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EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

J. SCHICK, Ph.D.

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to

PROFESSOR JULIUS ZUPITZA.
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PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In conclusion, the agreeable task devolves upon me of expressing my sincere thanks for much kind help which I have received in my work. In the first place, I have gratefully to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to the Duke of Devonshire and the Marquis of Bath, for their courtesy in placing two valuable copies of the poem at my disposal. In the same way I would also tender my hearty thanks to the Principal Librarian and the Trustees of the Advocates’ Library at Edinburgh, for the most kindly accorded loan of the print in their Library. Canon Jackson I must thank for having so courteously
enlightened me on several points connected with the Longleat MS. Further, I am indebted to Mr. Peskett, of Magdalene College, Cambridge, for giving me access to the Pepys-MS. For the use of the other old copies of the text I must thank the authorities of the British Museum, the Bodleian and the Cambridge University Library; for personal help of various kinds I have especially to thank Dr. Bullen, Mr. Graves, Mr. Bickley, and Dr. Macray. To Mr. Jenkinson and Mr. Gordon Duff I am much indebted for information with respect to Caxton's and Wynken de Worde's prints, as also to Prof. Tietjen, of the Berlin University, for some astronomical calculations. To Professor Skeat I would acknowledge my indebtedness, not only for the help derived from his many valuable works connected with this period of English literature, but also for much personal kindness in the matter. It goes without saying that I am greatly indebted to Dr. Furnivall's publications; but I beg also to express my acknowledgment of many a valuable hint which I have received from him in the course of my work. Last, but not least, I have to thank the scholar of whose teaching and influence this edition is a direct outcome—Professor Julius Zupitza.

J. Schick.

Berlin, January 1891.
Chapter I.—Preliminary Remarks.

INTRODUCTION.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ In spite of an assertion to the contrary by Blades (Caxton II. 59), who seems to have had difficulty in finding copies of it other than the prints by Caxton and Wynken de Worde, and MS. Add. 16165 in the British Museum.
sufficient to induce the analyst of literary currents to look with some interest upon a re-edition of the poem, even if the verdict passed upon its poetical value, when measured by an absolute standard, should be: "Very small, almost nil." For if nothing else, we must at least find a good illustration of the taste prevalent for more than a century, in a poem which found eager readers in the days of Henry Bolingbroke, and the time when Agincourt was fought, as well as through all the turmoil of the Wars of the Roses; which was among the first deemed worthy by Caxton of being printed, and which was still highly applauded immediately before the dawn of a new era. If, then, the interest in the "bright temple of glass," as Stephen Hawes, in 1506, called the poem, faded away before productions of another stamp, it will only the better help to set off the glory of the morning that was destined to follow the dullest period of English literature.

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

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

To conclude, a glance at its contents and the progress of its story, will show that our poem is, in its general framework, its motifs, and
Chapter I.—Preliminary Remarks.

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

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

Heavy-hearted and oppressed by sorrow, the author lies down to sleep one December night and finds himself, according to the favourite dream-motif of that day, before a temple of glass, which stands in a wilderness, on a craggy rock, frozen like ice (1—20). Dazzled by the brilliancy of the sun-light reflected from the temple, he is unable to distinguish his surroundings, until clouds gather before the sun, and he discovers, after long search, a "wicket" affording access into the building (20—39). He enters, and there finds depicted on the interior walls of the circular temple, the figures of many celebrated lovers, taken from classic antiquity and mediaeval saga, portrayed in various attitudes with "billes" in their hands, petitioning Venus to mitigate their woes (39—54). Next follows an enumeration of the various lovers (55—142), with a list of their complaints (143—246). Last of all the dreamer perceives a lady, the very pattern of all beauty and excellence, an angelic creature, who, in loveliness and virtues, surpasses all others of her sex, and "illumines" the whole temple by "her high presence" (247—314). She, too, like the rest, presents Venus with a "bille" of the sorrows of her love (315—320), which she then begins to pour forth (321—369). After hearing her complaint that she is separated from her lover, Venus consoles her, pro-
mising her union with her knight (370—453), for which the lady returns thanks (454—502). The goddess then throws down to her branches of hawthorn, admonishing her to keep them sacred, as a symbol of constant love (503—530).

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

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

CHAPTER II.

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

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

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

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

A. The Manuscripts.
1. T = Tanner 346.

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

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

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

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

TEMPLE OF GLAS.
Chapter II.—Description of the MSS. and Prints.

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

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

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

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

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

2. F = Fairfax 16.

Bodleian, Oxford. See Skeat, M. P., p. xl; Legend, p. xl; Warton-Hazlitt III, 61 Note. On vellum; date about 1440—1450 (on the first page is the date 1450). In the MS. missing lines have
been filled in and other corrections supplied in various places in a small, neat handwriting. This is doubtless the hand of John Stowe, the historian, as is shown by MSS. like Harl. 367, Tanner 464 (transcripts from Leland), and Addit. 29729, a Lydgate-MS. copied by Stowe, according to his own words, from Shirley. The Temple of Glas extends in F from fol. 63 a to 82 b; the title, however, is here given as The temple of Bras, but Bras has later been twice corrected to Glas, once, above, by Stowe and, below, by another hand. Colophon: Explicit the temple of Bras; here Bras has only once, by Stowe, been corrected into glas. The running title is: The temple of Bras (see beginning of this chapter). In the table of contents at the beginning stands: The Temple of Glasse, by the side of which Stowe wrote lydgate (see chapter VII). At the commencement of this valuable Chaucer-MS. is written in Fairfax's hand: "Note yt Joseph Holland hath another of these Manuscripts," and at the end of The Temple of Glas in Stowe's hand: "Here lackethe .leaves that are in Josephe Hollands boke." As, however, the poem is complete in the MS., this remark must either refer to some poem which stood between The Temple of Glas and the following Legend of Good Women in Holland's MS., and which was not given in F; or else the writer of this remark had before him, in "Hollands boke," a copy belonging to group A, with the Compleynt at the end, which appeared to him to be wanting in F. For ll. 96, 154, 216, 320, gaps were originally left in the MS.; of these the one for l. 320 has been filled in by Stowe, the three remaining ones by another hand; the line supplied for 96 being re-corrected by Stowe. Towards the end of the poem, ll. 1375 and 1385 are omitted. Further, there are found in the margin numerous crosses indicating mistakes, probably also put in by Stowe. The lines almost invariably begin with small letters.

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

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


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

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


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

The following lines are omitted: 154, 290, 346, 532, 552—555, 616, 818, 955—957, 1027.—Ll. 147, 148; 1330, 1331, and 207, 208 are transposed; in the last instance, the mistake has been indicated by two crosses in the margin. Ll. 124, 432: 96, 216, 320 differ entirely from those of the other texts; the three latter must have been omitted in the common original of T. P. F. B, and were most likely
supplied in their present form on the way from this original to P (see chapter III, § 10).

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

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

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

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

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

5. \(G = Gy.\) 4. 27.

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

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

20. SupPLICATIO AMANTIS (fol. 467).

But compare the Corrigenda (V, 598): "This copy differs from the printed editions, by having much more at the end. The last page is here wanting, but a complete copy of this recension, in the handwriting of John Shirley, is in the British Museum, Add. MS. 16165."

The compiler of the Index of G apparently believed the poem to be Chaucer's, for he has, on fol. 488b (the last leaf but one) at the foot, the remark: "The Temple of glasse and supplicatio Amantis not in the prynted booke."

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


British Museum. This is one of the MSS. of John Shirley, a gentleman who spent a considerable part of his time in copying poems of Chaucer and Lydgate. The MS. is on paper, folio; date about 1450. See Skeat, *M. P.*, xliv. Our poem extends from fol.
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206 b to 241 b, and has been almost entirely copied by Shirley himself; but ll. 119—134 and 391—439 have been written by other hands. At the end of the Regula sacerdotalis, which precedes our poem, is written in the MS.: "Et ensy fine vn petit abstracte appellez regula sacerdotalis et commence vne soynte / moult plesaunt fait a la request dun amoreux par Lidegate · Le Moygne de Bury." The running title is: The dreeme of a trewe lover; this, however, is not always uniformly the same, inasmuch as trewe is sometimes omitted, or a has been replaced by þe, or is altogether left out, etc. On folio 207 a stands in addition to this headline: "made by daun John of þe tempull of glasse þat shall neuest folowe þe hous of fame" (the words in italics supplied later); similarly, there is a later addition to the running title on fol. 212 a: calde þe Temple of glasse by Lydegate. See further chapter VII.—The colophon runs (on fol. 241 b) : "Here endeþ þe Dreme and þe compleynt of þe desyrous servant in loue and filowyng begynneþ þe compleiunt of Anelyda," etc.

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

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

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

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

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

1 Compare particularly Odd Texts, p. 78.
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ciple), as in: eched 31, eblent 32, Eslawe 95, Ewowned 113, Eturned 116, Eentred 201, etc.; his -e, -e (3rd ps. sgl.): abyde, floure, bere, tellpe, sitte; his predilection for ñs: efft, aloft, soft, wyff, stryff; his eo and oe; his invariable svarabhakti-vowel in harone; his we in truwe, huwe, eschuwe, etc.; his pleonastic writing of nexst, etc.—He also often has the Scandinavian þyre.—

His reading sounde of bras (instead of stede of bras) in l. 142 does not reflect great credit upon his knowledge of Chaucer, nor does his reading Physyphonee (for Tisiphone), in l. 958, say much for his classical scholarship. What with all the above-stated omissions and interpolations, and a whole legion of alterations which he introduced on his own hook, his MS. is one of our worst copies.1

7.  L = Longleat 258.

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

1 Shirley also wrote “poetry” himself. By an enormous jump, we come down from Chaucer to Lydgate; a little lower than Lydgate’s poorest verses ranks the Compleyt, and with another decided step we descend from the Compleyt to Shirley’s productions. See specimens of them in chapters VII. and VIII.
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This MS. is of the 16th century (about 1550), and has the number 256.

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

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

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

B. THE PRINTS.

8. C = Caxton's Print.

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

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

2 Of all the six prints known to me, I have, of each, seen but one copy. See, however, Lowndes, the copies mentioned by whom I could not always trace to their present possessors.
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leaves, a—c\textsuperscript{8} d\textsuperscript{10}; folio a\textsubscript{1}, probably blank, is missing. The poem begins on a\textsubscript{2} recto, and ends on d\textsubscript{10} recto. The full page comprises twenty-three lines. The title is given at the top of a\textsubscript{2} recto: + The temple of glas +; the colophon on d\textsubscript{10} recto: + Explicit the temple of glas +.


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


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

The print is in 4	extsuperscript{°}, containing a—c\textsuperscript{8} d\textsuperscript{4} = 28 leaves, with 28 lines on a full page. The Catalogue of the British Museum gives 1500 (?) as the probable date; but Mr. Gordon Duff tells me that it must be somewhat earlier, perhaps 1498. This print has signatures, as have also the following ones; in Pynson's print this is not visible, as the bottom of the pages has been cut off.—The print has no separate title-page; the title is given at the top of a\textsubscript{1} recto: ¶ Here begynneth the Temple of glas; immediately below the poem begins, and ends on fol. d\textsubscript{1} recto, in the middle, with the colophon: ¶ Explicit the Temple of glas. Underneath there are the: ¶ Duodecim abusiones, in Latin, followed on d\textsubscript{1} verso, by two English stanzas in rhyme royal (printed in Appendix II.). Below these is Wynken de Word's device, No. 1 (= Caxton's small device, having his initials in black on a white
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ground, with black floral scrolls, without W. de Worde's name underneath); see Herbert, table between 1. 116 and 117, left corner at the bottom; Dibdin, No. 1 of Wynken's devices.

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

See Ames (1749), p. 86; Herbert I. 194, 195; Dibdin II. 303—305; M. Denis' Supplement to Madurai (1789), No. 5992, vol. II. 673; Panzer III. 561, No. 67; Ritson, Bibliographia Poetica, p. 68; Watt I. 475 e; Lowndes ed. Bohn III. 1419; L. Hain, Repertorium Bibliographicum, No. 15364, vol. II., pars II., 397; Bibliotheca Westiana, No. 1684; Bibliotheca Heberiana² (1834), part IV., p. 134. Our print W is probably also the one meant by Herbert, vol. I. p. 79 (bottom) and 80 (top); Mason-Heber's copy must have been very similar to the one in the Brit. Museum, if not of the very same impression.

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

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

Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. 4°; a—d in eights = 28 leaves, with 28 lines on full page. No separate title-page; title at the top of a₁ recto; ¶ Here begynneth ye temple of Glas. Below it, the poem begins, and ends on d₁ recto; the colophon is: ¶ Explicit the Temple of glas. Immediately below follow the: ¶ Duodecim absusiones, in Latin and English; they end at the bottom of d₁ recto. On d₁ verso stands Wynken de Worde's device alone, No. 4 as given in Dibdin. The sign ¶ stands before every line throughout the whole poem. Folio b₇ and b₉ are bound in wrong order in the Edinburgh copy.

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

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

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

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

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

² For Heber and his bibliomania see Allibone's Dictionary; also Braymann's edition of Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, p. x.
the well-known Shakspere-scholar and Librarian to the University of Cambridge. See Catalogue of the Library at Chatsworth, 1879, IV. 152 and IV. 340; Bibliotheca Heberiana IV. 134.—The print contains a\textsuperscript{8}b\textsuperscript{8} c\textsuperscript{8} d\textsuperscript{4} = 26 leaves in 4\textsuperscript{o}, with 31 lines to the full page. This print has a separate title-page: on folio a\textsubscript{1} recto stands: ¶ Here begynneth the temple of Glas. Underneath is a woodcut formed of three blocks, representing in the middle a tree, to the right a lady, to the left a gentleman, as it would seem in a courting attitude. Two blank scrolls are respectively over their heads.

On folio a\textsubscript{1} verso the poem begins, and ends at the bottom of d\textsubscript{3} verso. On folio d\textsubscript{4} recto are the Duodecim abusiones in Latin, with the two stanzas in English. At the bottom of d\textsubscript{4} recto is the following colophon: ¶ Here endeth the temple of Glas Enprynted in London in Flete strete in the sygne of the sonne. by Wynkyn de Worde. On d\textsubscript{4} verso there is a large woodcut formed of four blocks; the two composing the border representing ornamental scrollwork of floral design, the upper enclosed block depicting the Virgin and Child standing in a cloister (or chapel?), the lower being Wynken de Worde's device No. 2 in Dibdin (Caxton's initials in white on black ground, with white floral ornamentation, and underneath the name of Wynkyn de Worde in smaller black letters on a white ground); see also Herbert, table between I. 116 and 117, right corner at the bottom.

Mr. Jenkinson, the Librarian to the University of Cambridge, tells me that the above-mentioned woodcut shows the date of our print to be not long after 1500. w is derived from W\textsubscript{2}, the second print by Wynken.

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

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

\(^1\) The colophon of w and of the print referred to by Herbert are the same.

\(^2\) I believe Ames (I, 86) and Herbert (I, 80 and 194) mean Wynken's first print W; later on, Herbert saw w also and took some notes from it which were
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12. \( p = \text{Pynson’s Print.} \)

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

[Explicit]\(^1\) the Temple of glas.


On the last page stands Pynson’s large device No. V in Dibdin.

The Duodecin abusiones are not given in p. As the signatures have been cut off, we cannot say how many sheets or pages this print contained. As, however, the top-lines of the four leaves left of it coincide, by a curious chance, with those of b, we may, perhaps, infer that p had twenty-six leaves like b (and w).—The text of p is taken from W, the first print by Wynken. From this reason, we may perhaps conclude that p was printed sometime between 1498 and 1500.

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

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

\(^1\) The brackets show what I have filled in myself, the paper here being torn away.
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13.  \(b = \text{Berthelet's Print.}\)

Bodleian, Oxford; marked S. Selden d. 45 (22). The print contains \(a^1 b^6 c^1 d^6 e^6\) = twenty-six leaves in 40, with thirty-one lines to the full page. Folio \(a_1\) is devoted to the title and woodcuts, the title being on \(a_1\) recto: \(\text{\$} \) This boke called the Temple of glasse / is in many places amended / and late diligently imprynted.—Underneath it stands a woodcut, representing Fortune on her wheel, blindfolded, bearing an unfurled sail in her hand, surrounded by kings and knights. On \(a_1\) verso there is another woodcut, showing trees and flowers enclosed by a paling, in the midst of which stands a knight courting a lady.—The poem begins on \(a_2\) recto, and ends on \(e_5\) recto, in the middle; after it follow the: \(\text{\$} \) Duodecim abusiones, ending on \(e_6\) verso; below them is the colophon: \(\text{\$} \) Thus endeth the temple of Glasse. Emprinted at London in Fletestrete / in the house of Thomas Berthelet / nere to the Cundite / at the sygne of Lucrece. Cum privilegio.

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

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

CHAPTER III.

GENEALOGY OF THE ORIGINAL TEXTS.

I. GROUP A.

§ 1. Coincidences in MSS. \(G\) and \(S\).

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

\(^1\) Some of Warton's readings are taken from the MSS.; some are conjectural. I need hardly add that the latter are all wrong.
scope for some such addition. Moreover, in both MSS. the five stanzas 3—7 (ll. 335—369) have been replaced by four others; line 510, and in connection with it, 513 and 514, have been altered, to bring in the name "Margarete" for the Lady (cf. also Compl. 395 etc.); similarly, in ll. 309 and 310 the motto of the lady has been changed (cf. also line 530); in l. 299, the colours of the lady's garment are given differently, most likely because our redactor did not consider the green colour, token of inconstancy, appropriate here.

Another deliberate change has been made with the pronouns *pron, pe, pin* (altered to *ze, zor, your* in ll. 889, 1152; 883, 888; 854); and here the alteration can be easily detected as such, because in several instances the old pronoun has been either left (cf. ll. 852, 859 etc., 927 etc., 1151, 1156 etc.), or altogether omitted, or otherwise changed (cf. ll. 910, 926, 1172). The subjoined list gives the principal minor instances in which G and S agree in opposition to all other MSS.


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

1 The long break here is accounted for by ll. 531—596 being omitted in G.
indicate a common source (see, for instance, ll. 21, 47, 151, 229, 515, 693, 826, 834, 938, 1076, 1141, 1143, 1337, 1368, 1377, and especially 870, 1305).

§ 2. Differences between G and S.

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

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

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


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

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


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

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


It is, however, easy to see that these coincidences, in all four MSS., cover only a certain part of the poem. Thus, the substitution of four new stanzas for the five stanzas 3—7 (ll. 335—369) is only found in MSS. G and S; the change of the motto is, in all four MSS., found only in line 530, not in line 310. And, a point of still greater weight, the end of the poem does not, in F and B, follow the temple of GLAS.
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version represented by G and S: lines 1380—1403 are found in their proper place, and the Compleynt does not appear in F and B.

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

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

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

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

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

§ 5. Coincidences in F and B.

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

The same holds good for the Temple of Glas. For the two MSS. F and B deviate in the following instances from the remaining texts: In both 1. 1385 is wanting. Both have the same title: The Temple of Brus; the same colophon, the same headings before lines 321, 370, 461, 531, 701, 848, 932, 970, and the same rubrics after 847 and 931, and at the side of 696. Minor points of agreement are:


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

§ 6. Differences between F and B.

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

Line 1375 is wanting in F; one rubric in B, at the side of 1. 454, which may come from the original, is not found in F (on the other hand, five rubrics in F, one after 1. 502, the other four at the side of 1040; 1104—1106; 1110 and 1271 respectively, are not to be found in B).—Minor points:
Chapter III.—Genealogy of the Texts.


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

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

§ 7. Common Readings of MSS. T and P.

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


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

§ 8. Relation of MS. P to T.

The way which first occurs to one of accounting for these remarkable coincidences in T and P is doubtless the supposition that P is a direct descendant from T, a supposition suggesting itself the more
readily from the circumstance that P is a MS. of considerably later date than T, exhibiting no end of omissions and mistakes characteristic of a continuous corruption of the text through several generations of MSS. But the following list of individual mistakes in T, not shared by P, will prove that this supposition cannot hold good.


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

T and P are both derived from a common original (T P'), s. diagram on page xli; but as P is some fifty years later than T and greatly corrupted, one or more connecting links have probably stood between P and (T P). This will be further corroborated by the arguments in §§ 9, 10, 13, 14.

§ 9. Group T P F B.

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

154. om.—96, 216 and 320 seem also to have been originally omitted; in their stead, to make up the couplet, P, or, more likely, a scribe between P and (T P) supplied, in each case, another line out of his own head. 338. is] om. 412. his] his. 1082. list] om. 1083. relesen] plesen T. F. B. recouer P. The common original of the four MSS. seems to have read plesen, for which mistake P, or a scribe between (P T) and P, attempted a correction; but he did not hit on the true original reading relesen, but only its synonym recouer.—1222. here] here. 1333. Reading tyme for contyne in the original of T P F B altered by B?

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

1 Stowe must have, in some way, got hold of two of the new lines in question, as his substitutions in the corresponding places in F coincide with those of P (in ll. 96 and 320).
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this paragraph, adding all those of T. F. B. P in § 9, and of T. P. F. B. L in § 13, it becomes apparent that, on the one hand, there exists a near connection between T. F. B., a connection well known from the text-criticism of Chaucer's Minor Poems. But, on the other hand, the above discussion will, I hope, have sufficiently shown that our theory of a close relation of T to P, advanced in § 8 and established on the basis of very remarkable coincidences in T and P, is not upset by some readings common to (F B) and T only.

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

§ 11. Coincidences of L and the Prints.

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

311. [his] was L. was so Pr. 320. this] om. 331. woful] woful hertes. 345.
witte & out of. 362. [het clos] In the colder L. the colder Pr. 377. [pe]
fyne and ende. 517. 2nd for] om. 576. whiles] while. 602. soris]
sorowes (+ S). 614. overshake] overslake (+ S). 618. is] hit is. 625.
799. [an] than of. 813. he] with. 877. dilacioun] dissolucion. 975. &
1138. for] his. 1164. champart] them party. 1233. you dide] did you
(+ P). 1248. No] Ner L. Nor Pr. 1249. men may no] men may. 1265.

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

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

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

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


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

§ 13. Group T P F B L.

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


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

18. liklynesse] liknesse T. F. B. L. 1189. 3yue hir] hir 3yue. 1230. is knytt] 3e knytt T. F. B. L. om. P.

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

§ 14. Coincidences in T P L.

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

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Near the beginning and end the two coincidences appear:


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


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

§ 15. Group B of Texts.

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

First then, we must be allowed to anticipate here the proof contained in section IV of this chapter, that all the Prints go back to the oldest one by Caxton. Moreover, we may be allowed to suppose that Caxton had a MS. as his copy, which we may denote by (Pr.), it being the original of the Prints. This MS. goes back, with L, to a still older original (L. Pr.), as we have shown in § 12; between L
and (L. Pr.) a connecting MS. seems to have existed. Again, in § 9, we arrived at the conclusion that a MS. (T P F B) existed, from which the four MSS. T. P. F. B were drawn in two groups. Now, I think, the simplest way of accounting for all the coincidences and deviations, respectively, enumerated in the foregoing paragraphs, is to suppose that (L. Pr.) and (T P F B) go back to a common original B, as the source of the whole second group of texts. The two archetypes A and B of the two groups, would then in some way or other go back to the original O, that is, the poem as it was written by Lydgate himself.

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

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


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

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

§ 17. Wynken de Worde’s first Print, W.

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


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


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

eke changed to also in II. 155, 241, 243, 246, 252, 273, 293, 294, 855, 1117; the archaic form eke having been left standing in II. 77, 97, 398, 746, 1173, 1299, 1210 and many more.—159, 163. oph eke] also other.—152, 187. elde] olde.

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1284. have had. 1305 changed considerably. 1368. Me [o]u[ṣt I] My thought. 1379. to om.

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

§ 18. Pynson's Print.

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

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

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

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


Some new mistakes occur also in p:


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


This print has all the characteristic readings of W, reproducing W's corrections of C as well as its own numerous new mistakes. It hardly supplies any corrections beyond mere printer's mistakes, whilst it exhibits a great many new errors:
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There remains no doubt that W₂ was derived from W.

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

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

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

Unsuccessful attempts at correction appear in ll.:


New mistakes are introduced:


Moreover, in a considerable number of cases, where the older Prints C. W. W₂ had left the pure English forms her, hem, w has
introduced the Scandinavian forms their, them; it also occurs for hit.


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

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


Some of the well-intentioned, but unsuccessful, corrections in b are:
Chapter III.—Genealogy of the Texts.


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

The demonstrative pronoun tho, answering to O.E. þa, is replaced by those in ll. 1163, 1337, 1351. Similarly, the adverb of time tho (also = O.E. þa) is replaced by than in ll. 370, 525, 1366, 1369. Tefore has been changed into before in some 17 cases; than into you 852; than sorowest into ye sorowce 860; the into you 859, 874; then into your 854, 861.

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


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

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

1 Or had he a copy of w before him, in which some of these lines were obliterated?
verdict of "tamen est lauda voluntas," all the more readily as there are comparatively few mistakes arising from his own inadvertency. We must certainly allow that the "in many places amended and late diligently imprinted," put with an evident sense of satisfaction on his title-page, is not altogether unjustified.

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

CHAPTER IV.

PRINCIPLES FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT.

§ 1. Group A corrupted.

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

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

1 This certainly applies in the case of such an alteration as that in l. 724. For as he found the word case in l. 722 corrupted in his original into care, he again made good the lost rhyme in l. 724 by transposing the ne dare alas of his original to alas ne dare.

TEMPLE OF GLAS.
yet this bungling piece of patchwork is much inferior to it. Throughout the Temple of Glas it is obvious that the author endeavours to present to us the action of his poem in clearly-defined outlines; but these 600 lines, which are entirely foreign to the general tenour of the Temple of Glas, and which have been tacked on to it in such an ill-judged manner, spoil the composition as a whole most cruelly. Granted that the action in the Temple of Glas is poor and over-weighted by long, tiresome speeches, yet the narrative clearly ends and is complete at line 1380, and we expect the close of the poem somewhere near there. The Encomy which follows (ll. 1393—1403), and which is thus not given by G and S, is quite characteristic of Lydgate. Here, too, he has not forgotten the request to "correct" his poem, if any word be missaid in it; a close which is as sure to come in at the end of a work of Lydgate's as the famous white horse in a picture of Wounwerman's. We have mentioned above that the Compleynt was most likely added here in consequence of the ambiguous and unclear purport of the last 25 lines, where the author (ll. 1380 and 1381) promises a "litil tretise," "in pris of women," "Hem to comende, as it is skil & ri3." But where is anything of this programme carried out in this miserably stupid concoction?

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

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

The above considerations are calculated to make us mistrustful of

1 I wonder very much whether it is by a mere chance that MS. G, not only in the Temple of Glas, but also in the Prologue to the Legend of Good Women, follows quite a different version.
the more extensive deviations of group A from B. Thus the single stanza interpolated between ll. 453 and 454, also arouses our suspicion, although innocent enough in itself; so does, similarly, the change of the motto of the Lady in ll. 310 and 530, and the alteration of the colours in ll. 299 and 504 (green being considered by the redactor the symbol of inconstancy; see Skeat, M. P., p. 387).

What must make us question still more the correctness of the common readings of G and S, is that we find distinct changes in these two MSS. alone, even in that part of the poem where F and B follow the same group and yet differ from G and S. So, for instance, in l. 510 G and S alone attempt to give a name to the Lady, namely, "Margarete," and change lines 513 and 514 accordingly, whilst F and B do not deviate from the readings of the other texts. This shows that some of the deliberate and important changes in G and S may come from (G S) rather than the archetype of group A, even when not controlled by the readings of F and B.

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

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

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

2 This word happily illustrates the way in which the texts of type B group themselves into three sub-divisions, namely (l. Pr.), (T P.), and (F B).
Chapter IV.—Criticism of the Texts.

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

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

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

§ 2. MS. T taken as the basis.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PART II.

EPH 3:16 καὶ τῶν οἶνων ἥξιους
πίστιν, ξενικοτέρα ἵστι σοι καὶ τὴν τρύγα.

CHAPTER V.

LYDGATE'S METRE.

§ 1. Lydgate's metrical forms in general.

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

A. The 7-line stanza ("rhyme royal," five-beat lines, with the
sequence of rhymes ababbae). This stanza is employed in the *Falls of Princes*, *Life of Our Lady*, *Court of Sapience*, *Edmund and Fremond*, *Alphon and Amphabel*, *Assembly of Gods*, *Black Knight*, *Chorl and Bird*, *Æsop*, *De duobus Mercatoribus*, *Flour of Curtesie*, *Secreta Secretorum*, and in part of the *Temple of Glas*, not to mention the minor poems.

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

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

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

As I have already intimated, the *Temple of Glas* is written in two of the above metres used alternately, namely, the heroic couplet and the 7-line stanza. The former of these is, speaking generally, employed in the epic parts of the poem, whilst the stanzas are used for the lyrical parts. But it is true that this distinction is not maintained strictly throughout the poem; occasionally narrative appears in the stanzas, whilst on the other hand, the long soliloquy of the Knight is written in couplets (ll. 567—693). Toward the end of the poem, we have a “Ballade” (ll. 1341—1361), *i.e.* three 7-line stanzas with a refrain, the last lines of the stanzas being substantially the same (see ten Brink, *Chaucer’s Sprache und Verskunst*, p. 213). The three rhymes *a*, *b*, *c*, required to make up a stanza, are, moreover, in this form of the “ballade,” identical in all three

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

§ 2. The Structure of the Verse.

Lydgate himself was not very proud of his metre. He explains
his system to us in the following lines from the Troy-Book (fol. 1, b),
which, if they do not reflect great credit upon his metrical art, are at
least delightfully candid:

"And tronthe of metre I sette also a-syde;
For of that art I hadde as tho no guyde
Me to reduce, when I went a-wronge:
I toke none heede noother of shorte nor lange."

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

"In Wiltshire | of Englond | two priestes | there were,"

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

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

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

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

Line 1: For thónçt, constréint, || and gréňous hénünes[sc].

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

L. 77: There wás eke Ísauðe — || & méñi anópir mó.
L. 91: And mání a stóri, || mo þén I rékin cán.
L. 120: List òf his gólðode || his föurme tô tránsmwe.
L. 1093: Wherfóre, as Vénus || list þís matër to gué.

This redundant syllable before the caesura is often found in Chaucer, and, again, in the Elizabethan dramatists, and greatly contributes towards giving variety to this metre, which, in less skilful hands, easily becomes monotonous. This "epic" caesura is also well-known in Romance poems (see Tobler, Vom französischen Versbau, p. 69, etc.), particularly in Italian, French, and Provençal. In our poem this type is very common; the following lines either must be read, or are best read according to it: 39, 102, 105, 164, 198, 227, 244, 276, 298, 329, 367, 401, 406, 409, 429, 444, 463, 484, 514, 543, 553, 609, 678, 679, 690, 698, 722, 750, 759, 770, 792, 797, 801, 835, 853, 859, 864, 898, 953, 960, 1000, 1017, 1034, 1038, 1053, 1073, 1078, 1089, 1100, 1126, 1164, 1176, 1188, 1206, 1237, 1302.
I believe there are many more lines which we may suppose Lydgate to have read in this way; and, again, there are a great many others about which it is impossible to decide.

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

Examples:

L. 905: For spechedes || nóping máist þou spéde.
L. 309: Enbróuded wás || ás men myȝte sê.
L. 1200: Sip nóon but shé || máy þi sóres sound.
L. 1368: Me þóȝt I wás || cást as in a tráunce.
L. 1398: If ény wórld || in þe bé myssaide,
L. 579: Hou éuer gód || fórtó réken áll.
L. 580: Myȝt make a þúng || só celéstial.

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

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

L. 1396: Unto hir || & tó hir éxcellénce;
L. 1311: Õf mûsike, || ay dîde his bisynés;
L. 1158 (l) : Rôte þin hért, || and vîde dóublenés.

Most likely we must add l. 489; Lydgate, I should think, read Þank-ing; Gower would read Thankënde. There is hardly another certain example of this type in the Temple of Glus. For although the text of this poem can, in general, be reconstructed with sufficient certainty, yet there are, just with respect to this particular question, certain discrepancies between the two groups A and B, which allow of an ambiguous interpretation: namely, either G and S exhibit the true old reading, which represented a more regular type; or, G and S show a tendency to tamper with the metre, considered deficient by them, and especially to do away with these monosyllabic first measures.
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I am inclined to think that the second interpretation holds good in the majority of cases (cf. Chapter IV, § 1). Thus, I think, we must consider lines 808 and 870 as acephalous; so also l. 265 (G and Prints alone exhibiting an alteration), perhaps also 79. Lines 9 and 954 may be doubtful.

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

L. 781: That was felpful found, til hem depârtid depe;
L. 1029: And as feforpe as my wittes con concyue.

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

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

Hou þat she was || falsed of Iasôn; or:
Hou þat she || was falsed of Iasôn.

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

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

1 So are almost all the examples, adduced by Schipper, p. 495, in support of the double thesis: we have most likely to scan: For the sixte Hérry; wedyr, in line 2, is treated as a monosyllable, to be pronounced somewhat in the same way as modern French quat’ for quatre (words in re or le are very commonly so treated by Lydgate; cp. the line quoted by Schipper on p. 497); in line 3 I
readings, or may be scanned smoothly by slurring. Further, Lydgate very often makes the aspis fall on unaccentuated syllables; for instance: Hertès, 1097, 1211; Demièn, 872; vndir, 809, 1111, 1213; Whilom, 816; Fairèst, 1341; Ophir, 1038; Making, 939; Singỳng, 1340; Ledin, 239; Gladèst, 703; Passèph, 252, etc.

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

§ 3. The Rhyme.

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

As to the quality of the rhyme-vowel, Lydgate makes no difference between open and close sounds; open and close o or e being treated exactly alike. For instance: wo : do 1370, so : do 637, also : do 902 (compare, however, with regard to these examples, ten Brink, § 31, 72); stode (O.E. stōd) : abode (O.E. ābād), Falls of Princes, fol. 9 c and 21 a; wode (O.E. wōd) : abrede, F. of Pr. 22 b. Drede rhymes with rede (O.E. riðe) 641, 1367; with lede (O.E. lēdan) 1198; with hede (O.E. hēfod) 526; with womanhede 764; with môde (O.E. môð) 352, 413, and spede (O.E. spēð) 681. Speche (O.E. sprēc) rhymes with leche (O.E. lēce) 917, and with seche (O.E. sēcan) 1166; clene (O.E. clēne) with grene (O.E. grēnē) and to sene (O.E. tô sēnne) 504, &c. (cp. again ten Brink, § 25). Similarly, no difference is made between ei and ai, for instance: maide (O.E. mæglen) : leide (O.E. legdon) 207; peine : complaine 145, 723, 942; disdein : vain 155, etc. In three cases we find an assonance1 in place of the rhyme.

1 Assonances in the Black Knight have been pointed out by Skeat, in the Academy, Aug. 10, 1878, p. 144, col. 1 : forjuged : excused, 274; ywreke : clepe, 284.
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ll. 125, 126 ascape: take; ll. 856, 858, 859: perfourme: reforme: mourne; and ll. 1017, 1018: accepte: correcte. We need not blame the monk too much for this oversight; for sometimes, assonances are put unawares by poets who are particularly conspicuous for the purity of their rhymes, such as Chaucer (see ten Brink, § 329), and Robert of Gloucester (see Pabst, Die Sprache der me. Reimchronik des R. von Gloucester, § 4).

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

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

1 See, on the promiscuous use of i and Kentish e in the Suffolk-dialect, Horstmann, Introduction to Bokonon, p. xi; Hoofc, in Englische Studien, VIII, 239.
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603; wire: spere, 271; þere: desire, 1201; daunger: fire, 631; þere: fire, 473. The regular form for the words: continue, discover, recure, is in Lydgate continue (ll. 1333; 390); discure (ll. 629; 916, 161); recure (l. 1226). Impure rhymes seem to be: yonder: wonder, 577,1 and socoure: endure, 818; socour elsewherc rhymes with words in -oure, not in -ure.2

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

1 This rhyme, however, occurs also in Chaucer, Mon of Law's Tale, l. 920; in Havelok 922 we have the spelling yonder. We find this rhyme elsewhere in Lydgate, for instance Falls of Princes, fol. 29 b.

2 We have the rhyme ye socour: you're cure also in the Romaunt of the Rose, l. 3339. The language of this poem often reminds one of Lydgate, both in its rhymes and in its vocabulary.
namely (ll. 392, etc.), sone (O.E. sōna) : mone (O.E. móna) : don (O.E. ge-dôn). The same rhyme-system occurs in the *Fulls of Princes*, fol. 174 c. We may, however, note that *sone* in Chaucer is always a monosyllable in the middle of the line; see *ten Brink*, § 327.

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

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

CHAPTER VI.

LYDGEATE’S LANGUAGE.

§ 1. General Characteristics.

The first thing that strikes us in comparing Lydgate’s and Chaucer’s language is that the first is a great deal more modern than the latter. This has already been frequently noticed, and is in the main correct. The modern stamp, however, of Lydgate’s language seems to result principally from the choice of words, rather than from phonology and inflexions. Chaucer, as compared with Lydgate, uses many more concrete words, which are mostly of Old-English origin, and, to a great extent, are now obsolete or have completely died out; Lydgate, especially in his more pretentious works, uses many abstract words of French or Latin origin, which in most cases
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are still in use or are at least intelligible. As he has, however, an extensive vocabulary at his disposal, many interesting words rarely met with in English literature are found in his writings, so that his name must be of frequent occurrence in historical dictionaries of the English language.

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

"I knowe my selfe moost naked in all artes,
My conyn vulgare eke moost interpute;
And I couersaunte & borne in the partes
Where my natyfe langage is moost corrupte,
And with moost sondry tonges myxte & rupite.
O lady myn, wherfore I the besche (Cliv)
My muse amende, dresse, forge, mynysse & eche."

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

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

1 I must, however, note here that the genuineness of this prologue has been called into question; see Warton-Hazitt III, 60, note 4; Blades, Caxton II, 115; Ames, Typographical Antiquities (1749), p. 67.
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Further illustrations of certain points, gathered here and there from Lydgate’s other works, may not, I hope, be unwelcome.

§ 2. The Inflections of the Temple of Glas. Declension.

I. Substantives.—Strong Masculines and Neuters.

Nom. and Accus. without ending; inorganic _e_ in wey, \(^1\) acc. of _wey_ (l. 897, 639) \(^2\) See ten Brink, Chaucer’s Sprache und Verskunst, § 199 note; Sachse, _Das unorganische e im Ohrmum_ , p. 7.


Plural in _ès_ (often written _is_ \(^3\) in MS. T): _opis_ 59; _stremës_ 252, 1101, 1342; _stonës_ 301, 310; _harmës_ 314, 618, 686; _stormës_ 515; _bemys_ 718; _weïës_ 1168, etc.—In the _Secreta Secretorum_ (MS. Ashmole 46, fol. 102 b) occurs the rhyme: _desirs_ (read _deseris_): _cler is_; in the _Falls of Princes_, 111 _b_, we have _thestates_ rhyming with the Latin genitive “_lese magestates_” (sic); _ib_. 127 _d_: _warres_ : _far is_; _Edmund_ III, 634, _ground is_: _woundis_; in the _Pilgrimage_ 172 _a_: _Instrumentys_ : _entent_ ys. But we have also rhymes like _succours_: _shourës_, _Falls of Princes_, 19 _b_. The _neuters_ also usually end in _-ës_; _pingis_ 167; _yeris_ 202; _wordlys_ 320, etc.; _kneis_ 459; _soris_ 602, 1200; _shottes_ 788; _wittes_ 1029. The old Plural without an ending occurs in _folk_ 193, 400.

_be-stems_. _wite_ l. 208 (O. E. _wite_). But _ë_ in _Pilgrimage_, fol. 216 _b_:

“Ther-whyles the chesë fyl a-don.”

I am not aware of a good example, in the _Temple of Glas_, of the _ë_ in _i- _or _u-stems_; but compare for the latter, _Pilgrimage_, 98 _a_:

“_How god dys sonë, man to saue_” ...

_ib_. 252 _b_: “My wodë shal on evry syde” ...

The octosyllables of the _Pilgrimage_ of _man_ and of _Reason and Sensuality_ lend themselves much better to a grammatical analysis of Lydgate’s inflexions than his five-beat line.

\(^1\) _ë_ means that the _e_ is sounded, _ë_, that it is mute.

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

\(^3\) The Suffolk-dialect shows a predilection for _i_, _y_ in the endings; in O. Bokenam’s _Legends_ we have rhymes like _kn-dlyn_: _mawdelyn_ (8, 1098); see Horstmann’s _Introduction_, p. xi. Cp. also, with respect to Chaucer, _ten Brink_, § 62.

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Strong Feminines.

Nom. ends usually in e: lovē 1317; dedē 341; helthē 812; rouþē 873. In the case of love, the e is due to O.E. u; in the other instances it crept into the nominative by analogy of the oblique cases. See Suchse, §§ 7 and 8; ten Brink, § 207.

But we have also love 1143, 1256, 1265; drede 672; tale 903.

Genitive in ēs: lovēs 86, 125, 183, 573, 633. worldēs 1208.

Accus. and Dative end a.) in ē: jouþē 448; trouþē 455, 1081; 1102, 1235, 1249; while 549; speche (i) 760; tale 910; savē 922; helpē 952; myrþē 1177; lovē 1337.

b.) in e: 3ounē 199 (rhymes with couþ; the same rhyme occurs Falls of Princes, 211 d and 214 a); while 217, 626; love 327, 1351; worldē 729; trouþē 1054; trouþē 1277.

Plural in ēs: woundēs 816; sorowēs 967; talēs 1182 (l).

Old Dative Plural: whilom 568, 816.

n-stems,

a.) Masculines. Nomin. ending in ē: hopē 643, 676 (l); timē 1204 (l).

Nom. in ē: timē 1194, 1377. monē rhymes with don 394; plei 183 (plei is a monosyllable also in Chaucer, see ten Brink § 211).

Oblique cases in ē: hopē 657, 892.

Plural in ēs: sterre's (l) 252, 1341; dovuēs 541; lippēs 1049.

b.) Feminines. Nom. in ē: sumnē 396; hertē 337, 829 (l)—Nom. in e: hertē 775.—lady (O.E. hlæfdige) remains the same in all cases: Nom. 250 etc.; Gen. 1160; Dat. 158, 966, etc.; Acc. 134, etc.

Genitivē in ēs or ē: hertēs 340, 502, 915, 1212; sumnē bemes, Falls of Princes, 31 d; hertē roote, Pilgrimage, 224 b.

Dative and Accus. in ē: erpē 581; sumnē 21 (l); hertē 80, 312, 363, 726, 756, 825, 839, 888 (l), 920, 945, 986, 1044, 1182, 1188, 1205; wekē 1201.

Plural in ēs: hertēs 323, 529, 619, 1088, 1095, etc.; genitivē, hertis 1083.

c.) Neuters: (e)yzē (l) 105, 231, 262, 850; Plural (e)yzēn 40, 582, 1047, 1103.

Romance Nouns.

These also usually keep their e. We have formē 120; forcē 178, 1247; gracē 333, 733; sperē (sphere) 396; entalē 37; peinē 798, 1260 (but compare the rhymes in 1140, 1169); festē 473; joyē 1129 (but joyē 880?); inkē 961; rosē 1042; Troë 95; Romē 101.
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But we have also cause 953; Cupide 855; and when the accent is thrown back: Fórtune 519; báláunce 641; bálladé 1338; sérvice 155, 719.—In the Secreta Secretorum, fol. 110 a, we have “som” (= French somme) rhyming with the Latin genitives “principum” and “virtutum.”

*Plural in ēs:* billēs 50; peynēs 479, 668, 805, 951, 1001, 1286; vieēs 1181.

Polysyllabic words form their plural in ēs: sérvauntes 1126.

II. Adjectives.

The *ja-stems* keep their e: soōte 192; newē 681, 657 (l), 606 (!), 7 (weak); trwē (weak) 71. We have also myche (= O.E. mycel), l. 941.

*Plural.* It is difficult to find good examples of Nom. and Ace. Plural in the Temple of Glas. It seems we must read somē in l. 147, although Chaucer has somē only in the rhyme (for instance, Troil. IV. 967); see ten Brink, § 255 and 327. In the Ormulum we have some, see Suchec, § 77; in Gower somē is very common; in Reason and Sensuality, fol. 287 a, we have the line:

“Somē square and somē rounde;”

similarly, in the Pilgrimage, fol. 52 b: “Somē swyft & somē soffe;”

ib., fol. 190 b: “With dedly synne as somē do;”

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


Story of Thebes, fol. 371 b: “And bē Iasōn || sōmē bokes tell.”

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

*In the oblique cases* we have ē: widē 204; goodē 462; allē (l) 807, 973, 1165; but alle, 752, 1351.

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

1. *After the definite article:* longē 12; fressbē 70, 93, 1012 (l); faiρē 786; greτē 87, 787 (l), 984; holē 97; zungē 106; sambē 377; pe samē 841; pilkē 81; pe whiche 514; hardē 957; selfē 846; blakē (l) 330; riżē 975.—*ja-stems:* uwē 7; trwē 71.—Compare
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also þe soþe 1002, and Skeat's Note to Group G, l. 662 of the Canterbury Tales.

For cases like The bestë tauȝt (l. 292; cp. also l. 558, the mostë?), see ten Brink, § 246, end of note.

1. After a demonstrative pronoun: These yongë 193; þis faire 454.

2. After a possessive pronoun: hir gretë 265; my fullë 489, 830, 1383; his hiddë, 967; Oure hiddë 1087; myn hiddë 988; joure gladë 1344; his ownë 535, 938; myn ownë 635; joure oldë 1222.

—But we have also: Hir sad 750; your hole 857; his long 1122.

3. After a possessive pronoun: hir grete 265; my idle 489, 830, 1383; his hidde, 967; Cure hidde 1087; myn hidde 988; $oure glade 1344; his ownë 535, 938; myn ownë 635; ^oure olde 1222.

—But we have also: Hir sad 750; your hole 857; his long 1122.


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


But we have no different form for the weak adjective of more than one syllable: The feipful 378; The inward 1290; þis woful 936; joure dreadful 717; myr forseid 1389, etc.

Romance Adjectives.

*palë 4 (the asterisk means weak form); benygnë (?); *449, 1110 (?); *clerë 715; *justë 1331; *fersë 1236; *rudë 1393; and, of course, doublë 167, and humble 472, 697, 925; but soverain *415, 649.

III. Numerals.

twoo 348, 1255, 1314, and tweyn 354, 1081, 1104 (read tweynë?), 1298, 1322; fivë 831.

IV. Pronouns.

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

"Ded to hyre the presente."

Ib., Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 96 a: "Towchynge hir[ë], the mercer."

It has been said that Lydgate uses the Scandinavian forms þeir, etc., throughout. This is not borne out by the MSS.; only the late
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Prints gradually introduce these forms. Lydgate has always, like Chaucer, *pēy* in the nominative, *hir* in the genitive, and *hem* in the dative and accusative.

V. Adverbs.

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

“Sweyn affræidē gan to crye.”

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

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

In the *Temple of Glas* we have longē (or long?) 38; derē (*ja-stem*) 1258, but see the various readings; sorē or sorē ? l. 180 (type A or B?); 1202 liche orlichē? Other examples of adverbs in e are: þan 672, 799 (but þannē, which is particularly frequent in Gower, in l. 596?); aftē 69, 169, 193, 200, 231, 669; song 1185, and also in the rhyme, l. 392.—outē (?) 662 (ep. outēward 340, but outward 563); aboutē 28, 933 (used as a preposition); withoutē 154, 211, 308, 365, 379, 385, etc., etc.; atwixēn 348; besidē 248.—abouē 466.

*Adverbs in -es*: againēs 177, 181; nedēs 232, 1063; atonēs 458; onēs (?) 725; hennēs 481, 1025; towards 1048; þennes (?) 1316; ellēs 917 (ellēs 1032; in 819, 1131 most likely ellēs); always whiles 172, 576, 738, 790, 1011, 1109, 1324. We have, of course, also the suffix *-ly* to form adverbs; further, forms like “of uwe,” l. 615, “of hard” 1319, etc.

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

VI. Composition.

The composition of words in Lydgate is effected on the same principles which we find in Chaucer, and, indeed, as early as in the *Orrmadum*; the e in particular, which stands between the two parts of the compound—be it organic or inorganic—being sounded by Lydgate as by Chaucer and Oerm. Thus we have: lodēster 612; spechēles 905; causēles 150; kyndēnes 747; rekēles 918; havē-thorn (O.E. hagaþorn) 505; of course, secrēness 900; secrēli 365; privēli 635, 1014; bisēly 1180; further, richēli 302; always humēlēly, humēlēi (as if for humblēi) 491, 773, 852, 1047; be-nignēte 1296; benignēly 711, 849; jugēment 1079; duēte 800 (for the adjective duē, see *ten Brink*, § 239); surēte 1259; goodēly 851.
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But we have nearly always mekeli: 324, 371, 469, 482, 589, 868, 915, 994, 1084, 1105; mekéli occurs in 1281. Further, naměli 229; softly 371; truli 431 (elsewhere trewěly); derknes 401, 1211, 1357; sweetnes 403; meknes 76, 621; goodnes 745.

§ 3. Conjugation.

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

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

But sometimes we have also apocene of the ending: shewe 206; voice 253; vufoldē (?) rhyming with bold 360; repente 500; clere 611; tel 663, 964; comě 924; fare 1063; bere 1234, and always have 54, 165, 229, 375, 418, 425, etc. Dissyllables end in e: guerdone 1031; disseuer (euer) 1314; rekin 91, 579. n kept in the rhyme: gon: one 26; gon: alone 548, but se: Penelope 68; se: tre 89; se: Canace 137. So also 233, 269, 302, 309, 612.

**Gerund:** We have to seinē: compleyne 1325; but also to seinē: again 137. Indecisive is l. 306: to sene, rhyming with grene. We have further, to do: so 637; to do: wo 1371.

**Indicative Present, first person, ends in e (l) and e:** stondē 689 (infinitive?); takē (l) 769; axē (l) 800; want or wantē 951? menē or menē 1402? (see note). We certainly have banke 1060, hanē 349, 366; and in polysyllables: mërvale 585; trëspace 1018.

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

**Third person in ēp (no Umlaut in the stem-syllable):** abidēp 222; fallep 231; passēp 252; surmountēp 258; louēp 1292, etc. Also ēp in comep 656; contraction in saith 644, 653, etc.; sleip (: dep) 782; fleith 603; lip 722, 865; sep 862 (the vowel comes from the infinitive); the p of the ending is absorbed in the dental consonant at the end of the stem in forms like: sit 184 (but sittēp 894, 1118); bitt
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676; list 297, 314, etc.; stant 890, 1259 (stande? 1186); hint 1096; iint 1263.

Besides the usual form in -e, Lydgate has also the northern form in -es (for singular and plural), not very frequently, but more so than Chaucer. So we have in the Troy-Book telles: welles G₃e; dawes: wawes M₁d; fyghtes: knyghtes O₂a; endytes: rytes A₃a; bytes: rytes A₃a; Falls of Princes ledes: dedes, fol. 184e; telles: shelles; 192b; disdaynes: mountaines 194a; Secreta Secretorum 125a; techys: lechys; Reason and Sensuality 207a; obeyes: yeeyes (ideas); tellys: wellys, 214b; Story of Thebes leres: baneres, fol. 363c; Pilgrimage ordeynys: chaumberley[n]ys, 35a; espyes: skyes 170a; gouernys: posternys, 181b; thyynkes: drynkes 195a; espyes: delycayes 196a; shynes: wynes 229a; espyes: lyes 265a; shewes: thewes, 275b; pulles: bulles 296a.

Plural in en, e: putten 166; lovë 167; passen 393; rejoicë 400; greven 663; knowë 723; witen? 797; causen 1343; bië 1351. Lydgate has also ë in the rhyme, as the following passage from the Court of Sapience, e₂b, proves, where the monk says of the dialecticians:

"With sophyms strange maters they discusse,
And fast they crye oft: ‘tu es Asinus!’"

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

A remnant of the old ending seems to remain in hap 171. We find this ending occasionally also in the rhyme; so in the Troy-Book L₄a: they gothe: wrothe (so also Pilgrimage, fol. 52b); they seyth: fleyth, Pilgrimage, fol. 101a. As has already been said, Lydgate uses also the northern form -es in the Plural: telles: elles Troy-Book K₅a and Cc₁c; specifies: fantasies Story of Thebes, 363b; dullys: ellys Reason and Sensuality 272a; disorderes: strieses (noun), Falls of Princes fol. 145b; shewes: thewes, Pilgrimage 180b; men peyntes: seyntes 271b; they lookys: bookys, 272a; telles: elles, 303a; ye tellys: ellys, ib. 152a.

Subjunctive, Singular in ê, Plural in ên: þou felê 1178; most likely also þou aracê 894; þou fynê 910; perhaps þou herê 1184; but certainly þou hauê 896. Plural: þe takên 1124.

Imperative, Singular, second Person, no ending: Lat 1198, 1205; come 1214; take 1174. Weak verbs: wisse (O.E. wissea) 637; loke (O.E. lêca) 894; put 891, 1103; rotë (l) 1158. Romance words generally seem to have ê : voidê 1158; of course, suffre 1161; auunte 1172; sue 1180; remue 1182; but Tempest 1157.
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Plural, second person, in èp: ðinkip 391; Remembrèp 398; trustèp 412; dountèp 426; Foldowip 511; shapèp 721; takèp 808, 976; sufferip 812; græntèp 1034; latèp 1140; sütèp 1240. Ending èp: Comèp 1272; Hauçèp (= Haçèp) 714. Moreover, we have let 878, 961, 1094, 1177, 1179, 1247, which may be a contraction (see Morris, Prologue, p. xxxvii, note a); latèp occurs in l. 1140. Dissyllables: guerdonè 1139.

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

“Travayllyngè [plural] nyht & day.”

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

also in R. & S., fol. 274 a: “Nor the ravysshingè sowns” (weak form). The form in -ende (Gower’s form) occurs in the rhyme, in Falls of Princes 173 a: shinend[e] : attende : Legende.¹

Verbal noun, ending also in -ing: casting 105, 231; peping 180; bidding 509; cherisshing 869; compassing 871; in -ingè (i): variyngè (: wringè, inf.) 216.

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

“And as we wente & gon[nè] talke;”

similarly, ib., fol. 284 b:

“Tyr the dropys gonñè for to glyde;”

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

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

“Off swygh fylthe thow komè nouht,” ib., fol. 147 b.

But, again, we have thow spak (O.E. þprêce), rhyming with lak, Pilgrimage, 177 a, and thow gan (O.E. gunne), rhyming with man, ib., 264 b.

Subjunctive: werè 161, 605, 660, 679, 1131, 1291; nerè 555. But also in è:

“Woldè god yt stoodè so,” Pilgrimage, 172 b.

Weak Preterit. See ten Brink, § 194. Ends a. in -èl: lastèl

¹ We have -ende also twice in O. Bokenam’s Legends: lyuende 9, 377; dreed-ende 12, 252. See Horstmann’s Introduction, p. xii.
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779; departed 781. Plural: pleyned 151; louëd 157, 163; comp-pleyned 175.

b. in té, dé, t(e), d(e): pouzë 15, 532, 694; nyste 17; myzë 68, 286, 595, 1021; mostë 61, 341; rouzë 939; mentë 1288; didë 80, 116, 945, 1055, 1233; woldë 591, 847, 893, 1143; sholdë 191, 372; hurtë 813; hadë 316, 578; pastë (!) 1049; castë (!) 1103. Plural: brentë 840; woldë (l) 658, 1017, 1027; criden 193; wenten 505; mighten 280; myzë 89, 137, 309; pastë (!) 1105. But we have e in shulde 668; wolde 214; conde 409; pouzë 21, 527; mostë 232; wente 546; felte 788; nyste 1371; made 994; hade 202, 1372; called(e) 219; kneled(e) 697; woldest 922.

Past Participle. Strong: ends in ön, ç: holpen 141, 376; foundën 1090, 1239; choisën 433;—in e: boundë 990; zëuë 736. Note also sein (O.E. gesegen) 1377; further done: mone: some 395, but do: also 903.

Weak, ends in ö: Ioynëd 5; foundid 18; falsëd 63; Iturnëd 99, 116; Endurid 171; closid 362; waped 401, etc. etc. We have makëd 1120, but mad 1091, 1322, 1354.

Polysyllables, with the accent thrown back, end in -öld: Râuyssëd 16; enlúmynd 283; cómpast 1053.

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

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

¹ We have, however, as yet no minute analysis of the versification of Hawes, which might somewhat modify the above-expounded view.
to a phase in the language in which double forms—with mute or sounded e—were allowed and used to a great extent in poetry. This is already the case with Chaucer, and even more so with Lydgate and his followers. As we have pointed out above, this state of the language may even, with Lydgate (and Occleve), have led to a new metrical type, namely, our type C. After the middle of the 15th century, a time of great confusion in language and metre seems to have followed. The transcripts of the older poets made at that time, and the prints of their works by Caxton and his immediate successors, show palpably that the public of that day had lost all feeling for anything like regular metre. After this period of total decay and anarchy, we see not only how poetry itself, but also the language rises, as if new-born, out of this chaos; in Surrey, for instance, final syllables would be rarely sounded, which are silent in Modern English.

This question of sounding or dropping an e at the end of a word may at first sight seem a very insignificant thing; but, in reality, it entails a great change in the whole poetical phraseology. It means that nearly all inflexions lose their syllabic value, that ever so many disyllabic words become thus monosyllables, and ever so many time-honoured formulae, inherited by one poet from another, become no longer practicable. Lydgate could unhesitatingly take from his master Chaucer any such forms as the shene sunë, the grene levës, smalë foudës, this yougé lordës namë, oldë stories tellën us; but the new school of poetry, in the 16th century, could not easily adopt such archaic stock-phrases without their jarring on the ear of contemporary readers. Instead of Chaucer's my grëne yëares, Surrey has to say my fresch green yéars; instead of Chaucer's soot fëwerës, Sackville says sóot fresch fëwerës; and for the dropt two syllables in Chaucer's smalë foudës, he makes again up by an addition: small fëwës fëwëking.

Still these examples will show that the difficulty in point of language was in no way so great that it might not be easily overcome by a real genius, who had sufficient originality to strike out a new path for himself. Our Lydgate would not, of course, have been the man to do this, had it been necessary; but, according to our analysis of it, the state of his language did not even call upon him to do so. For, as we have seen, in his language the system of certain allowable double forms still prevailed in the main, and such a system, although it was very detrimental to the smooth flow of Lydgate's verse, would by no means be a hindrance to a true poet and master of form; on the contrary, instead of hampering him, it would only give him greater freedom.
Chaucer uses such double forms, as *force* and *fors*, *comëth* and *comth*, without any injury to the flow and melodiousness of his metre. For a further illustration of this usage of Chaucer and Lydgate, scholars have rightly pointed to the similar state of things in modern German. Thus Goethe would use *Liebe* and *Liebt*, *liehet* and *leht*, as the metre might require; he even, without hesitation, puts double forms side by side, as in the two beautiful lines from *Faust*:

"Es veget sich die Menscheliebe,
Die Liebe Gottes vegt sich nun."

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

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

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

**CHAPTER VII.**

**THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE POEM.**

I. *Stephen Hawes's supposed Authorship.*

It has been mentioned in the preliminary remarks that the *Temple of Glas* was still a very popular work at the beginning of the 16th
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century. Whilst on the one hand Wynken de Worde's, Pynson's and Berthelet's presses issued new editions of it, Lydgate found, at the same time, a most enthusiastic admirer in the person of Stephen Hawes, the author of the Pastime of Pleasure, so highly praised—far too highly, I think—by Warton as a forerunner to Spenser. As to Hawes's admiration of Lydgate, we have the recorded evidence of Wood in the Athenae Oxonienses, edit. of 1721, vol. I, col. 61: (Stephen Hawes was) "highly esteemed by him (King Henry VII.) for his facetious Discourse, and prodigious Memory; which last did evidently appear in this, that he could repeat by Heart most of our English Poets; especially Jo. Lydgate a Monk of Bury, whom he made equal in some Respects with Geff. Chaucer." But even without this express testimony of Wood, Hawes's own works would speak even more eloquently for his excessive reverence for Lydgate; for there is no opportunity let slip—be the work small or large, be it at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end—to inform us of Lydgate's transcendent accomplishments in poetry and rhetoric. When he thus, in chapter XIV of the Pastime, comes to enumerate those who distinguished themselves in poetry, he starts off in an animated panegyric extolling Lydgate above all others as his master καὶ ἐξουσία. But, in this passage, he gives us also something more valuable than his opinion of Lydgate, namely, a list of some of his works, at the end of which he says of the monk:

"and the tyme to passe,
Of love he made the bryght temple of glasse."

(Edition for the Percy Society, p. 54.)

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

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

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

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

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

1 Pamphilus makes Lydgate an Augustine monk (an error repeated in Edward Phillips, Theatrum poetarum, 1675, p. 113 of the Modern Division—another of Phillips's "flagrant inaccuracies" spoken of by Dyce); he, moreover, gives 1482 as the year of Lydgate's death, for which he is duly censured by Pits. This, I conjecture, may have originated in a confusion of the Benedictine John Lydgate, Monk of Bury, with the Augustine John of Bury (born at Bury), who, according to Bale (centuria octava, No. XX, p. 595), flourished about 1460. The Augustine is also mentioned in Fuller's Worthies of England, 1662, under Suffolk, p. 69. Leland, in his Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, Oxonii 1709, p. 418, treats in Cap. DXXV of a "Joannes a fano Eadmundi, Carmelita Gippovicanus," a commentator of St. Luke's gospel, who seems to be identical with Bale's Iohnes Bury. A book by Philip Elsius, with the title Enochias-ticon Augustinianum, Brussels 1654, quoted by Zedler and Fabricius as an authority on Lydgate, and criticized by Labbé, Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum, Paris 1664, p. 142, has not been available to me.
erroneous theory of Hawes's authorship. In that work, on p. 86, the following print is mentioned as having been brought out by Wynken de Worde:

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

2 There are several dictionaries by George Crabb; a Universal Technological Dictionary, 1823; a Universal Historical Dictionary, 1825; and A Dictionary of General Knowledge, 1830 (and later). As the article in Ersc and Gruber came out in 1828, the second must be meant.
whole century and more, at least excusable. For even those who were willing enough to get their information first-hand, must often have found no other text available, except the extracts in Warton. These, as has been mentioned, were taken from the last and worst print, that by Berthelet; their language in its modernized form much resembled Hawes's, and the metre seemed to be very much the same as that of the Pastime of Pleasure, namely, to all appearance, there was often none at all.

II. The Supporters of Lydgate's claim.

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

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

¹ A still earlier writer on typography, C. Middleton, does not give, in his meagre account of the Cambridge Collection, any author's name for the Temple of Glas; he most likely knew little concerning the authors of the pieces in question. See his Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England, 1735, p. 29.
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bably not yet born.\footnote{The poem is also mentioned in a list of the contents of a MS. of the Marquis of Bath, ab. 1460 A.D.—F.}

The passage in question occurs in a letter from John Paston, Knight, to Johan Paston, Esquier, where it runs (John Fenn's edition, vol. II, p. 90, Gairdner's edition, III, 37): "Brother, I comande me to yow, and praye yow to looke uppe my temple off Glasse and send it me by the berer herof."

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

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


III. Lydgate's Authorship established.

There still remains external evidence of a yet more decisive character for Lydgate's authorship. For we are not disappointed, if we look for evidence of the oldest and most authentic kind in that quarter where we should most naturally expect to find it. I mean the Manuscripts. There are, indeed, only two of all the seven MSS. which give the name of an author, namely, Fairfax 16, and Shirley's Add. MS. 16,165; but in both cases we have the good fortune to
know the hand that assigns the poem to our monk. In MS. F the author's name does not occur in the handwriting of the copyist of the poem itself; but the name "Lidegate" is added to the respective item, in the table of contents, by the same hand that supplied the missing ll. 96 and 320 and some other corrections in F, namely, that of John Stowe (about 1560).

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

``Danne and ye wol þe wryting swewe,
Shul ye fynde wryten of a kynght,
Dat serued his soueraine lady bright," 72

1 Also noted by Dr. Furnivall, Suppl. Par.-Texts of Ch. M. P., p. 46.
The order of sequence points decidedly to the *Temple of Glas* (comp. l. 72 above); moreover, considering the length of the poem as given in Shirley's text (some 2000 lines, against 681 of the *Black Knight*), it is little likely that our poem should have been passed over. Lastly, to this "poetical" table of contents is added, at the top of the first page, a short summary, in which No. 4 is called *pe dreme for lovers* (*Black Knight*), No. 5 *pe Rynle of preestis*, No. 6 *pe complejyt of a lover* (*Temple of Glas*), which latter expression is quite in accordance with l. 79 above. I do not mean, however, to deny altogether the possibility that the *Black Knight* may have been in Shirley's mind when he wrote the passage in question; the expression *al in balade* [*i.e.* in seven-line stanzas], in l. 79, would especially hold good for that poem, and the above lines certainly give but an inadequate idea of the *Temple of Glas*. Be this as it may, we have at all events Shirley's sure testimony for Lydgate's authorship, not only of the *Temple of Glas*, as specified above, but also for the *Black Knight*. For Lydgate's name has, in the latter poem also, twice (on fol. 192 a and 193 a) been added to the headline; it stands in the title, on fol. 190 a (bottom), and on fol. 200 b we have as running title: *Lenvoye of dawn Iohan*.

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

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1 May we conclude, from ll. 83—86, that Lydgate was still living, when Shirley wrote this? Shirley died on Oct. 21, 1456, aged 90, see Stowe's *Survey of London*, ed. Thoms, 1876, p. 110. "John Sherley wrat in y tyne of John Lydgate in his lyffe tyne," says Stowe in *Add. MS. 29,729*, fol. 179 a. Stopford Brooke, in his excellent little Primer, p. 55, gives 1149 (which seems to be wrong) as the date of the death of Shirley, whom he has honoured far too highly in mentioning him twice, whilst, for instance, some of the pre-Shaksperian dramatists are barely named.
our answer is that there is a MS. of the Temple of Glas, Tanner 346, which is a hundred years older than Hawes's principal work. Thirdly, if doubts should be raised respecting the age of the MS., we have the express statement of Hawes himself, who ascribes the poem to his admired master. 2. Lydgate must be the author. For, by way of external evidence, we have the witness of three reliable authorities who all call him so, namely Shirley, about 1440 or 1450, Hawes, about 1506, and Stowe, about 1560. The internal evidence is equally convincing. First, the testimony of language and metre. There are unfortunately as yet no special treatises on Lydgate's language and metre, and, indeed, to undertake such a thing would be premature, before we have some more critical editions of his works. But, after the preliminary researches in Chapters V and VI, we may say as much as that the language of our poem is quite in accordance with the more prominent peculiarities of Lydgate's. Thus there is a slight advance in the disregard of the final e beyond Chaucer; we have in our poem specimens of the confusion of -as and -ace rhymes (not however of -y and -ie rhymes, as in the Black Knight, to give an instance of one of his earlier poems); also the Tetrameter words some, mone, and don (p. p.), rhyme with each other.—The treatment of the final e in general, is altogether the same as in other recognized works of Lydgate, so far as I have been able to investigate the subject. We have also another outspoken peculiarity of Lydgate's in our poem, namely, that he rhymes words in -ere with those in -ire, as has been noted by others in more than one place. See, on this matter, Chapters V and VI.

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

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

Ample examples have been given in the notes illustrating some

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

2 For this expression, which so exactly hits the right nail upon the head, I am indebted to Ritson, with whom, however, I have a bone to pick by and by.
Chapter VIII.—Chronology of Lydgate’s Writings.

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

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

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRONOLOGY OF LYDGATE’S WRITINGS.

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

§ 1. Lydgate’s Life.

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

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

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

1 Falls of Princes, fol. 217 d : 

“Borne in a village which called is Lydgate, 
By olde time a famous castel toune; 
In Dames time it was bea[t]e[ ] downe, 
Time when saint Edmund, martir, maid, & king 
Was shine at Oxone, record of writing.”

ib., 176 d : “I was borne in Lydgate, 
Where Bacchus licour doth ful scarcely flite.”

Æsop, ProL 32 : “Have me excused, I was born in Lydgate.”
whence he derived his name. But there has been much dispute as to the year of his birth. Bale says of him (Catalogus, 1557, p. 587): "Claruit sexagenarius, anno ... 1440." Pits, "illius pro more exscriptor," makes of this (cap. 820): "(Boria tandem) circiter sexagenarius mortuus & sepultus est circa annum ... 1440", adding in brackets: "malè ctenim vitam eius producit Iosephus Pamphilus vsque ad annum Domini 1482."

This censure is well-deserved by Pamphilus, who seems to confuse Lydgate with the Augustinian (or Ipswich Carmelite?) John of Bury, as has been remarked above in the footnote on page lxxvii. The exact words of Pamphilus concerning Lydgate are (Chronica ordinis fratrum sancti Augustini, p. 88): "Claruit Boriae, vbi tandem decessit, anno, 1182." This date has also been wrongly defended in the Catalogue of the Harleian MSS., No. 2251, Article 3, on the grounds that a stanza on King Edward IV. is, in that MS., added to Lydgate's stanzas on the Lives of the English Kings. Again, Ghilini, dependent on Pits, says: "Finalmente nell' età di 60 anni, passò all'altra vita nel suo Monasterio di Sant' Edmondo, circa l'Anno 1440" (Teatro d'Uomini Letterati, II, 131), and Papadopoli, following him, has: "Decessit in patria an. MCDXL. actat. IX" (Historia Gymnasi Patavini, II, 165). Papadopoli had evidently well mastered the first rules of arithmetic; for, from Ghilini's evidence, he has been able to make out the date of Lydgate's birth, which he is the first to state expressly as 1380. This year, however, is certainly too late. It has since been concluded from more than one reason that the monk must have been born some ten years earlier.

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


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

1 In the first edition, however (1548, folio 203 a), Bale wrote: "Claruit ab incarnate Dei verbo, 1470. sub rege Edwardo quarto."
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Cotton Tib. B. ix, the register of William Cratfield, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds from 1389—1414. According to them, the young monk of Bury received letters dismission for the office of subdeacon on [Dec. ?] 17th, 1389 (Cotton Tib. B. ix, fol. 35 b); for that of deacon on May 28th, 1393 (ib., fol. 69 b); for the order of priesthood on April 4th, 1397 (ib., fol. 85 b). According to a MS. note in Tyrwhitt’s copy of Wayland’s Falls of Princes (now in the British Museum, marked 838. m. 17), Lydgate was ordained priest by John Fordham, Bishop of Ely, on Saturday, April 7th, 1397, in the chapel of the manor at Dounham.

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

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

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

1 The month is wanting in the MS., owing to its being much damaged by fire. Tanner has December. The date immediately preceding in the MS. is Oct. 26th, 1389.
2 Printed in A. Hortis, Studi sull’opere latine del Boccaccio, p. 611, note 2, not always quite correctly. It runs as follows: “Frater Johannes Lydgate Monachus de Bury, ordinatus Presbyter per Ioannem fordham Episcopum Eliensem in Capella magni Manerii de Dounham, die Sabat. 7o April. 1397.” The passage professes to be transcribed from a Register of Bishop Fordham of Ely, which was in 1728 in the hands of “[francis] Blomefield de Eversfield.”
3 In his Testament (Hallerwell, p. 255) he says of himself (speaking of his school-days):

“Made my frendys ther good to spende in ydil”;

and, further on, p. 256:

“Snybhyd of my frendys such techelvys for lumende,
Made delle cre, lyst nat to them atteunde.”
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"Duryng the tyme . . . of my yeerys greene,
Gynnymg fro childhood stretchithe up so fere,
To the yeerys accountyd ful fiftene,"

he was a naughty, mischeiuous boy, "loth toward scole," "strange to spelle or reede"; then he tells us that he entered the monastery as a novice:

"Entryng this tyme into religioun,
Unto the plouhe I putt forth myn hoond,
A yeer’complect made my professioun;"

but he did not like much to follow "blessed Benet’s doctrine,"

"Which now remembryng in my latter age,
Tyme of my childhood, as I reherse shal,
Withynne fiftene holding my passage,
Mid of a cloistre depict upon a wal
I saue a crucifix."

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

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

"Didici tamen, post perlustratas Anglorum academias, Galliam & Italianam, discendarum linguarum gratia, petijse illum."

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

"Here begynneth a notable proverbe of ysopus Ethiopyen in balad by Daun Iohan Liedegate made in Oxenford."

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

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

"I sete myn hand vnto the plough.""

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

"As the sone shewyth in his guise
Mong smale sterres with his heemys bryght,
Right so in the same maner wyse
An annosite shewyth out his lyght,
In a kyndoom, as it shulde be of ryght "?

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

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

“Car se aux escolles a paris
Anoit par quarante ans apris
Ung pouré qui mel vestu fast”...

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

“Thogh a man wer neure so wys,
And hadde lernyd at parys,
Thys thrytty yer at scole bo
In that noble vnyersyte,
And hadde ful experyence
Off every wysdam & scyence,
& koude expouwe every doute,
And wer but porely clad with-oute”...

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

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

“I hane been ofte in dyvers londys
And in many dyvers Regionas,
Hane eskaypyd fro my foos hondys,
In Citées, Castelys, and in towns;
Among folk of sundry naciouns
Wente ay forth, and took noon hede:
I askyd no manere of proteccion;
God was myn helpe ageyn al drede.”²

¹ In Jacopo Facciolati’s Fasti Gymnasii Patavini, Patavii 1757, I do not find Lydgate’s name.
² Also printed by Tame, Life of our Lady, p. viii.
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The first line of this stanza is quoted in Warton-Hazlitt (III, 53, note 2), and again referred to by Koeppel, Falls of Princes, p. 76. It is, however, not the first line of the whole poem, as Koeppel was led to suppose from Warton-Hazlitt, but it stands in the middle of it (MS. Harl. 2255, fol. 149 a, top). The last line, as given above, forms, with slight variations, the refrain throughout the poem, which is, in fact, an illustration of this burden. We cannot draw much in the way of a definite conclusion from these lines.

The last support which I can bring forward for the hypothesis that Lydgate was ever in Italy, is contained in the following passage from Papadopoli, Historia Gymnasiae Patavini, II, 165, in which the author expresses his belief that a certain Joannes Anglus, mentioned by Salomoni, must be identical with our John Lydgate, not with Duns Scotus, as Salomoni had imagined. Papadopoli says of Lydgate:

"nee alius sit à Joanne Anglo, quem à se in antiquissimis quibusdam albis Salomonii inventum, notatumque scribit, ac vir bonus Joannem Scotum principem Scotistarum existimavit: cum nundim patria, quæ Scoto Caledonia, Anglo Anglia, & Ordo sacre Familiae, quæ Anglo Benedictina, Scoto Franciscana fuit, alterum ab altero discrimen, sed ctiam actas, quæ Scoto annum MCCCCVIII. emortualem præstuit, natalem Anglo MCCCLXXX."

I do not know whether Papadopoli refers to Giacopo Salomoni's Agri Patavini inscriptiones sacre et profane, Patavii 1696—1708; I certainly have not been able to find the reference in this work. With regard to the question before us, everything depends upon whether this Joannes Anglus was stated by Salomoni himself, on the authority of old documents, to be a Benedictine, born in 1380. I am hardly inclined to believe it; the documents would scarcely have given the wrong date, 1380, for Lydgate's birth, which was suggested to Papadopoli by the statements of his principal authority, Ghilini. If Salomoni himself does not call this Joannes Anglus a Benedictine, born in 1380, I should then prefer to believe that his Joannes Anglus might have been some other Englishman, perhaps the distinguished Earl of Worcester, John Tiptoft (executed in 1470), who, according to Warton-Hazlitt, III, 337, note 1, occupied a professorship at Padua for some time. As I know of no further evidence which could supply us with information concerning this period of Lydgate's life, I am inclined to acquiesce in Koeppel's opinion concerning the monk's relations to Italy (Falls of Princes, p. 82), namely, that he was never in the country, and knew nothing of its literature in the lingua volgare.
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Of our monk's successive advances in the priestly office we have spoken above. From 1397 to 1415 we lose sight of him and his outward life, nor do we know, with one exception, a precise and certain date for any of his writings before the Troy-Book. Bale, followed by Pits, Ghilini, Papadopoli, Fuller, Winstanley, etc., says that after returning from his travels and studies abroad Lydgate opened a school for the sons of noblemen; later writers (from Warton downwards) have made this school to be in the monastery of Bury, others (Berkenhout, copied by Burrowes's Encyclopaedia) in London. However that may be, it seems to me not unlikely that, about this time, Lydgate was in London. He evidently knew London-life very well from his own experience, a fact which would be amply proved by his London Lieck-penny alone.1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"And now here foloweth an ordenaunce of a preseyon of ye feste of corpus christie made in london by daune (MS. daune) John Lydgate." See the poem in Halliwell, M. P., p. 95—103.

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

3 Halliwell (from MS. Harl. 116) affection.
"My maister Chancer, but founde ful many spot,
Hym list nat pinche nor grache at enery blot,
Nor me ne hym sif to perturbhe his reste,
I hawe herte telle, but seide alweie je best."

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

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

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

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

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1 My attention was drawn to this, as well as to another passage (given lower down) from the Proceedings, etc., by Dr. Furnivall.
2 '"... dimittantur modo ad firmam domino Johanni Lidgate & Johanni de Tofte monachis. Johanni Glaston & Williamo Maltoñ Cappellaniis ad nomina-
cionem prefati Radvlphi Rocheford, etc. ..."'
3 Tame, Life of our Lady, p. ix, says that Lydgate had leave to return to his monastery again in the following year, 1424, and quotes MS. Cott. Tib. B. IX (not, however, the folio). This must be one of Tame's mistakes; it seems that he misread Tanner's date MCCCCXXXIV as MCCCCXXIV.
4 There is a gap in the list of the Priors of Hatfield Broadoke, as given in Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, IV, 433, between William Gilfe, elected prior in 1395 (and, it seems, mentioned again in 1413), and John Derham, who is named as being prior in 1430 and 1432. The latter must be our "Prior Johannes."
5 This note has also been printed by A. Hortis, in his Studi sulle opere latine del Boccaccio, p. 641, note 2.
"Here begynneth A remembrance of a pee dure gre how that the kyng of England, Henry the sext, is truly borne heir vnto the Corone of France by lynyall Successioun. als wele on his flader side Henry the fift, whom god asoill as by Kateryne queene of England, his modir, whom god asoile. made by Lydygate John the mono of Bury at Parys. by pe instaunce of my lord of Warrewyk."

This says clearly that Lydgate was in Paris, at a time not earlier than 1421, in which year Henry VI. was born. We are even able to determine the date still more exactly. The poem, besides alluding to contemporary events, mentions the king as "Henry the sext of Age ny fyle yere reñ";
it was begun on July 28th, I suppose in 1426. The poem itself says:

"I meved was by commandement
Of My lord of Warrewyk.
Beyng present that tyne at parys,
Whan he was than repaired again
From seint Juliain of manus oute of Mayñ."

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

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

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

"And from Paris to England it sent."

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

1 I should express myself with greater certainty were I sure what the "reñ" in the MS. means. An astronomical calculation based on the detailed description of the position of the principal planets, given towards the end of the poem, would no doubt settle the year precisely.
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English History, II, 357, where she says that in 1424, for more than six months, the Dance of Death was acted out by living performers in Paris.

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

"And of the tyme playnly & of the date,
When I be-gan thy book to translate,
Yt was . . . [1426] . . .
My lord that tyme beyng at Parys,
Wych gaff me charge, by hys dyscrete avys,
As I seyde erst, to sette myn entent
Vp-on thyss book to be dylyge..,
And to be-gyme vp-on thyss labour."

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

"Thys seyde book in englyssh for to make,"
as the date 1426 (expressed in a very circumlocutory way) tallies exactly with what has been said above.

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

From 1434 until his death, Lydgate seems to have lived again at Bury St. Edmunds, where he certainly was buried (cf. Bale and Archæologia, IV, 131). The precise date of his death has never been made out. The year 1482 we have already discarded as being quite impossible. Nor is there any certain fact warranting the supposition that Lydgate did not die before the accession of Edward IV. in 1461. In favour of this theory it has been adduced (for instance in the Catalogue of the Harleian MSS., under No. 2251, art. 3) that among Lydgate's stanzas on the kings of England occurs one on Edward IV. Halliwell already (Minor Poems, p. vi) has pointed out this argument to be a delusion; in the older copies such a stanza does not appear. I mention only the one in MS. Ashmole 59, in which case we know very well why Henry VI. is the last king mentioned. For this copy
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is written by Shirley, who died himself in 1456. Nevertheless, the verses existed then already. So the stanza on Edward is evidently spurious, a fact further certified by its being written in the 8-line stanza, whilst the others are all in the 7-line stanza (MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 4 a). By this mode of argumentation we might easily prove that Lydgate became not only 112 years old, but even some 180; for in MS. Royal 18 D. II (and, I think, in the print by Wynken de Worde), a stanza on Henry VIII. is added. In this recension the earlier stanzas also deviate greatly from the original text, although we can clearly see that they have been built upon Lydgate's groundwork.

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

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

"A myghty prince, lusty, yonge & fiers,
Amonge the peple sore luctent ys:
The Duc of Warwyk—entryng the oure of tierce,
Deth toke hym to—whom mony sore shall mysses:
All-myghty Ihesu, receyve his soule to blisse.
Both yye & lowe, thenk well that ye shall henne:
Deth wyll you trisse, ye wot not, how ne whene."^{3}

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

1 The Catalogue of the Harleian MSS. itself says (No. 2251, article 3) that the stanza relating to K. Henry VI. looks as if it were written in that king's prosperity.
2 This poem occurs also in Stowe's MS. Add. 29729, fol. 161 a.
3 This latter poem has 57 stanzas (in rhyme royal); Lydgate's poem (MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 229 a—234 b, and Add. 29729, fol. 161) has 54 stanzas. It is unfinished; the Harl. MS. has the colophon:

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

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

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

“For, now I had kynnyng for to ryme,
And eek to endyten as copyously,
As had Gower & Chaunceys in yer tyme,
Or as now hath ye munk of Berly,
Joon Lytgate, yet cowd not. . . .”

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Ib.*, fol. 90 c, the monk tells us that poets should  
"eschew all ydlenes,  
Walse by rineris and welles christalline,  
To hie monstaines a-morow ther cours dresse,  
The mist defied when Phebus first doth shine."

1 See supra, p. xcii, note 1.  
2 Those who care to know it may be informed that our monk wore spectacles:  
"Myne yien misted and darked by spectacle" (*Falls of Princes*, fol. 217 a).  
It was, I suppose, in imitation of his brother-poet that Bokenam also took to spectacles; cp. his *Legend of Margarete* (1,656):  
... "myne handys gyane to feynye,  
My wyt to dullyn, and myne eyne biclysete  
Should be, ner helpe of a spectacle."
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and, especially,

"Drinke wine among to quick(en) their diligence."

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

"None egal peyse: heart heavy and purs light."

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

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

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

"And therewithall he had a froward lust
Euer to drinke, and euer he was athurst."

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

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

"To se the tentent of this litel bille,"

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

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

further, by the wording of his "Dimissio" from Hatfield Broad-oak,

¹ See Jocelyn de Brakelond and Carlyle’s Past and Present. With respect to Lydgate’s time compare a passage in Dr. Logeman’s Introduction to his edition of the Rule of S. Bonet, p. xvii: “About the year 1421 we find that degeneration had again set in, and that a reform was contemplated. At a meeting in Westminster Abbey between King Henry V and the Abbots and prelates of the Order of Black Monks, more than 360 in number, a reform was decided upon.”
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which was granted him “propter frugem melioris vitae captandam” (see above); also by his petition to the king for the confirmation of a grant, in which he calls himself “youre ponere and perpetuell Oratour John Lydgate” (see above, p. xcvii), and lastly by two passages from Shirley, namely the one given above on page lxxxiii (last line), and the following one from Addit. MS. 29729, fol. 178 a (copied by Stowe from Shirley):

“Yet for all his much konnyng,
Which, were gret tresore to a kyng—
I meane this Lidgate, munke dame (MS. dame) John—
His nobles bene spent, I leue ychon,
And eke his shylinges nyghe by ;
His thred-bare coule woll not ly.
Ellas! ye lordes, why nill ye se,
And reWaid his pouerte?”

