preciosity, value, costliness, 187/241, 207/783.
Preide, vb. prayed, 10/36.
Principalat, sb. prince, 214.
Prinee, adj. sequestered, private, 147/201.
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Pyke, vb. t. pick, a thank, 154/399; pp. 221/164.
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Reme, sb. realm, 86/333.
Reparatrice, sb. f. renewer, Fr. re-
paratrice, 88/403.
Rere, vb. t. rear, raise, 20/388.
Respyt, sb. put in r. = put off, 67/19.
Rode, sb. road, 76/102.
Rolled, vb. int. shook, pulled roughly; comp. Sc. rug, 152/355.
Rood, vb. int. rode, 149/268.
Roop, sb. rope, 165/712.
Roost, sb. roast, 36/363.
Rowne, vb. round, whisper, 11/93.
Rownymgly, adv. roundingly, in the ear, 30/172.
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Treewe, adj. true, 34/277.
Triacle, sb. treacle, theriac, 70/110, 113/93.
Trice, vb. t. thrust, 117/208; tryce, 34/287, 119/265.
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Twyne, sb. twine, 15/71.
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Viserly, adj. ? vizor- or vizard-like, projecting, horrible, 203/678.
Vndirnomne, pp. rebuked, 126/455.
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