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

§ 2. Chronological sequence of Lydgate’s writings.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is, first of all, the Troy-Book. We have fortunately a certain knowledge of the approximate dates\(^1\) for this work, which

\(^1\) A chronological discussion of the three best-known works of Lydgate—best-known by name only, of course—forms the introduction to Koeppel's treatise
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heads the series of those long, spun-out and entirely unoriginal writings which have so justly discredited Lydgate’s Muse. From the Prologue to that work we easily gather that Lydgate must have begun it in October 1412. With the same preciseness we know that it was finished in 1420. For we have in Pynson’s Troy-Book (1513), sign. Dd4d:

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

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

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

on the sources of the Story of Thebes. His dating of the Troy-Book and the Story of Thebes are certainly in the main successful: with respect to the Falls of Princes I shall be obliged to somewhat modify his results. It will be seen that the conclusions I have arrived at concerning these works tally more closely with those obtained by Ward, Catalogue of the Romances, I, 75.
that the 34th Chapter of the Second Book of this *Pilgrimage* should be the same Poem." There is, indeed, a panegyric on Chaucer in the
34th Chapter of the *Life of our Lady*, as is very well known; but the second part of the above statement is not correct. There is no 34th Chapter at all in the second book of Caxton's print of the *Pilgrimage*, as the numbers of the chapters go on without a break through the first two books (1—39 being contained in the first book, 40—65 in the second). Chapter XXXIV of the first book contains the "Charter of Mercy" for the pilgrim, but no eulogy on Chaucer. Again, Miss Cust, in *The Booke of the Pilgrimage of the Soule translated from De Guileville*, 1859, p. iv, says: 'The translator, or at least the author of the "additions," was in all probability Lydgate; for the 34th chapter of Lydgate's metrical "Life of the Virgin Mary" is literally repeated in the 34th chapter of this translation of "The Charter of Mercy."' Very much the same thing is stated in Warton-Hazlitt III, 67. It is quite true that the 34th, or rather 35th, Chapter of the *Pilgrimage* (Caxton's numbering is not quite correct) contains the *Charter of Mercy*, but not so the 34th Chapter of the *Life of our Lady*. The part of the *Life of our Lady*, which somewhat recalls this *Charter of Mercy* in the *Pilgrimage*, is Chapters XI—XIV, which contain the dispute between "Mercy, Pees, Rightwysnes and Trouthe, for the redempcion of mankynde"; but there again, I cannot find any verbal coincidences. It may be that some of the stanzas, interspersed between the prose of the *Pilgrimage*, can be identified with others in the *Life of our Lady*; but I must add, that a comparison of the French and English texts of the *Pilgrimage* shows the English stanzas to be in all cases renderings of the French original.¹

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

¹ Even if a more careful investigation than I am at present able to carry out, should after all identify some of the stanzas in the two works, this would not necessarily be a proof of Lydgate's authorship; the case would then be exactly parallel to the intended insertion of Chaucer's *A B C* in Lydgate's verse-translation of the *First Pilgrimage*. For later on I hope to make it probable that the *Life of our Lady* was written before 1413, and could thus have been made use of by anybody.
Prince Henry—in 1413, King Henry V.—should only a few months later have started a translation of another work of by no means contemptible dimensions (I should think, some 10,000 lines in the original). Moreover, in his Prologue to the verse-translation of the First Pilgrimage (that of Man), begun by him in 1426, he would scarcely have omitted some reference to his former rendering of Deguileville's Second Pilgrimage. I am, at present, aware of only one passage which could possibly be construed into a proof that Lydgate was the author of this translation of the Second Pilgrimage in prose. I mean the following lines from Stowe's MS. Add. 29729, fol. 178 a, which have been copied by Stowe from one of Shirley's "poetical" lists of the contents of one of his MSS.:

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

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

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

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

1 See Dr. Furnivall's Odd Texts, pp. 65 and 78; compare also his Trial-Forwords, p. 13.
prologue to this work, which opens with a description of spring. We may therefore fairly assume that Lydgate began the work in the spring of 1420, after having finished the *Troy-Book*; the expression, "Mid of April,"¹ in the Prologue to the *Story of Thebes*, would tally very well with the end-date for the *Troy-Book*. Taking one consideration with another, it seems to me most likely that the *Story of Thebes* was begun in April 1420. For this would also agree best with the "nie fiftie yere of age" of the Prologue; if Lydgate was born in 1371—we scarcely can make it later—he was in 1420 exactly 49 years old. If he was very "near fiftie," he might have been born early in 1371, or better still for our chronology, towards the end of 1370. As regards the end-date for the *Story of Thebes*, Koeppel rightly points out that Lydgate would not have omitted in his Epilogue to lament the death of Henry V., after the 31st August 1422, on which day that monarch died. At all events, we cannot be very far wrong if we say that the *Story of Thebes* was written between 1420 and 1422.

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

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

¹ Compare, however, Wüleker, in *Altenglisches Lexbuch* II, 270, who thinks that this statement as to the time is simply made by Lydgate in accordance with the beginning of the *Canterbury Tales*. 
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from Lydgate's own words in the Prologue to the Falls of Princes. We should then assume that Lydgate, after having written the two first books of the Falls of Princes from 1424—1426, wrote, in the course of the next years, the translation of the Pilgrimage, and then returned to his former and much duller work. Thus his deep sighs in the Prologue to the 3rd book would be all the more understandable:

"Thy my self remembrying on this boke,
It to translate how I had vndertake,
Full pale of chere, astonyed in my loke,
Mine hand gan tremble, my pennell felt[e] quake . . .
I stode chekmate for feare whan I gan see,
In my way how little I had runne" (F. Pr. fol. 67 d).

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

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

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

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

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

1 The Earl of Salisbury, as is well known, had fallen in the meantime, being shot in the siege of Orleans. Lydgate, however, does not allude to the event
remains as to its genuineness; the Prologue (in heroic couplets) is thoroughly Lydgtian; there is the allusion to his master Chaucer (fol. 256 b), and to the niggardliness of "Jove's butler Ganymede" to our monk (fol. 4 b); we have further the authority of Speght (see No. 3 of the Lydgate-list in the Chaucer-edition of 1598, fol. 394 a), and thus also, I think, indirectly, of Stowe, who supplied many missing headings in the MS. Cotton Vit. C. XIII. The language,¹ the manner of translating, &c., are entirely those of Lydgate.

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

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

¹ Note particularly the not unfrequent use of the word "chaumpartie," used in a sense which seems to have originated in Lydgate's misunderstanding of a line in Chaucer. See note to l. 1161. Other favourite expressions of Lydgate's are of frequent occurrence in the Pilgrimage, as the notes will to some extent show.

² See the edition of this Legend in Horstmann's Altenglische Legenden, Neue Foly, p. 416.
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now aging monk, when it devolved upon him to shed all possible lustre upon his glorious martyr-king. For in true piety, which comes straight from the heart, there always lies a touch of poetry.

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

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

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

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

"Deth al consumyth, whych may nat be denied,"

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

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

For Reason and Sensuality I know of no external evidence which would warrant a certain date for the year of its composition. The work is of considerable length (about 7400 four-beat lines), and there remain only three periods in which Lydgate could possibly have found time to write it, namely, 1422—1426, 1439—1445, and the time immediately before 1409. I believe that 1422—1426, and still more 1439—1445, are quite impossible dates; the monk was much too "fordulled" at that time, and had sunk from what was, at any rate, some approach to a poet, to a mere rhymester and unoriginal translator. He can only, I believe, have written the best production of his life in his prime, and I consider the Flour of Curtesie, the Black Knight, the Temple of Glas, as works which lead up to the only one of Lydgate's poems which we can read with real interest and enjoyment. Thus we are, perhaps, not far wrong in believing that Reason and Sensuality was written between 1406 and 1408.
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Of the monk's larger works, Horse, goose, and sheep, De duobus Mercatoribus, the Assembly of Gods, and the Court of Sapience remain. With respect to the chronology of these I feel extremely doubtful. The least thing which I should feel it incumbent upon me to do before venturing on any definite opinion as to their dates, would be to read them again carefully, which I have at present no opportunity of doing. The first of these poems has the approximate date, 1470, in the N. E. Dictionary (under bough), which, of course, is absolutely impossible. Lydgate cannot have written it after his death. Of the Assembly of Gods, otherwise called Assemble de dyews, or Banquet of Gods, we have a late MS., Royal 18 D II; and the poem was printed by Wynken, Pynson, and Redman (it would seem, altogether five times; see Hazlitt, Handbook, p. 358). The MS. is later than Wynken's first print;¹ its text follows Wynken de Worde's print (C. 13. a. 21 in the British Museum) very closely; indeed, it seems to be a copy of it. Prefixed to the poem itself we find in the prints the Interpretation of the names of gods and goddesses, enumerating the principal heathen deities, and also indicating their respective spheres of action (for instance, Pluto = God of helle, Morpleus (sic) = Shwerer of dremes, &c.). This Interpretation has often been mistaken for a separate work, which it is not; it seems only to be Wynken's addition to make the poem more easily understood by those of his readers who were less versed than he in classic mythology. In the MS. it does not appear. The metre of the prints and the MS. is exceedingly irregular, much more so than in any other poem of Lydgate's; but as the lines on the Kings of England in the Royal MS. show the same metrical corruption, besides great arbitrary changes, I am inclined to believe that this Assembly of Gods may have been tampered with in a similar way. Still it is not absolutely certain that Lydgate was the author; but I suppose the following item in Hawes's list of Lydgate's works (Pastime of Pleasure, Chapter XIV) can only mean our work:

"And betwene vertue and the lyfe vyvyons,
Of goddes and goddess[ses] a boke solayous
He did compyle" . . .

Further, Bale mentions De nominibus Deorum among the writings

¹ That is to say, the second half of it; the first part, containing the Troy-Book and the Story of Thebes, with beautiful illuminations, is in a much older handwriting. The second hand (beginning of the 16th century) has written the Assembly of Gods, further, a poem by Skelton, Lydgate's Testament, and his Stanzas on the Kings of England, the latter with additional stanzas down to Henry VIII. (also copied from a print by Wynken?). See Dyce's Skelton, p. x.
of Lydgate; so also, following him, Pits, Ghilini, &c. It may, however, be that Bale simply drew his statement from a title-page of Wynken de Worde's, as found in the copy of the British Museum, marked C. 13. a. 21, which seems to have been a joint issue of Lydgate's *Story of Thebes, Assembly of Gods*, and *Temple of Glas* (see Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 358). The first stanza reminds one strikingly in its tone of the beginning of *Piers Ploughman*:

"Whan Phlebus in the crabbè had nere his eours ronne,
And toward the Leon his Journey gan take,
To loke on Pyctegoras spere I had b[elgome,
Syttynge all soltyary alone besyde a lake,
Musyng on a manner how that I myght make
Reason and sensualitye in one to accorde;
But I coude not bryng about that monacorde."

The poem certainly deserves a re-edition.

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

I feel far less certain as to its date. The poem in MS. Harl. 2255, fol. 21 ("Mercy and trauthe mette on an hyl mounteyn," etc.), written after Henry V.’s death, or the passage in *Par le Roy* (about 1432), Halliwell, p. 11 &c., or the first book of the prose-translation of the *Pilgrimage of the Soule* (1413), have hardly any direct contact with the *Court of Sapience*. Who is the "soveraign," by whom the author was "constrained to write"? So far as I am aware at
present, this question of the date requires us to take into especial
consideration the following line of the prologue:

"Let ignorance and chylthode haue the wyte."

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

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

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

Whether the same is true of his metre, further investigations have to establish. As regards versification, the Story of Thebes is indeed, of all his works, generally made out to be the scape-grace of the family, whilst the metre of the Falls of Princes is applauded as being far superior. True enough, if we take the two texts as they stand, the one in the Chaucer-Print of 1561, the other in Tottel's edition of 1554. But I should not be astonished if Dr. Erdmann's forthcoming edition of the Story of Thebes proves that its black-letter
text is much more corrupted than that of the *Falls of Princes*; for Tottel gives us to understand on his title-page that he used more than one MS. for the construction of his text. Still I must not omit to say that Lydgate's five-beat line always seems more regularly built in the seven-line stanza than in the heroic couplet.

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

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

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

Many of the monk's smaller poems can be dated; the above list comprises only the more extensive works. I repeat that this attempt at making out the sequence of Lydgate's writings, is merely a temporary one, given in the hope that, with all its shortcomings, it may throw more light upon the matter, and may be welcome to the
investigator of special works of Lydgate. I shall only be glad if a more thorough study of his particular writings removes any of the above notes of interrogation or assigns the right date to a work possibly inserted in a wrong place.

§ 3. Date of the Temple of Glas.

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

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

"For made thou was of shorte adnysement
Be merymultus instanunce of a londer verament."

But at the end of the Envoy he has:

"Suche grete yVKymynesse . . .
Was shewed to a londer called, F. T.
Her name also begynmeth with, A. B."

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

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

"When pat Lucina wip hir pale list
Was leyned last wip Phebus in aquarie,
Amyd decembre, when of Ianuarie
Ther be kalendes, of ye nwe yere."

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

"Toward the ende of wyndy Februarie,
Whan Phebus whas in the flysshie croune,
Out of the signe, wicke caly'd is aquarie,
New kalendys were entryd and begone
Of Marchis komyng, and the mery songe
Upon a Thursday sched his bemyght bryght,
Upon London, to make them glad and lyght."\(^1\)

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

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

"And on a myght in Apryle as I lay
Wary of sleepe & of my bed all so,
Where that the kalendes entred were of May."
reasons. It seems that the *Flour of Courtisie* (evidently imitated from the *Parlement of Foules*), and the *Black Knight* (imitated from the *Book of the Duchess*) precede our more ambitious *Temple of Glas*. But the *Flour of Courtisie* was certainly written after the death of Chaucer, which is proved by its envoy. Secondly, I believe that Lydgate, in December 1400, would have mentioned Chaucer with warmer words than the bare mention of his name in l. 110. For scarcely two months had then elapsed since his beloved master had been laid in the grave.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SOURCES OF THE POEM.

§ 1. Lydgate's learning in general.

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

"For douteles / I radde neuer Euclyd."  

¹ And we may perhaps add, his command of language. Bale praises him thus: "Tante enim eloquentiae & eruditionis homo iste fuit, ut nunquam satis admirari possim, unde illi in actate tam rudi, tanta accrescerit facundia;" further on: "fauteque post dictum Chaucerum, Anglici sermonis illustrator plane maximus" (*Catalogues*, p. 586).

² Pits evidently derives his information from the first edition of Bale (*Summarium*, 1548, fol. 202b), which reads: "Rhetorem certe, philosophum, mathematicum, ac theologum eum extitisse, scripta eius luculentae ostendunt." Bale himself thought good to omit this questionable account of Lydgate's versatility in his *Catalogues*, whilst Pits was copied by Ghilini, Papadopoli, etc.
Chapter IX.—The Sources of The Temple of Glas.

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

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

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

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

"I was never noon expert Ioweleere."

Nevertheless we may not inaptly apply to the monk Hazlitt's remark on Herrick, that "from his frequent allusion to pearls and rubies, one might take him for a lapidary instead of a poet" (Lectures on the Dramatic Literature of the age of Elizabeth, Lecture VI).—Concerning Lydgate's geometry we must, however, in justice add, that he evidently knew the value \( \frac{\sqrt{2}}{2} \) for \( r \) (see note to l. 36). But again, his "Tractatus de Geometria" in the Court of Sapience, fol. 2b to f1 6, does not prove him to have been a great adept in the mysteries of Euclid's science. Cp. also the following passage from the Pilgrimage of Man, fol. 182a, the purport of which we do not mean to gainsay:

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

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

1 By Lydgate himself in the Court of Sapience, 1st part, in Life of Our Lady, cap. 11—14; it occurs also in Dugdale's's Second Pilgrimage, books I and IV of the English prose-translation in Caxton. In book I the Charter of Mercy has reference to the soul of the individual pilgrim only; in the IVth to mankind in general. Further treatments of, or allusions to, this Pleading are found in a homily of St. Bernard's, in Grosseteste's Castel d'amour (English version, ed. Weymouth, I. 275 etc.), in the Cursor Mundi, ed. Morris, p. 518—561 (II. 5917—9752); in Piers Plowman, C-text, XXI, 118 etc.; see ten Brink, Geschichte der engl. Litt., I, 441, and particularly, Skeat's note to the passage in Piers Plowman.
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the *Disciplina clericalis*, or a French translation of it. Inquiries of the kind indicated would be valuable contributions to the history of English literature in the 15th century, and I should be glad if these discussions instigate other workers in this field to undertake an elucidation of some of the questions set forth above.

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

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

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

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

2 There are also heathen parallels, describing either descents into the lower world, or visions of a life beyond the grave; the 11th book of the *Odyssey* and the 6th of the *Aeneid*, the *Galen*, and particularly the *Sonnium Scipionis*. In the *Mahabharata* occurs a famous episode, the *Indralokkyamana*, describing the ascent of Arjuna to Indra's heaven. The popularity of these fictions was so great that it produced parodies and burlesques; two well-known instances are
centuries of the Middle Ages, many privileged mortals, mostly canonized saints, were credited with having beheld such visions, in body or in spirit; for the historian of literature the names of St. Patrick, St. Brandan, Alberic, Tundalus, and the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus are of particular interest.¹ The Sólár-Ljóð, Raoul de Houdenc's Songe d'Enfer and Voie de Paradis, Hampole's Priëche of Conscience, Dunbar's Dance of the seven Deadly Sins, Lyndsay's Dream, the poem of the Pearl, Deguileville's Pilgrimage, and Alanus' Anticlaudianus, which latter had certainly no small influence on the conception of the Hous of Fame, are interesting enough as turning the vision of other worlds into a poetical theme; but it is, of course, the Divina Commedia, which shows in its peerless magnificence what a poet of Dante's tremendous powers could make of the vision of the Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso.

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

the Μίνππος ἢ Νεκρομανθία, attributed to Lucian, and, it would seem, contemporary with Lydgate, the Scandinavian Skīlā-Rína by Einar Fostri (see Vigfusson, Corpus Poeticum Boreale, II, 396, etc.).

¹ For the subject of visions see particularly Th. Wright, St. Patrick’s Purgatory; Hammerich, Aelteste christliche Epik, p. 181; Ebert, Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters, passim; and C. Fritzsche, Die lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts, in Vollmoller’s Romanische Forschungen, II, 217 etc.; 111, 557 etc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

*La bella Analida e lo boso Ivano.*

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

"*Ywain le preu pour la belle Alydes.*"

One and the same personage is evidently indicated by the two names Analida and Alydes for *Iwain*’s paramour; I am not, however, sufficiently acquainted with the Arthur-romances to know of the occurrence of such a name. Laudine in Chrestien's *Chevalier au Lion* is not very like it.
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Commedia. Our poem, however, connects itself in particular with the idea of a "Court of Love," inasmuch as it enumerates none but lovers in the entourage of Venus, who is represented as "Lady-president of Love"—to use a phrase of Peele's—with Cupid at her side and lovers of all ages and conditions around her. We need not seek long for Lydgate's immediate sources among the many Romance and English poems in which this fanciful idea is introduced; Chaucer's Prologue to the Legend of Good Women and Gower's vision of the Court of Love,¹ towards the end of the Confessio (ed. Pauli, III, 357 etc.), were certainly uppermost in Lydgate's mind when he wrote the part in question of the Temple of Glas. This is amply proved by the names which occur in our list (II. 55—142), as well as in the two sources I have just named.²

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

¹ A Court of Love meant, of course, originally something different; but our version—Venus as queen listening to the complaints of the lovers—is already found in the 13th century, in Jean de Condi's Des Chemaines et des Bernardines (see Morley, English Writers, 2nd ed., V, 143); in fact, we may trace its origin as far back as the classics, for example, Ovid's Amores I, 2, 25 etc. We have this notion again in Petrarch's Trionfo d'Amore, in the pseudo-Chaucerian poem The Court of Love, in Douglas's Palace of Honour, in Rolland's Court of Venus, etc. Cp. also the little poem "The Parliament of Love," in Furnivall's Political, Religious and Love Poems, p. 48—51, and the passage from Hawes's Pastime of Pleasure in the note to l. 50.

² We may also refer to the list of lovers in Parl. of F., 288, and to the enumeration of good women in March. Tale 119 etc., Melib., p. 150; Frankel, Tale 628. In Lydgate similar lists frequently recur; for instance in the Life of our Lady, fol. 93 b; in the poem on Duke Humphrey and Jacqueline, MS. Add. 29729, fol. 158 b; in the poem entitled "Of a squyer v' serued in lones courte," tb., fol. 157 a; in the Flow of Curtesie, etc.
Dolensis, to Catullus’ *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* (the passage from which Titian drew some suggestions for his glorious picture “Bacchus and Ariadne” in the National Gallery), etc. etc., I willingly plead guilty to the charge of *krokylygemos*.

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

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

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

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1 Cp. Marchaundes Tale 636, 637:

“...In a letter wrote he al his sorwe,
   In manner of a compl’ynt or of a lay.”

Franklyynes Tale 219, 220:

“... made he many layes,
   Songs, compleigutes, roundelat, virrelayes.”
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Quair, Dunbar's Golden Targe and Thrissill and the Rois, Henryson's Testament of Cresseide, Douglas's Police of Honour, Lyndsay's Dream, the Pastime of Pleasure, etc. Nor is Lydgate behind his contemporaries in this respect. His Story of Thebes, the Assemble de Dieus, the Flour of Curtseie, and the Troy-Book (fol. A, d), begin in a like manner to the Temple of Glas, and these astronomical allusions are also frequently scattered throughout some of his other works.

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

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

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

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

Ll. 130—139 of the Hous of Fame have been made use of in several passages of the Temple of Glas; see particularly ll. 53 and 541. The "wicket," through which Lydgate gains access to his glass-temple (l. 39), is also found in l. 477 of the Hous of Fame; it occurs further in the Romanant of the Rose, ll. 528, 542; similarly a "guichet" is found in Deguleville's Pilgrimage, etc. Finally, Chaucer also dreams in the middle of December (on the 10th), see
Il. 63 and 111 of the *Hous of Fame*; it may be that Lydgate intended to imitate this.¹

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

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

1. (the peacock) "That to the syght he semed every dele
   An Archauungell droune frome the heuen sent."

2. "The cok that orlge is of thorpes lyte" (l. 350) appears in the
   *Troy-Book* D, a as "the cok comon Astrologere": see again G, a:

   "a cocke
   Syngynge his houses trewe as any clocke."

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

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

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

*De duolus Merc.* (MS. Illh. IV. 12, fol. 70 a):

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

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

"He hathe deserved thoroughe his knyghtly name (*Duke Humphrey*)
To be regystred in the hous of flame."

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

"P^c^ fesaut, scornere of P^c^ cok
Be nilhyre tyne in frostis colde,
Dhat nestelyth lowe be suna blok
Or be suna rote of bosschis olde."

In the same poem, f. l. 9 a, we have also "Qui bien ayne tard onlye" sung by the "manyys" (cf. *Parl. of F.*, l. 679); this motto occurs also in the form:

'Tar vblis c' bien c' eima" as an inscription on one of Francia Bigio’s pictures in the National Gallery; see E. T. Cook, *Handbook to the National Gallery*, 1890, p. 21.
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further, *Troy-Book D* *d*:

"For the goddess that called is nature,
Whiche next hir loye [hath] all thynge in cure,
Hath vertue gyue to herbe, gras and stone,
Which no man knoweth but hir seff alone;"

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

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

*F. Princes*, 93 a:

*(Nature)* "Which wnder god in heauen aboue reigning,
The world to gouerne, is called themp[ery]esse;"

*R. Sens. fol. 205 b*:

"For she ys lady and maistresse, *(Nature)*
And wnder god the chefe goddesse."

The same occurs nearly word for word again on fol. 210 a. See further, *Black Knight*, 491—493, and *Par le Roy*, Halliwell, p. 6. Scipio's Dream is mentioned, *Troy-Book*, fol. R*3d* (not in Guido). The *Parlement of Foules* was evidently in great favour with Lydgate, as with all his contemporaries.

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

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

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

"That I was born! alas!"

Compare, however, for the common occurrence of this expression, the note to l. 60. A "ballade" of similar metrical structure is
inserted in both poems (Legend, ProL. 249—269, and Temple of Glas, 1341—1361).

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

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

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

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

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

(Chaucer) "Gave it the name of Troyious and Cressyde,
  Whiche for to rede lovers them deylete,
  They have therin so grete devoyon."
(Morris's Chaucer, I, 79.)

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

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

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

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

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

"by manly hye diffence
Agayne vyres / to make resystence."

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

§ 4. \textit{Resemblances in Later Works to the Temple of Glas.}

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

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

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

"Gower, chawers, erthly goddes two . . .
1 you honour, byssse, lone, and gloryfye."

And, again, in \textit{Falls of Princes}, 1X, 38, fol. 217 r:

"In moral matter ful notable was Gower."

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

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

Grisikde, and Dorigene. At the end of the Flour of Curtesie, Lydgate introduces a ballad in praise of his lady; in the Temple of Glas (l. 1381) he seems to express a similar intention, which, however, he does not carry out. Finally, in both poems, the monk makes mention of his master Chaucer, the closing stanzas of the Flour of Curtesie lamenting his death.

I will now proceed to discuss certain other works which bear some similarity to the Temple of Glas. We have spoken above of Stephen Hawes and his excessive admiration of Lydgate. We have also quoted Wood's assertion that he knew many of Lydgate's works by heart and could repeat them at will. Some lines of the Temple of Glas seem thus to have remained in his memory; there is, at least, a great resemblance between ll. 19—34 of our poem, and Hawes's lines (ed. Wright, p. 15):

"I loked about, and sawe a craggy roche . . . (cp. T. of Glas, l. 19)
And as I dyd then unto it approche . . . (l. 20)
. . . I sawe . . . The royall tower . . . Made of fine copper . . .
Which against Phebus shone so marveyously, (l. 21)
That for the very perfect bryghtnes,
What of the tower and of the cleare sunne,
I coulde nothynge beholde the goodlines (l. 27)
Of that palace where as Doctrine did wonne;
Tyll at the last, with mysty wyndes doen,
The radiant bryghtnes of golden Phebus (l. 32)
Auster gan cover with clowde tenebrus."

Again, a good many parallels of minor importance are to be found between Hawes's poem and the Temple of Glas.

But, as far as I am aware, the two poems that bear the greatest family-likeness to the Temple of Glas are the Court of Love and the Kingis Quair. Tytler, in his edition of the Kingis Quair, p. 49, has already compared King James's poem to the Court of Love—"of Chaucer," he adds, a mistake which we can readily forgive him: he considered the spirit, not the language of the poem. If we are entitled to introduce the Temple of Glas into the family—as its weakest member, we willingly allow—then there would naturally also be a likeness between Lydgate's work and the Court of Love. And a comparison of the two latter poems proves this to be the case. The structure and extent of the Court of Love, the metre adopted, the allegories introduced, the progress of the action, and a great many direct verbal resemblances, remind us frequently of the Temple of Glas. Philogenet, the poet and hero of the Court of Love, enters the magnificent castle, where the King and Queen of Love, Admetus and Alcestis, have their residence. In it he finds a great throng of young
and old people (ll. 110 and 111), servants to Love. Within this castle is the “temple” (l. 229), or “tabernacle” (l. 222), of Venus and Cupid, which shines “with wyndonawes all of glasse” (l. 229), “bright as the day with many a feire ymage” (cp. Temple of Glas, l. 45): Dido and Aeneas, and Anelida and Arcite are given as representatives, of which Dido and Aeneas occur also in the Temple of Glas, the false Arcite of Thebes in the closely allièd poem of the Black Knight (l. 379). Philogenet is “sore abasshed” to see such a crowd of people, who, “in here guyse” (Court of Love, l. 245, Temple of Glas, l. 537), sacrifice to Venus and Cupid (cp. Temple of Glas, ll. 531—544). He finds a beautiful lady, Rosiall (l. 767), whose description at once reminds one of the Lady in the Temple of Glas; Rosiall also, like the Lady, has on the green garments to which one of the scribes of our poem seems to have had an objection (Court of Love, l. 816, Temple of Glas, l. 299). Philogenet’s prayer to Venus, l. 631, etc., and his “bille” to Rosiall, l. 841, etc., recall at once the Knight’s prayer to Venus and his suit to the Lady. Rosiall’s answer (ll. 890 and 891):

“Truly gramercy, frende, of your gode will
And of youre profer in youre humble wisse”

has a verbal resemblance to that of the Lady in the Temple of Glas, l. 1060; lines 1016—1019 also, describing Rosiall’s blushing, resemble Temple of Glas, ll. 1042 and 1043. The praise of Venus by the fortunate lovers (ll. 591—623) has the same ring as the joyous ballad at the end of the Temple of Glas. The various complaints of the lovers in the Court of Love are in part identical with those in the Temple of Glas; such as the complaints on “Poverte” (Court of Love, ll. 1137—1148, Temple of Glas, l. 159, etc.), and, particularly, the complaints of the priests, monks, and nuns (Court of Love, ll. 253—258, 1095, etc., Temple of Glas, ll. 196—208). The latter are sometimes worded similarly in the two poems; cp. Court of Love, ll. 1116 (“copes wide”) and 1104—1106:

“‘Alas,’ thay sayn, ‘we fayne perfeccion,
In clothes wide, and take oure libertie;
But all the synne mote on oure frendes be’”

with Temple of Glas, ll. 204 and 208. Lines 50—52 of the Temple of Glas should also be compared with ll. 575—581 of the Court of Love, and stanzas 25 b and 25 c (most likely spurious) in the first poem with ll. 582, etc. of the latter. Some of the allegorical figures in the Court of Love are identical with those in the Temple of Glas. So
Daunger and Disleyne, mentioned together in l. 156 of Lydgate's poem, stand, in the Court of Love, near the King and Queen as attendants (ll. 129 and 130); further, Envie, mentioned in T. of Glas, l. 147, is described in two stanzas of the Court of Love (ll. 1254—1267); lastly, the dispute between Hope and Dispeyre, T. of Glas, ll. 641—661, has its parallel in the Court of Love, l. 1036, etc.

But as I have already indicated at the end of § 2, it is in particular the Statutes of the Court of Love which recur in a diluted form in the Temple of Glas, mostly in the exhortations given by Venus to the Knight, T. of Glas, ll. 1152—1213. The lover is admonished in the third of these statutes to be constant, true and faithful to his lady, and never "to take another love" (Court of Love, l. 316, etc.); the same injunction we find frequently in the T. of Glas; see ll. 1152—1158, 1124—1130; 1188; 1201; cp. also 999, 1005. The second of the statutes enjoins secrecy in love (C. of Love 309); cp. T. of Glas 1005, 1154; the fifth commands the lover "to turne and walowe" in bed and weep; cp. T. of Glas, ll. 1—3 and 12; the 6th, to wander alone and to be reckless of life and death; see T. of Glas, 550 etc. and 939; the 7th, to be patient; see T. of Glas 1203 and 1267, and lowly to obey his mistress (T. of Glas 1007, 1145 etc.); the ninth, never to be overbold or offend his lady (ll. 1013, 1025); the tenth, to ask everything from the mercy and pity of his lady, and never to demand anything as his right (T. of Glas 800 and 979); the 12th, to suffer mortal wounds (ll. 170, 1014); the 14th, to believe no "tales" (T. of Glas 1182); lastly, the 18th, not to be "sluttish," but always clean, "fresh," and courteous (T. of Glas 1166, 1167).

If thus the Court of Love, concerning the author and exact date of which we are so sorely puzzled, reminds us in many particulars of the Temple of Glas, the Kingis Quair, written, it would seem, some twenty years later than our poem, does so perhaps even more forcibly and directly.

This poem, justly famous for its intrinsic worth and the associations connected with it, nevertheless presents two different aspects of poetry, which illustrate in a striking manner the poetical currents of the time. We almost imagine, in the first part of the poem, and again at the end, that we hear Chaucer's own melodious voice once more, speaking to us of beauteous ladies, of the fresh May-morning, and the delightful song of the birds, whose charms alone could lure him away from his beloved books. But the more we feel delight
in King James's poetry in the first part of his famous work, so much the more are we reminded, in the second part, of Goethe's famous words:

"Weh dir, dass du ein Enkel bist!"

This part, decidedly inferior to the first, is blighted throughout by the baneful influence of the allegorical plots so much in vogue at that day—from which, however, Chaucer wisely kept aloof in his ripest works—and even King James's brilliant genius could not take free flight under the pressure of those leaden wings. This part does not recall Chaucer, but Gower and Lydgate. It is true that, besides Chaucer, King James mentions Gower alone as entitled to his thanks;¹ but my impression is that he must also have read Lydgate. If I remember rightly, some resemblances are found in *Reason and Sensuality to the Kingis Quair*;² but, of all Lydgate's writings, it is the *Temple of Glas* of which we are especially reminded in reading King James's poem. The very first lines of it contain an expression which Lydgate seems to have originated, and perhaps, indeed, just in our present poem. We read in the *Kingis Quair*, stanza 1, ll. 3 and 4:

"And, In Aquary, Citherea the elere
Rynsid hir tressis like the goldin wyre."

Skeat, in his notes, cites many instances of the notion of golden hair, but none which contains the exact comparison of hair to "golden wire." The latter is, however, a favourite phrase of Lydgate's, as the note to l. 271 will amply show, and, once started, this expression lived a long life down to the Elizabethan period, from Lydgate and King James through Hawes and popular ballads down to Spenser, Peele, and perhaps even Shakspere. I do not think it probable that such an expression should have been started twice independently. Unless, therefore, earlier instances of it come to light, I am inclined to believe that King James borrowed it from Lydgate.

¹ Prof. Schipper evidently quotes from memory in stating the contrary, see his *Dunbar*, p. 29. Henry Morley, indeed, makes King James finish up with an additional stanza in honour of Lydgate (*English Writers*, II, 453). Skeat, however, on p. 94 of his edition of the *Kingis Quair*, rejects this stanza, as obviously belonging "to some other poem"; and rightly so, for it is the closing stanza of Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*.


"When Aurora the sylver droppes shene,
Her tears, shad vpon the freshe grene;
Complaynyng aye in weeping and in sorrow
Her childrens death every somer morrow..."

He also points out (p. 31) a general likeness between *Kingis Quair*, stanza 154—158, and *Black Knight*, l. 36 etc.
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But, more than this, there is in part of the Kingis Quair great resemblance of subject-matter to the Temple of Glas. This similarity begins at stanza 73, where King James feigns to have been carried up to the Temple of Venus, an episode much resembling part of our poem. Stanzas 82—93, in particular, cover the same ground as ll. 143—246 of the Temple of Glas, both passages containing the complaints of various conditions of lovers, who present their "billes" to Venus. King James's complaint to Venus and her answer to him are much in the same style as the complaint of our Knight and Lady to the goddess and Venus's reply. Portions also of Minerva's answer to King James recall expressions used by Venus in the Temple of Glas; compare, for instance, Kingis Quair, 129, with stanza 55 of Lydgate's poem.

Further, special instances of resemblance occur in the following passages: Stanzas 88—90 of the Kingis Quair, and lines 196—206 of the Temple of Glas; particularly stanza 90 and ll. 207 and 208; stanzas 91 and 92 and ll. 209—214; stanza 93 and l. 151; stanza 134 and ll. 215—222; stanza 137 and ll. 167 and 168; stanza 144, 1 and 2, and ll. 1061 and 1062. Many more verbal resemblances will be pointed out in the Notes; I would only observe here that "gude hope" is James's guide to Minerva (ep. Temple of Glas, 892 and 1197).¹

The names of the lovers in the Temple of Venus, enumerated in Lydgate's poem from ll. 55 to 142, are not given by King James, as, to use his own words, of their

"chancis maid is mention;
In diuerse buikis, quho thame list to se;
And therefore here thaire namys lat I be."

(Kingis Quair, 78, 5—7.)

As instances of the "diuerse buikis" which King James had in mind, Professor Skeat mentions, besides Ovid, the three well-known lists in the Man of Law's Prologue, the Legend of Good Women, and in Gower's Confessio Amantis (ed. Pauli III, 359). I think we may boldly add the Temple of Glas to the books enumerated by the learned commentator of the Kingis Quair.

¹ If King James wrongly inferred from Troilus (1st stanza of Canto 1 and last stanza of Canto III) that Tisiphone was a Muse, Lydgate's frequent invocation of that "Muse" was quite calculated to keep this error awake; see Temple of Glas, l. 958 and Note.
Chapter X.—Style of The Temple of Glas.

Chapter X.

Style of the Temple of Glas.

I purpose, in this chapter, to treat of certain characteristics of Lydgate's, which I would handle collectively under the comprehensive heading "Style," although some of them might more properly be assigned a place in Chapter VI on the language, or Chapter IX on the sources and borrowed motifs of the Temple of Glas.

We have already stated, in discussing the authorship of the Temple of Glas (see p. lxxxiv), that the style of this poem is essentially the same as that of Lydgate's other works. Drawled-out and incompact, are the first epithets which one would most readily apply to the style of the monk's productions. His sentences run aimlessly, without definite stop, and it is often difficult to say where a particular idea begins or ends. One certainly has the impression that the monk never knew himself, when he began a sentence, how the end of it would turn out. He knows little of logic connection, or distinct limitation of his sentences, and the notion of artistic structure, by which all ideas form, in mutual interdependence, an organic whole, is entirely foreign to him: what is uppermost in his mind comes to the surface without further consideration of the context; for a moment he may lose sight of the first idea when something fresh turns up, to resume it again as soon as his new thought leaves him. Compare, for instance, the list of the lovers, from ll. 55—142. In his enumeration, he is evidently only guided by the inspiration of the moment, according to which he either gives a brief summary of the story, or merely indicates it. After line 77, and particularly after 91, one imagines that he is about to close his list, as we find an apparently concluding phrase; but the expected finale turns out to be a delusion, for meanwhile Paris and Helen have flashed across his mind, which sets him going once more in the old strain, on the principle of "The more, the merrier." The same applies to the lengthy list of the complaints of the various lovers, from l. 143—246. He adds one set of complaints after another, just as they occur to him, and as the rhyme may require, so long as he can think of any; nor does it matter much to him if he says similar things twice over.

He is especially in his own element whenever he can bring in long sermons and moralizations. Then showers of commonplaces,
proverbs, and admonitions rain down upon us, the fruits of his extensive reading swelling the vast store of his own commonplaces. In our poem, this natural propensity of the monk is most apparent in the speeches of Venus, who, in this character of a pedantic moralizer, occasionally appears to us in a very philistine aspect.\(^1\)

More commendable, however, is the zeal with which our monk allows his pen free flight, when he comes to a passage which inspires him with unusual fervour. Then he lets loose the floodgates of his eloquence, and a whole deluge of epithets and images is showered down upon us. Such is usually the case when he comes to a turning-point in his story, or when he wishes to present us with a lively description of Nature, or a portrait of a personage in whom he is especially interested. In our poem, he found unfortunately no opportunity for bringing in one of his famous pictures of Nature, but he more than makes up for it in what he evidently considered the *chef-d’œuvre* of his poem, the description of his lady. For this, every imaginable simile and comparison is raked up from every possible quarter, and he heaps together sun and stars, May, roses, balm and rubies; it is a wonder how ever Nature could make such an angelic creature; her hair shines like Phoebus' beams, and the entire temple is illumined by her; and, in addition to all this, he winds up with a whole string of womanly charms and virtues in her praise. The "\(\pi\lambda\iota\eta\nu \hat{\eta}\mu\iota\mu\nu \pi\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\)" evidently never dawned upon our monk.

It is nevertheless in this vitiated, overwrought style that he is at his best, as the good intention of heaping every beauty and virtue upon his ideal lady, or his sincere love of Nature, makes him sometimes really a poet. The worst of it is that he often loses his way and becomes entangled in his own sentences, by reason of overmuch zeal in setting forth what impresses his mind most strongly. The consequence is that the anacoluthon is exceedingly common in all Lydgate's writings. Now, an anacoluthon may be a fine thing—I have always, for instance, admired the one in *Hamlet*, before the Prince first sees his father's ghost;—but, in Lydgate, it does not usually heighten the beauty of the passage—at all events, if it ever

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\(^1\) Brugari, in a little pamphlet on Chaucer, has a quaint remark concerning the position of Venus in certain poems of this period: "Venere in tutta questa letteratura è degradata e rassomiglia ad una vecchia dama riferita pensionata e collocata a riposo" (Jeffrey Chaucer e la Letteratura Inglese del secolo xiv, p. 13). Similarly Godwin, *Life of Chaucer*, III, 256, has: [The poets of chivalry] "superannuated her [Venus], and substituted another [Iliostis], as the active and administering divinity, in her room."
does, it must be by a tremendous fluke. What it certainly does, is
to make the punctuation very difficult for the editor, especially as it
is often impossible, in the monk's interminable sentences, to define
with certainty whether we have to do with an anacoluthon. An
undoubted oversight of this kind has, however, crept in unawares
into his masterpiece, the portraiture of his lady; for it seems impos-
sible to construe ll. 271 etc. grammatically. The same may be said
of ll. 548 etc., 563 etc., 603 etc., 614 etc.; stanzas 42, 43, 44, 50,
etc. There is, however, no instance of the anacoluthon in our poem
quite so bad as the beginning of Guy of Warwick, where, as Professor
Zupitza says (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Phil.-Hist.
Klasse, 1873, vol. 74, p. 665), not only the predicate of the sentence
is wanting, but the subject as well.

We may also note here that sometimes direct and indirect speech
flow together in a very careless manner, as in ll. 509 and 510, and in
ll. 376 and 377. Our monk apparently here at first intended to
give only a few words of reply, for which indirect speech might
conveniently be employed; but he changed his mind, and when once
in full swing, it is no easy matter to stop him.

Parallel to this carelessness in language, is the monk's incon-
sistency in depicting his ideas. Thus we first hear of his assemblage
of lovers as being painted on the wall, whilst later on we have
clearly to do with living personages. Venus herself is first spoken
of as "fletin pe se," evidently in a picture on the wall (l. 53);
then, in l. 249, her "statue set on height" is mentioned, before
which the Lady kneels to pray, and, throughout the rest of the
poem, we find her addressed as a living being, and speaking and
acting as such. If we had to do with a poet who can hold his ideas
together, we might try and reconcile the discrepancy; but, in the
present case, it arises simply from Lydgate's well-known laissez-aller
and general muddle-patedness.—In the same manner, also, his mode
of expression in the last lines of the poem is unclear, and of the
several "treatises" mentioned in ll. 1380 and 1387, it is difficult to
know which is which. Such a slight inconsistency as the ἄρτερον
πρότερον in ll. 33 and 39, where he sees the inside of the temple
before entering it, of course hardly counts with our monk.

If, however, heathen and Christian ideas are heaped together in a
very incongruous medley, the monk is less to blame for it than the
general taste of that period. For this feature is exceedingly common
throughout the Middle Ages, and is especially in accordance with the
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notions prevailing at the time of the Renaissance. We meet with more or less grotesque confusion of this kind in Dante, Boccaccio, the Italian Humanists, Chaucer, Gower, Camões, etc. In the same way it mattered little to our monk whether he invoked a saint, the Virgin Mary, or a heathen goddess; he did it all in one and the same strain. In our poem Lydgate speaks of "orison" to Venus (l. 460), of an "oratory" in her temple (l. 696), and when the scribe of the Pepys MS. once (l. 577) changes templi into cherche, the alteration is not out of keeping with the general tenour of the poem. The greatest absurdity, however, committed by our monk himself, is that Venus cites the example of "holy saints," who won heaven through their suffering; but this is more than matched by the Kingis Quair, in which Minerva quotes Ecclesiastes (see the passage in the Note to l. 1203), or by Bishop Gawain Douglas, in whose Palace of Honour a nymph of Calliope's train expounds the scheme of redemption.

We need not be greatly astonished that a rhyme-maker of Lydgate's order of mind should make ample use of expletives, pleonasm and certain stock-phrases occurring again and again; in fact, if we consider how often a poet like Chaucer has recourse to such means, we wonder that Lydgate does not go still further in that respect. Some of the expressions he uses as a make-shift to fill up the line—mostly also Chaucerian—are the following: Shortli in a clause, 536; shortli to conclude, 545; forto reken all, 579; if I shal not lie, 73; if I shal not feine, 911; what shal I lenger tarie, 1297; ïer is no more to sein, 1325; some of his set phrases: for wele or (for) wo, 517, 783; hope in cold and hete, 512; dounb as eny ston, 1184; stil as eni stone, 689; trw as eny stele, 866; constant as a walle, 1153; favour or be foo, 519. Sometimes he repeats whole lines which form favourite stock-phrases; thus l. 385 is the same as 1295, and l. 424 the same as 879. Paraphrases by means of a relative—

1 Other incongruities and anachronisms, at which we cannot forbear a smile, occur in the following passages, where Lydgate calls Orpheus a "poet laureate" (Falls of Princes, 32 c), and Gabriel the "secretary of God" (Life of our Lady, fol. c3 b); the Parae are made to keep the library of Jove (Falls of Princes, 27 a); Merenry is chamberlain, secretary and chief notary to Phebus (R. & Sens., 225 a); Pythagoras is chief clerk to govern the library of "Arsnmetryk" (Pur to Roy, Halliwell, p. 11); Ganymede, Jove's "butler," and of Venus the monk says (R. & Sens., 222 a):

"For she doth leden and eke guye
The amorous constablerye."

Sometimes, however, I believe Lydgate must have seen the joke himself, as Chaucer certainly did when he made Pluto quote Solomon (Marchaundes Tale 998).
for instance: stormes that be kene for kene stormes (l. 515); cloudes that ben blake (l. 613)—often help him through, and meaningless little words, such as so, as, gan and other similar stop-gaps, also serve to fill up his line.

To return, however, to points of more general and further-reaching interest than the monk’s individual make-shifts to get his lines right, we must first notice the traces found in the Temple of Glas of the allegorical style so much in vogue at that time. Professor Ward, in his History of Dramatic Literature, I, 56, calls the English an allegory-loving people, and rightly so, no doubt, if we bear in mind Piers Ploughman, Chaucer and his school, Hawes, the Moralties, and above all Spenser, Bunyan, and Swift. Lydgate certainly was acquainted with those of the above-mentioned works which existed at his time; all the instances, however, of allegory, or rather personification, in our present poem, seem to go back, more or less directly, to the Roman de la Rose.¹ In that poem excessive prosopopeia forms a distinctive feature, and many of its personifications became exceedingly popular with the English poets. So, in numerous passages of our poem (ll. 156, 646, 652, 739, 776), we meet with the great bugbear of the Roman de la Rose, Dangier, who guards the rose-tree from all assailants; in l. 153 we have also a distinct allusion to Dangier’s comrade, Malebouche, called Wikked-Tonge in the English translation (see also stanza 25 b, l. 7). Other such personifications—nearly all of them started by the Roman de la Rose—are the following: Hope (641—686, 736, 892, 1119, 1197) and its opponents Drede (631—686, 893, 1119, 1198), Dispeire (656, 895, 1198), Wanhope (673, 895), and Dislain (156, 218); further, Reason

¹ Reason and Sensuality, especially, has in many points a distinct connection with the Roman de la Rose; the French poem is directly named on folio 268 b, etc. (MS. Fairfax 16), and the monk says of its author:

“He compiled the romancce,
Callyd the Romavnce of the Rose,
And gan his processe so dispose,
That menor yet was rad noo (read nor) songe
Swich a nother in that tonge,
Nor nooñ that in comparysouñ
Was so worthy of renoun,
To spekyñ of Philosophie,
Nor of profounde poetríe:
For sothly yet it doth excelle
Al that ever I herd of telle.”

This admiration, in his earlier days, for the Roman de la Rose did not, however, prevent Lydgate from transcribing, without any comment of his own, Deguis eville’s severe censure of it in the Pelerinage de la vie humaine, MS. Cott. Vit. C. XIII, fol. 201 a, etc.
Chapter X.—Style of The Temple of Glas. 

(878); Riches 175, Tresour 176, Poverte 159; Mirth and Gladnes
190; croked Elde 182, 187; pe serpent of fals Ielousie 148 (see
also stanza 3 b, and 25 a, l. 7); Susceptiou 153; Envie 147; Covetise
244, Slouth 244, Hastines 245, Reklesnes 246; see also,
particularly, stanza 58 and 59. In more than one of the above
instances it is, however, difficult to say whether we have to do with
a distinct and conscious prosopopoeia.

Another feature of some prominence in our poem is the occur-
rence of expressions which had arisen from the astrological beliefs of
the time. Every planet was supposed to be guided by the heathen
god whose name it bore, and star and god were, in the language of
the period, often entirely identified. So Venus in our poem is
directly addressed or spoken of as a “star” or “planet,” etc., see ll.
326, 328, 715, 835, 1097, 1341, 1348, 1355. The “aspects” of the
planets are described as “benign,” l. 449, or “fierce,” l. 1236, and
their effect is accordingly beneficial or pernicious. The proper word
to express the working of the planets upon human destiny is the
word influence, of particularly common occurrence throughout these
centuries; so also in the Temple of Glas, ll. 718, 885, 1330; Chancer,
in one place (Man of Law’s Tale, l. 207), introduces the
 corresponding Arabic word at-ta’thir (infinitive of second stem of
’uthara, with prefixed article).

Quite in accordance with the style of the age are likewise the
portions of the poem referring to love and lovers. As already indi-
cated, the idea of a Court of Love runs through the whole poem;
Cupid deals his dreadful stroke (l. 984), and Cupid and Venus keep
the books (ll. 1238, 1136, 1234) in which the good and evil deeds of
every lover are registered. The poor lover has, indeed, a hard
time of it. He is the “man” and “servant” of his lady, and
desires to be nothing beyond that; the wounds inflicted by his
lady’s “casting of an eye” are always fresh and “green”; his blood
rushes to his heart, making him “pale and wan”—the favourite
aspect of a man “daunted” by Cupid; he is in a continual
“access,” now hot, now cold, constantly swoons and falls down, and
is altogether nearly killed. In fact, we hear from the mouth of our
lover himself (l. 634) that he is murdered and slain at the least.
Now there is appropriateness in the hyperbole of Harpagon’s “Je

1 The seven deadly sins appear to have been particularly often personified at
that time; Lydgate himself introduces them thus in the Assembly of Gods, b. 99,
following, it seems, Prudentius’ Psychomachia; and they come, of course, also in
his translation of Dugouville’s first Pilgrimage.
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suis tué, je suis tué," after his money-box has been stolen, or in the cowardly "hada mhi, hada mhi" of Kālidāsa's Viśālakāta; but in the case of our innocent though long-winded lover it seems hard lines that Cupid should go so far as to kill him straight off, and, indeed, murder and slay him at the least. We involuntarily ask, if to be murdered and slain is the least that befalls him, what would be the most?

Another similarly absurd way of putting the case is that our lover assures us—evidently with a view to refute those who might not believe it—that he has a mouth (I. 823), with which he is, however, unable to speak. Yet this ridiculous phrase seems not to have been uncommon at the time; see note to I. 823. But among all these absurdities, the palm must certainly be awarded to line 117, where the monk represents

"Κρονίωνα κυρασφόρον ἀφαγα νίμφης"

as changing his "cope" for the purpose alluded to. Leopold von Schroeder, in his History of Sanskrit-Literature, has aptly drawn our attention to the significant fact that all nations represent their gods as being similar to themselves in appearance and occupation, and he adduces the characteristic instance of the compilers of the Yajur-Veda, who, impressed with the all-importance of their interminable sacrifices, finally make their own gods priests operating with the sacrificial ladle. So our monk, being himself vested in the black cope (see the Prologue to the Story of Thebes), would clothe the "father of gods and men" with the same garment, and the outcome of this "false analogy" is, mighty Jove enthroned on Olympus in a monk's cope.

Another feature characteristic of Lydgate is his self-deprecatory vein. He very frequently introduces modest excuses and phrases; he willingly grants that the Muses did not preside over his cradle, that he knows nothing of the flowers of Tully, that Jove's butler, Ganymede, deals his liquor very sparingly to him (Prologue to the Pilgrimage of Man, and Envoy to Edmund), and that he never slept on the hill of Parnassus; he complains of his "dulnesse" and asks Calliope to "redress" it; he excuses himself that he is "born in Lydgate,"¹ and that thus his English is not the best; his metre, also, he is afraid, may be found wanting, and he even does not

¹ "I wil procede furth with white and black, And where I faile, let Lidgate beare ye lack."  
Falls of Princes, 217 d.
hesitate to run down his own character and manner of life. I have already alluded to his particular mania of ending his poems by an appeal to the reader, or the addressee of his envoy, to correct his poem; for he knows well, as he himself says at the end of the Troy-Book (fol. Dd, b), that

"moche thynge is wronge
Falsely metryd / bothe of short and longe."

Similar requests to correct his verses are found, besides in the Troy-Book, in our Temple of Glas, in the Æsop (Anglia, IX, 2, 46), in the Legend of Austin (Halliwell, p. 149), and elsewhere; see note to l. 1400. In one case he says:

"If ought be myssë in worde, sillable or dede,
Put all defaute upon John Lidgate." 2

Similarly in Guy of Warwick, 73, 7. 8, he has:

"Yif ought be wrong in metre or in substantce,
Puttheth the wyte for dulnesse on Lydgate."

Yes, certainly, on whom else?

Almost invariably hand in hand with the demand to correct him, goes the expression "litel boke" bestowed by the monk on his poems in the envos. Lydgate forgot many a favourite phrase of his youth, when, in later years, the Falls of Princes too sorely tried his spirits; but to this particular one he clung most tenaciously. We should have thought the monk might have been content to call the 20,000 lines of the Pilgrimage, or the 30,000 of the Troy-Book a "litel boke." But no; after he has tired us out with nearly four myriads of verses of the dullest description in his Falls of Princes, he has once more, at the end, the coolness to say in his envoy (fol. 218 r):

"With letters and leanes goe little booke treblyng."

I need hardly add a word on our envoy (l. 1393—1403), as such terminations occur in dozens and dozens of poems of the time. Nor is indeed self-deprecation, even in its absurd exaggeration, uncommon

1 Cp. his Testament, and Troy-Book, Dd, b:

"Monke of Burye by professyon,
Usynge an habyte of professor,
Albe my lyfe accordes nat theerto,
I feyne nat, I wot well it is so;
It nedeth nat wytnesse for to calle:
Recorde I take of my brethren alle,
That wyll nat fayle at so great a neede."

2 Stans Puer ad Mensam. I have not yet seen the paper by F. Barthenec, which undertakes to prove that this poem is spurious (s. Mitteilungen zur Anglia, 1890, p. 221).

in those days. Skeat, *Man of Law’s Tale*, p. xxv, quotes Dunlop’s *History of Fiction* (3rd ed. 1845, p. 247), who says of Ser Giovanni’s *Pecorone* (the “Dunce”): “a title which the author assumed, as some Italian academicians styled themselves, Insensati, Stolidi, &c., appellations in which there was not always so much irony as they imagined.” The immediate sources, however, of Lydgate’s self-deprecatory phrases seem to be Chaucer’s humoristic excuses for possible shortcomings; for instance, the familiar ones in the *Hous of Fame*, l. 1098, and at the end of *Troilus* (V, 1872), and I may add, Lydgate’s personal modesty, especially when he measures himself with his great master. We have seen above how Lydgate himself is apt to fall into absurdities in his handling of these phrases; but they come to sheer stupidity in their treatment by Lydgate’s imitators. Thus one of them (MS. Fairfax 16, fol. 309 a) complains that the Pierides do not favour him “dull ass.” Chaucer is here, as always, the graceful humourist, Lydgate the ungraceful imitator, and our anonymous aspirant at the laurels of Parnassus—“such as he said he was.”

**CHAPTER XI.**

**CONCLUDING REMARKS.**

After these strictures on Lydgate’s absurdities it is only fair that we should also hear the other side. If we needed only the laudatory testimony of a successive line of poets, historians, and critics to prove that Lydgate was a great poet, we could, indeed, for this purpose marshal a long and proud array of names. I have spoken above of Hawes’s craze for his favourite author, and of Shirley’s verses in honour of Lydgate; I may further mention, among the less conspicuous admirers of Lydgate, Bennet Burgh, the continuator of the *Secreta Secretorum*, Bradshaw (*Life of Saint Werburge* II, 2023), Feylde (*Controversy between a lover and a jay*, Prol. 19—21), Bokenam (*Legends* I, 177; II, 4, 612; VI, 24; XIII, 1078) and Ashby, *Active Policy of a Prince* (see Morley, *English Writers*, 2nd ed., VI, 161). To proceed to greater names, King James I. was, as we attempted above to make probable, acquainted with his writings; Skelton frequently introduces him together with Chaucer and Gower (*Philip Sparrow* 804—812; *Garland of Laurel* 390, 428—441, 1101); Sir Thomas More evidently imitated him in his early poems, and the great triad of later Scotch poets never fail to mention him in connexion with Chaucer (ep. Dunbar, *Golden Targe* 262—270, and
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Lament for the Makaris 51; Douglas, Palice of Honour, ed. Small, 1, 36, 11; Lyndsay, Papynago, ProL 12). In the Elizabethan times, even at the close of the period, Lydgate’s name was far from being forgotten. In Tarlton’s Seven Deadly Sins he appeared before the Elizabethan public as speaker or chorus (like Gower in Pericles), see Boswell’s Malone, 1821, III, 348 etc.; Richard Robinson, in the Reward of Wickedness, 1574, places Googe on Helicon with Lydgate, Skelton and others (Dictionary of National Biography, under Googe); later on, John Lane, in his continuation of Guy of Warwick, again introduces Lydgate as speaker of the prologue and epilogue. Camden praises him very highly indeed,¹ the Polimanteia (fol. R3 a) and Beaumont (Chaucer, ed. Speght, 1598) mention him honourably, and but little doubt can be entertained that even Shakespeare himself read Lydgate. The Story of Thebes was repeatedly printed between 1561 and 1687, together with Chaucer’s works, and even the two longest poems of the monk were reprinted after the middle of the 16th century (the Troy-Book in 1555 by Marsh, the Falls of Princes, 1554, by Tottel, and again, 1558 (1) by Wayland). The authors of the Mirror for Magistrates continue his longest and dullest production, and the man who, in 1614, took the trouble to re-write the Troy-Book in six-line stanzas, and the publishers who issued it, must have had no mean opinion of the value of that book. Nay, even a hundred years later, we find the highest compliments paid to Lydgate. Dart, the modernizer of the Black Knight—which he, it is true, believes to be Chaucer’s—says in his preface (1718) that he thinks this Complaint “the best design’d of any extant, either Antient or Modern, . . . the Thoughts in the Speech natural, soft, and easy, and the Hint for Invoking Venus, and the Invocation inimitable.” It even seems that this Complaint of our “inimitable” Lydgate biassed Dart not a little in proclaiming its supposed author to be “the greatest Poet that England (or perhaps the World) ever produc’d.”

More than one name of good repute might also be adduced to testify that the Temple of Glas is far from being the meanest work of our “brilliant (sic) disciplo de Chaucer.”² I have above quoted

¹ “Nec procul dissitus est Lidgate viculus, qui hoc nomine neutiquam tacentus, quod in lucent Ioannes Lidgate monachum vididerit, cuius ingenium ab ipsis Musis efficiunt videatur, ita omnes Venere & elegantiae in suis Anglicis carminibus resident” (Britannia, 1607, p. 336).

² So is he called by L. Constans, La Légende d’Edipe, p. 368. Tame also, Life of Our Lady, p. iv, speaks of his “brilliant genius.”
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the excessive praise bestowed upon this poem by a poet laureate (see p. xiii). Warton's criticism was fully endorsed by Dibdin I, 309 note: "Whoever may be the author of it (the Temple of Glas), its intrinsic merits are very great; as the reader will be convinced by a careful perusal of the brilliant extracts given by Warton." Hill, De Guileville ... compared with ... Bunyan, p. 35, finds a "decided similarity" between the preamble of the Temple of Glas and Dante's Inferno. He compares, in particular, l. 14 to Dante's words:

"I' non so ben ridir com' io v' entrai;
Tant' era pien di sonno ... ."—(Inferno I, 10).

I must confess that in reading the poem for the first time, I myself was also vaguely reminded, by certain lines such as stanza 1, 2, 117—119, l. 716, of the Divina Commedia. But this does not go to prove much for the value of the poem, and even less for the supposition that Lydgate had read the Divina Commedia; for such lines as 329, 330; 1355, 1356 also reminded me vaguely of the hymns to the Aqvins in the Veda, which latter were, most likely, unknown to Lydgate. Further, Mrs. Browning says that the Temple of Glas forms, with Piers Plowman, the House of Fame, and Hawes's Pastime of Pleasure, one of the "four columnar marbles, on whose foundation is exalted into light the great allegorical poem of the world, Spenser's Faerie Queene (Book of the Poets, in E. B. Browning's Greek Christian Poets and English Poets, p. 123). I do not think that the text of our poem bears out this statement; if any one of Lydgate's writings may be regarded as a forerunner to the Faerie Queene, it would be the Court of Sapience, which seems to have served Hawes as a model. 1

I do not claim such a high place for the Temple of Glas as Warton and Mrs. Browning. But I think we may fairly allow it some small amount of poetical merit. It may be that Shirley is right in his statement that Lydgate wrote the poem "a la request dum amoreux;" for the monk had, all his life, patrons enough: Henry V., Henry VI., Humphrey of Gloucester, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Salisbury, Lady March, etc., representing the proudest names among them. And if it is true that our monk wrote the poem with the view of celebrating the union of a certain knight and his lady, we must admit that the machinery he introduces is prettily conceived. The poet takes up the current motif of a vision, and by this means brings his

1 By a closer investigation the following pedigree might perhaps be made out—of course, with regard to certain features only—: Martianus Capella—Antichthonius—Court of Sapience—Pastime of Pleasure—Faerie Queene.
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knight and lady, as the most prominent pair among the famous lovers of history and mythology, into the magnificent temple of Venus, where the goddess of Love herself unites them. Of course, our monk does not omit to adorn both with all imaginable excellences, and the picture of the Lady is one of the brightest of any in Lydgate's works. The rejoicing in the Court of Venus, ending in a ballad which makes the whole temple resound with the praises of Venus Urania for her graciousness to the lovers, leaves an impression at once vivid and pleasing upon the reader's mind. We can at all events understand the long-enjoyed popularity of our poem in an age which fully appreciated this its brighter side, and perhaps even found the weaker parts to its taste. If I add to this that our poem belongs to the few of Lydgate's works which are not directly taken from a foreign source, but that it exhibits, at the most, some traces of the poetical currents of the day, and especially of Chaucer's genial influence, I think I have said about all that can be brought forward in its praise.

I have above pointed to a general family-likeness, and a number of minor resemblances between the Temple of Glas and the Kingis Quair. I must not be understood, however, to wish for one moment to compare the Kingis Quair and its right royal author to our monk and his glass-temple. For although the second part of the Kingis Quair reminds one of Lydgate, and although many passages could be adduced from certain writings of Lydgate which would almost be a match for some of the finer parts of King James's poem, yet I know full well that there is another side to be considered in this question, namely, the subjective as well as the objective. Two-thirds of the poetry of the Kingis Quair lie in King James himself, his person and fate, his capture, his love, and death. Manly strength and undaunted courage—exhibited in the cause of justice—have seldom been combined in one man with that exquisite tenderness of feeling with which the royal Stuart wooed and won his lady, and the graceful gift of song with which he immortalized it. It is the consciousness of its reality and of a tragic fate lurking behind its sunny pages that gives the Kingis Quair an incomparable interest, and raises many a passage into poetry which otherwise would be flat and meaningless. In what light has subsequent history placed the following passage from it:

"And thus this floure, I can seye [you] no more,  
So hertly has vnto my help attendit,  
That frōm the deth hir man sche has defendit" (Ky. Qu., 187, 5–7),

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the absurd counterpart of which we had to criticize severely in Lydgate! It is this personal interest which appeals to us so strongly in the Kingis Quair: the royal poet has in reality loved the beautiful lady of whom he sings, he has made her his queen, and she has defended him in that last terrible struggle, when the "noblest of the Stuarts" had to fight for his life. And, moreover, the kindly feeling displayed by the noble prince towards everything surrounding him, animate and inanimate Nature, and the gratefulness with which he thanks the nightingale, the roses, the hedges, Gower, Chaucer, and all the saints of March for their help, win our hearts irresistibly. All these qualities would alone be sufficient to make the Kingis Quair a book of uncommon interest, and as the poetry is occasionally truly beautiful, it will remain a pearl in English literature for ever and ever.

Pour revenir à nos montons! Although the two poems, in spite of many resemblances, are not for one moment to be compared as regards poetical value or interesting associations, the above discussions have I hope at least shown that a better knowledge of Lydgate's works would greatly contribute to the elucidation of the more illustrious of his contemporaries, "who sang together at the bright dawning of British poesy." The monk's name will certainly be of frequent occurrence in commentaries on Chaucer, Gower, and King James, when the principal of his works are more easily accessible. There is, in the investigation of Lydgate, a wide field for work open to the student: editions, treatises on the sources, the language, the metrics, the text-criticism, the chronology, and also the genuineness of certain poems affording ample material to the philologist, whatever his particular bent may be.

I have spoken above, in the preliminary remarks, of the most important work done in this direction, and, in Chapter IX, § 1, have also pointed to some desiderata towards the elucidation of the monk's sources. I may add here that a re-publication of the smaller poems, as edited by Halliwell, would be very welcome; it would have to omit the spurious poems1 given by Halliwell, and to collect those not contained in this first edition; its text, of course, would have to be based throughout on critical principles. A not uninteresting col-

1 Also those that form part of larger works of Lydgate's, as the "Moral of the Legend of Dido" (Halliwell, p. 69), which is identical with the Envoy to Chapter II, 13 of the Falls of Princes, and "A Poem against Idleness" (Halliwell, pp. 84—94), which consists of Falls of Princes II, 15 (beginning with the second stanza), followed by II, 14 and closing with the Envoy to II, 15.
lective volume might then be formed by a critical edition of Lydgate's somewhat longer poems in the epic, or lyric-epic genre, such as the Black Knight, Churl and Bird, Horse, Goose, and Sheep, etc.; of the latter Halliwell (Minor Poems, pp. 117—121) and Furnivall (Political, Religious and Love Poems, pp. 15—22) unfortunately only give parts, and the reprint of the whole for the Roxburghe Club from a faulty print, is scarce enough. The Aesop, Guy of Warwick, and the story, De duobus Mercatoribus, belong also to this class. A good critical edition of the Dance of Macabre, or of the Testament, would likewise be very desirable.

To speak of Lydgate's larger works, I should consider an editor of Reason and Sensuality\(^1\) as more fortunate than myself; for this poem appears to me to be by far the finest of all Lydgate's productions. The editor would have to settle definitely the question of the authorship; I can only mention here that there is amongst others Stowe's evidence for its being Lydgate's. The text-criticism would be very simple, as there are apparently only two MSS., Fairfax 16 and Stowe's Add. 29729, of which the first presents a very fair text indeed. The investigation of its sources would be highly interesting, and, if anything definite could be brought to light as to the time of its origin, such a date would be of great importance for the right understanding of Lydgate's development as a poet. Another important contribution would be a treatise on the Troy-Book, with respect to which many questions have to be settled: the classification of the numerous MSS. and Prints, the way in which Lydgate follows Guido di Colonna, the assignment to it of its right place in the literature of the medieval Troy-Saga; its popularity in the Elizabethan time, the authorship of its modernized form, as printed in 1614, and the question as to exactly how much Shakspere took from it, furnishing ample material for research. The Prolegomena would, I suppose, be a good deal more interesting than the edition itself; but, perhaps, some unusually courageous philologist will also one day undertake this; and then he had better at once set about the Falls of Princes into the bargain. Previous researches in the text-criticism of at least parts of these two big works would make the matter considerably easier, and not tax the patience of one individual too sorely.

Further, it would be no thankless task to compile a good and clearly-put treatise on the two Pilgrimages, and to settle their author-

\(^1\) Skeat, M. F., p. xli, 1. 9, means this poem, and quotes from it on p. 349, where he has the title.
ship, their relation to the French original, etc. Lydgate's last work, the *Secreta Secretorum*, with its curious lore—not poetry, I must add—might induce a scientist among the philologists to publish it and compare it with other poems based on the same grounds. Perhaps Dr. Horstmann will one day reprint the *Life of our Lady* in full, and tell us something definite about its date. An edition of the *Serpent of Division* would be interesting as a specimen of Lydgate's prose, and even more in its connection with Gorboduc; perhaps the careful investigator would find that it was not unknown to Shakspere.—Of the forthcoming editions of the *Story of Thebes*, *De duobus Mercatoribus*, and the *Court of Sapience* I have spoken above, and from the prospectus of the Early English Text Society I see too that it has an edition of the *Pilgrimages* in view.

I need hardly mention that a careful and exact bibliography is one of the greatest *desiderata* for Lydgate-literature. And now for my bone with Ritson. We are usually referred to his list of 251 “works” (*Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 66, etc.) as the “fullest and best” account and synopsis of the monk's literary productions. I call this “fullest and best” list an Augean stable of disorder, glaring mistakes and inextricable confusion. For first, this appallingly tedious medley is arranged according to no apparent principle whatever, neither of chronology, nor length, nor importance, nor *genre*, nor anything else. Ritson’s intention seems, indeed, to have been to enumerate the printed works first (No. 1—36); but this is a ridiculous division, the best copies of the first numbers being, of course, also as a rule in the MSS. Moreover, this pretended classification is a mere delusion; for—to give only one or two examples—the very next number 37 is also in print, forming part of the *Falls of Princes*; No. 11 is *Parvus Catoh*, No. 54 *Magnus Cato*; but in the very print by Caxton mentioned in No. 11, *Magnus Cato* is of course also included, etc. etc. The whole list is a thoughtless jumble copied without understanding from headings of MSS. and entries in Catalogues, and from earlier writers whom Ritson reviles with the utmost impertinence, whilst at the same time transcribing and distorting their statements with a coolness *sans pareil*. Ritson says he believes his list to be the completest that can be formed “without access, at least, to every manuscript library in the kingdom, which would be very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain,” thus implying hypocritically that he at least consulted the libraries easily accessible to him. But a consultation of the British Museum or the Bodleian alone would have been more
than sufficient to prevent the incredible mistakes which I have here to expose. Indeed the worst of them he ought surely to have avoided without any library at all. Nobody but Ritson would want access to "every library in the kingdom" to know the Canterbury Tales! Of Bale, who has also, it is true, serious mistakes in his list, Ritson says: "but it is the constant practice of that mendacious prelate to split one book into several." Let us see what Ritson himself does.

First, he has made two works of the Secreta Secretorum, which he mentions in No. 36; in No. 52 they come again as "Regimen principum," sive "De Aristotele & Aleandro," called also "The booke of all goode thewes, and Secreta secretorum." Again, he has made two works of Albon and Amphabel, which he mentions under No. 7; but under No. 249 he has once more: Vitæ S. Albani martyris ad J. Friamentarium abbatem. Similarly, of Æsop's Fables:—the "notable proverbe of Ysopus in balade, made in Oxford (canis & umbro)" in No. 44 is part of No. 45: "Isopes fabules." Further, of the Testament, which he mentions under No. 33; but in No. 214 we read: Christ a lamb offered in sacrifice: "Behold o man, lift up thy eye and se"; this is in reality part of the Testament, occurring in Halliwell, p. 259. Also of the "Dietary," Nos. 55 and 61 belonging to the same poem; see Halliwell, M. P., p. 66; Skeat, Bruce, p. 537. Again, No. 58 "Of a gentlewoman that lived with (read loved) a man of great estate," is the same as No. 110: A love balade: "Alas i woful creature," printed by Halliwell, p. 220, as "A Lover's Complaint," and declared to be altogether spurious by Koeppel, Falls of Princes, p. 76, note. Then, No. 22 of our "learned" Ritson's list: "A balade of gode counseile, translated out of Latin verses," is identical with No. 62: "Consulo quis quis eris, &c." "I counseile whatsoer thou be," and No. 84 is again the same: Balade of wysdome: "Counseilleyer, where that ever thou be." Besides this, our "accurate Ritson" has made three works (at least) of the Court of Sapience; namely, No. 12: "The werke [or Court] of Sapience," and No. 225: "The court of sapience in heaven for redemption of mankind"; further, No. 51: The vision:

1 To adduce an instance, which Ritson omits to do—he almost invariably gives again in his own list these split-up books, enumerated as separate works by Bale:—Leland, Collectanea II, 428, has: "John Lidgate, monke of Byri, made a treatise of king Athelstan, and Gui of Warwike that slew Colbrond the Dane." Bale has, as three separate articles (pp. 586 and 587): "Vitam regis Ethelstani; Acta Guidonis Vuaruuicensis; De Guidone & Colbrando."
"All busy swymmyng in the stormy floode" (Harley MSS. 2251) is nothing else than the beginning of the Court of Sapience, after the Prologue. We have again three separate works made of the Life of our Lady, in No. 5: "The lyf of our lady"; No. 8: "Part of the life of the virgin Mary," etc., contained in the Pilgrimage of the soule, printed by Caxton (on this see Introduction, Chapter VIII, p. ci); further, in No. 187 we have: On the same subject [i. e. In praise of the virgin Mary]: "O thoughtful herte plunged in distresse." But these words are actually the beginning of the Life of our Lady. Sometimes these mistakes are very complicated and difficult to unravel. Compare No. 158: "Moralisation of a fable how the trees chose them a king." Sauerstein, Ueber Lydgate's Aesopübersetzung, p. 13, believes that Ritson refers to the beginning of Chork and Bird, a not unlikely supposition in itself. This is, however, not the right solution. Ritson saw in MS. Ashm. 59, fol. 34 b, the following entry by Shirley: "Plan folowe pe nowe a notable moralisation made by Lidegate of a fabul poetical. howe trees chose hem a kyng bytwene pe pe [sic] Ryal Cydre of pe hye moitayne and pe thouthisell of pe lowe valeye. pis moralisation is in pis same boke to-fore." Thus Shirley was on the point of copying over again a piece already transcribed a few pages back in his MS., namely No. 3, on fol. 16 b: "Pis moral Epistle sent kyngle Amasias to kyngle Johas made by . . . Lidegate"; but Shirley saw his error, did not transcribe a second time this epistle to Amasias, and proceeded to copy a new piece. Thus Ritson's No. 158 is a mere imaginary shadow. Nor is this epistle to King Amasias itself a separate work, although Ritson, in No. 72, has put it down as one; it is nothing else but part of Book II, Chapter 16, of the Falls of Princes.

We have again a complete muddle in Ritson's Nos. 13, 112, and 113. No. 112 reads: "Play at the chesse between Reason and Sensualitie"; No. 113: "Banket of gods and goddesses, with a discourse of reason and sensualitie": "To all folkys vertuose" (Fairfax, MSS. 16: Royal MSS. 18 D II.); No. 13: "The interpretation of the names of the goddes and goddessses"; printed by W. de Worde. Two works are totally confused in these three numbers. MS. Fairfax 16 contains Reason and Sensuality (No. 112), beginning "To all[e] folkys vertuose"; Royal MS. 18 D II contains the "Assembly [or Banket] of Gods"; No. 13: "The interpretation of the names of the gods" is a printer's addition to the Assembly of Gods, on the

1 Not from Amasias; see the Falls of Princes II, 16, and Kings II, 14, 9.
title-page of that work, to render the heathen names more familiar to the reader. See Chapter VIII, p. cix. So much for learned Ritson's account of Lydgate's best work, which of course he had never even seen. This number 113 is, by the bye, not the only one which exhibits a tendency of Ritson's to make up for his choricentric work; in No. 213 also two distinct works are mixed up: "A saying of the nightingale touching Christ": "In June whan Titan was in Crabbes hede" (Caligula, A. II. & the Harley MS. 2251); as has been said above, on p. xcv, the poems in the two MSS. are two distinct works.

But we have not yet done with Ritson's feats in "splitting up one work into several." Of the Legend of St. Edmund and Fremund he has made at least four works; in No. 243, "The martyrdom of saint Edmund" is put down as one work; but No. 244: A poem on the banner and standard of St. Edmund: "Blyssyd Edmund, kyng, martyr, and vyrgyne," is equivalent to Edmund I, I (Prologue) in Horstmann's edition; No. 245, "A ballad royall of invocation to saint Edmond at thenstaunce of kyng Henry the sixt": "Glorious master [read martir], that of devout humblenesse" [read, of course, humblas], is nothing but Legend of Edmund, Book III, ll. 1456, etc. No. 247, Vita sancti Fremundi martiris, constitutes Book III of Edmund and Fremund. No. 246: Miracula S. Edmundi may stand as a separate work; see above, p. cvii. But Ritson's masterpiece in "splitting up" is his account of the Falls of Princes. These are first cited as number 2 in his list. But then we have besides this, in No. 37: "De rege Arthur"; in No. 38: "De ejus mensa rotunda"—both numbers thoughtlessly copied from Bale. They are, of course, one and the same, and form Book VIII, Chapter 24 of the Falls of Princes; MS. Lansdowne 699, fol. 50 b, gives "Arthurus Conquestor" as a separate work. That No. 72, identical with No. 158, "Morall epistle sent [from] kyngge Amasias to kyng Johas" forms part of the Falls of Princes (II, 16), I have already mentioned. No. 93: Of poverty: "O thou povert, meke, humble, and debonayre," is I, 18 (stanza 4, etc.) of the Falls of Princes. No. 73 reads: "Epistle of vartuous ensines eschewing idlenesse"; this I suppose is nothing else but II, 15 of the Falls of Princes, also printed as "A poem against Idleness" by Halliwell, pp. 84—94 ("Two maner of folkes to put in remembrance"); it may, however, also be that it is the same poem as Ritson's No. 141. I am not sure whether No. 117 etc. of the list are also taken from the same passage of the Falls of Princes. Lastly, in No. 17 we have the
"Proverbs of Lydgate" (on the Falls of Princes) printed by Wynken de Worde. The very title of Wynken ought to have shown Ritson that these proverbs would, in part at least, be taken from the Falls of Princes.\(^1\) So the Falls of Princes come at least about seven or eight times in Ritson's list. We see that "mendacious" Bale's feats in splitting up are very poor performances indeed as compared with those of "accurate," "learned" Ritson.

But this is not all. Ritson ascribes to Lydgate any number of early English pieces, the titles of which he happens to have come across: thus the Assemblee of Ladies (No. 27), Remede of Love (No. 29), Craft of Lovers (No. 30), Childe of Bristow (No. 42), De jubro dominam reformante (No. 44), the "Coventry Plays" (No. 152, see Halliwell, p. 94), "Dantis opuscula," "Petrarch quodam" (No. 159, 160, copied from Bale), etc., etc., are all by Lydgate! In No. 38 he attributes the Siege of Jerusalem to Lydgate, forgetting that on p. 24, No. 6, he had already ascribed it to Adam Davie. He sometimes also attributes spurious writings to Lydgate, and then again splits them up into two; we have noted this already in the case of No. 58 and 110; we have further in No. 53: Vegetius de re militarri, and again in No. 144: "De arte militarri." We also find Beunet Burgh's translation of Cato among Lydgate's pieces, again split up into Parvus Catho, No. 11, and Liber magni Citoonis, No. 54.

But the worst is yet to come. In No. 21 we have: "Balade of the village without paintyng." This is, of course, Chaucer's Ballade of the visage without paintyng. No. 206 reads: Another [i.e. poem in praise of the Virgin Mary]: "Almighty and almerciablen qwene." Of course, Chaucer's A. B. C. In No. 85, Ritson has the Complaynt d'amour. Prof. Skeat says that the poem is by Chaucer; it forms No. XXII. in his edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems. Here, indeed, it is possible that Ritson may not be wrong. But it would

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\(^1\) That these "Proverbs" were not entitled to be put down as a separate work of Lydgate's, the identification of the contents of Wynken's print will clearly show: "Go kyss ye steppes" . . . = Falls of Princes, fol. 218 c (the three last stanzas); "Sodeyne departynge" . . . = Falls of Princes I, 1 Envoy (5 stanzas); then follow Chaucer's Fortune and Truth; further: "The visuris gladnesse" . . . = Falls of Princes I, 12 Envoy (4 stanzas); "Vertue of vertues" . . . = Falls of Princes IX, 31 Envoy (9 stanzas); "Myn auctour" . . . = Falls of Princes VI, 15, stanzas 1, 30, 39–47; "This tragedye" = Falls of Princes V, 25 Envoy (4 stanzas). Then follow the two poems: "I Counsyl what so enuer thou br," already amply represented in Ritson's list, as No. 22, 62 and 84 (in Halliwell, Minor Poems, pp. 173–178, called "The Concord of Company"); and "Towarde the ende of frosty Januarye" = Ritson 99 (in Halliwell, Minor Poems, pp. 156–164, with the title "A Poem against Self-love").
Chapter XI.—Concluding Remarks.

be a rash conclusion to think that any merit in the case belongs to Ritson; he has merely copied Tanner. No. 28, "A praise of women," is printed in Morris's Chaucer, VI, 278; ep., however, Skeat, Minor Poems, p. xxvi. No. 31: "A balade teching what is gentilnes" is, I suppose, again Chaucer's work. But Ritson's supreme ignorance of Chaucer becomes most transparent, when we look at Nos. 46 and 235 of this "fullest (full, indeed!) and best" list of Lydgate's works. No. 235 reads: Vita Sancte Cecile: "The ministre of the (read and) noince unto vices." Of course, this is the Second Nun's Tale! No. 46: "Tale of the crow." The precedence of "accurate, learned" Ritson also induced Sauerstein to regard this "Tale of a Crow" as a fable by Lydgate; but Zupitza, in the Deutsche Litteraturzeitung 1886, col. 850, showed that this "Fable," "little known and never published," was in reality Chaucer's well-known and somewhat frequently published Maunciples Tale. Ritson, I suppose, had heard that Lydgate's Story of Thebes was intended to form an additional Canterbury Tale, and so the "learned" reviler of Warton seems to have thought Lydgate must also be the author of those which one usually ascribes to Chaucer. I am in justice bound to add that "accurate" Ritson makes up for this by attributing works of Lydgate to Chaucer; but I am afraid that the Black Knight is but a poor compensation for some half dozen of Chaucer's poems.

And here I think I had better stop. It would go far beyond my knowledge and patience to set all Ritson's errors right, or even to find them all out; I have here merely censured his more glaring and obvious mistakes. I would only add that Ritson's references are very often faulty, and always exceedingly poor; in the case of many of the most interesting works they are only conspicuous by their absence. Of course, Ritson never even saw many of Lydgate's principal works; much less did he know anything of their contents. He found it easier to revile the monk than to know him: reviled he must be, for Warton had praised him.

Still, after all this, I owe some thanks to Ritson. It is for having himself put into my mouth the very words which constitute the truest criticism on him. I myself could have found none so appropriate as the following, with which Ritson sums up his arrogant attack on Warton, who was in every way his superior.

"I have at length, Mr. [Ritson], completed my design of exposing to the public eye a tolerable specimen of the numerous errors, falsities, and plagiarisms of which you have been guilty in the course
of your celebrated ["fullest and best"] list of Lydgate's works. And, though I am conscious of having left considerable gleanings to any who may be inclined to follow me, I trust I have given you much reason to be sorry, and more to be ashamed. . . . Your indolence in collecting and examining materials; and, beyond every thing, your ignorance of the subject, should have prevented you from engaging in a work which [requires, if certainly no vast amount of genius, yet care, diligence, and learning]; in which, whatever might be your progress, how uninformed soever you might esteem the bulk of your readers, you were certain, at last, of encountering detection and disgrace."

These words are literally taken from Ritson's "Observations on . . . the History of English Poetry" (by Warton), p. 47; the words in brackets only replace such words as are, indeed, applicable to Warton's great History of English Poetry, but not so to Ritson's bibliographical gallimaufry.

The least thing we expect from a list of an author's works is an insight into the extent of his productions; but this is certainly impossible in Ritson's list. I should not point out the self-evident absurdity of putting little trifles of a few lines only, on a level with the Falls of Princes or the Troy-Book, if I had not, in ever so many books, met with the number 251 given as the fixed and sacrosanct number of Lydgate's "works." Such a method of proceeding gives a most inadequate idea of the monk's productions, the combined length of two particular works out of the list being more than all the remaining 249 put together. The truth is this. There are two or three works of the monk's, translated by the command of the Court, which indeed exceed all ordinary limits. I mean, of course, the Falls of Princes, consisting of nearly 40,000 lines, the Troy-Book of about 30,000, and the Pilgrimage of Man, of some 22,000 or 23,000. The subjoined list enumerating the monk's principal works, together with the number of lines they respectively contain, will I hope be welcome to the reader:¹

¹ In some cases, the number of lines is only roughly estimated, by multiplying the number of pages with the approximate average number of lines contained on one. Had I counted line for line, the result would again have only been approximate, as lines are sometimes wanting in the MSS., etc.
Falls of Princes ... ... 36,316 lines (cp. Köppel, P. Pr., p. 87).
Troy-Book ... ... about 30,000 " (Ward, Catalogue I, 75).
Pilgrimage of Man ... ... 22,000 ",
Reason and Sensuality ... ... 7,400 ",
Life of Our Lady ... ... 5,936 ",
Albon and Amphabel ... ... 4,724 " (Ward, Cat. I, 87).
Story of Thebes ... ... 4,716 "
Edmund and Fremund ... ... 3,693 "
Court of Sapience ... ... 2,282 "
Assembly of Gods ... ... 2,107 "
Secreta Secretorum ... ... 1,484 " (+ 1239 by Burgh).
Temple of Glas ... ... 1,403 "
Æsop ... ... 959 "
De duobus Mercatoribus ... ... 910 "
Testament ... ... 897 "
Dance of Macabre ... ... 672 "
Horse, Goose, and Sheep ... ... 658 "
Guy of Warwick ... ... 592 "
Pur le Roy ... ... 544 "
Legend of St. Margaret ... ... 540 "
December and July ... ... 520 "
Miracles of St. Edmund ... ... 464 "
Legend of St. Austin ... ... 408 "
Chorl and Bird ... ... 386 "
Legend of St. Giles ... ... 368 "
Flour of Curtesie ... ... 270 "

Total 130,249 lines.

Hereto we have to add the smaller poems, especially those in Halliwell, which are not comprised in the above list, and possibly also a number of pieces of doubtful authenticity. We are, however, at all events, not far from the truth, if we say that the number of lines our monk produced, is, in round numbers, 130,000—140,000. There are, as we see, three works of indeed stupendous length, which betray their origin in one of those "collegiate establishments, where the patient monk, in the ample solitude of the cloister, added page to page, and volume to volume, emulating in the productions of his brain the magnitude of the pile he inhabited." There are, further, some four or five works of no mean bulk, and, again, some four or five of less significant length, some dozen of a few hundred lines only, besides numerous smaller pieces. I hope that the above synopsis I have given will at least prevent the repetition of the absurd statement that the monk wrote 251 "works." In comparison with the corypheus of prolific production—take Lope de Vega as an example—our monk is but an innocent baby, and even among the "drivellers" of our 19th century, called Novel-Writers, who are the nearest

2 Henry Morley, English Writers II, 424 note, wishes to rebut the accusation of tediousness often laid against Lydgate, with the fact that when he was one of the novel-reading "boys" in the British Museum Library, a MS.
brethren to Lydgate I can think of, he would be one of the more harmless delinquents.

To sum up, I certainly shall not subscribe to the insipid eulogies of a Shirley, a Burgh, or a Hawes; I find Warton's praise far too high, and in some cases even ten Brink's, or Koeppel's, well-tempered commendation of Lydgate's better-known works somewhat beyond the mark. But neither, on the other hand, do I endorse the slighting remarks of Pinkerton and Pauli, and still less do I mean to act the *advocatus diaboli*, by joining in Ritson's Billingsgate. It certainly does not occur to me to claim for Lydgate a place in the realms of higher poetry; but I think we must allow that not unfrequently do we meet in his better works, especially in those of his youth, with passages which breathe true poetry, or at all events, lie on the borderlands of true poetry. There is certainly many a felicitous line and many a poetical sentiment or piece of imagery to be found in his works that would not deface the finest page of a true poet. Moreover, his love of Nature, his humour, his earnest piety,¹ his admiration of his betters or of genius beyond his reach—always tendered ungrudgingly—the love of his country, his national pride,² his high reverence for woman, cannot fail to win our hearts; certainly these qualities incline us to forgive much.

Ten Brink, in his *History of English Literature*, and Professor Minto in his *Characteristics of English Poets*, have some admirable remarks showing that many of the monk's most prominent faults arise from his being an epigone of greater masters; our motto at the head of the second part of the Introduction will have shown that we judge of many of Lydgate's peculiarities from the same point of view. There cannot be, moreover, the slightest doubt that Lydgate's commissions from the Court, resulting, amongst other productions, in his two most bulky works, had a baneful influence upon his further

Lydgate, with a long saints' legend, was as pleasant to him as *Tylney Hall* or *Peter Simple*. Sir W. Scott calls Hawes "a bad imitator of Lydgate, ten times more tedious than his original"—which, be it said by way of parenthesis, means not a little.

1 Especially in the *Life of our Lady* and the *Legend of Edmund*.

2 Compare Lydgate's amusing repute of Boccaccio, whom he pays out soundly for having slighted his dear Albion (the passage refers to the battle of Poitiers, and the capture of King John):

> "His fantasy nor hys opinion [Boccaccio's] 
> Stode in that case of none auctorite: 
> Their king was take, their knightes did[e] flee; 
> Where was Bochas to help them at such need? 
> Sane with his pen he made no man to bide."

*Falls of Princes*, fol. 216 a and b.
Chapter XII.—The Appendices.

I believe that the scales will be decidedly turned in Lydgate's favour, and ten Brink's comparatively high opinion of the monk still further justified, when certain of his works which lie as yet unpublished in various libraries are made generally accessible. Then it will appear more and more clearly that, in estimating him as a poet, the stress should not so much be laid on the unoriginal and spun-out rhymes of his later age, but rather on the more spontaneous and animated productions of his earlier years. The best turn we can do Lydgate—and ourselves in studying him—is certainly to leave the nauseating tirades on Fortune in the Falls of Princes, and the soporific speeches in the Troy-Book alone, and to take up one of his earlier and more attractive works—such as Reason and Sensuality, which we put down with real regret at its unfinished state. Of works of the first stamp we say with Taine: "On s'en va et bâille," while those of the second are sure to engage our interest. At all events, in criticizing Lydgate's abilities, we must not lose sight of one fact which will always incline us to a mild judgment:—as Lydgate has often and justly been praised for his reverence of woman, let me express it in the words of an accomplished woman:¹ "When he ceased his singing, none sang better; there was silence in the land."

CHAPTER XII.

THE APPENDICES.

I. The Compleynt.

I have already, in Chapter III, § 1 and Chapter IV, § 1, sufficiently expressed my opinion concerning these lines which MSS. G and S give as a continuation of the Temple of Glas. I ought perhaps to apologize for the publication of such worthless rhymes; but I need hardly assure the reader that it was not as a pleasure that I resolved upon the printing of them. When I first came upon this Compleynt in the London MS., it was, I confess, with many a deeply-heaved sigh to Apollon Apotropaios that I perused it; but the piece turned up again in the Cambridge MS. Gg. 4. 27, which, with S, formed a conspicuous group by itself, and therefore it had to be printed, were it only for the sake of the text-criticism.

The date of this "Compleynt" cannot be much later than that of the Temple of Glas; I should think, it is about 1420 or 1430.

¹ El. Barrett-Browning, Book of the Poets, 1863, p. 121.
Later than 1430 we cannot make it, since it occurs in MS. G, which is one of our oldest texts, and supposed to be written about that date. We have also distinct reminiscences of Chaucer in the poem. I mean the allusion, in ll. 394—437, to the worship of the daisy-flower, which reminds us at once of the Prologue to the Legend of Good Women.

Line 575 may also be a reminiscence from Anelida 211:

"So thirleth with the poyn of remembranunce" . . .

The evidence of the language is quite in accordance with the above date. In fact I do not see any remarkable discrepancy between the language of the Compleynt and that of Lydgate. The rhymes, although often faulty from Chaucer's standpoint, nevertheless agree with Lydgate's principles of rhyming. That the poem is not northern, we see at once by rhymes like abod : stod, 207; ones : sones, 619.

We have further the rhyme y : ie in l. 86: mercy : dye; l. 447: dayesye : pryvyly; further, trespass : grace 603; mynde : finde 39; but also mynde : ende 287; fyr : cler 607; dye : prey 625; eye : espye 183; recure : endure 93; further, dysdeyn : peyne 89; ageyn : peyne 407; seyn : peyne 615; holde : cold 305; among : vndyrfonge 171 (or have we to read amonge? cf. stanza 25 c, l. 6); whether sloo : foo, l. 295, is a Lydgatian rhyme, I am at present unable to say.1 In ll. 395, 396 we have only an assonance; Shirley's reading, however, differs here from G.

Moreover, the inflexions, as shown by the metre in the middle of the line also, are exactly the same as in Lydgate. The ratio of the number of instances in which the final e is sounded, to those of its apocope, at the end of nouns—of Teutonic or Romance origin—and in the conjugation of the verb is very much the same as in the Temple of Glas. I speak with diffidence of the metre, as I have not analyzed Lydgate's four-beat line with the same care as h is five-beat one. If there are many more monosyllabic first measures in the Compleynt than in the Temple of Glas, this need not surprise us; for in the four-beat line a trochaic beginning has not an unpleasant effect on the ear, and consequently it is also frequently used by poets with an unmistakably fine perception for rhythm. Lydgate himself has this acephalous type very often, as the perusal of any one page of Reason and Sensuality will amply show.

But in spite of all this I cannot help thinking that the Compleynt

1 The form sloo occurs in the rhyme in the Siege of Jerusalem, and more than once in the Romaunt of the Rose (ll. 1953, 2593, 3150, 4592).
not only has nothing to do with the *Temple of Glas*, but that it is
not Lydgate's production at all. The piece is so thoroughly stupid.
Now Lydgate's poetry was, it is certain, only occasionally inspired
by Apollo and the Muses, but I do not think that I have read any-
thing so wretchedly poor as this in his acknowledged works. The
only piece of Lydgate's that reminded me slightly of it, is the poem
on Thomas Chaucer's departure for France. But even that is not
quite so miserable a production as this Compleynt, and besides,
it is contained within merciful limits.

There was little doubt as to which MS. was to be chosen as the
basis of the text, G being older and evidently better than S. Where
G is deficient, we had to rely on S; the text is then sometimes
hopelessly corrupt. In no case am I a great advocate of conjectural
emendations; in the instance of these silly rhymes it would certainly
have been ridiculous to deliberately sit down and try one's ingenuity
in improving upon them.

I need hardly add that the principles adhered to with respect to
punctuation, orthography, etc., are the same as those I have followed
in the *Temple of Glas* itself. The headlines and the short summary
of the contents on p. 58 were done by Dr. Furnivall.

II. *The Duodecim Abusiones*.

In the description of the Prints, in Chapter II, I have spoken of
the errors and disputes which exist with respect to the Prints of the
*Temple of Glas* by Caxton and Wynken de Worde. It is not
always easy to see which particular print Herbert and Dibdin mean;
but these *Duodecim Abusiones*, occurring in W, W₂, w and b, and
given as specimens (with the beginning of the *Temple of Glas*) by
Herbert and Dibdin, help to make their statements clearer. It was
therefore with the view of enabling the reader to judge for himself
which print the historians of Typography meant in each respective
case, that I thought it advisable to subjoin Appendix II. The text
is taken from W, i. e. Wynken de Worde's first edition of the
*Temple of Glas*, which has been faithfully reproduced, with the
addition of stops only. All the variations of W₂, w and b are given,
including even those of mere orthography.

1 I fully concur in Dr. Furnivall's opinion that Thomas Chaucer was not the
son of Geoffrey, as expressed in *Notes and Queries*, 1872, May, p. 381 etc.
Lydgate would not have let this opportunity slip of introducing an allusion to
his "master."

2 Unfortunately, their orthography (even Herbert's) seems anyhow to be
somewhat incorrect, whatever print they used.
Chapter XII.—The Appendices.

But I hope the present reprint will also serve another purpose. A very important task of Chaucer-philology is the critical analysis of Stowe's Chaucer-print of 1561, the object of which must be to eliminate the supposititious works, and to assign, as far as possible, each of the spurious pieces to its real author. Now these *Duodecim Abusiones* appear also in this Chaucer-print (on folio 336 d), that is to say, the two English stanzas only without the Latin text. They have been reprinted in Bell's *Chaucer*, ed. Skeat IV, 421, and again in Prof. Skeat's edition of Chaucer's *Minor Poems*, Introduction p. xxix. Skeat has pronounced his opinion as to the authorship with great decision: "Surely it must be Lydgate's," and I think he is right. The appearance of the *Abusiones* in the above-mentioned prints, annexed as they are to a work of Lydgate's, can only tend to strengthen the learned Professor's supposition. I have added the few variations of importance (not the orthographical ones) of the earlier Chaucer-prints.

There are similar pieces to these *Duodecim Abusiones* in earlier English literature (see ten Brink, *Geschichte der englischen Lit.*, I, 268, and note). The "twelf unþeawas" existed also in Old-English; a homily on them is printed in Morris, *Old English Homilies*, p. 101—119. It is based on the Latin Homily, "De octo viciis et de duodecim abusivis huius sæculi," attributed to St. Cyprian or St. Patrick; see Dietrich in Niedner's *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1855, p. 518; Wanley's *Catalogus*, passim (cp. the Index *sub voce* Patrick). In the Middle-English period we meet again with more or less of these "Abusions"; see Morris, *Old English Miscellany*, p. 185 (11 Abusions); Furnivall, *Early English Poems*, Berlin 1862 (Philological Society), p. 161: "Five evil things"; Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 316 and II, 14.

1 In another case, which concerns a work of Lydgate's in Stowe's Chaucer-print, Skeat is on the right track, without however arriving at the ultimate conclusion. I mean the passage in *M. P.* XLVI, top of page. The poem on the "Fall of Man" in MS. Harl. 2251 is part of Lydgate's *Court of Sapience*. 
The Temple of Glas.

For thought, constraint, and gresous heuines,
For pensifhede, and for heijy distres,
To bed I went nov pis opir nyst,
Whan pat Lucina wip hir pale liyt
Was Ioyned last wip Phebus in aquarie,
Amyl decembre, when of Iamuarie
Ther be kalendes of pe nwe yere,
And derk Diane, ihorned, noeping clere,
Had [hid] hir bemys vndir a mysty clonde:
Wip in my bed for sore I gan me shroude,
Al desolate for constraint of my wo,
The long[e] nyzt walyng to and fro,
Til at[te] last, er I gan taken kepe,
Me did oppresse a sodein dedeli slepe,
Wip in pe which me pou3t[e] but I was
Rauysshid in spirit in [a] temple of glas—
I nyst[e] how, ful fer in wildirnes—
That foundid was, as bi lik[ly]nesse,
Not opon stele, but on a craggy roche,
Like ise Ifrore. And as I did approche,
Again pe some that shone, me pou3t, so clere

In heaviness and distress I went to bed the other night,
when Sun and Moon were last in conjunction in mid-Decem-
ber.

A long while restless,
in which I was carried in
spirit into a Temple
of glass,
far in a wil-
derness, on a
craggy rock,
frozen like
ice.
As I appro-
ached, methought

For the titles in the various MSS. and Prints, see the Introduction. 1. For th0ught] For through W2. Throughe w. b. constreint] compleynyt G. S. 2. pensifhede] pensyfnes w. great thought b. 2d for] om. L. Pr. distres] pen-

TEMPLE OF GLAS.
As euy cristal, and euer nere and nere
As I gan neigh this grislis, dreadful place,
I wax astonyed: the liȝt so in my face 24
Bigan to Smyte, so persyling euere in one
On euere parte, where put I gan gone,
That I ne myȝt noping, as I would,
Abouten me conside and biholden,
The wondre *estres, for briȝtnes of þe somne;
Til at[ey] last certein skyes done,
Wip wind Ichaced, haue her cours I went
To-fore þe stremes of Titan and Iblent,
So þat I myȝt, wip-in and with-oute,
Where so I walk, biholden me aboute,
Forte report the fasoun and manere
Of al þis place, þat was circulere
In compaswise, Round bentaile wrouȝt,
And whan þat I hade longe gone & souȝt,
I found a wicket, and entrid in as fast
Into þe temple, and myn cijen cast
On euere side, now lowe & eft aloft.
And riȝt anone, as I gan walken soft,
If I þe soth ariȝt report[e] shal,
I saue depyeunt opon euere wal,
From est to west, ful many a faire Image
Of sondri louers, lich as þei were of age
I-sette in ordre, aftir þei were trwe,
Wip lifli colours wondir fressh of hwe.

Vision of the Temple of Glass.
And, as me poyst, I sawe some sonne sit & stonde,
And some kneeling wip billis in hir honde,
And some with compleint, woful & pitous,
Wip doleful chere to putten to Venus,
So as she sate fleting in pe se,
Vpon hire wo forto haute pite.

And first of al I saughe there of Car[ta]ge
Dido pe quene, so goodli of visage,
That gan complein hir aduenture & caas,
Hov she deceyuued was of Eneas,
For al his hestis & his opis sworne,
And said: 'alas, pat euer she was borne,'
Whan pat she saughe pat ded she most[e] be.

And next I saughe the compleint of Medee,
Hou pat she was falsed of Iason.

And nygh bi Venus saughe I sit Addoun,
And al pe maner, hov pe bore him slough,
For whom she wepte & hade pein Inouze.

There saughe I also, hov Penalope,
For she so long hir lord ne myst[e] se,
Ful oft[e] wex of colour pale & grene.

And aldernext was pe fressh[e] quene,
I mene Alceste, the noble trw[e] wyfe,
And for Admete hou sho lost hir life,
And for hir trouth, if I shal not lie,
Hou she was twynyd to a dai[e]sie.

There was [also] Grisildis innocence,
And al hir mekenes, & hir pacience.

There was eke Isaudé—& meni a noþir mo—

49. And] Right S. &] sum L. & som Pr. 51. compleint] compleynctes
Tristram and Isolde,

And al þe turment, and al þe cruel wo,
That she hade for Tristram al hir line.

And how þat Tesbirc her he[r]t[e] did[e] rife
Wip þilk[e] swerd of him Piramus;
And al þe maner, how þat Theseus
The Minataure slow amyd þe houns,
That was for-wyrnked bi craft of Dedalus,
When þat he was in prison shet in Crete.

And how þat Phyllis felt of lounes hete
The grete fire of Demophon, alas,
And for his falsked and [for] his trespass
Vpon þe walles depeint men myþ[e] se,
Hov she was honged vpon a filbert tre.
And mani a stori, mo þen I rekin can,
There were Paris and Helen,
and Achilles skain for Polyxen.

There was also the story of Philomene and Progne,
and the Sabines at the feast of Lucrece.
I saw also the sorrow of Palamoun.

Was hurt vnwarli paruhli casting of an eyze
Of faire fressh, pe ʒung[e] Emelie,
And al pe strife betwene him & his brospir,
And hou pat one faust eke with pat opir
Wip-in pe groue, til pe bi Thesens
Acordid were, as Chaucer tellip us.

And forpimore, as I gan biholde,
I saw hov Phebus with *an arrow of gold
I-woundid was, paruhli oute in his side,
Onli bi envie of pe god Cupide,
And hou pat *Daphne vnto a laurel tre
Itwned was, when she did[e] fle;
And hou pat Ione gan to chaunge his cope
Oonli for lone of pe faire Europe,
And into [a] bole, when he did hir sue,
List of his godhode his fourme to transmwe;
And hou pat he bi transmutacionu
The shap gan take of Amphi trium;
For *hir, *Almen, so passi[n]g *of beaute;
So was he hurt, for al his deite,
Wip loues dart, & myʒt it not ascape.

There sauʒ I also hou pat Mars was take
Of Vulcanus, and wip Venus found,
And wip pe Cheynes invisible bound.

Ther was also al pe poesie
Of him, Mercurie, and Phil[o]log[y]e,
Complaints of the Lovers

And how she, for her sapience, Iweddit was to god of eloquence,
And how she Musis* lowli did obei,
High into heaven pis ladi to consuei,
And with her song how she was magnified
With Iubiter to bein Istellified.

And vppermore depeint men mys[c]e se,
Hov with her ring, goodli Canace
Of euere foule pe ledne & pe song
Coud vndirstond, as she welk hem among;
And hou her bropir so oft holpen was
In his myschefe bi pe stede of bras.

And forpermore in pe tempil were
Ful mani a thousand of louers, here & perer,
In sondri wise redi to complein
Vnfo pe goddes, of hir wo & pein,
Hou pei were hindrid, some for envie,
And hou pe serpent of fals Ielousie
Ful many a louer hap iput o bak,
And caus[c]les on hem Ilaid a lak.

And some per were pat pleyned on absence,
That werin exiled & put oute of presence
Thuru; wikkid tungis & fals suspicioins,
[With-oute mercy or remysyoun.]
And oper eke her seruise spent in vain,*
Thuru; cruel danger, & also bi disdain;
And some also pat loued, sop to seyn,
And of her ladi were not lound again.

Wyth owte answar weche was no reson.

to Venus.

And opin eke, pat for pouerte
Durst * in no wise hir grete advrsite
Discrete ne open, lest pai were refusid;
And some for wanting also werin accisid,
And opin eke pat loued secreli,
And of her ladi durst aske no merci,
Lest pat she would of hem haue despite;
And some also pat putten ful grete withe
On double louers, pat loue pingis nwe,
Thurgh whos falsneses hinderd be pe true.
And some per were, as it is ofte['] found,
That for her ladi meny a blodi wounde
Endurid hap in mani [a] regioun,
Whiles pat an oper hap possessionz
Al of his ladi, and berip awai pe fruyte
Of his labur and of al his suyte.
And oper eke compleyned *of Riches,
Hou he with Tresour dop his besines
To wynen al, againes kynd & ryzt;
Wher thrw loures haue force noon ne myzt.
And some per were, as maydens 3ung of age,
That pleined sore with peping & with rage,
That pei were coupled, againes al nature,
Wip croked elde, pat mai not long endure
Forte perfourme pe lust of loues plai:
For it ne sit not vnto fresh[e] May
Forte be coupled to ood[e] Ianuari—

Complaints of the Lovers

Old Age and Youth are so different.

Theri ben so diuers pat pei most[e] varie—  
For ebd is grucching & malencolious,  
Ay ful of ire & suspiciouns,  
And iouth entende to Ioy & lustines,  
To myrth & plai & to al gladness.

'Alas pat euere pat it shuld[e] fal,  
*So soote sugre Icoupled be with gal!'  
These yong[e] folk crieden oft[e] sipe,  
And praised Venus hir pouer forto kipe  
Vpon pis myschef, & shape remedie.

And riȝt anoon I herd opir crye  
With sobbing teris, & with ful pitous soune,  
Tofore pe goddes, bi lamentacion,  
That *were constrayned in hir tender youpe,  
And in childhode, as it is oft[e] coupe,  
*Yntred were into religioun,  
Or pei hade yeris of discresioun,  
That al her life cannot but complein,  
In wide copia perfeccion to feine,  
Fül courthi to euren al hir smert,  
And shew pe contrarie outward of her hert.

Thus saugh I wepen many a faire maide,  
*That on hir frendis al pe wite pei leide.  
And opir next I saugh perie in gret rage,

to Venus.

That pei were maried in her tendir age,
Wip-oute fredom of eleccion,
Wher loue hap seld domynacioun:
For loue, at laarge & [at] liberte,
Would freli cheze, & not with such trete.
And ooper saugh I ful oft wepe & wring,
[That they in men founde swych variynge,]
To loue a seisoyn, while pat beaute flourpe,
And bi disdein so vngoodli loure:
On hir pat whilom he callid his ladi dere,
That was to him so plesaunt & entere;
But lust with fairnes is so overgone,
That in her hert troup abidep none.
And som also I saw in teris reyne,
And pitousli: on god & kynd[e] pleyne,
That euer pei would on eny creature
So mych beaute, passing bi mesure,
Set on a woman, to yene occasioune
A man to loue to his confusion,
And nameli pere where he shal haue no grace;
For wip a loke, forth-bi as hc dop pace,
Ful oft[e] fallep, puru3 casting of an y3e,
A man is woundid, pat he most nedis deye,
That neuer after peraunence shal hir se.
Whi wil god don so gret a cruelte
To eny man, or to his creature,
To make him so mych wo endure,


Others had been married in their tender age, without free choice, regardless of inclination.

Others complained of men, who only love while beauty blooms, and when it departs, frozen on their lady.

Some I saw in floods of tears complain against God and Nature, for endowing a woman with such passing beauty as to ruin a man:

for by one look a man is often wounded to the death.

Why does God inflict so much woe on any man,
for the sake of one, who will never be his own?

Some were also hindered by covetousness, by sloth or wastiness.

Last of all I saw, beside Pallas, before the statue of Venus,

as May is the first of all months,

as the rose surpasses all flowers, blemishes all liours,

and the sunnae shines all stars,

For hir perceas, whom he shall in no wise
Reiose neuer, but so forþ in Iewise
Ledin his life, til þet he be grane.
For he ne durst of hir no merci grane,
And eke perauntenthe, þouþ he durst & would.
He can not wit, where he hir find[e] shuld.
I saugh þere eke, & þereof hade I roupe,
That som were hindred for coutise & slouth,
And some also for her hastines,
And ofþ eke for hir reklesnes—

But alderlast as I walk & bigheld,
Beside Pallas wip hir cristal sheld,
Torefe þe *statu of Venus set on height,
Hov þet þer knedil a ladi in my syzt
Torefe þe goddes, which riȝt as þe sone
Passeþ þe sterres & dop hir stremes donec,
And Lucifer, to voide þe nyȝtes sorow,
In clerenes passeþ erli bi þe morow,
And so as Mai hap þe souereinte
Of enure moneþ, of fairnes & beaute,
And as þe rose in swetten & odoure
Surmounteþ floures, and bawme of al licour
Hauþe þe pris, & as þe rubic briȝt
Of al stones in beaute & in siȝt,
As it is know, hap þe regalie:

Riȝt so þis ladi wip hir goodli eıȝe,

237. perceas] perceas (underlined as a proper name) S. whom] when S. he |


And with these stremes of hir loke so bright,  
Surmounte al puragh beaute in my siste:  
Forto tel hir grit semelnes,  
Hir womanhed, hir port. & hir fairnes,  
It was a menuaile, hou evere pat nature  
Conde in hir werkis make a creature  
So angularike, so goodli on to se,  
So femynyn or passing of beaute,  
Whos sonnyssh here, brioter pan gold were,  
Lich Phebus bemys shynyng in his spere—  
The goodlihed eke of hir fresshli face,  
So replenysshid of beaute & of grace,  
So wel ennuyd bi Nature & depeint,  
That Rose and lileis togedir were so meint,  
So egalli bi good proportion,  
That, as me pouzt, in myn inspecioun  
I gan menuaile, hou god, or werk of kynd,  
Mijten of beaute such a tresour find,  
To yeven hir so passing excellence.  
For in goode faip, puruz hir heiz presence  
The templ was enlumyned environ,  
And fasto speke of condicioun,  
She was pe best pat myzt[e] ben on lyve:  
For her was noon pat wip hir myzt[e] strue,  
To speke of bounte, *or of gentilles,  
Of womanhed, or of lowlynes,  
Of curtesie, or of goodlihed,  
Of spech, of chere, or of semlyhed,  
Of port benynge, & of daliaunce,

The best[e] taunt, & perto of plesaunce
She was pe wel, and eke of oneste
An exemplarie, & mirror[e] eke was she
Of secures, of truth, of faithfulnes,
And to al ober ladi & maistres,
To sue vertu, whoso list to lere.
And so pis ladi, benigne and humble of chere,
Kneling I saugh, al clad in grene and white,
Tofore Venus, goddes of al delite,
Enbrouded al with stones & perre
So richeli, pat ioy it was to se,

Wip sondri rolles on hir garnement,
Ferto expoune pe troutn of hir entent,
And shew fulli, pat for hir humblilles,
And for hir vertu, and hir stabilnes,
That she was rode *of womanli plesaunce.

Therefore hir woord wipoute variaunce
Enbrouded was, as men myzt[e] se :
‘De mieulx en mieulx,’ with stones and perre :
This [is] to sein pat she, pis benigne,
From bettr to bettr hir hert[e] dope resigne,
And al hir wil, to Venus pe goddes,
Whan pat hir list hir harmes to redresse.


Was vp & doun as men myghte (migten S) se
In frens (fressly S) enbroudyt humblement magre.

310. and] of L. C. W. W2. w. 311. This] pat S. is] om. T. L. pis] is S. was L. was so Pr. 312. From] sfo P. sfor L. 312 reads in G. S: Hyr herte & al fully doth resigne. 313. And al hir wil to] In to the handys of G. S. 314. Whan] Quahame P. 1d hir] she P. harmes] harmes P.—Line 314 reads in b: She stode at poynt redy to expresse.—Between 314 and 315 the follow-
ing 4 lines are interpolated in b:

And her humbly of mercy for to pray
For her deo remedy to pursuye
Gladly she wolde the godessse shulde attende
Her sorowes all and harmes to amende.
For as me þouȝt sumwhat bi hir chere,
Forto compleyne she hade gret desire:
For in hir hond she held a litel bil,
Forto declare þe somme of al hir wil,
And to þe goddes hir quarel forto shewe,
[The effect of which was this In wordys fewe:]

1.

'O ladi Venus, modir of Cupide,
That al þis worlde hast in gouernaunce,
And hertes high, *pat hauteyn [ben] of pride,
Enclynyst mekel to þin oceissaunce,
Causer of ioe, Relese of penaunce,
And with þi strennes canst eneri þing discerne
*Thurȝ heuenli fire of houþ pat is eterne;

2.

O blisful sterre, persant & ful of liȝt,
Of bemy gldsme, devoider of derknes,
Cheif reconsound after þe blak nyȝt,
To voide woful oute of her heuynes,
Take nov gooде hede, ladi & goddesse,
So þat my bil your grace may atteyne,
Redresse to finde of þat I me compleyne.

3.

For I am bounde to þing þat I nold;
Freli to chese þere lak I liberte;
And so I want of þat myn hert[e] would;

From her faire, me-thought, she too had a complaint; for she had a little 'bill' in her hand,

which was to this effect:

'O lady Venus, mistress of all this world,

that blissful star,

comfort after the black night,

let now my bill attain your grace.

I lack liberty to choose freely;

my body may not follow my thought, my outward conduct must be at variance with my heart's desire.

The body [is] knytt, al though my powst be fre,
So that I most, of necessite,
Myn hertis lust out[ward] contrarie;
Thogh we be on, pe dede most[ward] varie.

341. varie] nedis warie P.

Stanzas 3—7 (ll. 335—369) are missing in G. S.; in their place the following four are found:

1. So that Jow lyst of joure benigne, 1
   Goodly to seen & shape remedy
   On wekkede tongis & on the crewelte,
   That they compass thourgh maleys & envye,
   To quenche the venym of here felonye,
   Wher as they hyndere wemen giltelles:
   *Styntepe this werre & lat vs leue in pes.

2. I pleyne also vp-on Ielusye,
   The vile serpent, the snake tortyvons,
   That is so crabbit & frounyng of his ye,
   And eure grochynge & suspecyous,
   I-fret with eyset that makyth hym dispytous,
   Of evey thyng the werste for to deme,
   That ther is no thyng that may his herte quene.

3. Thus is he fryed in his owene gres,
   To-rent & torn with his owene rage,
   And eure *froward & frounyng causeles,
   Whos resoun fasteth in elde thourgh dotage:
   This is the maner of krokede fer in age,
   Whan they ben couplyd with jouthe *pey can no more,
   But hem werreyen, which wemen beyeth ful sore.

4. Thus eure in *torment & yre furyous
   We ben oppress—allas the harde stounde !—
   *Rygh[1] as joure selve were wyth Wilkanus
   Ageyn joure wil & joure herte bounde.
   Now for the Ioye, whilom that se founde
   With Mars, joure knyght, vp-on myn compleyn rewre.
   For love of Adon that was so frosch of heue.

5. dispytous] suspecious S. In S the following line is marked to be inserted between 5 and 6: By al kynde pou art so envyous.——3 c. 3. froward] frowar
G. & frounyng] growynge S. 4. in elde thourgh] nowe in olde S. 6. ey]
4.
Mi worship sauf, I faile eleccion,
Again al ript, bope of god and kynd,
There to be knit vnndir subieccion,
Fro whens ferre *are bope[e] witte & mynde;
Mi pouȝt gope forpe, my bodi is behind;
For I am here, and yonde my remembranunce;
Atwixen two so hang I in balanca.

5.
Deuode of ioie, of wo I haue plente;
What I desire, pat mai I not possede;
For pat I nold, is redi aye to me,
And pat I love, forto swe I drede,
To my desire contrarie is my mede;
And þus I stond, departid euon on tweyn,
Of wille and deede Ilaced in a chaine.

6.
For þouȝe I brenne with feruence and with hete,
Wip-in myn hert I not complein of cold,
And þuruȝ myn axcesse theȝe I swelto and swele,
Me to complein, god wot, I am not boold,
Vnto no wist, nor a woord vnfold
Of al my peyne, alas þe hard[e] stond!
That hatter brenne þat closid is my wounde.

7.
For he þat hæp myn hert[e] feipfulli,
And hole my luf in al honesti,
With-oute chaunge, al be it secreli,
I haue no space wip him forto be.
O ladi Venus, consider nov & se

All way it must ikept and couered be.
Wherfore lady Venus enclyne I pray the.
Venus' Answer

my complaint: my life and death are in thy hands.

Vunto pe effecte and compleint of my bil,
Sip life and de I put al in pi wil.'

8.

And po me pouzt pe goddes did enelyne
Mekeli hir hede, and softli gan expresse,
That in short tyme hir turment shuld[e] fyne,
And hou of him, for whom al hir distresse
Contynued had & al hir heynes,
She *shold haue Ioy, and of hir purgatorie
Be holpen sone, and so for lyne in glorie.

9.

And seid[e]: 'Dounster, for pe sad[de] troupe,
The feipful menyng, & pe Innocence,
That planted bene, withouten any sloupe,
In your persone, deuioide of al *offence,
So haue atteyned to oure audience,
That puruʒ oure grace je shal be wel releuyd,
I ʒ0v bihote of al pat hap ʒ0v greued.

10.

As you have been so paʃent in your long adver-
sity inflicted by Saturn,

and I promise you relief.

And for pat ʒe euer of oon entent,
Withoute chaunge or mutabilite,
Haue in your peynes ben so pacient,
To take louli youre aduersite,
And pat so long puruʒ pe cruelte
Of old Saturne, my Facur vaulted,—
Your wo shal nov no lenger be contuned.

11.

It will soon be assumed and pass over;

And pinkip pis: within a litel while
It shal asswage, and ouerpassen sone;

within w. therfore within b.
to the Lady’s Complaint.

For men bi laiser passen meny a myle.
And oft also, aftir a dropping mone,
The waddir elerep, & whan pe storme is done,
The sonne shinep in his spere brijt,
And ioy awakip when wo is put to fli3t.

12.
Remembrep eke, hou neger 3it no wi3t
Ne came to wirship withoute some debate,
And folk also reiossh[e] more of li3t,
That pei wi3p derknes were waped & amate;
Non manis chaunse is alwaye fortunate,
Ne no wi3t preisep of sugre pe swetnes,
But pei afore hane tasted bitternes.

13.
Grisild[e] was assaied at[te] ful,
That turned aftir to hir encrese of Ioye;
Penelope gan eke for sorowis dul,
For that [her] lord abode so long at Troie;
Also pe turment peere coude no man akoye
Of Dorigene, flour of al Britayne:
Thus euer ioy is ende and fine of paine.

14.
And trustep *pis, for conclusione,
The end of sorow is ioi I-voide of drede;
For holi saintis, þuruʒ her passiou,
Hane heuen Iwonne for her souerain mede;
And plenti gladli foloi3p after mede;


TEMPLE OF GLAS.
18

Venon Answer

so I promise
your pleasure
after grief.

And so my douther, after you greueme,
I 3ov bihote ye shal have ful plesaunce.

15.

For Love first
wounds
and then
gives joy:

so consola-
tion is now
your due.

For ever of love ye maner and ye guyse
Is farto hurt his servant, and to wounde;
And when put he hap thanste hem his empire,
He can in ioi make hem to abounde;
And sip put ye have in my lase be bound,
Wipoute gruething or rebellion,
Ye most of rihte have consolacion.

16.

You shall
soon possess
him whom
you cherish,
because your
intent is to
love him best.

This is to sein—doute] never a dele—
That ye shal have ful possession
Of him put ye cherissh now so wel,
In honest maner, wipoute offencion,
Becaus I knowe your entencion
Is trulj set, in partij and in al,
To love him best & most in special.

17.

For your
chosen one
shall be yours
till death:

so have I set
him afire.

For he put ye have chosen yow to serve,
Shal be to yow such as ye desire,
Wipoute chamage, fullj, til he sterue:
So with my brond I have him set afire,
And with my grace I shal him so enspire,
That he in hert shal be ry3t at your will,
*Wherso ye list to save him or to spill.

18.

His heart
I will bind
to you so
humbly

For ynto yow his hert I shal so lowe,
Wipoute spot of eny doubelnes,
That he ne shal escape fro you bowe—

to the Lady's Complaint.

Thou3 þat him list þuru3 vnsidfastnes—
I mene of Cupide, þat shal him so distres
Vnto your hond, wip þe arow of gold,
That he ne shal escapen þou3 he would.

19.
And sipe þe list, of pite and of grace,
In vertu oonli his soupe to cherice,
I shal, baspectes of my benygne face,
Make him teshwe euere synne & vice,
So þat he shal haue no maner spice
In his corage to loue þingis nwe:
He shal to you so plain be found & trwe.'

20.
And whan þis goodli, faire, fressh of hwe,
Humble and benygne, of trouth crop & rote,
Conceyued *had, hov Venus gan to rwe,
On hir prayer plainli to do bote,
To chaunge hir bitter atones into soote,
She fel on kneis of heij deuocion,
And in þis wise bigan hirorisoue :

In MSS. F. B. G. S. the following stanza is found
between ll. 453 and 454.

19 a.
And whi that I so sore to 30w hym bynde,
Is [for] that þe so manye han forsake,
Bothe wyse & worthy, & gentyl [ekte] of kynde,
Pleynly refused, only for his sake:
He shal to 30w, wher so þe slepe or wake,
Ben euene swich, vuylryr hope & drede,
As þe lyst ordeyne of 3oure womanhede.

21.

Hei\est of high, queene and Empyre, 461
Goddes of loue, of goodel \at pe best,
\hat pat puru3 your \beaut\e, withouten any vice,
Whilom conquered \pe appel at \pe fest,
That Iubiter purugh \be his hygh request] 465
To al \pe godessse aboue celestial
Made in his paleis most imperial: 467

22.
To 3ov my ladi, vpholder of my life, 468
Mekeli I þanke, so as I mai suffice,
That ye list nov, with hert ententif,
So graciously for me to deuyse,
That while I live, with humble sacrifice,
Vpon \your auers, \your fest 3ere bi 3ere,
I shal encense casten in \pe fire. 474

23.
For of \your grace I am ful reconciled 475
From euere trouble vnto Ioy & ease,
That sorois al from me ben exiled,
*Siþ ye, my ladi, list nov to *appese
Mi peynes old, & fulli my disease
Vnto gladnes so sodeinli to turne,
Hauyng no cause from hennes forþ to mourne. 481

24.
For as you bind him to my service 482
Who\e my ladi to daunte
And of \your bounte so graciously to graunte,
That he ne shall varie, pouze him list,
Whereof myn hert is fulli brou[\t] to rest: 486

to Venus.

For now and ever, o ladi myn benyngue,
That hert and wil to sow hole I resigne.

25.

Thanking yow with al my ful hert,
Hat, of 3oure grace and visitacione,
So humbl[e]li list him to connect
Fulli to bene at my subieciioun,
With-oute change or transmutacione,
Vnto his *last: [now] laude and reverence
Be to youre name and [to] your excellence.


Between 495 and 496 the following three stanzas are interpolated in F, B, G, S:

25 a.

And in despit platly of hem alle
That ben to love so contrayrous,
I shal hym cherice, what so euere falle,
That is in love so pleyn & vertuous,
Mangre alle tho that ben so desyrous
To spekyyn vs harm, though grochung & envye
Of thilke serpent I-callyd Ielosye.

25 b.

And for hem, lady, 3if I durste preye,
Menyng no vengeanuce, but correceyoun,
To chastysye hem with torment, or they deye,
For here vntrouthe & fals suspexyoun,
That deme the werste in here opynyoun,
With-oute desert, wherfore that ye vouche
To ponysshe hem dewely for here male bouche.

25 c.

So that they may stondyn In repref
To alle louris for here carsedenesse,
With-outyn mercy forsakyn at myschef,
When hem lyste best han helpe of here distresse,
And for here falshe & here doubilnesse
Had In dispit, ryght as a-mong foulys
Ben Iayis, Pyis, Lapwyngis & these Onyls.

26.

Venus' exhortation

This is the substance of my request, thanking you for grace to conquer him.

This al and some & chafe of my request, And hool substaunce of *my ful entent, Yow pankyng euer of your grant & hest, Bop non and euer, pat ye grace hanc sent To conquer him pat neuer shal repent Me forto serue & humblly to please, As final tresur *of myn hertis case.'

27.

Then Venus cast down into the lady's lap hawthorn branches, which should never fade.

And pan anon Venus cast adoune Into hir lap, braunchis white & grene Of haw[e]thorn, pat wenten environ Aboute hir hed, pat ict it was to sene, And bade hir kepe hem honestli & clene— Which shul not fade ne nevir wexin old, If she hir bidding kepe as she hap told.

28.

Saying: 'Do as these branches teach you:

Be unchang- ing like these leaves, which no storm can kill.

And as pese bowjis be bop faire & swete, Followip perfect pat pei do specific: This is to sein, bope in cold & hete, Bep of oon hert & of o fantasie, As ar pese leues, pe which mai not die puru; no dures of stormes, pat be kene, No more in winter pen in somer grene.

29.
Rigt so bensample, for wele or for wo,
For ioy, torment, or [for] aduersite,
Wherso [at] fortune fauour or be too,
For pouert, riches, or prosperite,
That ye youre hert kepe in oo degre
To loue him best, for hoping [at] ye feine,
Whom I haue bound so lowe vndir youre cheine.'

30.
And with [at] worde þe goddes shake hir hede,
And was in peas, and spake as þo no more.
And þerwithal, ful femynyne of drede,
Me þouȝte þis ladi signen gan ful sore,
And said again: 'Ladi [at] maist restore
Hertes in Ioy from her aduersite,
To do youre will de mieulx en mieulx magre.'

Thus euer sleping and dreymynge as I lay,
Within þe tempil me þouȝt[e] þat I sey
Gret pres of folk, with murmure wonderul,
To *croude and *shove—þe tempil was so ful—
Euerich ful bise in his owne cause,
That I ne may shortli in a clause
Descrinen al þe Rithes & þe gise,
And eke I want kunnyng to denyse,
Hou som þer were with blood, encense & mylk,

Thus euer sleping and dreymynge as I lay,
Within þe tempil me þouȝt[e] þat I sey
Gret pres of folk, with murmure wonderul,
To *croude and *shove—þe tempil was so ful—
Euerich ful bise in his owne cause,
That I ne may shortli in a clause
Descrinen al þe Rithes & þe gise,
And eke I want kunnyng to denyse,
Hou som þer were with blood, encense & mylk,
to the goddess,

And som with flores sote & soft as silk,

entreatyng release from their paines,

That forto offerin gan hem to delite

Leaving the crowd,

Vnto pe goddes, wip sigh & with praier,

I saw a man walking in solitude and complaining,

Hem to relese of pat pai most desire;

Were it not for his heaviness, he seemed the very model of a man.

That for pe prese, shortli to conclude,

And be my self me pouzt, as I gan gone

I went my wai for pe multitude,

Wip-in pe Estres & gan awhile tarie,

That as me semed for heuines and dole

Nere pat he had ben in heuynes,

Me pouzt he was, to speke of semelynes,

Of shappe, of fourne, & also of stature,

The most passing pat euir sit nature

Made in his werkis, & like to ben a man;

And perwith-al, as I rehearse can,

But as it semed outward *by his chere,

To be biloned, happi & Eyrous,

But for lack of his desire, he made lamentation,

That he compleynes for lack of his desire—

For *by himself, as he walk vp & doun.

And semeth this thing to conclude

So great and hige was the multitude

That I was fayne out of the preace to go

And as I was alone with me no mo.


And seid: 'Alas! what ping mai pis be,
That now am bound, pat whilom was so fre,
And went at larege, at myn eleccioun:
Now am I caust vnder subieccioun,
Forto brome a verre homagere
To god [f] lone, where pat, er I come here,
Felt in myn hert rïst nou3t of loues peine;
But nou of nwe within his fire cheyne
I am embraced, so pat I mai not stríue
To lone and serue, whiles pat I am on lyue,
The goodli fressh, in pe tempil yonder
I saugh rïst nou, pat I hade wonder,
Hou euer god, forto reken all,
My3t make a ping so celestial,
So avngellike on erpe to appere.
For wip pe stremes of hir eyen clere
I am Iwoundid euon to pe hert,
Pat fro pe dep, I trow, I mai not stert.
And most I mervaile pat so sodenli
I was Izolde to bene at hir merci,
Wherso *hir list, to do me lyue or deic:
Wip-oute more I most hir lust obiec.
And take mekeli my sodein auentur.
For sip my life, my dep, and eke my cure
Is in hir hond, it would[e] not awaile
To gruch again; for of pis bataile
The palme is hires, & pleinli pe victorie.
If I rebelled, honoun non ne glorie

567. ping\ om. P. 568. That now am\ Nowe am I b. nou am] am now F. I am now B. whilom] sontyme S. so\ om. Pr. 570. Now am I] Nowe am S. And now y P. subieccioun\ obiecion F. B. 571. brome| be bounde F. B. 572. god\ the god b. of]\ o T. pat\ om. Pr. come\ kan F. 573. rïst\ om. Pr. 574. his\ pe S. hur C. her W. W2. w. fire| verryc S. 576. lone and serue| serue and lone Pr. while\ whyle S. L. Pr. pat\ om. L. Pr. 577. The goodli] pat feyre S. in] wight in S. which in F. B. tempil| cherehe P. 578. I saugh rïst nou| Right nowe I saughhe S. wonder] gret wonder S. 579. Hou\ pat S. fort\ as for to S. 580. My3t\ Koude S. 581. om in S. to] for to S. 582. wip\ within W2. w. b. stremes| peryng F. B. S. 583. Iwoundid] womdid B. S. Pr. euon] I weene S. to\ un to F. B. P. L. so to S. 584. I trow\ om. Pr. stert\ astert S. Pr. 586. Iolde] yolden S. so yolde Pr. at\ in F. un B. 587 and 588 transposed\ 587 Wherso Wheler S. Whether that Pr. hir| him T. she Pr. to do me] me to Pr. 588. more]\ om. P. most\ mot S. 591. woulde| wol L. wyl P. wil Pr. not] nothung b. 592. agein] om. P. of]\ om. P. 593. pleinli] playne b. 594 reads in S: As hole subiet f or hirs is al pe glorie. rebelled] rebell P.
I myst[e] not, in no wise, acheue.
Sip i am yold, hou shuld I þan præue.
To gif a werre—I wot it wil not be—
Thou; I be loos, at laarge I mai not fe.
O god of loue, hov sharpe is nov þin arowe!
Hou maist þou nov so crueli & narowe,
With-oute cause, hurt[e] me and wound.
And tast non he le, my soris forto sound!
But lich a brid, þat fleith at hir desire,
Til sodeinli within þe pantire
She is Icauent; þou; she were late at laarge—
A now tempest for-casteþ now my baarge,
Now vp nov dove þe with wind it is so blowe,
So am I *possid and almost ouerþrowe,
808
Fordrine in dirknes with many a sondri wawe.
Alas! when shall þis tempest ouerdrawe,
To clere þe skies of myn aduersite,
The lode ster when I [ne] may not se,
It is so lide with cloudes þat ben blake.
Alas when wil þis turment ouershake?
I can not wit, for who is hutt of nwe
And bledip inward, til he wex pale of hwre,
And has his wound vnwardli fresh & grene,
And is not koupe vnto þe harms kene
Of myst[i Cupide, þat can so hertis davnte
That no man may in your werre him vaunte

To gete a pris, but oonli bi mkenes—
For þere ne vai|eþ stri|f ne stur|dines—
So mai I sain, þat with a loke an yold,
And haue no power to stiryn þouþe I would.
Thus stand I even bitwi|x lif|e and deþ.
To lone & serue, while þat I haue breþ,
In such a place where I dar not pleyn,
Lich him þat is in torment & in pein,
And knowþe not, to whom forto dis|cure;
For þere þat I haue hoolly set my cure,
I dar not wele, for drede & for daun|ger,
And for un|kwowe, tellen hou þe fi|re
Of lou|is brond is kindled in my bre|st.
Thus am I mur|drid & slain at þe lest
So þeuei wi|thin *myn [owne] þouþt.
O ladi Venu|s, whom þat I haue souȝt,
So wisse me now what me is best to do,
þat *am distrauȝt wi|thin my sel|f[en] so,
That I ne wot what way for [to] turne,
Sauf be my self solei|n forto mour|ne,
Hanging in balan|nee bitwit|k ho|pe & dre|de,
Withoute comfor|t, remed|ie or rede.
For hope biddiþ pursu|e & assay;
And drede againward ana|swereþ & saþ|t nai;
And now wiþ hope I am *set on loft,
But drede and daun|ger, hard & no|ping softe,
Haeue ouerprov|e my trust and put adou|ne;
Noþ at my laurge, nou feteri|d in pris|one;

624. þouþe] thorph F. 625. enu|n] enu|l P. Pr. bitwi|x betwi|ne P. S. b.
626. whi|le] while while P. þat] om. S. C. W2. w. I haue] me lasteþe S.
627. das| ne dar F. B. 629. forto] to Pr. 630. þat] as F. B. b. [hool|ly]
lye|l S. 631. we|de] were P. & l ne G. Pr. & for| of foule S. 632. hon
30w G. S. 633. is kind|led] unkynde|l S. 634. am H y am P. at þe|t atte C.
W2. w. 635. So] Thus S. within] with F. B. G. S. my|n T. owu|ne
powre P. om. T. L. Pr. 636. ladi Venu|s] Venus lady F. B. G. S. whom| to
24 me] om. G. S. me is] is me P. 638. am] I am T. P. L. within] with S.
Pr. sel|fen] selve|n F. B. sel|ve|a G. so| l o|o W2. w. l o b. 639. me] om. P.
for| om. S. b. to| om. T. 640. solen| sod-yn|l G. alone b. forto] to G.
641. bitwi|x betwi|ne G. S. b. 642. or] & G. 643. biddiþ] me bideþe S.
Nov in torment, nov in souerain glorye, 
Nov in paradise & nov in purgatorie, 
As man dispeire in a double *were, 
Born vp wip hope, & pan anon daunger, 652
Me drawip abak, and seith it shal not be, 
For where as I, of myn aduersite, 
Am *bold somewhat merci to requere, 
Pan comep dispeire & gynnep me to lere 656
A nwe lesson, to hope ful contrare—
Thei be so diuers pei would do me varie—
And þus I stond dismaied in a trueance: 
For whan þat hope were likli me tawaunce, 660
For drede I tremble and dar a woord not spake.
And if it so be þat I not oute breke 
To tel þe harms, þat greuen me so sore, 
But in *myself encrese hem more & more, 664
And to be slain fulli me delite,
Pen of my dep sho is noþing to wite;
For but if she my constreint pleini kuwe, 
Hou shuld she euer upon my paynís rwe! 668
Thus oft[c] tyne with hope I am I-mevíd
To tel hir al of þat I am so greuéd, 
And to ben hardi on me forto take 
To axe merci; but drede þan dop awake, 672
And *purgh wanhope answerip me again,
Þat bettir were, þen she haue disdeyne,
To deie at onys, vnknow of eny wiȝt.
And þere-with[ al] *bitt hope anon ryȝt
Me to *be bold, to prayen hir of grace;
For syȝ al vertues be portried in hir face,
It were not sitting þat merci were bimhind.
And riȝt anone within my self I finde
A nwe ple brouȝt on me with drede,
 þat me so masȝþ pat I se no spede,
Because he seith, þat stoneip al my bloode,
I am so symple & she is so goode.
Thus hope and drede in me wil not ceasse
To plete and styrye myn harms to encere.
But at þe hardest þit, or I be deede,
Of my distresse syȝ Í can no rede,
But stone[ e] dovm[b stil as eni stone,
Tofore þe goddes I wil me hast anone,
And complein withoute more sermon;
þouȝþ deth be fin & ful conclusion;
Of my request, þit I will assaie.
And riȝt anó þe þouȝþ(te) þat I say
This woful man, as I have memorie,
Ful lowli entre into an oratorie,
And kneled [a] doyn in ful humble wise
Tofore þe goddes, and gan anon deuyse
His pitous quarel wiþ a doleful chere,
Saying riȝt þus, anone as þe shul here:

31.
'Redresse of sorow, o Citheria,
That wip þe stremes of þi plesaunt hete
Gladest þe contre of [al] Cirre,
Where þou hast chosen þi paleis & þi sete,
Whos briȝt bemes ben washen and off[t] wete
In the riner of *Elicon þe well:
Haue nou pite of þat I shal here tell.

32.
And not disdeyneþ of your benignete,
Mi mortal wo, o ladi myn, goddes,
Of grace & bontee and mercurifull pite,
Benigneþi to helpen and to redresse;
And þouȝ so be I can not wele expressse
The greuoun harms þat I fele in myn hert,
Haueþ neuer þe les meryc of my smert.

33.
This is to sein: o clere heuenus list,
That next þe somme cerelde haue your spere,
Sip þe me hurten wip your dreedful myȝt
Bi influence of your bemy ñe clere,
And þat I bie your servise now sodere,
As þe me brouȝt into þis maledie,
Beþ graceious and shapeþ remedy.

34.
For in þow hooli lip help of al þis case,
And knowe best my sorow & al my peyne:
For drede of dep hou I ne der, allas!

Complaint to Venus.

To axen merci ones me me compleyne,
You wip yowre fire hire hert[e] so restreyne,
With-oute more, or I deie at þe lest,
That she mai wete what is my requeste:

35.
Hov I noping in al þis world desire,
But forto serue, fulli to myn ende,
That goodli fressh, so womanli of chere,
With-oute change, while I hawe life & mynde;
And þat ȝe *wold me such grace send
Of my seruyse, þat she not disdeyne,
Sipen hir to serue I may me not restreyne,

36.
And sip þat hope hape ȝene me hardlines
To lone hir best and neuer to repent,
Whileþ þat I lyue, with al my bisenes
To drede and serue, þouȝ daunger neuer assent.
And hereopon þe knowen myn entent,
Hov I hawe *wived fulli in my mynde
To ben hir man, þouȝ I no merci finde.

37.
For in my hert enprentid is so sore
Hir shap, hir fourne, and al hir semelines,
Hir port, hir chere, hir goodnes more & more,
Hir womanhele, & eke hir gentilnes,
Hir trouth, hir faþ & hir kynd[es]nes,
With al vertues, Iche set in his degre;
There is no lak, saue onli of pite.

38.

Hir sad demening, of wil not variable,
Of looke benygne & roote of al plesaunce,
And examplaire to al þat wil be stable,
Discrete, prudent, of wisdom suffisaunce,
Mirror of wit, ground of governaunce,
A world of beaute compassid in hir face,
Whose persant loke doþ þuraȝ myn hert[e] race;

39.

And ouer þis secre & wondre trwe,
A welle of fredome, and riȝt bownteous,
And euer eneresing in vertue nwe & nwe,
Of spech goodli and wonder gracious,
Deuoide of pride, to pore not dispitous,
And if þat I shorth shal not fayne,
Saue opoþ merci I noþing can compleyne.

40.

What wonder þan þouȝ I be wip drede
Inli supprised forto axen grace
Of hir þat is a quene of womanhed?
For wele I wot, in so heigh a place
It wil not ben; *þerfor I ouerpace,
And take louli what wo þat I endure,
Til she of pite me take vnto hir cure.

41.

But oone *avowe pleinli here I make,
That whepir so be she do me lyve or deye,
I wil not graceh, but humble it take,

750. demening[ demyng S. 751. Of] and F. B. benygene] kunnyng S. al]
753. prudent] prudence w. kunnyng S. 754. ground] growed F. 757. And
ouer þis] Et euer thus P. And euer ful S. secre & wondre] wonder seecrete and
S. toj of G. not dispitous] folkes pitons S. 762. And] So F. B. G. S. [if]
on G. if þat] þat if S. I shortli] I corrected to shortly I B. 763. I noþing[
nothyng I b. noþing can] can no thyngh G. S. can] om. F. B. Pr. 764. þan[
w. 766. a] om. Pr. 767. wot] wot that G. S. 768. will] wolde F. þerfor
take] take me P. vunto in to G. S. to P. Pr. hir] youre G. S. 771. avowe[
avowe T. here] hir P. here I] I here S. 772. so be] be so P. om. S. she do[
doth P. or] or ellys S.
And fank[e] god, & wilfulli obey;
For, be my trouth, myn hert shal not reneye,
For life ne deþ, merci * ne daunger,
Of wil and pouzt to ben at hir desire,

42.
To bene as trwe, as * was Antonyus
To Cleopatre, while him lasted breþe,
Or vnto Tesbe ʒung[e] Piramus
*Was feipfull found, til hem departid deþ:
Riþ t so shal I, til Antropos me sleide,
For wele or wo, hir faithful man be found,
Vnto my last, lich as myn hert is bounde,

43.
To loue aswel as did Achilles
Vnto his last þe faire Polixene,
Or as þe gret famous Hercules,
For Dianyre þat felt þe shottes kene—
Riþt so shal I, y sei riþt as I mene,
Whiles þat I lyve, hir boþe drede and serue,
For lak of merci þouz she do me sterve.

44.
Nou ladi Venus, to whom noþing vnknowe
Is in þe world, I-hid ne not mai be—
For þere nys þing, neþir heigh no lowe,
Mai be concealid from ʒour privete—
Fro whom my menyng is not nov seere,
But witen fulli þet myn entent is trwe,
And lich my trouth nov on my peyn[e] rwe.


TEMPLE OF GLAS.
The Knight's

45.
For more of grace pan presumpecion.
I axe merci, and not of duete,
Of louli humblesse, wipoute offension,
That 3e enclyne, of 3our benygnyte,
Your audience to myn humylite,
To graunte me, yat to 30v clepe & calle,
Somdai relese 3it of myn paynes alle.

46.
And sip 3e haue pe guerdon & pe mede
Of al louers pleinli in 3our bond,
Now of [your] grace and pite takep hede
Of my distresse, pat am vndir 3our bond
So lovli bound, as 3e wele vndirstond :
Now in put place, where I toke first my wound,
Of pite sufferip my helth mai be found—

47.
That lich as she me hurt[e] wip a siste,
Ript so with helpe let hir me sustene,
And as pe streemes of hir eyen brijt
Whilom myn hert, with wounded sharp & kene,
Thurij perced haute, and 3it bene fresh & grene :
So as she me hurt, nou let hir me socoure,
Or ellis certein I mai not long endure.

48.
For lack of speech, I can sey now no more :
I haue mater, but [1] can not plein ;
Mi wit is dulle to telle al my sore ;

A mouth I haue, & sit for al my peyne,
For want of wordis I may not nov atteyne
To tell[en] half put dop myn hert[e] grene,
Mercie abiding, til she me list releue.

49.
But pis the effecte of my mater finalle :
Wip dep, or merci, relies forto finde.
For hert, bodi, pought, life, lust, and alle,
Wip al my reson and alle my ful mynde,
And fiue wittes, of oon assent I bind
To hir servise, wip-outen any strife,
And make hir princesse of my dep or life.

50.
And 30v I prai of routh and eke pite,
O goodli planet, o ladi Venus brijt,
That 3e 3oure some of his deite—
Cupid I mene, pat wip his dreadful myzt
And wip his brond, pat is so clere of li3te,
Hir hert[e] so to fire and to mark,
As 3e me whilom brent[e] with a spark :

51.
That eueneUich, and with þe same fire,
She mai be het, as I nov brenne & melt,
So pat hir hert be *flaumed bi desire,
That she mai knowe bi ference hon I swelt;
For of pite pleini if she fett
The selfe hete pat dop myn hert enbrace,
I hope of roupe she would do me grace.'

Venus’ Answer

52.

And perwithal Venus, as me pourst, 848
Toward pis man ful bengyl(ne)lii
Gan cast hir eyze, liche as pourst she roust
Of his disease, and seid ful good(e)lii:
’Sip it is so pat pour so humb(e)lie,
Wip-oute grucychyn, oure hestis list obey,
Toward pin help I wil anon purvey.

53.

And Cupid, too, shall help,

And eke my sone Cupide, pat is so blind,
He shal ben helping, fulli to perfourme
3our hole desire, pat noiping behind
Ne shal be left: so we shal refourme
The pitous compleint, pat makip pe to mournre,
That she for whom pour sourist most in hert,
Shal puru3 hir merci relese al pi smert,

54.

When she sep tyme puru3 our e puruance.
Be not to hasti, but suffer alway wele:
For in abidyng puru3 lowli obeissance
Lipe ful redresse of al pat ze nov fele,
And she shal be as trw as eny stele
To 3owe allone, puru3 our e myst & grace,
3if ye lust mekeli abide a litel space.

55.

But vnristondep pat al hir cherisshing
Shal ben groundid opo3 honeste,
That no wist shal, purugh eul compassing,

to the Knight.

# Demen amy, of hir in no dege:
For nepher merci, roupe, ne pite
She shal not hane, ne take of pe non hede
Ferper pen longip vnto hir womanhede.

56.
Bepe not stoneioed of no wilfulnes,
Ne nouzt dispeired of pis *dilacioun ;
Lete reson bridel lust bi buxummes,
Withoute gruechig or rebellion ;
For joy shal folow al pis passion;
For who can suffre torment & endure,
Ne mai not faile pat folov shal his cure.

57.
For toforn all she shal pe louen best ;
So shal I here, withoute offencion ;
Bi influence enspire[n] in hir brest,
In honest wise, wip ful entencion,
For to enlys, bi elene affeccion ;
Hir hert fulli on pe to hane roupe,
Becaus I know pat pou menyst troupe.

58.
Go nov to hir, where as she stant aside,
Wip humble chere & put pe in hir grace,
And al biforme late hope be pi guide,
And pouze pat drede would[e] with pe pace,
It sitteb wel ; but loke pat pou arace
Out of pin hert wanhop & dispaire,
To hir presence er pou hane repaire.

59.

'Mercy,' And merci first shal pi wai[e] make,

'Honest, And honest menyng aforne do pi message,

'Meaning,' To make merci in her hert awake;

'Secretness, And secrerenes, to furper pi viage,

and 'Humble Wip humble port to hir pat is so sage,

Port' shall shoule thy way, I, too, will favour thee.

60.

Go forth at once:

with my help, she shall at least grant thee a hearing.

Thou must speak out;

for there is no cure,

unless thou discover thy wound to the leech.

In mischief one must seek help:

Fore wele pou wost, 3if I shal not feine,

Withoute spech pou maist no merce haue:

For who pat wil of his preve peine

Fulli be cured, his life to help & saue,

He most mekeli oute of his *hertis grane

Discure his wound, & shew it to his lech,

Or ellis deie for defaute of spech.

61.

For he pat is in myschef rekeles

To sechen help, I hold him but a wrecch;

And she ne mai pi hert[e] bring in peas,

But if pi compleint to hir hert[e] streche.

897. shal pi waie] by wey shal reedy S. 898. menyng] meyng G. menne
w. meane b. 899. make] do P. merci] pyte Pr. 900. secrerenes] sikurnesse
S. to for P. viage] vysage S. message L. 901 omitted in L, but added by
right good of C. W. W2. w. 905. noying] for no thyng G. S. maist joun]
may you W. W2. w. may ye b. 908. at] atte C. W. W2. at w. P. lest
last P. 909. to pi] the to P. to—audience] hire audience to the L. 910.
lolvi] lowe the C. pe] to B. om. G. S. pe here] to her Pr. here] hir S. til
þou—haue] then no mercy maist hawe P. 913. fulli] fulliche G. be cured]to
be recure P. 915. He] om. h. hertis] hurtis T. herte G. w. b. hert F.
Wouldist thou be curid, \& wilt no salue feecho
It wil not be: for no wiste may atteyne
To come to blis, if he lust lyue in peyne.

63.

Therfore at ones go in humble wise
Tofore pe ladi \& louli knele adown,
And in al trough pe woordis so denyse,
That she on pe haue compassion:
For she pat is of so heigh renoun
In al vertues as quene \& soeurain,
Of womanhed shal rwe opon pe pein.'

And when pe goddes peis lesson hade him told,
Aboute me so as I gan bihold,
Ri:t for astoneid I stode in a traunce,
To *seen pe maner \& pe countenaince
And al pe chere of peis woful man,
That was of hwe deddi pale \& wan,
Wip drede suprised in his owne pouzt,
Making a chere as *pouz he rou3[c] nouzt
Of life ne de3p, ne what so him bihide:
So mych fere he hade on euere side,
To put him forpe forto tel his peyne
Vuto his ladi, oper to compleyne,
What wo he felt, tursment or disease,
What deddi sorov his hert[c] did[c] sease,
For roupe of which his wo as I endite,
Mi penne I fele quaken as I write.

Of him I had so gret compassion.

Forto rehearse his weymentacion.

That, wel vanepe þou þ with my self I stryne,

I want connyng, his peynes to discryue.

Alias! to whom shal I for help['] cal?

Not to þe Musis, for cause þat þei ar al

Help of riȝt in ioi & not in wo,

And in maters þei delite also,

Wherfore þei nyl directe as nov my stile,

Nor me enspiren, alas þe hard['] while!

I can no ferper but to Thesiphone

And to hir sustren forto help['] me,

That bene goddesses of torment & of peyne.

Non lete þoure teris into myn inke reyne,

With woful woaldis my *paper forto blot,

This woful mater to peint['] not, but spotte,

To tell þe maner of þis dredful man,

Vpon his compleint, when he first bigan

To tel his ladi, when he gan declare

His hid[de] sorowe, and his euel fare,

That at his hert constreynd him so sore,

Theffecte of which was þis with-oute more:

64.

*Princes of youth,*

'Princes of ioupe, & flour of gentilesse,

Ensampl[e] of vertue, ground of curtesie,

948

952

956

960

964

968

970


950, 951 read in b:

Ye / though I with my selfe stryne

Unmeth my connyng may his paynes discryue


Of beaute rote, quene & eke maistres
To al women how pei shul hem gie,
And sopefast myrrowr to exemplifie
The riʒt[c] wei of port & womanhed :
What *I shal sai of merci takep hede—

Biseching first vnto ʒoure heigh nobles,
Wip quaking hert of myn inward drede,
Of grace and pite, & nouʒt of riʒtwisnes,
Of verrai roupe, to help[en] in pis nede :
That is to saie, o wel of goodlihed,
That I ne reech, pouʒ ʒe do me deie,
So ʒe list first [to] heren what I sai.

The dreadful stroke, pe gret[c] force & myʒt
Of god Cupide, pat no man mai rebel,
So inwardli puruʒ out myn hert[c] riʒt
I-persid haʃ, pat I ne mai concele
Myn hid[de] wound, ne I ne may apecle
Vnto no grettir : pis myʒti god so fast
Yow [for] to serue *haʃ bound me to my last,

That hert and al, withoute strife, ar yolde,
For life or deʃ, to ʒoure seruise alone,
Riʒt as pe goddes myʒti Venus would :
Toforne hir mekelgi when I made my mone,
She me constreyned, without chaunge, anone
me to do, To your seruise, & never forto felyne,
*Where so *ye list to do me ease or peyne. 997

so that I can only cry mercy.

So *pat I can nophing but merci crie 998
Of 30v my ladi,—& chaungen for no nwe—
That *e list goodl[i], tofore [er *pat] I deyse,
Of verrey roupe opone my peynes rwe.
For be my troupe, & *e pe sope knwe,
What is *e cause of myn aduersite,
On my distres *e would haue pite. 1002

Verily, if you knew all,
you would have pity.

For I will be true & humbly devoted to you,
as ever man was to his lady.

For vnto 30w trwe & eke secre 1005
I wole be found, to serue as I best can,
And *erwith-al as lowli in ich degre
To 30w *alone, as eur *it was man
Vnto his ladi, from pe tyme I *gan,
And shal so forpe, withouten eny sloupe,
While *pat I lyue, bi god & be my troupe.

I would rather die than offend you.

For leuyr I had to dei[e]n sodeinli, 1012
Than yow offend in any maner wise,
And suffre peynes inward priueli,
Than my seruise 3e shuld as nov despise.
For I r[3]t nou3[3]t wil asken in no wise,
But for 3oure seruaunt 3e would me acepte,
And, when I trespase, goodli me correcte,

And fortso graunte, of merce, pis praiser,
Oonli of grace and woman[li] pete,

Take me as your servant;

Fro dai to dai *pat I my3t[e] lere 1019

teach me

3ow forto please, & per with-al pat 3e,  
When I do mys, list [for] to teche me,  
In 3oure seruyse hou pat I mai amende  
From hens-forpe, and neuyr 3ow offende.  

72.

For vnto me it do[p inou3 suffise,  
That for 3oure man 3e would me resyue,  
Ful]i to ben, as 3ou list denyse,  
And as ferforpe *my wittes con conceyue,  
And per withal, lich as 3e perseyue  
That I be trwe, to gurdone me of grace,  
Or ellis to punyssh aftir my trespace.  

73.

And if so be pat I mai not atteyne  
Vnto your merci, 3it graunteþ at [pe] lest,  
In your service, for al my wo & peyne,  
That I mai deijen aftir my bihest,  
This is al & som, þe fine of my request:  
Op[r with merci your servant forto sauc,  
Or merciles pat I mai be graue.  

74.

And whan þis benygne, of hir entent trwe,  
Conceyued hap þe compleint of þis man,  
Riþ as þe fressh rodi rose nwe  
Of hir colour to wexin she bigan;  
Hir bloode astonyed so from hir hett[e] *ran  
Into hir face, of femyny[ni]te:  
Thurþ honest drede abaisshed so was she.  

1032. For I am content to be your servant:
1036. reward or punish me as I deserve.
1037. This is the whole of my request.
1040. When this benign lady heard this,
1042. she waxed red as a rose,
The Lady's

75.
And humb[e]le she gan hir eizyn cast
Towards him, of hir benyngyte,
So pe no woord bi hir lippes past
For hast *nor drede, merci nor pite.
That vnavedis nopin hir astert:
So mych of reson was compast in hir hert—

76.
Til, at pe last, of roupe she did abraide,
When she his troupe and menyng did[e] fele,
And vnto him ful goodli spake & seide:
'Of 3oure [be]hest and of 3our menyng wele,
And 3oure seruise so feipful eucredel,
Which vnto me so lowli now 3e offre,
Wip al my hert I panke 3ow of 3oure profir—

77.
That for as mych as 3oure entent is sette
Oonli in vertu, I-bridelid vnder drede,
3e most of rizt nedis fare pe bette
Of 3oure request, and pe bettir spede.
But as for me, I mai of womanhede
No ferpir graunt to 3ov in myn entent
Thanne as my ladi Venus wil assent.

78.
For she wele knowip I am not at my laarge
To done rizt nou3t but bi hir ordinance;
So am I bound vndir hir dreadful charge,
Hir lust to obey withoute variaunce.

vnduysyd W2. vndeuysed W2. w.—no thyng no thyng P. no[jing hir] hir
nothyng myght G. hir astert] fro her stert Pr. 1053. compast] composed
b. hir] om. W. W2. w. 1054. at pe] atte C. W. W2. w. F. at B. of roupe]
somoch b. roupe[ which C. W. W2. w. 1055. his] is C. menyng] menyng
w. thide] well dyd b. 1056. 1st And] That b. vnto] to G. S. spake &] thus
That] And b. om. S. as mych as] so muche as L. so moche C. W. W2. w.
1069. bi] at G. 1070. bound] drowned Pr. 1071. to obey] to him S.
But for my part, so it be plesomce
Vnto pe goddes, for troupe in your emprise,
I 3ow accepte fulli to my seruyse.

79.

For she myn hert hap in subieciouz,
Which holi is 3oures and never shal repent,
In bort nor dede, in myn elecicioun:
Witnes on Venus, pat knowe pe myn entent,
Fulli to obei hir dome and Iugement,
So as hir lust dispose and ordeyene,
Riȝt as she knowe pe trouth of vs tweyne.

80.

For vnto pe time pat Venus [list] prouyde
To shape a way for oure hertis ease,
Bope ȝe and I mekeli most abide,
To take at [t] gre, & not of oure disease
To gruuch agein, til she list to appese
Oure hider[de] wo, so inli pat constreyne
From dai to day & oure hert[es] peynep.

81.

For in abiding, of wo & al affray—
Whoso can suffre—is founden remedie,
And for pe best ful oft is made delay,
Er men be heled of hir maladie;
Wherfore, as Venus list pis mater to guie,
Late vs agreen & take al for pe best,
Til her list set oure hertes bope at rest.

Venus' Address

82.
For she it is that bindeth & can constreyne
Hertes in oon, pis fortunate planete,
And can relese louers of her payne,
To turne fulli hir bitter into swete.

83.
And then I saw these lovers pass before the goddess,
who linked their hearts together with a golden chain,

84.
Saying: 'My daughter,
Of your grace, receive this man.

85.
It is fitting that you should cherish him,
Your honour saue, and eke your womanhed,
Him to cherish it sittip 3ov rist wele,
Sip he is bound, vnnder hope & drede,
Amyd my cheyne that made is of stele;

3. All must of merci shape \textit{pat} he fele  
In 3ov som grace for his long seruise,  
And \textit{pat} in hast, like as I shal denyse.

86.  
This is to sein: \textit{pat} 3e taken hede,  
Hou he to 3ov most faipful is & trwe  
Of al 3ov servanuntis, & noiping for his mede  
Of 3ov ne askip but \textit{pat} 3e on him rwe;  
For he ha\^pe *vowid to chauenge for no nwe,  
For life nor de\^p, for ioy[e] ne for peye—  
Ay to ben 30urs, so as 3e list ordeyne.

87.  
Wherefore 3e must—or ellis it were wrong—  
Vnto 30ur grace fulli hym reccyue,  
In my presence, bicause he hap so long  
Holli ben 30ures, as 3e may conceyue  
That, from 30ure merci nov if 3e him weyue,  
I wil my self recorden erelte  
In 30ure persone, \& gret lak of pite.

88.  
Late him for trouth \textit{pen find[e trouth]} agein;  
For long seruise guerdone him \textit{with} grace,  
And late\^p pite \textit{wei[e]} do\^m his pein;  
For tyme is nov daunger to arace  
Out of 30ure hert, and merci in to pace;  
And lone for lone would[e] wele biseme  
To yeve agein, and pis I pleinli deme.

\textbf{Note:}  
Wherefore, admit him to your favour;  
Let grace be his guerdon;  
Consider how, for all his faithfulness,  
he only asks your pity;  
he has vowed never to change.  
else I must recorden evilty against you.

1121. 3e She S. of merci shape nedys of mercy P. he] ye W2. w. b.  
89.

And as for him, I will bene his borow

Of lowlihed and bise attendaunce,
Hon he shal bene, bop at eue & morow,
Ful diligent to don his observaunce,
And euer awaying 301ou to do plesaunce;

Wherfore, my sone, list & take hede
Fulli to obey as I shal pe rede.

90.

And first of al, my wil is pat 301ou be
Feipful in hert and constant as a walle,
Trwe, humble and meke, & perwithal seere,
Withoute chaunge in party or in al;
And for no torment, pat pe fallen shal,
Tempest pe not, but euer in stildfastnes
Rote pin hert, and voide doublenes.

91.

For thy lady's sake,

And forpermore, haue in reuerence
Thes women al for pi ladi sake,
And suffire neuer pat men *hem don offence,
For loute of oon; but euermore vndirtake
Hem to defend, wheber pei slepe or wake,
And ay be redi to holden champartie
With al[le] po, pat to hem haue envie.

92.

Be courteus, fresh and seely;
help all true lovers;
disdain no one;
do not vaunt thyself of being cherished.

And neuer for cherisshing pe to mych auaunte.

93.

Be lusti eke, deuoid of al tristesse,
And take no pouzt, but euer be Iocond,
And nought to pensif for non heuynes ; \| 
And with pi gladnes let sadnes ay be found ;
When wo approcheph, lat myrp most havound,
As manhod axeþ ; and pouȝ pou fele smert,
Lat not to manie knownen of pin hert.

94.

And al vertues biseli pou sue,
Vices eschew, for pe love of oon ;
And for no tales pin hert[e] not remue :
Woorde is but winde, pat shal sone owergoi.
What euer pou here, be dovmb as eny ston,
And to answere to sone not pe delite ;
For here she standep pat al pis shal pe quite.

95.

And where pou be absent or in presence,
None opirs beaute lat in pin *herte myne,
Sip I haue *zyue hir of beaute excellence,
Above al opir in vertue forto shine ;
And penk *in fire hou men ar wont to fyne
This purid gold, to put it in assay :
So pe to preue, pou ert put in delay.

96.

But tyme shal come pou shalt for pi sufferaunce
Be wele apaide, and take for pi mede
Thi liones lye and al pi suffisaunce,

1173. Be devoid of melancholy,
1174. yet earnest in thy gladness;
1175. be mirthful even in woe,
1177. and do not wear thy heart upon thy sleeve.
1180. seek virtue,
1184. take no heed of tale-;
1185. answer not hastily.
1187. Give place to no other's beauty in thy heart.
1191. Gold must be purified by fire, and thou by delay.
1194. In due time thy endur-

TENPLE OF GLAS.
Venus' Address

So that good hope alway pilgrim lede.
Lat no dispeire hindir pe with drede,
But ay pi trust onop hir merci ground
Sip noon but she may pi sores sound.

97.

Eche hourde and tyme, weke, dai and zere,
Be iliche feithful, and varie not for lité;
Abide awhile, & pan of pi desire
The time neigeth, pat shal pe most delite;
And lete no sorov in pin hert[e] bite
For no different, sip poun shal for pi mede
Reioise in pees pe flour of womanhede.

98.

Thenk hou she is pis wor[l]dis sonne & list
The sterre of beaute, flour eke of faireness—
Hope crop and rote—and eke pe rubie brîst
Hertes to glade Itroubled with derknes,
And hou I haue made hir pin hertes emporese:
Be glad perfere to be vndir hir bonde.

99.

Vnto pis fyne pat, after al pe showres
Of his torment, he mai be glad and list,
W[h]an, purʒ ʒoure grace, ʒe take him to be ʒoures
For euermore, anon here in my syʒt;
And eke also I wil, as it is rysz:

100.

That *pere mai be of al ʒoures old[e] smertis
A ful relese vndir ioy assured;

these Pr. showres] sorowes L. 1216. his] thys P. hire L. 1217. Whan] Wan T. purʒ by Pr. to be] to S. 1219. eke also] hirpermore S. also I wil
I wil also Pr. 1220. lisse] lesse P. 1222. *pere] here T. P. B. F.
And that be of your hope herte
Shet with my key of gold so wel depure,
Oonli in signe that ye haue recured
3oure hole desire here in pis holi place,
Within my temple, now in pe zere of grace.

101.

Eternalli, be *bonde of assurance,
The knott *is knytt, which mai not ben vnbound,
That al *be goddis of pis alliance,
Saturne, & Ioue, & Mars, as it is founde,
And eke Cupide, pat first 3ou did[e] wonnde,
Shal bere record, & *euermore be wreke
On which of 3ou his troupe first dope breke:

102.

So pat bi aspectes of hir fers[e] lokes,
Wip-oute merci, shal fal[le] pe vengeanece
Forto be raced clene out of my bokes,
On which of 3ow be found[e] variaunces.

103.

That, if *pe spirit of nyfangilnes
In any wise 3oure hertis would assaile,
To move or stir to bring in doublines
Vpon 3oure troupe to ginen a bataile,
Late not 3oure corage ne 3oure force fail,
Ne non assautes 3ov flitten or remove:
For vn-assaid men may no troupe preue.

your hearts shall be
locked in one
by my golden
key.

The knot is
for ever knit:
all the gods
bear record
and will take
vengeance on
whichever is
untrue.

The culprit
shall be
erased out of
my books.

That, if new-
fangledness
and double-
ness assaile,
your courage
and forre
may not fail:
truth must
be proved.
For white is whitter, if it be set bi blak,
And sweete is swettir eftir bitternes,
And falshode euer is drive & put a-bak,
Where troupe is rotid withoute doublines;
Wip-out[c] prefe may be no sikirnes
Of lone or hate; and perfore of 30w t[w]o0
Shal lone be more, but it was bo3t with wo.

Everything is more prized when dearly bought;
love is surer when won with woe.

As euere ping is had more [in] deinte,
And more of pris, when it is dere bo3t;
And eke pat lone stond more in surete,
When it tofore with peyne, wo & bo3t
Conquerid was, first when it was sou3t;
And euere conquer hap his excellens,
In his pursuite as he fint resistence:

So love will be sweeter to you,
because you suffered patiently;
I will bind your hearts together for ever.
To make it short—he

Nou in pis mater what shuld I lengir dwel?
Comep [off] at ones, and do as I haue seide.

And first, my daughter, be a bounte * well,
In hert and pount be glad, and wele apaced.
To done him grace be a hap, & shal, obeid
Your lustes euer, and I wole for his sake
Of troupe to 3ow be bounte and vndertake.

108.

Then this lady took her servant by the hand,
And kissed him after, fulllyng eueredele
Fro point to point in ful *prifi *wise,
*As ye toforne hau Venus herd denyse.

109.

Thus is bis man to joy and all plesaunce,
From henyne & from his peynes old,
Ful reconciled, and hap ful suffisaunce
Of hir pat euer ment[e] wel, & would:
*That in goode faith, *and I tell[e] shuld
The inward myrpe dide hir hertis brace,
*For al my life it were to lit a space.

110.

For he hape wonne hir pat he lonep best,
And she to grace hape take him of *pite;
And bus her hertis bepe bope set in rest,
Wi-pouten chaunge or mutabilit,
And Venus hap, of hir benygnete,
Confermed all—what [shal] I longer tarie?

This tweyn in oon, and neuere forto varie:

Glorification of Venus

111.

Therefore, land and honour were given unto Venus and Cupid, the Muses magnifying the goddess with their song.

That for his Ioy in his temple aboute Of his accord, bi grete solemnnyte, Was laude and honoure with-in and with-out enue vnto Venus, and to his deite Of god Cupide, so pat Caliope And al hir sustren in hir armonyne *Gunne with her song his goddes magnyfie.

112.

And al at ones, with notes loude & sharpe, Thei did her honour & her reverence, And Orpheus among hem with his harp Gan strengis touch with his diligence, And Amphion, that hape suche excellence Of musike, ay dide his bisynes To please and queene Venus his goddes, 1312

113.

Oonli for cause of his affinite Betwix these two not likli to desseuere; And euere louer of louè and heis degre Gan Venus pray, fro pens forp & euer That hool of hem his loue may perseuere, Wip-outen ende, in suche plite as pei gonne, And more encrese pat it of hard was wonne.

114.

So the goddes made a solemn promise, And so he goddes, hering his request, As she pat knew he clene entencioun Of hope hem tweyne, hap made a ful bihest, Perpetuelli, by confirmacioyn, 1320

Whilest *pat* pei lyne, of *oon* affeccioun
Thei shal endure—*per* is no more to sein—
*pat* neiper shal hame mater to compleyne.

115.

'So ferforp euer in oure eternal se
The goddes hane, in *her* presciencie,
Fulli denysed puruʒ hir deite,
And holi conclusid bi hir influence,
That puruʒ hir myʒt and inst[c] *providence
The lone of hem, bi grace and eke fortune,
Wip-oute chaunge shal euer in *oon* *contyne*.'

116.

Of which[c] graunt, pe tempil environ,
*puruʒ* heiz confort of hem *pat* were present,
Anone was *gon[n]e* with a melodius sowne,
In name of *po* *pat* troup in lone ment,
A ballade new in ful goode entente,
Tofore *pe* goddes with *notes* loude & clere,
Singyng riʒt *pus* anon as 3e *shal* here:

117.

'Fairest of sterres, *pat*, wip *3oure* persant lıʒt
And with *pe* cherisshing of *3oure* stremes clere,
Causen in lone hertes to ben liʒt,
Oonli *puruʒ* shynyng of *3oure* glade spere:

Namely *puruʒ* shynyng of *3oure* glade spere:

*Nou* laude and pris, o *Venus*, ladi dere,
*Be* to *your* name, *pat* hame withoute synne
Bis man fortunid his ladi *forto* wyne:

The Lovers' Song.

118. Willi planet, O Esperus so brijt,
*bat woful hertes can appese and *stere,
And ever ar redi puruʒ your grace & myʒt
To help al þo, þat þie lone so dere,
And have power hertis to set on fire:
Honor to 30w of all þet bene here-inne,
That have þis man his ladi made to wynne.

119. O myʒti goddes, daister after myʒt,
Glading þe morov whan þe done appere,
To voide derknes puruʒ freþnes of your sijt,
Oonli with twinkeling of þoure plesant chere:
To 30w we þank, louers þat ben here,
That þe þis man—and neuer forto twyn—
Fortuned have his ladi forto wynne.'

With this heavenly melody in the temple

I awoke,

And with þe noise and heuenli melodie
*Which þat þei made in her armonye
þuruʒ oute þe temple, for þis manes sake,
Oute of my slepe anone I did awake,
And for astonied knwe as þo no rede;
For sodein chaunge oppressid so with drede
Me þounʒ I was cast as in a traunce:
So clene away was þo my remembraunce
Of al my dreme, wher-of gret þounʒ & wo
I hade in hert, & nyst what was to do,
For heuynes þat I hade lost þe sijt

The Author's Awaking.—L'Envoy.

Of hir 
Haid dremed of in myn auisious;
Because I had neuer in my life aforne
Se[n] none so faire, fro time 
For loue of whome, so as I can endite,
I purpose here to maken & to write
In pris of women, oonli for hir sake,
Hem to comende, as it is skil & ri§,
For here goodnes, with al my full[le] my§—
Prayeng to hir 
So ful of vertue and so gracions,
Of womanhed & merciful pite
This simpil tretis forto take in gre,
Til I hane leiser, vnto hir heij renoun
Forto expoune my forseid visiou, 
And tel in plein pe significauce,
So as it comep to my remembraunce,
So 

Now go þi wai, þou litel rude boke, 
To hir presence, as I þe comaund, 
And first of al þou me recomaynd 

Now go thy way, thou little book, 
and recommend me unto my lady.

And prai to hir 

If eny worde in þe be myssaid, 
Biseching hir she be not euel apaied; 
For as hir list, I wil þe efte correcte, 
When þat hir likeþ againward þe directe: 
I mene þat beneigne & goodli of *face.

Now go þi way & put þe in hir grace.

1376 for never had
1377 I seen so fair
1379 a one before.
1380 For love of
1381 her I purpose
1382 here to write
1384 praying her
1385 to accept this
1386 treatise,
1387 until I can
1388 fully expound my
1389 vision.
1392 that I may it loke.
1394 Now go thy
1395 way, thou
1396 little book,
1399 and recommend me
1400 unto my lady.
1401 And if aught
1402 be missaid.
1403 1 will correct
1405 it.
1411 Now put thee
1412 in her grace.

APPENDIX I.

Compleyt.

[This ditty (595) or little book (622), given in MSS. G and S as a continuation of the Temple of Glass, was written by a lover to express his feelings, when he took leave of his mistress Margaret (the day's eye, 395), on the last day of March. In her presence, he cannot speak; she will not help him, or bid him do aught for her, tho' she sees his sorrow and love for her. On this March 31, the Sun rejoices because he'll spend the night with Diana; but the Poet has left his love. He reproaches March for its changes, and describes the charms of his Mistress. He appeals to Fortune to let his Margaret, the day's eye, whose beauty he praises, give him her grace and love in April, for he is hers only, till death; she is his joy, his heart's rest, but alas also the cause of his woe. For her, he is in a fever, first hot, then cold; he ever burns like the lamp of Albiston in Venus' shrine. Never had he felt such pain till this last of March, when he parted from his Love. So he writes her this Ditty to tell her his woe. He prays her to look at his little book; to tear it, if she will, with her soft hands: but rather look on it with her goodly face, and take heed of him, who is hers for ever.]

Allas for thought & inward *peyne,
That myn herte so constreyne,
With-oute reste day be day,
Enere sythe I wente a-way
Out of 30ure syght, myn lady dere,
That there is no thynge that may stere
Myne dolful harmys nor myn wo,
That ben so fer on me go,
With-oute remedy or bote,
Euyn onto myn herte rote,
That wel I fele by myn smert
That I from deth may not astert;
And trewely that is lytyll woundyr,
Sythe that we are so fer asundyrr,
Myn lyuys lust, myn hertys quene,
So fayr, so good vp-on to sene,
That by myn trouthe, wther so I be,
I fare, when I may 30w nat se,
As doth the fysch vp-on the stronde,
Out of the watyr brought to londe,
That spraulynge deyeth for dystresse:
Ryght so fare I for heuynesse,
Whan I of 3ow haue lost the syght,
More drery than the derke nyght
For wantyng of the sterrys cleere,
Ryght so forderkyd is myn cheere,

Lych as asshis deede, pale of heewe.
So myn constreynt deth renewe,
And euere encresith more & more;
At myn herte it sit so sore,
Whan that I haue in remembrance,
Myn owene souereyn suffysance,
How I of 30w myn leue tok,
And in euery membre quok;
For verr yo wy & dystresse
Ne myghte [I] not a word expresse
Of al myn wo, alas the whyle!
For al myn olde peyned to style
Was elene a-gon & out of mynde:
For I ne coude a word not fynde
To speke to 3ow, I was so dul;
Fortune hath 30ue me swich a pul
In 3oure seruyse, that al is gon,
And mynyne wittys, euery-chon,
Bothe toune, speche & euery del,
Thow I recorde neure so wel,
Whan I am come to 3oure presence,
Farwel, speche & eloquence;
A tounge I haue, but wordys none,
But stonde mut as *any stone.
I fele smert, & can not pleyne,
So *hooth myn fenere in euery *veyne,

Title: Compleyt S. La compleyn G. 1. peyne|pyne G. 6. 2d that|which S. 7. dolful|worful S. harmys|harome S. nor|and S. 11. smert|hert S. 12 reads in S.: put nit to depe wol me smert. 14. are|been S. 18. whan I may|if pat I S. 21. That|With S. deyeth|depe S. 27. as asshis|Ashen S. 30. At|To S. it sit|hit snytehe S. 33. bene|love S. 36. I om. G. 37. wol|sorow S. 40. not|om. S. 44. myyne|my S. 48. Farwel|for wille S. |or S. 50. any|a G. 52. hooth G. hooth myn fenere|am I hoote S. veyne|wayne G.
The wheche I hauue so longe enduryd, Wondyt but myn wounde is curyd; And 3ee, that myghte ben myn leche, Hauue me for-nome tunge & speche, 56 Wit, & mynde, & al myn thought, So that with me is left *ryght nou[gh]ht, But good wil only 30w to serue, With-oute chaung, tyl that I sterue. God wot, I hauue no more rychesse, 61 Ioye, merthe, nor gladnesse, But fully theron for to thynke, WHER so that I *wake or wynke, 64 For to a-swage myn inward smert. For wel 3e wetyn that myn hert With 30w onbit & nat remeuyn[h], And aftyr mercy eueremor seynyth 68 In 30w to fynde pete or grace, Sum rethek ek in 30ure goodly face. And *er I deye for treuth & drede, Ay thynkynge on 30ure womanhede, On 30ure beute & semelynesse, 73 Recordynge ay in myn distresse 30ure schap, 30ure forme, & 30ure glad chere, Thow 3e ben there, & I am here, 76 Allas! thowryth crewel aventure, 30ure schap, 30ure forme, & 30ure fygure.

Amyd myn herte depeynytde be : By god, thow I may 30u nat se, 80 The prent is there so depe I-graeu; And eueremor schal so god me saue, I 30w ensure, by myn trouthe, Thow that 3e neuer haue on me routh, Ne neuer ne wele me do mercy, 85 *yt schal I seruyn, tyl I dey, By god, on-to 30ure womanhede, How euer it falle, that I spede; 88 Of whyche 3yf 3e han dysdeyn, It *wolde double al myn peyn, And castyn me in swich seynnesse, That I ne schulde, in sothfastnesse, To helthe neuere a-geyn recure, 93 But euer in maledy endure Vnto myn loste—thys is the trouthe— For that 3e leste to hauue no routh the 96 Vp-on 30ure seruanet & 30ure man, In al that euer I may or can. And of on thynge, soth for to seye, I hauue gret mater to compleyne, 100 That 3e ne wolde, of al the tyme, Nothyt at eue ne at pryyme, Comamade me to do ryght nought, Wherof I have so meche thought, 104 And ay castynge in myn fantasye, How 3e, for ought I can espye, Of myn servise have no deynyte, 107 And seye: "allas what may this be?" Astonyd so in al myn bloed, That I to symple—& 3e to good— For 30ure worthy excellency, 111 That myn kendenesse yow doth offence, Sythe 3e [ne] wale In word ne thought 30were serwarte bidde do ryght nought. What have I gilt, allass, allass! Othyr offendyt, in ony cas, 116 30ure womanheded, or 30ure heyyghnesse, Ageyn 30ure trouthe & gentillesse. I-wis I se non othyr cause, To telle shortly in a clause, 120 But only this that myn symplsesse Vyworthy is, to 30ure heynnhesse To do servise agreable. Allas, allas, I am vnable 124

Lady, set me some task to do for you! You see my sorrow.

Of cunninge—& non-suffysaunce—
To sow, myn lady, to don plesaunce,
And 3e ne wolde of crewelte
Onys [list] to comemude me.
And 3it this vow to god I make,
How cueve it be, that 3e it take,
To good or harm in ony wyse,
Herte, body, & myn servise,
Konnynge, wit, & dilygence,
Absent & In your presence,
To sow I seeve & to no mo,
Myn hertys quen, myn swete fo.

Thelynyt it may non othyr be,
For lak of mercy thow that 3e
Me sclen & don non othyr grace,
Wherso I be, in ony place.
For I am bounde of olde & newe
To sow a-lone to ben trewe,
And to no mo in al myn lyve,
Ageyn the whiche I ma[y] nat stryve,
Thow that I wolde, 3e *knewe it wel.
Wherfore doth awaye the stel,
I mene the hardnesse of your herte,
And letyth pete sow owerte,
To clepe me your owene man,
To serve forth, as I be-gan,
And your servaunte me to calle,
And letyth nat swich vengeaus falle,
Myn hertys lady, vp-on me—
Preyinge of yourene benygnete,
3if that 3e lyste myn lyft to save,
And me to kepyn from myn grave,
Me to comemude hastely,
Of your womanly mercy,
Of newe to don sow sum servise
By sum ollys or sum empryse,
Wherwyth I myghte sow delyte.
The whiche[c] thyng but 3if 3e wryte,
As I have seyde, to biddyn me,
Myn herte shal neuer in ese be,
I sowz ensure by myn trouthe.

Wherfore on me havith sum routhe,
And thynkyth, sythe I am your man,
To serve as bowly as I can,
I can not demyn how that 3e
Of myn servise havyn deynye,
But 3e lyste biddye me a-mong
Sum servise to vndyrfong,
That may sow turne to plesaunce.
And fethere hath in remembranuce,
Whaume I of sow tok last myn leve,
How sore that it dede me greve
That 3e me seeve so meche large,
From sow to gon with-out charge,
The wheele 3af my herte a wounde,
By myn cher as It was founde,
Of face bothe pale & dede,
Heviere than ony ledye,
I troue 3e dede it wel espyle
By the cunyainge of myn eye,
And also by myn pytous lok,
And how that I for sorwe quok,
For lak of blod that hym with-drow
Vn-to myn herte thus In a swow:
I hadde almost ful sodeynly
I-falle there, & cause why
Was that I de parte shulde
From thens where myn herte wolde
Faynesthe abyde, & encremor shal,
Wher it is set, not part but al;
And I a word ne myghte speke,
Myn hyde sorwe to vnrcke,
Wherof I was sumdel ashamyd;
For thof of newe was a-tamyd
To me of sorwe the bittyr tonne,
That to myn herte hath I-romme
The sharpe lycur, so fel & egre,
More than eysel or venegre,
Whiche dede myn herte sorne embrasse,
When I be-held your goodly face,
Ful pytously as I forth *yede,
[Thanking on youre godeleyhed.]
The body wente, the herte a-bod. So pytously with me it stod, That, as me thoughte, thowrew myn syde A swerd of sorwe dede glyde, That made me ful reufully To loke thanne, so that I Was lych a verruy ded ymage. It sene was in myn visage, The sorwe that at myn herte sat, Takynge non hed of this ne that, Save by myn self, at good leyser, A-syde that no man cam me ner, To syghyn & to make mone, And pytously *I gan to grone: I felte so gret aduersite, That it wolde non othyr be, Wher-so me were lef or loth. And with the sume I was rygh[t] wroth That he shon so bryghte & shene, Whil that I felte so gret tene, And that he shewede hym so brught, And of hyse bensys glad & lyght, Whils I was in so gret troubl. Myrthe made myn sorwe double; For Ioye & sorwe a-cordyn nought; No gladnessse to an hevy thought. No laughtyr to hym that is in peyne. For non asond may ben a-twyneye, But they in herte & thought ben on To parte, w[h]ere they ryde or gon, Ioye & wo, euene a-lyche, Whethyr they be pore or ryche. Wherfore It sat me wondyr sore, That Phebus alwey more & moore So cler was shynyngne In his spere, Whils I so hevy was of chere, Awaytynge, whan it wolde reyne, With me to weypyn & compleynye Myn hidde dol & drerynse.

But cause, I trowe, of his gladnesse, And that he was so froch & gay, In March vp-on the laste day, Was for that he shulde mete With Dy[a]ne in the aryete, His owene lady & his quene, And al the nyght to-gedere bene, Ful merye as by commynxtyoun, And make non departeycoun,* be nexst[e] day til hit be Eeve, bat pe Moone takepe hir leve, And to pe whyte bulle hir dresse. But I, alas, in hevyynesse, be same day of Marche pe last, But fro my lady sithe I past, Of lyf, of dethe al cast in were, Whas shynynge of hir eyen clere And confort of pe bright[e] lemys, Of pe sume bright with his bensys, Of hir looke so angellyk, bat in pis worlde is noon hir lyke, Ne noon was, with-owten weene, Heleyne neyper Polixeene, To reken alle hir semlynesse, To hir of beantye ner feynesse, And hir trouthe bope in feere, bat with my lady may appere, For to Alayene my distresse, To recomforten and redresse My woful lyff to myrthe ageynye; For per is noon suche for to seynye In al pis worlde, onely but she, That may til myn aduersite Do remedy ne medecyne, Sane she pat may my sorowes fyne, To seken out est and west, I mene you, myn hertis rest, Of whame pis day in ful gret sorowe I tooke my leyve by pe morowe, Ful trist and hevy in wepeyn, And wonder sore of compleynyn,
Treachrous March, I've lost my lovely and charful Mistress.

pe which may neuer out of mynde.  
bus Marche hape made an hevy eende,  
And take his leve ful bitturly,  
That wot no man so wel as I,  
Ne is expert, what pis may meene,  
But I alloome, pat al sustene,  
With bone so hoote sette a fyre.  
His crueltee, and woful Ire,  
Alias pe whyle! hit wol me sloo,  
Departing fro my sweete foo.  

O Marche, I may ful wel warye,  
That art to me so contrarye,  
Proving ay myn hevenesse,  
As Judith full of doublenesse,  
Wonderful, and ay vnstable,  
Right dyuers and vvariabyle:  
Now canst pou Reyne, now shyne,  
And so wrongely drawest pe lyne,  
And al py cours dost holde:  
Nowe art pou hoot, now art pou colde,  
Nowe canst pou londe and fully blowe,  
Nowe smoope and stilly here pe lowe,  
Now canst pou sneewe, now canst pou  
heyle,  
And vs with stormes sore assayle;  
Ful seeld in oon pou doost abyde,  
Gret cause hane I pe to chyde,  
Pat hast pis day so gret deleyte,  
As hit wer verray for despuyte  
Of me, to ben so gladd and feyre,  
Whylest my lyf hongepe in despeyre  
Of parting, al in dole and dred,  
Frome pe floure of wommanhend,  
Whiche haue my lyff and depe pe  
honde,  
Bope in water and in londe,  
And is pe feyrest and pe best,  
In whame yche vertue is at rest,  
Bounte, oupe, and gentylesse,  
Beaute, glad cheere, and semlynesse,  
Wysdam, maner, and honestee,  
Prudence and femyynyuetee,  
Sykurnesse, and assurance,  
Styyle porte, and gouernance,  
Lowlynesse, and al-so dred,  
Sadnesse ymeynt with goodelyhed,  
Trouthe, feth, & stedfastnesse:  
To alle exsample & maystresse  
That lest in vertn for to lere;  
To telle hire port & hire manere:  
Large in refus & dangerous to take,  
*Streytest of grant, ay rely to forsake,  
Ferful euere to don a-mys,  
Ful shamefast & sobre I-wys,  
Merour of attempurance,  
And rygh[t] demeur of daylynnce  
Of worshepe, honour & mesuue  
She is the welle, I sow ensure;  
Dotonus of tungiis, that ben large;  
So hol in vertn is hire *charge,  
In alle hire dedys vertuus,  
And [to] a coward *despitous,  
As deth hatynge dyshoneste,  
In here entent so cleene is she.  
How meche wit she can ek shewe,  
Where as she lest, in wordys fewe!  
There is no lak in no degre,  
But of mercye & pete,  
To sweche as ben in hyre sernysse.  
Thus may I seyn in myn avise,  
That d[j]eth thourgh hyre crowelte,  
That feste not on-to me  
Vnclose hyre lyppys for to speke.  
Alas! she is to sore I-w[r]eke,  
Sythe that she wele me nat comaund,  
Nor hyre centence counterynnaunde,  
In here sernysse ne contune,  
This day of March—allas, Fortune,  
Thyn double whel that can so varie!  
Thyn stormy cher may I wel warye,  

That whylem is so glad & lyght, 365
Now derk as is the donne nyght;
Now fayr & froesch & pleyn of face,
Now fromynyd & devoyd of grace;
Now law[h]ynge, & rygh[t] merye of cheere,
Now deddy pale & nothyng cleere;
Now bryghtere than the clere sonne,
Now blak as ben the skyris donne; 372
Now as the rose, froesch & newe,
Now as the netyl rowe of howe;
Now canst thow sette men aloft,
And now hem plonynch ful vnsofte,
Dowm from hegh felcyte, 377
Swich is thynmutablylite.
Now canst thowsmyle, & make a mowe,
Whan men arn wel from the I-throwe:
Thus may I seyn, allas, allas! 381
That causelles, for no trespas,
Hast mad myn lady most souereyn
Myn symple seruyse to dysdeyn.
Allas, therby I wot ryght wel,
But thow tune a-geyn thyn whel,
To make me a-zen purchace
Mercy of hyre & getyn grace,
Ther is non othyr remedye,
But shortly this that I mot deye,
Now mercy, Fortune, & haue pyte
On myn grete ahuersyte,
And on myn woful maladye.
And graunt[e] that the day[e]ye,
The wheche is callyd margaret,
So fayr, so goodly & so meke
Of flour, of stolk, of cropy & rote,
So froshch, so benynghe & so sote,
That may a-lone to myn langour
Don remedye, to myn socour,
And lyssyn al myn langvissynge,
Of whych I am so compleynynge,
From day to day, with-oute socour,
For lakyngynge of this froshe flour, 404
That hath in curys so gret fame,
And 'petyt confort' beryth the name.
For it can sonde & hele a-geyn
Hertys wouadit, that fele peyn, 408
Whos crowne is bothe whyt & red,
The stalke euere grene & nevere ded,
In medewe, valevis, hillys & elyf,
The whiche flour pleunly 3if
I myghte at lesyer onys se,
And a-hyde at lyberete,
Where as it doth so fayre spredre
A-geyn the sume in euery mede, 416
On bankys hy a-mong the bromys,
Wher as these lytylle herdegromys
Floutyn al the longe day,
Bothe in aprylle & in may,
In here smale recorderys,
In floutys & in rede sperys,
Aboute this flour, til it be nyght;
It makyth hem so glad & lyght, 424
The grete bente to be-holde
Of this flour & some oufode
Hyre goodly fayre white levis,
Swettere than in 3ynge grevis
Is cheryfroyl or hawethorn,
Whan plente with hire fulle horn
Hyre sote baume doth out-shede
On hony-souklys in the mede,
Fletynge ful of sugre newe;

Fortune, send me this April the love of my Lady, my joy, my heart!

Yit is ther non so frosch of hewe, Nor halp fayr vn-to myn ye, As is the lusty daysye, 436 Whos frosche beute nygh me sleth. For in hyve mercy [is] lyf & deeth, Ioye, helthe & euerfdle, That in short tymne, but I fel 440 Sum grace in this goodly flour, I mot be ded of this langour.

*Yit god me sende this Apery lyle
In syght therof to han myn fille, 444 More than I hadde in march now late. When I tok leue now at the zate
Of this goodly day[e]sy, With *sighing inward pryvylye, 448 I mene myn souereyn hertis rest, For whom myn herte wele to-brest, But she the rathere mercy shewe, And Fortune ek, in wordlys fewe, 452 Do here besynesse & cure, To help to myn auenture. Now help, Fortune, & have pete!
And help, myn owene lady fre, 456 For whom this pitous wo I make, Sythe it is only for your sake, And for non othyr, by myn trouthe! Now mercy, swee, & hauyth sum
routhe! That I may only at the lease
To 3ow fulllyyn myn beheste, And myn avow & oth also, To servyn 3ow in wele & wo, 464 Whil that I leue, & not departe, Tyl dethis darte myn herte parte— That I to myn reconfortynge
May han this charg be 3owre bedynge, And by your commaundement, With al yourm fulla beste entent

To ben 3owre man in euer thyng,
With-oute chaung or departynge, 472 And oner this, ay newe & newe
Vn-to 3owre man, that is so trewe, How dere of hym that it be bought, Evne as it ly[e]th in *your thought, With-oute feynyngge or feyntysye, 477 To bidde & charge in euerly wise, To don in Ioye, *or in isse
Every thyng, that may ben ese 480 Vn-to 3ow, myn lady dere. And leyth outwar[d] more appere
3owre inward hidde secrenesse, So that 3owre tunge more expresse 484 Your hertys wil & pryuite
Pleylnly, myn lady, onto me, That am 3owre owene man I-swore, With herte & mouth & wil, wherfore 3e shulde nat so strame be, 489 Sythe wel 3e wete, how that 3e Of herte, body, good & al, And every thyng In specyal, 492 In verray trewe sothfastnesse
Ben souereyn lady & maystresse, Myn wor[l]de lyfe godesse, & also 495 Myn Ioye, myn helthe & ek myn wo, Myn fulla trust & myn geraunnce, Myn seknesse, & myn hol plesaunce, Myn myrthe & ek myn maledye, Myn langour & ek myn remedye, 500 Myn hertys rest & perturbauwce, Myn syghyngge & myn suffysaunce, Myn confort & contracyoun, Myn dol, *myn consolacyoun, 504 Myn laughyngge & myn wepynge ek, And cause whi that I am sek, Myn though[t] a day, myn wach a nyght, 507

TEMPLE OF GLAS.

Myn dreadful pes; myn glade fyght,
Myn quiete & myn busy werre, 509
Myn pensyfhed bothe nygh & ferre,
Myn softe salve, myn sharpe wondre,
Myn pleyn, myn penomas most locounde,
Myn holsum dreem whan that I slepe,
But whanne I wake, thanne I wepe;
Myn hertys Ioye, where 3e gon,
And I in languer ly alon, 516
Nothyr fully quik nor ded,
But al amasid in myn hed,
By-twixe hope & dred aperyrid,
Of myn lyf almost dispeyrid, 520
* By constreynt of myn greepe penamace,
And ofte I lay thus in a tramee;
Myn fecure is contynuel,
That me asayeth stonndemel,
Now battere, than the verray glede,
And now as cold, with-oute drede,
As frost is in the wyntyre mone;
And thanne sodeynly & some 528
For hete & cold a-non I deve,
And thus forpossid *be-tween tweye,
Of hasty cold & sodeyn hete
Now I cheure, & now I swete, 532
And now I am with cold I-shake,
And thanne a broadbande doth me take
Of fer, that may nat quenchid be
With al the watyr in the se. 536
Myn hete is so violent,
Wher wyth myn pitous herte is brenet,
That may ben likkenyd to a ston,
Which is I-callyd albiston, 540
That onys whan it hath caught feer,
Ther may no man the flaymbe steer,
That it wel breame after enere,
And neuere from the fer disseure,
So they acordyn of nature. 545
And for this ston may longe endure,
In fer to breeme fayr & bryght,
As sterrys in the wyntyr nyght, 548
I fynde, in Venus oratorye,
In hir worshepe & memorie,
Was mad a lamanpe of this ston,
To breeme a-fore here enure in on,
For to quene the goddesse: 553
Ryght so myn lady & maystresse
Myn herte, as 3e shal vndyrstone,
Iferede with Cupidis bronze, 556
That hath—& shal bothe day & nyght—
So hot, so clerly & so bryght
Enflamabid me, in wondyr wyse,
And only brend in youre servise, 560
With-oute smoke of doublinesse,
Chaung[e] or newfongynesse.*
Qwyt of al, for wele or woo,
Sane of lone—per ben no moo 564
Pat may me lyf or dethe comaunde,
Pleynly pat is no demaunde;
And per-fore, as ye willen hit be,
I mot obeye, at al degre. 568
And pleynely pas pe game hape go,
Euer sith I parted yow fro,
Sipen, alas, I sayde amyssse
Of oure departing last wyssse. 572
For sithen I had first a sight
Of youre peersand even bright,
Pe sharpe[+] point of Remembrance
Mad[e] no disseuerance, 576
Pat hit nape stiked in myn hert
Contynuely, of Ioye or smert,
And not departed trawely.
But wittete oon thing feythfully: 580
In al my lyf, sithe I was borne,
As felt I neuer suche peyne aforne,
Of no departing noon suche offence,
As whane I went from youre presence,
In Marche nowe pe last[+] day. 585
For ener sithe in suche affray

My Love, read this! Tear it, if you will; but look on it, and love me!

Myn hert habe been, in sothefastnesse, In suche annoye and duresse,  
Bat hit hape brought me right lowe. And for by-cause ye shal hit knowe, My sighing and my woful care, And euer sith howe I haue fare, Al be I can not tellen al,  
To you I wryte in speceyal A certaine dytee, bat I made, And offte sypes a balade,  
Pe whiche I made pe self[e] day, From you when I went away, With pis compleynt here byfore, And syben howe I haue me bore, Day and night, in youre service, Beseeching bat ye not despysse Pis litell quarell, but dope grace For to forguye pis trespass,  
If my worde amysse be spoke, And or bat ye per-on be wroke, To casten fully in pe fyr, I prey you first to maken cler  
With a goode looke, and with no more. And if hit shal be al to-tore, With-uten mercy, and to-rent, I prey yowe with my best entent,  
Bat with youre owen handes soffit Bat ye reende and brek it offt: For youre touche, I dare wel seyne, Wel pe lasse shal ben his peyne,  
If ye may haue so myche grace, Bat you list with goodely face Per-on for to loken oones, And to rede hit efft sones,  
Per-on wel to beholde, And pe litel book vnfolde, Of pe storye bat ye take heede; I desyre noon ope merde,  
And euer of mercy I you prey, Whedir bat I lyf or deye. Pis is al and some, my lady dere,  
And I youre man frome yere to yere.
APPENDIX II.

Duodecim abusiones.

Rex sine sapiencia.  Episcopus sine doctrina.
Dominus sine consilio.  Mulier sine castitate.
Miles sine probitate.  Index sine Iusticia. 3
Dives sine elemosina.  Populus sine lege.
Senex sine religione.  Seruus sine timore.
Pauper superbus.  Adolescens sine obediencia.  6

Goo forth, kyng, rule the by saypence;  7
Bysshop, be able to mynystre doctrine;
Lord, to treu counseyle yeue audycence,
Womanhed, to chastyte euer enlyne;
Knyght, lete thy dedes worshyp determyne.
Be rightuous, Inge, in sauyng thy name;
Ryche, doo almes, lest thou lese blys with shame.  13
People, obeye your kyng and the lawe;
Age, be thou ruled by good religyon;
True seruauwt, be dredfull & kepe the vnder awe,
And thou, poure, fye on presumpyon:
Inobedience to yougth is utter destruccyon.
Remembre you how god hath sette you, lo!
And doo your parte, as ye ar ordeynd to.  20

1. Rex b.—sapientia w. b.—Episcopus b.  2. Dominus b.—consilio W. b.
   consilo w.—castitate W. b.  3. probitate b.—institia b.  5. religiose
   W. b.  6. Pauper b.—superbus b.—sine b.—obediencia W. b.  obediencia
   w. b.  7. Go w.  8. Go b.—forthe b.—kynge w.—reall W. b.  rule w. b.  8.
   Bysshoppe b.—mynyster w.  mynistre b.—doctrine w.  9. Lorde w. b.—
   trewe w.  10. true b.—counsell w.  counsayle b.—gyue w. b.—audience b.  10.
   Womanhele w.  Womanheed b.—chastite b.  11. lette w.  let b.  12.
   ryghtwyse w.  rightous b.—sauyng w.  13. do w. b.—lose b.—hlysse w. b.
   14. kynge w.  15. relygyon w.  religion b.  16. Tren W. b.  Trew w.  seruant b.—dredful w.  drealfull b.
   17. poore w. b.—fye on] defye b.—presumpcion b.  18. Inobedience b.—youth w. b.—distruclion b.  19. you] om. b.—howe w. b.—set b.—lo] so b.  20. And] Than b.—do w. b.—part
   b.—are w. b.—ordeyned W. 2. w. b.

The Chaucer-Prints of 1561 and 1598 (fol. 336 d, in both), omit thou in l. 15, and have be for ar in l. 20. It would serve no purpose to give their orthographical variations.
NOTES.

Lines 1—3. The author seemingly wishes to represent himself in the light of a lover; at least his wofulness in going to bed and his wallowing to and fro is quite in accordance with Cupid's injunctions in the Rom. of the R. 2553—2564. See similar lines in Parl. of F. 88, 89, and cp. the 5th Statute in the Court of Love (l. 334). See also Ovid, Amores 1, 2, 1—4; and note to l. 12 below.

1. thought.] This word is common in the love-poetry of Lydgate's time in the emphatic meaning "heavy thought," "sorrowful meditation," "trouble"; cp. for instance: "take no thought," T. of Glas 1174; "peyne, wo, & thought," ib. 1260; "gret thought & wo," ib. 1370; "thought & inward peyne," Compleynt 1; "sorwe and thought," Falls of Pr. 297 c, Rom. of the R. 368, 2728, and Court of L. 990; "triument and thought," Frank. Tale 356; "care and thought," Troy-Book Ce 1; "thought, pyne, and adversitee," Kings Quar 175, l. 2. Shakspere still frequently uses the word in this sense. Compare further:

"And thus to bedde I wente with thought my gest,"

"Devoyde of heynnesse and thoght," Reason and S. 271 b;
"For thought and wo pyteously wepynge," Troy-Book Th. 1.

"glad and mery . . . voyde of thought," Falls of Pr. 113 b.

constreint.] Occurs again in ll. 11 and 667; see also Compleynt 28 and 521. Very common in this context; see, for instance, Falls of Pr. 9 b; his [Jupiter's] constreint & his mortal distres; Troy. II, 776: joye, constreynte, and pyne: IV, 713: wo and constreynte. Cp. also note to l. 11. The reading compleynt in G and S is certainly wrong.

2. pensyfnes.] The word occurs also in the Black Knight 102; De duobus Mercatoribus, MS. Hh. IV, 12, fol. 73 b; Reason and S. 237 b; Compleynt 510; print w replaces it by the modern pensyfnes.

3. To bedd I went.] Similar beginnings of these "dreamers": Rom. of the R. 23; Court of S. a 2 b (see note to l. 1); Parl. of F. 88.

4—7. For the meaning of these lines see the Introduction, p. cvx.

Titan (see l. 32) and Phebus are very common in Lydgate for the sun, Lucina for the moon. Cp. for instance, Troy-Book Ks a:

"And Appollo is called eke Titan . . .
And he also yealled is Phebus."

Life of our Lady, fol. a 2 a:

"she fayrer was to see (the Virgin)
Than outhere Phebus platly, or Lucyne,
With homes ful on (Caxton of) heuen whan they shyne."

See Koeppel, Story of Thebes, p. 73, l. 4.

4. "Lucyna . . . with hir pale lyght" comes also in the Troy-Book Dd, a; "Lucyna of colour pale and wan," ib. fol. A, d.


Bradshaw's Life of Saint Werburne also begins "Amylde Demembre," when "pale Lucyna" illuminates the earth.


"For the constreynt of his hydele (deelely *U₅ e*) wo’;

*Ib. U₂ d*: "Denoyde of slepe for constreynt of his wo."

*Ib. S₆ a*: "Aye on his bedde walowyng to and fro,

For the constreynt of his hydde wo."

**Falls of Pr. 201 a**: "for constreint of her wo." [Cp. note to l. 1.]

12. walowit.] *i. e.* turning restlessly. The word occurs again, in the same meaning, in the *Leg. of Good W.* 1166:

"She waketh, walweth, maketh many a brayd ...";

**Wife of Bath’s Tale 229**: 

"He walwith, and he tornith to and fro."

**Rom. of the R. 2562**: "And walowe in woue the longe nyght."

Compare also the quotation in the preceding line, from the *Troy-Book*, fol. *S₆ a*; further, the expressions: "walow and wepe," *Troyil*. I, 699; "for-wakit and for-walowit," *Kingis Quair* 11, 1. Similar expressions referring to the restless state of lovers during the night are:

**Rom. of the R. 4132**: "Long wacche on nyghtis, and no slepinge ..."

With many a turnyng to and froo";

**Dunbar, ed. Laing**, I, 65, l. 213:

"Than ly I walkand for wa, and walleris about."

Cp. the note to ll. 1—3.


"And with theyr songe, or he take kepe,

He shall be brought in a mortall slepe." (*Ulysses and Sirens.*)

"Take kepe” = take heed, a very common expression; cp. Chaucer’s *Prol. to the Cant. Tales* 398, 505; *Knight’s Tale* 531, etc.

Line 11 struck Hill, *De Guileville . . . compared with . . . Bunyan*, p. 35, as being similar to Canto I, 10, of the *Inferno*; see the Introduction, p. cxxiv.

13, 16. Cp. *Hous of F.* 119, 120:

"But as I sleep, me mette I was

Within a temple y-mad of glas."

This seems to have suggested the title of our poem. See further Pope’s *Temple of Fame*, II, 132—134:

"The wall in lustre and effect like glass,

Which o’er each object casting various dies,

Enlarges some, and others magnifies."

Cp. also *Falls of Pr. 105 b*:

"Whose temple is made of glas & not of stele" (*Fortune’s*),

and *The Isle of Ladies*, l. 72, 751.

17. I nyste how.] Cp. *Piers Pl.*, l. 12:

"That I was in a wilderness, wist I never where;"

Further *Court of S.* a₃ b:

"Thus brought on sleepe my spyrre forth gan passe,

And brought I was, me thought, in a place deserte,

In wyldernes; but I nyste where I was."

The expression occurs also in the *Hous of F.*, l. 1049.

18. (as) bi likynesse.] Cp. *Falls of Pr. 9 d*:

"which, as by likelines,

Was a place pleasant of larges."

The expression occurs also *Troy-Book H₃ a*; *M₃ e*; *P₆ a*; *Ce₆ c*; *Assem. of Gods c₆ b*; *Edmund I*, 464; *Pilgrim*. 161 b; 173 a:

"A womman as by lyklynesses."

Or may we read "likynesse," as the reading of MSS. T. F. B. L suggests?

11. 19—34. Stephen Hawes seems to have had these lines in his memory when he wrote the passage in the *Pastime of Pl.*, quoted on page cxxix.

A curious, indirect mode of expression. Cp. Fall of Pr. 93 c:

"This Erebus hath, of yron, not of stone,
For vauncie built a foule great citty."

Ib. 105 b: "Whose temple is made of glas & not of stele" (Fortune's),
a symbolism which is explained by Fall of Pr. 127 b:

"Fortunes favours be made—who loke wele—
Of brotill glasse, rather than of stele."

Cp. further, Reason and S. 278 b:

"And the poyntes of eche heele
Nat of Ireñ, but of lede."

St. of Thebes 356 b: "In a Cope of blakce, and not of grene."

roche.] Similarly Hows of F. 1115, 1116:

"How I gan to this place aproche
That stood upon so high a roche."

The Castle of Sapience (Court of S. e₂ a) stands also on a "roche"; Nimrod's
tower, Fall of Pr. 5 b, is

"Like to a mountaine bilt on a craggy roche.

Many of Hawes's towers or castles stand "on a craggy roche," so the Tower
of Geometry, Chapter XXI; the Tower of Correction, Chapter XXXII, etc.

21, 22. Cp. Troy-Book B₄ d:

"freshe ryuers, of which the water clene
Lyke cristall shone agayne the sonne shene."

Douglas, ed. Small, l. 50, 14: "Agane the some like to the glas it schone."

29. ester = "inner parts" of a house. See Skeat, Leg. of Good W., note to
l. 1715. The word occurs again in l. 549; Fall of Pr. 74 b; Reason and S.
280 a, 282 a; Knightes Tale 1113; Reeves Tale 375; Rom. of the Rose 1448,
3626, etc.

30-32. Similar expressions in Lif of our Lady h₁ b:

"I fynde also that the skyues done,
Whiche of custome curteyne so the nyght,
The same tymne with a sodayn sonne
Enched were that it wexid al light,
As at mylday whan phebus is most bright" (at the birth of Christ).

Fall of Pr. 160 d: "Though it so fall, sometime a cloudy skye
Be chased with wynd afore y* sunne bright."

skyes done] very frequent expression; see, for instance, Fall of Pr. 193 b;
Albom 11, 1131; Pilgrimes. 58 b; Compleynt 372; Flour of C. 115; Departing
of Th. Chaucer, etc.

33. The wyld is somewhat anticipating, as Lydgate first tells us of his
entering into the temple in l. 39.

36. Of similar construction to our Temple of Glas is the Palace of Priam in
the Troy-Book, fol. F₂ a (repeated on fol. R₂ a, and alluded to in the Court of S.
e₅ b):

"He made it bylde, hye vpon a roche . . .
The syght of whiche, iustly circuler.
By compase cast, round as any sper."

In this case the monk gives us also the exact dimensions, and shows off his
knowledge of geometry:

"And who that wold the content of y* grounde
Truely acounte, of this place rounde,
In the theatre firste he muste entre,
Takyng y* lyne yt kerneth thorough the centre,
By gemetrye, as longeth to that art,
And trebled it, with the seuenthe part. . . ."

So our monk had an inking of the Archimedean value of π = 3½.

37. In compaswise.] So again Fall of Pr. 154 d:

"In compas wise closed hym without."

We have several times "In compas rounde" in Lydgate; for instance: Albom
1, 358: "In compas rounde and large"; Black Knight 39: "a parke, enclosed
with a wal In compas rounde," So also in the Rom. of the R. 4183: "The tour was rounde mand in compas." Cp. also Knightes Tale 1031: "Round was the schap, in maner of compas."

bentaille. entail here seems simply to mean "forme," "shape"; in which meaning it is not uncommon in Lydgate, cp. Reason and S. 226 b:

"Of entayle and of fassoun
Lyche the blade of a fawchoun" (a sword);
a little lower down Lydgate says that Hercules, Hector, or Achilles

"had no swerd of swich entayle;"

further, Falls of Pr. 63 a: "craggy roches most hidous of entaille;"

further, 7b. 174 d: (yron barres) "Brode of entayle, rounde and wonder long;"

Albon I, 256:

"harness of plate and maile, Curiously forged after moost fresehe entaille;"

Albon I, 242: "Ther was one of stature and entaille, (Amphibalas)

As ferre as kinde coulde her crafte preuiall;"

Edmunc I, 659, speaks of God's "disposicion most vnkouth off entayle;"

Pilgrim. 271 a: "And made hym fyrst off swych entaylle" (the carpenter his idol);

Story of Thebes 357 b: (walles) "Pasyynge riche, and roiall of entaille,"

Cp. also Rom. of the R. 3711: "This lady was of good entaille" (Venus).

39. wicket.] These "dreamers" usually find access to their Castles and Palaces and Temples through such "wickets"; cp. Hous of F. 477; Rom. of the R. 528—530:

"Tyl that I fonde a wiket smalle
So shett, that I ne myght in gen,
And other entre was ther noon."

Compare with this the version in Reason and S. 268 b:

"Til he fonde a smale wicket,
The whiche ageyn[e]s him was shet,
And fonde as tho noon other weye."

Further, Pilgrim. 9 b:

"And ther I sawh a smal wyket
Ioyynge eve and vp-on the gate."

See the Introduction, Ch. IX, § 3, p. cxixii.

as fast.] This pleonastic prefix as is very common, especially before adverbs:
as faste Trisl. II, 657, 898, 1558; Chan. Yen. Tale 94; Troy Book G, d; Reason and S. 281 a: as swythe Man of Lawes Tale 539; Chan. Yen. Proli. 383; Chan. Yen. Tale 19, 183, 283, 293, 325, 415; De Duob. Merc. fol. 60 b; Reason and S. 282 b: as blive Court of L. 1441; Feme 1106; Trisl. II, 1513; Troy-Book Y, a: as here Doctours Tale 103; as now Trisl. Ill, 584; Shipm. Tale 52; Melibe, p. 178, etc.

44. depeint] p.p. = depeinted. The line is of type C; the full form deprinted would make it of type A. The contracted form of the p.p. occurs again in ll. 89, 137, 275, in the last case rhyming with mett. Similarly, depeynt = seynt, Part. Tale 488. Cp. also Isle of Ladies 712.


46, 47. The division of lovers according to her age is carried out at some length in the Kings Quaer, stanzu 79, etc.; see also the Court of L., and compare Troy-Book M, a: "Lyke theyr degrees, as they were of age."

50. billes.] These lovers' "billes," presented to the pitiless loved one or to the Queen of Love herself, when she holds her "high parliament," occur in many poems of Chaucer and his school: cp. again ll. 317, 333, 365 of the Temple of G.; further March. Tale 693, 708; Kings Quaer 82, 6, etc.; Isle of Ladies 1, 920, etc.; Assem. of Ladies, passim; Court of Love 577, 839, 916; Parl. of Love 83; Lancelot of the Laik, Proli. 142; Hawes's Postime of Pl., Chap. XXIX (ed. Wright, p. 142):

(lovers) "Whiche in the temple did walke to and fro, And every one his byll did present
Before Venus in her hygie parliament."
Cp. also Chaucer's Compl. to Pite 43:

"A compleynyt hadde I, written, in my hond,
For to have put to Pite as a bille."

53. Venus is often thus represented, see Hous of F. 130—133:

"Hit was of Venus redely,
This temple; for, in portreyture,
I saw anoon-right hir figure
Naked fletinge in a see."

Knightes Tale 1097, 1098:

"The statu of Venus, glorious for to see,
Was naked fletyn in the large see,"

Troy-Book K, b:

"And she stant naked in a wawy see."

In the Troy-Book, sign. G, b, this is symbolically interpreted (according to Fulgentius):

"And therfore Venus fleteth in a see,
To shewe the trouble, and aduersytee
That is in lone, and in hir stormy lawe
Whiche is byset with many sturdy wave," etc.

Fulgentius (ed. Muncker), p. 72, says: "Haue etiam in mari natantem pingo-
gunt, quod omnis libido rerum patiatur nanfragia."

55—61. Dido was a favourite and often-quoted figure in medieval times, owing, of course, to the pathetic treatment of her story by Virgil. Compare Chaucer's Legend of Dido, and the Prologue to the Legend 265; Hous of F. 140—382; Duchess 731—734; Part. of F. 289; Rom. de la R., ed. Méon, l. 13578, etc.; Gower, Confessio, Book IV (ed. Pauli, II. 4 etc.); Court of L. 231; Intelligencia 72, 3 and 4. Lydgate has treated Dido's story in the Falls of Pr. 11, 13; cp. further, for Dido and Aeneas, Falls of Pr. 139 d; reason and S. 261 b; Edmund I, 275; Black Knight 375; Troy-Book U, b, Bb a; Life of our Lady a b, h a; Flour of C. 211. There was another version of Dido's story current in the Middle Ages, according to which Dido put an end to herself, in order to escape another marriage and remain faithful to her dead husband. See Falls of Pr. 51 c and their original, Boecaccio De Casibus II, 10; see also Kötting's Petrarcha, p. 505 and 661; Triumphus of Petrarch, edited for the Roxburghe Club, by Lord Ildesleigh, Preface, p. vi; Koeppel, Falls of Pr., p. 93, to whom I am indebted for most of the last-given dates. In our passage, as in Reason and S., Lydgate follows the common version, according to Virgil. Aeneas, as arch-traitor to Troy, plays no very creditable part in the Troy-Book, see sign. Y, c, Y, c and d; A, b; he is also sharply rebuked for his faithlessness to Dido in the Troy-Book, Bb, a:

"And how that he falsede (Pynson falschede) the quene,
I mene Dido, of womanhedde flour,
That gau to hym hir rychesse and treassure . . .
But for all that how he was vnkynde—
Rede Eneylos, and there ye shal it fynde;
And how that he falsedye stawe away,
By nyght tyne, whylee she a bedle lay."

57. "And tak thyn aventoure or cas." Hous of F. 1052.

59. Troy-Book D, a:

"And how that he was false and eke vnkynde
For all his othes . . ." (Jason).

60. The words "alas, that euer she was borne" agree with Leg. of Dido 355:

"That I was born! alas! what shal I do?"

and with Hous of Fame 345:

"O, welawe that I was born!"

But, at the same time, the exclamation: "alas, that (ever) I was borne," is in poems of that time so commonly put into the mouth of those in extreme distress that Lydgate need not here have copied from either of these two poems; see Knight's Tale 215, 345, 684; Mamine, Tale 169; Recces T. 180; Doctors T.
Notes to p. 3, ll. 62—74.

215; Shipm. T. 118, 119; Frankel, Tale 725, 814; Duchesse 566, 686, 1301; Troilus III, 253, 1024, 1374; V, 690, 700, 1276; Cleopatra 79; Thistle 128; Cuckoo and Night, 208; Isle of Ladies 1611, 1643; Black Knight 484; Halliwell, M. P., p. 115. In Duchesse 96, Monk's Tale 439, and Legend of Adriane 302, with slight variation: "Alas... that (ever) I was wrought!" Compare also the Pastime of Pleasure, Chapter XXXII, where Godfrey Gobelin gives vent to this exclamation, when whipt by Correccion (ed. Wright, p. 156).

62. The story of Medea and Jason is given at great length in the Troy-Book, Book I, Chapter V, VI, VII (the description of Medea, etc., Troy-Book B, b, is by no means the least of Lydgate's poetical achievements); again, in the Falls of Pr. I, 8, and in the Confessio Amantis, Book V (ed. Pauli II, 296 etc.). Jason is sharply lectured by the monk for his inconstancy in the Troy-Book D, b—D, c—See further mention of Jason or Medea Black Knight 372, 373; Story of Thebes 371 b; Flora of C. 214; Iseon and S. 261 b; Elegy 4, 100; Legend of Hyppolyte and Medea, beginning; Prologue to the Legend 266; Squieres Tale II, 202; Man of Law's Prologue 74; Hous of F. 400, 1271; Duchesse 330, 726; Rom. de la R. 13432, etc.; Intelligenza 73, 3. Medea is mentioned, with Circe, as an enchantress in the Knightes Tale 1086.

63. falsed = deceived; see Troilus III, 735, 757; Anelida 147; Duchesse 1234, etc.

64—66. Adoun.] Compare Falls of Pr. 32 a; Black Knight 386—388; Knightes Tale 1366; Troilus III, 671. Lydgate has also the form Adonies, rhyming with pertes (Falls of Pr. 32 a), and Adonides, Iseon and S. 252 b. The prints corrupt the name into Aetheon, which could only mean Acteon; see Knightes Tale 1445. The Italian form Actone occurs in Fierzi's Quadriregio 1. 4, 137, and Taceone wrote a drama Actone (see Gaspary II, 216). The story of Acteon is given by Gower I, 53 and alluded to in the Black Knight, II. 94—98.

67—69. Penelope.] See Gower, Book IV (Pauli II, 6 etc.), and list at the end of the Confessio (Pauli III, 363); Rom. de la R. 8633. High praise is bestowed on Penelope's faithfulness in Troy Book C, c and d; see, further, Triunfo d'Amore III, 23; Duchesse 1051; Legend, Prologue, 252; Anelida 82; Man of Lawes Prod. 75; Frankel, Tale 707; Troilus V, 1792; Intelligenza 74, a. See also, further on, I. 147; Flora of C. 203.

69. pale and grene.] Frequent formula: see Duchesse 497, 498; Anelida 353; Troy-Book II, b: "Now pale and grene she wexyth of hir chere."

70. aldernext.] Similarly alderlast 247. Alder, of course, is O.E. ealhr, of all; Lydgate has even "for our alder case," Troy-Book Y, a: "of theyr alder sorowe," ib. Y, d; in theyr alder syght, Albon II, 888.

70—74. Alcest.] On Alcestis, her transformation into a daisy, and the poetical worship of that flower, see Skeat, Leg. of Good W., p. xxii, etc.; Minor P., p. xxv; ten Brink, Geschichte der engl. Litter., II, 115; Morris, Prologue, XVIII; H. Morley, English Writers, 2d. ed., V. 133. Compare particularly the Prologue to the Leg. of Good W.; Confessio Amantis, book VII (ed. Pauli III, 149), and list at the end (III, 364); Court of L. 105, etc.: Lydgate's Minor P., p. 161 (Halliwell); Falls of Pr. 37 b; Secreta Secretorum (Ashmole 46), fol. 127 a:

"When the Crowne of Alcestis whyte and Red, :
Aurora passyd, flit Iressely doth appere, :
For lye of which with heavenly nootys Cler,
The brydes sygen in ther Armonyne, :
Salwe that sesoî with sugryd melodye."

See further, Troilus V, 1540, 1792; Frankel, Tale 706; Lancelot of the Laik, Prod. 57; Flora of C. 198; Add. MS. 29729, fol. 157 a; Compleynt 394—437; Ocleeve, Letter of Cup d, stanza 6 from end; Flower and Leaf 348. Compare further, note to l. 510. As is well known, the story of Alcestis has often been treated in poetry and music; in modern times by Hans Sachs, Hardy, Quinault, Wieland, Herder, Handel, Gluck, etc.; see G. Ellinger, Alcestis in d mod von Litteratur. For the mention of Alcestis, and poetical treatments of her story,
in ancient times, see Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 58. In the following words "Ce sujet que la se nce moderne croit retrouver dans la vieille littérature de l'Inde," Sandras alludes, I suppose, to the beautiful *Savitryupakhyana* in the *Mahabharata.*

75, 76. Griseldis.] This is, of course, from the * Clerkes Tale.* The story comes, as is well known, from Boccaccio and Petrarch, has been painted by Pinturicchio, and again treated by Radeliff, Dekker, Chettle and Haughton, Hans Sachs, Lope de Vega, Halm, etc. Compare F. v. Westenholz, *Die Griseldissege.* Griseldis is also mentioned in Lydgate's *Bygorne* 87; *Flour of C.* 199; Add. MS. 28729, fol. 157 a; *Falls of Pr.* A3 a; 60 b; 99 a (where Lydgate mentions Petrarch's treatment), and again in our *Temple of G.* 405. Also in MS. Ashmole 59, fol. 53 a:

"Greyycle whylome sheode hade gret pacynceyce,
As it was proveed far vp in Ytylcyce."

Further, in Feyde's *Controversy* (twice), etc.

77—79. Isabel.] *Confessio,* Book VI (Pauli III, 17). Tristram and La Belle Isolde head Gower's list in Book VIII. See also *Trionfo d'Amore* III, 80, 82; *Parl. of F.* 290; *Hons of F.* 1796; Leg. of Good W., Prologue, 254; *Black Knight* 366; *L. Lady* 10 a; *Le Dit du bleu chevalier* 299; Illeintzgen, 72, 7.

80, 81. Pyramns and Thisebe.] Mentioned again, L 780. Compare particularly Reason and S. 256 b, where the story is told; further, Leg. of Thisebe, and Prologue 261; *Parl. of F.* 289; *March. Tale* 884; *Confessio,* Book III (Pauli I, 524, etc.), and list in Book VIII; *Trionfo d'Amore* III, 29; *Troy-Book* X3 d; *Black Knight* 365: "yonge Piramns," see *Temple of G.* l 780; *Le Dit du bleu Chevalier* 212, 243.—Of course I might mention Ovid, Shakspere, etc.

81. him Piramns.] With respect to this combination of pronoun and proper name, see l 123; *hir* Almen ; 130 *hie* Mercure ; *Black Knight* 368: of him Palemonne; *Troilus* III, 834: she Cryseyde; *Nov. Preses Tale* 574: he lakke Straw; *ib.* 321: La hire Andromacha; *Knightes Tale* 352: him Arvite; *Duchesse* 286: he mette, king Scipion; *March. T.* 124: him Oliphernus; *ib.* 129: him Mardoche; *Boethius* 293: hym Trigville, etc.

82—85. Theseus.] See Leg. of *Ariadne,* and Gower's *Confessio,* Book V (ed. Pauli 11, 502, etc.); *Hons of F.* 465, etc.; *Knightes Tale,* 122; *Falls of Pr.* 3 c; 14 b; 23 c.

84. Dedalus.] *Hons of F.* 919, 1920 (see Skeat's note); *Duchesse* 570; *Rom. de la R.* 5241; *Falls of Pr.* 86 c. The Story of Dedalus and Icarus is given in Reason and S. fol. 259 a and b.

for-wrynkked.] *Leg. of Ariadne* 127:

"for the hous is cinkled to and fro,
And hath so queinte wayes for to go."

*Falls of Pr.* 11 a:

"Labrinthus, diners and vencough,
Ful of wrynclies and of straungeness."

Reason and *Sens,* fol. 251 b:

"For this the house of Dedalus . . . .
It is so wrynked to and fro."

Chancer's *Boethius,* ed. Morris, 2981: "pat hast so women we wip hi resouns.
be house of didalus so entrelaced. pat it is vnable to ben vulued.

86—90. Phyllis and Demophon.] Their story was very popular in the Middle Ages; see Chancer's *Leg. of Phyllis,* and Prologue, 264; *Man of Law's Head-Link* 65, and Skeat's note; *Hons of F.* 388—396; *Duchesse* 728; *Rom. de la R.* 13414—13417; Dante, *Paradiso* IX, 100; *Trionfo d'Amore* I, 127; *Falls of Pr.* 37 a; Reason and S. 261 b; *Flour of C.* 294; Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan* 17193; Dirk Potter's *Menon boor* 1, 325, etc.; Al. Chartier, "L'Hospital d'Aumours." Lydgate represents here, and *Black Knight* 68—70, Phyllis as hanging herself on a filbert-tree. This seems to originate in Gower's *Confessio,* Book IV (ed. Pauli, 11, 30):

"That Phyllis in the same throwe
Was shape into a nutte-tre,
That alle men it mighte se ;"
And after Phillis philliberd  
This tre was eclepe in the verd."

See Skeat's Enymological Dictionary, under filbert, and Webster. This version is not, as far as I know, borne out by the classics. Ovid, Heroides II, gives no particular tree (nor does Chaucer); see further the short account in Hyginus (59 and 243, not quite consistent with each other). According to a tradition given by Servins (ad Virg. Ec. V, 10) Phillis was changed into an almond tree, which tree seems to be meant in Pliny 16, 45: Talldinlus, De insitionibus 61, and 97; and Cutes, l. 130, 131; cf. Spenser's translation:

"And that same tree in which Demophoon,  
By his disloyalty lamented sore,  
Eternal hurt left unto many one."

We read further in Rolland's Court of Venus, book 111, 30:

"The Queene Phillis, and hieff to Demophoon,  
And in ane tre scho was transigurat.  
[Q]uien he on sey be storme was tribulat."

Our version with the filbert tree, however, seems to have sprung from one of Virgil's Eclogues (VII, 63):

"Phyllis amat corylos; illas dum Phyllis amabit,  
Nec myrtus vincte corylos, nec laurea Phoebi."

92, 93. Paris & Eleyne.] See particularly Troy-Book II, Chapter XIII, where the rape of Helen is narrated in detail. See also Duchesse 331; ParL of F. 290, 291; Legend, Prologue 254; Hons of Fame 399; Squires T. II, 202; Man of Law's Prologue 70; March. Tale 510: Troil. I, 62, 455: V. 890; L. Lady a, b; I, a: Flower of C. 191; Albion I, 475; Intelligenza 71, l. 8.

Line 93 occurs nearly word for word in the Troy-Book II, b:

"This fayre Eleyne, this fresche insty queene."

94, 95. Achilles and Polyxena.] Troy-Book IV, Chapter XXXII, tells how Achilles was treacherously slain in Troy; see also Falls of Pr. I, 21. Cf. further Duchesse 1067 (and Skeat's note); ParL of F. 290; Legend, Prologue 258; Troil. I, 455; Black Knight 367; Flower of C. 190; T. of Glas 785 and 786; Intelligenza 72, 1, 2 and 273, 1, 2.

97—99. Philomene.] See Chaucer's Leg. of Philomene; Gower, book V (ed. Pauli, 11, 313, etc.); also Troil. II, 64—70; Falls of Pr. 9 a; Black Knight 374; Kinigs Quair, stanza 55. The above form of the name, instead of Philomene, is common in the Middle Ages, not only in England. There was, for instance, a Hist. of Felix and Philomene, act 1584 (interesting with respect to The Two Gent. of Ver.); the name of the maid in Ayer's Polinieria is Philomene; Lope de Vega wrote a Philomena, and Gascoigne a Complaint of Philomene. In the Kinigs Quair 62, 1, Philomene rhymes with queene (see Skeat's note); ib, 110, 3 with scheme; in Lydgate, Falls of Pr. 9 a, with elene; Gower rhymes the name with trene, betwene, sene, grene, mene; Andrew of Wyntoun (Cronykil II, 1613) with kene; Fulci, Morgante maggior. 1, 3, 1 with pena.

100, 101. Lucrece.] See Lyce I, 57—59; Ovid, Fasti II, 721—852 (and, of course, Shakspere, Thomas Heywood, etc.). Chaucer has also treated the story in the Leg. of Lucre; cf. also the Prologue 257, and Skeat, Legend, p. xxxi; St. Augustine, De civ. Del. caput XIX; Gesta Rom., Tale 135; Gower, Confessio, book VII (ed. Pauli, 111, 251 etc.); and, again, the list in the eighth book. Lydgate has treated the same story in the Falls of Pr. 11, 5; and, again, 111, 5 (see Keppel, Falls of Pr. p. 66, 93). See further Life of our Lady a, b; Flower of C. 201; Edmund I, 277; and Lydgate's Poem on the Mar. of Humphrey and Jacqueline (MS. Add. 29729. fol. 158 b); further, Duchesse 1082 (and Skeat's note); Frank. Tale 669—672; Man of L. Profl. 63; Aeolida 82; Rom. de la Rose 8649; Boccaccio, De claris Mul. 46.

100. The expression: to haule a feast occurs often; for instance, Troy-Book 11, a; 8, d; T. a; Falls of Pr. 14b; 174 c, etc.

102—110. Palamon and Arcite.] This, of course, is from the Knights Tale. Lydgate alludes to the same story again in the Black Knight 368, and Story of Thebes, fol. 372 d. Many of the expressions in our passage agree word for word.
with the *Knights Tale*; cp. *Kn. T.* 219: He caste his eyn upon Emelya (see also 238); 13: eek hire yonge suster Emelye; 114: Emelye hire yonge suster scheue; 177—179:

"Emelie, that fairer was to scene
Than is the liffe on hir stalke grene,
And fresscher then the May with flowres newe;"

190: I-cloathed was schee fresh for to devyse; 210: the fresshe Emelyi the scheene. Line 976 speaks of the "stryf and jelousye," l. 1926 of the "stryf and rancour" between the two brothers. If Shirley, in l. 82, speaks of *Due Thesens*, it is quite in accordance with the *Knights Tale*, where Thesens is often called "Duke," see l. 2, 15, 35, etc. We have a "Duke Thesens" also in the *Falls of Pr.* 15a, 23b, etc.; a "Duke Hannibal" in the *Falls of Pr.*, a "Duke Moyes" in the *Secreta Secretorum*, etc.

105. These "castings of an eye" were very dangerous at that time; cf. *Troy-Book Aa2 b*:

"When that he was wounded to the herte,
With the castynge onely of an Eye" (*Achilles*).

*De duobus Merc.* (MS, Hh. IV. 12, fol. 62 a):

"Cupides dart on me hath made aryst,
The clere stremys of castynge of an eye:
Thys is the arow that causyth me (for) to deye."

See again l. 231, 232, and compare *Merciless Beoute*, l. 1 etc., *Troylus II*, 534, etc.

110. Chaucer.] Lydgate is fond of introducing the name of his great "master" into his writings. Koeppel, *St. Theres*, p. 78, has pointed out the instances in the *Story of Th.*, and the *Falls of Pr.*, namely *St. Th.*, Prologue, fol. 356 a and b; fol. 577 c (Chaucer-edition of 1561); *Falls of Pr.*, Prologue, fol. A2b, I, 6 (fol. 8 c), VI, 16 (fol. 164 e, Leg. of *Antony and Cleopatra*):

"Thynge once sayd by labour of Chaucer,
Wer presumeon me to make agayn";

VIII, 6 (fol. 180 a); IX, 38 (fol. 217 c), to which II, 4 (fol. 46 a) and III, 18 (fol. 90 c) may be added. I have made note of the following occurrences in other works: *Troy-Book N* a:

"And Chaucer now, alas! is nat alyue,
Me to reforme, or to be my rede;
For lacke of whom slower is my spece;
The noble Rethor, that all dyde excelle:
For in makynge he dranke of the welle
Under Pernaso, that the muses kepe,
On whiche hylle I myghte neuer slepe
Unmeth sylmoure, for whiche, alas, I playne."

See further *ib.*, I, 4 and d (*Story of Cresseide*); Q2 d (*Troilus*); D1, c; *Court of S.* a 2 a (see *Introduction*, p. cxvii, note 1, together with Gower); *Horse, goose, and sheep*, 76 and 77 (see note to ll. 141, 142); *Life of our Lady* b:

"And eke my master chaucess is nowe graunte..."

(a well-known passage, see Morris's *Chauce 1*, 81); *Flour of C.* 236; *Minor P.* (Halliwell), p. 28 and 128; the *Serpent of Division* (see Miss Toulmin Smith's *Gorbove*, p. xxi); Translation of *Duke de Beuville's First Pyl*, MS, Cott. Vit. C. XIII, fol. 256 b and 257 a (see Skeat, *M. P.*, p. xlviii; Dr. Furnivall's *Trial Forewords*, pp. 13—15 and 100; *Hill*, pp. 8, 9).

Does "my master" in *Chorl and Bird*, 380, also refer to Chaucer? The *Court of S.*, fol. b 2 b, speaks of "Galfryde the poete laureate"; but this, I believe, refers to Geoffrey de Vinsauf, the highly-celebrated author of the *Nora Poetria*, not to Chaucer. Galfridus de Vinosalvo, also called "Galfridus Angleicus," wrote a didactic poem *"De Nora Poetria"* (dedicated to Pope Innocent III.), a monody on the death of Richard I., and treatises on rhetorics and Ethics (see Morley, *English Writers I*, 603 and 604). He is very frequently quoted by poets of that time, and celebrated for his "purpurat colours of rhetorike." Chaucer's humorous allusion to him in the *Nona Preces Tale* (l. 527, etc.) is
well known. He is further unmistakably quoted by Bokenam, Pro/. 83, etc. (Horstmann, Introduction, p. xi, is on the wrong track in believing that Chaucer is meant in this passage):

"Aftyr the secole of the crafty clerk
Galfryd of Ynglond, in his newe werk,
Englishe thus, as I can aspye:
'Galfrides anglice,' in his newe poetrye," etc.

Cp. also "Galfryd of Ynglond" in I, 171, Chaucer being mentioned in addition, together with Gower and Lydgate, further on, l. 177.

The poem by the "Dull Ass" (ep. Introduction, p. cxlii) in MS. Fairfax mentions both, Chaucer and Geoffrey de Vinsant, side by side (fol. 309 a):

"Cum oñ, Talius, with sum of thy flouris;
Englishe geryffor with al thy colourys,
That wrote so wel to pope Innocent;
And mayster Chaucer, sourys and fundemento
On englysshhe tunge swetely to endyte—
Thy soule god hane with virgynes white!—
Moral gower, lydgate, Rether and poete;
Ouide, stase, lucan of batylls grete" . . .

Chaucer and his older namesake are similarly put together in Little John (Speght's Chaucer, 1598, fol. c. ii):

"O cursed death, why hast thou those poets slain,
I meane Gower, Chaucer, and Gaufride."

It is thus extremely doubtful to me that the "Galfride" in the Court of Love (l. 11) is intended for Chaucer, as Skeat, Chaucer's Minor Poems, p. xxxii, maintains.

112—116. Phoebus and Daphne.] The story is alluded to in Reason and S. 236 a and 247 a, and told at length in the Confessio, book III (ed. Panli I, 336), where Cupid "cast a dart throughout Phoebus' heart"—

"Which was of golde and all a fire,
That made him many fold desire
Of love more than he dede.
To Daphne eke in the same stede
A dart of led he caste and smote.
Which was all corder and no thing hole."

In a similar way we have in the Kingis Quair, stanza 95, a reference to Cupid's different species of arrows, viz., of gold and steel, with the addition of silver ones, which, it seems, King James introduced on his own account. This fiction comes from the Rom. de la R., where (English Translation 918, etc.) Swete-loking, in attendance on Cupid, carries two bows, made of different kinds of wood, and two sets of five arrows, the first of which is of gold. Lydgate has introduced this into Reason and S. (MS. Fairfax 16, fol. 277 a, etc.); his first bow is made of ivory, the second black, full of "knottys" and "skarrys." The names of all ten arrows are given as in the Rom. de la R., and it is stated that the first set had heads of gold, the second of lead. Cf. also St. Thebes, fol. 363 b:

"That his [Cupid's] arrowes of golde, and not of steele
Ypered han the knightes hertes twelwe."

Spenser also speaks of Cupid's "bow and shafts of gold and lead" (Colin Clow'd, l. 807), and we read in the Court of L. 1315 and 1316:

"The Golden Love, and Leden Love thy light:
The tone was sad, the tender glad and light."

"The arrow of gold" occurs again in T. of Glas 445, and in Reason and S., fol. 236 a, where the story of Daphne is told. Cp. also Watson's sonnet 63, where the first book of Conrad Celtis's Odes is quoted. Barnfield, in his Tears of an affectionate Shepherd (Arber, p. 6), speaks of

"Death's black shaft of steel, Love's yellow one of gold."

Line 114, with its allusion to Cupid's envy, is explained by the following passage from Troy-Book K 3 a, which speaks of Apollo's victory over the dragon Python:
"For of Pheton he had the victory,
When he hym slewe, to his encreas of glorye,
The great serpent, here in erthe howe,
With his arowes and his myghty bowe,
Of whiche conqueste the great[e] god Cupyde
Hadde enye, and even thorough the syde
He wounded hym, depe to the herte,
With ye arowe of gold, ye made hym sore smerte."

This goes back to Ovid, Metam., I, 452 etc.

The amours of Phoebus are also alluded to in Black Knight 358—364, and Troilus I, 659—665; the whole story of Phoebus and Coronis is given in Gower's Confessio I, 305 etc., and in Chaucer's Maungecles T. (according to Ritson, a Fable of Lydgate, No. 46 of his list).

115. Daphne.] Diane, the reading of MSS. T. P. F. B, is of course wrong, as Daphne is meant; but perhaps I might have left the Diane of MS. G in the text; see Knights T. 1201—1206:

"Ther sawgh I Dane yturned til a tree,
I mene nought the goddessse Dyane,
But Pencus daughter, which that higthe Dane."

To discriminate between three names as similar as Diana, Danae, and Daphne was too much for the Middle Ages; so Dafne occurs for Danae in Edition B of Calderon's La Vida es Sueño III, 560. See further Troilus III, 677—679 (with the form Dane); Black Knight 64; Reason and S. 236 a (Fairfax MS. 16 has rightly Daphne); Court of L. 821: Dane = Danae; both names, Danae and Daphne, occur close together in Reason and S., with curious spellings in MS. Fairfax 16, fol. 247 a.

117—120. Jupiter and Europa.] See Leg. of Good W., Prologue 113; Troilus III, 673; Falls of Pr. I, 7; Reason and S. 247 a; Troy-Book A, d; Court of L. 823; Court of S. 22 a:

"He come an oxe, and toke Europa, they sayd,
Wherfore the bole they worshyp of their grace."

117. For Jorc's cope, see the Introduction, Chapter X, p. excl.

121—123. Amphitrion and Alemene.] See also Gower's Confessio, Book II, ed. Pauli I, 242 (where Amphitrion supplants his friend Geta in the love of Alemene). "Alemenia" is also mentioned Court of Love 821.

124. for al his deite.] Similarly Troy-Book, A, d:

"for all his deyte (Jupiter and Alemene)
He was rayshed thurgh luste of her beante."

Falls of Pr. 9 b: "As he that was, for al his deitie, (Jupiter and Europa)
Supprised in hert with her great beante."

Troy-Book D, b: "Jubiter, for all his deyte,
Upon Dyane (?) begat them al[e] thre."

(Felen, Castor and Polyxx.)

Falls of Pr., fol. 8 b: (Iis) "enclined her heart unto his deite."

 Cp. also Petrarch, Trionfo d'Amore I, 159, 160:

"E di facinoli innumerabl careo
Vien catenato Gioe innanzi al coro."

126—128. Mars & Venus.] Alluded to again in stanza 3 d. See further, Chaucer's Compl. of Mars, and Compl. of Venus, and Skeat's note, M. P., p. 274 (to the classical names given there, Lucian might be added); Gower's Confessio, Book V (ed. Pauli II, 148); Knights Tale 1525; Troil. III, Proem 22; III, 675 ("Cyphes" in Morris must surely mean Cypris). Compare Reason and S. 254 a:

"the bed of Vulfamus,
Al with chyeuves rounde enbraceyd,
In the which he hath ylayyd
Hys wyf Venus and Mars yfere,
Whan Phoebus with hym benys cler
Discurede and be-wreyed al,
And at the goddes celestial
Of scorn and of derision
Made a congregacion.

In the Troy-Book, A, a the monk invokes Mars thus:
"Nowe for the loute of Vulcanus wyfe,
With whom whylom y² were at myschef take,
So helpe me now, onely for hir sake."

Lines 127 and 128 are similar to ll. 621—623 of the Black Knight:
"For that joy thou haddest when thou leyde
With Mars thi knyght, when Vulcanus youe founde,
And with a cheyne invisible youe bounde."

Curiously enough, the monk is quite on the side of the guilty couple; see Reason and S. 254 a: Black Knight 389—392:
"But Vulcanus with her no mercy made,
The foule cholie had many nyghtis glade,
Wheer Mars, her worthy knyght, her trwe man,
To fynde mercy comfort noon he can."

In the Troy-Book, K, d, he vents his spite on Phoebus, who awoke them, thus:
"And for that he so falsely them awoke,
I hauue hym sette faste of all my boke."

129—136. Mercury and Philologie.} This alludes to Martianus Capella's work, De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, which was much read in the Middle Ages (see Warton-Hazlitt III, 77; ten Brink, Chaucer-Studien, p. 99; Koeppel, St. Thebes, p. 25 and 74; Skeat, M. P., p. 341). Chancer mentions him, March. Tale 488; Frame 985; so does Bennet Burgh in an Epistle to Lydgate, MS. Add. 29729, fol. 6 a. See further, Story of Thebes, fol. 360 a and b, and Falls of Pr. 67 d:
"Mercy absent and Philologie,"
Edmund I, 99: "For Mercuric nothir Philologie,
To-gidre knet and joyned in mariaghe,
Withoute grace may hauue noon aanaatage."

A similar passage to that in our text occurs in Lydgate's poem on the marriage of Duke Humphrey and Jacqueline of Holland, Stowe's MS. Addit. 29729, fol. 160 a:
(and Hymenæus, thou) "Make a knott, feythfull and entiere,
As whylome was betwene phylogonye (!)
And Mercury eke, so hygh wiyne y² skye,
Wheer y² Clye, and eke Calyope,
Sange w² hir sustren in nombre thryes thre."

132. god of eloquence.] The article, as supplied by the Prints, is not necessary; see again, l. 572: "To god of loute"; so also Troil. I, 967: Black Knight 304; Rom. of the Rose 3259. Mercury is very commonly called the "god of eloquence" by Lydgate; cp. for instance, Assembly of Gods b, b:
"In eloquence of langage he passed all the pake."

Troy-Bk. G, a: "The sugred dytees, by great excellence,
Of rethoryke, and of eloquence,
Of whiche this god is souceraygne & patrowne."

Ib. G, b:
"This god of eloquence kyng."

Ib. K, a (Mercurius):
"That in speche hath moste excellence,
Of rethoryke, and sugred eloquence,
Of musyke, songe and Armonyne
He hath lordship, and hole the regalye."

St. Thebes 357 a: "Marcuie, God of eloquence."
Secreto Secr. 124 b: "In Rethoryk helpith Mercuryvs."
Falls of Pr. 67 a: "Wynged Mercury, chief lord and patron
Of eloquence, and of fayre speaking." 

Ib. 168 b:
"Mercery, God of eloquence."

See particularly the description of Mercury in Reason and S. 225 a, etc.
Compare also the Interpretation of the names of the gods and goddesses, prefixed to the Assembly of Gods, where "Marcyrus" is called the "God of language.” Cf. further Dunbar, Golden Targe 116, and Lyndsay’s Dream, 393:

"Than we ascendit to Menenious,
Quhilk Poetis callis god of Eloquence,
Rycht Doctorlyke, with termes delicious,
In arte exparte, and full of sapience."

136. Istellified.] Occurs frequently; see Hous. of F. 1002; Legend, Prologue 525; Troy-Book B, c (referring to Callisto); ib. I b (Castor and P’ollux); Falls of Pr. 65 a (Romulus); ib. 107 b (Alexander), etc. In our passage the word scarcely means “placed as a star in the firmament,” but “received into heaven and there glorified”; cp. Pilgrimage, MS. Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 48 a:

[Cyprian] “is in heuene stelleffyed,
And with seyntis gloriffyed,”

The French original here has only: “Et est ou ciel glorifie.”

Cp. also Skelton, Garland of Laurel 961:

“1 wyll my selfe applye . . .
Yow for to stellyfye.”

137—142. The story of Canace is the subject of the unfinished Squieres T. Waldron, as quoted by Park in Warton-Ha/litt III, 63, note 3, seems to think that our passage proves that Chaucer wrote more of this Tale than is now existing; but the passage hardly bears out this supposition: ll. 138—140 are sufficiently illustrated in Chaucer’s Tale; with ll. 141 and 142 compare Squieres T., 11, 317—320:

“And after wol I spoke of Algarsif,
How that he wan Theodora to his wif,
For whom ful oft in great peril he was,
Nad he ben holpen by the hors of bras.”

MS. Ashmole 53 gives John Lane’s continuation of the Story; on the back of the last leaf 81, Ashmole has written ll. 137—142 of the T. of Glas (see Dr. Furnivall’s edition, p. 237). Spenser’s version of part of the Story in the Faerie Queene, Book IV, is well-known; cf. also Milton’s Pen/erpetuo:

“Or call up him that left half told
The story of Cambuscan bold,
Of Camball, and of Algarsife,
And who had Canace to wife,
That own’d the virtuous ring and glass;
And of the wondrous horse of brass,
On which the Tartar King did ride.”

This Canace is mentioned again by Lydgate in Flour of Curtesie, I. 206. The magic mirror of Canace occurs also in Douglas’s Palice of Honour I, 57, 11 (ed. Small):

“Or sit the mirrour send to Canace,
Quhairin men micht mony wonders se.”

Not to be confused with this Canace is the other Canace, whose story is told in Ovid’s Heroides, ep. XI. Gower introduced it at the beginning of Book III of the Confessio, and Chaucer’s allusion to it in the Man of L.’s Prologue, 1. 77, etc., is well known. It has been advanced that Chaucer meant, in this passage, rather to humour his “moral” friend than to censure him; a further argument in favour of this opinion would be that our monk also did not take exception to this story, but introduced it at great length into the Falls of Pr. (l. 22 and 23), evidently, moreover, making use of this very narrative of Gower’s (see Koeppel, Falls of Pr., p. 98). This story from the Falls of Pr. is very highly praised by Gray in his article on Lydgate (Works, ed. Matthias II, 66, 67), and is also the very one selected in Thomas Campbell’s Specimen of the British Poets, p. 15. See also Legend, Prologue 265, and Thomas Feyde’s Controversy. Gottfried von Strassburg mentions this Canace also (Tristan 17194); so does Petrarch in the Trinio d’Amore II, 181—183, and Skelton, Garland of Laurel 931; Sperone Speroni wrote a drama Canace.

There is a third person with the very similar name Candace, connected with Temple of Glas.
the Alexander-Saga; she is mentioned, *Parl. of F.* 288; *Ballad on Newfangleness*, l. 16; Gower, *Confessio*, Book V (ed. Pauli, II, 180). Cp. further Thomas Feyde's *Controversy*, fol. Bb, where "Candacy" is mentioned; MS. Ashmole 59, folio 52b:

"And ryche was ecke je faire qwene Candauce."

*Life of our Lady*, l. 1:4; "Riche candace of ethyope quene."

The last line reminds one at once of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, whose eunuch Philip baptized (Acts viii, 27). According to Pliny (VI, 35), "Candace" was a transmitted title of the Ethiopian queens; cp. also Strabo XVII, 820, Dio Cassius 54, 5, and Suidas. For the story of Alexander, Candace, and her son Candanaes, see especially, *Wars of Alexander*, l. 5960, etc. (ed. Skeat. p. 257); *Kyng Alisaunder*, ed. Weber, p. 395, etc.; *Intelligenza* 229, etc.; *Li Romans d'Alexandre*, by Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay, ed. Michelant 371, etc.; 380, etc. This story goes back to the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* III, 18, etc.—Calderon, in *La Sibilla del Oriente*, has a King Candaces of Egypt, reigning at the time of Solomon.

138. For the magic power of Canace's ring, see *Squieres Tale* I, 138, etc.; for that of the "stede of bras," ib., I, 107, etc.

139. *idoneo* = language; comp. *Squieres T.* II, 89, 90, 132; *Albon* II, 873; *Warton-Hazlitt* II, 58, note 2; *Hartl.* 2251, fol. 229 a (A saying of the nightingale); *Pilgrima.* 22 b:

"A fowl that was of colour blak,
And in hys lycylene thus he spak."

Spenser, *Colin Clout*, l. 74
*Intelligenza* 3, 6:

"Ouid cantar li angelli in lor latino."

141, 142. *hir bro piv.*] Algarsif; see *Squieres T.* II, 317, etc. Lydgate has another allusion to the *Squieres T.* in *Horse, goose, and sheep*, l. 76, 77:

"Chawer remembrith the sword ryngye & glasse
Presented were vpon a stede of brasse."

144. *mani a thousand.*] Shirley, not content with this, makes it many an hundred thousand. But he is beaten by King James (Kingis Quair 78, 4), who has "mony a myliane" of lovers, and King James, in his turn, is outdone by the *Court of Love*, l. 589, where we find "a thousand million" lovers.

145. *complain.*] Very similar to the following list of complaints is the one in the *Kingis Quair* and also in the *Court of L.*, see the Introduction, Ch. ix, § 4.

147. *Envie.*] Personification from the Rom. de la R. (Rom. of the R. 248, etc.); *Reason and S.* 270 b; *Pilgrima*., fol. 223 b, etc. Sins of Envie fill the second Book of Gower's *Confessio*. See also *Black Knight*, l. 257, and 336:

"The more he was hirndred by envye, and* Flrour of C.* 84.

In the *Assembly of Gods*, b, b, Envy is introduced as one of the seven deadly sins, sitting on a wolf. Cp. further the description of Envy in the *Court of Love*, l. 1251, etc.

148. *Ielousie.*] *Parl. of F.* 252; *Kingis Quair* 57, 7; *Reason and S.* 280 b; *Black Knight* 663, and see the *Rom. de la R.*, English Translation, l. 3820, etc. "Serpent Ielousie" occurs again, stanza 3 b and 25 a; in *Troil.* III, 788; in the *Falls of Pr.*., fol. 124 a:

"Stiered by the serpent of false gelousye."


149. *yput aback.*] So again l. 1252, *Secreta Secret*, fol. 111 a, etc.

151. In the *Falls of Pr.*, fol. 99 a, Lydgate says that Ovid wrote:

"Ful many a pistle compleyning for absence."

He means, of course, the *Heroides*. In the *Kingis Quair* 93, the lovers also complain of "dissencence."
Notes to pp. 6—7, ll. 153—161.

153. Wicked Tongues.] Personification from the Rom. de la R. (English translation, II. 3027, 3257, 3799, etc.) ; the French name Malebouche appears in stanza 25 b ; in Flour of C. 81 ; Black Knight 260 ; Reason and S. 230 b ; Flower and Leaf 580 ; in the Pilgrim., fol. 202 a and b. Compare I. 1182 of the T. of Glas, and stanza 3 a, 3. In the Black Knight, l. 207, we have

"false tongues, that with pestilence
Sle trewe men that never did offence."

Flour of C. 157 : "Dreadful also of tongues that ben large."

Falls of Pr. 91 a :

"But there is no poysos so wel expert nor pruned,
As is of tongues the hateful violence,
Namely whan princes list yene them audience."

Pilgrim. 121 b : "For ther ys addere nor serpent
So dредful nor malicyous,
As ys a Tonge venymous."

Troil. I, 38 speaks of them

"that falsly ben aperyred
Thorwgh wikked tongues, be it he or sche."

Ib. II, 785 : "Also thise wikkede tongues ben so preste
To speke us harme"


154. This is a stock-line of Lydgate's ; it occurs again in Troy-Book I 2 a, and Y 1 d ; Falls of Pr. 57 c, and 147 d ; cf. also Pilgrim. 206 b : "For mercy nor remyssyon."

Similarly, Falls of Pr. 39 a:

"Voyde of al mercy and remission."

Albon III, 878 : "Without mercy of any remyssyon"

ib. II, 418 : "Without favour or remyssyon."

156. Daunger.] He and Malebouche are (together with Shame) the guardians of the Rose-tree in the Rom. de la R., and frighten away those who intend to pluck the rose ; Rom. of the R. 3015, etc.; 3130, etc. Cp. also Legl. of Good W. 160, and Skeat's note (to which, towards the end, the Court of S. might be added). This cruel "Daunger," the lover's principal opponent in the heart of his mistress, is very frequently introduced, as a more or less distinct personification, often together with his associates Disdeyn, Pride, Drede, as opposed to Pity and Grace. See, again, T. of Glas, l. 631, 646, 652, 739, 776, 1111; further, Parl. of F. 136 ; Troil. II, 334, 399, 1376 ;—Black Knight 13, 250 ; Falls of Pr. 31 b ; Reason and S. 236 a ; 236 b ; 280 c (following closely the Rom. de la R.) ; 294 b ; Flower of C. 81 ; Isle of Ladies, 472 ; Merciless Beante 16 ; Court of Love 531, 973 ; Rt. of the Rose 1524. In Al. Chartier, Le Parlement d'Amour (ed. Tourangean, 1617, p. 696), we read:

"Et sur icelle estoit montez (la porte)
Dangier, pour y faire le guet."

Dangier occurs also frequently in the same poet's Hospital d'Amours. In Skelton's Bowge of Court (l. 69), Daunger is "chyef gentylwoman" to Dame Saunce-pere.

Dislayn.] A similar personification to Daunger. He is "chambreleynye" to the lady of the Black Knight (see that poem, l. 504) ; in the Court of Love, ll. 129 and 130, Daunger and Disdeyn are the chief counsellors of King Admetus and Queen Aeleste. In the Parlement of Fowdes also, l. 136, Disdayn and Daunger are mentioned together. Cp. also Bowge of Court, l. 140.

159—161. poverte.] Cp. the Rom. of the R. 450 etc., and Reason and S., fol. 270 b. "Poverty" is also a personification in the Falls of Pr., disputing with Fortune (Book III, beginning). Cp. further Court of L. 1137—1139 : "And as I yede, full naked and full bare
Some I beholde, lokyng dispiteously
On poverte, that dedely caste here yw."

Kingis Quair, 87, 4 : "Sum for desyre, surmounting thaire degree."
161. Perhaps in open (reading of G and S) is right; cp. Falls of Pr. 47 c: "To you in open my gylt I wil confesse."

162. wanting.] Wanting in what? In means? or good looks? Cp. Court of Love 1161—1163. In the Kingis Quair, stanza 87, l. 7, there are also some who complain "for to moch."

165. Kingis Quair 87, 5: "Sum for dispite and othir Inmyte."  

166—168. Kingis Quair 136, 1, 6, 7:  

"Fy on all such! fy on thaire doublenesse!... That feynen outward all to hir honour,  
And in thaire hert hir worship wold denouer."

Kingis Quair 137, 4—7:  

"for quich the remanant,  
That menen wele, and ar noght variant,  
For otheris gilte ar suspect of vntreuth,  
And hyndrit oft, and treuely that is reuth."

169—174. The same sentiment is expressed in the Legend of Hysipyle 17—21, and in the Black Knight, ll. 412, 413. Cp. further Duchess 1924, etc., and Skeat’s note, who quotes Gower, Book IV (Pauli II, 56), the Rom. de la R. 18499—18526, and Machaut’s Dit du Lion.—See also Kingis Quair 86, 7.

175—178. Richesse is again a personification in the Rom. de la R.; see the English translation, l. 1083; she is "porter" of Venus in Parl. of P. 261. Cp. also Rom. of the R. 5360, etc.

179 etc., and the similar complaints in 299 etc., may be compared to Kingis Quair 91 and 92, which speaks of people whose bodies were

"bestowit so,  
Quhare bothe thaire hertes gruch[e]n ther-ageyne,"

for which "Thaire lyf was noght bot care and repentance."

See ib., 92, 5—7:

"Off sone[e] ladies faire, and mony lord,  
That thus by mustry were fro thaire chose dryve,  
Full redy were thaire pleyntis there to gyve."

180. peiping.] "An imitative word, allied to pipe, to express the chirping of a bird." So says Professor Skeat in his note to the following line from the Kingis Quair 57, 6: "Now, suete bird, say ones to me 'pepe.'"  

Cp. also Dunsin, ed. Laing I, 85, l. 64: "Quhen of the Tod wes hard no peip," and Lyndsay's Peder Coylies 23: "Peipand peirly with peteoons granis."

182. croked Elde.] One of the pictures in the Rom. de la R.; see Rom. of the R. 349, and Reason and S., fol. 270 b. The expression "croked elde" occurs again Falls of Pr. 3 a: Rom. of the R. 4889; "croked age," Troy-Book T, a; Falls of Pr. 176 c; Reason and S. 289 a; S. of Thebes 360 b; Testament, Halliwell, p. 241, 246; Edmund III, 422: "age croked and lane" Falls of Pr. 18 b; "stale croked age" Falls of Pr. 67 d.

184, 185. May and January.] This is an allusion to the Marchaundes Tale, with the story of the ill-coupled old, gray January and fresh May. Lydgate himself has imitated this story in a poem printed by Halliwell (page 27—43), containing the story of December and Iuly. Lydgate quotes Chaucer in this story (Halliwell, p. 28):

"Remembre wele on olde January,  
Whiche maister Chaunceres ful seriously descryvethe,  
And on freessehe May..."  

King James has also an allusion to Chaucer’s tale (Kingis Quair 110, 2):

"Eke Januare is [vu] like vnto may."

186. Cp. Story of Thebes, fol. 370 b:

"Thus selde is sen, the trouth to termine,  
That age and yonth drawe by O line."

Miller’s Tale 43: "Men schulde wedde aftir here astat,  
For eelde and youthe ben often at debaat."
Notes to p. 8, ll. 189—208.

189. Rom. of the R. 82:

"Than younge folk entenden ay
For to ben gay and amorous."

Ib. 1288.

"For younge folk wol, witen ye,
Have lytel thought but on her play."

Reason and S. 279 a: (these lusty folkes all—youth among them):

"nentende nyght nor day
But vn-to merthe and vn-to play."

The same is said of Cupid and Desidet in Reason and S. 268 a:

"The which entende never a day
But unto myrthe and vn-to play."

189. Myrthe is "lord of the garden" in the Rom. de la R.; see Rom. of the R. 601, etc., and 817, etc.; and "Dame Gladnesse" is "his leef," Ib. 848; but in the present passage we have hardly a prosopopeia. "Gladnesse" is personified in Reason and S. 271 b.

190. Rom. of the R. 3893, 3894:

"For he loveth noon hevynesse, (Bialacoil)
But mirthe and pley, and alle gladnesse."

191. Cp. Chaucer's Compleynt unto Pite 23:

"Allas! that day! that ever hit shulde falle!"

The repetition of that is peculiar; but the best MSS. have it, and, without it, the metre is incomplete.

192. sugre and gal.] A frequent simile; compare, for instance, Falls of Pr. 24 d:

"Their pompous suger is meint with bitter gal" (of princes).

Reason and S. 248 b: "The sugre of hir drynkes all (Venus)
At the ende ys meint with gall."

Pilgrim., fol. 2 a: "lyr sugre under-spreynt byth galle" (Fortune's).

193. shape remedie.] See again l. 721; Story of Thebes, fol. 364 b; Albion 11, 1289. The expression occurs frequently elsewhere in Lydgate; also in the Kingis Quair 102, 5:

"and shapith remedye
To sauen me, of your benigne grace."

196—208. This passage seems to have served as a model to Kingis Quair 88—90, and Court of L. 1095, etc. (see also ib. 253). Compare particularly Kingis Quair 90, 3—7, with ll. 207 and 208 of our poem:

"Sum bene of tham that halidin were full lawe,
And take by frendis, nothing thay to wyte,
In jonth from lufe Into the cloisfore quite;
And for that cause are cumyn reconnisfit,
On thame to pleyne that so thafyn had begilit."

See further Kingis Quair 88:

"Ione were qulhilum folk of religioun," etc.

Very similar is also the passage in the Court of L., 1095—1136; particularly 1104—1106:

"Alas! . . . we fayne perfeccion,
In clothes wide, and lake oure libertie;
But all the synne mote on oure frendes be"

(see T. of Glas., ll. 204 and 208); the "copes wide" (l. 204) are also found in Court of L. 1116; and the "tender yoube" (l. 199) in Court of L. 1111. Cp. further ll. 196 and 197 with Court of L. 1100:

"Se howe thei crye and wryng here handes white,
For thei so sone went to religion!"

and with Court of L. 1135:

"Thus leve I hem, with voice of pleint and care,
In ragyng woo crying full petiously."

The passage is quite in accordance with Lydgate's views on monastic life as
expressed elsewhere; see his Testament. In the *Troy-Book* Dd, b he represents himself as

"Usyng an habyte of perfeceyon,
Albe my lyfe accorde nat therto."

209—214. See above, under 179.


"Bot there be mony of so brukill sort,
That fynis treth. In lufe for a quhile,
And setten all thaire witnis and disport
The sely Innocent woman to beygle,
And so to wy sne thaire lustis with a wil."  

_Troilus_ II, 786:

"ek men ben so untrewe,
That right anon, as cessed is hire leste,
So ceseth love, and forth to love a newe."

See also *Faucle* 31, etc.

219. *Aucilida* 251: "Upon me, that ye calden your maistresse."

220. *entere]* = entirely devoted; *cp. Troy-Book C2 d*:

"Whiche is to me moste plesaunt and enter."  

The word is common in this sense: we have also a noun formed from it, with similar meaning, in *Edmund* II, 938:

"How gret enternesse they hadde unto ther kyng."

The synonym _hoil_ is also used in the same way: *trow and hool* *Troilus* III, 952.

223. Similarly _Troy-Book_ Q, e: "And into terys he began to rayne."

_Falls of Pr._ 16 d: "Like a woman that would in teres rayne."  

_1b. 39 b:*  

"I pray the not dislayne,  
Upon my grane some teares for to rayne."

*Cp. also* *Troilus* IV, 818 and 845, and further on, l. 961 and note.

228. _Falls of Pr._ 13 b: "But she al turned to his confusion."  

229. *Black Knight* 479:

"Mot axe grace, mercy, and pite,  
And namely ther wher noon may be founde."

230. *forth-bi pace.*] So again _Falls of Pr._ 18 a; *Rom. of the Rose* 4096; _Pard. Tale_ 206; *Prior. Tale* 117. To "passe (or come) forby," is also not unfrequent; see, for instance, *Dct. Tale* 125; _Troilus_ II, 658, and *cp. Skeat's* note to l. 175 of Chaucer's *Prologue* to the *Cant. Tales*.

231, 232. See note to l. 105.

233. _peraunter._] To be read as a trisyllable _peraunter_; so also, for instance, *Troil. II* 921, 1373; III, 442. *Cp.* further on, l. 241.

234. The same sentiment occurs in the *Compl. of Mars*, l. 231:

"And that is wonder that so Jast a king  
Doth such hardnesse to his creature."

See also *Duchesse* 467—469.

242. This lover evidently endeavours to carry out the 20th Statute of the Court of Love (namely, to seek his absent lady, see *Court of L.* 498—504); but his bump of locality would not seem to be sufficiently developed for the task.

244. *Covetise* is again to be found in the *Rom. de la R.*, English translation, 181, etc.; and in the *Assembly of Gods*, c2 b (riding on an "Olyfaunt"). It is the vice against which the Pardoner preaches with particular zeal; see the *Pard. ProI. 138, 117. It is akin to "Avarice," treated by Gower in the 5th book of the *Confessio*. See further, *Melibe*, p. 152, and Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, fol. A2 a, which speaks of "that contagious sinne Coneousnes, intermedlied with Enmie."

_Sloth* is the subject of Gower's 4th Book. This vice often occurs personified; we have, for instance, a description of Sloth in the *Pilgrimage*, fol. 210 a:

"My name ys yeallyd slothte;  
For I am slowh & encombrows,  
Haltynge also and Gotows"
Off my lymes cram pysshyage,  
Mayuned ek in my goyng,  
Coorbyd lyk ffolkys that ben Old,  
And a wondryd ay with cold."

In the Assembly of Gods, e2 b, Sloth rides on a "dull asse." See again, l. 379, 1010.—A subdivision of Sloth is "Idleness" (see the Confessio, book IV), very frequently personified and held up as a thing to be avoided. In the Roman de la Rose, "Idleness" is "porter" of the garden (see the Engl. Translation 531 etc., 593, 1273 etc.). She has the same function in the Knightes Tale, l. 1082, and frequently comes in Lydgate and Hawes. See also Melibe, p. 181; See Nun's Tale 2; Faerie Queene I, 4, 18 etc.

245. hastines.] See note to l. 863.

248. crystal shield.] This attribute of Pallas is often spoken of; cp. Troy-Book G, b:

"And next venus, Pallas I behelde  
With hir spere, and hir cristall shelde."

After these lines follows the interpretation of this symbol, according to Fulgen-
tius, as given in the Introduction, p. cxvii. Again, ib. K4 a:

"And Pallas eke with hir cristall shelde."

ib., Z2 a:  
"Whiche on hir brest haueth of cristall
Hir sheldes Egys, this goddesse immortall."

Lydgate again has the "shelde of Crystall eleere" and its interpretation as:

"The shield of fortytude and of pacenye," in the Court of S. e5 a, and there also refers to Fulgentius, who says (ed. Muncner, p. 68): "Gorgonam etiam huic addunt in pectore, quasi teroris imaginem, ut vir sapiens terrem contra adversarios gestet in pectore." See further, Reason and S. 218 b:

"In hir lyfte hande she had also  
A myghty shelde of pacience,  
Ther-with to make resistence  
Ageyn al vices out of drede" . . .

Again, L. Lady is a:

"It [the name of Jesus] is also the myghty panyce fayre  
Ageyn wanhope and dysperacion,  
Cristal shelde of pallas for dispayre."

Assembly of Gods, b2 a:

"She [Minera] wered two bokelers, one by her syde,  
That other ye wote w[h]ere; this was all her pryde" [namely, on her breast].

Compare also the following passage from Frezzi's Quadrirgeo II, 1, 40—42:

"Scalpita avene Torrible Gorgone (Minera)  
Nel bello scndo, ch' ella ha cristallino,  
Il quale porta, e contro i mostri oppone."  

The viunte of this shield is thus expressed (ib., II, xix. 40):

"O figlio mio, se adocchi  
Per mezzo del cristallo del mio scndo . . .  
Tu vederai il vero aperto, e nudo;  
E non ti curerai dell' apparenza,  
Alla qual mira l'ignorante, e rudo."

Cf. also Quadrirgeo II, XVI, 19, etc. See further, Peele's Arraignment of Paris IV, 1:

"because he knew no more  
Fair Venus' coston than Dame Juno's mace,  
Nor never saw wise Pallas' crystal shield."

251 and 252. Parl. of F. 298:

"ther sat a queene  
That, as of light the soner-some shene  
Passeth the sterre, right so oner mesure  
She fairer was than any creature."
Flour of C. 113—116:
"Rght by example, as the somer sonne
Passeth the sterre with his beames shene,
And Lucifer amonge the skyes donne
A morowe sheweth, to voide nightes tene"...

Machault, Fontaine Amoureuse (see Skeat, M. P., p. 259):
"Qui, tout aussi com li solaus la lune
Veint de clarté,
Avait-elle les autres sormonté
De pris, d’onneur, de grace, de biauté."

253, etc. Compare Story of Thebes, fol. 363 a:
"And like, in soth, as Lucifer the sterre (l. 253)
Gladeth the morowe at his vprising:
So the ladies, at her in coming, (ll. 282 and 283)
With the stremes of her eyen clere . . . .
To al the Courte broughten in gladnesse."

Cp. also, further on, ll. 328—331 and 1348.

255. Testament, Halliwell, p. 244:
"May among moneths sitte lyk a queenne."

. 257—261. Cp. Flour of C. 120—123:
"And as the Ruby hath the soverainte
Of riche stones, and the regalie;
And the rose, of swetnesse and beaute,
Of freshe flores, without any lye" . . .

For eloquent praise of the rose as the queen of flowers, see Dunbar’s Thrissill and Rois, l. 141 etc.

259. L. Lady a b:
"And as the Rubye hath the renown
Of stones al and domynacion,
Right so this mayde, to speke of holynesse,
Of wynamen alle is lady and maistresse" (cf. l. 296).

Fails of Pr. 88 a:
"so clere his renounne shone . . . .
As doth a Rubye aboue ech other stone."

Edmund I, 977: "And as the Ruby, kyng of stonyss alle,
Reioiseth ther presence with his natrelied.

Albon I, 298: "As amonge stones the Ruby is moost shene."

Reason & S. 294 a: "For this Royal stoon famious
Was a Ruby vertuous,
Which hath by kynde the dignite
Of stonys and the sonereync."

ib. 295 a:
"the Rubye vertuous,
Which is a stoon Most plenteous
Of vertu, yf I shal nat tarye,
Preferred in the lapydarye,
With grace and hap a mān to avanne."

Ll. 265, 266 occur almost word for word in the Troy-Book Hs a:
"So he meruayle hir great semelynesse, (Helen)
Hir womanhede, hir porte and hir fayrenesse."

267—270. Troy-Book Hs a:
"For neuer afore ne wende he that nature
Coude hane made so fayre a creature:
So angellike she was of hir beaute,
So femynyne, so goodly on to se."

ib. Ss d: (Achilles) "gan meruayle greatly in his thought,
How god or kynde enor myght hane wrought,
In theyr werkys, so fayre a createur."

Cp. also the description of Cryseyde, Troilus I, 100—105.

271. This line contains one of Lydgate’s favourite phrases, "hair bright like gold-wire" (golden thread). Compare the following passages:
Notes to p. 11, l. 271.

Troy-B. C2 e: "His sonnyssh heer, crisped lyke golde were" (Jason).
ib. 1, d: "Hir sonnyssh heer, lyke Phebus in his spere
Bounde in a tresse, bryghter than golde were" (Cryseycle).
ib. 18 a: "With lockes yelowe, lyke gold wyre of coloure" (Paris).
ib. 83 d: "Hyr heer also resemblance to golde wyre" (Polyxena).
ib. Qc v: "And eke vntrussed hir heer abrode gan spekle,
Lyke to golde wyre, for-rent and all to-torne" (Cryseycle).
ib. Z6 a: "With heer to-rent, as any golde wyer shone" (Polyxena).
ib. C2 d: "With berde yspronge, shynynge lyke gold weyr" (Jason).

Assembly of Gods b2 b:
"Woos long here shone as wyre of golde bryght" (Venus).
Chorl and Bird 59:
(a bird) "With sonnyssh feders brightener then golde were."
Reason and S. 223 b:
"Whos here as eny gold wyre shon" (Venus).
It seems that this expression was started by Lydgate; at least I cannot point to
an earlier instance. We have the phrase again in the Kingis Quair 1, 4:
"tressis like the goldin wyre;"
it occurs in one of the Roxburghe Ballads (62, stanza 5):
"First is her haire like therds of golden wyre;"
cp. further, Henryson, Testament of Crescide 177:
"As golden wier so glittring was his heare" (Jupiter);
Lyndsay, An Satyre, 342:
"Hir hair is like the goldin wyre."
These two examples are also quoted by Henry Wood, Chaucer's influence upon
King James L, p. 5, note.

Hawes, Past. of Pleasure, p. 79:
"Her heer was downe so clerely shynynge,
Lyke to the golde, late purified with fyre;
Her heer was bryght as the drayne wyre."
It is found in Spenser's "Hymn in honour of Beauty," stanza 14:
"That golden wire, those sparkling stars so bright,
Shall turn to dust, and lose their goodly light;"
further in his Ruins of Time, stanza 2:
"A woman . . . Rending her yellow locks, like wiry gold,
About her shoulders carelessly down trailing;"
more than once in the Fairy Queen; for instance, 11, 3, 30, 1:
"Her yellow lockes, crisped like golden wyre" (Belphebe);
cp. also ib. II, 4, 15, and II, 9, 19; in Gascoigne's Dan Bartholomew, stanza 9;
and several times in Peele; see David and Bethesda II, 2:
"Thon fair young man, whose hairs shine in mine eye
Like golden wires of David's ivory lute" (Absalon),
and, again, II, 3:
"His hair is like the wire of David's harp,
That twines about his bright and ivory neck."
Even Shakspere seems to allude to the phrase, in the Sonnets 130, 4:
"If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head;"
cp. further King John III, 4, 64.
A passage in the Celestina has also this idea; Calisto praises his beloved Melibea
thus: "Comienzo por los cabellos: ¿vés tú las madejas del oro delgado que
hilan en Arabia? Mas lindos son, y no resplandecen menos" (see the English
translation in Dodsley-Hazlitt, I, 61). The notion of "golden," "sumnish"
hair, as being ideal in colour, was common at the time; Chaucer also has it
frequently; see Duchess 858; Hours of F. 1387; Doctor's Tale, 1, 37 etc.
(Virginia); Knightes Tale 191, 1068, 1431; Wife of Bath's ProL 304; Troilus
IV, 708:
"Hire owned here, that sonnyssh was of hewe."
ib. IV, 788: "Hire myghty tresses of hire sonnyssh heres."
See further, Kingis Quair 46, 2 (Lady Joan is described as having "goldin
hair"), and Rom. of the R. 539 (Idelnesse); Court of Love 138, 654, 780;
Douglas's *Pacie of Honour* I, 10, 22 (ed. Small); Dunbar, *Golden Targe* 61 and 62 (similar to *Parl. of Foules* 267, 268) and 1, 61, 1, 19 (ed. Laing):

"So glisterit as the gold wer their glorius gilt tressis."

*Troy-Book* I b: "Lyke golde hir tresses" (*Andromache*);

*Story of Thebes* 371 e:

"And gan to rende her gitle tresses clere."

Court of S. a t b: "She gan vnlace her tressed sonnyshe here" (*Mercy*).

Par le Roy, Halliwell, p. 8:

"Lyke Phebus benys shone her gol'dyn tresses" (and cp. p. 6, l. 18).

Falls of Pr. 13 b:

"Her father had a fatal heere that shone (*Scylla and Nisos*)

Brighter then gold" (occurs again in *Renson and S. 261 b*);

Ib. 60 b: "Her her vntressed like Phebus in his sphere,"

Ib. 119 b: "Her golden heere was al to-torne and rent."

Cp. also *Ballad of the fair Rosamund* (in Percy):

"Her crispéd lockes like threads of golde

Appeard to each man's sight."

I hope these passages will sufficiently prove that Shakspere had not to go to Italy for this idea. Some of the Italian paintings present to us, it is true, an exact illustration of this "hair like gold-wire;" especially those of the Venetian school, and many of Botticelli’s.

272—277. Compare the description of Helen in the *Troy-Book*, II, a, which bears a striking likeness to our passage:

"Hir golden heere, lyke the sonne streames

Of fresshe Phebus with his bryght[e] hemes,

The goodlyhede of hir fresshely face, (l. 278)

So replenyshed of beaute and grace, (l. 274)

Een ennewed with quycknesse of colour,

Of the rose, and the lylye flour,

So egali that nonther was to wyte,

Thorouge none excesse, of moche nor of lyte."

275. ennuyd.] See the passage quoted in the last note; also *Life of our Lady* a t a, where the Virgin is described as "ennewyd" with the "rose of womanly suffrancce and the lily of chastity"; further *Troy-Book* C z b:

"But ener amonge, to ennewir hir coloure, (*Medea*)

The rose was meyt with the lylye flourre."

*Reason and S. 217 a*:

"And hir colour and hir hewe

Was euer ylych[e] fresh and nywe" (*Pallios*).

*Duchesse* 906: "And every day her beaute newed."

Cp. also *Calisto and Meliboe* (Dodsley-Hazlitt, I, p. 62):

"Her skin of whitenes endarketh the snow,

With rose-colour ennewed;"

further, Skelton, *Philip Sparrow* 1003, 1032; *Garl. of Laurel* 885; also *Garl. of Laurel* 389, *Phil. Spar. 775*, and Dyce’s quotations in the note to the last-named passage. See also the quotation from Skelton in note to next line.

276. *L. Lady* a b:

"Whos chekes weren, her beaute for to eke,

With lylies meyne & fressh[e] roses reed."

Skelton, *Garland of Laurel* 883:

"The enbuddid blossoms of roses rede of hew

With lillis whyte your bewte doth renewe."

Cp. also *Doct. Tale* 32—34.

279, etc. Compare ll. 267, etc.; and 578, etc. Similarly, *Chartier*, p. 695 (ed. 1617):

"Tant bien l’ont voulu apprender

Dien & nature à leur voonoir."

283. culumynd.] It is a poetical idea that the Lady's beauty should "illu-
mine,” the whole temple round about her. We have it again in Life of our Lady t. b:

“And as she entrird, a newe sodeyn light
All the place enlumyned enuyron”;

(\textit{The Virgin in the stable at Bethlehem}).

Similarly, \textit{King Horn}, l. 391, 392:

“Of his faire sijte
Al pe bur gan lijte”;

Dunbar, \textit{Thrissill and Rois} 155—157:

“A coisty croun, with clarefeid stonis brycht,
This cunily Quene did on hir heid inelois,
Qyhyll all the land illumynit of the liht.”

\textit{Edmund III}, 224: “a child . . . Which sholde enlumyne al this region.”

\textit{Troy-Book}\ (C\&\, e):

“That hir comynge gladeth all the halle” (\textit{Medea}).

\textit{Intelligenza} 15, 1:

“La sua sovrangerabile bieltate
Fa tutto l mondo piu incente e chiaro.”

Cp. also \textit{Reason and S.} 204\&\, etc.:

“the beaute of hir face, (\textit{Dame Nature})
The whiche abouten al the place
Caste so mervelous a lyght,
So clere, so perynyng and so bryght . . .
That I ne myght[e] nat sustene
In hir presence to abyde,
But wen[e] bak and stood asyde.”

284, etc. Compare with these lines the very similar description of a lady in the \textit{Parliament of Love}, 60 etc.

291. dallyance.] Very much the same as “beauparlauance” in the \textit{Court of S.} \&\ b, and “parladura” in the \textit{Intelligenza} 7, 9. In Lydgate the word \textit{dallyance} seems always to refer to speech; cp. \textit{Falls of Pr.}, fol. 53\&\ and 145:\

“(faire) speche and dallyance,” and 1, 18, fol. 34\&:\

“He axed was among great audience, (\textit{Xenocrates})
Why he was solayne of his dallyance:
His amswere was that neuer for scilence
Through little speaking he felt[e] no grenaunce.”

\textit{Ib.} 69\&:\

“Men with the wyl hane no dallyance” (\textit{Poverty}).

\textit{Ib.} 119\&:\

“Under a curtayn of double dallyance.”

\textit{Ib.} 144\&:\

“John Bochas sate & heard al her dallyance.”

\textit{Ib.} 163\&:\

“Of Rethoricens whilom that wer old,
The sugred language & vertuouss dallyance.”

\textit{Ib.} 197\&:\

“Through his subtilly false dallyance,
By craft he fall into her acquaintance.”

\textit{Albon II}, 730, 731:

“Of Christis fayth and (of) his religion
Was theyr [talkyng] and theyr dalyance”;

\textit{Ib.} II, 1612: “thyr langage and theyr dalyance” . . .

In the \textit{Pilgrimage of Man}, MS. Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 43\&, we have the lines:

“Though seche and I bothe two
Hadde I-ifere longe dalyance,”

which are a translation of the French:

“Combien qua moy long parlament
Ait tenu’ . . . (Barthole et Petit, fol. 63\&).

\textit{Ib.} MS. Cott. Vit. C. XIII, fol. 10\&\ (Doctors and prelotes) “By speche and by dallyavnce
Techyng pylgrymes.”

292. The beste taun.] See p. lxix of the Introduction, and \textit{ten Brink} § 246, end of note. L. 558 is doubtful (The moste passing?).

292, 293. well of pleasaunce.] \textit{well} is very common in this usage; \textit{cp.} \textit{Wife
of Bath's Prot. 107; Sec. Nan's Tale 37, etc.; so is mirrour (l. 294); see again, T. of Glas, ll. 754 and 974; Man of Law's Tale 68, etc.

295. see...Isle...so...similar...here" And Anelida rricamente mot in Man fol.

Douglas's occurs In the Court of Love (l. 309) and always much commended in lovers; see again l. 900; 757, 1005, 1154; Troil. Ill, 93, 429.— Ib. l. 245:

"That firste vertu is to kepe tonge."

The same maxim occurs also in a poem of Lydgate's in the Harl. MS. 2255, fol. 150 a:

"And Catoň wrytt in pleyn language,
Their first vertu, whoo-so lyst it rede,
Keep your toâge from al Outrâge."

In the Kingis Quair, stanza 97, l. 3, "Secretee" is "chamberere" of Venus.

296. Troy-Book Y, c:

"Of women all lady and maystresse" (Penthesilcia).

Douglas's in the Pilgrimage 59 a; Isle of Ladies 2003; Rom. of the Rose 5881; of Honour, ed. Small, I, 3, 17, and frequently elsewhere.

297. Life of Our Lady a.a:

"If that hem lyst, of byr they myght[e] lere" (the Virgin Mary).

Lore (O.E. læræ) meant originally "to teach," as in l. 656; here and in l. 1021, it means "to learn." Vice-versâ, "leñe" (O.E. leornjan) means also "to teach," for instance, Falls of Pr. 213 c. Similar to our passage is further Doct. Tale 107;—110. In the Sec. Nun's Tale 92, explains the name of St. Cecilla as meaning

"the way of blynde.
For sehe ensample was by way of teechyng.

299. grane and white]. This, the redactor of group A changed into in blak In red, as the green colour was considered the token of inconstancy, whilst blue signified faithfulness; cf. Chaucer's Ballade on Nehve-langlynesse, of which the burden is:

"In stede of blew, thus may ye were al grene."

This is taken from Machault (ed. Tarbé, p. 56). See also Squieres T. 11, 298, 299, and Skeat's note; further, Court of Love 246, etc.; Austin 146, 330, and Skeat's note, where he quotes from Lydgate:

"Watchet-blew of leyned stedfastnes, . . .
Meint with light grene, for change & donblenes."

(Falls of Pr., fol. 143 c.)

In the Rom. of the Rose 573, Ydnelnesse is represented as wearing a coat of green colour; in The Flower and the Leaf, the worshippers of the quickly fading flower are clad in green (l. 329, etc.),

But there was nevertheless no occasion to make the alteration in Group A. Thus, Alceste in Chaucer is "clad in real habit grene" (Legend, Prologue, 214); similarly Emelye in the Knightes T., l. 828, corresponding to Boccaccio's Teseide; cp. canto XII, stanza 65 of that poem:

"ella fosse . . . riccamente
D'inn drappo verde di valor supremo Vestita."

Diana's statue is "clothed in gaude grene," Knightes T. 1221, and Rosiall in the Court of L. 816, has a green gown on. In Edmund 111, 115, we read:

"The warty greene shewed in the Reynbowe
Off chastite disclosed his lennesse."

Pilgrim. 12b:

(Grace Dieu) "In a surcoate al off whyt,
With a Tyssu gyrt off grene,
And Endlong fil bryht & shene";

the French original reads:

(sembloit) "Vestement avoir dor batu
Et cinete estoit dun verd tissu."

Ib., fol. 100 a:

"thys skryppe . . . mot be grene,
Wych colour—who so looke a-ryht—
Doth gret comfort to the syth,  
Sharpest the Eye, yt ys no dred.”

Compare also Barclay, as quoted in Dyce’s *Skelton*, p. xiv:
“Mine habite blacke accordeth not with grene,  
Blanke betokeneth death as it is dayly sene;  
The grene is pleasour, freshe lust and iolde;  
These two in nature hath great diversitie.”

In the *Castle of Perseverance*, Truth is represented as wearing “a sad-coloured green”; see Skeat’s note to *Piers Plowman*, C-text XXI, 120 (p. 406).

Kindermann’s *Tentscher Waldreuer* (Appendix, p. 19) has: “Grün gibt Freude / Ehre / Liebe und Hoffnung zu erkennen.” Green was, according to the astrology of that time, Venus’s colour; see Morley, *Eng. Writers*, 2nd ed., V, 139; and cp. *Love’s Labour’s Lost I*, 2, 90: “Green, indeed, is the colour of lovers.”

301. stones and perre.] Occurs again in l. 310. Lydgate has it often. for instance, *Falls of Pr.* 109 b; 128 c; 159 a; 170 d; 191 c; 198 c; “perre and stones” occurs in *Falls of Pr.* 183 c.

301, etc. Cp. *Assembly of Ladies* 257 c:

“Her gowne wel was embrodired certainly  
With stones after her owne Denise,  
In her purifie her worde by and by  
Bien & lomlement, as I coude Denise.”

311. This is to sein.] Very frequent in Lydgate; it occurs again in ll. 426, 512, 715, 1124. Also in Chaucer, *Sqw. T.* II, 186, 293; *Prior. T.* 48; *Melibe*, p. 146, 158, 159, 161, 163, 168; *Pers. T.*, p. 266, 286, 289. etc. *jis benigne.*] Occurs again, without a noun, in l. 1402. Cp. also *Kingis Quair* 42, 3: “that verray womanly.”

312. For the motto see *Flower and Leaf* 548—550:

“For knightes ever should be persevering,  
To seeke honour without feinte or slouthe,  
Fro welte to better in all manner thing.”

*Edmund I*, 361: “Fro good in vertu to bettre he dide eneresse.”

*Pilgrim*. 291 b: “Fro good to bet alway poufyte.”

Lydgate seems to have some difficulty in explaining the motto; at any rate, he does so very awkwardly, which might point to its being the actual family-motto of some fair lady. Similar mottoes with comparatives are not rare; for instance: “Alioria peto,” or “Excelsior.” Numerous French mottoes are found in the *Assembly of Ladies*, but none like ours. Perhaps a negative counterpart to our present expression may serve to illustrate it further, *Falls of Pr.* 138 a:

“Fro better to worse she can so wel transanne [Fortune]  
The state of them that wyll no vertue see.”

320. This line occurs word for word in the *Troy-Book* B, c. See also *Compl. unto Pite* Pile 56:

“Theffect of which seith thus, in wordes fewe.”

321. Similar in tone to this prayer is the one in ll. 701, etc.; 1341, etc.; *Knights T.* 1363, etc.; the proem to Book III in *Troulus*; *Kingis Quair*, stanza 52, 99 etc.; Chapter XXX of the *Pastime of Pleasure.*

322, 323. With respect to this all-dominating power of Venus, Lydgate proposes the following etymology (*Reason and S.*, fol. 265 a):

“Venus ys sayde of venquysshing,  
For she venquyssheth every thing.”

If this etymology should not be acceptable, there is another one, deriving *Venus* from *venor* (to hunt), *Pilgrim*, 128 a, and yet another, deriving Venus from *venom* (*Reason and S.* 218 b)!—See also note to l. 619.

322. Similar expressions, *Leg. of Dido* 121:

“Fortune that hath the world in governaunce;”

*Doct. Tale* 73: “That lordes doughtres han in governaunce.”
Notes to pp. 13—15, ll. 323—342.

Court of L. 1371: "The God of Love hath erth in governaunce."

Generyues (ed. Wright), 2049, 2050:
"The foremost ward, . . . . The kyng of Turkey had in governaunce."

Compl. of Mars 110: "She that hath thy nerte in governaunce."

Reason and S. 229 b: "Which hath lone in governaunce" (Venus).

There was, therefore, no need of Caxton's alteration.

323. Cp. Reason and S., fol. 222 b:
"And thorgh hir myght, which ys dyvyne,
She the proude kañ enelyne
To lownesse and humiyltye" (Venus).

lunteyn.] The word is curiously corrupted in our best MSS., although it is not of rare occurrence; for instance, Parl. Prof. 44: Legend of good W. 1120; Rom. of the Rose 6104; Wyntoun, Cronykil V, 12, 271; De duob. Merc. (MS. Hh. IV. 12, fol. 69 b):
"That whilom was in rychezse so lunteyn" (rhyning with paine).

Magna Cato: "Refrayne thy self, be nat haueteyn ne to lye"
(Caxton reads haute, which we have also Falls of Pr. 138 b).

Reason and S. 275 a:
"For ther is nother halt nor lame
So lunteyn nor so surequedos . . . .
But they must of diwe ryght . . . .
Stonde vnder his obeyssaunce" (Cupid's).

325. Causer.] MS. G reads, in opposition to all other texts, Cause, which no doubt is wrong. We read also in the Compleynt of Mars, l. 46:
"The faire Venus, causer of plesaunce."

328. blissful.] Common epithet for Venus; see further on l. 1100; Knightes Tale 1357; Parl. of F. 113; Troilus II, 234, 650; III, Proem 1; III, 656, 663; IV, 1633; Kingis Quair 76, 6; 101, 6: Court of L. 580.

persant.] This does not seem to be a Chaucerian word; see Skeat, Why "The Romant of the Rose" is not Chauier's, p. 446. It is common in Lydgate: in the T. of Glass it occurs again in ll. 756, 1341; we have it several times in the Black Knight (ll. 28, 358, 591, 613), and elsewhere; also in the Complent 574 (and, I believe, does not here denote the northern participle, but is written for aut, aut). The word occurs further in the Rom. of the Rose, II, 2899 and 4179: Court of Love 849; Fairy Queen I, 10, 47, 5 etc. Cp. also Kingis Quair 103, l. 1.

328—331. With these lines compare II. 253, 254, and 1355—1358.

331. woful.] MS. L and Prints read woful herdes, which is too much for the metre. Nor does grammar require it; cp. Man of Love's Tale 752:
"to whom alle woful cryen,"

and Chorl and Bird 249:
"Comfortith sorrowful, and makith heuy hertis light." —
"voide" is similarly construed in L. Lady l.a:
"To voyde hem out of al derknesse."

Stanza 3 a, 3. Wekkede fongis.] See note to l. 153.
3 b. See note to l. 148.
3 c. fried in his owne grease.] Occurs in the Wife of Bath's Prologue, l. 487; see Hazlitt, English Proverbs, p. 258.
3 d. For Mars, Venus, and Vulcan, see ll. 126—128, and note; for Adonis, l. 64, and Black Knight 644.

341. The meaning of some of the lines in the Lady's complaint is not clear; the author makes her express her wishes in a very vague way.

342. Mi worship sauf.] Similarly Kingis Quair 143, 5: "Hit worship sauf" = her honour being kept safe; and see ib. 142, 7, and Duchesse 1271. Cp. also Anelida 267: "My honour save"; the same expression occurs in Troil. II, 480; III, 110; and see T. of Glass 1117. In the Falls of Pr. 73 d we read:
"Injury done or any maner wrong,
Agayn my worship or mine honestie" (Lucrce).
In Magnus Cato the expression "salvo tamen ante pudore" is paraphrased by:
"Ay sanyng thy worship and honeste."

346. Compare Rom. of the Rose 2424:
"And I abyde al sole in wo,
Deported from myn owne thought,
And with myne eyen se ryght nought."

Edmund III, 477: "Thus atween tweyne hangynge in ballynce."

Cp. also further on T. of Glas, l. 641.

350, 351. Compare Part. of F. 90, 91:
"For bothe I hadde thing which that I wolde,
And eek I ne hadde that thing that I wolde."

Court of L. 988: "But that I like, that may I not come by ;
Of that I playn, that have I habondance."

See also Compl. unto Pite 99, etc., and poem XXI in Skeat, Chancer’s Minor Poems, l. 47:
"For al that thing which I desyre I mis,
And al that ever I wolde nat, l-wis,
That fynde I redy to me evermore;"

further Bothins, 3 d prose of book III: "Nonne quia vel aberat, quod abesse non velles; vel aderat, quod adesse nolisses?"

356 and 357. heat and cold.] These lovers are constantly in extremes of temperature; see Troy. I, 420; II, 698; Compleynt 523, etc.

358. access = an attack of fever; cp. Troy-Book Aa 6 d; Falls of Pr. 172 d; 217 a; L. Lady g. a. Exceedingly common with these lovers; see Troy. II, 1315, 1543, 1578; Kings Quair 67, 5; 144, 5; Skelton, Garland of Laurel 315; Cuckoo and Night, 39; Black Knight 136; De duobus Merc. fol. 62 b; Falls of Pr. 124 a:
"With lones axcesse now wer thei whote now cold."

In the Play of the Sacrament, l. 611, we have the word as a monosyllable axs, rhyming with laxe (see the Transactions of the Phil. Soc. 1860/61, Appendix):
"Who hat[h] y e canker y e collyke or y e laxe,
The tereyan y e quartan e or y e brunnyn[n]g axs."

swelte and swete.] Rom. of the Ro. 2480:
"Though thou for love swete and swete."

Similarly Miller’s Tale 517.

362. Cp. Troy. II, 553, 539:
"And wel the hootter ben the gledis rede
That men hem wren with asshen pale and dede."

De duobus Merc. (MS. Hh. IV. 12, fol. 62 a):
"I am I-hurt, but closed is my wond;
My dethes spere stykkyth in my brest;
My bollyng festryth that it may nat sond,
And yit no cicatrice sheweth at the lest."

Flour of C. 26: "And though your lyfe be medled w t green acre,
And at your herte closet be your wondre."

Soliman and Perseda (Dodsley-Hazlitt V, 296):
"And I must die by closure of my wound."

385. This line occurs again word for word further on in our T. of Glas, as l. 1295. Similar to it is line 639 of the Court of Love;
"Withonte offence of mutabilite."

388. According to Chancer and Lydgate, Saturn is Aphrodite’s father; see the Knights Tale 1595, where Saturn addresses Venus “my deere daughter Venus”; further on, l. 1619, Saturn calls himself Venus’s ayel. Lydgate’s Reason and Sensuality (fol. 219 b etc., and 221 b etc.) tells the same story concerning Venus’s birth, as Hesiod’s Theogony, with the difference that the part of Uranus is given to Saturn, and that of Saturn to Jupiter. Comp. especially fol. 222 a:
"For writyng of poetis half"
That she roos of the fooin most salt,
Which ryseth in the waves felle,
That fynaly, as clerkes telle,
The See was moder to Venus,
And hir fader Saturnus."

Lydgate may have taken this from his favourite Fulgentius (ed. Muncker, p. 70).
Cp. also Rom. of the Rose 5956—5959. Chaucer, however, calls Venus also
"daughter to Dyon" (Troilus III, 1758), a version well-known from the Iliad.
—The astrological influence of Saturn is the most baseful of all planets; see
Troil. III, 667; Knightes T. 229, 470, and particularly 1595 etc.; Dunbar,
Golden Targe 114; Kingis Quair 122:

"Or I sail, with my fader old Saturne,
And withal hale oure hevinly alliance (see T. of Glas, l. 1231)
Oure glad aspectis from thame writh and turne."

Lyndsay's Dream, 474:

"Tyll Satur'nus, quilk trublis all the hewin
With hevy cler, and cullour paill as leid" . . .

394. I suppose "a dropping mone" means a wet or misty moon, as portending
rainy weather.  Cp. Falls of Pr. 67 b:

"Of Diana the transmutation,
··
Now bright, now pale, now clere, now drooping."

Some texts of the Temple of Glas also read droppage, which, of course, is O.E.
strong droopan, whilst dropping comes from O.E. weak droopia.

395, 396. (Cp. Troilus III, 1011—1015; further Guy of Warwick 11:

"The sonne is batter after sharpe shoures . . .
And after mystys Phebus schyneth bright."

Troy-Book I, b: "For after stormes Phebus bryghter is."
Albion II, 1915: "as passe is the daungerer
Of stormy weders, Phebus is most clere."

Piers Plowman, C-text XXI, 456, 457:

"After sharpest shoures ... most sheene is pe sonne;
Ys no weder warmer fan after watery cloudes."

Spenser, A Hymn in honour of Lovc, II. 277, 278:

"As after stormes, when cloudes begin to clear,
The sun more bright and glorious doth appear."

Cp. also Boethius, De cons. phil., 2nd metre of book III.

397. "Joy cometh after whan the sorow is past."

Hawes, Pastime of Pl. (ed. Wright, p. 148).

398, 399. Rom. of the R, 2119:

"To worship no wight by aventure
May come, but if he peyne endure."

400 and 401. Similar sentiments in stanzas 104, 105.

401. That.] The same construction in l. 362, and Falls of Pr. 71 d:

"For more contrarye was their falling lone
That they tofore had of no mishcief knowe."

401. (u)rapped and amale], frequent expression; see Black Knight 168; S. of
Thribes, fol. 359 d; Troy-Book A3 b, O1 b, O3 a, V1 a, X2 d; Pilgrims. 22 a, 298 b,
avhayled alone occurs Troy-Book O3 a; Falls of Pr. 39 b; Aneida 215; Legend,
Pro. 132; Thisbe 100; Philomela 94; Gower and Spenser also have it. l. and
b read wrapped; cp. Miss Toulmin Smith, Gorbeacea, p. 63.

403, 404. Very much the same is expressed in l. 1251. Cp. also Troil. I, 638:

"For how myght evere swetenesse han ben knowe
To hym that nevere tasted bitternesse?"

Court of S. a2 a:

"as tastt bytternesse
All swete thynge maketh be more precyous."

De duobus Merc. (I1H. IV. 12, fol. 60 a):

"But as to hem that hath I-tasted galle,
More agreeable is the hony soate."
Court of S. a, b: “And ryght as swete hath his arrayce by sour.”
Surrey (Aldine Poets, p. 30): “by sour how sweet is felt the more.”
Dunbar, ed. Laing, I, 89, l. 81:

“All how name desvirs to haif swetness,
That nevir taistit bitterness.”

The sentiment is reversed in the Rom. of the Rose 4158.

405. Grisilde.] See l. 75.
407. Penelope.] See l. 67.
dulle as an intransitive verb occurs Troy-Book I, b, M, d; Falls of Pr. 35 d, 105 b, 136 b, 159 d; Troilus IV, 1161; Rom. of the R. 4795. MSS. G and S read dwelle; similarly we have in MS. Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 88 b (Pilgrimage of Man):

“And after that sche lyset not dwelle,
But gan hir hanker vp to pulle.”

409. Dorigene.] This is taken from the Frankleynes Tale. Compare particularly Dorigene’s Complaint, ll. 619—718. She is also mentioned in Flour of C. 192:

“Stedfast of herte, as was Dorigene.”

411. Troil, I, 952: “And also joye is next the fyn of sorwe.”
414. Pilgrim., fol. 101 a:

“For seyntys wych that suffred so,
I wot ryht wel that they be go
to paradys, & Entryd in.”

Isle of Ladies 941, 942:

“And said he trowed her compleint
Should after cause her be corseint.”

419. pe maner and pe guyse.] Common formula; see, for instance, Troil. II, 916; Reason and S. 273 a, 281 a, etc.

421. The word emprise usually means “undertaking”; but it seems also to have the meaning “lore, teaching (ep. apprise), governance”; for instance:

“To folwe themprises of my profession.”

Testament, Halliwell, p. 257.

“For whilom he learned his emprise
Of his Maister, Amphiorax the wise.” S. of Thebes 376 a.

Cupid’s emprise comes often in the Rom. of the R., see ll. 1972, 2147, 2286, 4908; ep. further, Edmund 11, 124, and Reason and S. 286 b:

“Who that ys kaunght in his seruise,
And y-bounde to his emprise” (Love’s).

424. Again a stock-line of our monk’s, repeated in l. 879. It occurs also in the Black Knight, l. 554; Troy-Book Bb, d; L. Lady 1, a. Similarly, Pilgrim.

183 b:

“Gruchchyng nor rebellion,
Nor no contradiccion.”

431. in parti and in al], Formula, occurring again l. 1155; also in the Troy-Book H, a, N, c, X, e, Y, c; L. Lady c, b; Falls of Pr. 184 a; Albon I, 228.

436. See l. 838. Cp. also Reason and S., fol. 223 b:

(Venus) “hild also in hir ryght honde
Rete as a kole A fryr bronde,
Casting sparklys fer a-broode,”

where, in the rubric, the following wise remark stands: “hoe finguant poete propter ardorem libidinis. This passage is immediately followed by an interesting allusion to the Greek fire.

445. pe arow of golde.] See l. 112.

450. to escheu vice.] See l. 1181. The sentiment that true love is able to make the lover “eschew every sin and vice,” is frequently met with in poems of this period; ep. Troilus I, 252; III, 1751—1757, and II, proem 24:

“Alges hem that ye wol sette a fyre,
Thei dreden shame, and vices thei resigne.”

TEMPLE OF GLAS.
See further Cuckoo and Nightingale 14, 151 etc., 191 etc.; Court of Love 598 etc., 1066—1078; Al. Chartier, Le Parlement d’Amour, ed. Tourangeau, p. 697: **“Car luy, qui n’a comparaison, Ne peut souffrir en son serf vice.”**

451. spice.] Cp. Falls of Pr. 115 b: **“And spoyled he was, shortly to specifye, With al the spices of pride and lechery.”**

*Reason and S.* 299 a:

(Idehness) **“bryngeth in al maner spices**

Of vntyrlyte and al vycses.” ... 

Cp. also Henry I’III., Ill, 3, 26: **“For all this spice of your hypocrisy, where Al. Schmidt rightly explains spice by taste, tincature. We have similary “spice of hegesy” in Calisto and Melibea, Dodsley-Hazlitt I, 58. Cp. also “a spyyed conscience,” in Chaucer’s Prol. to the Cant. Tales, i, 526, and Skeat’s note.**

455. crop and root.] Common formulæ of Lydgate’s. See, further on, l. 1210; and Tory-Book A 2 b, A 1 d, G 2 c, G 1 c, H 1 d, I 1 c, I 1 b d, O 1 a, Z 2 a, A 1 e, D 1 e; L. Lady b 1 a; Assem, of Gods b 1 b; S. of Thbes, fol. 360 d; Falls of Pr., fol. 8 a, 30 a., 116 d, 194 d (ground, chief, crop & roote); *Ley. of Margaret* 322; *Reason and S.*, fol. 203 b, 205 b (where we hear that the “mevang of the spers nyne” is)

**“both crop and roote**

Of musyk and of songis soote”), 220 b, 289 b.

Cp. further, Compleyn 397; *Trail*, H, 318; V, 1245; *Generydes*, ed. Wright, l. 4940; *Letter of Cupid*, stanza 3 etc.

We have almost certainly to read *throwth*.

460. orisoun.] Such addresses to heathen gods are often called orisouns in the style of this period (see also l. 696). The word occurs, for instance, in the same usage, in the *Knights T.* 1143; *Kingis Quair* 53, 1 (in both cases addressed to Vennes). In the *Troy-Book S*, b, “demonstrate orisouns” are offered by the priests for Hector, etc.

462. of goode jet he best.] Cp. the line

**“For of al goode she is the beste lyvynge,”**

which forms the burden of the ballad at the end of Cuckoo and Nightingale.

463, etc. The story is told in the *Troy-Book*, Chapter XII (book II), and again in *Reason and S.*; see particularly fol. 228 a—230 a. Similar to our passage are the words of Mercury to Paris (Troy-Book G 5 d), where he tells him that the three goddesses

**“Were at a feste, as I the tell[e] shall, With all the goddes abone celestyal, (cp. l. 466) That Iubyter helde at his owne borde.”**

The story is again alluded to in the *Assem, of Gods* b 1 a.

Line 466 occurs also nearly word for word in *Troy-Book N*, c;

**“To the goddes abone celestyal.”**

Cp. also *Reason and S.*, fol. 209 b:

**“Lych to the goddys immortall, That be above celestiall.”**

In *Reason and S.* 224 a, Venus holds the apple in her hand, as an attribute, and emblem of her victory.

472. See the similar vow of Anelida, at the end of Chaucer’s poem, and that of Alceyone, *Duchesse* 114. In the *Life of our Lady b* a we read:

**“And with encence cast in the sencere He dyd worshyp unto the aultere” (Octavian).**

*Knights T.* 1393:

**“Thy temple wol I worshippe evermo, And on thin anter, wher I ryde or go, I wol do sacrificie, and fyres beete.”**

See also *ib.* 1417, etc.; *Court of Love* 324, and *T. of Glas* 537, etc.
Notes to pp. 20—22, ll. 486—505.

486. To bring to rest, to set in (at) rest, are common expressions; see, for instance, further on l. 1095, 1294; *Troy*. II, 760; III, 917, etc.

490. Compare Lydgate's poem *Walfrid*, l. 8 (Halliwell, p. 72).

494, 495. *Troy*. III, 1224: 

"lande and reverence

Be to thy bounty and thy excelence!"


Stanza 25 b, 7. Cp. *Court of L.*, 582:

"And ponysshe, Lady, grevously, we praye,
The false metrew, with counterfete plesaunce."

For Malebouche, see note to l. 153.

Stanza 25 c, 6, 7. Cp. *Secr'tes Tale* II, 301—303; further *Part. of F.*, 316: "the scarling lay"; ib. 345: "the langling pye"; 347: "The false lap-wing"; 343: "The oule eek, that of dethe the bode bringeth"; cp. Skeat's notes. "As the howle malicious" occurs in *Secr'ta Secretorum*, fol. 150 b (Burgh's part); see further, *Troilus* V, 319, 382. We also recall poems like *The Owle and Nightengale*, and Holland's *Horribut*. For the lay, see *Man of Law's Tale* 676: "thou janglest as a jay"; *Chaucer's Tale* 386: "chiteren, as doon these jayes"; *Garland of Laurell* 1262: "jangelyng jays." See further a poem in MS. Gg. 4. 27, fol. 9 a:

"sit in be wolde bere was discord

bourgh rusti chateryng of pe lay;
Of musik he coude non acord.

Ek pyis vnplesaunt to myn pay,
Jay iangleledyn & made gret disray."

Cp. further *Pilgrim*, 218 b:

"And iangleth encre lyk a lay,

A bryd that eallyd ys Agas."

For the ep, cp. further *Reece's Tale* 30: "proud and pert as is a pye"; *March*. *Tale* 604: "ful of jargoun, as a flecked pye." The pie is also enumerated among the disagreeable birds by Lyndsay, *Papyngo* 647.

496. This = This' = This is; occurs again l. 1037, where is is written in full in the MS. See *Part. of F.*, 411 (and Skeat's note) and 650; the contraction occurs also in *Frank. Tale* 161, 862; *Sec. Nail's Tale* 366; *Troilus* II, 363; IV, 1165, 1246.

505. hawthorn.] Venus is usually represented with a chaplet of roses; see *Knights* T. 1102:

"And on hire heed, ful semely for to see,

A rose garland fresch and wel smel'nyng."

Again, *Fame* 134:

"And also on hir heed, pardle,

Hir rose-garloned whyte and reed."

*Reason* and S. 223 b:

"But she had of roses rede
In stele thereof a chapelet,
As compass rounde ful freshly set."

So also *Troy-Book* K1 b:

"And on hir hede she hath a chapelet
Of roses rede, ful pleasamment yset."

*Troy-Book* G3 b we are told that the red roses mean:

"hertely thoughtes glade
Of yonge folkes, that be amorous."

*Kingis Quair* 97, 6 and 7:

"And on hir hede, of rede rosis full suete,

A chapellet sche had, faire, fresch, and mete.

Pede also, *Arrangement of Paris* I, 1, speaks of Venus's "wreathe of roses."

In explanation of the monk here choosing hawthorn for Venus's garland, rather than roses, I may mention that the May-queen used to be crowned with hawthorn; it was also used in Greek wedding-processions, and the altar of
Hymen was strewn with it.—Hawthorn is mentioned in the *Knights Tale* 650; *Black Knight* 71; *Court of L.* 1354, 1433; *Rom. of the Rose* 4002; *Flower and Leaf* 272; *Kingis Quair* 31, 5 ("hawthorn hegis knet"), and, similarly, *Dunbar*, ed. *Laing*, I, 61, I, 4; these passages form, however, no illustration to our line.

506. Cp. *Troy-Book B*, d:

"That to beholde a luyte it was to sene."

510. MSS. G and S introduce here "Margarete" as the name of the Lady; their reading is certainly not the original one, as the two other MSS. of their group, F and B, preserve the old reading. The name Margarete was, no doubt, introduced in connection with the glorification of the daisy by Chaucer. See above, l. 70.

514 etc.] Cp. *Flower and Leaf*, ll. 551 etc.

524. *Knights Tale* 1407: "But atte laste the statue of Venus schook."

525. was in peas = was silent. Similarly *Troy-Book B*, b:

"And than anone as Iason was in pes."

*Pilgrimage*, 83 b: "She stynte a whyle & was in pes."

*Isle of Ladies* 1008: "every wight there should be stille, And in pees."

526. "fenynyne of drede" occurs also in *L. Lady a; a.*

533, 534. *Troy-Book Aa*, e:

"Great was the prease that in the weye
Gan Croude and shoue to beholde and sene."

536. shortli in a clause.] Frequent stop-gap; see *Troy-Book Y*, b; *Pilgrimage* 149 a; *Rom. of the Rose* 3725 etc.

536, etc. In the *Troy-Book* also, fol. H 1 a, Venus is honoured "With gyftes bryngynge, and with pylgrymage,
With great offrynge, and with sacrifyss,
As vsed was in theyr paynem wyse."

Helen, *Troy-Book H*, a, makes "hir oblacion . . .
With many iewell, and many ryche stone."

537. Cp. *Troy-Book X*, b:

"To telle[n] all the rytes and the gyse."

*Court of Love* 244:

"They . . . did here sacrifice
Unto the god and goddesse in here gyse."

539. *Story of Thebes*, fol. 377 d:

"Nor how the women rounde aboute stonde,
Some with milke, and some also with blood . . .
When the asshes fully were made cold."


soft as silk.] Occurs also in *Lyndsay's Ane Satyre*, l. 341.

541. sparrows and doves.] *Troy-Book K*, b:

"And ennyrion, as Poetes telle,
By downes whyte flyenge and eke sparowes."

*Parl. of F*, 351: "The sparrow. Venus sone;" see Skeat's note, who quotes Lyly's well-known song on Cupid in *Alexander and Campaspe*. See also *Peele, Arr. of Paris* I, I:

"Fair Venus she hath let her sparrows fly,
To tend on her and make her melody;
Her turtles and her swans unyoked be,
And flicker near her side for company."

Further, see *Tempest* IV, 100, and Sappho's famous song on the "ποικίλθρωνος Ἀφροίτη." See further, *Troy-Book G*, b:

"Aboute hir hede hadde doones whyte (Venus)
With loke benyngue, and even debonayre;"
we are also told that these doves mean
"very Innocence
Of them in loue that but trouthe mene."
Fulgentius is again given as the source; he, however, explains this symbol very
differently, see Muncker's edition, p. 71: "In hujus etiam tuidelam columnas
ponunt, illa videlicet causa, quod hujus generis aves sint in coitu fervidae."

Knights Tale 1104:
"Above hire heed hire dowres flikeryn."

Part. of F. 237: "And on the temple, of doves whyte and faire
Saw I sittinge many a hundred paire."

Past. of Pleasure, Chapter XXXI (ed. Wright, p. 155):
"A turtle l offred, for to manefly
Dame Venus hye estate, to glorify."

Venus's doves are also mentioned in Ious of F. 137.

Cp. further Reason and S. 224 a:
"Ther was gret novmbe of dowres white,
Rounde about hyr hede fleyng ". . . .

Assembly of Gods e, b says of "Doctrine:"
"Ouer her hede houyd [Wynken honyd] a culuer fayre & whyte."

544. desire, viz., desire to be released from.
545. shortli to conclude, another stop-gap; see Knights Tale 1037; Story of
Thibes, fol. 356 a; 366 d, etc.

552. This solitary walk is in accordance with the 6th Statute of the Court of
Love (see that poem, l. 338). Cp. also Black Knight, l. 587.
554, etc. Compare with this the description of the "Black Knight" (l. 155, etc.); with line 554 in particular, cp. also Troy-Book Dd, e:
"And if I shall shortly hym descryne" (Chawer).
558. Have we to read: The moste passing? See line 292.
559. "Man is here used emphatically," says Prof. Skeat, in his Note to a
similar passage in the Leg. of Dido (l. 251):
"For that me thinketh he is so wel y-wroght,
And eek so lykly for to be a man" (Aeac). 
Cp. also Falls of Pr. 180 e:
"Them to chastise toke on hym like a man."

Halliwell, M. P., p. 4:
"How lyke a man he to the Kyng is gone" (the Lord-Mayor of London); 
cp. ib. p. 207, l. 2: "But lyk a man upon that tour to abyde"

and Generides, ed. Wright, II. 2243, 2244:
"Generides ayenward lik a man
With-stode his stroke, and smote hyyn so ageyn."

562. Ewrons,) Exactly corresponding to French heureux. The word occurs
also in Troy-Book P3 b:
"For no wyght may be aye victoruous
In peas or werre, nor ylyche Ewrons;"

Reason and S., fol. 216 b, and 275 b, "ewrons and fortunat ;" "ewrons and
happy," fol. 272 b; "ewrons," fol. 274 a; Edmund I, 1057 and II, 177;
Falls of Pr. 5 a: "Most ewrons, most mightie of renome."

Ib, 121 d: "The same day not happy, nor Ewrons,
Pilgrimage 62 a: "Happy also & ryht Ewrons;" similarly "happy And
Ewrons," ib. 260 b.

Magnus Cato: "As to be eunrous, mighty, stronge, and rude"
(eurons stands in Caxton's print; MS. Ib. IV. 12 has vurus instead). We
have the word also twice in the English translation of Alain Chartier's Curial,
ed. Furnivall, 5/15, and 10/21 (again the same phrase "ewrons and happy").
The corresponding noun (e)ure (= augurium) is in common use; so is another
ure = Lat. opera, O.F. uerre (still in Mod.-Engl. inure); an adjective urons is
also derived from this second ure: Story of Thibes 363 b (or rather, 362 b):
"Urons in armes, and manly in working."
Notes to pp. 25—26, ll. 567—614.

567. The poet’s complaint in the *Flour of Curtesie*, l. 53, begins similarly: "das what may this be."

568. *Chorl* and *B. 89*: "Now am I thrall and same tyme I was free."

*Clerkes Tale* i, 91: "Ther I was fre, I mot ben in servage."

572. For the omission of the article, see l. 132.

574. Of nwe.] Occurs again in l. 615; see note to l. 1319.

575. Enbraced.] The word may here also have the meaning of French embrasser, as it no doubt has in l. 846. Cp. *Pilgrimage*, fol. 281 a:

"And with the flawe he kan enbrace [Satun]
Folksys hertys,"

a translation of the French line:
"Fait tous fumer et embraser" (Barthole and Petit, fol. 76 c).

*Pilgr. of the Soul*, fol. 50 b: [they shall ben . . .] "al embracyd with brenyng brondes;" French original:

"Et de feu tous les embrassey" (ib. fol. 115 d).

578, etc. See l. 279, etc.; 267, etc.

581, etc. (Cp. *Rom. of the Rose* 3529 etc.

596. Yold.] Reminds one of expressions like "serf rendu" in the French love-poetry.

604. Pautire.] See for this word, Skeat’s note to the *Leg. of Good W.*, Prologue 130, and his *Elym. Dict.* (under painter). The word occurs also in *Rom. of the Rose* 1621; *Rom. du Love* (1501), fol. 323 c; *Chorl and Bird*, ll. 77, 174, 268; *Troy-Book* G 2 a; *Falls of Pr.* 66 c; *Reason and S.* 291 b; *Pilgrimage*, fol. 227 a; ib. fol. 298 a: (Lyk a byrd . . . wych . . .)

[French original: "Tant com loisel va costoyant,
Et ca et la le col tournant,
Somant aduinent quan las est pris," etc.]

606, etc. *Troilus* i, 415: "thus possed to and fro,
Al stereles withinne a boot am I
Amyd the see, betwexen windes two,
That in contrarie standen ever no."

*Leg. of Phyllis* 27: "and posseth him now up now doun."

*Falls of Pr.* 69 d: "They be so possed with windes in thy barge."

"Forpossyd" occurs in *Compleynt* 530; *Troy-Book* G 2 a; *Falls of Pr.* 3 b;

L. *Lady* r 1 b: "As in balancc for possydp vp and doun."

*Troy-Book* 13 b: "Now vp now doun, foreast and ouer throwe
Theyr shyppes were with tempest to and f.o."

Edward II, 100: "With sondry tempestis forpossid to and fro."

609. Perhaps the reading sturdy in F. B. G. S, for a sondri, is right; cf.

*Troy-Book* 13 b: "The see gan swelle with many sturdy wave;" 

*Pilgr.*, fol. 297 a: "Bovlynyng with many sturdy wave."

Ib., Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 54 a: "Amonge the sturdy wawys alle."

And see the 2nd quotation from the *Troy-Book* in note to l. 53.

614. Onershake.] *Troy-Book* H 6, d: "Wherfore I rede to let onershake
All heynesse."

614, etc. This is a difficult passage to construe. The anacoluthon seems to
begin with "for who," in l. 615, unless we may be allowed to assume that the
expression "for who is hurt of newe" may mean "being one who is newly
hurt," parallel to "for astoned," etc. (see note to l. 632). your, in l. 620, is
very peculiar. Can it mean "*Venus’s* war" = love? It is more likely that the
monk thought that he—or his knight—had apostrophized Cupid, so that your
refers to Cupid: "no one, warning with you (Cupid), may vaunt himself to win
a prize, except by meekness." For the comparison of love to war, cp. the
615. of uwe.] See the notes to ll. 574 and 1319.

618. koue.] We should expect the reverse construction of couth: the
harms of Cupid are known to him, not he to them. Thus couth comes to have
the meaning of "acquainted with." An instructive instance of this transition is
Lilulle of St. Juliana, ed. Cockayne, p. 22: "sif pu cuowe ane arte cu5
wif be king."

619, etc. For the might of Cupid, which neither gods nor men can withstand,
see especially Reason and S. 235 b, etc., where the instance of Phoebus and
Daphne is quoted at length (see Temple of Glass, il. 111—116); and again, folio
275 b, etc. Cp. further, Troilus III, 1695 etc.; Cuckoo and Night. 1—29;
Court of Love 92 etc.; Rom. of the Rose 878 etc., 4761 etc. See also note to l.
322. With l. 620 cp. Isle of Ladies 2112:
"Against which prince may be no wer."

622. Troilus III, proem, l. 38:
"That who-so stryveth with yow (Venus) hath the worse."

Ib. I, 603: "Love, ay veins the which who-so defendeth
Him-selven most, him alderlest availeth."

Cp. also ib. III, 940; V, 166.

631. Drede and Daunger, Personifications from the Rom. de la R., see note
to l. 156. For "Drede" see Rom. of the Rose 3958, etc.; Court of Love 1034;
Troilus II, 810. In the Bourse of Court, l. 77, Skelton introduces himself as
"Drede."

632. for unknowe.] This construction of for with the p.p. occurs also in l.
934 and 1366, and is in general of frequent occurrence. We even have "for
pure ashamed," Troil. II, 656; for pure wood, Rom. of the R., 276; for very
wery, Black Knight 647; for very glad, Generydes 1255.

634. These exaggerations are as common as they are absurd; see Introduct-
tion, Chapter XI, p. cxxxix. Cp. further on, l. 724; Black Knight 512:
"And thus I am for my trouth, alas!
Mordred and slayn with wordis sharp and kene."

Menelaws, Troy-Book 1c, falls into "a swoone....
Alnoste murtherd with his owne thought."

In the Court of S. a, a, man is also represented as being doomed to "dye at the
lest." For similar exaggerations see Troilus 11, 1736; Annalia 291; Squires
Tale II, 128; Frankleynes Tale 97, 112, 352, 613; Knights Tale 260, 474,
709; Merciess Beate, 1; Isle of Ladies, 520; Compleyt 437. The least thing
that these unlucky lovers do, is to swoon constantly; once, twice, three times,
according to the intensity of their feeling; in Generydes, ed. Wright 4099,
Clarionous swoons fifteen times running.

637. wisse.] To teach, = O. E. wissian. Common in Lydgate. See Troy-
Took Na c (to guye and to wysse); Sa b (wysshe me or tecche); Assembly of Gods
d. a:
"axed ye ow wyght
Conde wysse hym to the lord of lyght."

Reason and S. 250 a: L. Lady K a (wyss : blyss : myssse); ib. K b:
"And like a prophete to wisshen vs and rede."

similar expression in Falls of Pr. 9 c: 42 d. See also Troil. I, 622; Freres
Tale 117; Morte Arther, ed. Brock, 9, 671, 813.

641. Cp. Black Knight 563: "That lye now here betwexe hope and drede;"

Troilus V, 1207: "Betwixen hope and drede his herte lay."

643, 644. A similar allegorical battle between Hope and Drede (or Daunger and
Dispeyr) is found in the Court of Love 1036—1057; see also Black Knight
12, 13. Compare further the conflict in Medea's breast, between "Love and
Shame," in the Troy-Book; particularly folio C 4 e:
"For whan that lone of manhode wolde speke....
Cometh shame anon, and vitally sayth may."

Very similar to our passage is also Falls of Pr. 217 a.

648. Falls of Pr. 178 d: "Nowe liest thou bound, fetred in prison."

651. were.] = doubt; occurs several times in Chaucer, very frequently in Lydgate, and in the northern poets. See *Duchesse* 1295; *Hous of F. 979*; *Legend 2686*. The word occurs again in the *T. of Glas*, l. 906, and in the *Compleynt 281*; cp. further *Troy-Book* Ud.:

"And thus he stode in a double weyr."

Similarly *Falls of Pr. 67 e*; *Legl. of St. Giles 367*; *Guy of Warwick 27, 5*; *Reason and S. 232 b, 242 a, 244 a*; *Laneciot of the Laik 84*. A very common phrase is "without weyr," so in *Reason and S. 202 b, 206 b; Flowr of Curt. 223*; *Pilgrim. 147 b, 252 a, 252 b*, etc.; *Rom. of the Rose 1776*, 2568, 3551, 3432, 5488, 5660, 5695; *Lyndsay's Dream 613*, 642; also "but weir," *ib. 485*, 496; *Dunbar, ed. Laing. L. 89, l. 70*. In *Skelton's Bove of Courte*, l. 31, we find a p.p. *encerced*, evidently derived from weyr.

656. Despair, frequently personified: see ll. 895, 1198; *Black Knight 13*; *Troi. II, 530*; *Court of L. 1063*, and especially the *Assembly of Godes*. Cp. also *Troy-Book* T,c (love-complaints of Achilles similar to those of our knight):

"Anone dispeyre in a rage vp sterte,
And cruelly caught hym by the herte."

666. *Troi. II, 385*: "That of his deth ye be nought for to wyte."

673. *Wrothope, similarly repeated in l. 895."

678. *De doob. Merce*, fol. 65 a: "My lyfe, my deth, is purtred in joure face."

678, 679. Common sentiment in poems of the time; cf. again l. 749, 763. Similarly *Isle of Ladies 815*:

"He said it was nothing sitting
To voide pity his owne leggyng."

684. Similar idea in *Skeat. M. P.*, p. 216, l. 93:

"I am so litel worthy, and ye so good."


691. without mere sermon.] So also *Troy-Book*, H, c.

696. oratorie.] See the Introduction, Chapter X, p. cxxxvii, and ep. note to l. 460. Mention is made of an oratory of Venus, *Troy-Book* Dc,c, H,d,d; *Knights Tale 1047*; *Compleyt 549*. of Apollo at Delos, *Troy-Book*, K,c,c; of Diana, *L,a,a*; *Knights Tale 1053*, 1059. We have the expression "oratory" often, of course, in the *Life of our Lady*, namely on folios b,a,a, e,a,a, g,a,b. *Troy-Book* H, d speaks of "the chapell called Citheron"; *Reason and S. 232 b* of the chapel of Venus, in which the Sirens do their service day and night!

700. (anon) as ye shul here.] So again l. 1340; also *Black Knight 217*; *Albon II. 176*; *March. T. 623*; *Dowt. T. 177*; *Pard. Profl. 49*; *Isle of Ladies 70*. 948, 1437; *Gewerydes 2002*, 3899, etc.

701, etc. This is the passage quoted in *Skeat's M. P.*, p. xlv, and in *Wood-Bliss, Athenae Oxonienses*, I, 11, note.

701. *Citheria, common for Venus*; for instance, *Pard. of F. 113*; *Knights Tale 1357*; *Troy-Book* P,d; *L. Lady d,a*; *Court of Love 50*, 556, etc. The name comes, of course, from Cythera; the author of the *Court of Love*, however, evidently confuses the island of Cythere and the mountain Citheron; see ll. 49, 50, 69 of that poem.
Redresse.] In the Court of Love, l. 591, Venus is similarly addressed:

"Venus, redresse of al divison."

703. Compare with this line Knights Tale, 1365:

"Thou gladere of the mount of Citheroun."

Cirrea.] See Anelida 17: "By Elycon, not fer from Cirrea."

Ten Brink, Chaucer-Studien, p. 181, note 35, and Skeat, in the note to this line of Anelida, point out the occurrence of Cirra in Paradiso I, 36, whence Chaucer may have taken the name. Lydgate mentions Cirra often; twice in the beginning of the Troy-Book, fol. A1 a:

"And for the lone of thy Bellona, [Pynson bellona]
That with the dylwth, beyonde Circa,
In Libye londe vpon the sondes rede"; and again, fol. A1 b:

(the Muses) "that on pernas [Pynson pernetia] dwelle
In Circa, by Elycon the welle."

Troy-Book: L1 b, speaks of the rape of Helen as perpetrated con-

"In the temple of Cythere,
That byylde is besyde Cirrea."

Ib. Aa2 d:

"Nor the Muses that so synge can
Atwene the Coppys of Nysus and Cyrra,
Upon the hylle, besyde Cyrra."

Falls of Pr. 17 d: (Apollo) "Which in Cirha worshipped was ye tyme."

We meet again with our Cirra in a complete muddle of geographical names, in Lydgate's Letter to Lord-Mayor Estfield, MS. Addit. 29729, fol. 132 b:

"towards Jerusalem,
Downe costynge, as bokes makyn mynde,
By Lubyes londes, thrughe Ethiope & Ynde,
Conveyed downe, wher Mars in Cyrria
Hathe bylt his palays, vpon ye sondes rede,
And she Venus, callid Cithera,
On Parnaso, with Pallas full of drede . . .
Where Bacus dwellethe, besydes ye lyver
Of ryche Thagus, ye gravelles all of gold," etc.

The further context tends to make it probable that Lydgate has here confused Syria with Cirrea. Who is "Cyrrha ye goddesse," Falls of Pr. 147 a?

705. Perhaps we have to scan: "waçhen and ofte wete."

706. Here, for once, our MS. T alone has made a glaring mistake, in writing eleccion instead of Elycon. Or did the scribe object to the "riuer of Elycon"? Lydgate has "Elycon the welle" again in the beginning of the Troy-Book, fol. A1 b (see above, note to l. 703), and speaks of it as "Remynge full cler with streynys cristallyn,
And callyd is the welle Caballyn,
That sprygne (!) by touche of the pegase," having, of course, Hippocrene in his mind. See further Troy-Book Bc: Medea had drunk, the monk tells us, "at Elycon of the welle"; so did Chaucer, as Troy-Book Na tells us.

The note to line 703 will have sufficiently shown that Lydgate's geography is, in general, rather shaky; but here he may have been misled by Chaucer, Hous of F. 521:

"that on Parnaso dwelle
By Elycon the cler welle."

See Skeat's note to Anelida 15. As an excuse for Chaucer we must add that Helen is frequently called a well or fountain about this period. Skelton, Garland of Laurel, l. 74, speaks of "Elyconis well"; in the Court of Love, l. 22, we read of the "suger dropes sweate of Elycon;"

Lyndsay, in the Prologue to the Monarche, l. 229, says:

"Nor drank I neuer, with Hysiodus,
Off Hylicon, the sors of Eloquence,
Off that mellifluous, famous, fresche fontane."

In the notes to Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar, we even find it expressly stated
that "Helicon is both the name of a fountain at the foot of Parnassus, and also of a mountain in Boeotia, out of which floweth the famous spring Castalius," etc. The mediaeval poets evidently applied the name Helicon, which properly belongs to the mountain, also to the famous springs on it, Aganippe and particularly Hippocrene, having also in their mind the Castalian spring on Mount Parnassus.

743. March. Tale 934:

"Ye ben so deep emprinted in my thought."

749. Cp. above, ll. 678, 679. Similarly we have in a small poem by Lydgate (Ms. Add. 29729, fol. 157 b):

"I see no lacke but only y dawnger
Hath in you voyded mercye and pyte;"

further, Court of Love 831:

"There was not lak, sauf dawnger had a lite
This godely fresh in rule and gouernance."

750. sad demening.] Secreta Secretorum, fol. 121 b, we are told that a king must be:

"Sad of his Cheer, in his demenyng stable.
Sad, of course, meant "serious, grave." Cp. also March. Tale 360.

Hir womanly beryng, and hir saddnesse."

751. Mirrour, see l. 294.

governance] = discreet, well-controlled behaviour; the poets of this period often make mention of, and commend, this quality in woman. See Duchesse 1008; March. Tale 359; further, Henryson's Garment of good Ladies, l. 31;

Troy-Book N 14 (Hector's gouernance praised). In a characteristic passage in the Court of S, sign. c 4 a, "good Socrates" is called the "fyrst founder of gouernance" (= ethics). "Governance" is one of the two allegorical greyhounds at the beginning of Hawes's Pastime of P. The verb "governe" is used similarly; cp. Secreta Secretorum, fol. 99 b: (Aristotle wrote "Epistelys" to Alexander)

"By cleer Examaple by which he myght[e] knowe
To gouern hym, bothe to hih and love."

755. This is not the worst line in our T. of Glus. We have similarly in the Troy-Book H 1 a:

"Within the cerelynge of hir eyen bryght (of Helen)
Was paradys compassed in hir syght."

761. pride.] Rom. of the Ro. 2239: "Loke fro pride thou kepeth thee wele," etc. Similarly in l. 2352. Comp. further Man of Law's Tale 64:

"In hire is hye bewte, withoute pryde."

Sec. Nun's Tale 476:

"We haten deedly thilke vice of pryde."

Pride is the first sin in Gower's Confessio, and in the Persones Tale, p. 294: Lydgate also often warns against it. Pride characterizes herself in a very amusing way in the Pilgrim., fol. 217 b:

"And ofte tyme I boste also
Off thynge wher neuer I hadde a do,
My sylff aramate off thys and that,
Off thynes wych I neuer kam at . . .
Vp with my tayl my ffeothyrs shake,
As whan an henne hath layd an Ay,
Kakleth after al the day;
Whan I do wel any thynge,
I cesse neuer off kakelyng,
But telle yt forth in every cost;
I blowe myn horn, & make bost,
I say Tru tru, & blowe my flame,
As hontys whan they fynde game," etc.

In the Assem. of Gods, fol. b, b, Pride is introduced among the seven deadly sins, sitting on a lion.
778. I believe we must read the line:

"To ben as trae as cuer was Antonlys,"

and l. 781 with trisyllabic first measure, "That was fecp." The readings of G and S, which present no metrical difficulty, are not borne out by F and B. See the Introduction, pp. LII and LIX.

Antony and Cleopatra.] Their history is told in the Falls of Pr. VI 16, and in Chaucer's Leg. of Cleopatra. See also Black Knight 367; Flour of C. 195; Troy-Book X3 d.; Parl. of Fowles 291; Court of Love 573, and Gower's list at the end of the Confessio (ed. Pauli, 111, 361). Cp. also MS. Ashm. 59, fol. 53 a:

"And Cleopatre, of wilful moy-younn,
Lyst for to dye with hir Anthoniun." 780. Pyramus and Thisbe.] See l. 80.

782. Antropos.] This is a common form of the name at that time. It occurs often in the Assembly of Gods and in the Troy-Book: for instance, U3 a:

(antropos) "That is maystresse & gynder of the rother
Of dethes shyp, tyll all goth vnto wake."

See ib. Y1 a, C6 e: and L. Lady g b, where all the three Fates are mentioned; Reason and S. 219 a, etc.; Story of Thèbes 359 d; Albun II, 764.

785. Achilles and Polyxena, see above l. 94.

787. Hercules and Dejanira.] This is not a well-chosen example; Chaucer, more in accordance with classical mythology, has (Hous. of F. 397, 402):

"Eek lo! how fals and reccheles
Was... Erecules to Dyanira;"

and see again, Wife of Bath's Proli. 724.

The Story how Hercules won Dejanira, is told in the Confessio Amantis, Book IV (ed. Pauli, II, 70 etc.); how he deserted her for Iole, in the same work, Book II (ib., I, 232 etc.). See also Heroïdes, epistle IX; Metam., Book IX. Lydgate, however, seems to have believed that Hercules was faithful to Dejanira throughout, see the Falls of Pr. I, 14, and Black Knight 357. Hercules' exploits are narrated in detail in the Troy-Book A6 d, etc., and F3 b etc.; in the Falls of Pr. I, 14; in the Monk's Tale 105—152; the Garland of Laurel 1284—1314, and they are also mentioned in the Black Knight 344—357; his name occurs further in Parl. of F. 288. In the Falls of Pr., fol. 28 d, Lydgate calls Hercules a philosopher! "The great[e] Hercules" he is also called, Troy-Book A6 d; "the worthy conquerour," ib. D6 b. Cp. also Reason and S., fol. 240 a:

(Hercules) "That was of strengthe perces,
Rome and square and of gret height."

788. Shottes kene.] We have the same expression in Troil. II, 58.

792, 793. Troil. III, proem 31, 32:

"Ye (Témas) know at thilke covered qualite
Of thynges, which that folk on wondren so."

799, 800. Similar sentiment in l. 979. Cf. also Troy-Book Dl, a:

"More of mercy requerynge, than of ayrth,
To rewe on me whiche am your owne knyght."

Frankel. Tale 588, 589:

"Nat that I chalenge any thing of right
Of yow, my soverayn lady, but youre grace."

It is the 10th Statute in the Court of Love, II. 368, 369. Compare also Flour of Curt. 106, 107:

"What ever I save, it is of du[e]tc,
In sothfastenesse, and no presumpcion."

806. Be gerdon & be mede.] Occurs elsewhere in Lydgate; for instance L. Lady 1 b.

808. I think we had better leave out your, and let the line pass as acephalous; your stands only in G and S, not in the two other MSS. F and B of group A.

823. A mouth I hawe.] This graceful expression occurs again Troy-Book Q3 d:

"He had a mouth, but wordes had he none" (Troilus).
Falls of Pr. 38 d: "A mouth he hath, but wordes hath he none."
See also Compliment 49: "A tounge I have, but wordys none."
In the Falls of Pr., fol. 26 a, our rognish monk says of women:
"Thei maie haue mouthes, but langlege haue thei none,"
and similarly Reason and S. 259 b:
"A mouthe they hañ, her tounge ys goñ."

829. Almost word for word in Troil. V, 1319:
"With herte, body, lyf, lust, thought, and alle."

833, 839. Cp. Troy-Book C 3 e:
"Lone hathe hir caught so newly in a traunce,
And I-marked with his fury bronde."
Ib. H 3 a: "Cupides darte ... hath hym marked so."
Ib. H 3 b: "And venus hath marked them of newe
With hir brondes fyred by ferenece."
Ib. X 1 b: "He was so hote marked in his herte."

Reason and S. 258 b:
"And even lyke shaltow be shent,
Yif Vennus Marke the with hir bronde."

Cp. also March. Tale 483 and 533.

863. hasti.] Often censured as a fault, whereas the contrary is commended as a virtue. See above, l. 245; cp. also Falls of Pr. 24 d, and the whole chapter I, 13; the same idea expressed negatively, Leg. of Margaret 148:
"She, not to rekel for noon hastynesse,
But ful demure and sobre of contenance;"
Edmund I, 1001: "Konde weel abide, nat hasty in werkyng."
Ib. II, 514: "nat rakel ... Lyst for noon haste lese his patiencce."
Cp. further l. 1203, and note. See also Troy-Book I 3 e (Jason); Melibe, p. 152, and Troilus IV, 1539, 1540. Compare further a beautiful passage in the Pilgrim., fol. 54 a:
"Al thyng that men se me do, (Nature)
I do by leyser by & by,
I am nat Rakel, nor hasty;
I hate in myn oppynyouns
Al sodeyn mutacyouns;
My werkys be the bettre wrouht
Be cause that I haste nouht."
The passage reminds one strangely of the creator of the "Erdgeist," and his dearly-cherished belief in the tranquil, grand, silent working of Nature, as she weaves the "living garment of the godhead."

866. true as (any) steel.] Very frequent formula: Hypermenestra 21; Squire's Prol. S; Reason and S. 297 a; Rom. of the R. 5149; S. of Thebes 363 a; Troy-Book I 3 a, I 3 d, Il 3 a; several times in Shakspere, etc.

869, etc. Compare Minerva's admonitions to the poet in the Kingis Quair, stanza 129.

877. dilacioun.] Cp. ll. 1091, 1193, 1206. Both meaning and metre require this reading.

878. Resoun.] Personification from the Rom. de l' R.; see Rom. of the R. 3034, 3193, etc.; cp. also Reason and S.; and Assom. of Gods e, a; Pilgrim, 25 a, etc.; Dunbar, Golden Targe 151. Similar to our line is Troil. IV, 1650:
"And that youre reson bridede youre delite," etc.;
further Halliwell, M. P., p. 219:
"Lat reson brydle thy sensualite."
Cp. also Troil. IV, 1555: "And forthi, sle with reson al this hete."

879. This line is exactly the same as l. 424.

881, 882. Cp. again, l. 1090; further Troil. IV, 1556:
"Men seyn, the sullenart overcometh, parde!"
See further, Frank. Tale 43—50; Rom. of the Rose 3463-5.
Notes to pp. 37—39, ll. 892—947.

892. hope.] See ll. 641 etc., and further on l. 1197. "Good Hope" is King James's guide to Minerva; see the Kingis Quair, stanza 106, 5: "and lat gude hope the gye." Cp. also Rom. of the R. 2754, 2760, 2768 etc., 2941; further Pilgrim., fol. 108 a:

"Good hope alway thou shalt yt calle:
Thys the name off thy bordoun."

897, etc. All these personifications are quite in the style of the Rom. de la R.

904, rist of goode chere.] The text-criticism is for this position of the words; "of right good chere," as F. B. L. b have it, occurs again Falls of Pr. 183 b, Edmund III, 493; with right good chere, Sec. Nune's Tale 304; Rom. of the Rose 3617.

913—917. Cp. Troil. I, 587, 588:

"For who-so list have helynge of his leche,
To hym behoveth first unwre his wounde."

Pilgrim. of the Soul, Caxton, fol. 21 a (chapter 23):

"What helpyth this for to telle and preche,
But schewe thy sore to me that am thy leche."

See further Lancelot of the Lake; ed. Skeat, l. 103:

"And It is weil accordance It be so
He suffir vanne, that to redres his woe
Previdith not; for long ore he be sonde,
Holl of his leich, that scheweth not his vound."

Fairy Queen I, 7, 49:

"Found never help who never would his hurts impart."

Fletcher, The Faithful Shepherdess II, 2:

"that man yet never knew
The way to health that dust not show his sore."

Boethius, De consol. philosophie I, prose 4: "Si operam medicantis expectas, oportet vulnus detegas."

915. out of his hertis grane.] Curious expression. I suppose it means "out of his heart's grave" = out of his innermost heart. We constantly hear that these love-wounds are most dangerous when near the heart, and especially if they close up. See note to l. 362.

937. pale and wan.] Exceedingly common formula; cp. Miller's Tale 640; Genevles, ed. Wright, 752, 1297, 4703, 6760; Black Knight 131; Troy-Book A1, a, A2 c, D3 a, Cc c, Dd d, De dudous Mere., fol. 65 a; Troil. II, 551; IV, 207. "deadly pale and barren" occurs in Falls of Pr., fol. 196 a. "Dead, pale & wan," ib. 123 b. The formula was still very common in Elizabethan times; see, for instance, Shepherd's Calendar, January, l. 8; Fairy Queen I, 8, 42; Con. of Errors IV, 4, 111; Tit. And. II, 3, 80; Tamburlaine 885, 2235, 3555, 4458. Perhaps we must consider "deedli" as an adjective, and then put a comma after it; cp. Knights T. 224:

"That art so pale and deedly on to see;"

Black Knight 132: "And wonder dedely also of his hewe;"

Kingis Quair 169, 2: "thy dedely coloure pale;"

S. of Thebes 371 e: "Deedly of looke, pale of face and chere;"

Albon III, 684: "Theyr deedely faces."

939, 940. Cp. Troy-Book Sa c:

"Of lyfe nor deth that he rought[e] nought."

Falls of Pr. 95 d: "By manly provess of deth he rought[e] nought."

Troil. IV, 920:

"As he that of his lif no lenger roughte."

Cp. also the 6th Statute in the Court of Love, l. 340.

941. Most likely we have to read: "So mychē fere"; mychē corresponding to O.E. mycel.

947. Mi penne I fele quaken.] A favourite expression of Lydgate's. Cp. Troy-Book Es a:

"I wante connynge, and I fele also
My penne quake, and tremble in my honde."
Ib. Bb, a: "For whiche, alas, my penne I fele quake.
That doth myn yuke blotte[n] on my boke."

L. Lady c, a: "And though my penne be quakyng ay for drede."
Similarly Troy-Book Bb c: "That for wo and drede
Fele my hande both[e] tremble and quake";
and Black Knight 181.

Secreta Secretorum (MS. Ashmole 46, fol. 103 b):
"With quakyng penne my conseyt to expresse."

Fauls of Pr. 30 c: "O Hercules! my penne I fele quake,
Mine yuke fulfilled of bitter teres salt,
This piteous tragedy to write for thy sake."

Ib. 39 b: "In her right hand her penne gan to quake" (Canace).
Ib. 46 b: "Whose deadly sorow in English for to make
Of piteous ruth my penne I fele quake" (Lucece).

Ib. 67 d: "Mine hand gan tremble, my penne I felt[e] quake."
Ib. 89 c: "My penne quaketh of ruth and of pitie."
Ib. 119 d: "With quaking hand whan he his penne toke" (Boccaccio).
Ib. 136 c: "My penne quoke, my heart I felt[e] blede"
(in rehearsing the tragedy of Hannibal).

Ib. 161 a: "Myne hand I fele quakyng whyle I write."
Ib. 217 a: "In which labour mine hand full off[e] quooke,
My penne also, troubled with ignorance..."

Edmund Ll, 89: "That hand and penne quake for verray drede."
Leg. of Margarete 57: "my penne, quakyng of verray drede."
Albyn I, 928: "But now, forsothe, my penne I fele quake."


Application for Money 4 (Halliwell, p. 49):
"this litel bille,
Whiche when I wrote, my hand felt I quake."

Other affections of, and manipulations with, his pen are mentioned, Troy-Book Zd d: (to describe their woe)
"My penne shulde of very routhe ryne."

Ib. Ce c: "For I shall now, lyke as I am wroue,
Sharpe my penne bothe rude and blont."

Chaucer has the expression in Troil. III, 1784, 1785:
"And now my penne alays, with which I wryte,
Quaketh for drede of that I most ende."

It occurs also in Mother of nurture, 1. 50 (Morris's Chaucer VI, 277).
Similarly, Gawain Douglas has (Small I, 48, 7):
"Now mair to write for feir trambilis my pen."

The following amusing lines from Bokenham's Leg. of Margarete (ed. Horstmann, I, 659—669) should also be compared with our present passage, and II. 962, 963 of the T. of Glis:

"My penne also gymyth make obstacle
And lyst no lengere on paper to reme,
For I so ofte haue maad to gronne
Hys snowte vp-on my thombys ende
That he ful ny is waxyyn vnthende (!)—
For enere as he goth, he doth blot
And in my book makyth many a spot,
Menyng that for the beste
Were for vs bothe a whyle to reste,
Til that my wyt and also he
Myht be sum craft reparyd be."

950. Cp. De duobus Merc., MS. Hh. IV. 12, fol. 65 a:
"For with my self thowth I encernore strive."

wel unneepe = not at all easily; scarcely; with great effort; Monk's Tale 431; Frank. T. 8; Clerkes Tale V, 108; Chaucer's Boethius, ed. Morris, 1515;
Troilus V, 31, 399; Flower and Leaf 46:
"That well unneeth a wight ne might it se."
952—956. Cp. *Blank Knight* 176:

"But who shal now helpe me for to compleyne?
Or who shal now my stile guye or lede?"

*Falls of Pr. A₂ b*:

"But O alas, who shal be my muse,
Or vnto whom shal I for helpe call?
Calliope my calling will refuse,
And on Permaso her worthy sustern all,
They will their suger temper with no gale;
For their sweetenes and lusty freshe singing
Ful ferre discordeth from maters complaing."  

*De duobus Merc.* (MS. Hh. IV. 12, fol. 66 b):

"But now, alas! who shall my stile gyue,
Or hen[ne]s-forth who shall be my muse?" ...

954, 955. Cp. *Falls of Pr.*, fol. A₂ d:

"Dities of mourning and of complaing
Doe not pertayn vnto Calliope . . . .
And vnto maters of aduersite,
With theyr sugred anreaat licour,
They been not willye for to don faunour" (*the Muses*).

955. *pei delite.* I think we must omit *pei*, following MSS. F. B. G. S. The construction of *délite*, which we should get by adopting the reading of the other texts, would be very unusual.

958. This invocation of the Furies is very common in Lydgate, whenever he has woe or horrors to relate. Chaucer started it in *Troil. I*, 6 and 7:

"Thesiphone, thou help me for tendite
This wotful vers, that wepen as I write."

*Ib.* III, 1793 etc.:

"O ye Herynes! nyghtes doughtren thre,
That endeles compleynen eve in pyne,
Megera, Alecte, and ek Thesiphone! . . .
This ilk ferthe book me helpheth fyne."

Lydgate has it often; for example in the *Troy-Book* R₄ c:

"O who shall now helpe me to endyte,
Or vnto whom shall I clepe or calle? (l. 952)
Certys to none of the Musys alle, (l. 953)
That by accorde synge[re] ener in oon
Upon Permaso bysyde Elycon . . .
It sytte them noughte for to helpe in wo,
Nor with maters that be with mournyng shent. (l. 954)
To them, alas! I clepe dare nor crye,
My troubyld penne of grace for to gyue, (l. 956)
Nouther to Clyo, nor Callyope,
But to Allecto and Theysphone, (ll. 958 and 959)
And Megera that ener doth complayne."

*De duobus Merc.* (MS. Hh. IV. 12, fol. 67 a):

"Alas, Meggera! I most now vnto the
Of hert[e] call, to help me to complayn;
And to thi sustor eke, the Siphone, (sic)
That aftyr gyidessys ben of payyn."

Similar to these passages are stanzas 2 and 3 of Spenser’s *Daphnaida*; Lyndsay’s Prologue to the *Monarche*, ll. 216, etc., 237, etc., *Remedie of Love* (1561), fol. 322 b:

"Aspire my begynnyng, O thon woode furie
Alecto with thy susters", . . ., and fol. 322 d.

Somewhat different is *Falls of Pr.*, fol. 67 d:

"Me to further I fond none other muse,
But hard as stone Pierides and Meduse."

See on this passage Koeppel, *Falls of Pr.*, p. 72. Further *L. Lady c₈ a*:
"Nether to elye me to calyope
Me list not calle for to helpe me,
Ne to no muse, my poyntel for to gye;
But leue as this and say vnto marie.

He says, however, elsewhere, that Alea hinderes him (Troy-Book N, a):
"Cruell Allector (sie) is besy me to lette,
The nyghtes dochter, bylynd by derkenesse."

By these constant invocations of the Furies, King James (Kingis Quair 19, 3)
was misled into believing that Tisiphone was a Muse.

The Furies appear also in a different function in the S. of Thesbes, fol. 360 b,
and similarly, falls of Pr. 108 b (cp. also Aesop 7, 27). These passages may be
imitated from Chancer's Leg. of Philomela, ll. 22—25, itself an imitation of
Ovid's Met. VI, 428—432.

961. Compare Black Knight 178:
"O Nyobe, let now thi teres reyne
Into my penne, and eke helpe in this nede,
Thou woful Mirre!"...

Similarly, Troy-Book R, d:
"Wherefore helpe now, thou wofull nyobe,
Some drery tere in all thy petteous payne,
Into my penne doefully to rayne."

De duoibus Mercatoribus (MS. Ih. IV. 12, fol. 67 a):
"O wepyng mirre, now lett thy terys reyne
In to myn yuke, so cobloyd in my penne,
That rowght [routhe, Harl. 2255] in swagyng a-brod make it renne."

Falls of Pr. 38 c (Canace writes a letter):
"The salt[e] teares from her iyen clere
With piteous sobbing fet from her hert[e]s brinke
Distilling downe to tempre with her yuke."

962. blot.] See Falls of Pr. 115 b:
"But to declare the vicius liuyng... (of Agathocles)
It would through pers[es] blotte[n] my papere."

Ib. 120 b: "O cursed Ceraniss, I leue thy story here,
Thy name no more shal blotte[n] my papere."

Troy-Book A8, b:
"And thowgh my styyle be blotted with rudenesse."

Ib. Bb3 a: (my penne) "That doth my yuke blotte[n] on my boke."

Douglas, Palace of Honour (Small I, 54. 7):
"It transcendis far aboue my mich
That I with ink may do bot paper blek."

Cp. also the quotation from Bokenam, in the note to l. 947.

963. To paint with fresh colours, with gold and azure, etc., is a phrase of
common occurrence; Lydgate often modestly says that he can only paint in
black and white—"aurat colours," etc., being denied to him—; here the turn
for black has come (as also in ll. 551, etc.), and he must "blot" and "spot"
his paper, instead of "illumining" it.

967. evil fare.] Also in Troy-Book Ce, a; Falls of Pr. 2 b; Story of Thebes
360 c, etc.

970. Princess of youth, etc.] We have similar addresses in Garland of
Laurel 897, 901:
"Princes of yowth, and flowre of goodly porte."
See also Borge of Court 253, and Court of Love 433.

978. The natural position of the words would be: with hert quakyng of
drede. Similar constructions in Gorboduc, see Miss Toulmin Smith's edition,
note to l. 433, where we are referred to Abbott's Shakespearean Grammar,
§ 419 a. Compare also Court of Love, l. 1:
"With tymeros hert and tremlyng hand of drede;"

further, Melibe, p. 193:
"these trespasours and repentynge folk of here folies"; etc.
Notes to pp. 41—44, ii. 979—1060. 113

979. See l. 800, and note.

996. *feyne* seems here to mean "to be slack, idle;" like O.F. feindre (and its participle feignant, in modern French made into finéant). Cf. *Troilus* 11, 997; *Duchesse March*.

1001. bi god and be my troupe.] Not unfrequent formula; see, for instance, *Troilus* III, 1464; *Court of L.* 648, etc.

1025. There is hardly a doubt that we must scan "hennés."

1026. insou3 suffise.] This expression, which now appears pleonastic, was very common; see Falls of Pr. 13 e, 77 a; *Æsop* 7, 50; *Albo* II, 695; *Pilgrimage* 52 b, 64 a, 77 b, 78 a; *March. T.* 296; *Pard. Proli. 118*; *Shipm. T.* 100; *Monk's Proli.* 94; *Monk's Tale* 468; *Maugre. T.* 232 etc.

1029. Are we to leave the second *as* in the line, and read the line with a trisyllabic first measure?

Comp. with this line, *Story of Thebes* 367 b:

"And as ferforth as it lieth in me;"

further, *Troil.* IV, 823: "As ferforth as my wit kan comprehende,"

Men of *Laues T.* 1001: "As ferforth as his connying may suffice."

Cham. *Ym. Tale* 50: "Als ferforth as my connying wol streche."

Frankel, *Proli.* 31: "As fer as that my wittes may suffice."

*Prl.* 1 F. 460: "As wel as that my wit can me svylyse."

Both, "as ferforth as," and "as fer as" are frequent constructions.

1036. Comp. *Black Knight* 517:

"And to youre grace of mercie yet I preye,
In youre servise that your man may drye."

1037. This is.] Read This: see l. 496.

1042, 1043. *Prl.* of F. 442—445:

"Right as the fresshe, rede rose newe
Aven the somer-sonne coloured is,
Right so for shame al wexen gan the we.
Of this fermo!"

*Troilus* II, 1198: "Therwith al rosy hewed tho wax she."

* Ib.* 1250: "Nay, nay, quod she, "and wax as rede as rose."

*Court of L.* 1016:

"And softly thanne her colour gan appere
As rose so rede, throughoute her visage aille."

1045. femynynite.] The proper form of the word in Chancer and Lydgate seems to be *femininite*; cp. *Man of Laues Tale* 262:

"O serpunt under femininite."

The MSS. of Chancer and Lydgate, however, frequently have the shorter form *feminite*, which we find in Spenser; cp. *Colin Clout*:

"And only mirror of feminity."

*F. Queen III* 6, 51: "And trained up in trew feminite."

Our line is indecisive; the full form makes it of the regular type A, the shorter form of type C.

1049. *Troy-Book C.* d:

"Ne lette no wordes by hir lyppes pace" (*Medea*).

1052. Cp. *Troy-Book N.* d: [in Hector was]

"gouernance medlyld with prudence,
That nought asterte hym; he was so wyse & ware;"

and again *S.* b: "Unauynse / for no thynge hym asterte."

* Ib.* *X.* d: "Of womanhede, and of gentyllesse.
She kepte hir so that no thynge hir asterte." (*Penthesileia.*)

1060. Cp. *Court of Love* 890:

TEMPLE OF GLAS,
“Truly gramercy, frende, of your gode wil,
And of youre profer in youre humble wise!”

1061, 1062. Cf. Kingis Quair 144, 1 and 2:
“Now wele,” quod sche, “and sen that It is so,
That in vertew thy lufe is set with treuth” (. . . I will help thee).

1074. Troilus III, 112:
“Receyven hym fully to my servyse.”

1078. Witnes on Venus.] Nonne Prestes Tale 416:
“Witnesse on him, that eny perfït clerk is.”

Troy-Book Aa, d: “Wyntes on you that be immortall.”

The construction with on occurs further in March, T. 1038; Parl. T. 172; Monkes Tale 735; Pers. T., p. 289; also in the poem by the “Dull Ass” (see the Introduction, p. cxliii, and note to l. 110), MS. Fairfax 16, fol. 308 b:
“Wyntes on Ambros vpwoñ the bible.”

We find also the construction with of, and at; cp. Flower and Leaf 530:
“Witnesse of Rome,” and Falls of Pr. 16 a:
“I take witnes at (off Digby 263) Ierobeall.”

A similar frequent expression is: Record on, vpon, or of.

1081. Perhaps we ought to read: “[je trouthe]” in spite of the hiatus.

1082. unto [e time.] The omission of [e, as in MSS. G and S, makes the metre smooth. The article is often omitted before time; cp. further on, l. 1377; also Falls of Pr. 114 a:
“For unto time that she gane vp the breath.”

See further Genevales, ed. Wright, II. 4228, 6012, 6755.

1083. To shape a way.] Frequent expression; cp. Secreta Secretorum, fol. 108 a; Story of Theseus, fol. 358 a, 361 b, etc.

1085. To take at gre, to accept (receive) in gre, are frequent phrases.

1089. See l. 1203.

1090. Whoso can suffre.] This parenthetic, brachylogic construction is very frequent in Lydgate; Chaucer has it also; for instance, Cant. Tales, Proli. 741:
“Eek Plato servyse.”

Cp. further, for the maxim expressed in ll. 1089, 1090, above, ll. 881, 882, and note.

1094. Troy-Book C, b:
“And what I saye, to take it for the beste.”

1096—1098. Troy-Book N, b:
“That theyr hertes were locked in a chayne” (Achilles and Patroclus).

Alton II, 756: “So were theyr hertes ioyned in one chayne.”

1110. blisful.] Common epithet of Venus; see l. 328, and note.

1117. Your honour sanc.] See note to l. 342.

1136. recorde.] See the Introduction, Chapter X, p. cxxxix, and again, l. 1234. Cp. also Gower, in the passage on Chaucer towards the end of the Confessio:
“So that my court it may recorde” (Pauli III, 374).

Scoget 22: “Thon drove in scorn Cupyde eek to record
Of thilke rebel word that thou hast spoken.”

1138, 1143. Cp. Troil. II, 391, 392:
“That ye hym love ayceyn for his lovyng,
As love for love is skylful gerdonynge.”

Edmund I, 479: “Bouzte for bonate, for lone shewe lone ayeyn.”

1146. “Lowliness” to his mistresse is the 7th Statute for the lover; Court of Love 349.

1152, etc. With these admonitions of Venus to the Knight, compare the Statutes in the Court of Love; see the Introduction, p. cxxxi.

1153. constant as a wall.] So also Clerkes Tale 109; L. Lady e, b. Similar expressions are common:
stable as a wal, *Edmund I*, 211; *III*, 390.

sturdy as a wall, *Troy-Book* U, d.

close as any wall, *Troy-Book* U, e.

stedfast as a wall, *Troy-Book* C, a; *Falls of Pr.* 75, b, 128 a; *Reason and S.* 228 a; *Rom. of the R.* 5253; *Albion* II, 91.

style as a walle, *Troy-Book* C, a.

vpright as a wall, *Falls of Pr.* 142 c.


Kingis *Quair* 132, 1: "Be trewe, and meke, and stedfast in thy thought." secere.] See note to l. 295.

1157. *Tempest.*] Rare verb; compare Chaucer, *Truth* 8:

"Tempest thee noght al croked to redresse."

Chaucer's *Boethius*, ed. Morris 1060: "so pat ton tempest nat *be pus wiþ al pi fortune* (te tuae sortis piget).—See further the *Century Dictionary*.

1159, 1160. *Rom. of the Ro.* 2229, 2230:

"And alle wymmen serve and preise,
And to thy power her honour reise."

1161—1165. *Rom. of the Ro.* 2231, etc.:

"And if that any myssniere
Dispise wymmen, that thou maist here,
Blame hym, and bide hym holde hym stille."

1163. slepe or wake.] Absurd use of a common formula, which occurs in the *Sec. Nuws's Tale* 153; *Rom. of the Rose* 2730; *Flower of Curtesie* 95, etc.

1164. champartie.] Lydgate seems to have got this word from *Knightes T.* 1090, 1091:

"Beaute ne sleight, strengthe, ne hardynesse,
Ne may with Venus holde champartey." Champartie means "a share of land," and, generalized, "a share, or partnership, in power." But Lydgate was reminded, by the "champ parti," of the tilting ground, and "to holde champartie with" (or against) means with him "to fight against," "to hold the field against." This is rightly pointed out in the *N. E. Dictionary*. The word is very common in Lydgate, and may even serve as an evidence for the genuineness of doubtful writings. See *Reason and S.* 229 a, 246 b; *L. Lady* 5, b; *Troy-Book* K, a, P, b, Y, a; *Story of Thedes* 366 d: *Byeorne* 41, *Pilg. of man* fol. 59 a, 91 a, 128 b, 148 a, 299 a; *Falls of Pr.* 6 a, 16 b, 26 d, 34 (or rather 35) b, 69 c, 70 d, 145 d, 159 b, 195 b, 204 e.

1166, 1167. *Rom. of the Ro.* 2351, etc.:

"Who-so with Love wole goon or ride,
He mote be curteis, and voide of pride,
Mery and fulle of jolite."

*Troil. III*, Proem 26: "Ye (*Venus*) don hem curteis le, fressh and benigne."

The 18th Statute of the *Court of Love* commands the lover to eschew "sluttishnesse," to be "jolif, fressh, and fete, with thinges newe, Courtly with maner ... and loving cleneynesse."

1167. fressh & welbessein.] So also *Troy-Book* I, c, C, e: *Macabre* (Tottel, fol. 223 d); *Pilgrim* 176 a; similar expressions occur in *Story of Thedes*, fol. 363 c: "riche and wel besein" (so also *Gower's* 1978); "richely biseye," *Clerkes Tale* VI, 46; *Troy-Book* C, e: (Medea) "was bothe fryre and well besaye"; ib., C, b: "Full royally arayed and besaye" (chambers); "fresshely besene," *Troy-Book* C, b; "ryaly besen," *Court of Love* 121 c: "flul ryally and wel besen," *Pilgrim*. 14 a; "goodey byseyyn," *Troil. II*, 1262; "ille byseye," *Clerkes Tale*, VI, 27.

1168—1170. Similar expressions are not unfrequent in the love-poetry of the time, and betray a very brotherly feeling among these fellow-sufferers. Cp., for instance, *Kingis Quair* 184, 1:

"Beseching unto fair Venus abuse
For all my brethren that benc In this place,
This Is to seyne that servandis ar to lufe,
And of his lady can no thank purchase,
His paine relesch, and sone to stand In grace.”...  

_Troil._ III, 1741—1743:
“... esen hem that weren in distresse,
And glad was he if any wight wel fee the
That lover was, when he it wiste or herde.”
Comp. also _Court of L._ 468, 469, which gives it a jocose turn.

1172. ananunt. _Compare_ for “avauntours” particularly, _Troil._ III, 210, 259, 269; further, _Pastime of Pl._, Chapter XXXII:
“make none aduannt
When you of lone hane a perfite granunte.”
And see the amnuing description of the “Avaunter” in the _Court of Love_ 1219, etc.; also _Compl._ of Mars 37.

1173—1175. Compare with this sentiment the _Provençal Poem on Boethius_, l. 221, where “tristicia,” together with “avaricia,” “perjuri,” etc., is enumerated as a sin:
“contr’ avaria sun fait de largetat,
contra tristia sun fait d’alegretat” (_the rungs of the ladder_).

Dante puts the “tristi” into Hell; comp. _Inferno_ VII, 121:
“Fitti nel limo dicon; tristi fummo
Nell’ acer dolce che dal sol s’allegra,
Portando dentro accidioso fummo;
O re attristiam nella belletta negra.”

So does Deguileville, _Pèlerinage de la vie humaine_, fol. 119 c (Barthole and Petit):
“Ce sont dist les filz de tristesse,
Gens endormiz en leur paresce”;
in the English translation (_Caxton_, fol. 55 b): “these ben ... the children of tristesse that sleypn in sloth and lachesse.” In consideration of the promises of the Faith, “tristesse” was accounted a great sin. Compare also the quotation from _Matthew_ VI, 16: “Nolite fieri sicut ipocrite, tristes,” in _Piers Plowman_ B XV, 213, and Dante’s “collegio degl’ ipocriti tristi” (_Inferno_ XXIII, 91).

Similar to our passage is _Secreta Secretorum_ 126 b:
“Be nat to pensyff, of thought take no keep.”
_Pastime of Pl._, p. 96: “And let no thought in your herte engendre.”

See further the passage from the _Rom._ of the _Ro._, quoted above in the note to l. 1166; and _ib._, ll. 2289, etc.;
“Alwey in herte I rede thec,
Glad and mery for to be,
And be as joyfulle as thou can;
Love hath no joye of sorrowful man.”

Compare also _Kingis Quair_, stanza 121; further the picture of “Sorrow,” _Rom._ of the _Ro._ 391—348, and the figure of Sansjoy in the _Faerie Queene._

1176. salnness = earnestness. _See_ _Magnus Cado_:
“Nat alway sad ne light of contenance,”
and again: “It is a good lesson . . .
to be glad and mery eft sones” (quoted in _Jack Juggler_, beginning).

_Edmund_ I, 693—695:
“Sadnesse in tyme, in tyme also gladnesse,
With entirchangynis off merthe and sobirnesse
Afther the sesons requered off every thyng.”

_Duchesse_ 880: “She has to sobre me to glad.”

1177—1179. We must not fail to put it down to our monk’s credit that, amongst so many commonplaces, he gives us at least one moral which has a mauly ring. The same sentiment also forms the kernel of Agamennon’s discourse to Menelaus in _Troy-Book_ 1, c and d. _Cp._ also _Wanderer_, ll. 11—18:
“Ic to sóxe wát,
het bít ón corle indryhten bêaw,
het hé his ferklœcan fôste binde,
healde his hordcofan, hyge swâ hé wille;
1177. It is best for the metre to read myrpe.

1180. Cp. l. 450, and note.

1182. tales.] See note l. 153; the whole Chapter 1, 13 of the Falls of Pr. inveighs against such indiscret "tales." In the Secreta Secretorum, fol. 98 b, the monk tells us that Aristotle hated "illegit talys"; ib. 121 a we hear that a king must not be

"lyghtly credible
To talys that make discensione." The 14th Statute in the Court of Love is to believe no "tales newe" (l. 412).

1183. Word is but wind.] This simile occurs also Troy-Book 1, d; An, c: (he is) "but worde and wynde."

Ib. U, b: "For lyke a wynde that no man may areste,
Fareth a worde discordaunt fro the dede."

Falls of Pr. 216 a: "Worde is but wynde brought in by enuye."

Pilgrim. 218 a: "Wyn and wordeys, rut and dul,
Yssen out finl gret plente."

Secreta Secretorum (Ashm. 46, fol. 125 a): "Trust On the dede, and nat in gay[e] spechys:
Woord is but wynde; leve the woord & take the dede."

In Magnus Calo the Latin hexameter, "Contra verbosos noli contendere verbis" is paraphrased by:

"Agayns tho folkes that ay ben full of wynde,
Struye not at all, it may the nat profite."

In the same poem we have the lines:

"Of thy good dede clamour nat ne crye;
Be nat to wyndy ne of wordes bremme."

"Word is but wind" occurs also in Kyd's translation of Garnier's Cornelie, Dodsley-Hazlitt V, 216; in Calisto and Melibae, ib. I, 69; Ingelend's Dis-obedient Child, ib. II, 301; Skelton's Magnificence 584; Wyatt, Aldine edition, p. 138; Comedy of Errors III, 1, 75; Much Ado V, 2, 52.

1184. dowmb as eny ston, see l. 689.

1185. This childish maxim reminds one of the philistine rules drawn up by the monk for children. Cp. also Burgh's part of the Secreta Secretorum, fol. 159 a:

"Whoo spekith soone Or ony man hym Calle,
Is unresounable, as philosophres expresse."

1188. myne.] Cp. Falls of Pr. 41 e:

"The vnkynd worme of foryetfulnes,
In his heart had myned through the wall."

Ib. 67 b: "Let this conceit aye in your heartes mine."

Ib. 79 b: "That grace none myght in his heart[e] myne" (Coriolanus).

Ib. 150 d: "Under a this there did his heart[e] mine
A worme of auarie, his worship to declyne" (Marius).

Ib. 183 b: "Royal compassion did in hys heart[e] mine."

Testament 33: "In aumerous hertys brenymyng of kyndenesse
This name of Jhesu moost profoundly doth myne."

Edmund II, 447: "And heer-upon a worm most serpentynye
Of fals enuye gan in his herte myne."

S. of Thebes 372 b: "The rage gan mine on him so depe."

Pilgr. 65 a: "Thys mortal worm [of conscience] wyl neuer fyne
Vp on hys mayster for to myne,
And gnawe up on hym day & nyht."

1191, 1192. L. Lady c, a:

"As golde in fyre fyndyn by assaye,
And as the tryed syluer is deperid."
118

Notes to pp. 50—51, l. 1197—1238.

1197. See above l. 892. Cp. also Falls of Pr. 3 b:

And thus false lust doth your bridell lede."

Ib. 6 c:

"Pride of Nembroth did the bridell lede."

Rom. of the Ro. 4935:

"Delite so doth his bridil leede" (of youth).

Ib. 3299:

"Take with thy teeth the bridel faste,
To damnte thyne herte."

Cp. also l. 878, and note.

1203. Abide a while.] Rom. of the Ro. 2121:

"Abide and suffre thy distresse,
That hurthith now; it shall be lesse"....

Kingis Quair 133:

"All thing has tyme, thus sais Ecclesiaste;
And wele is him that his tyme wel abit:
abyde thy tyme; for he that can bot haste,
Can noght of hap, the wise man It writ."

March. Tale 728: "For alle thing hath tyme, as seyn these clerkis."

Melibe, p. 146: "He hastith wel that wisely can abyde."

In the Secreta Secretorum, fol. 104 b, "tretable abydyng" is enumerated as a virtue.

1208. Similarly Troy-Book T 4 b:

"That was this worldes very sonne and lyght" (Hector).

1210. crop and rote, see l. 455.

1220. his langour forto lisse.] The same expression occurs in Albon II, 658,

1221, 1225. Cp. Rom. of the Ro. 2087, etc.; 3320; Amelida 131:

"Her herte was wedded to him with a ring;
So ferforth upon tronthe is her entente,
That wher he gott, her herte with him wente."

Falls of Pr. 38 c: "Under one key our hertes to be enclosed."

Troy-Book N 4 b:

"That theyr hertes were locked in a chayne" (Achilles and Patroclus).

Ib. R 3 c: "She locked hym under suche a keye" (Cressida and Diomed).

1229. L. Lady g 5 a: "Eternally be bonde that may not fayle."

Reason and S, 230 a: "To han hir knyt to him by bonde,"

and again similarly 233 b.

1230. Troy-Book I 4 d:

"For ever more to laste atwene them twyne,
The knotte is knyt of this sacremente" (Marriage of Paris and Helen).

De deoöb. Merc., II. IV. 12, fol. 65 b:

"and hath a day I-sett
Of hyr sponsage to se the knott I-knutt."
1250. Cp. Troil. 1, 642:
"Ek whit by blak, ek schame by worthynes,
Ech sett by other, more for other semeth."

Falls of Pr. 160 d:
"Two colours seen that be contrarius,
As white and blacke—i t may bee none other—
Eche in his kynd sheweth more for other."

Skelton, Garl. of L. 1237: "The whyte apperyth the better for the black."
Pastime of Pl., p. 56:
"As whyte by blacke doth shynere more clerely."

1251. See ll. 403, 404.
1252, 1253. Similarly, Edmund II, 592:
"For alwey troughte al falsheed shal oppresse."

S. of Thebes, fol. 366 d:
"Ayens troughte, falshode hath no might."
Albon II, 1915: "Troughte wyll out, magre fals cuene."
The reverse is found in Black Knight 325:
"He shal ay fynde that the trewe man
Was put abake, whereas the falsheede
Yfurthered was."

1255. deinte = value, estimation, liking; see Anelida 143: Troil. II, 164; Frank. T. 275; Frank. Prol. 9. "To have (hold) in deinte" is a frequent expression; so, Falls of Pr. 9 a, 127 b; Rom. of the Rose 2977; Dunbar, ed. Laing, i, 75, l. 376, etc.

1256. suffrable.] The suffix -able in an active sense (i. e. inclined to do or undergo something) is very common in Lydgate, in cases where in Modern-English it would have a passive sense; Lydgate has devisible, partable, defensible, credible (see quotation in note to I. 1182), etc.; suffrable occurs again Reason and S. 289 b (also in Wife of Bath's Prose. 442); and cp. Pilgrim. 154 a:

"Thy body . . . . insensyble,
Wych muste with the be penyble.—
Sustene also & be suffrable;
For he wyll also be partable
Off thy merytes & guerdons."

In Shakspeare we find still "a contemptible spirit" = a contemptuous, scornfull spirit (Much Ado II, 3, 187), and "an unquestioning spirit" = an unquestioning spirit (As You Like It III, 2, 393).

1271. Troy-Book Br. a:
"What shulde I lenger in this mater dwell?"

1272. Come off.] MSS. T. L, and the Prints omit off; that the majority of MSS. are right, is made probable by the following passages: Troil. II, 310: "com of, and tel me what it is"; similarly, ib. 1738, 1742, 1750; Miller's Tale 549; Freres Tale 304; Court of Love 906; Assembly of Ladies, fol. 258 c.

Troy-Book Li, b: "Wherfore come of, and fully condescende."

ib. Q. a: "Come of therfore, and let nat be prolonged."
De duobus Merc. (MS. III. IV. 12, fol. 64 a):
"Tel on for shame; cum of & lat me see."

Pilgrim. of the Soul, Caxton, fol. 66 a:
"Come of, come of, and see me here as blynde."

1275. haþ, and, shal, obeid, i. e. hath obeyed and shall obey. For this shortened form of construction see Troil. II, 888, 993; III, 1588; IV, 1652; V, 833; Clerkes Tale IV, 36; Frank. Prol. 16; Hous of Fame 82; Rom. of the K. 337; Generydes, ed. Wright, 4906; Court of Love 922; Assop 8, 1:
"An olde proverb heþ boþ seyde and shal."

1279. wede is here used as an adjective; its opposite woe often occurs so also; see Knights Tale 68; Prol. to the Canterbury T., 351, and Skeat's note; further Abbott, A Shakespearian Grammar, § 230; Zupitza's notes to Guy of Warwick, li. 1251 and 3471; Einenkel, Streifzüge, p. 112.
1283. [rifti] = well-ordered, becoming, seemly ; cp. Troil. III, 162:
"She toke hire leve at hem ful thriftyly,
   As she wel konde," ...

Frank. Tal: 444: (a clerk) "Which that in Latyn thriftily hem grette."


1290. For the omission of the relative, cp. Kingis Quair 61, 3:
"To here the nirth was than amang."

Nompe Prestes Tale 355: "he had found a corn lay in the yard."

Duchesse 365: "I asked oon, ladde a lymere."

Peele, David and Beths. III, 2:
"And munter all the men will serve the king."

See Abbott, § 244 ; Mätzner, Engl. Transl. by Greece, p. 524 etc.

1295. The same as l. 385.

1297. Troil. II, 1622: "What sholde I longer in this tale taryen?"

Man of Law's Tale 276: "What schuld I in this tale longer tary?"

Chau. Yem. Tale 210: "What schuld I tary al the longe day?"

Troy-Book S, d: "what shulde I longer tarye."

1303. Calliope.] See Hons of F. 1400 ; Troil. III, Proem 45 ; Court of Love 19 : L. Lady e, a, quoted in the note to l. 958, etc. Lydgate is particularly fond of saying that Calliope never took him under her patronage. Calliope plays a very prominent part in Douglas's Palice of Honour.

1307. The same expression occurs Pilgrim. 270 b:
"Doth hym honour and reverence."

1308. Orphens.] Son of Calliope and Apollo ; see the beginning of the Troy-Book (fol. A, b):
"And helpe also, o thou Calliope,
   That were moder vnto Orpheus,
   Whose dytees were so melodyous
   That the werbles of his resownyng harpe
   Appese dyde the bytter wordes sharpe
   Bothe of parchas, and furyes infernall." ...

Again, in the Falls of Pr. 32 a, he is called
"Sonne of Apollo and of Caliope"; further
"Orpheus, father of armonyne," ib. 32 b;
so also Duchess 569: "Orpheus, god of melodye."

Orpheus is also mentioned Assem. of Gods b, a, as a "poete musykall"; further in the Hons of Fame 1203 ; in Douglas's Palice of Honour, ed. Small, I, 21, 15 ; in MS. Ashmole 59, fol. 64 a:
"And Orpheus with heos stringes sharpe
   Syngese a roundell with his temperd herte"
(herte, in the MS., is evidently a mistake for harpe).

Reason and S. 279 b:
"the verray heuenely soue
   Passed in comparison.
   The hapis most melodyous
   Of Dauid and of Orpheous."

Orpheus and Eurydice are mentioned together in Lydgate's Testament, Halliwell, p. 238 ; in Albon, ed. Horstmann, p. 37, note, stanza 4 ; and Henryson wrote a poem Orpheus and Eurydice. Orpheus is not unfrequently mentioned together with Amphion, as in our passage ; see note to l. 1310.

1309. strengis touch.] We find "touchen cords" in the Isle of Ladies 2153.

1310. Amphion.] How he built the walls of Thebes, is related in the N. of Thebes 357 a ; see also Falls of r. r., fol. 8 a, 145 b, 163 d; Mauicipples Tale 12; Knights Tale 688; Douglas's Palice of Honour, ed. Small. I, 21, 2 and 3. Orpheus and Amphion are mentioned together in March. Tale 472, and Skelton's Garland of Laurey 272 and 273.

1312. queme and please], frequent phrase; see Troy-Book T, b; De duobus
Notes to pp. 54—56, ll. 1319—1372.

More., fol. 60 b; Falls of Pr. 72 b; Reason and S. 242 b; queene or plese, Troy-Book B, b.

1319. of hard.] This way of forming an adverbial expression occurs also in l. 574 and 615: “of newe”; in Troil, II, 1236:

“That ye to hym of harde now ben ywonne.”

Falls of Pr. 72 a: “of olde, and not of newe”; Complaint 159, 198; Reason and S. 283 a. Troy-Book M, a presents even a comparative:

“Ne came none hoost of more harde to londe.”

1325. yer is nonore to sein.] Exceedingly common formula in Chaucer and Lydgate; cp., for instance, Squieres Tale I, 306; Frank, Tale 882; Mauu. Tale 162; Pyle, 21, 77.

1328. Troy-Book U, a:

“That finally, as goddes haue be-lyght,
Thourgh prescyence of their eternall myght
To victroye that ye shall attayne.”

“Prescience” is a personification in the Assembly of Gods.

1331. “by iuste purveyance” occurs also Troil, II, 527. “providence” is, of course, only the learned doubtlet of “purveyance.”

1334. envrion is used as a post-position; the sentence is thus to be construed: In consequence of this grant, a new ballad was straightway begun throughout the temple, by reason of the great satisfaction of all present.

1348. Willy planet.] The same as “welwilly” in Troilus III, 1208:

“Venus mene I, the welwilly planet!” and

Black Knight 627: “O feire lady, wel-willy founde at al!”

1348, 1349: Black Knight 612, etc.:

“Esperus, the goodly bryghte sterre,
So glad, so feire, so persuant eke of chere,
I mene Venus with her bemyr clere,
That hevy hertis oonly to releve
Is wont of custom for to shewe at eve.”

See also ib., II, 5, 6 and Temple of Glas, II, 253, 254, and 328—331; further Kingis Quair 72, 5 and Skeat’s note.


1362. There is always some contrivance or other to wake these dreamers. Here—and it is a good idea, I think—it is the heavenly melody of the lovers’ song; Chaucer, Duchess 1322, is waked by the castle-bell; in the Purl. of F., by the song of the birds; so also Dunbar, in the Thrissill and the Louis, and the poet of Cuckoo and Nightingale; Degville, by the sound of the main-bell; King James, by Fortune taking him by the ear to place him on the top of her wheel; Alanus (De Planeta Nature), by the light of the candles going out; Octavien de St. Gelais, at the end of the Vergier d’Honour, by the noise the people make in uttering their opinions; the writer of the Assembly of Ladies, because water “sprang in her visage”; Skelton, in the Bower of Court, by imagining he was leaping into the water; Douglas, at the end of the Palace of Honour, by falling into a pool; Lyndsay (Dream), by the sound of cannon, etc. noise.] Cf. Albon II, 1943:

“Heuenly angels, that made noyse and sowne”;

further Edmund II, 911:

“This heuenly noise gan ther hertis lyhte.”

Of course, we need not substitute noise, as Horstmann thinks. We have again a “heavenly noise” in the Fairy Queen I, 12, 39, and in Painter’s Palace of Pleasure (ed. Haslewod II, 272); a “sweete noyse” occurs Mauu. Tale 196.

1366. Cf. Rom. of the R. 3859:

“I was a-stoned, and knewe no rede.”

1372. With similar regret Degville awakes from his vision:

“Bien dolent que si tost anoye
Perdu mon solas et na loye;
Icsu le me dont recounyer” (Barthole and Petit, fol. 148 a).
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Notes to pp. 57—61, ll. 1402, 19—198. 123

Flour of C. 169: “it is al under correction,
What I rehearse in commendacion.”

Guy of Warwick 74, 1: “Meekly compiled under correccyon.”
Chorl and Bird 385: “Alle thing is saide vnder correccyon.”
Similarly Secrta Secretorum, fol. 97 b.
Pilgrimage of the Soul, end (Caxton 1483):
“and goodly correcten
where that it nedeth oughte to adden or withdrawn;”
in the original French: . . . “doucement corrigeront,
Se riens y a a corriger,
A amender on retracter.”

Troy-Book E6 a: “Prayeng the redere where my worde myssyt,
Caunysye the metre to be halte or lyme,
For to correcte, to same me fro blame” . . .

Ib. E6 b: “And where I erre, I praye you to correcte.”
Ib. D14 b: “To correcte rather than dislayne.”
Ib. D14 d: “And the submytte to theyrr correccyon.”
See also ib. E6 b.

Edmund: “Meekly requeryng, voyde off presumpciouns,
Wher thow faylest, to do correccions.”

The word correccions forms here the burden of five stanzas.


Par le Roy 63: “For to correcte where as thei see nede.”
Pilgrimage 4 a: “For my wrytyng, in conclusions,
Ys al yseyd vnder correccions.”

Leg. of Austin (Halliwell, p. 149):
“By cause I am of wittis dul and old,
Doth your deucer this processe to correcte.”

Belle Dame: “Where thou art wrong . . .
Thou to correcte in any parte or all.”

Cf. also Lancelot of the Laik, Prol. 184, 185; further Skelton’s Phil. Sparrow
1246, and his Envoy to the Garland of Laurel, l. 1533, etc.

1402. Perhaps we ought to adopt the reading of MSS. T. P. F. B. I. and
scan the line:

“I méne þet bénygne & gëdólî of hir face.”

COMPLEYNT.

19—21. The same simile occurs in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, ll.
179—181; further Troil, 1V, 737:
“How shold a fissh whithouten water dure?”

Departing of Th. Chaucier (MS. Ashm. 59, fol. 46 b):
“What is a fisshie oute of þe see,
For alle heos scales (MS. seles) silver sheene,
Bot dede anoone as man may see.”

42. sonne me swich a pul.] The same expression occurs in the Falls of Pr.,
fol. 14O b.

125. “non-suffysaunce” occurs also in the Pilgrim., fol. 197 a. Chaucer
translates impotential by nonpower, Borthins 2074.

136. myn swete fo.] Very frequent expression; it occurs Troilus 1, 874;
V, 228; Anelida 272; poem XXI in Skeat’s edition of Chaucer’s M. P., p. 214,
l. 41; De duob. Merc. (MS. Hh. IV. 12, fol. 62 a): “My swete foo is hard as
any stele.” See again l. 296 of the Compleynt.

196. Read wnerce. Shirley’s reading is wnerce, not buwerck, as given, on
p. 61, in the various readings.

198. Many allusions to the two casks containing sweet and bitter liquor
(represented as attributes of Fortune or Jupiter) are to be found in contemporary
poetry. See particularly Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, book VI (Pauli III, 12, etc.); similar to this passage is *Reason and S.*, fol. 202 b:

(Fortune) "Had throgh his subtil gyn be-goyne
To yive me drynyke of her tonne,
Of which she hath, with-oute where,
Couched tweyn in hir celler:
That oon ful of prosperite,
The tother of aduersyte,
Myd hir wonderful taverne . . . .
And of this lyke drynykes tweyne
Serveth fortune in certeyne
To alle foolkys eye and morowe,
Some with loye and some with sorowe."

Cp. further Pilgrim., fol. 4 b:

"Nor I drank newer of the snyryd tonne
Off Jubiter, couychyd in hys celer;
So strange I fonde to me hys boteler,
Off poeys callyd Ganymede."

De dwoob, Merc. (MS. Hh. IV. 12, fol. 70 b):

"As Jupiter hath cowchid manyes too
With-in hys celar, platly, and no moo:
That oon is full of joy and gladnes,
That other full of sorrow and bitternes.
Who that will entyr to tamen on the swete,
He must as well takyn hys auncenture
To taste the bytter, or lie the vesell let.

Comp. also ib., fol. 65 b; further *Legend of Good W.*, ProL. 195; *Wife of Bath's ProL.* 170. We have the fiction further in extenso in the *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Méon 6836, etc., and read also in Boethius, *De consol. philos.*, book II, prose 2: "Nonne adolescetulus ééo toíç píabonç, tón múv ña kaçoñ. tón ëi ñeçov kalóv, in Jovis limine jaecer didicisti?" The whole fiction goes back to *Pind. xxiv*, 527, etc.:

"ἀυτοὶ γάρ τι πιθοὶ κατακιλαται ἐν Διός αὐτῷ ἀδώρων, οἷα εἰςωσι, κακῶν, ἑτρούς ἐι ἑαυτῶν," etc.

202. eyesel or venegre.] Cp. Trop.-Book E, c:

"Of bytter eyesell, and of egre wyne."

203. embrace.] See note to *Temple of Glas*, l. 575.

300. We find Judith often mentioned; see, for instance, *Man of Law's Tale* 841; March. *Tale* 122; Melib., p. 150; Albyn, ed. Horstmann, p. 37, note, stanza 5, and particularly, the *Monk's Tale* 561—584. Nowhere, however, is any emphasis laid on her "doublenesse" to Holofernes, as in our passage.

304, etc. Cp. *Falls of Pr.*, Book VI, beginning.

335. dangerous.] Cp. the note to l. 156 of the T. of Glas; see also Chaucer's Prologue 517. "Dangerous" is a woman, in whom "Danger" has his abode; it means thus "unapproachable, inaccessible." The word occurs thus in the *Wife of Bath's ProL.* 151, 514, *Tale* 234; further Court of Love 901: *Rom. of the Rose* 490, 591, 1492, 2312, 3727, etc.—Has "Large in refuse," in the main, the same meaning as "dangerous to take," or have we to adopt Shirley's "Large yiving"? "Large in yeung" occurs also *Edmund I*, 1006.

336. Does streit mean here "straightforward," "ready"? *Falls of Pr.* 170 a has the word in the opposite meaning:

"Streit in kepynge, gein liberalitie" (Galba).

Similarly Pilgrim. (MS. Cott. Tib. A. VII, fol. 94 b):

"They seyne eke they be lyberal,
Though they be streyte and ravysons."

379. Similarly *Falls of Pr.* 146 c: "laugh & make a moowe."

Pilgrim. 169 b: "gruchehe & mowhes mekte";

Ib. 225 b: "Scornyng off the Ieues alle, (of Christ)
Ther mowyng & derysona" (similarly *Pers. Tale*, p. 279);
Notes to pp. 64—66. ll. 395—575.

123

further Troilus III, 1778:

"Than langseth she, and maketh hym the snowe" (Fortune).

Rom. of the Ro. 4355:

(love and Fortune) "Which whilom wole on folke smyle,

And glowne be hem another while."

395, etc. This is a distinct allusion to the worship of the daisy-flower; ep. note to l. 70 of the T. of Glou.

476. We have lyeth as a dissyllable in the Pilgrim. 174 a:

"Shal let the way that lyeth wrong."

477. This line occurs word for word in Rom. of the Ro. 1971.

494—515. The writer was evidently highly pleased with this interminable litany of antitheses and oxymora. His model may have been Rom. of the Ro. 1760, etc.

529. Both MSS. read "hete of cold." Being perfectly sure that this must be nonsense, I changed of into and. Nevertheless of seems to be right; cp. Black Knight, 237, 238:

"So that my hete, pleyously as I fele;

Of grevose coldes cause every deile;"

further Troil. I, 419 and 420:

"Alas, what is this wonder maladye?

For hete of cold, for cold of hete I dye."

This example shows what even "obvious" emendations may be worth. Nevertheless, to die for heat of cold, and for cold of heat, is indeed a "wonder maladye."

539, etc. Our author probably derived his information with respect to this wonderful lamp from Bartholomaeus, De Proprietatibus Rerum XVI, 11 (MS. Harl. 4789), who says of the stone "Albeston": "For in a temple of Venus was made a candlesticke: on whiche was a lantern so brendyng as it might not be quenched wyth tempeste neither with reyne: as Ysider sayth: 19, XV°, Capitulo de Genumis." In Isidore's Etymologiae, Book XVI, Chapter IV, No. 4, we find: "Denique in templio quodamuisse Veneris fanum (dicunt), ibique candelabrum, et in eo lucernam sub dio sic argenteo, ut eam nullus tempeste, quum neque veutes aspergit, nec plurias exstinguit" (Thomas Munckerus, Mythographi Latini 1681, 11, 283, note b, conjectures aspergit for aspergif). For the stone asbestos, see Pliny 37, 51; Solinus 7, 13; Augustine De civ. Dei 21, 7, 1, and a note to Krasinski's Irydion; further Court of S. c b; Falls of Pr. 183 c, stanza 4; Reason and S. 297 b; Intelligenza 43, 2. Cp. with our present passage also the following lines from the Pilgrim., fol. 134 b:

"And the name off thys dreadfull ston

Ys ycallyd Albeston,

Wych, whan yt receyveh fist,

To hete yt hath so greet desyr

That [MS. Than] when with first yt ys ymeynt,

After neuer yt wyl be queynt."

The lamp is again mentioned, in 1567, by John Maplet, A Greene Forest, fol. 2: "Isidore sayth in his XVI. booke, that in a certaine temple of Venus there was made and hoong vp such a Candlesticke, wherein was a light burning on that wise, that no tempest nor storme could put it out, & he heleneith that this Candlesticke had somewhat of Albeston beset within." The name Albeston instead of "asbestos" is due to a perverse etymology from lapis albus.—For many particulars in this note I am indebted to Dr. von Fleischhacker. See also the X. E. Dictionary under "Albeston."

575. Cp. Aneitda 211:

"So thirleth with the poyn of remembrancce

The swerde of sorowe... Myn herte."
The quotations in the Notes are, as a rule, taken from the following texts:

Falls of Princes, from Tottel’s print, 1554.
Troy-Book, from Pynson’s print, 1513.
Story of Thebes, from Stowe’s Chaucer, 1561.
Court of Sapience, from Wynken de Worde’s print, 1510.
Pilgrimage of Man, from MS. Cotton Vit. C. XIII and Tib. A. VII.
Pilgrimage of the Soul, from Caxton’s print.
Life of our Lady, from Caxton’s print.
Reason and Sensuality, from MS. Fairfax 16.
Assembly of Gods, from Wynken de Worde’s print (British Museum, press-mark C. 13 a. 21).
Secreta Secretorum, from MS. Ashmole 46.
De duobus Mercatoribus, from MS. Hl. IV. 12 (Cambridge).
Guy of Warwick, from Zupitza’s edition.
Aesop, from Sauerstein’s edition (Anglia IX).
Horse, goose, and sheep, from Sykes’s reprint for the Roxburghe Club (1822).
Chorl and Bird, from Halliwell (Minor Poems), and MS. Longleat 258.
Edmund and Fremund, from Herstmann’s edition.
Alben and Amphabel, “ “ “
Legend of St. Margaret, “ “ “
Dance of Macabre, from Tottel’s Falls of Princes.
Flour of Curtesie, from Stowe’s Chaucer, 1561.
Chaucer, from Skeat’s annotated texts, and the Aldine edition.
Kingis Quair, from Skeat’s edition.

The abbreviations used in the Notes will be easily understood by means of the above list.
GLOSSARY.

[For the more interesting or rare words, the Notes should also be compared.]

TEMPLE OF GLAS.

abaisshed, abashed, dumb with confusion 1046.
abrade, to start, break forth abruptly 1054.
accoye, see acoye.
edrid, reconciled 110.
againward, again, back, in return 644, 1401.
abruptly 1054.
accesse, attack of fever 358.
eccen, to ask 672, 725, 765, 800, 1178.
bataile, battle 592, 1246.
behest, promise 1036, 1057, 1322.
bemys, beams, rays 272, 329, 718.
bestaile, = be entailed 37.
bet, better, adv., better (312), 1063.
bic, buy 719, 1351.
bist, see behest.
bihote, vb., promise 383, 418.
bis, busy 535, 1168.
isme, to seem, become 1143.
bisie 1199.
lafter, to brate, weaken 1290.
brenne, burn 356, 362, 842; p. t. bred 840.
bred, bird 603.
buxumnes, obedience 878.
can, know 688.
cercled, circled, made circular 716.
champartie, see note to l. 1164.
chere, cheer, countenance, face 52, 290, 298, 315, etc.
ches, to choose 214, 336.
clepe, call 804.
compass, circle; in compasswise 37.
compassid, encompassed, enclosed 755; compass 1053.
compassion, designing, plotting 871.
connyng, knowledge, skill 951.
contyne, to continue 1333; p. p. continued 396, continued 374.
couve, known 200. See also knoue.
crop, protuberance; top, fruit 455, 1210.
crow'd, to push 334.
crub, to cover, hide 205.
curteis, courteous 1166.

dais'ter, day-star 1355.
dal'cance, speech, conversation 291.
See note to this line.
davnto, to subdue 482, 619, 1171.
de'bate, strife 399.
dedel, deadly 14, 937, 945.
dende, value, worth, esteem 1257.
demen'ing, demeanour 750.
demayed, beheld 1051.
departid, separated, divided, parted; p.p. 354; p.t. 781.
depur'd, purified 1225.
dey'e, to devise 471, 927, etc.; to tell 558, 698.
dero'der, dispeller 329.
diff'er, deferring, delay 1206.
dilacions, delay 877.
discerne, to discover 161, 629, 916.
displains, spiteful 761.
dole, dolefulness 551.
done, sb. doom 1079.
dovan, adj., dun, dark 30; vb., to darken 252.
doub'lenes, duplicity 441, 1158, 1245, 1253; stanza 25 c, l. 5.
dul, vb., to become dull, feel dull 407.
dures, roughness 515.
eft, efte, again 41, 1400.
efter, ef'ter, after 233, 1251.
eqalli, equally 277.
eke, also 77, 97, 108, etc.
elde, eld, old age 182, 187.
emprise, undertaking; teaching.
est, lore? 421, 1073. See note to l. 421.
embrace, to set on fire, inflame 846.
See note to l. 575.
embrac'en, to embrace 1107, 575.
embranched, embroidered 301, 309.
endite, tell, describe 946, 1378.
en'mayed, renewed, made fresh and new 275.
en'tale, shape, form 37.
en'tende, is given to, inclined to 189.
en'tentif, attentive 470.
entere, (entirely) devoted 220.
environ, adv., round about 283, 505; postposition 1334.
er, ere, before 13, 572, etc.
estes, apartments, inner parts of a house 29, 549.
over in one, at all times, continually 25, 1333.
ecredel, adv., every deal, throughout 1058.
euerich, every 535.
excrion, happy 562.
exemplaire, exemplarie, pattern, model 294, 752.
expout, to expound 304, 1389.
eyes, vinegar, stanza 3 b, l. 5.
fadar, father 389.
fals'd, deceived 63.
fantasie, phantasy, mind 513.
fasoun, fashion, shape 35.
feine, to feign 204, 522, 762, 911; to be slack 996 (see note to this line).
femynquite, womanliness 1045.
fer ferre, far 345; fid fer 17.
forfö, far forth, far 1327; as fer-forfö (us) 1029.
ferse, fierce 1236.
fest, feast 464; festival 101, 473.
fin, fin sb., end 411, 692, etc.
(fine), fyne, vb., to end (intrans.) 372; (trans.) 910.
(fine), fyne, vb., to refine 1191.
fire, adj., fiery 574.
fla'med, inflamed 843.
flating, floating 53.
flitten, to remove 1248.
for, on account of, because of, out of 1, 2, 10, 11, 29, etc.; in spite of 59, 124, 823; with the participle 632, 934, 1366; conj., because 68; for hat 408, for cause hat 953.
forecastle, for'driven, to drive out of the right way, to toss about; for'caste 606; ford'me (p.p.) 693.
for'said, afore-said 1389.
forth bi pace, to pass by 230.
founi, vb., to favour, make fortunate 903, 1101; p.p. fortun'd 1347, 1361.
for-verynthled, crooked 84.
foole, bird 139.
foresli, adj., fresh 273.
fyne, see fine.
Glossary.

gan, began 10, 13, 23, 26, etc. (often merely paraphrasical).

garnement, garment 303.
gentilles, gentillesse, gentleness 287, 970.
gie, guie, to lead, guide 973, 1003.
gif, to give 597.
ginneb, begins 656.
glude, to gladden 1211; gladedest 703; glading 1356.
grace, p.p., buried 239, 1039.
gre, to take at (in) gre, to accept in good part, graciously 1085, 1387.
gru(c)ech, to grudge, murmur 592, 1086.
guerdon, sb., reward 806.
guerdone, vb., reward 1139.
guie, see gie.

haloure, hallow, celebrate 100.
hatter, hotter 362.
hauteyn, haughty 323.
hest, promise 498; plural hestis 59 (promises) 853 (commands).
het, p.p., heated, inflamed 842.
hole, hool, whole, entire 97, 364, 488, 497, 857, 1227, 1317.
hooli, wholly, entirely 1076, 1330; hoolli 722; holli 1134.
homagere, one who pays homage 571.
hool, see hole.
lace, hue 48, 454, 616, 937.

lbellnt, blent, mingled 32.
ich, Iche, each 748, 1007.
lewise, judgment, pain, torment 238.
lfrore, frozen 20.
lche, equally, equably 1202.
l-mevid, moved 669.
linli, inwardly, deeply 765, 1087.
licunciation, examination 278.
l persid, pierced 987.
lstellified, changed into a star, glorified 136.
lcoide, void, devoid 413.
lloyd, yielded, surrendered 586.

kepe, sb., heed 13.
tipe, to make known, show 194.
toufe, acquainted with 618. See note.
tunning, knowledge, skill 538.

kynd, nature 177, 224, 279, 343.
laisser, leisure 393.
lak, lack, defect 150, 564, 749, 791, 820, 1137.
lase, snare, net 423.
laver, laurel 115.
lech, leech, physician 916.
ledue, language, speech 139.
lenger, longer 390, 1297.
lere, to teach 656; to learn 297, 1021.
lengr, liefer, rather 1012.
litch, like 46, 272, 603, 628, 784, 798, 813, 1039; liche 850.
liklyness, likeness, semblance 18.
lisse, to ease, relieve 1220.
l loft, on l., aloft 645.
longip, belongs 875.
loure, looks sullen 218.

male bouch, wicked tongue, stanza 25 b, 1. 7.
moseb, amazes, bewilders 682.
mood, meed, recompense 353, 415, etc.
meint, mingled 276.
mervaile, sb., marvel 267.
mervaile, mervaile, vb., to marvel, wonder 279, 585.
meve, to move 1245.
mmodir, mother 321.
mot, must 357.

ne, not 27, 68, 184, 240, 399, etc.
ne, nor 161, 178, 403, 508, 594, etc.
neveradele, in no way, by no means 426.
noise, sound 1362.

wraftinges, newfangledness 1243.
wyl, will not 956.
wys, is not 794.
wyst, knew not 17, 1371.

obeissauce, obedience 324, 864.
of, of grace, in grace 490; of right, by right 954, 1063. See also note to 1. 1319.
officioun, offence 429, 801, 884.
ones, onys, once 675, 725, 923, etc.
oper, opir, or 943, 1083.
oper next, next following 209.
ouerdrawe, to pass over 610.
ouershake, to pass away, abate, stop 614.
overstake, to abate, slacken; 614
(readings of L. S. Pr.).

pantire, snare; 604.
pensified, pensiveness; 2.
peepin, crying, screaming; 180.
peradventure, peradventure, perhaps; 233, 241.
perchas, perhaps; 237.
pre, jewelry; 301, 310.
persant, piercing; 328, 756, 1341.
ple, plea; 681.
plein, plainly; in plein; 1390.
plet, to plead; 686.
port, bearing; 266, 291, 745, 901, 975.
possid, pushed; 608.
pref, sb., prove; 1254.
presse, pres, sb., press, crowd; 533, 545, 547.
pris, esteem, highest reputation; 259, 621; value; 1258; praise; 1345, 1381.
purifid, purified; 1192.
purveyance, purveyance; 862.
qwe, to please; 1312; stanza; 3 b, l. 7.
quite, to quit, requite; 1186.
race, to run, rush; 756.
raced, erased, cancelled; 1238.
recch, care, mind; 982.
reconfort, comfort; 330.
recovered, recovered; 1226.
rede, sb., counsel, advice; 642, 688, 1366.
rede, vb., to advise; 1151.
regali, supremacy, first rank; 261.
reverse, to relate; 560, 949.
rename, change, remove; 1182.
rount, cared; 850, 939.

secret, secrecy; 295.
schd, seldom; 212.
sendlhyed, seemliness; 290.
shine, shining, bright; 1101.
sikinnes, security, certainty; 1254.
sip, since; 369, 423, 478, etc.; sipin; 482; siten; 735.
sil, ofte s., oftentimes, often; 193.
skill, reason; 1116, 1382.
skies, skies, clouds; 30, 611.
somewhile, sometimes; 655.
sunnysh, sunny; 271.
sote, soote, sweet; 458, 540, 1264.
sorefast, true; 974.
sound, to cure; heal; 602, 1200.
soure, soune, sb., sound; 197, 1336.
sper, sphere, globe; 272, 396, 716, 1344.
spill, to destroy, kill; 439.
ster, to steer; guide, direct; 1349.
ster, to escape; 584.
sterre, stere, to die; 435, 791.
stile, writing instrument; pen; 956.
stoneb, astounds; 683.
streames, rays; 32, 252, 263, 326, 582, 702, 815, 1101, 1342.
strengis, strings; 1309.
suffiable, suffering, enduring; 1266.
suprised, overpowered, overcome; 765, 938.
swelt, feel sultry; 844.
wueil, feel sultry; 358.
tast, takest; 602.
tempest, vb., to worry, disquiet; 1157.
thonyl, heaviness; 1, 1174, 1260, 1370.
tofore, before; 32, 198, 249, 251, etc.; tofore; 883; toforn; 994, 1281, 1284.
tokedir, together; 276.
transmune, to transform; 120.
trete, treaty; 214.
twyn, to part, separate; 1360.
ulke, the same, that; 81; stanza; 25 a, l. 7.
to, adv., then; 370, 525, 1366, 1369.
to, dem. pr., those; 1165, 1337, 1351.
trifti, see note to l. 1283.
vailep, avails; 622.
verre, verrai, verrey, very; true; 571, 990, 1001.
vinge, voyage, journey; 900.
unfortuned, unfortunate, luckless; 389.
uvarli, unawares; 95, 105, 617.
voide, to chase away; 253, 1158, 1357; to voide of; 120; to empty of; free from; 331.
puppermore, higher up; 137.
walk, walked; 34, 247, 552, 565.
See well.
waldoing, turning restlessly; 12.
wanhope, despair; 673, 895.
**GLOSSARY.**

waped, dismayed, dejected 401.
wave, wave 609.
wealdir, weather 395.
weke, week 1201.
wealbesen, seemly, comely, of good appearance 1167.
weld, walked 140; welke 550.
were, wire 271.
weymentacin, lamentation 949.

**COMPLEYNT.**

acordyn, agree 231, 545.
afore, before 582.
allayene, to allay 273.
albiston, 540. See note to 1. 539.
amasid, amazed, bewildered 518.
a-mong, sometimes 171.
apeyrid, impaired, injured 519.
arype, Aires, the Ram 250.
astert, to escape 12.
aston, stunned 109.
atamyd, broached 198.
atempyld, broached 198.
temperance, temperance 339
(Shirley reads attemporalte).
ata-tweyne, between two people 234.
avise, opinion 354.
barne, balm 431.
bayyage, bidding 468.
brend, burnt 560.
breune, to burn 543, 547, 552.
bromys, broom 417.
chere, countenance 26, 75, 180, etc.
cheure, shiver 532.
cheyroyfd, honey-suckle 429.
clope, to call 149.
commyxtyoimi, union, uniting 253.
continue, to continue 361.
crop, top, fruit 397.
dalyaunce, conversation 340.
del, part 45.
demyn, deem 169.
departycyoun, separation 254.
depemyld, portrayed 79.
despitous, spiteful, contemptuous 346.
depyte, liking 107, 170.
dol, dole, grief 245, 317.
done, dun, dark 366, 372.
dotous, doubting, mistrustful 343.
duresse, hardship 588.

vest, person, creature 360, 398, 403, 553, etc.
willi, willing, ready, propitious 1348.
wirship, worship, dignity 342, 399.
wisse, teach 637.
wide, sb., blame 166, 208.
wide, vb., to blame 666.

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depyte, liking 107, 170.
dol, dole, grief 245, 317.
done, dun, dark 366, 372.
dotous, doubting, mistrustful 343.
duresse, hardship 588.

efft, again; efft soues, soon again 620.
ce, sharp, acid 201.
cere, sharp, acid 201.
cere, in f., together 271.
elt, strong, biting, sharp 201.
femynypeyce, womanliness 326.
feynyse, feigning 477.
flammbe, sb., flame 542.
forderkyd, darkened 26.
for-nome, taken from, deprived 56.
forpossul, pushed about, tossed 530.
frouned, frowning 368.
fyme, to end 280.
3af, gave 179.
yan, began 220.
yate, gate 446.
yere, give 135; gave (=O.E. gea-fon) 177.
gilt, committed 115.
glede, burning coal 525.
yone, given 42.
governance, discreet behaviour 328.
grevis, groves 428.
herdegromys, herd-grooms, herdsmen 418.
heyde, to hail 309.
Iferede, fired, inflamed 556.
I-wis, I-wys, certainly 119, 338.
Glossary.

I-wreke, revenged 358.

large, sb., liberty 177.
lassc, less 616.
lecke, leech, physician 55.
lemys, rays 263.
lerc, to learn 333.
lyssyn, to ease, relieve 401.
made, reward 624.
moe, moo, more 135, 143, 564.
mot, must 390, 442, 568.
mowe, grimace 379.

mede, reward 624.
mo, moo, more 135, 143, 564.
not, must 300, 442, 568.
move, grimace 379.

na>,e, bas not 577.
ne, nor 85, 113, 216, 279, 291.
newfongynesse, newfangledness 562.

obit, abideth 67.
OUTH, or 116.
out-shede, to pour out 431.

parte, to divide, share 236.
peersand, piercing 574.
pensyfled, pensiveness 510.
pes, peace 508.
pete, pity 69, etc.
pleyne, to complain 51.
plonchyn, to plunge 376.
porte, bearing, demeanour 328, 334.

queene, to please 553.

recorderys, flutes, flageolets 421.
recure, to recover 23.
row, rough 374.

seld, seldom 311.
seyne, to, to say 99, etc.
shone, bright 225.
sithc, sithen, sythe, etc., since 4, 14, etc.
skysis, clouds 372.
slen, sloo, to slay 130, 295.
sonde, to make sound, heal 407.
sote, sweet 398, 431.
sothfastnesse, truth 92, 493, 587.
sper, sphere 241.
sperys, rede sp., reed-spears 422.
spreadyynge, sprawling 21.
m,ur, to stir 542 (or, to manage, control? see Leg. of G. W., 335).
sere, to steer, guide, restrain 6.

stilly, quietly 308.

souundenemel, hourly 524.

straytest, most straightforward (?) 336.

sundel, somewhat 197.

swave, swoon 188.

suchynnesse, security, reliableness 327.

sytes, oftte s., ofttimes, often 596.
tene, grief 226.
tho, then 138.
thought, trouble, heaviness 1.
to-brest, to burst 450.
to-ren, rent asunder 611.
to-tore, torn 610.

trist, sad 285.
tweye, two (things) 530.

undyrfong, to undertake 172.

wendyff, to unfold 196.

weene, doubt 267.
were, doubt 261.
worshepe, dignity 341, 550.
wroke, revenged 606.

wynke, close the eyes, sleep 61.
yede, went 205.
LIST OF PROPER NAMES.

TEMPLE OF GLAS.

Achilles 94, 785.  |  Ione 117, 1232.
Addoun (Adonis) 64. |  Isade 77.
Acleste 71.  |  Lucifer 253.
Almen 123.  |  Lucina 4.
Amphioun 1310.  |  Lucretia 101.
Amphitrioun 122. |  Mars 126, 1232.
Antonyus 778.  |  May 184.
Britayne 410.  |  Mercurie 130.
Caliope 1303.  |  Minatawre 83.
Canace 138.  |  Musis 133, 953.
Cartage 55.  |  Orpheus 1308.
Chaucer 110.  |  Palamoun 102.
Cirrea 703.  |  Pallas 248.
Citheria 701.  |  Paris 92.
Cupide 114, 321, 444, etc.  |  Phillis 86.
Daphne 115.  |  Philologye 130.
Decalus 84.  |  Philomene 98.
Demophon 87.  |  Piramus 81, 780.
Dorigene 410.  |  Sabyns 100.
Elieon 706.  |  Saturne 389, 1232.
Emelie 106.  |  Tesbie 80, Tesbe 780.
Eneas 58.  |  Thezens 82, 109.
Esperus 1348.  |  Thesiphone 958.
Europe 118.  |  Titan 32.
Grisildis 75, Grisilde 405.  |  Tristram 79.
Helcuye 93.  |  Troie 95.
Hercules 787.  |  Venus 52, 64, 127, 191, etc.
Iauuari 185.  |  Vulcaneus 127.
Iason 63.  |  

COMPLEYNTE.

Cupidis (gen.) 556.  |  Judith 300.
Helcuye 268.  |  Venus 549.
ADDENDA.

Page XIII. To Prof. Zupitza's contributions to Lydgate-literature, add his paper "Zu Lydgate's Isopus," in his Archive für das Studium der neueren Sprachen, vol. 85, pp. 1—28. We find in it the version of the Trinity College MS. R. 3. 19, and the fragment in MS. Ashmole 59, besides valuable notes, and important additions to Sauerstein's edition.

Page XXIX. Thanks to the kindness of Mr. Gordon Duff, I am in a position to give a more accurate date for the fragments of Pynson's print. Mr. Gordon Duff believes its date to be about 1502—6, for the following reason. The border of the device used in Pynson's print was cut in metal, and was first used about 1500. It very soon began to get damaged, owing to the bending of the metal, and about the year 1510, the lower part broke away altogether. In the Temple of Glas the lower margin is slightly bent, and thus Mr. Gordon Duff is inclined to put it nearer 1502 than 1506.

Page LXXIII, note. I am sorry that I was not sooner acquainted with Wiseman's Dissertation Untersuchungen über das Kingis Quair. It would have been interesting to compare Lydgate's treatment of the final e with that of King James.

Page XCVI. In the last volume of the Dictionary of National Biography, the article on John Hoveden notices the poem in MS. Calig. A. 11, entitled "The Nightyngele," and says that it is an imitation of Hoveden's shorter version of the Philomela. Through Prof. Napier I have become acquainted with another copy of the Caligula version, contained in MS. No. 203 of Corpus Christi College. From it, my supposition that the British Museum copy must be deficient at the beginning, has been confirmed. Two stanzas, addressed to Anne, Duchess of Buckingham, are missing at the beginning in the London MS., so that this poem has altogether 59 stanzas (see p. xcv, note 3). The stanza on the death of Henry of Warwick occurs in this MS. on page 17. An entry at the beginning of the MS. rightly points out that the poem must thus have been written between 1444 and about 1446, as the title "Duchess of Buckingham" was not conferred upon Lady Anne till 1444. Both MSS. are mentioned by Tanner, p. 491, l. 11 from top.

Page XCVII. We find further information concerning John Baret in a publication of the Camden Society: Wills and Inventories from the registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmund's and the Archdeacon of Sudbury, ed. by Samuel Tymms, 1850. The will of John Baret is given in that work on pp. 15—44. It was drawn up in 1463, and proved May 2nd, 1467. Thus John Baret doubtless outlived Lydgate, whose share in the pension granted to them jointly must then have fallen to Baret. Some account of Baret and his tomb in St. Mary's Church, Bury St. Edmunds, is given on pp. 233—238 of Tymms's book.

Page XCIX. Through Mr. Peskett's renewed kindness I have been able to identify the "War between Caesar and Pompey" which Skeat (Academy, Oct. 3, p. 286) inclines to believe is identical with the "Tragedye of Rome" in MS.
Addenda.

Ashmole 59. Mr. Peskett has very kindly sent me a transcript of the beginning and end which, as he rightly points out, leaves no doubt that the piece is identical with Lydgate's Serpent of Division (issued together with the 1590 edition of Gorbovduc). The Ashmole MS. is not available to me at present, but judging from the Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS., the "Tragedye of Rome" seems to be nothing else than the Envoy to the Falls of Princes II, 31 (Tottel's print, fol. 66d—67b), followed by that to Falls of Princes III, 5 (Tottel, fol. 77a and b).

Page CIX. From the new (printed) Catalogue of the British Museum I see that Lydgate's Assemble de Dynes had already been printed in 1498 by Wynken de Worde, at the end of an edition of the Canterbury Tales. See also Hazlitt's Handbook, p. 97, col. 2. This print is particularly interesting as assigning the authorship of the poem to Lydgate.—If I can trust an old note taken some time ago at Cambridge, the poem is also found in the Trinity College MS. R. 3, 19, fol. 68a—97b.

Page CXVII, note. Add, as two other important treatments of the Pleading between Mercy, Truth, Right and Peace, the Salutation in the "Coventry" Plays, and the Castle of Perseverance. Cp. also Rothschild, Mystère du vies Testament I, p. LXI.

Page CXLIIL. I forgot to add that in E. K.'s introduction to the Shepherd's Calendar, Lydgate's name is mentioned in a very laudatory manner, and that he is introduced with Gower and Chancer in G. Harvey's Letterbook (ed. Scott, p. 57). Ben Jonson quotes him frequently in his English Grammar. Lydgate is further mentioned in the translation of Terence's Andria (see Collier II, 364); again, in a Latin poem before Alicea Greene's Metamorphosis (Grosart's Greene IX, p. 13), and by Whetstone, in a poem on Sir James Dier (see Köppl, Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle, p. 31, note 1); further by T. Nashe in his Letter to the Gentlemen Students, before Greene's Menaphon (ed. Grosart, VI, 24); also in John Lane's Continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale, ed. Furnivall, III, 330:

"Don Chauencer, Lidgate, Sidney, Spencer dead!"

No bad company for our monk!

Note to l. 86—90. Phyllis is also represented as having hanged herself on a filbert-tree in Lodge's Rosalind, signat. K 2a.

Note to l. 271 (see also p. cxiii). I am sincerely sorry that I have after all come across an earlier instance of the expression, "hair like gold wire," namely, in Layamon's Brut, II. 7047, 7048, which read (Cotton Calig. A. ix):

"See 88en com a king pe hachte Pir:
his hec8 (read hcr) wes swulc swa beoc8 gold wyr;"

the reading of Cotton Otho C. xiii is:

"Suppe com Caper, and Pir:
Patre [haddre heer so gold wr]."

Note to l. 510. The Merry ballad of the hawthorn-tree, attributed to Peele, illustrates well why this tree was chosen as a symbol of constant love. See Dyce's edition of Greene and Peele, 1874, p. 604 sq.

Note to l. 1272. Come off.] This phrase occurs further in the Salutation in the Coventry Plays, ed. Halliwell, p. 113; in Mary Magdalen, ed. Furnivall, II. 379 and 739; in Skelton's Magnificence 103 and 977 (ep. Dyce's notes); in Heywood's Four Fs, Dodsley-Hazlitt I, 152, I. 7; in Theories, ib. I, 421; in Ingelrend's Disobedient Child, ib. II, 272, 283, 305; in Marriage of Wit and沈ine, ib. II, 376; in Bale's Kyng Johan, ed. Collier, p. 66; in Marriage of Wit and Wisdom, ed. Halliwell, p. 17, I. 7. There remains thus little doubt that, by the insertion of off, we get the correct reading.

R. CLAY & SONS, LIMITED, LONDON & BUNGAY.
Lydgate and Burgh's

Secrets of old Philisoffres.

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series, LXVI.

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Lydgate and Burgh's

Secrecies of old Philisoffres.

A VERSION OF THE 'SECRETAE SECRETORUM.'

EDITED FROM THE SLOANE MS. 2464,

with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary,

BY

ROBERT STEELE.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

BY KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.,
PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING-CROSS ROAD.

1894.
AD

H. H. S.

INDICIUM FAMILIARITATIS.
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§ i. The poem, printed for the first time, which the Society offers to the public, has a double interest—as the last work of Lydgate it shows clearly the changes which have come over the language during a life-time devoted to writing—and as a translation of the Secreta Secretorum it brings us before one of the key-books of medieval literature.

I have endeavoured in the following pages to give some account of the Secreta Secretorum and its history, to summarise what is known of the authors of this translation, and, though relieved of much of the work which would otherwise have fallen upon me by the work of another editor in this series (Dr. Schick), to add some remarks on the language and peculiarities of the poem.

The text printed is that of Sloane 2464. It is the fullest and the earliest copy we possess. No emendment is made without the authority of the other MSS., and these are carefully noted.

§ ii. The Secreta Secretorum is attributed to Aristotle, and is said to have been written in answer to the request of Alexander. The prince, absent on an expedition, writes to the philosopher, desiring his presence, with the aim of learning that secret doctrine which the Eastern mind looks for from every teacher. Aristotle unable to go to him, and unwilling either to communicate his doctrine openly, or to disoblige his pupil and patron, writes him a treatise, 'de Regimine Principum,' intimating at the same time that his secret teaching lies hid there under a veil. The work,
as we have it, is doubly divided—into ten books of very unequal length, and into chapters numbered consecutively.

As may be thought, no Greek text corresponding with this work has been found, though certain portions of it have been drawn from Greek sources. The work itself professes to be translated from Greek into Chaldee (which generally means Syriac) and thence into Arabic, and accordingly our earliest texts are Arabic. There are, however, signs of acquaintance with Greek names in the work. A knowledge of the connection between Ἀσκλεπαίων and the sun, and the descent of Aristotle from the Ἀσκλεπαιδεῖς are clearly shown by the choice of finding a MS. of Aristotle’s dealing with health in a temple dedicated by Ἀσκλεπαίων to the Sun. I may be allowed to suggest too that there may be some connection between the fact that Asclepiades did write on Alexander the Great (Arrian vii. p. 477, Ed. 1668) and this legend. The Syrian origin of our work is rendered probable by the finding of the book at Antioch (l. 443), by the attribution of the astrological chapters to Cyprian (l. 1189), who was a noted magician and a native of the Syrian Antioch in the 3rd century,—afterwards a Christian, Bishop of Carthage, saint, and martyr under Diocletian, and by the fact that Bar Hebraeus (Greg. Abulpharagius), in his Hist. Dynast. VI., Oxon, pp. 56, 86, speaks of a Syriac work of Philemon on Physiognomy—translated from the Greek—and compares him to Hippocrates. Philemon I take to be Polemon, not the Philo quoted by him. I have come upon Greek sources for two different tracts in the work. Caps. xlix—li (l. 1660—1771) are a translation of a letter, “ad valetudinem tuendam,” sent by Dioecles Caristes (n.c. 320) to Antigonus, which is preserved for us by Paulus Aegineta. (I quote from Lugd. 1589. 8°., p. 109). Lib. X (l. 2465—2723) is founded on the work of Polemon, an early writer on Physiognomy and commentator on Aristotle. He is quoted by Origen (150) contra Celsum, I. (Cantab. 1677. 4°., p. 26.) His work is included by Franzius in his Scriptores Physiognomiae Vetenres. (Altenburg, 1780. 8°). Hermogenes is Hermes Magnus, the legendary author of all science, but I cannot find the quotations in any of the works attributed to him that I know.

§ iii. Arabic Texts. There are two forms of the Arabic text in England, one short, as in the British Museum Add. 7453. 75v° to 76v°., and another longer, as in Bodl. MS. Laud A. 88. I have seen no other MSS. in England, though doubtless many exist, but they abound in foreign libraries. It is especially noteworthy that one of the Vatican MSS. is written in Syriac characters, when we remember that the work is compiled in Syriac from Greek sources, and translated thence by the author.
Its Arabic name is ‘sirr alasrar.’ I find it impossible to say, without an actual comparison of several texts, whether the shorter Arabic form is merely a part of the longer, or whether the Arabic text grew, as we shall find the Latin one did. There is some reason for holding the latter view.

Some little difficulty is caused to the student by the fact that two Johns have been translators of this book—a Syrian Christian, and a Spanish physician. I have not endeavoured to make the distinction in the sidenotes, which are intended to represent what was in Lydgate's mind when he wrote, reserving for this introduction any discussion of the matter. We learn from the Arabic that the author of the treatise is Jahja Ibn al Batrik (or John, son of Batrik). Lust Lydgate, following the Latin texts, which confuse him with Johannes Hispalensis, calls him 'John, a spanyol born, . . . And Callyd sone / of Oon patricius' (ll. 604, 609).

The author, there can be little doubt, was one of the school of Syriac Christian physicians, so celebrated in the early days of Mohammedan rule. His accuracy (relatively speaking) in dealing with medical matters, his reliance on astrology as a means of diagnosis and prognosis (a tradition brought into Europe at a later period by the school of Salerne), and his inclusion of alchemy and the occult properties of gems as a quite subordinate feature of the treatise—all these point him out as a medical man of the 8th or 9th century.

The prologue (ll. 1—133) and the two letters (134—210) are usually attributed in English works to a later translator of the book into Latin. They are, however, found in the Arabic text, which begins, 'God prosper the Emir-al-Muminim' (the leader of the true believers), as well as in the early Hebrew translation. In the Latin text they are headed, 'The prologue of a certain doctor recommending Aristotle.'

§ iv. The First Latin Translation. The Arabic of John, son of Batrik, was first translated into Latin by Johannes Hispalensis for 'Teophina, queen of the Spaniards.' The Secreta Secretorum is thus one of the few books which were translated directly from Arabic into Latin, without passing through the Hebrew. I have found his translation in a 14th century MS, in the British Museum (Addit. 26,770), where it occupies two small quarto leaves, and in eight other MSS. there. In the printed editions it is expanded into Caps. xxxiv to xlv, and forms the basis of lines 1261—1491 of our text. It consists of a short treatise on the rules

1 Though the attribution of the translation to him is itself believed to be a disguise of the real compiler.

2 Who appears in Sloane 405 as Charesie.
of health, and of another on the four seasons of the year. In his Introduction, Johannes quotes the Arabic title as 'tursesar,'\(^1\) and speaks of finding the book in the Temple of the Sun, written in letters of gold, and of bearing it home to translate, as in ll. 610—637, but into Latin, not Arabic.

I have been unable to trace 'Teophine' in any of the genealogies of Spanish rulers, but Johannes Hispalensis is well known.\(^2\) He was John Avendeath, a converted Jewish physician, who translated (about 1135—1142) from Arabic into Latin a number of works principally of a medical and astronomical character, and is connected with Spain by the fact that another of his works, a treatise on arithmetic, 'de algorismo,' was translated for Raimund, Archbishop of Toledo. A monograph on his works will be found in the works of Steinschneider, and an Alchemical tract of Arabic origin bearing his name is found in the Sloane MS. 212.

\(^1\) The forms the Arabic words sīr al-āšrār assume will give some idea of the difficulty one meets with in connecting Middle Age Latin forms with their Arabic original. I have found tawessar, cirotesar, euruscesca, tymessar, eyretesar, cyralaccar, eyra-lauvar, dyafecerar, epyralacerrar.

\(^2\) See Brechillet-Journlal, "Recherches sur de Aristotel." The reading Charesie (Sl. 405) suggests Tarasie d. of Alfonso VI, king of Leon and Castile, mother of the 1st king of Portugal, who reigned in his place 1112—1128, and died Nov. 1130. It was not unusual to style the daughter of the King of Spain, Queen. The date of this translation would then be 1128—1130, a date confirmed by the preface, which indicates that it is one of his first translations.
§ vi. The printed Latin Texts, and the Versions.

The question of date might be attacked in this way; there are two stories in the Secreta Secretorum, that of the poison-maiden, and that of the Jew and Muhammedan. If either of these are met with before the thirteenth century, it would seem to follow that the Secreta was translated fully at some earlier period. It requires, of course, wide experience to assert a negative, but I believe the former story first appears in the Gesta Romanorum,\(^1\) and the latter in Gower.\(^2\) Michael Scot († before 1235) quotes the Sec. Sec. in his Physiognomy, and there is no doubt that Roger Bacon (in 1256) knew parts of the work which were not translated by Johannes Hispanensis, for he quotes part of the second letter of Aristotle, and makes constant references to the work, as well as using the title familiarly in other connections. It was also known to Albertus Magnus (1250).

We may then attribute to the 12th or 13th century this translation, and certain parts of the shorter printed Latin text which have no Arabic original. These are ll. 330—476, 477—602, 638—735 (a distortion of the second letter of Aristotle to Alexander), and 736—973 (Of the four manners of kings touching largesse): which we may attribute to Philip of Tripoli, who was undoubtedly a Frenchman and most probably of Paris, as tradition asserts.

§ vi. The printed Latin texts, and the versions. From this period the work spread over Europe; and as it grew in popularity it expanded in size; chapters were added on such subjects as tournaments, others were enlarged, and translations into various languages were made. As I have before remarked, only one of these—the Hebrew—was taken from the Arabic, the others being made from Latin texts. These are numerous. I have myself examined thirty in the British Museum, and a little search would doubtless bring to light many more, both there and elsewhere. There are two main types, though every old copy differs from the others.

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1 Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy refers to the story, naming Porus as the king, and gives (wrongly) Q. Curtius as authority.

2 As these stories are not told in our text, there will be no harm in summarising them here. The Queen of the South (Nicomedia in the early Spanish version, India in the Latin, The King of India in the Arabic and Hebrew,) fed a fair daughter on poison from the day of her birth, and sent her at maturity as a present to Alexander. Aristotle warned him of his danger, and pressed him to submit a malefactor to her embrace. As the latter died on the spot, Alexander sent her away. The other tale treats of a discussion on religion in which the Jew summarises his religious duties, and restricts his obligations to those of his own faith. The Muhammedan declares that he is bound to regard all men as brothers, whereon the Jew, who is walking, asks him to give him a ride. When the Jew is mounted he rides away, and the Muhammedan thus abandoned in the desert calls on God to assist him in the danger brought on by fulfilling his duty. Going further he comes on a lion standing beside his mule, and the rent carcass of the Jew. See the prose translation, Lamb. 501.
The shorter has about sixty chapters, the longer over one hundred. Sloane 2413 is about the best MS. The printed copies, again, following the MSS. fall into two main classes. Grenville 7925 and 520 d. 5 (2), Louvain 1485. 4°. are good examples of the shorter form: 7306. a. 16 and 520. a. 12, Paris 1520. 12°. are typical of the complete book.

There are MS. commentaries on the work attributed to Bacon, 1 Scot, and other medieval writers, who all seem to have taken it quite seriously, and to have aided in spreading its fame. A copy existed some years ago at Holkham which belonged to Edward II. But a better proof of the book's popularity exists in the number of translations. Of these there are extant a very early Spanish, four Italian, and five French independent versions from the Latin. One of the latter is said to have been made in the 12th century, and so would be of special interest; but it is not yet printed. 2 I believe there are also some early German translations.

§ vii. Works founded on the 'Secreta Secretorum.' A work of this nature, so suitable to the habits of thought of the writers of medieval times, naturally gave rise to a host of imitations and emendations. Already in the 12th century, Giraldus Cambrensis had written a work De Instructione Principis, which exists in MS. in the British Museum, Cotton Julius B. XIII., an epitome of it being found in Titus. C. XII. 8. It is doubtful whether this was not an independent work in its inception: but the work of Egidio Colonna De Regimine Principum (a copy of which exists in Bibl. Reg. 4. D. IV. 4) is clearly based on the Secreta Secretorum in very great measure. Hoccleve's translation of this—his Regement of Princes or De Regimine Principum—is well known, and was edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1860. 3 Two treatises are ascribed to Innocent III. (ob. 1216), De Administratione Principum, and De Eruditione Principum: one to Thomas Aquinas, De Regimine Principum, ad Reg. Cypri: and one to Guill. Perald, De Eruditione Principum. Simon

1 In MS. Corp. Christ. 149. Bodl. (Tanner) 116, f. 1—15.
2 It is attributed to Petrus de Abernum, and is found in Bibl. Nat. 25407 (olim Not. Dame 5, or 277), fol. 173b, 196. I have met with the following lines:

Princem suaviz le inest tretze
Est le secret de secrez nume,
Ke Aristotile le philosophe yoigne,
Le fyz Nichomache de Macedoine,
A sun deceple Alisandre en bone fei,

Le grand, le fyz Philippe le roi,
Le jist en sa graunt viselie,
Quant de cors estreit en feihrosse,
Pus qu’il ne peut pas travailler
Ne al rei Alisandre reueur.

and Epilogue

Me ore priez, pur Deu amor,
En este fin pur le translatur
De cest livre, ke Pierre ad aun,
K’estreit est de cest de Abernum,

Ke de bien fere li doint sa grace:
E a ves tus iste le face,
Ke le regne pessum merir,
Ke done a suens a sun pleisir. Amen.

3 Dr. Furnivall’s edition of it from the Harleian MS. 4866, for the E. E. T. S. is now ready for the printers.
Iislip, Archbishop of Canterbury (ob. 1366) wrote, while secretary to Edward III., a treatise of this nature, entitled, \textit{Speculum Edwardi III.:} and, to mention no others, Ximenes, a Spanish bishop about 1400, wrote in Spanish, \textit{Cresta, i.e. de Regimen de Princeps.} Such a list proves the importance of the \textit{Secreta Secretorum} in the history of literature.\footnote{Thos. Rudbourne, in his Winchester History, \textit{Angl. Sacr.} I. 242, speaking of Haroild, says: 'et disciplinam Aristotelis quam dedit Alexandro sequutas fuisset,' \&c., a reference to the \textit{Sec. Sec}.}

§ viii. \textit{The 'Secreta Secretorum.'} § ix. \textit{The Manuscripts.}

A portion of a prose translation begun by John Shirley, in his old age, exists in the British Museum MS. 5467, f. 211. It is taken from the French, and dedicated to Henry VI. An anonymous early prose translation is in MS. 18. A. vii, in a handwriting of about 1460, written on parchment. It is a shortened Englishing of the French text of Harleian 219, and is printed, together with another anonymous prose translation from the Latin (Lambeth MS. 501), for purposes of comparison. The latter translation seems to date from the end of the 14th century, and is thus the earliest we have. Both will be printed. Warton (II. 313) describes still another, published in 4°. by Robt. and Wm. Copland in 1528, entitled, \textit{The Secret of Aristotyle with the Governale of Princes, and every maner of Estate,} \&c.' The order of the \textit{Sec. Sec.}, and much of its matter is made use of in \textit{Ovia Imperialia} by Heydon, in his \textit{Temple of Wisdom}, Lond. 1663, 8°. Lastly, the \textit{Physiognomy} is reprinted in a tract in the British Museum 519. a. 12 (3). London, 1702, 12°.

Nor is Lydgate without a rival in his poetical treatment of the \textit{Secreta.} Sir William Forrest (Sir, because he was a clergyman) drew up and addressed to the Protector Duke of Somerset in 1548, \textit{the Poesye of Princeely Practise} for the benefit of Edward VI. The presentation copy still exists (British Museum Bibl. Reg. 17. D. III.), adorned with a drawing of Forrest presenting his work to the young king. It is well
written on rather poor vellum, and extends to seventy-seven folios. It is in the same measure as our text, seven-line stanzas.

§ ix. The Manuscripts. A very little search convinced me that it would be of little advantage to go outside the British Museum for MSS. of the poem. Not only is there an abundance of texts there earlier than can be found elsewhere, but one of them impressed itself on me as being probably a presentation copy of the original, and as having passed under the eyes of the author of the second part, the peculiar blanks left in the text confirming the idea that the scribe intended to refer to the author. The changes of the times—the Wars of the Roses—may have prevented the work ever getting into the hands for which it was designed. I therefore determined to reproduce Sloane 2464; my reasons being, first, its early date (about 1450); second, the manifest care displayed in making the copy; third, the fullness of the text.

The facsimile which accompanies this work gives a very good idea of the writing and of the kind of ornamentation employed. It is on the same scale as the MS. itself. The rubrics are put in carefully, and the vellum is of the best quality. There is, as the MS. now stands, no trace of the original owner except a small *fleur-de-lys* stamped on the vellum. This may be the Burgundy crest, and thus may connect the book with Margaret, sister of Edward IV. The following distich is written—in a seventeenth century hand, on the last folio:

"Perusing me an ye ha doone
Conduit me home to Thos. Moone."

The other important MS. is Addit. 14,408. It is written in a northern hand, and presents some differences from Sloane 2464. I am printing some stanzas in full for the sake of comparison, and note the principal differences. It is dated 1473, and seems to represent the source of the other copies. If it had been complete, my decision in favour of Sl. 2464 would not have been so immediate; but unfortunately a page is missing, and several are injured.

Harleian 4826 contains works of Lydgate and Hoccleve. ff. 52 a to 81 a contain the Secrees, of which unluckily one leaf is missing. It was written about 1490, on vellum, and contains some poor illuminations. As an inset it has a drawing on vellum of Lydgate presenting his 'Pilgrim' to Thos. Montacute, Earl of Salisbury—most probably a portrait.

Arundel 59 contains works of Lydgate and Hoccleve. The 'Secrees' extend from fol. 90 a to 130 b, and end at stanza 352. In my judgment it was written about 1470. It is on paper, and contains a record of its
purchase by T. Wall, Windsor Herald at Arms, at a tavern in Bishopsgate, May 8th, 1528.

Harleian 2251 is Stow's copy of John Shirley's MS. It ends at the same stanza as Arundel 59, and seems to have been made from the same copy. The 'Secrees' run from 188 b to 224 a. It contains a large number of minor poems of Lydgate, and Burgh's Cato major and Cato minor (attributed to Lydgate).

Lansdowne 285 is of incidental interest, as having been made for the Paston family. We learn from the 'Letters' that the transcriber Ebescham was paid 1d. a folio for it. The volume contains also a translation of Vegetius, made for Sir Thos. Berkeley in 1408. The 'Secrees' runs from 152 a to 196 b. It was written before 1469.

Sloane 2027 paper. 'Secrees,' 53 a, 92 b.

§ x. The text used by Lydgate. My next duty would naturally be to decide as to the sources from which Lydgate made his translation. I am disposed to think he either used a poor Latin text alone, or that if he used a French one, he referred to the Latin as well. The French text in Harleian 219, is the sort of copy that would have been placed at Lydgate's disposal. One feature of most of the French translations is a curious mistranslation of 'dove' for 'column' (l. 98) which arose from the substitution of columba for columsna in the Latin text—a mistake easily overlooked when a work was transcribed from dictation. Lydgate, besides falling into this mistake, follows the French translation in its omission of the story of the poison-maiden.

All argument on the subject is however vitiated by the fact that in Lydgate's work we have little more than the fragments of a translation, begun at various points, and brought together afterwards. A clear proof of this is the position of lines 974—1029, which form a part of chapter lxv in the printed text 7306 a. 16. It seems to me that Lydgate was struck by the lines, translated them 'to see how they looked,' and laid them by; and that after his death Burgh inserted them where they now stand. It is inconceivable that a writer of Lydgate's experience would have left ll. 638—735, and 477—602, in such a muddle as they are now in, if they were finished work; or that a veteran rhymester such as he was would have left 778 : 780 in their present state.

§ xi. Summary of its history. Briefly stated then, the history of our poem is this. Compiled from various sources in Syriac in the 8th century, it was translated into Arabic, with a prologue recommending Aristotle, for some Muhammedan ruler by the author. It was turned into Latin by Philip of Paris in the 13th century, thence into French, and its transla-

PHILOSOPHERS.
tion into English verse was undertaken by Lydgate, at the desire of some great personage, probably Henry VI.

§ xii. The Life of Lydgate. Dr. Schick, in his Introduction to Lydgate's Temple of Glas, has devoted much care to making out a list including the known events and dates of Lydgate's life. In the first Appendix will be found a number of documents—some previously unpublished—which enable us to trace out Lydgate's history in his closing years. The grant of ten marks, Ap. 22, 1439 is particularly interesting as tending to confirm Schick's date (1430-38) against ten Brinck's (1424-33) for the Falls of Princes. John Baret, whose name was inserted by Lydgate's wish in the grants, was treasurer of the Abbey of St. Edmund's. His will is published by the Camden Society in their Bury Wills. He died in 1467. The only memorial of Lydgate he leaves is a copy of the Story of Thebes. Mr. Sydney Lee has been kind enough to call my attention to a ballad of Lydgate's mentioned by Bp. Alcock (b. 1430) in a sermon quoted in Brydge's British Bibliographer, ii. 533. This ballad, 'of which the refrain is "Englonde may wayle y* ever Galand came here,"' was written, Alcock says, after the loss of France, Gascony, Guienne, and Normandy, i.e. 1452. It was published by Dr. Furnivall, Ballads from MSS. vol. i (Ballad Soc.), and in Hazlitt's Early English Poetry. This seems to put Lydgate's death as later than 1452.

The following alterations should be made in the table, p. cxii of Dr. Schick's introduction to the Temple of Glas, summarising what is known of Lydgate's life and works.

1423. Lease of lands and pension granted to Lydgate and others on nomination of Rochford.
1438. Mercer's play.
1439. App. 22, grant of 10 marks yearly from the Customs of Ipswich.
1440. Easter, payment of £6 4s. 5½d. to collector of Customs.
May 7, grant of £7 13s. 4d. yearly from proceeds of the farm of Waytefee.
1441. Michaelmas, payment of £3 16s. 8d. to Sheriff.
Nov. 14, petition for change of grant.
,, 21, patent made out to Lydgate and Baret, and the survivor of them, from the revenues of the county.
Michaelmas, payment of the year.
1443. Michaelmas, payment of £7 13s. 4d.
1446. Oct. 2, receipt of Baret for £3 16s. 8d.
1447. Epitaphium Ducis Gloucestrie.
1448. Payment of £7 13s. 4d. to Michaelmas.
1449. Payment of £7 13s. 4d. to Michaelmas.
1452. Galande Ballad.
§ xiii. The Life of Benedict Burgh. Of Burgh, Lydgate's successor, little is known. He is usually spoken of as Magister, and his degree is attributed to Oxford without reference by Wharton. He may have been one of the Masters in Grammar who never went through the Arts course. He would be a native of the village of Burgh in Essex, though we first hear of him as rector of Sandon, and vicar of Maldon, when he was presented to the former living, July 6th, 1440, by Thomas, seventh Baron de Scales. At this time he held the position of tutor to William, son of Henry Bourchier, afterwards Earl of Essex, who had married Isabel, daughter of Richard Earl of Cambridge, sister of Richard Duke of York, and aunt to Edward IV. Burgh thus became acquainted with the York family, and another of his pupils, Henry Bourchier, married the daughter of the Lord Scales, who gave Burgh the living of Sandon.¹

In Add. 29729, fol. 6 a, we find a short poem written by Benedict Burgh to Lydgate. It is most unfortunate that the top of it has been cut down in binding, as it would seem to have given some information connecting Lydgate with Windsor, from which we could have fixed a date. It appears to be the means by which Burgh introduced himself to the notice of the famous old writer. At this time he entertained hopes of becoming acquainted with Lydgate, and of obtaining help from him in his studies. I have added this in an Appendix [2]. We may imagine that Lydgate lent him his friendly aid and guiding criticism; and under these auspices Burgh produced the translation of Cato's Distiches,² printed by Caxton about 1478, and alluded to by him in his Forewords to his own translation. Beleigh Abbey is a mile from Maldon, and Bourchier was buried there.

Burgh resigned his living of Sandon in Sept. 1444,³ and does not seem to have held any other preferment till Oct. 19, 1450, when he became rector of Hedingham Sibele, a Bourchier living in the same county. Much of this interval he spent, doubtless in company with Lydgate, and soon after his death, Burgh was called upon to complete our poem—to act as the Monk of Bury's literary executor, in fact—either by Viscount Bourchier, or even by the king himself, with whom Lydgate seems to have been a favourite. Probably the living was Burgh's

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. B. Wright, Rector of Sandon, for a copy of some entries, proving rather curiously that Burgh's predecessor was Vicar of All Saints, Maldon.
³ His successor entered on his duties Sep. 24, 1444.
reward. Through the same influence he was appointed Archdeacon of Colchester, Feb. 10, 1465, and on Feb. 23, 1472, a prebendary of St. Paul's, his former pupil being now brother-in-law of Edward IV. In Feb. 1476, he was made a Canon of St. Stephen's at Westminster, and thereon resigned his living and prebend. This post of honour and dignity he held till his death, July 13th, 1483, the same year as witnessed the decease of his old patron, Henry Bourchier. It was while Canon of St. Stephen's that Burgh made Caxton's acquaintance, and got his translation published. Burgh's name is preserved among the benefactors of St. Stephen's (Cott. Faustina, B. viii. [1, 2]), and his benefaction must have been of some value, since the grants to the clergy present at his anniversary mass are on a fairly liberal scale.

Other works of Burgh's are, A Christmas Game, in Christmas Carols, ed. 1841 by Wright for the Percy Society, and in Notes and Queries, May 16, 1868, by Dr. Furnivall; Aristotle's A B C, in the Babees Book, edited by Dr. Furnivall for the E. E. T. S. 1868, and a balade in Add. 29729, following that given in our Appendix. Some of the shorter pieces attributed to Lydgate may also have been written by Burgh.

§ xiv. Remarks on the Poem. Considered as literature, the work before us is empty of interest. It would in any case have been difficult to make poetry out of the Secreta Secretorum, and only in one stanza does Lydgate come near it. His work is scrappy, ill-ordered, and tedious to a remarkable degree even for him. Nor has it much bearing on the science of his time. Doubtless, if Lydgate had lived, he would have revised his work, but precisely because of his death, and the piety of his 'young follower,' who did not allow himself to alter the last writings of his dead master, we see the seven-line stanza in the making. This seems to me to be the main point of interest to us in it. Burgh's work appears to me to affect a more archaic tone than Lydgate's; of his stanzas, the prolog seems the best,—it has been printed by Halliwell in the preface to his collection of Lydgate's shorter poems. Lines 477—602 and 974—1029 were printed by Ashmole in his Théatrum Chemicum Britannicum, London 1652, 4°.

§ xv. The Metre of the Poem. The work is written in Rhyme Royal, in seven-line stanzas of ten-syllable lines with rhymes a b a b b c c. Dr. Schick, whose Introduction to the Temple of Glas is indispensable to every reader of Lydgate, enumerates five varieties of verse. Students should however be warned that its prosody is the weak point of Dr. Schick's work.
A. Five iambics, with sometimes an extra syllable at the end, and usually a well-defined caesura after the second foot:
   1. 9. The lord to plése / and his lawés to képe.
B. Lines with an extra syllable before the caesura:
   1. 33. For prúdent prínces / most dígne of Réverence.
C. The peculiar Lydgateian type in which the two accented syllables clash:
   1. 167. Whan this is dón / férthermós in dédé
D. The headless line, in which the first syllable is cut off:
   1. 135. Moóst nótablé / and dígne of Réveréncé.
E. Lines with trisyllabic first measure:
   1. 171. Coúnt òf thòr Citées / the fàmous Góvernáunce.

To these I would add, that some of Lydgate's lines scan only on the assumption that they are six-measure lines:
   1. 1365. And thè tránslácyón òf Thómas / mártryd in Crýstémássé.
   1. 1496. Thè dúlnésse òf my pénne / yów béséchyng ténlúmýñe.

Line 1497 may be best scanned on this assumption; but, as Schick remarks, many of Lydgate's lines scan in several different ways. I suggest, with all due deference, that as Lydgate broke nearly every rule of the Rhyme Royal, there is no reason for supposing that he kept to a five-beat measure. In fact, the greater part of the Secrees could be scanned on a six-beat basis with little trouble by allowing a liberal use of the pause.

Assuming that a ten-syllable verse is the normal one, I have scanned the whole of the poem, and counting no slurred syllables, I get the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lydgate in 1491 lines has</th>
<th>Burgh in 1239 lines has</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 14-syllable line</td>
<td>1 14-syllable line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 13-syllable lines</td>
<td>5 13-syllable lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 12</td>
<td>71 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223 11</td>
<td>217 11</td>
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<tr>
<td>287 9</td>
<td>235 9</td>
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<tr>
<td>40 8</td>
<td>84 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 7</td>
<td>4 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>601</strong></td>
<td><strong>017</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ xvi. The Rhyme. I must again refer the reader to Dr. Schick for general principles, noting here only points of special prominence in the poem. The rhyme is very good in Lydgate, and fairly good in Burgh. There is a marked assonance in 1. 8 kepe : slepe : meke. 1. 778, gruchen-ying is made to rhyme with itself; 1. 1003 kynde : Ynde : kynde; 1. 1164 degre : mutabilite : degre; 1. 1069 shrewys : the wys; 1. 1072
§ xvii. General Characteristics of Lydgate's Language.

Cherche: werche; l. 281 desirs: cler is. Stanza 176 is altogether in a muddle, the rhymes being $a b a b a c c$.

Many of the rhymes are cheap: l. 150 corage: age: outrage; l. 286 Eyer: Repayer; l. 615 tarye: solidarye; l. 1112 partye: Jupartye; l. 1419 accorde: O corde. Before concluding that Lydgate's rhymes are impure, we must bear in mind our own double pronunciation of such words as $w i n d$ and $w a n$, to suit the rhyme.

Turning to Burgh, we note in his rhyme much greater weakness. Such rhymes as l. 1527 tryvval: equal; l. 1597 fat: estat; l. 1604 parlightely: body; l. 1702 egir: wedir; l. 1952 mesurably: body; l. 2008 specially: remedy; l. 2150 trewly: contrary: feithfully; l. 2651 angry: fool; are hardly ever met in Lydgate. l. 1602 tyme: sygne; l. 1882 began: nigram; l. 1987 venym: wyn; l. 2136 Oon: boorn; l. 2171 man: can: wysdam; l. 2668 knee: sleys; are examples of another fault uncommon in the Monk of Burgh. Burgh is also markedly careless of his vowels in the rhyme. l. 2360 mynde: sende: condiscende; and l. 2304 Rebeel: feel: Cel; cannot ever have rhymed.

§ xvii. General characteristics of Lydgate's language. The most striking feature of the language is that it is so modern. The final $e$ is rarely sounded in words of Old English origin, and still more rarely in those of French. The influence of the fifty years since Chaucer shows itself in this work, which should be compared with one of Lydgate's earlier poems in this respect. The plural is, more often than not, sounded as our own is, i.e. not sounded at all as a separate syllable, and the plural of adjectives is dropped, the $e$ in $h i k$ seems to be plural (ll. 440, 715), but not uniformly so. French nouns are generally sounded with $e$ mute ($e$), as l. 398 rwyne, l. 402 shadwe, owmbre, l. 656 folwe, l. 1309 selwe, l. 1611 malwe, l. 1807 morwe. The $e$ in composition is not invariably sounded as modeffye, l. 1204. I had prepared some notes on the incidence of Lydgate, but the appearance of The Temple of Glas has rendered it unnecessary, and I accordingly reserve any remarks for the notes.

The mannerisms of Lydgate are well to the fore here. His modesty—'the Rudnesse of my style,' l. 21;—the phrases he repeats to fill up a line—'this to seyn,' 'set in ordre,' 'it is also of hym maad mencioun,' 'by Recorde of scripture,' 'in especial,' 'lyk our entencyouns,' 'In sentence bref,' 'for short conclusyoun';—and the familiar metaphor 'I have no Colour, but Oonly Chalk and sable.' Burgh has well imitated his master's envoy—if indeed Lydgate did not write it himself; it recalls some of his earlier ones in several respects.
A recent editor of Lydgate has spoken of the 'Philistine maxims' of the Secrees. I am afraid that some of us, who live on the borderland, and are often driven by the bumpiousness of the chosen people to serve a campaign under the banners of Philistia, are not the best judges on the matter. Still, it has been a pleasure to me to add to the notes such scraps of a discursive reading as will tend to show that the maxims of the Secreta Secretorum were the commonplaces of such Philistines as Cicero and Plutarch,—of all classical antiquity. In the case of such a work one can hope no more, nor indeed is more required.

I have to express my gratitude to the authorities and attendants of the Manuscript Room at the British Museum for their kindness and courtesy, and to acknowledge with gratitude the debt I owe—in common, I believe, with every one who seeks his advice and help—to the Director of the Society, Dr. Furnivall.

Modern School, Bedford, July 1892.
APPENDIX I.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO LYDGATE.

I. The dates of Lydgate’s orders are given in Cotton. Tib. B. IX. f. 35b. 69b. 85b.
Subdeacon, 17th (Nov. ?), 1389.
Deacon, 28th May, 1393.
Priest, 4th April, 1397.

II. Lease to Dan John Lydgate and others by Sir Ralph Rochford of the lands of the alien Priory of Longville Gifford, or Newenton Longville, with the pension of Spalding, formerly appertaining to the Abbey of Angers, by virtue of letters patent of Henry IV. and Henry V. to the said Sir Ralph Rochford.


(MS. Cotton. Cleopatra, F. IV. f. 7.)

A.D. 1423,
Feb. 21.

xxij° die Februarij anno primo apud Westmonasterium, presentibus dominis Ducibus Gloucestrie et Exonie, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Londoniensì Wytoniensî et Wygorniensî Episcopis, Marchie Warrelici et Northumbrie Comitibus, Cromwell’ Tiptoft et Hungerford,¹ Cancellario Thesaurario et Custode privati sigilli, concessum erat quod omnia terre et tenementa pertinencia prioratui Sancte Fidis de Longville (alienigne alias dicto prioratui de Longville Gifford, alias dicto prioratui de Newenton’ Longville) cum pertinenciiis in regno Anglie una cum omnibus aliis maneriis terris pratis redditibus, boscis, molendinis, porcionibus, pensionibus, feodis, rectoriis, reversionibus, juribus, communis, dominis, exitibus, emolumentis, revencionibus, et hereditacionibus quibusque, et pesione de Spaldyng valoris xl. li. per annum amongst abbathie de Aungiers, dudum pertinentibus secundum formam et effectum literarum patencium dominorum Henrici quarti et

¹ Dominus omitted.
Henrici quinti Regum Anglie Radulpho Rocheford' militi inde concessarum et confirmatarum dimittantur, modo ad firmam Domnpo Iohanni Lidgate et Iohanni de Tofte monachis, Iohanni Glastou et Willelmo Malton' capellanis ad nominationem prefati Radulphi Rocheford' sine aliquo inde reddendo, quousque dicto Radulpho provisum fuerit de recompensa convenientie ad terminum vite sue ad valorem annuum terrarum et tenementorum predictorum, prout sibi promissum fuit per dominum Regem defunctum patrem Regis nunc apud Dovorr'.

III. A grant of 10 marks to Lydgate from the Customs at Ipswich.

Pro Johanne Lydgate Monacho.

Rex Omnibus ad quos etc. salutem. Sciat is quod de gratia nostra speciali, ac pro bono et gratuito servicio quod dilectus nobis Johannes Lydgate, Monachus Monasterij sine Abbatie de Bury Sancti Edmundi, tam Carissimo Domino et Patri nostro ac Aeunculis nostris defunctis quam nobis et carissimo Aeunculo nostro Humfrido Duci Gloucestrie adhuc superstiti ante hec tempora multipliciter impedidit, concessimns eodem Johanni decem marcas percipiendas annuatim, pro termino vite sue, tam de antiqua et parua custumis nostris, quam de subsidio lanarum coriorum et pellium lanutarum, necnon de subsidio trium solidorum de dolio et duodecim denariorum de libra, in portu ville Gipweici per manus Custumariorum siue Collectorum custumarum et subsidiorum predictorum in portu predicto pro tempore existencium, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche, per equales porciones, In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Castrum suum de Wyndesore, xxij die Aprilis. per breue de priuato sigillo.

IV. Allowance of payment of this Grant, £6 4s. 5½d. being the proportion due at Easter 1440.

Enrolled Accounts, Exchequer (Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer), Customs, No. 20.

Account of Walter Green and Thomas West, Collectors of Customs and Subsidies in the Port of Ipswich from Michaelmas, 18 Henry VI. to Michaelmas 19 Henry VI. Among the payments is the following:

should go to Dan John Lydgate and three others,
on the nomination of Sir Ralph Rocheford,
given at Dover.

1329, April 22.

10 marks
from the customs
of Ipswich,
to be paid at Michaelmas and Easter in equal portions.
Appx. I.—A Payment; and a Grant of 10 Marks a year, 1440.  xxv

Et Johanni Lydlegate Monacho Monasterij siue Abbathie de Bury Sancti Edmundi, cui Rex xxij£o. die Aprilis, Anno decimo septimo, concessit decem marcas percipiendas annuatim pro termino vite sue tam de antiqua et parva custumis Regis, quam de subsidio lanarum coriorum et pellium lanatarum, necnon de subsidio trium solidorum de dolio et duodecinum denariorum de libra, in portu ville Gippewic per manus Custumariorum siue Collectorum custumarum et subsidiorum predictorum in portu predicto pro tempore existentium, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche per equales porciones, videlicet de huiusmodi x. marcis per annum a predicto .xxmo ij£io. die Aprilis dicto Anno .xvijmo.—vsque festum Pasche proximo sequentem Anno .xvijmo. vj. li. iiij. s. v. d. q. per breve Regis irrotulatum in Memorandis de anno .xixmo. Regis huius termino Sancti Hillariij. Rotulo .xmo. et literas patentes ipsius Johannis de recepcione.

V. The King cancels the previous grant of A.D. 1439 of 10 marks, and grants to Lydgate £7 13s. 4d. per annum from the proceeds of the farm of Waytefee, to date from the Easter preceding.

Patent Roll, 18 Henry VI., p. 2, m. 5.

Pro Johanne Lydgate Monacho.

Rex Omnibus ad quos etc. / salutem. Scitis quod cum Johannis Lydgate Monachus de Bury Sancti Edmundi habens ex concessione nostra decem marcas percipiendas annuatim durante vita sua de customis de Ippeswyche per manus Custumariorum ibidem pro tempore existentiam prout in litteris nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius appareit in voluntate existat eadem litteras in Cancellariam nostram restituere cancellandas ad effectum quod nos eodem Johanni septem libras tresdecim solidos et quattuor denarios percipiendos annuatim pro termino vite sue de exitibus et proficuis de alba firma et feodo vulgariter nuncupato Waytefee, in Comitatuibus Norfolcio et Suffolkio, concedere dignaremur. Nos, de gracia nostra speciali, ac pro eo quod idem Johannis dictas litteras nostras in Cancellariam nostram restituit cancellandas, concessimus eadem Johanni dictos septem £7 13s. 4d. libras tresdecim solidos et quattuor denarios percipiendos annuatim, durante vita sua, a festo Pasche ultimo preterito, de exitibus

To Jo. Lydgate, under the Grant of 22 April 1439. 10 marks a year, on part of his Annuity namely £6 4s. 5d. to Easter 1440. 1440, May 7. £6 13s. 4d. a year for life

to be cancelled for £7 13s. 4d. a year for life.
et proficuis provenientibus de alba firma et feodo vulgariter nun-
cupato Waytefee predicto, per manus Abbatis de Bury Sancti
Edmundi pro tempore existentis, et sic deinceps ad terminos
Sancti Michaelis et Pasche per equales porciones durante vita
sua predicta. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium
vij die Maij.

VI. An allowance to the Sheriff of £3 16s. 8d., paid
to Lydgate (and Baret) on account of the grant,
no. VIII.

Pipe Roll, 19 Henry VI. Norfolk and Suffolk.

Adhuc Item Norff'.

Milo Stapilton' nuper Vicecomes de anno precedenti* debet
CCC lxxix. li. xj. s. viij. d. ob. q.".

[Among his allowances is the following:]

Et Johanni Lidgate, Monacho de Bury Sancti Edmundi, et
Johanni Baret Armigero, quibus Rex xxjmo die Novembri anno
xx mo concessit septem libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios
per ciipiendos annuatim a festo Pasche anno xvijmo durante vita
sua et alterius eorum dience viuentis de exitibus proficuis
et renunciationibus Comitatum Norff et Suff' provenientibus per
manus Vicecomitis corumdem Comitatum pro tempore existentis
ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones—
xxxvj. s. viij. d. de termino Sancti Michaelis anno xixmo, per
breue Regis irrotulatum in Memorandis de anno xxmo Regis luinn,
termino Sancti Michaelis, rotulo .xxxiiiij°, et litteras patentes
ipsorum Iohannis et Iohannis de recepcione.

VII. Petition of John Lydgate, monk of Bury,
touching the invalidity of letters patent granting
him £7 13s. 4d. yearly, and praying new letters
patent to him and John Baret, squire. Granted.

Acts of the Privy Council, V. 156. (20 Hen. VI.)

MS. Addit. 4609, art. 27. Lydgate's Petition to the King,
with the Answer.

1 This means that an extract of this grant was sent to the Exchequer:
it will probably be found in the Originalia Rolls.
Unto the King our most gracious sovereign lord.

Besechith you meekely youre ponere and perpetuell oratour unto John Lydgate, monke of Bury Seint Edmond. For as moche as for diverses opinions had in lawe be your justices and barons of youre eschequer, youre letters patentes granntid to youre seid besecher of viij. li. xiiij. s. iiiij. d. may not take effecte to the wele: £7 13s. 4d. and profite of youre seid besecher.

That it may please unto youre hyenesse to grante unto your seid besecher and to John Baret squier, youre gracious letters patentes undir youre grete seal, after the fourme contenue and effecte of a cedule to this bille annexid, and there-vpon youre liberate currant and allocate dormant in due fourme, for the whiche youre seid besecher shall restore youre gratious letters patentes to him made of viij. li. xiiij. s. iiiij. d. to be taken be the handes of the Abbot of Bury into the chauncerye to be cancellid. And he shall pray to God for you.

Rex apud Westmonasterium xiiij° die Novembri anno xx. concessit presentem billam ut petitur, et mandavit Custodi privati sigilli sui facere garrantum Cancellario Anglie, ut ipse desuper fieri faciat litteras patentes secundum tenorem copiae presentibus annexe, presentibus Domino Suffolcie qui billam prosecutus est ac me,

Adam Moleyns.

VIII. The King’s patent granting to Lydgate and Baret, and to the survivor, the sum of £7 13s. 4d. per annum.


Pro Johanne Lidgate Monacho et Johanne Baret Armigero.

Rex Omnibus ad quos etc. salutem. Sciatis quod cum nos sep- timo die Maij, Anno regni nostri decimo octauo, concesserimus Johanni Lidgate, Monacho de Bury Sancti Edmondii, septem libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios, percipiendos annuam trem a festo Pasche tune ultimo preterito, durante vita sua, de exitibus et proficuis pronenientibus de alia firma et feodo vulgariter nuncupato Waytefe, per manus Abbatis de Bury Sancti Edmondii pro tempore existentis, et sic deinceps ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche per equales porciones prout in litteris
Appx. I.—Grant of Pension to Lydgate and Baret, A.D. 1441.

 nostri patentibus inde sibi confectis plenius continetur. Et quia idem Johannes in voluntate existit dictas litteras nostras in Cancellarium nostram ibidem restituendi cancellandas, ad intensionem quod nos sibi ac Johanni Baret Armigero septem libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios percipiendos annuatin durante vita sua et alterius eorum diuicius vienentis de exitibus proficuis firmis et reuencionibus Comitatu num Norfolcie et Suffolkie concedere dignaremur; Nos premissa considerantes, ac bona et gratuita servicia que dicti Johannes et Johannis nobis impenderunt et impenent infuturum, ac pro eo quod idem Johannes Lidgate litteras predictas nobis in Cancellarium predictam restituit cancellandas, de gracia nostra speciali concessimas eisdem Johanni et Johannis, septem libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios percipiendos annuatin a dicto festo Pasche durante vita sua et alterius eorum diuicius vienentis, de exitibus proficuis firmis et reuencionibus Comitatuum predictorum per manus Vicecomitis eorumdem Comitatuum pro tempore existentis, ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per eouales porciones. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, xxiii die Novebri.

Per breue de privato sigillo, et de data predicta, auctoritate Parliamenti.

IX. Payment to Michaelmas 1441.

Pipe Roll, 22 Henry VI. (1443-4)

Norfolk and Suffolk.

Roger Chamberleyne, late Sheriff of the 19th year, renders account of 7l. 13s. 4d. paid to John Lidgate & John Baret, as above, for the term of Easter 19 Henry VI. and the term of Michaelmas 20 Henry VI. [1441], by writ enrolled in the Memoranda of Trinity 20 Henry VI., roll 13, and their letters of acquittance.

[The writ referred to is extant in the Exchequer Memoranda Roll, on the side of the King's Remembrancer.]

X. Payment to Michaelmas 1443.

Pipe Roll, 21 Henry VI. (1442-3).

Norfolk and Suffolk.

Thomas Brewes, Sheriff (for this year), paid to John Lidgate and John Baret, as before, 7l. 13s. 4d. for the term of Easter 21
Henry VI. and the term of Michaelmas 22 Henry VI. [1443], by the King's writ among the Communia of Trinity term 21 Henry VI., roll 5, and by the letters of acquittance of "the same John."

[The Writ referred to is extant in the Exchequer Memoranda Roll, on the side of the King's Remembrancer. It orders the Sheriff for the time being to pay the annuity from time to time, without further warrant, as the King would be satisfied with an acquittance on each occasion.]

XI. Receipt of Baret, 2nd October, 1446, published by Zupitza, Anglia, III. 532.

John Baret receives from Wm. Tyrell, Sheriff of Norfolk (21 H. VI.),

Noverint vniuersi per presentes me Johanne Baret armigerum recepisse pro me et Johanne Lydgate Monacho de Bury sancti Edwudu, de Willelmo Tyrell, Vicecomite Norfolcio et Suffolcio, tres libras, sexdecim solidos, et quatuor [octo?] denarios, de illis septem libris, tresdecim solidis, et quattuor denariis quos Dominus Rex per litteras suas patentes nobis concessit percepientes annuatim ad terminum vitae nostre et alterius nostrum diuicius viuientis, de exitibus, proficiis, firmis, et renunciationibus Comitatuum predictorum per manus Vicecomitis eorundem, qui pro tempore fuerit, ad festa Pasche et sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, videlicet pro termino Michaelis ultimo preterito ante datum presencium. De quibus vero tribus libris sexdecim solidis et octo denariis, pro termino Michaelis predicto, fateor me pro me et predicto Johanne Lydgate esse pacatum, dictumque vicecomitem inde fore quietum per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum secundo die Octobris Oct. 2, 1446, anno regni Regis Henrici sexto post conquestum vicesimo quinto.

[This payment by Sheriff William Tyrell has not been found in the Pipe Rolls, though sundry portions of his accounts are recorded from the 26th to the 33rd year of the reign. The rolls have been searched down to 2 Edw. IV., but only two later entries have been discovered, as below.]
XII. Payment to Michaelmas 1448.


Philip Wentworth, late Sheriff of the 26th year, renders a further account, showing the payment to John Lidegate, monk of Bury St. Edmund's, and John Baret, Esquire, of 7 l. 13s. 4d., under the King's grant of 21 November 20 Henry VI., for the terms of Easter in the 26th year and Michaelmas in the 27th year, by the King's writ in Trinity term in the 21st year, and by letters of acquittance of "the same John."

XIII. Payment to Michaelmas 1449.

Pipe Roll, 32 Henry VI. Adhuc Item Norf., dorse.

Giles Scinlo, Esquire, late Sheriff of the 27th year, renders a further account, showing the payment to John Lidegate, monk of Bury St. Edmund's, and John Baret, Esquire, of 7 l. 13s. 4d. for the terms of Easter in the 27th year and Michaelmas in the 28th year, by writ of Trinity term in the 21st year, and the letters of acquittance of "the same John."

APPENDIX II.

THE IX PROPERTIES OF WYNE

per Io(h)en Lidgate.

Additional MS. 20729, f. 16a, Brit. Mus.

Wyne of nature hathe properties nyne:
Comfortythe coragis; clarifiethe the syght;
Gladdeth the herte, this lycor most devyue;
Hetythe the stomake, of his natural myght;
Sharpithe wittis; gevith hardines in fight;
Clensyth wounds; engendrithe gentyll blode.
Licor of licor, at festis makyth men lyght,
Scoureth yᵉ palat, through fyne yᵉ color good.
APPENDIX III. (B. M. Addit. MS. 29729.)

A POEM IN PRAISE OF LIDGATE,
WRITTEN BY BENEDICT BURGH BEFORE THEY WERE ACQUAINTED.

[Written by] Masr Burgh in ye prays of Iohn Lidgate * * * * booke dwelyng at wyndsor.

(1)

At dremyd I in ye mount of pernaso,
Ne dranke I nevar at pegases welle,
The pale pirus saw I never also
Ne wist I nevar where ye muses dwelle,
Ne of goldyn tagus can I no thyng telle;
And to wete my lippis I cowde not atteyne
In Cicero, or Eicon sustres twayne.

(2)
The crafte of speche that some tyme formde w[e]s [was in MS.]
Of the famous philosophers [m]oste perfite, n in MS.
Aristotell, Gorge, and ermogenes,
Nat have I, so I have lerid but a lite;
As for my party, thowgh I repent, I may go qwite.
Of tullius, frauncis, & quintilian
Fayne wolde I lere, but I not conceyve can.

(3)
The noble poete virgile the mantuan,
Omere the greke, and torqwat sovereyne,
Naso also sith this worlde firste be-gan
The marvelist transformynge all best can dovyne,
Terence ye mery and pleasant theatryne,
Poreyus, lucan, marycan, and orace,
Stace, Juvenall, and the lauriate bocase,

(4)
All thes hathe peyne, youre Innate sapience,
Ye have gadred flouris in this motli mede,
To yow is yeven the verray price of excellence,
Thowgh they be gow yet the wordis be not dede;
Thenlumynyd boke where in a man shall rede PHILOSOPHERS.
thys & mo, be in this londe legeble,
Ye be the same, ye¹ be the goldyn bible. [1 ye in MS.] 28

Burgh hopes to see and hear him.
O yet I truste to be holde & see
this blissful booke with yeº golden claspes seven,
ther I wyll begyne and lerne myne a. b. c.;
that were my paradyse, that wer my heuen,
gretar filicitie can no man neven,
so god my sowle save ‘di benedicite.’
Maister lidgate, what man be ye? 35

He wishes to be his prentice.
Now God, my maister, preserve yow longe on lyve,
that yet I may be your prentice or I dye,
then sholde myne herte at ye porte of blise aryve;
ye be the flowre and tresure of poise,
the garland of IVE, and laure of victoye.
by my trowghte, & I myght ben a emperour,
for your konynge I shulde your heres honor. 42

The poem written at thabbey of bylegh, chebri place,
With frosti fingers, and nothynge pliaunt,
when from the high hille, I men ye mount Canace,
was sent in to briton the stormy persaunt
that made me loke as lede, & chaunge semblauat,
And eke ye sturdi wynde of Yperborye,
Made me of chere, vnlusti sadde & sory. 49

The laste moneth that men clepe decembre,
When phebus share was driven a boute yeº heven,
yf we reken a ryght & well remembre,
four tymes onys, & after ward seven,
that is to sey passid ther was days aleven
Of the moneth when this vnadvisid lettar
writ was, but with your helpe here after bettar. 56

1. 10. This Hermogenes is the rhetorician (see Quintilian).
1. 17. Torquvat: can this be Boethius (A. M. Torquatus Severinus), or is it a word for crowned?
1. 20. Porcius is Cato (distiches), Marycan is Capella.
1. 21. Stace, Statius.
APPENDIX IV.

SPECIMENS OF ADDIT. MS. 14408, BRIT. MUS.
Stanzas 140-3 and 328-31.

Howe Aristotylle declarith to kyng Alisaundre of þe stonys.

(140)
Towchynge þe stone of philosofris olde,
Of weche thay make most soverayn mencyon,
But there is oon, as aristotylle tolde,
Which alle excellith in comparision,
Stone of stones, most soverayne of renowne;
towchynge þe vertu of this ryche thyng
thus he wrote to þe most soverayne kyng.

(141)
O alisaundre, grettist of dignite,
And of þe worlde monarke and regent,
And of alle nacions hast the sovereynte,
Eche oon to obeye and be obedient;
And to conclude the fyne of oure entent,
Alle worldely tresoure breeflie schete in oon,
is declared in vertue of this stone.

(142)
Thow muste fyrste conceyve in substaunce,
by a maner vnkouth diuision,
Water frome eyre make a disseuernance,
And fyre frome eyre by a deperticion;
Eche one preseruid from corrupcion,
As philosofris aforne haue specified,
Which by reason may not be denied.

(143)
Watere frome eyre departed prudentlie,
Eyre frome fyre, and fyre from erthe doon,
the crafte conceyued, deuydyd trewlie,
Withouten erroure or decepcion,
Put every element in his compleccion,
As it apertenthy to his parte,
As is remembrid perfittie in this arte.

(328)
It is to be titelyd how prevyd withoute obstacle,
As oolde philosofris put in remembranunce,
that in man is founde grete myracle,
namyd pe lytulle worlde by autores allegaunce ;
for many vnkouthe and dyuerse circumstaunce
founde in hym, moste soverayne creature,
namyd beste resonalbe by intelligence in sure.

(329)
He is hardy as a lyon, dredfulle as pe hare,
large as pe cok, and as a hound couetous,
harde as a herte in forest which doth fare ;
Buxum as pe tyrtyle, as lionesse dispitous,
Simple as pe lambe, lyke pe foxe malicious,
Swyfte as the Roo, as bere slowe in taryeng,
and lyke pe Elefaunt precious in ech thynge.

(330)
As pe asse vile and contagious,
and a lytelle kyng hasty and rebelle ;
Chaste as aungelle, as swyne lecherous,
Meke as pe pecock, and as a bole wode and feel ;
Profitable as pe bee in his hyve which is selle,
ffayre as pe horse, as pe owle malicious,
dome as pe fische, and as a mouse noyous.

(331)
Note this processe in pe audith countable,
Of pe remembranunce, and knowe redelie
that in beeste nor thynge vegetable
No thynge may be vniversally,
But if it be founde naturally
In mannes nature; wherfor of oon accord;
Olde philosofris callidy hym pe lytelle worlde.
LYDGATE AND BURGH'S

"SECKEES OF OLD PHILISOFFRES."

[Sloane MS. 2464, British Museum.]

THE PROLOG OF A DOCTOR RECOMMENDING ARISTOTLE.

(1)

God Almighty save / and conferme our kyng
In al vertu / to his encrees of glorye
His Rewm and hym / by polityk lyving
With dred and love / to have memorye
Of his Enmyes / Conquest and victorye ;
With sceptre and swerd / twen bothe to doo Ryght
Afftir his lawes / to euery maneer wyght.

(2)

first in al vertu / to sette his governaunce
The lord to plese / and his lawes to kepe,
And his legis / with hertly Obeysaunce
In pes to kepe hem / wheer they wake or slepe ;
To punyssh tyrauntys / & cherysshe hem that be meke
With two cleer Eyen / of discrecyoun,
As ye hem fynde / of disposicyoun.

(3)

Them that be goode / cherysshe hem in goodnesse,
And them that be / froward of Corage
Peyse the ballance / be greet Avysenesse,
ffer love nor hate / to doon Outrage.
Set a good mene / twen yong and Old of age.
Excellent prynce / this processe to Compyle
Takith at gre / the Rudnesse of my style.

1 Lydgate ends with stanza 213, line 1491, and then Burgh goes on to the end.

PHILOSOPHERS.
Alexander and Aristotle.

(4) [fol. 1 b.]
The writer acknowledges his imperfections, but has endeavoured to obey the king's commands.

first I that am / humble Servitour
Of the kyng / with hool Affecyon,
Voyde of Eloquence / I hane do my labour
To sette in Ordre / and execucyon
first my symplessé / vndir Correctiou
With ryght hool herte / in al my best entent
ffor tacomplysshe / your comandement.

(5) Unto purpoos / my labour shewys,
I hane be besy / with greet dilligence
To fynde the book / of al good thewys,
The which is holly / entytled in sentence
ffor prudent prynces / moost digne of Reuerence,
Callyd Secrees / of Old philisofires
Of more valew / than is gold in Coffres.

(6) The which book / is notable of ffame
Whylom compiled / by Arystotiles,
Which in sapience / of Secretees hath the name
Conveyed a mene / atwen werre and pees,
Ech thyng provyded / by vertuous encrees,
Set in Ordre / the tytles be wrytyng
To his disciple / of macedoyne kyng /

(7) [fol. 2 a.]
Callyd Alysaundre / the myghty Emperour
Born by discent / Justly to Succede,
With tweyne Crownys / as trewe Enherytour
Affir his ffadir / to Regne in perce and mede,
Callyd philippus / pleyly as I Rede,
Thorough al grece / namyd lord and Sire,
And by Conquest / hold the hool Empyre.

(8) This Alysaundre / the Crowne whan he took,
Knyghtly dispoosyd / of herte and of Corage.
In whoos worshepe / compiled was this book
By Arystotyl / whanne he was falle in Age,
Had set asyde / by vertu al Outrage,
The Praises of Aristotle.

Inpotent to / Ryden and to travaylle;  
ffor feblynesse / to counsayl in bataylle.

(9)  
With Alisamdre / preferryd in his dayes,  
Was noon so greet / in his Oppynyoun,  
He was so trewe / founde at al assayes,  
prudent and wys / and of discrecyoun,  
And moost withal / of Reputacyoun :  
Grettest clerk / in Greece thoo present,  
And moost Sotyl / of Entendement.

(10)  
And with al this / his Occupacyoun  
Was fully set / with entieei dilligence  
And spiritual studye / of Contemplacyoun.  
Meknesse his guyde / with moderat Reuerence,  
Moost charytayle / al slouthe and necligence  
ffolk in myscheef / and drery to counforte;  
What euere he sauhe / the best to Repoorte.

(11)  
And Specially / Set was his Resoun  
On trouthe / On feithe / and on Rightwysnesse  
Nat double of touinge / hatyd adulacryoun,  
ffals Repoort / detraceyoun, ydelenesse,  
fforgyd talys / with ote sekirnesse,  
And moore in vertu / hym to magnesfy,  
With a spirit / endewyd of prophecye.

(12)  
Had in his tyme / prerogatyves two  
ffor his singuleer / vertuous excellence,  
Callyd philisoffre / and prophete also ;  
Thorough al Greece / had moost in Reuerence,  
And for his gracious / Celestial influence  
Bookys Recoorde / an Angel was down sent,  
ffiro god above / brought hym this present /

(13)  
That he shulde / the book Reherse kan,  
ffor his merytes / and vertuous dignite  
Be callyd an Angel / Rathere than a man

56
57 The praises of Aristotle,  
57 his prudence,  
61  
63  
64 [fol. 2b.]
68 his charity,  
70  
71 his truth,  
75  
77 a prophet moreover,  
82 Angelic visits,  
84  
85 [fol. 3a.]
The Success of his Pupil.

for many myracles / of Antiquite,
Vnkouth and strange / and merveyllous to se,
Which surmounte / by Recoord of scripture,
Both witt of man / and werkys of nature.

(14)
It is also / of hym maad menecyoun,
As this stoory / pleynly doth expresse
for his vertuous / dysposicyoun
Groundid on god / Celestial of sweetnesse,
In whoos memorye / wryters bere witnesse
He was Ravysshed / Contemplatyff of desir
Vp to the hevene / lyk a dowe of ffyr.

(15)
Dewyd in vertu / be inspyracyoun
Abovyn alle othir / to his goostly avayl,
That Alysaundre / vnto subieccioun,
brought al kyngdammys / by his wys counsayl;
And Cronyclers / in ther Rehersayl,
Al hool the world / put in Remembrance,
And enclyned / to his Obeyssaunce.

(16)
To his poweer / and Regalye
He was Callyd kyng / and monarke of al,
And by his swerd / and famous Chevalrye,
By Aristotilees witt / in especial
Took in his hand / of goold the Round bal
To Occupyen / through his hih Renoun
vij. Clymatys / and Septemtryoun.

(17)
No grucchyng was / mouthir in word ne dede
Ageyn his Conquest / he was so soore drad.
Al Arabye / Greece / Perce and Mede
Ech thyng Obeyed / what so euere he bad,
Alle his Empryses / demenyd wern and lad
By thavys / breffly in sentence,
Of Arystotiles / Witt and providence.

(18)
Ageyn his purpoos / there was noon Obstacle,
Shadrir and prynce / of philosophye
Alexander's Letter to Aristotle.

Vndir nature wrought / many greet myracle
Wroot Epistelys / of prudent policye,
To Alysaundre / And to his Regalye,
   By cleer example / be which he myght knowe
  To governe him / both to hihe and lowe.

(19)
When the kyng / his pistol has seyn,
   And al the fourme / Conceyved in sentence,
To Arystotiles / he wrot thus ageyn
Of gentillesse / with greet Reuerence,
   That he wolde / doon his dilligence,
    Conceyue his menyng / and holly the materere
  Of his Epistel / which that sewith here.

here is the fourme of the Epistil that kyng Alysaundre sent
to his maister Aristotiles.¹

(20)
Reuerent ffadir / doctour of discyplyne
   moost notable / and digne of Reuerence,
Phebus the sonne / moor clerly doth nat shyne,
   As the Repoort / of your expert prudence
Aforne provides / of Royal Confidence.
   In fewe teermys / I purpoose to Reherse
    Thing toold to me / towchyng the lond of perce.

(21)
ffirst how that lond / and that Regioyn,
   Alle othir Reemys / in philosophye
It doth excelle / and of hih Resoun
   Is moost inventyff / expert in ech partye.
Ther noblesse / for to magnefiye
   fferthest procede / by cleer entendement
   ffor tacomplysshe / the ffyn of ther entent.

(22)
Tencrese ther lordshippes / and have the souereynte
   Ovir alle Citees / and straunge Regiouns,
And by ther marcial / magnanymyte
   To sprede a brood / ther domynacyous.
Wher vpon / lyk our entencyous

¹ In margin of MS.
Aristotle's Answer.

And here vpon / to make no dellayes,  
Mawgre ther myght / and ther Rebellyoun,  
and gives his own plan.

By your Avys / this percients for to wynne.  

(23)  

Thanswere of Aristotilees /  

S One Alisaundre / this matebre to me is strange,  
And inclusith / A manner of dispayr.  

Peyse in thy Silff / yf it be lyght to Chauunge  
ffirst from the Erthe / the Watir and the Ayr,  
And parte the Ellementys / in ther sperys fayr.  

When this is doon / furthermore in dede  
Geyn percyens / in thy Conquest procede.  

(25)  

Be gynne no thyng / with oute greet Avys,  
A ground of trouthe / first that it be possyble,  

and never to attempt an emprise unlikely to succeed;

And I Counsayl / yf that thou be wys  
fforeyn Empryses / which that be terryble,  

Abydyng Oonly / for short Conclusyoun  
With your lettrys / for my Inpartye  
On this matebre / pleylyn to signeffye.  

(26)  

First on this peple / I Cast me to be gynne  
By your Avys / this percients for to wynne.  

(23)  

Aristotle compares the matter to the problems of Alchemy;  

he advises forethought,  

Bothe in perce / and Septemtryo:  
Counte of ther Citees / the famous gouvemaunce,  
And haue ther with / Consyderacyoun  
Be a forsyght / and Cleer inspeccyoun.  

My counsayl is / towching the lond of perce,  
ffroom thy purpoos / I Counsayl that thou Seece.  

(27)  

Be a forsyght / and Cleer inspeccyoun.  
Abydyng Oonly / for short Conclusyoun  
With your lettrys / for my Inpartye  
On this matebre / pleylyn to signeffye.  

(26)  

First thy purpoos / peyse it in ballaunce,  
Bothe in perce / and Septemtryo:  

(fol. 5 a.)  

Be a forsyght / and Cleer inspeccyoun.  
My counsayl is / towching the lond of perce,  
ffroom thy purpoos / I Counsayl that thou Seece.  

(26)  

Be a forsyght / and Cleer inspeccyoun.  
My counsayl is / towching the lond of perce,  
ffroom thy purpoos / I Counsayl that thou Seece.  

(27)  

First thy purpoos / peyse it in ballaunce,  
Bothe in perce / and Septemtryo:  

(fol. 5 a.)  

Be a forsyght / and Cleer inspeccyoun.  
My counsayl is / towching the lond of perce,  
ffroom thy purpoos / I Counsayl that thou Seece.
How to govern a Kingdom.

And by thy Counsayl / of philisoffres wys,
To brynge hem Esly / to good governaunce,
Of Oon Accoord / with oute varyaunce,
Vndir the wynges / of thy Royal bounte,
Them to Cherysshe / in thy benignyte.

(28)

Yiff thou thus doo / by vertuous Repeyr,
God shal encresce / of gracious influence,
And of full trust / I-brought out of dyspeyr
That ffynally / thy Royal excellency
Shal first plese god / in verray existence,
And thy sogettys / of hool herte and entent
Shall hool Obeye / to thy Comaundement.

(29)

For entieer love / first groundid vpon the
Afecteyoun Rootyd / on Royal confidence,
Voyde of al Chaung / and mutabilite,
Peysybly / in thy magnificence ;
As monarke / prevyd in existence,
lyk thy desirs / thyn herte for to queme
mong pereyens / to were a dyademe.

(30)

Thus by wryting / as made is mencyouyn,
Of Aystotyl / he gat al perce lond
With al the lordshippes / and euer Royal town
And large Citees / maad soget to his hond.
Thus first of perce / as ye shal vndirstond,
Though he be birthe / with othir londys manye
Aftir his ffadir / was kyng of macedonye.

This Rubryssh rehersith name of the philisoffre Callid philip,
born in parys, which was translator of this book.

(31)

His philisoffre / famous and notable
In al his dedys / prudent & ryght-wys,
Callyd phelip / avysee and treutable,
In the Citee / broughth forth of parys,
And above alle / moost excellent of prys,
Haddle in O thyng / souereyn avaxtage,
His tounge ffyled / expert in al language.
The Arabic Translator's Prolog.

(32)

In Rethoryk / he hadde experyence
Of euery strange / vnkouth nacyoun,
Thorough his sugryd / Enspyred Eloquence,
Kowde of ther tounge / make a translacyoun.
Termys Appropyrd / be interpretyaoun
They were so set / by dilligent labour
Of Tullius gardyn / he bar awey the filour.

(33)

ffirst of hym sylff / he breffly doth expresse,
Hys labour was / and his dilligence
Al his lyve / with wakir besynesse
Of Custummable / naturel providence,
Be disposicyoun / to have intelligence
Of Secre thynges / when I was in dowte,
The hyd mysteryes / for to seke hem owte

(34)

In this matere / was set al myn Entent
And myn Inward / heartly attendaunce
Ther-of to have / Cleer entendement,
And of sriptures / Just Reconysaunce.
To have with them / confederat Allyaunce
I sprayd noon / What fortune did falle
Philisoffres to seke / hem Oon and alle.

(35)

So desirous I was / of herte and mynde,
With al my wittys / to serchyn and visite
In Arrabia / and the ferther ynde
Philisoffres that cowde / hem sylff best quite,
And Rethoryciens / to compyle and endyte
Vnkouth mysteryes / I was glad hem to se
By ther suppoort / to lerne Some secree.

(36)

I was so brent / in Cupydes fyr
To knowe first / whanne I had gonne,
With hevenly fervence / Celestial of desir
To taste the licour / of Cytheroes tonne,
And knowe the cleernesse / of the bryght sonne,
His Search for Wisdom.

Which in merydyen / moost Amerously doth shyne
Breest of philisoffres / be grace tenlvmyne.

(37)
Whanne I had serchyd / hihe and lowe
In Sundry stodyes / and many greet lybrarye
Of this sonne / the bryghtnesse for to knowe,
I was wery / theron for to tarye,
Tyl at the laste / I fond a solytarye
Syttyng aloone / with lokkys hore and gray,
Which toward phebus / taught me the ryght way.

(38)
The which sonne / of bryghtnesse perlees,
Compyled afrom / by an expert philisoffre,
Callyd in his tyme / Execulapides,
To whoom I gan / my seruise for to Offre,
flor gold nor Silvir / hadde I noon to profre.
He hold hym first / be megre of Abstinence,
Whoom I besought / with devout Reuereence,

(39)
That he wolde / goodly me Enspyre
In this matere / which I haue be-gonne
Toward the weye / which I moost desire,
The goldene path / direct unto the sonne,
Wheer philisoffres / as they Reherse konne,
Took ther laude / which that lastith eure
In parfight Clernesse / and may Eclypse neure.

(40)
Perseverant / in hoope whan I stood,
Of my Request / with faithful attendaunce,
This solityrye / whan he vndiistood
Al that I mentte / with euery Circumstaunce,
I fond in hym / no strange varyaunce
To myn entent / breffly to comprehende,
In goodly wyse / he lyst to condiscende.

(41)
ffro poynyt to poynyt / tacomplysshe my desirs,
Stood in greet hoope / it shulde me prevaylle
fforthryd in the weye / wheer phebus moost cleer is,
Voyde of dispeyr / be-Cause my travaylle
Was expleyted / that no thyng did faylle.
Cleer was the sonne / Watir, Erthe, and Eyer,
With which graunt / moost glad in my Repayer.

Gretly Reiysshed / both of cheer and face,
And Renewyd / with a glad Corage,
Retournyd ageyn / to myn owne place,
Gaf thank to god / to my greet avauntage,
That he me gaff / so fortunat passage
In short tyme / and in so short a date
This seyd book / at leyser to translate

So he returned, thanking God, to translate this book

With greet studye / tacliplysshe the byddlyng,
And to procede / in the translacyoun
Of this book / moost notable in wryting
Of Royal materis / souereyn of Renoun,
Which as monarcha / of euery Regioun,
Gaf me this Charge / knelyng on my kne
It to translate / fro greek in to Chalde.

here the Translator resortith ageyn to set in a prologue, on this wyse. 1

I gan Remembre / and muse in my Resoun,
A Sodeyn conscye / fyl in my ffantasye,
And made a stynt / in my translacyoun
A twix two / stood in Iupartye
To what party / my penne I shulde applye.
Thus in a dowte / kowde nat my Sylf counforte
Till I a brayde / in purpoos to Resorte

To hym that drough / this processe moost devyne,
Callyd in his tyme / in phillosophye
Sonne, merour / and laumpe tenlvmyne
This translacyoun / of Royal policiye
Out of Greek / and touange of Arrabye
In to latyn / a Celestial werk
At Request / of this notable Clerk.

1 In margin of MS.
Dedication of the Latin Translation.

(46)
Which in thoo dayes / was of greet dignite,
Bysshop Sacryd / in the Citee Covalence,
Metropolitan / of moost Auctoryte,
By whoos Consayl / and in whoos Reuereence
A philisoffre / expert in ech science,
Callyd liberales / that been in nounbre sevene,
Namyd philippus / myn Auctour doth hym nevne.

(47)
Which took vpon hym / this vertuous labour
Vndir the wynges / of humble Obedyence,
That he of grace / wolde doon hym this fflavour,
This hooly Guydo / ffamous in ech science,
In whoos wurscchepe / and in whoos Reuereence
By whoos byddyng / as he vndirtook,
Wroot to hym thus / the prologe of this book.

(48)
Vndir your benigne / gracious suppoort,
Twene hoope and dred / Astonyd in my Symplesse,
ffor my moost vertuous / and Singuleer comfort,
With an exordye / groundid on meknesse,
With quakyng penne / my conseeyt to expresse,
ffor lak of Rhethoryk / feerful to vnfoolde
to your noblesse / to wryten as I wolde.

(49)
I have no Colour / but Oonly Chalk and sable,
To peynte or portreye / lyst that I shulde Erre
Your lih Renow / which is in-comperable ;
Your hoolynes / it spredith out so ferre,
lych as the moone / passith a smal sterre :
So your vertues / Reche vp to the hevene,
To Arthurus / And the sterrys sevene.

(50)
And as phebus / with his bryght beemys,
The goldene wayn / thorugh the world doth led,ffrom Est tyl West / with his celestial streemys
In merydien / fervent as the glede,
Bove moone and sterrys / in cleernesse 1doth exceed;

1—1 not in MS.
12

**The Virtues and Praises**

And semblaby / al men seyn the same,
The vertues sprede / of your good name.

(51)

In sondry konnynges / I Can Remembre noon,
And I shulde / Reherse hem Ceryously,

(52)

ffirst with Noe / ye have expert prudence,
With Abraham / feith, trouthe, and Equite;
With Isaak / prevyd contfydence,
And with Iacob / longanymyte;
Stabylnesse / with hardy Iosue,
Tretable abydyng / Reknyd in substance;
With duk Moyses / long perseveraunce.

(53)

Elijah, With helye / parfight devocyon,
David, Of Dauid / the grete benyngyte,
Elisha, Of Elyseus / expert perfeccyon,
Solomon, Witt of Salamon / with Danyel Chastite;
Daniel, Sufferance of Iob / in his Infirmyte,
Job, Plente of language / with hooly Isaye,
Isaiah, And lamentaciouns / expert in Ieremye.
Jeremiah,

(54)

And as your ffame / beryth Cleer witnesse,
Ye haue also / with polityk prudence
Cicero and
In worldly thynges / greet avysenesse,
Circumspect / and vertuous dilligence,
And with Tullius / sugryd Eloquence:
The Repoort goth Est / West, North, and South,
Homer, Callyd Omerus / with the bony mouth.

(55)

With alle these vertues / plentevous in lecture,
His episcopall virtues,
Saddest exa^nple / prevyd in sobirnesse,
Day and nyght / moost wakir in scripture,
Bryght as the sonne / day sterre of hoolynesse;
In moral vertues / Al vices to Represse,
Callyd Aurora / of spiritual doctrine,
Namely in mateerys / hevenly and divyne.

(56)
Ye wer of lyff / Egal with hooly Seyntes,
In parfight prayer / and Contemplacyoun,
fful Offte wepte / and made your compleyntes
ffor Synful wrecchys / in desolacioun,
Disconsolat / in trybulacyoun,
That fro grace / and al vertu exyled,
Ye wern ay besy / tyl they were Reconcyled.

(57)
By your diligence / notable instruccyon,
ffro vicious lyff / ther corages to declyne,
And Race awey / al fals Occasyoun
Which ageyn vertu / shulde brynge hem to Rwyne,
ffor gracious phebus / that doth alwey shyne
To forthre yow / in spiritual avayl,
Was Alwey present / to been of your Counsayl.

(58)
In liberal science / that be seveng in nombre,
Your studye ay stood / and your diligence
bryght as Apollo / with oute shadwe or Owmbre,
ffor your cler shynyng / was soth in existence,
Voyde of al pallyd / or Contirfeet Apparence,
Outward in Cheer / of pryde was no signe,
And in your poort / to alle folk most benygne.

(59)
And for ye wer / moost famous in science,
Conveyed by grace / and with humylite,
Wheer euere ye wern / Abydyng in presence,
Men seyd ther was / An Vnyuersite
To yow entytled / of Antiquite,
As it was / Repoortyd in substauence,
To yow appropryd / be goddys Ordynaunce,

(60)
With Addicioun / of the hevenly influence.
ffor in your tyme / was no Creature
Who ordered this Translation

That was expert / nor preferryd in sentence,
To be comparyd / nor of lecture
To your noblesse / and favour of nature
Was nat set bak / but lykly to contyne,
be god and grace / and favour of fortune,

(61)

So to perseuere / and lastyn a long date,
God lyst your yeerys / for to multiplye
Grace from abovyn / and your dispoosyd fate
At the sevne / wellys of philosophye,
With Crystallyn srynges / Ran to ech partye,
That the swetnesse / of the soote streemys
Ther lycour shadde / in to alle Reemys.

(62)

I lakke language / breffly for to telle
The bawme vpclosyd / in your tresourye,
Which that ye drank / at Elyconys welle,
With lucan, Omer / foundours of poetrye,
And virgile / which had the Regalye,
Callyd in his tyme / the singuleer Crownyd man,
Above al othir / Poete mantvan.

(63)

Ye bar the keye / of the Secre Coffre,
Callyd Registrer / of ther tresoury,
With two prerogatives / first a philisoffre,
And moost expert / your tyme in poetrye,
And yif I shal / breffly Speceffye
Your hihe merytes / and your magnificence
by Iugement yove / direct to your Clemence.

(64)

This book in Grece / was brought to your sight
In Antioche / your noblesse to delyte,
As a Charbouncle / ageyn dirknesse of nyght;
O Rychest Rubye / Or clerest margaryte
Of philisoffres / and pleyly for to wryte,
Sent of Assent / in their Oppynyoun
That ye therof / shulde have inspeceyoun.
from the Arabic to be made.

(65)
Off entent / it shulde be translatyd
from Arabyk / to moor pleyn language,
for latyn is moore pleyn / and moore dylytayd
In al nacyouns / to Oold and yong of Age;
And for I wolde / of herte and hool Corage
Obeye your byddyng / of humble Affececyoun
I took vpon me / this Translacyoun.

(66)
To Condiscende / in al my best entent
In this matere / my labour for to shewe,
first tacomplyshhe / your Comaundement
Yit wer me loth / Ovir myn hed to hewe,
But for ther been / of Copyes but a fewe
Of this book / Reknyd in sentence,
To doo yow plesaunce / and also Reuereence.

(67)
I took vpon me / your disciple and Clerk,
As I Cowde / vndir Correccioun,
To procede and gynne / vpon this werk,
Out of Arabyk / with hool affececyoun,
Into latyn / make this Translacyoun,
Oonly tagreen / with al humylite,
To your moost famous / magnanymyte.

(68)
Nat woord by woord / Cause of varyaunce,
In this tonges / ther is greet difference;
But lyk my Symple / vnexpert suffysaunce,
ffolwyn myn Auctour / in menyng and sentence,
Ryght of hool herte / and entieer dilligence,
As Arystotiles / Rehersyth by wrytyng
In his Epistil / to Alisaundre kyng.

here folowith the secund pistil that kyng Alysaundre
sent to his maistir Aristotiles.¹

(69)
Han Alisaundre / as is Rehersyd heer,
this philisoffre / for vertues many-foold,

¹ In margin of MS.
A List of Aristotle's Secret Crafts.

Sent unto hym / a secre massageer,  
   With-oute Exskus / to come to his housshold;  
   But he'ageyn / for he was feble and Oold,  
      And impotent / on the tothir syde,  
      And vnweldy / for to goon or Ryde.  

(A)  

[fol. 12 b.]  

But cheef cause / why Alisaundre sente  
   A purpoos take / and a fantasye  
   To declare pleynly / what he mente;  
      He wyst in soth / that in philosophye,  
      With othir secretys / of Astronomye,  
      He was expert / and moost cowde vnwirdonde,  
      This was in cheef Cause / of the kynges sonde.  

(71)  

which were—  
   Poweer of planetys / And mevyng of al sterrys,  
      And of euery / hevenly intelligence,  
      Disposicioun / of peas and ek of werrys,  
      And of ech othir / straunge hyd science  
   Magic,  
      As the sevene goddys / by ther Influence,  
         Dispose the Ordre / of Incantaciouns,  
      Or of Sevenc metallys / the transmutaciouns,  

(72)  

Calculations,  
and Geom-  
ancye;  
the arts of  
Circe and  
Medea;  
Physiog- 
mony, Pyro- 
mancy, and  
Geometry.  

With othir Crafflys / which that be secre,  
   Calculacioun / and Geomancye,  
   Difformacyouns / of Circes and meede,  
   lokyng of ffacyys / and piromancye,  
      On lond and watir / Craff of Geometrye,  
         Heyhte and depnesse / with al experience,  
            Therfore the kyng / desyryd his presence.  

(73)  

[fol. 13 a.]  

But for al thyss / with Inne hym Sylff a thyng,  
   Ther was a Secre / he kept nat do disclose,  
   Nor to puplysshe / Opynly to the kyng,  
      Takying example / by two thynges in a Roose;  
      fisrst how the flour / greet sweynesse doth dispoose,  
         Yit in the thorn / men fynde greet sharpnesse;  
      And thus in konnyng / ther may been a lyynes.  

Aristotle unable by reason of age to go to Alexand-
In herbe & flour / in wyrtynge woord and stoon,  
Ech hath his vertu / of god and of nature,  
But the knowyng / is hyd fro many Oon,  
And nat declaryd / to euery Creature;  
Wherfore he Cast / twen Resoun and mesure  
To shape a weye / bothe the kyng to plese,  
Somwhat to vncloose / and sette his herte at Ese.  

Ther is of ryght / a greet difference  
Twen a prynces / Royal dignite  
And atwen Comouns / Rude intelligence,  
To whoom nat longith / to medle in no degre  
Of konnynges / that shulde be kept secre;  
ffor to a kynges / famous magnificence,  
And to Clerkys / which haue experience,

It cordith wel / to serche Out scripture,  
Misteryes hyd / of fowlys, beeste, and tree,  
And of Aungellys / moost sotyl of nature,  
Of mynerall / and fysshes in the see,  
And of stoonys / Specially of three——  
Oon myneral / Anothir vegetatyff,  
Partyd on foure / to lengthe a mannys lyff.

Of which I Radde / among othir stoonys  
Ther was Oon / was Callyd Anymal,  
ffoure Ellementys / wrought Out for the noonys——  
Erthe, Watir, and Eyr / And in Especial  
Joyned with ffyr / proporeyon maad Egal;  
And I dar seyn / brefly, and nat tarye,  
Is noon suych stoon / ffound in the lapydarye.

I Rad Oonys / in a philisoffre,  
Ageyn ech Syknesse / of valew doth moost Cure;  
Al the tresour / and gold in Cresus coffre,  
Nor al the stoonys / that growe be nature,  
Wrought by Crafft / or forgid by picture,
Lydgate warns the Ignorant and Foolish

lapis et non lapis / stoon of grettest fame,
Aristotiles / gaf it the same name.

(79)

And for I haue / but litel Rad or seyn,
To wryte or medle / of so hih materys,
ffor presumpeyoun / somme wolde haue disdeyn
To be so boold / or Clymbe in my disirys,
To scale the laddere / above the nyne sperys,
Or medle of Rubyes / that yeve so cleer a lyght
On hooly shrynes / in the dirk nyght.

(80)

I was nevir / noon expert Ioweler,
In suych materys / to putte my Sylff in prees
With philisoffres / myn Eyen wer nat Cleer,
Nouthir with plato / nor with Socratees,
Except the Prynce / Aristotilees,
Of philisoffres / to Alisaundre kyng
Wrot of this stoon / the merveylle in1 werkyng,

(81)

as in a para-
ble,
how to sepa-
rare each of
the 4 ele-
ments,
how to purify
them,
and how to
combine them
again.

In press wyse / lych to his Ententys,
Secretys hyd / Cloos in philosophie;
ffirst departyng / of the foure Ellementys,
And aftirward / as he doth speceffye
Ewerych of hem / for to Recteffye;
And aftir this / lyk his Oppynouyn,
Off this foure / make a Coniuncceyouyn.

(82)

And2 In suych wyse / perfoome vp this stoon,
Seen in the Ioynyng / ther be noon Outrage;
But the fals Erryng / hath fonnyd many Oon,
And brought hem aftir / in ful greet Rerage,
By expensys / and Outragious Costage;
ffor lak of brayn / they wern maad so wood
Thyng to be-gynne / which they nat vndestood.

(83)

ffor he that lyst / put in experience,
fforboode Secrees / I holde hym but a fool,
lyk hym that temptith / of wyful necligence,

1 'in al' MS.
2 Not in MS.
To stonde vp ryght / On a thre foot stool, 579
Or sparyth a stewe / and fyssheth a bareyn pool:

When al is doon / he get noon othir grace,
Men wyl scorne hym / and mokke his foltyssh flace. 581

(84)

It is no Crafft / poore men tassaye, 582
It Causith Coffres / and Chestys to be bare,
Marryth wyttes / and braynes doth Affraye;
Yit be wryting / this book doth declare,
And be Resouns / lyst nat for to spare, 586

With goldeyn Resouns / in taast moost lykerous,
Thyng per ignotum / prevyd per ignocins. 588

(85)

Title of this book / labor philosophorum, 589 [fol. 15 a.]
Namyd also / de Regimine principum,
Of philisoffres / secreta secretorum,
Tresour compyled / omnium virtutum,
Rewle directorye / set up in a somme,1
As Complexioans / in helthe and syknesse,
Dispose them sylff / to mornyng or to gladnesse. 595

(86)

The which book / direct to the kyng 596
Alisaundre / bothe in werre and peas,
lyk his Request / and Royal Comaundyng,
fful A-Complysshed / by Aristotiles,
sfble for Age / and impotent douteles,
Hool of Corage / and trewe in his entent,
Tobeye his byddyng / this book he to hym sent. 602

To telle of hym the Genealogie which translated this book.

(87)

HE that first / this labour vndirtook, 603
Was Callyd Iohn / And of nacyoun
A spaynol born / which began this book,
Of euery tounge / And euery Regioun;
he was expert / as maad is mencioyn,
To speke ther language / myn Auctour tellith thus,
And Callyd sone / of Oon patricius. 607

1 MS. 'sonne.' 609 son of Pa-

tricius,
Trewé expert / and dilligent to konne,

mong philisoffres / put ay hym Sylff in prees,

Cam to Oroculum / Callyd of the sonne,

A place bilty / by Esculapides,

Wheer tabyde / his Restying place he chees,

Thoughte he wolde / for a sesoan tarye,

Cause that he fond / A persone solitarye.

Dempte he was brought / thedir by myracle,

In lowly wyse / besought hym On his kne

To vouchesauf / to shewe in that Oracle

hyd merveylles / which ther wer kept Seere;

And of Affeccio2m / and gracious pite,

I ffond hym goodly / and benigne of Cheer,

My Requestys / at leyser for to heer.

And whanne I hadde / with outhe more Obstacle,

Scyn ther thynges / with Secrees delitable,

That wer divyne / and Cloos in that Oracle,

It was a paradys / verray incomparable:

And for this philisoffre / was so mercyable

Towardys me / and shewyd no dysdeyn,

Thankyng my maister / Retournyng hoom ageyn.

Afftir this labour / I gan dispoose me

To procede / on this translacyoun,

Out of greek tounge / and language Chalde,

To Arabyk afor / of hool entencyoun,

That I myght / for short conclusyoun,

lyk my desir / tacomplysshe and confoorme,

This pistil to wryte / vndir this same foorme.

Here is the Epistil of the translator.

In the name of Arystotiles

Wel avysed / A processe to provide;

In his exskus / he was nat Rekkeles,
The Second Letter of Aristotle to Alexander.

But Inpotent / for to goon or Ryde,
And Alleggyng / on the tothir syde,
  The kynge's lettres / he wel vndirstood,
  Which for to Obeye / herte and wyl wer good.

(93)

Yif inpotence / of his vnweldy age,
In his desirs / put hym nat abak,
To goon or Ryde / to lettyn his passage,
  Hool in his wyl / ther was nevir lak,
  Though his heer / was toarnyd whyte fro blak;
  Besought hym lowly / of his Royal grace,
  To take a leyser / competent and space,

(94)

In his exskus / this pistil to vncloose;
  And first Advvertise / in Especial,
Witt and Corage / and hym Silff dispooze,
  To leve al manerys / that be bestial,
  Vertues to folwe / that been Imperyal;
  This to seyne / first prudently discerne,
  Twen vice and vertu / his peple to governe.

(95)

Off his pistil / a breef Subcrypcyoun,
  Set lowly vndir / to god lefft vp his cheer,
And of hool herte / makyng this Orysoem
  for Alysaundre / And this was his pryeer;
  "God that sit hihest / Above the sterrys cleer,
    Grant first our kyng / tavoyde from hym sloute,
    A fals stepmodir / And thanne begynne at trouthe."

(96)

And of thy Co?msayl / make hire cheef pryncesse,
  That she may provide / And takyn hede
With outyn handys / by greet avyssenesse,
  Outhir for favour / or for Old hatrede,
Chace flatererys / and hem that take mede,
  And snych tounges / of Custom that be double,
  And namely them / that Can sowe trouble.

(97)

Whysperyng tounges / of taast moost serpentyn,
  Silvir scalyd / whoos mouth is ful of blood,
Aristotle warns Alexander.

Aristotle likens flatterers to serpents.

Smothe afore folk / to fawyn and to shyne,
And shewe two facys / in Oon hood;
Ther sugre is soote / ther galle doth no good,
Alle suych shulde / be voyded from Counsayl:
A bee yevith hony / and styngeth with the tayl. 677

(98)

He advises Alexander to disregard their counsel,

This forseyd peple / togidere to Combyne,
Which be froward / of ther Condiciouns,
Though that they been / discendid of Oon lyne,
Troutle wyly nat folwe / ther Oppynyouns;
fiir vnto Royal / disposicyouns,
As I seyd Erst / Avoyde fro the slouthe,
And Cheef of uertues / set in hir place trouthe. 686

(99)

And to directe / lyk myn Oppynyoun,
When thou hast voyded / slouthe and necligence,
And trouthe is entryd / with discreetyoum,
And Conveyed / to thy magnificence,
I trust ye shal / yeve hem Audience
In myn exskus / which in philisoffye
be Callyd ffadir / and in prophecye /
Have a spirit / to forn of knowlechyng. 694

(100)

And taken up to heaven, as Greek books show.

Aristotle had been visited by an angel,

As it is / Repoortyd in scripture,
In Grekyss bookys / Above the sterryd hevene,
Arystotiles / was Aungelyk of nature,
ffadir and froundour / of the sciencys sevene,
Reysed in a pyleer / wrought of ffyry levene,
So hih aloffe / be Revelacyoun,
Knew hevenly secretys / At his comyng doun. 707

1 'to hym' in MS.
Aristotle promises to disclose all Secrets.

(102)
By whoos Counsayl / in Arrabye folk Carpe,
   Hadde of sevne / Clymatys domynacyoun,
Of al the world / Emperour and monarke,
   Ynde, Ethiope / and every nacyoun:
   And greete porrus / be poweer he Cast don,
   Vowes of the peacock / doon be dayes Olde
   wern a-Compilyssed / by his knyghtes bolde.

(103)
Ther be secrees / of materys hih and lowe,
   Hyd in nature / Conceelyed and Secre,
Which Alisaundre / desired for to knowe
   By Aristotiles / a certeyn prevyte
   Nat speceffyed / Cloos in hym Sylff kept he,
      Which was delayed / Of greet providence,
      Tyl he hym sylff / come to his presence.

(104)
Nnevirtheles / at Ellyconys welle,
   This philisoffre / by fulsom habundaunce,
Drank grettest plente / which hym lyst nat telle;
   I mene secretys / moost souereyn of plesaunce,
      Which to discure / or wryte hem in substauence,
      lyk his desirs / to servyn his entent,
      I shal so doon / he shal be ful content.

(105)
By a manere / lyknesse and figure,
   Dirk Outward / mysty for to se,
   lyk a thyng / that were above nature,
      As it were seyd / in Enignate,
      Touchyd a parcel / I mene thus parde
         As vndir Chaaf / is Closyd pure Corn,
      Touchyd somdel / in partye heer-to-forn.

Of foure maner kynges diuers of disposicion.

(106)
T
Her be kynges / dispoosyd by nature,
   Somme that broyde / on liberallyte,
And of hool herte / with al ther besy Cure
Kings should neither be

the king who is careful of his reputation for liberality;

Ther studye set / in largesse to be fre,
That ther Imperial / magnanumyte
Shulde nat be spotyd / in no maner wyse,
Towchyng the vice / of froward Coveitise.

(107)

the king generous to himself and his subjects;

The philisoffre / in Ordre doth expresse,
That som kyng / to hym sylf is large,
And to his sogettys / shewith greet largesse,
And som kyng streyght / to take On hym the Charge largely to parte / and haue hym Sylf Skarce;
But ytalyens / Recorde be Wrytyng
large on ech party / is vertuous in a kyng.

(108)

the Indian opinion;

Aristotiles / writt of them in ynde,
They Repoerte / that kyng is glorious,
Which to hym Sylff / is most skars of kynde,
And to his sogettys / is large and plentevous; 1
Yit they of perce / be Contraryous :
But to my doom / that kyng that hath the Charge
Is moost Comendid / that is to bothe large.

(109) 2

[fol. 19 a.]

the translator's opinion.

I mene as thus / by a dyvisioun
Toward hym sylf / kepe his Estat Royal
By attemperaunce / and by discrecioan,
lyk his sogettys / in Especial,
As they disserve / to be liberal,
Twen moche and lyte / A mene to devise
Of to mekyl / And streight Coveitise.

(110)

A difference between prodizality and munificence;

Ther is a maner / straunge difference,
ffor lak of Resoun / twen prodigalyte
And in a kynges / Royal magnificence,
Whan he lyst parte / of liberallite
To his sogettys / as they been of degre
So Egally / I-holdyn the ballaunce,
Ech man contente / with discreet Suffysaunce.

1 59 Ar. omits from line 753 to line 759.
2 Not in 2251 Harl.
Avaricious nor Prodigal.

(111)
Ther is a mene / peysed in ballaunce
Atwixen hym / that is a greet wastour
To kepe a meene / by attemperaznce,
 That ech thyng / be peysed be mesour,
That foltyssh grucchyng / bryng in noon Errour,
Considred first / of prynces the poweer,
And next the merytes / of the labourer.

(112)
Concludyng thus / twen good wyl and grucchyng
Of them that been / feithful of servyse,
And of anothir / froward and grucchyng,
That wyl Obeye / in no maneere wyse,
To folwe the doctrine / and the greet Empryse,
To putte his body / in percel / moost mortal,
And in Iupartyes / that be marcial.

(113)
To alle suych / A prynce of hihe noblesse
Shal nat spare / his gold / nor his tresour
To parte with hem / Stuff of his Rychesse,
Thing Apropyrd / to every Conquerour.
But yif ffredam / Conduite his labour,
That liberallyte / his Conquest doo provide,
At his moost nede / his men wyl nat abyde.

(114)
Aristotiles / made a discripeyoun
fful notable / in his wrytynges,
Sette a maneere / of divysyoun,
That ther be / dyuers maneere kynges;
Somme be large / in ther departynges
To bothe tweyne / Seith he is moost good
That atwen tweyne / trewly yevith his good.

(115)
But he that is / streyght in his kepyng,
lokkith vp his tresour / in his Coffre,
And lyst nat parte / with no maner thyng
With his sogettys / nor no good to proffre
In nede or myscheef / lyst no part to Offre;
The King's Bounty should be shared

I Can nat seyn / his ffredam to Comende,
That vnto nouthir / lyst nat to entende. 805

Praises of a munificent king,
A kyng that partyth / suych as god hath sent
Be fortune / Or Conquest in bataylle,
To his knyghtes / or sowdiours of entent,
Suych at moost neste / in tronthe may avaylle,
And them Relevith / that be falle in poraylle,
What folwith aftir / breffly to termynye,
lyght of his noblesse / shal euere encreese & shyne. 812

Nature hath set / twyne extremytees;
ffirst be a maneer / discreet providence,
That the streemys / of liberallite
Set in good mesour / Reffreytes of prudence,
Peysed in ballaunce / So that Sapience,
Queen of vertues / as lady souereyne,
That suych a meene / be set atwen hem twyne. 819

[64. 26 b.] ffirst conceyved / and peysed ech Estat,
That ther be no / froward transgressyoun
Of wylfulnesse / nor no froward debat,
Ech thyng in Ordre / Conveyed by Resoun
That mesour haue / domynacyeoun,
As it is ryght / of trouthe and Equite,
Twen Avaryce / and prodigalyte. 826

And whoo that wyl / breffly in sentence
Trewly devyde / vertuous largesse,
ffroom hym hath no / polityk Adverture,
Them to governe / of Royal gentillesse,
I dar wel seyn / breffly and expresse,
Of good Repoort / shortly determynye
his sonne of vertues / thorugh the world shal shyne 833

(116)

(117)

(118)

(119)

(120)

With oute Eclypsyng / of Ony mystesBlake
Or fals Repoort / of ony dirk shours, 1
Or froward touages / that noyse or sclawndre make,

1 59 Ar. and Harl. 2251 omit from line 835 to line 841.
among all Classes of his Subjects.

To medle netlys / with soote Roose flours:
larure Crownys / be naad for Conquerours
In tryvmphes / trewly for to deme
Whoo is moost wourthy / to were a dyademe.

(121)

A kyng dispoosyd / of Royal excellence,
first to be large / cheefly in thynges tweyne,
large to hym Sylff / And fire in his dyspence,
Twen moche, litel / that wysdam to Ordeyne,
That discrecyoun / As lady Sovereine,
With Resoun present / At good leyser tabyde,
That hasty wyl / medle on nouthir syde;

(122)

Streyght to hym Sylff / in suych maneer wyse,
Afor Considered / his magnanymyte,
That Royal ffredam / dispoose So the Assyse
Toward his liges / that suych Repoort may be,
To kepe the fravanchyse / of liberallyte,
Twen his noblesse / and his liges bothe,
In so good meene / that nouthir of hem be wrothe.

(123)

They of ytallye / in ther Oppynyoun,
Seyn / it was / no vice in a kyng,
Yif he be large / be distrubucyoun
To them that been / vndir hym leyving;
But they of perce / Recorde in ther wryting,
He that is large / vnto bothe two,
first to hym Sylff / and lige men Also.

(124)

But to my doom / and to my fiantasye,
Seith Aristotiles / that kyng is moost comendable
That hath largesse / in his Regalye,
With good meenys / in vertu stonde stable,
Trew in his feith / not feynt nor varyable,
Twen Avaryce / of trouthe and Equite,
The vice avoyding / of prodigalyte.

(125)

Breffly the vertu / of Royal hih largesse,
Set in A meene / of prudent gouvernance,
Princes should beware of Flatterers,

How largesse should be apportioned. That ther be nouthir / skarsete nor excesse, But a ryght Rewle / of Attemperaunce; So that mesour / weye the ballaunce, To Recompense / of Equite and Ryght, lyk ther merytes / to euery manner wyght. 

(126) 873

The evils arising from flatterers. Atwen tronthe / And forgyd flatereye Ther is a strange / vnkouth difference, Contraryous poysoun / I dar wel certeffye, To alle Estatys / of Royal excellence: Wheer double menyng / hath ony existence, Ther growth frawde / And Covert fals poysoun, And sugryd galle / honyed with Collusyoun.

(127) 876

[fol. 22 a.] Off Prynces Eerys / they be tabourerys, The tenour Round / And mery goo the bellys; But with ther touch / they stynge wers than brerys, With hunger, thrust / myd tantalus dyuers wellys, flours of proserpina / fayr and bittir smellys: So semblaby / flatererys in Apparence, Be outward sugryd / And galle in existence.

(128) 880

And he that wyl / be famous in largesse, And haue a name / of liberallyte, lat hym Conceyve / Afor in his noblesse, The discertys / of hih and lowe degre, Atwen mesour / excesse and skarsete, So departe / by Attemperaunce, That lyk discertys / Ech man haue Suffysaunce.

(129) 882

In the partyng / stant Wysdam and fooly, but discrecioyn / medle in this matere; Who yevith his tresour / to them that be wourthy, And them guerdowynyth / with glad face and Cheere, As Ryght and Resoun / in tyme doth Requeeere In his departhyng / As to myn Avys, Such a kyng / is provident and wys.

(128) 883

They are worse than briars, the torments of Tantalus, or the flowers of Proserpine.

A king should consider the merits of high and low degree.

He should only reward the worthy.
and be bounteous only to the Worthy.

(130)

But whoo departith / his tresour and Rychesse
To them that been / not wyse nor profitable,
It is Callyd / A maner of excesse,
Which in A kyng / is nat honourable.
Of prudent partyng / in Corages that be stable,
    Ther folwith Afftir / by Repoort of Wrytyng,
Greet laude and preys / namely in a kyng.

(131)

To them that falle / in Casuel indigence,
    Be sodeyn Caas / Or in neccessyte,
Or infortunys / froward violence,
    Than it accordith / to Royal dignite,
To shewe of ffredam / his liberallite:
    Suych a kyng / Advertisyng his Charge,
Is to hym Sylff / and to his liges large.

(132)

And his lordshippe / And al his Regioun
    Shal encrese / in long felicitye,
With laude and preys / love and subieccion,
    As Appartenyth / vnto his dignite,
To were his Crowne / in long prosperite;
    I dar aflferme / and mak my Sylf wol boold,
Suych wer Comendid / of philisoffres Oold.

(133)

But yif a kyng / Contraryous of sentence,
    partith his tresour / to them that ha no nede,
Or be nat falle / in Casuel indigence,
    but wylfully / lyst nat taken hede,
What evir he spent / Cast aforn no drede:
    This folwith therof / his tresour and his Cost,
With-Oute laude / bothe two ar lost.

(134)

Suych Oon gladly / wheer he wake or wynke,
Escapith nat / be vanye or veynglorye,
Of poverte / to fallyn in the brynke;
    The philisoffre / put also in memorye
Suych fooly waast / get On him-Sylf victoreye,
And Causith hym / be excessyf dispence,  
ffolk in daungeer / of froward Indigence.  

(135)

Description of a prodigal.  
In his departyng / whoo is inmoderat,  
This to seyn / whoo is nat mesurable  
In his Rychesse / but disordinat,  
Is Callyd prodigus / which is nat honourable,  
Depopulator / A wastour nat tretable,  
Which is a name / As be Old wrytyng,  
Disconvenyent / to euery wourthy kyng.  

(136)

[fol. 23 B-]  
Aristotiles / geyn this Condicioun,  
Set a Rewle / to Royal providence,  
Moost notable / which in Conclusyoun  
Shal directe / And Rewle his Clemence  
In long prosperity / of Royal Reverence,  
And good Repoort / which is a thyng divyne,  
Tressyd as phebus / thorugh al the world to shyne.  

(137)

Things unbecoming a king.  
Ther is A maneer / disconvenience  
In Re publica / is hoolde vicious,  
A kyng to pleyne / vpon Indigence,  
Outhir in desirs / to been Avaricious,  
Outhir skars in kepnyng / large or Coveytous,  
Or kepe a meene / twen vertuous plente,  
Atwen largesse / and prodigalyte.  

(138)

It hath be seyn / that Ovir large expence  
In Regiouns / and many greet Cite,  
Hath vnwarly / brought in Indigence,  
Bothe in Estatys / And in the Comounte;  
but hermogenes / of greet Auctoryte,  
Wroote in A somme / pleynly Concluding  
That the noblesse / of a famous King,  

(139)

[fol. 24 a.]  
Vndirstondyng / breffly to Conclude,  
Was perfeccioun / vp lokkyd in sentence,  
Signed in a kyng / and the plenitude
Of his Royal / Crownyd magnificence,
And hym Syllf / to have an Abstinence
In his desirs / fro thyng that nat good is,
from the tresour / and his liges goodys.

How Aristotil declarith to kyng Alisaundre of the stoneys.

(140)

Ouchynge the stone / of philisoffres Old,
Of which they make / moost souereyn mencioun,
But ther is Oon / as Aristotil toold,
Which alle excellith / in Comparsoun,
Stoon of stoneys / moost souereyn of Renoun ;
Towchyng the vertu / of this Ryche thyng,
Thus he wroot / to the moost souereyn kyng :

(141)

O Alisaundre / grettest of dignite,
Of al this world / monark and Regent,
And of al nacioons / hast the souereynte,
Eechoo to Obeye / And been Obedyent ;
And to Conclude / the ffyn of our Entent,
Al worldly tresour / brefliy shet in Oon,
Is declaryd / in vertu of this stone.

(142)

Thou must first / Conceyven in substaunce,
by A maneer / vnkouth divysioon,
Watir from Eyr / by a dysseveraunce,1
And ffyr froom Eyr / by a departysoun,2
Eechoon preservyd / ffrom Corrupeioon,
As philisoffres / Aforne haue Speceffyed,
Which by Resoun / may nat be denied.

(143)

Watir from Eyr / departyd prudently,
Eyr ffrom ffyr / And ffyr from Erthe doun,
The Craft conceyved / devyded trewly,
With Outyn Erreour / or decepecyoun :
Pure euer Ellement / in his Complexioon,
As it partenyth / pleylyn to his part,
As is Remembryd / perlightly in this Art /

1 'deperte' in MS.  2—2 blank in MS.
The colour of the stone is Citron for gold making, this stone of Colour is Sumtyme Cytrynade. lyk the sonne / streymyd in his kynde, Gold tressyd / makkith hertys ful glade, With moor tresour / than hath the kyng of ynde, Of precious stoonys / wrought in ther dew kynde:
The Citren Colour / for the sonne bryght, Whyte for the moone / that shyneth al the nyght.

This philisoffre / brought forth in parys Which of this stoonys / wroght fully the nature, Al the divisyoun / set by greet Avys, And ther vpon / did his besy Cure, That the perfeccioun / longe shulde endure
lyk thentent / of Aristotiles sonde, Which noon but he / Cowde wel brynge on honde.

ffor though the mater / Opynly nat toold Of this stoonys / what philisoffres mente, Aristotiles / that was expert and Oold, And he of parys / that forth this present sent, And in al his beste / feithful trewe entent, With circumstauances / of Arrabye, ynde, and perce, Towchyng the stoonys / that Clerkys Can Reherse;

Hermogenes / hadde hym Sylff Alloone, With seyd Phelip / that with hym was Seeree, knewh the vertu / of euery prevy stoone, As they were / dispoosyd of degree,
ffrom hym was hyd / noon vnkouth previtiee; This hermogenes / and he / knewh euery thyng Of alle suych uertues / as longe to a kyng.

how kyng Alisaandre must prudently Afore conceyve in his providence.

To eschewyn / alle excessys prudently, And specially / al froward Outragious largesse, Avaryce and / gadering frowardly,
How a wise King may be known.

Wheer trouthe and ryght / have an enteresse, 
for he that wastith / and spendith by excesse 1034
  The grete goodys / and posessyouns, 
Wheer he hath lordshippe / and domynacioouns. 1036
(149)
A Rewle groundid / On discrecioun
Geyn Appetites / that be bestial, 1037
Oonly Conveyed / And brydlyd by Resoun
To withstande lustys / that be Carnal, 
Geyn Avaryce / in Especial; 1041
  for Coveitise / with desir of Rychesse,
    Doth in a kyng / Avaryce Represse.
(150)1
Which Causith first / in his Regalye 1044
  Wilful vntrouthe / by fals presumpeicon, 
By extort poweer / groundid On Robberye 
Geyn goddys lawe / wilful destruccioun
In al his werkys / for short conclusyoun, 1048
  To procede / by Recoord of scripture,
    In prosperite / shal nat lone endure.

how witt of Sapience or of discrecioum may be parcyvid
  in a kyng or a prynce.2
(151)
First that the fame / of Royal Sapience, 1051 [fol. 26 a.]
  So that Repoort / of his notable ffame
Be voyde of vices / that Cleer intelligence
  In his Empyre / be cleer from al diffame,
    That no Repoort / blott not his name,
      Nor no fals Counsayl / of folkys that be double
        The Cleer shynyng / of his good name trouble. 1057
(152)
This is to seyn / that he be quiete & peysyble,
  Sogettys to kepe / hem from divysioun,
And nat lyghtly / to be Credyble
  To talys / that make discencioun.
  for wheer pees Regnyth / is al perfeccioun.
    Kepith sogettys / as they shulde be,
      froom alle stryves / quiete and vnite.
1 Omit Sl. 2027. 2 In margin of MS.

PHILOSOPHERS.

D
A King must be religious and chaste.

how a kynge shuld be Religious.

(153)

A kynge also / shulde been of lyff,
by good example / Sad and Religious,
Merciable / and kepe hym out of stryff,
And in his dooomys / nat been to Rygerous,
Chastyse alle / that be vicious,
Namely, alle / that be founde shrewys
And Contrarye / vnto good thewys.

(154)

Off ful purpoos / hoolly for to werche
To Chastice hem / of Equite and Right,
That been Emmyes / vnto hooly Cherche,
On heretiques / for to preve his myght ;
And yif ther be / Ony maner wyght,
Hardy in deede / of presumpcioun,
To ffende his lawes / haue dewe Correccioun.

how a kynge shulde be arrayed lych his Estat.

(155)

TO a kynge / Royal mageste,
Array which is / Ryche and honourable,
pertinent / to his dignite,
Sad of his Cheer / in his demenyng stable,
And of his woord / nat feynt nor varyable ;
Also of his behest / trusty and ek trewe,
Sad as a Saphir / and alwey of Oon hewe.

how this vertu Chastite apperteyneth wel in a kyng.

(156)

Oble prince / Considere in thy Estat Royal
how this vertu / Callyd Chastite,
Is a vertu / and in Especial
With abstinence / from al dishoneste ;
And greet Recours / of ffemynynye
pallith of prynces / the vertuous Corage,
And Or ther tyme / makith hem falle in Age.
how it longith to a kyng oonys in the yeer to shewe hym
in his Estat Royal.

(157)

Aftir the Custom / of Royal excellence,
And the vsage / Ek of Rome toun,
kynges ar wond / in ther magnificence,
To shewe ther noblesse / and ther hille Renoun,
Ther lordshippe / and domynacyoun
To kepe ther Sogettys / verrayly in dede,
Vndir a yerde / atwix love and drede.

(158)
So that love / haue a prerogatyff
To be preferryd / Suych as haue poweer
To shewe hem Sylff / duryng al ther lyf
Of discrecioun / avoydyng al daungeer;
This to seyn / ech estat / in his maneer
Shal dewly / with euery Circumstaunce.
As they ar bounde / doon ther Observaunce.

Of his dewe observaunce that longith to a kyng.1

(159)

Aftir his lawes / his statutys to Obeye.
Peyne of deth / no wyght be Contrarye,
What he Comaundeth / his byddlyng to with-seye ;
ffor what euere / from his precept varye,
Or On his byddlyng / be slouhe or lyst nat tarye,
Ther is no more / vpon that partye
but lyff and deth / stonde in Iupartye.

(160)
Whoo so euere / of presumpcioun,
Dar attempete / On ony maner syde
The kynges Ryght / in his Oppynyoun
To interupte / of malyce or of pryde,
And ther-vpon / presume tabyde,
To with-stonde / the kynges Royal myght,
Or ony thyng / that longith to his Ryght.

1 Before (160) in MS.
how solace and disport longith to a kyng.

(161)

And that it longith / also to a kyng,
With Instrumentys / of hevenly Armonye,
ffor his dispoort / prynces Abydyng
ful solemnely / with divers menstralceye,
To Recounfoorte / and glade his Regallye
And Comownerys / with entieer dilligence,
With Ryght hool herte / Reioysshe his presence.

What appartenyth also to his glorye.

(162)

TO his noblesse / & his singular glorye,
To haue aboute hym / many a wourthy knyght
ffor Chevalrye / Conservith the memorye,
And the sonne / alweye to shyne bryght,
That it shal nat / Eclypsen of his lyght ;
But thorugh the world / bothe in lengthe & brede,
As ffyry phebus / bothe shyne and sprede.

The Similitude of a Kyng.

(163)

N four thynges / must considred be
Toward god / his Obedience,
And to the peple / his liberallyte
As they disserve / with dewe Renervce
The kyng taquite / in his magnificence.
As his sogettys / be goodly to hym seyn,
Lyk ther decertys / he quyte so Ageyn.

how a kyng shulde be gouernyd in al maner of wedrys.

(164)

Or herthe / holsom be the Reynes,
It Causith flours / fresshly for to sprede,
And makith medwys / And Agreeable pleynes
To shewe ther bewte / bothe in lengthe and brede
And Ovir moore / Whoo that takith hede,
With Oute moysture / and cherysshyng of the Reyn,
In his bewte / Comyth nouthir / flour nor greyn.
Of his noted obstance that longeth to a king,

who is end of presumption,
day attempteth on man seal
the kynge kynge in his oppynond
to intournts of markeds or of pryde
and thou upon pyssone tablyes
to both fonde / the kynge kynge myght
by any thynge that longeth to his kynge:/
how solate and dispore / longeth to a kynge.

and that it longeth also to a kynge
with pursuonymys of his only armong
for his dispore / pyneres abyng
and promonyng / with substans monypalys
to exceedure / and grace his vygourals
and somonymys / with entrise Eelgones
with kynge had honts / forseythe his prince
what apperthynge / also to his glorie.

O his noblesse / & his singuler glories
so hans a honts hym many a monstous knyng
for thynkynge / confourthe the memore
and the same alway to kynge kynge
that it bel nat stopyth / of his kynge
but though the world bothe in longths / brede
as longe pyshong / bothe kynge and quende.
A King should be merciful and faithful.

(165)

By a maneer / Lust Similitude,
As Heyn counteth / every Erbe and tree
branchys a-loffe / pleyly to conclude,
So shulde a kyng / of his benigne
Shew hym gracious / to hipe and lowe degre,
That every wyght / with dewe Reverence
Shulde with glad cheer / parte from his presence.

how a kyng shuld be mercyable.

(166)

A kyng Also / in his Estat notable,
To his sogettys / of hih and lowh degre,
Shulde be gracious / and merciable,
leve Rancour / and haue on hem pite;
preserve mercy / Considre also and se
That mercy is vertuous / in his Trone,
Crownyd with gold / moost singuleer allone.

It longith to a kyng specially to kepe his promys.

(167)

A kynges promys / shulde be Lust & stable,
As a Centre / stonde in O degre,
Nat Chaunge lightly / nor be varyable,
And be-war / of mutabbylite.
Woord of a kyng / mvt stonde in O degre;
What that euere / that a prynce seith,
The Conclusyoun / dependith vpon feith.

how stodye & clergye shuld be promotyd in a kyngdome.

(168)

As the sonne / shewith in his guyse
Mong smale sterrys / with his bemys bryght,
Ryght so in / the same maner wyse,
An vniuersite / shewith Out his lyght
In a kyngdom / As it shulde be of ryght,
And by the prynce / have dewly favour,
So Clergye beryth / a-vey the flour /
The Duties of a King's Leech.

(169)

Wheer is Clergye / ther is philosophye,
Marchaundryse / plente and Rychesse,
prudent Counsayl / diffence of Chevalrye.
In ech Estat / Wysdam, gentillesse,
Curtesye, ffredam / and prowesse ;
And as the kyng / tencrese his name,
His peple wyl folwe / and gladly doo the same.

how a kyng hovith to haue a leche to kepe his body.¹

(170)

The king's leech must be a good astronomer.

F

Or helthe of body / the kyng of hool entent
Must haue lyk / to his desir
Suych Oon / as knoweth the firmament,
And is expert / A good Astronomeer,
Which that knoweth / sesouns of the yeer;
As in his tyme / was Oold Cypryan,
A philisoffre / and an expert man.

(171)

who knew the four qualities,
and all the changes of nature.

He knewh the Cours / of planetys & disposiciown,
Of moyst and drye / both of heete & Coold,
Chaung of the yeer / And Revolucyown.
ßfor in which thyng / he was expert and boold :
Of the Cours of planetys / manyfoold,
And of Elementys / the Revoluciouzns,
Chaung of tymes / and Complexiouzns.

(172)

And specially / in Astronomeye
knowe the tyme / whan he shal slepe or wake,
vndir a Rewle / of philosophye,
In no wyse / that he noon excesse make.
He mvt also / Al surfeectys ek forsake ;
ßfor Ony lust / of froward Appetyght,
Counseyl of lechys / to modefiye his delyght.

(173)

The virtues of the planets—
Satourn is Slouhe / mars malencolyous,
And phebus Causith / dysposyng to gladnesse,
In Rethoryk / helpith mercuryvs,
How a good Leech may be chosen.

ffor in the moone / is no stabylnesse.
ffortune braydeth / ay On doublynnes,
    And sith a kyng / vpon ech partye
Stant vpon Chaunges / ful hard hem to guye.

how a kyng shuld be gouernyd in Astronomye.

A Stronomerys / that knowe previtees,
    helthe of body / discrasyng of syknesse,
dyners Causes / of Infirmytees,
    Wherof ffeuerys / doo so greet distresse,
Achys, gowtes / of drynkes greet excesse:
    And Out of tyme / be war of long wacchyng,
Which to the helthe / is contrarye to a kyng.

Next folowith the vtilite of the helthe of a kyng.

O Alisaundre / lych as providence
    Of suych as been / expert lechys,
Suych as been prevyd / by experience,
    And prevyd Auctours / as the phesyk techys,
Truste On the dede / And nat in gay spechys;
    Woord is but wynd / leff woord and tak the dede,
Thyng wel expert / disservith wel his mede.

how mechil a-vayl is comprechendid in the diligence of a
good leche.

A good leche / expert in A kyng
    ffor dilligent / Conservaciouns,
A kynges helthe / be wrought in al thyng,
    So that in qualyte / be founde noon Erryng
Nor hyndre his Appetyght / in mete nor drynk;
    Nor be discrasyd / to hyndre his Appetyght,
Wherof nature / hath Contraryous delyght.

And O Rewle / specially shal I the teche,
    Towchyng the tyme / And hour of his dyete,
So he nat wante / the presence of his leche:

and the Moon.

Astronomy as a means of diagnosis.
Trust to doctors proved by experience.
The results of having a good leech.
The time of eating.
He must keep a Balance of the Humours.

To his Complexion / as it is most meete,
Tyme set Atwen / Coold and heete,
With this Reward / by Resoun to expresse,
By good avys / that he doo noon excesse.

A special Epistil to the Singuleer helthe of a prynce.

(178)

Naturel philisoffres / assentyd alle in Oon,
Seyn that a man / is maad of iiiij. humours,
And they Assentyn / in wryting everychoon
After the wedyr / Reynes, haylles, and shours,
planetys a-loffe / and the hevenly tours.
After they sette / in the hevene a governaunce
In Erthe folwyth / of helthe Attemperaunce.

(179)

Of mekil excesse / folwyth Corrupcioun,
Excesse of travayle / Causith feblynnes.
Thought sorwe / be greet Occasyoun,
To engendre / greet Syknesse,
And puttieth folk / in froward distresse,
That vndigestion / with Oute Remedye,
Causith ofte sithe / by processe that they deye.

To conserve hele after a mannys Complexion.

(180)

After drynesse / and humydite,
And Chaungying also / of Complexiouns,
Of Etyng, drynkynge / wheer as necessyte
Requeryth his tyme / and yif purgacyouns
Be necessarype / After the sesouns
Solve flewn / brennyng or moysture,
To kepe a mene / A leche mvnt doon his Cure.

how a kyng must take keep when he shal reste and when
he shal sleep.

(181)

Sleep is noryce / of digestioun,
Yiff it be take / in attemperaunce,
Yiff slogardye / yive Ony occasyoun,
Causith heavynesse / slouthe or disturbaunce
Put a man Out / of good governaunce,
Be war of wach / kepe also the date,
To kepe a mesour / of Etyng and drynyng late.

how a leche shal gouerne a prynce slepyng & wakyng.

(182)

Yf thou wilt been hool / & kepe p° fro syknesse,
   And Resiste / the strook of pestilence,
look thou be glad / and voyde al heavynesse;
fleek wykked Eyerys / eschewe the presence
Of enfect placys / Causyng the violence;
drynk good wyn / and holsom metys take,
Walke in Clene Eyr / eschewe mystes blake.

(183)

And yf so be / lechys do the faylle,
Than take good heed / and vse thynges thre,
Temperat dyete / and temperat travaylle,
   Nat malencoloyus / for noon Adversite,
   Meke in al trouble / glad in poverte,
   Ryche with litel / content with suffysaunce;
   Yif phesyk lakke / make this thy gouernaunce.

(184)

Afftir mete be-war / make no long sleep,
   Heed, foot, and stomak / preserve hem ay fro Coold.
Be nat to pensyf / of thought take no keep,
   Aftter thy Rente / mayntene thyn housoold;
Suffre in tyme / and in thy ryght be boold,
   Swere noon Othys / no man to be-gyle,
   ffor worldly Ioye / lastith here but a whyle.

(185)

Thus in two thynges / stondith al welthe
Of soule and boody / whoo so lyst hem sewe;
Moderat ffoode / yewith to man his helthe,
   And al surfetys / doth from hym remewe,
   And Charyte / to the sowle is dewe.
   Wherfore this dyete / O Alisaundre, kyng!
To alle indifferent / is Rychest thyng.
Spring; its Qualities and Effects.

Of the foure sesoims of ye yeer I gynne at veer.

(186)

What tyme the sesoun / is Comyng of the yeer, 1296
The hevenly bawme / Ascendying from the Roote, 1300
The ffresh Sesoun / of lusty grene veer,
Which quyketh Corages / and doth hertys boote,
Whan Rounde buddys / appere on brancychys soote,
The growyng tyme / and the yong sonne;
I mene the sesoun / when veer is be gonne. 1302

(187)

And bright phebus / Entryth the Rammys hed,
And begynmeth / Ascendyn in his spere,
Whan the Crowne / of Alceste whyte and Red,
Aurora passyd / ful fresshly doth Appere;
ffor Ioye of which / with hevenly nooteys clere,
The bryddys syngen / in ther Armoyne,
Salwe that sesoun / with sugryd mellodye. 1309

(188)

Twen hoot and moyst / this veer is temperat,
Havyng his moysture / of Wyntres sharp shours,
Of somyr folwyng / to filora consecrat,
Hath moderat hecete / be Recoord of Auctours;
The sesoun Ordeyned / taraye with newe Clours,
As gardeyns Erbys / and to sowe seedys,
And the lusty Silvir dewh / in the grene meedys. 1316

(189)

Entering this sesoun / wyntir doth leve take,
sfrostys departyd / and molte with the sonne,
And every sfool / Chosen hath his make,
And nytyngalys / for Ioye her song hath be gonne;
Yonge Rabetys / be to ther Claperys Ronne,
And the Cokkow / that in Wyntir dare
In euer lay to synge / she lyst nat for to spare. 1323

(190)

Lovers of Custom / do this sesoun preyse,
And yonge folkys / flouryng in tendir Age,
Erly a morwen / Tytan makith hem Aryse;
Spring and Youth: Summer and Manhood.

So Can nature / prykke them in ther Corage,
Walkyng by Ryvaylles / holdyng ther passage
On pleaunnt hylles / so holsom is the Ayr,
Havyng great Ioye / the wedir is so slayr.

Wherfore Alisaundir / whoo so take hede,
And lyst consydyre / by good Avisement,
Of our yong Age / Accounte we must in dede
How that we hau / dyspendid ou[r] talent,
Outhir lyk foolys / or lyk folkys prudent,
To vs commytted / whyl we haue been here,
To for the Iuge / when we shal appere.

Next than folowith the sesoun Callid Estas.

Ow veer is past / with al his grene levys,
Aprille and May / with hire sharp shours,
The silver dewh / in woodys and in grevys,
hath spred his bawnie / On bankys & on clours;
And next folwyth Estas / with his somyr flours,
As seith thes clerkys / by discrypcioun,
Is hoot and drye / of Complexioun.

This tyme gynneth / soone vpon Barnabe:
June, Iule, August / lastith this sesoun,
Endith in Septembre / the some in Virgine
Hoot and drye / of disposicyoun,
And Coleryk / of Complexioun,
As is Remembryd / of Auctours Olde,
Endith with Bertylmew / with his dewys colde.

Ffyr, Colour, Estas / and Juventus Age,
To-gidre Accorde / in heete and drynesse,
And Coleryk men / Citryn of visage,
Rough, slyh, and Angry / Sume haue gret hardynesse
Off growing slaundre / famous of hastyness,

The moral drawn.
The qualities of summer.
The qualities of summer.

Summer lasts from St. Barnabas till St. Bartholomew.
Summer and the choleric humour.
Comparison of Youth and Summer.
Comparison of Youth and Summer.

Omitted in Harl. 4826, 14408, Ar. 59, Sl. 2027, Harl. 2251, Lansd. 285.
Omitted Ar. 59, Harl. 2251.
slendiv in MS.
**A Description of Summer.**

With smoke and fyr / haue greet Accordance,
fluryous of Ire / froward of dalyaunce.  
(195)

In this sesoun / Rypith frut and Corn,
A tyme ful notable / be Comendacyoun,
This tyme of yeer / Baptist Iohn was born,
Petir & Poule / suffryd passyoun,
And petrys cheynes\(^2\) / wer brooke in prysoun;  
The feeste therof / Callyd lammesse,
And the translacyoun of Thomas / martryd in Cystemasse.  
(196)

[fol. 33b.]

*Summer scenery.*

Been at mydsoomyr / bryng hoony to ther hyvys,  
The lylyes whyte / Abrood ther levys sprede,
Beestys pasture / and shade hem vndir levys,
Ageyn the sonne / gras deyeth in the mede,
Chapelettys be maad / of Roosys whyte and Rede,
And euery thyng / drawith to his Rypyng,
As it faryth be man / in his Age growyng.  
(197)

*Summer fruit and vegetables.*

Strawberyes, Cheryes / in gardeynes men may se
Benys Rype / and pesecoddyss grene,
Ageyn heetys / whan men distempryd be
fiolkys gadre purslane / and letuse that be Clene.
This sesoun filora / that is of flours quene,
Hire fressh motlees / she tournyth now Citryne,
The vertu of herbys / doth doun ageyn deelyne.  
(198)

In this processe / it nedith not to tarye,
But Oonly to god / Set thyn Inward entent,
O Alisaundre / herte and thought nat varye,
But thank the lord / of what thing / that he sent,
Povert or Rychesse / ther-with to be content;
As god disposith / ther in to hane plesaunce,
As Oon in god / and god thy Sufflysaunce.  
(199)

*The moral.*

ffor by the sentence / of Seyntes and of clerkys,
Of thy discertys / affir the Rekenyng,

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1 Omitted in 14408, Ar. 59, Sl. 2027, Harl. 2251, Lansd. 285.
2 'keyes' in MS.
Autumn, its Qualities and Effects.

And lyk the ffrytys / of thy good werkys,
Thou shalt be guerdonwyd / this soth and no lesyng,
With pees Eternal / last at thy Endyng,
   With Cryst to Regne / in the hevenly consistorye,
   Whan thou by tryvmphe / hast of thy soon victorye. 1391

Thanne folowith after the Thridde sesoun callid Autumpne.

(200)

This tyme of Custom / set folkys in besynesse.
   Ech tydy man / yevith hym to travaylle,
To Repe and mowe / and exclude ydelnesse,
   No man sparyd / and husbandys wyl not faylle
To ryse vp erly / And calle vp the porayle,
   Blowe ther horns / or the larke synge,
   And Stuff ther grangys / with Corn þþ they hom brynge.

(201)
The tyme by processe / voydeth the feeld of greyn,
   Takith awey / from braunchys ther swetnesse,
Causeth the trees / of frute to be bareyn,
   The levys falle / the wynd abrood hem dresse,
   The day, the nyght / bothe of Oon gretnesse,
   As is the wyl / of goddys Ordynaunce.

(202)
This sesoun is dredfull / and distemperat,
   disposed to feverys / thorugh ayr of pestilence,
Offte Chaungying / and seeld in Oon estat,
   Peryllous for syknesse / and with violence ;
   Off trouble humours / doth folk ful greet offence,
   ffor fleeyme this tyme / hath domynacioum ;
   Be-war of syknesse / that gynmeth in that sesoun.

(203)
Erthe, Autumpnus / and Age accordyn in Oon
   Slough, malencolye / spatlyng enere Among,
   Dul Courlyyd dowaward / whan myght & lust is goon ;
   fful of Ire / though he be not strong,
    Soone mevyd / wheer it be right or wrong :
    And thus senectus / with Autumpne doth accorde,
    He and this sesoun / drawe bothe be O corde.
Winter Occupations.

(204)

Autumpne takith / his leve of seynt Clement, 1422
The tyme dyuere / and wondeir varyable,
With strange passions / sodeynly men schent,
be seknessys / which be unkurable;
And for this sesoun / is unkouth & unstable, 1426
With sodeyn Chaunges / and complexious to greve,
Therfore in novembre / he takith his leve. 1428

(205)

Wherfore considre / in thyn Estat Royal, 1429
Take the moralite / of Autumpne the sesoun,
how it is appropyrd / and in Especial

to the thrydde age / and the complexioun
Off the and me / for short conclusyon.
Wherfore, O Alysaundre / haue in remembranunce,
Peyse euery thyng / and kepe the in good gouernaunce.

[fol. 35 a.]

The fourthe determynacioun of the foure sesouns of the yeer. 1433

(206)

Aftir harvest / whan men thresshe shevys, 1436
Sowyn whete / gadre wyntre frute in gardynes,
And somyr trees / be bareyn of ther levys,

Men putte in Celerys / Cowche newe wynes ;
must lesyth his name / toward seint martynes 1440
muryly droanke / whan it is through ffyn,
And lastith tyl / the sesoun / of Seint Martyn. 1442

(207)

The dayes shorte / the nyghtes wondeir longe ; 1443
Coold and moyst / of flewme nutrytiff,
Contrary to Estas / the frostys been so stronge.
In Rootys restith / the vertu vegetatyff,
Grene herbys / and braunchys lost ther lyff. 1447
The sonne this sesoun / beeyng in Aquarye,
beestys to the bynne / for stormys dar not tarye.

(208)

Thus the foure sesouns / devided of the yeere, 1450
first veer whan phebus / doth in his spere aryse,
The growyng tyme / whan buddys oute appere;

1 Not in MS., but in all others.
Estas folwyng / whan floures in ther guyse
Sprode on ther stalkys / geyn tytan doth aryse;
Autumpne affitir / which longe doth nat tarye,
And yemps endith / the Ende of ffebruarye.

(209)
Thus four tymes / makith vs a merour Cleer
Off manny's lyff / and a ful pleyn ymage.
Ver and Iuentus / togedir hane sogeer,
Estas folwith / longyng to saddere age;
To vs Autumpne / bryngeth his massage
Off Senectus / Wynter last of alle,
How dethys Orlogge / doth On vs calle.\(^1\)

(210)
With veer in youthe / we hadde lustynesse,
Which is imposyble / ageyn to Recure ;
Estas gaff vs strengthe / and hardynesse
flouryng in ffreshnesse / not longe tendure.
Autumpne affitir / bryngeth vs a figure
Off Senectus / Wynter of Crokyd age,
How al thyng passith / halt here no long Ostage.

(211)
Loo Alisaundre / ye mowne se thynge twayne,
Avauntyng lying / longyng vnto Age ;
Malencoly / fals denyng and disdeyne,
Many passyouns / Rancour and dotage ;
Ende of this lyff / terme of our viage : 
ffor decrepitus / hath his marke sett,
This world shal ende / it may nat be lett.

(212)
Thus to make / a Combynacyoun
Off veer and youthe / be a manere accordaunce
Off manny's sadnesse / and Estas the sesoun
flouryng in lust / tyme of most plesaunce,
Autumpne and eld / with ther greet haboundaunce.
Thanne folwith wyntir / and al doth ovir caste :
So doth age for it / may not alwey laste.

\(^1\) This line and the first six of the next stanza are not in Harl. 2251 or Lansd. 285.
Benedict Burgh's Prolog.

(213)
Off this forseyd / take the morallite,
Settith asyde / alle materys spooke in veyn:
The foure sesouns / shewe in ther degre,
first veer and Estas / next Autumpne with his greyn,
Constreynt of wyntir / with frostys ovir leyn,
To our foure Ages / the sesouns wei applied;
deth al consumyth / which may nat be denied.

1485
1489
1491

here deyed this translator and nobil poete: and the yonge
folowere gan his prologe on this wyse.

(214)¹

T
Endirnesse of age / and læk of Eloquence,
this feerful mater / savyng supportacioun,
me hath constreyned / to put in suspence
from yow, my lord / to whoom Recomendacion
I mekly do sende / with al Subieccioun;
The dulnesse of my penne / yow besechyng tenlumyne,
Which am nat / aqueynted / with the musys nyne.

1492
1496
1498
(215)

Wher flour of knyghthood / the bataylle doth refuse,
what shulde the dwerff / entre in-to the place?
barcyn in sentence / shulde hym Sylf excuse,
And by presumpeyon / nat shewe out his fiface.
Off Iohn lydgate / how shulde I the sotyl trace
folwe in secrees / Celestial and dyyyne,
Sith I am nat aqueynted / with the musys nyne?

1499
1503
1505
(216)

Ffrenescys sent / from the lady nature
for a conclusyon / hir Iourne to Conveye,
As of Anthyclaudyan / Rehersyth the scripture,
Be sevne Sustrys / in her passage took the weye,
Gynnyng at grameer / as for lok and Keye,
In Orde and proporsyon / folwyng the doctryne,
Which was wel aqueynted / with the musys nyne.

1506
1510
1512
(217)²

These Sevne Sustryn / sourecyn and entieere,
Yif I my penne / to this materre doo applye,
The nyne musys / blame shal in manere,

Pointing out his Unfitness.

That they vnlabouryd / stant on my partye.
   I yaff noon attendaunce / I may it nat denye.
      how shulde I thanne / my matere doo Combye,
   Which am nat / aqueynted / with the musys nyne?  

(218)

These Sustrys / Cheyned in parfight vnyte,
   departe may not / by natural resoun;
Ech with othir / hath Eternite.
   how shulde I thanne / vse persuasioun,
   Of my purpoos / to hawe conclusyoun
   In ech science / faylllyng degre and signe
   ffor lak of aqueyntaunce / of the musys nyne?

(219)

Yif I shulde talke / in scyencys tryvyal,
   Gynnnyng at grameer / in signes and figuryss,
Or of metrys / the feet to make equal,
   be tyme and proporcious / kepyng my mesurys,
This lady lyst nat / to parte the tresourys
   Of hire Substance / to my Childhood incondigne,
   Which am not aqueynted / with the musys nyne.

(220)

This mateer to Conveye / by trewe conclusyoun,
   veritees of logyky / certys I must applye,
   Wheer vndir flourys / restith the Scorpioon,
   Which I fere / to take for my partye,
   Prenyssys congrew / which can nat applye,
   Of Old philisoffres / to folwe the Doctryne,
   Sith I am nat aqueynted / with the musys nyne.

(221)

I haue with Tully / gadryd no fressh flourss,
   The Chaar of fironestis / to paynte in dewe manere,
   With Petir petrarke / of Rethoryk no Colours,
   Of teermys ne sentence / in my wrytyng doth appere;
   Arismetryk nor musyk / my Dulness doo not Cler,
      how shulde I thanne / by Geometrye drawe ryght lyne,
   Which am nat aqueynted / with the musys nyne?

1 Not in Lansd. 285.
2 Not in 1410S.

PHILOSOPHERS.
Benedict Burgh's Prolog.

(222)

Off Astronomye / the Secrees invisible,
vnknowe with Tholomye / I fayle cognicioun,
Which by invencyoun / to me be impossible,
With oute Doctours / and exposicioun;
Or of this sevne / to make a declaracion,
Affir your entent / this treetys to Combyne,
Which am nat aqueynted / with the musys nyne.

(223)¹

He considers
the task,

These thynges peysed / myn hand make to quake,
Thre Causys / considred in Especial;
ffirst of this book / the difficulte to take,
Secunde of the persone / the magnificence Royal,
To whoom I wryte / in-to tremlyng cause me fal;
Of dirk ignorance / feryng the Engyne,
Which am nat aqueyntyed / with the musys nyne.

(224)¹

[fol. 33 a.]

The thrydde cause / in the Audight countable,
Entitled and Rollyd / of my remembraunce,
Is that detractours / Odyous and detestable,
Vnto Allecto / knet be affyaunce,
With sotyl menys / shal make perturbaunce
Affermyng to my witt / to moche that I enclyne
The werk to a taste / not knowyng the musys nyne.

(225)

Thus atwen twyne / pereel of the see,
Sylla and karybdys / put in desperaciozon,
What to resceyve / and which for to flee,
Constreyned I am / to make dubytacioun;
The sharp corosye / of fretyng detraccioun
ffirst I feere / to my partye shal enclyne,
Sith I am nat aqueynted / with the musys nyne.

(226)¹

The Secund pereel / by Computacioun,
In which I stande / this is incertayn
ffeer and dreed / of Indignacioun
Of your lordship / which doth nat disdeyn
Me to exhorte / to wryte in termys pleyn

¹ Not in 14408, Ar. 59, Harl. 2251, Lansd. 255.
How to keep the Body in good Health.

A part of Secrees / Celestial and divyne,
lefft of Iohn lydgate / wel knowyng þe musys nyne. 1582

Thus set in pereel / fayl I my socour,
Me doth counforte / a proverbe in myn entent; 1583
“Ech tale is endyd / as it hath favour.”
Wherfore to dred / no lengere I wyl assent,
but brefely fulfille / your Comaundement 1587
In modir touange / this matere to Combyne,
Which sauff Support / knowe not the musys nyne. 1589

how a kyng skal conserve natural hete & helthe of body.

Some Alysaundre / of helthe to be sure. 1590
O thyng I the preye / first and principally
Dewe proporcioun / of heete in nature
To Conserve / for to knowe that Redyly 1594
In double wyse / man deyeth fynally;
Off which as by Age / Oon is natural,
The othir by fortune / As be thynges accidental. 1596

 Staten thy body / to make moyst and fat
Aftir this sentence / folwe my doctrine. 1597
Moche sleep / wyl kepe the / in hih Estat,
Metys swete / and wyn licour divyne,
Merydien Reste / mylk whight and Argentyne,
Alle good Odours / and flours aftir ther tyme,
With swete bathys / and Erbys good and ffyne. 1603

Peyse thy tyme / numbre it parfightly, 1604
And in the bath / be not Ovir louge,
Tyme contynued / wyl feble the body,
And alle Joyntes / wil weyke / which be stronge;
Drynk no wyn / but watir be ther Amonge, 1608
And in wyntir / take watir Alchymyn,
Which hot is of nature / to putte in thy wyn.

The malwe in somyr / And ek violet flours, 1611
Which in nature / be coold of trewthe and ryght,
Those Things which hurt the Body.

To speke pleyn / and vse no Colours,
ffroom Corrupt humours / makith the body light.

Oonys in the monyth / to have a vomyght
purgeth the stomak / makith it pure and clene,
That no Corrupcioun / ther-Inne may be sene.

1615
1617
(232)

a vomit once a month recommended;

ffierthere be it knowe / to thy magnificence,
That this vomyght / restoryth hete natural,
Yif it be doo / with oute violence,
And these Comoditees / Causith in Especial,
Moystnesse good / greez wel to deffye at al
Vndirstaudyng / Resoun / glorye and gladnesse,
Of thyn Enmyes victoyre / expellith al hevynesse.

1618
1622
1624
(233)

[fol. 39 b.]
Yif thou wylt be hool / to kepe the fro Syknesse,
And resyste / the strook of Aduersite,
love to se playes / voyde al hevynesse,
And put delyght / in these thynges thre;
ffayr men and women / be delectable to the
To be holde / on thy body ciene clothyng,
And of Antiquite / to se and rede wryting.

1625
1629
1631

Aristotil writ in A pistil to AlisaAndre which hurt the body.

(234)

Of one set in a preff / in thy prudent avys,
To ete and drynke / by attemperaunce;
flor affir the sentence / of philisoffres wys,
The body doon feble / and sette in perturbance,
To Ete litel / and drynke with oute gournance,
Sleep before mete / ovr moche travaylle,
With fretyng wratthe / gretly doon disuaylle.

1632
1636
1638
(235)

And who so wyl / breffly in sentence,
Goon ageyn myght / doute or it be nede,
To ech tale / yive hasty credence,
Oftyn goon to Chanumbir / ovr offyn to blede,
With salt metys / lyst hym Sylf to fede,
Or drynk Oold Wyn / in greet foysoun,
Doth drye his blood / by natural disposicioun.

1639
1643
1645
The four principal Parts of the Body.

(236)

In watir also / Contagious of nature, 1646 [fol. 49 a.]

Be not bathyd / in no degree.

The kynde of brynstown / is perilous I the sure,
And ful replesshyd / I exhorte the
filesshly lustys / and bathis to file,

Rennyng afftir mete / and also rydyng,
Which cause wyl / a seknesse / callyd quakyng.

(237)

In Etyng of ffyssh / make no Contynuanunce,

ffor afftir the sentence / of expert Ipocras,
ffyssh / the Complexion / puttith to varyaunce,
And pure blood / Corruptith in short spas,
Medlyd with mylk / Causith boody and fas

With lepre / to be smet / thorough disposicion
Off vnkynde humours / by inward Corrupcioun.

how the body is devided into foure principal parties.

(238)

O Alysaundre / peyse in a\(^1\) ballaunce

how principal partyes / foure ther be
In manney boody / which for Remembraunce
And avayl / to thy magnanymyte
I shal entitle / And yif superfluyte

Of evil humours / to Guy of them enclyne,
I shal the teche / A special medicyne.

(239)

Off this Secrees / to yive the cognicio\(\)un,
The first membryd / this mate\(\)re to applye,
Wheer powrys Organycall / vse ther operacioun,
Is the heed / And where in the fourthe partye
Set In resydence / is the ffantasye,

And next in Ordre / ymaginacioun,
With mynde / Remembraunce and Estymacioun.

(240)

Yif Superfluyte / or Ony evil humours

Of qualitees gendre / by in-proporeyoun
In the hed / be signes / and Colours,

\(^1\) 'a' not in MS.
Disease of the Head; its Cure.

knowe thou shalt / the indisposicioun
be this doctrine / and instrucciooun:
   The Eyen dynume / the browys wex greete,
The noose thrylles shrynke / the templys doon bete. 1680

(241)

This to Recure / A Souereyn medicyne
   Is Aloes / as sey doctours of flame,
Soore boylled / in dowset and swet wyn,
   With a Roote / of which is the name
Pulgichyn / which boylle must in same
   Tyl tyme the wyn / half wastyd be,
Which than thus vsyd / is profitable to the. 1687

(242)

Take these Erbys / souereyn and entieer
   In to thy mouth / with the swete licour,
And them close there / in dewe maneer,
   Which distroye shal / ech Corrupt humour;
And kepe them there / tyl tyme thou savour
   Of amendyng / the Comodite,
And expulcyoun / of Superfluyte. 1694

(243)

Another profitable thing for the head.

The secund principal part of the body.

The second principal part is the breast.

The secund part / this matere to combyne,
   Is the breest / which yif syknesse
Doo Enfeble / in degre or signe,
   Tokyns foure / to the / shal it expresse:
Tounge lettyd / mouth salt with bittirnesse
   Or ovir swet / of stomak / the mouth egir,
Ache in membrys / in ech sesoun or wedir. 1708
Disease of the Breast; its Cure.

(245)
For the breest thus brosyd / vse this medicyne:
  litel to Ete / is good phesyk,
To make vomyth / affer my doctrine,
  Sugre Roseet / with aloes, mastyk
Wel Chawyd / as sey doctours awtentyk,
  Reseyved in tyme / proporeyoun and mesure,
  Off vnkouth seksesnes / the breest doon Recure.

(246)
And yf so be / that these doon the faylle,
  Take Sum Spice / good confortatyt,
Which to the Appettight / gretly doth avaylle,
  And the body / conserveth in good lyff,
  Causeth pees / where was debat and stryff;
    Alle Corrupt humors / expelleth echoon
    With a letuarye / Callyd Dionysoon.

(247)
In foure wyse / thou shalt have gret peynes
  Yf thou my counsayl / refuse in this partye;
Sharp feverys / Ache in heed and Reynes:
  Enpechement / the trewthe to speceffye,¹
Propirly to speke / the tunge which doth denye,
  And is Occasyoun / Auctours bere witnesse
    Of many vnkouth / and strangge syknesse.

The Thrydde principal party of the body.

(248)
The thrydde party / to speke in termys pleyne,
  Is the wombe / in the boody natural,
Which yf evil / in degree or signe conteyne,
  knowe thou mayst / by these thynges in especial:
  Rednesse in the kne / the wombe bolynyth with al
    Of kynde / causith to goon hevyly,
    Geyn which these medycines / take for Remedy.

(249)
Reseyve inward / sum light purgacioun,
  Which sotil and light / is of nature,

¹ This line out in Harl. 4826 and Lansd. 285. Lines 1725 and 6 transposed in MS.
And of the breest / the confirmacioun,  
Aforeseid also / wyl it Recure;  
And yif thow leve / these mediciynes I the sure,  
As Oold philisoffres / Cleerly doon expresse,  
In many foold / cause it wyl seknesse.  

(250)

Evil results of disease in the belly.

Ache in the Rottle / And Ek in the haunches,  
In bak Ioyntes / And also Reynes,  
With the filix / And many othir branches,  
Evil digestioun / with othir divers peynes:  
This sheweth experience / which nevir feynes;  
Modir of konnyng / and cheef maistresse,  
As Oold philisoffres / in wryting ber witnesse.  

(251)

The fourthe principal parte of the body.

The fourthe party / this materere to combye,  
Is the genital / founde incerteyn,  
Vnto which yif corrupcioun / do enclyne,  
These be the signes / As philisoffres seyn;  
Mete to Recyeve / the stomak doth disdeyn,  
To Coyllons, yerde / Rednesse doth resoorte,  
Gayn which these medycynes / doon counforte.  

(252)

Remedies.

An Erbe namyd Apus / breffly to expresse,  
With seed of fielen / is profitable to the,  
Off Archemise the Roote / Acheen & Atracies,  
Which thus disposed / this seknesse make to file:  
The herbe the Roote / put togidre al thre,  
With white wyn / drynk it in the morwenyng,  
Ffrorm seknesse in genital / kepith soget and kyng.  

(253)

ffurther be it knowe / to thy magnificence,  
That watir and wyn / take in smal quantite,  
litel to Ete / mesuryd by prudence,  
Among othir / is profitable to the;  
And yif this doctryne / of the dispysed be,  
Thou shalt Renne / in Ache / of the bladder,  
Which of the stoon / seknesse wyl Engender.  

(254)
Receipts of Greek and Indian Physicians.

An Ensample how a kyng shulde be inquisitiff to knowe diuers Oppynyouns of lechis or of phisiciens.

(254)

Erthere I haue Rad / in stories of Antiquite, how to Assemble / made a myghty kyng Alle phisiciens / hihest of Auctorite Of Inde and Greece / them streyghtly commaundyng Oon medicyn to thee / which ageyn al thynge Noyows to the body / were Sufficient; To whom the Grecys / thus seyde ther entent:

(255)

"Whoo in helthe / to persevere wyl be sure, And Conserve / the hete natural With oute langour / longe to endure, hoot watir / to drynke / hym doth be fal: The mouthe replesshyd / by proporcioun equal Tymes thre / in Aurora fastyng, Erly to drynke / is moost medicynable thyng."

(256)

The physiciens of ynde / in ther Oppynyoun, Seide that madicyne / moost profitable Was to vse / in dewe proporcioun, Mylk whyte / with mastursu / thynges medicynable, Receyved fastyng / moost avayllable Man to Conserve / in prosperite and welthe, Good inward disposicion / and bodily helthe.

(257)

But knowe Alisaundre / And peyse in ballaunce, That in this doctryne / myn Oppynyoun Clerly to entitle / in thy Remembranunce, Breelyf is this / for ful Conclusyon, Whoo slepith wel / be natural resoun, Tyl wombe avoyde / al pondorositc, Excludyng seknesse / stant in liberte.

(258)

Sleep receyved / in tyme and mesure, As resoun previth / and experience, ffroom these seknessys / the boody doth Recure,
Some suitable Meats for Great Men.

Which previ'd is / by phisical prudence.
Palsy and Gowte / comyng of negligence,
Ache from the wombe / and Joyntes echoon,
from tremblyng and quakyng / kepith membir & boon.

(259)

Three good morning medicines.

And he that vsith / in morwe these thre thynges,
Alibi Aurei / thre dragmes in substauance
Vue passes / or goode and swete Resynges,
Off flewme warde / shal haue noone perturbaunce ;
The mynde hool / excludyng variaunce,
Shal be of kynde / and ygnoraunce dysdeyn,
The boody fire / from the fevir quarteyn.

(260)

Then is good to eat nuts, figs, and rue.

fferthere to entitle / in the Audight Countable,
Off thyn Remembrance / secrcees of myn doctrine,
Notys te Ete / and figges is profitable,
Or levys of Rewe / Agreeable and flyne,
Geyn al venym / sonereyn medicyne ;
And breffly to conclude / in especial
Alle these conserve / the heete natural.

How profitable is to knowe diuersite & kyndes of metes & drynkes.

(261)

Erthere Alysaunder / be it knowe to the
That profitable is / in especial to a kyng,
Of metys & drynkes / knowe dyuersite,
With proporcioun / and tyme of Receyvyng ;
ffor afftir the sentence / of philosoffres wrytyng,
Summe are sotil / groos by nature,
Othir A-twen bothe / in mene kepe mesure.

(262)

Foods which make good blood.

Blood pure Engendir / and Enlvmyne
Metys smale / and sotyl in substauance,
As whete hennys / Chekenys good and fyne
The boody norisshe / The stomak kepe fro grevaunce ;
Groos metys / make no perturbaunce,
In labouryng men / which may them deffy ;
In othir / engendir malencolye,
Good Flesh, Fish, and Water.

(263) Which atwen bothe / kepe ther mesure,
As phisciciens / wryte of Auctoryte,
Engendir noon flewm / by kynde of ther nature,
Ne of humours / superfluite ;
As geet, motown / And othir that be
hoot and moyst / in ther operacioyn
Moost indifferent / to ech complexioun.

(264) How be it / that Sumtyme incerteyn
These fleechys be kynde / make wombe hard & dryc,
Yit newly rostyd / Receyved and newly slayn,
Take fro the specte / and ete hastily,
They be holsom / Resoun doth it not denye :
And breffely to conclude / this matere in sentence,
Of fysshes the kynde / is lyk theexperience.

(265) The ffyssh litel / and of sotyl skyn,
Norysshed in watir / swet and rennyng,
I mene as perche / with the sharp ffyn,
be moost holsom / to man them receyvyng :
And in ded watir / bothe Oold and ying
fissh norhisshid / is vpnprofitable,
And vnto kynde / not avayllable.

The knowyng of watrys, and which be moost profitable.

(266) Thow owest to wete / that watir is profitable
here in herthe / to ech Creature,
To man, woman / and beeste vnresonable,
Which from Corrupcioun / the body doth recure,
Rennyng from billys / and erthe which is pure,
Or neer to Citees / stillyng as perlys Rounde,
Passyng holsom / wher merresshis do noon habounde.

(267) Watir also / which that is moost lyght,
Swete or bittir / in ech degree and signe,
From the see / comyng of trewthe and right,
Thorough hih hyllys / As perl Argentyne,
knowe may be / whan they be good and flyne,
The six Signs of good Water.

Be signes sixe / folwyng in sentence,
Prevyd be resoun / and experience:

(268)

Lyght of nature / to make repeticioun,
Cleer ther-with / and of good Odoure,
Soone hoot, soone Coold / be dyuers operacion,
With oute Corrupcioun / and of good savour,
White also / and of bright Colour,
Of which the Contrary / by polityk prudence,
Thus knowe thou mayst / bexperience.

(269)

Off slepyng wayours / watrys incertayn,
Salt, bittir, and fumous / the wombe doon drye,
In lowe valeys / also which be playn,
be hoot and hevy / trewthe to speceffye;
Wher strengthe of phebus / renewith his partye,
And watrys ther placys / kepe as they be-gan,
Of them to drynke / Causeth Coleram nigrum.

(270)

Watrys that renne / be many diners londys,
Be hoot, grevous / vnholsoom, and hevy,
Which tarage haue / of foreyn dyvers sondys,
As by experience / previd is redily:
Whoo drynketh watir / fieblyth his body,
Afore mete / of stomak heete with-drawith,
And ful replesshyd / flewme Engendrith.

(271)

As Oolde philisoffres / Accoorede al in Oon,
Sleep is norysshe / of digestion;
To drynke watir / as they seye echoon,
At mete Contynually / causeth Currupcioun
In the stomak / and is Occasyoun
Off hevynesse / slouthe and disturbaunce,
Which puttith a man / out of good gouernaunce.

(272)

Thou owyst to drynke / in somyr watir Coold,
Namly whan phebus / is in his hih degre;
lewk warm in wyntir / in phesyk as it is toold,
Among othir / is profitable to the:
fior as doctours / Recoorde of Auctoryte, 1902
Coold in wyntir / in euery maneer wyght, 1904
And hoot in somyr / destroye the Appetight.

Of knowynges of vynes, & noynges & bountes of them.

(273)

SOne Alysaundir / in these secrees devyne, 1905
ffor Chaung of Complexioune / by drynesse or^1^ humydite,
Profitable is / in ech degree and signe,
Off wyn to knowe / the werkyng and propirte, 1909
Which receyved / where as necessite
And tyme requeryth / After my doctryne,
Geyn al syknesse / is soureyn medycyne. 1911

(274)

Wyn of the grape / which growth evene vpright, 1912 Hill-grown
Ageyn hillys / to his singuleer comfort,
Where as phebus / with flamynge bemyss bright, 1916
Dayly vprisyng / newly doth resoort,
Is moore drye / After philisoffres repoort,
Than othir which / growth naturally
In placys pleyn / moyst and shadwy.

(275)
The first^2^ flewnatyk / as folk Oold in age, 1919 [fol. 166.]
Gretly doth profite / take by extemperuance,
hoot and yong / putthith to damage,
In Oold mys-humours / restorith to gouernaunce
Superflytees / and al disturbaunce
Putthith to flyght / and shewith to exigent,
by cause it is / to there nature convenient.

(276)

Wyn moost Reed / and thikke be kynde, 1926 Red and
Engendrith good blood / as Auctours repoort,
Which strong and myghty / dullith the mynde,
Take out of mesure / doth not counforte;
Corrupt humours / causith to Resoorte,
To ech membir / breffly to expresse,
Noyeth the stomak / reyseth wyndynesse.

1 'of' in MS. 2 to ' inserted in other MSS.
How to tell Good Wine.

(277)
To ech complexioun / of mannys nature, 1933
Moost medicynable / and lycour indifferent,
Is of the grape / which growth I the sure,
In large feeldys / to them convenient,
Strecchyd abrood / with oute impediment, 1937
With hillys and valys / Envirownyd aboute,
Gadryd in tyme / best lycour with outyn doute.

(278)
Breefly as thus / to expresse what I mene, 1940
looke they be rype / and of good swetnesse,
Strong in substaunce / no greyness let be sene,
from the stok / excludid al moystnesse ;
And of this doctryne / to haue more redesnesse,
looke of wyn of the grape / a litel departyd be
from the kernel / for lak of humydite.

(279)
Wyn holsom also / owith to be of Colour, 1947
So atwen Red / and gold flyne,
Ponyaunt, delectable / sharp in savour,
Thykke at the botme / of Colour Citrine,
Above Cleer / with licour divine ;
Reeyeved in tyme / and mesurably,
Excludyng disese / Countfortith the body.

(280)
ffetherere Alisaundre / to expresse what I mene, 1954
knowe and entitle / in thy Remembrandence,
That wyn good proprieties / hath ffortene,
Off Old philisoffres / peysed in ballaunce ;
Enforsyng the stomak / excludith perturbaunce,
ffortefieth the heete / in the body natural,
Good digestioum / causith in especial,

(281)
Conservith the stomak / from Corrupcioum ; 1961
By al the membrys / the mete doth lede,
Which convertyd / by transmutacioum,
Chawngid to norshyng / the body doon fede
With pure blood / of this matere take hede,
The fourteen Properties of Good Wine.

Makith to aryse / the hecte be mesure,
ffroom the stomak / to the brayn by nature:

(282)
Evyl humours destroyeth / the Colour makith reed,
Countforth corages / Clarifeth the sight,
The toangle Elloquent / And delyuer in the heed,
ffroom fretyng maleueolye / makith the body light,
Causith good Appetight / makith hardy to fight;
but these be vndirstande / breefly I the sure,
Of wyn receyved / in tyme and mesure.

(283)
And knowe Alisaundre / that wyn Outragiously,
Out of tyme / Resceyved, and mesure,
Of these comoditees / Cause contrary,
And the body / longe to Endure,
Doom not permitte / in good Chawng and mesure,
but moo of syknessys / Causith haboundaunce,
That wyn mesuryd / commoditees in substaunce.

(284)
Bookys also / of phesyk and medicynes,
be a maneer / of Comparysoun,
Atween the Rembarbe / good and holsom Wynes,
This lyknesse / make in disposicioun,
As the rembarbe / holsom of condicioun,
Take out of mesure / is dedly and venym,
sfor short conclusyoan / so holsom is wyn.

Here specially preyseth wyn, and techith a medycyn ageyn
drownkenesse of it.¹

(285)
In sentence breef / to wryte in termys pleyn,
Sorippys bittyr / be profitable to the,
iful or fastyng / receyved incerteyn,
Of humours or flewm / whan superfluite
Doom habounde / in signe or degre,
Which in the body / cause Corrupcioun
Of qualitees / shulde be in proporcioun.

¹ In margin of MS.
Be moderate in Food and Drink.

(286)

furtherhere I meravyle in myn Oppynyoun,
How man compiled and maad of foure humours,
May be seeke or tende to Corrupcioun
Whyl he may haue special thre socours,
Good breed of whete flesh that wel savours,
Of tarrage and stok good and holsom wyne,
Reyceyved in mesure lycour moost divyne.

(287)

Contrarye be of nature to these thre,
Moehe to Ete Ovir moche travaylle,
drynk to Receyve in superfluite,
Of the body ech membre doth disvaylle;
but yif these the body doon assaylle,
And of drynk superfluite specially,
be sotyl meenys vse this remedy.

(288)

A cure for drunkenness.
First to be washid is profitable thyng,
In watir boylled hoot and temperat;
Afftir ovir a ryveer rennyng,
To be set Arrayed to thyng estat,
With salwys wyllys Envyronnd preperat,
Afftir the stomak anoyned with-al,
With the Onyment calyld Sandal.

(289)

Phesciciens also preve be prudence,
How norisshyng that tyme is the savour,
To nature of good spices and encence,
Mesuryd in tyme by dilligent labour;
And whoo of wyn lust to leve socour,
Hym behovith by Successioun redily
It to leve and not Sodeynly.

(290)

Of the Rightwisnesse of a Kyng and of his Counseil.1

F Erthere Alysauandre gyff Advertence,
thoogh ofaccoord philisoffres expresse,
To a prynees hih magnificence.

Thyng Celestial is Rightwysnesse,

1 In margin of MS.
The Indian Contract with their Kings.

Maad to conserve / the blood and Richesse
Of his sogettys / possessyouns and werkys,
In which / his Regalye stant / as sey clerkys.

(291)
ffroom god sent / for his Creaturys
Ryghtwysnesse namyd / shap of intelligence,
In sogettys obeysaunt / Souereyn recurys,
Which doth cause / groundid on prudence,
Sent was / noote this sentence,
Vnto prynces / to conserve froom pillage,
Alle sogettys / extorciouns and damage.

(292)
Men of ynde / in ther Oppynyown
ffor this concludid / wrytyng berith witnesse,
Off a prync e / for breef conclusyoyn,
To his sogettys / bettir is rightwysnesse
Than Aboundaunce / or plente of Richesse
In the Reem / and moore Avayllable
Than Reyn froom hevene / A kyng resonable.

(293)
And for they shulde / make no dysseveraunce,
but ther kyng / And ryghtwysness Ioye in Oon,
Atwen hem / they made Affyaunce,
Which was thus wryte / in marbyl soon :
With oute ryghtwysses / prync may be noon,
And breefly to wryte / with-oute superfuyte,
Ryght and the Kyng / as brethryn owen to be.

(294)
It is to the / also greet avaylle,
And accordyng / to thy magnificence,
Oppynyouns to here / of thy counsaylle,
And benygly / to gyff audience,
To ther counsayl / giff advertence,
Intitle and rolle / ech Oppynyoun,
In thy remembrawncc / but lerne this conclusyoun.

(295)
Thyn entent / do nat expresse,
Which thou hast / at the begynnyng,
ffor thou owyst / of verray ryghtwysnesse

PHILOSOPHERS.
The Weaver's Son, born to be wise.

Therof be blamyd / as witnessith wrytyng,
keep tounge in mewe / be cloo in werkyng,
Tyl tyme thou be / in purpoos for avayl,
In effect to solwe / ther counsayl.

(296)

Slow in de-liberation,
Conceyve the Counsayl / peyse it in ballaunce
Off eche persone / hih or lowe degre,
Which doth Iuge / with oute varyaunce,
ffor moost love / which he hath to the;
And whan alle thynges / determyned be
By thy counsayl / them put to execucioun,
ffor to a Reem / delays Cause destruccyon.

(297)

Delay is dangerous.
To make dellayes / namely tyme of nede,
Is greet perceel / as philisoffres devyse
Off tendir in Age / to this mateer tak he le:
Prudent counsayl / loke thou nat despice,
ffor sinne of nature / be provident and wyse.
Summe folkys / by disposicioun
Afftir ther tyme / And constellacioun.

(298)

This to conclude / wrytyng I ffynde,
A lyknesse previd / by experience
Off an Enfaunt / in the Cuntre of ynde,
Boore in a place / where men of intelligence
Herborwed were / which gevyng Aduertence
Of this Child / to eeh proporcioun
This doom gaff / by natural resoun.

(299)

Boore he was / vndir such signe,
Constellacioun / and planete delectable,
That he shulde / Enelyne to doctrine,
be light of membrys / Curteys and Amyable,
lovyd of statys / to Counsayl avayllable,
Of Sevne sciencys / hauyng in sight cleer,
Whoos ffadir of wevyng / was an Artificeer.

(300)

Tyme passyd / this child grew to Age,
Weel proporciownyd in membrys Organycalle,
The King's Son, born to be a Smith.

Whoom his sfiadir / for worldly avaunyte,
Boonde and dysposyd / to crafft mechanycale:
but this Enfaunt / for no thyng myght be falle,
erne myght / ne for Correccioun,
Be-cause it was / ageyn disposicioun.

(301)
They took awey / the brydel of A-reest,
Hym puttyng / to folwe his owne entent,
He sett his herte / to byde with the wyseest
Of that Cunte / And moost prudent,
Which in labour / wolde be dilligent
Hym to Enforme / in science by lecture,
The kynde of thynges / Conteyned vndir nature.

(302)
The mevyng of the firmament / and al othir thynges
vndir nature / he lernyd Redily,
Good manerys also / to governaunce of kynges,
And by his wysdam / and sciencys fynally,
Be-cause he was / trustyd Specially,
He had the rewle / and disposicioun
Of the kyng / and al his Regioun.

(303)
Contrary to this / in wryting I ffynde
How a nobil / and a Royal kyng
Two Children hadde / in the lond of ynde,
Off which whan Oon / Cam to growyng,
He was set / to liberal konnyng,
Taught by mastres / of hih Auctorite,
As a-partenyd / to his dignite.

(304)
But in that part / he was vntretable,
Maystre ne sfiadir / myght no thyng avaylle,
Science nor Crafft / to hym was delectable,
but to forge / malyble mataylle:
Put no delight / in countirfet Apparaylle,
but dysposed / in yong and tendir Age,
As Child bore / of vile and smal lynage.
Value Men for themselves alone.

(305)

The kyng stonyd / greetly in thys partye,
Of his Reem / Assemblyd in presence
Alle grettest clerkys / Comaundyng streyghtlye
That they shulde doo / ther entier dilligence
Hym to Enfoorme / by ther science
Why his sone / of his disposicioun,
Sauf oonly to forge / wolde take noon informaciotn.

(306)

In ther Oppynyonn / they accoordid alle in Oon,
And yove this Answere / for ful conclusyonn
Of his nature / what Enfaunt that wer boorn
In that signe / or Constellacioun :
He shulde be / of natural resoun,
dysposyd that Craf/ Oonly to vse,
And alle othir / vttirly refuse.

(307)

These experymytys / Owe to meve a kyng,
Nat to despise / A man I the sure,
litel of stede / and litel of growyng,
But affir he sprygeth / in vertu and norture,
So hym to Cherysshe / owylle of nature,
Whethir he be / of hih or lowe degree,
A kyng florysshyng / in excellent dignitee.

(308)

He owyth to be lovyd / that vices will eschewe,
Which lovith broowthe / and counseyllith trewly,
To the thy sogetys / stedfast, Just, and trewe,
And of thy wyl / Sumtyme the contrary,
Which doth nat spare / to telle the feithfully,
To this counsayl / yive Affyaunce,
Which in thy Reem / Cause wyl good governaunce.

(309)

Ordre thy mateerys / affir ther substaunce
Set nat the last / there the first shulde be,
In al nedys / with dewe Circumstaunce,
To vse consayl / is profitable to the,
With prevy counseyllours / prudent and secre:
A Father's Counsel to his Son.

ffor good counseyl / moore doth avaylle
Than of pepil / greet puissance in bataylle.

(310)

ffor this entent / in wrtyng as I Rede,
A greet man wys / and provident,
Whoos dwellyng / was in the Reem of mede,
A lettere wroght / and to his sone it sent,
Of which the tenour / and the content,
With the prohemye / and conclusyoun,
This was with oute / varyacioun.

(311)

"Dere sone, it is nede / in al thy werkys
To have counsayl / for thou art but O man
Of qualitees contrarye / Compiled as sey clerkys;
Wherfore thy counseyl / take of hem that Can
The directe / by polityk wysdam,
In ech mevyng / habite or passyoun,
The to reduce / by good discrecyoun."

(312)

From thyn Enemy / I counseyl the be sure;
Shewe thy poweer / And thyn victorye
Vpon hym / thy ryght to Recure:
But I the monysshe / first and pryncipally,
ffroom hym to fle / in tyme prudently.
Put not confidence / in the greetnesse
Of thyn prerogatyf / and excellent hihnesse.

(313)

Tak counseyl / in thought do not muse
As it plesith / So it Receyve,
The best Acceyte / badde do\(^1\) refuse,
hoo folwith thy wyl / the shal disseyve;
Wers smyt flatteryng / than polex or gleyve.
Werfore perceyve / by logical resoun,
Whan vndir flours / restith the scorpion.

(314)

Be sad of cheer / pley nat the Enfaunt,
In answere prudent / wys nat chaungable,
Oon singuler man / to make thy leyf tennaunt,

\(^1\) 'not' in some MSS.
How to test your Officers.

To the ne thyne / is not a-vayllable;
ffor yf he be wood / and vntretable,
He may in his / furyous Cruelte
Thy pepil, thy Reem / destroye, and also the.

(315)

ffurthermore, sone / tak hed to my doctrype,
To haue officers / is profitable to the,
Thy worshippe and profight / for to mayntyne:
And yf thou wylt / lerne this of me,

(316)

Make compleynt / shewe greet hevynesse,
ffeyne the nedly / take hym to the neer
By setil meenys / thy consceyt to expresse,
As to thy freend / touche thyn officer,
And yf he counseyl / to chevyssh sylveer
Of thy Iowellys / or thyn tresours,
he is trewe / and louyth thyhonours.

(317)

Yif he Castel / or gynne to counte thy dettys,
It is signe / of greet providence;
ffals and vntrewe / yif of thy sogettys,
Goodys to Resceyve / he gif Aduertence;
And yif he offre / of polityk prudence,
Part of Richessys / get in thy seruyse,
he is so trewe / no good man may hym mempryse.

(318)

Comende that Officer / in thy Oppynyown,
As hym that loueth / moore prosperite,
Vnyversal / of thy Regioun
Than pryvat avayl / to his singularyte;
Signe of good sogett / take this Auctoryte,
Is whan he dothe / for thy hih honour,
Moore than his charge / to thy singuleer plesour.

(319)

And trust not / On hym of discrecioun,
Which in tresour / puttith his delight,
"The Virtues of a good Officer.

With herte mynde / hath delectacioun,
Good to gadre / Whethir it be wrong or right,
On whoom growth / euir the Appetight
  In greet Rychesse / And mony to Abounde,
Which as a depnesse / is with oute gounde.

(320)

Gyff no credence / to such an Officeer
  That is Corruptyd / in his affecyoun,
for he wyl redily / Seeke mateer,
  And soone consente / to thyn destruccioun:
Tretyng with lordys / ne cognicioun
  lete hym noon have / and yif he thus offende,
Oute of thy presence / hym vttirly suspende.

(321)

Love that officeer / of hool herte and entieer,
  Which the lovith / and is ay tretable
To thy sogettys / tak hede of this mateer
  Them to make / to the Agreeable,
  ffrom thy service / which is not permutable;
In whoom also / these vertues may be sene
  By computacioun / folwyng here fflyftene.

(322)

In membrys parfight / wel to travaylle
  In the Office / hym commyttyd twoo,
Swyft / vndirstandyng / gretyly doth avaylle,
  with redy conceyty / wheer meen hau to doo
That hym is Charged / to execucioun alsoo
  Soone to putte / Curteys and doughty,
  ffayr spekere / with-oute flattery:

(323)

Groundid in science / and a good Clerk,
  Trewe of behest / hatyng lesynges,
gentyl of condiciouns / tretable in ech werk;
Wel mesuryd / specially in twoo thynges,
Mete and drynk / for a-boute kynges
  In-saeyable gluttonye / is detestable,
Inconvenient / and abhomynable.
How a King's Servant should bear him.

(324)
That he\(^1\) love worshipe / and encrese,
Above al thynge / to thy goodlyheede,
To gadre gold / leue besynesse,
f\(\text{for}\) as a-fore rehersyd / thou mayst rede
Suych an Officeer / in tyme of nede
Wyl be enclyned / be persuacioun
The to destroye / for Ambicioun.

(325)
That he love the / prevy and estrawnge,
Men of worshepe / put to reverence,
Which for Corrupt[i]on / trewthe wyl not change;
But to ech / be polityk prudence,
Graunte his labour / and his dilligence
To socoure them / which grevyd be in dispence,
With-oute carnalyte / makyng no difference.

(326)
In his purpoos / strong and perseveraunt,
With outyn dreed / to se thyn Avaylle,
Meke of condiciouns / and no tyrants,
Off thyn Rentys / knowyn the Resaylle,
Secreet in werkyng / sharp in travayll,
ffroom greeet spekyng / hym kepith discretly,
f\(\text{for}\) moche spekyng / is signe of folly.

(327)
In mooche laughtir / that he nat abounde,
To thy sogettys / gracious and benigne,
Off repoort / ay that he be founde,
Trew and stable / in ech degre and signe
Among the peple / trewthe to mayntene;
To symple also / geve supportacioun,
And them correcte / which vse extorcioun.

(328)
It is to be titled / how prevy with oute obstacle,
As Oold philisoffres / put in Remembraunce,
That in man / is founde greet myracle,
Namyd the litel world / by Auctours allegeaunce,
\(\text{for}\) many and / vnkouth circumstaunce

\(^1\) 'He that' in MS.  \(^2\) 'Corrupt / on trewthe' MS.
The Properties of Beasts found in Man.

ffounde in hym / moost souereyn creature,
Namyd beeste resonable / be intelligence insure.

(329)
He is hardy as leowfi / dreedful as the hare,
large as a Cok / and as a hound Coveytous,
hardy as an hert / in forest which doth fare,
Boxsom as the turtyl / As lyownnesse dispitous,
Symple as the lamb / lyk the ffox malicious;
Swyfft as the Roo / as beere slough in taryng,
And lyk the Ellefaunt / precious in ech thyng.

(330)
As the Asse vyle / and Contagious,
As a litel kyng / hasty and Rebeel,
Chaast as an Aungel / As swyn leccherous¹,
Meeke as a pecock / as boole wood and feel;
Profitable as the Bee / in his heve, which is his Cel,
ffair as the hors / As the howle malicious,
Downbe as the ffyssh / And as a mows noyous.

(331)
Noote this processe / in the Audith Countable,
Of thy Remembrance / and knowe redly,
That in beeste / nor thyng vegetable,
No thyng may be / vnyuersally
But yif it be / founde naturally
In mannys nature / Wherfore of Oon Accoord
Oold philisoffres / Callyd hym the litel woord.²

Of a kynges Secretary.

(332)
Erthere / Alysaundre / Conceyve in thynt entent
Thy prevy wyse men / for to vndirstande
In speche fair / in language prudent;
Gay in endityng / fair wryters with hande
looke they be / and ferthere in thy lande;
looke thy wryters / of thy secrees
In prevy place / wysely kepe thy lettrees.

¹ Blank in MS. ² 'worlde' in all other MSS.
Lyke as a Robe / fayr\(^1\) of greet Rychesse,  
Worshippeth the body / of a myghty kyng,  
So fair language / trewthe to expresse,  
Worshippeth a lettir / with good endityng;  
look thy secretary / Conceyve in ech thyng  
Thyn entent / and it redily  
To execucioun / Can put wittily.

(334)
Thy hillesse also / for to enhawnce,  
And thy magnificence / lerne this of me ;  
With greet rewardys / doo them avaunce  
Affir here merytis\(^2\) / and ther degre,  
Which aldayes / besy and wakyng be  
In thy nedys / for in them stant the warysoun  
Of thy worshepe / thy lyf or thy destruccioun.

What a kynges massageer oughte to bee.

(335)
Erthere Alysaundre / to spede thy mateerys  
for a-vayl / Enforce thy Corage  
for to haue / swyllt massageerys,  
Wys, redy / expert in language,  
Moost Sufficient / for thyn Auauntage ;  
for a massageer / As philisoffres recoord,  
Is the Eye, the Ere / and toung of his loord.

(336)
His lourne lette / which lyst for reyn ne shour,  
To whoom thou mayst / thy wyl also vncre,  
Which the louyth / and thyn honour,  
And if thou ne may / of suych Oon be sewre,  
At the lest / gentil and demewre  
look he be / which wel and faithfullly  
Can bere a lettir / and repoorte trewly.

(337)
Rakyl of toung / or moche which doth muse  
To gete giffys / what tyme he is sent  
On thy massage / hym vttirly refusse;

\(^1\) A blank in MS.  
\(^2\) 'demerytis' in MS.
The Commoners must be well governed.

And furthermore / nevir vttir thyn entent
To hym which wyl be Impotent 2357
In al membrys / be Outragious drounknesse,
ffor more than he knowith / suych Oon wyl expresse. 2359

(338)

fferthere be prudence / entitle¹ this mateer,
And it Rolle / in thyn Countable mynde,
That hihe Estat / ne greet Officeer,
On thy massage / thou vse for to sende,
ffor yif he / to tresoun condiscende,
Off the and thy Reem / he may be destruccion,
Whoos punysshment / I remytte to thy discrecioun. 2366

Of Equiperacio'n of Sogettys and Conservacio'n of Justice.²

(339)

Onceyve dere sone / how the hous of thy mynde, 2367
be thy sogettys / and the tresour,
By which thy Reem / Confermyd as I fflynde,
Doth Contvne / in greet and hihe honour,
lyk a gardeyn / of Redolent savour,
Abounds in trees / and divers frutys,
Which gryffyd on stokkys / haue many braunchys. 2373

(340)
The braunchis sprede / the frute doth multiplye, 2374
And in Caas / lyk and comparable,
Off poweer excellent / trewthe to speceffye,
And of a Reem / tresour perdurable,
By the prudence / famous and agreable,
Off the Comownys / by polityk livyng,
Growe alle vertues / to worshepe of a kyng. 2380

(341)
In werk and word / and al ther dedys, 2381 [fol. 57 b.]
To be mesuryd / is Covennable,
ffroom velonye / and wrong in al ther nedys,
Them to diffende / to the is portable,
Pepil to governe / to the is avayllable,
Afftir Custom / And Condicioun,
In ther partye / vsyd of thy Region. 2387

¹ 'entitle' in MS. ² In margin of MS.
Counsel as to Justice,

(342)
Choose good subordinates, To ther Suppoort / gif them an Officeer, 2388
Which tendith not / to ther destrucțioun,
Good of condicioun / wys in eeh mateer,
In tyme pacient / vse noon extorcioun
for to take this / for ful conclusyoun,
Yif the Contrarye / thou doo / that I the telle,
Ageyn the / thy sogettys / shul rebelle.

(343)
To encrees of thy Court / And also of thy Reem, 2395
have Iuges trewe / good and wyse,
not parcial / but indifferent men,
Which for lukyr / trewthe will not despyse,
Prenotaryes / to haue / I the Advyse :
ne that the Iuges / Corrupt of entent,
Ageyn Justice / gyf the Ingement.

[fol. 58 a.]
Of the governaunce of Bataylle.1

(344)
Erthere Alysaundre / be-hold for thyn avayl, 2402
That to thy n hiñenesse / it is Conuenient,
Not to contyne / werre and bataylle ;
In thy persone / Conceyve myn entent,
for Coveitise or envye / to make busshement,
Or foly to fight / for presumptuousnesse,
Is thyng temerarye / and noon manlynesse.

(345)
Find out the popular opinion of men; Off thy Court / look thou be dilligent, 2409
for to here / the Comoun Oppinyoun,
Thy men of Armys / dispreyse not of entent ;
But of me / lerne this conclusyoun,
encourage your soldiers;
Gyf them fair speche / behete them war ysoun,
be well armed.
And to bataylle / entre not sodeylyn,
but thow haue Armüre / and wepne necessary.

(346)
Upon thy Enemy / renne not sodeylyn, 2416
ne dispurveyed / dreede not for to flee,
What tyme thou art / besegyd traytourly,

1 In margin of MS.
and the Ordering of War.

ffor dysworshipe / to thy magnanymyte,
It is noon / lerne this of me;
   Keep wel thyn Oost / and the logge al dayes,
Nyhe to hillys / watrys and woodyes.¹

(347)
Hawe also greet / Aboundaunce of vitaylle,
Moore than the nedith / be lyklynesse;
ffreshe trompetys / greetly doon avaylle,
   Which to fight / gif greet hardynesse,
Strength, vertu / Ioye and lightnesse,
   Vnto the Oost / which is On thy partye,
   And the meny / discordfort / of thy Enemye.

(348)
Be not al tymes / Armyd Oon Armvre,
look thou be kept / wel / with good Archeerys,
Sumne of thy people / to stand fix and sure,
Othir to Renne vpon / to destroy Arblasteerys,
flair behestys / wyl make fel as steerys,
   Wherfore whan thou shalt / entre the bataylle,
   Thy people to Countorte / greetly doth avaylle.

(349)
file al hastynesse / in especial chydyng,
   And if thorugh tresou / constreyned thou be to flee,
To haue good hors / swift of Rennyng,
   Doth aparteyne / to thy excellent dignitee,
   Which Save thyn Oost / shal and also thee,
   ffor thy conservacioun / yf thou resort,
   To alle the puissawnee / gevith greet countort.

(350)
And yif thy Enemyes / gyenne for to fle,
   Chase them not / ovir hastily,
Hold al tyme / togidre thy m Coyne,
   Which shal Cause / the haue victory:
Engynes to haue / is special remedy,
   Yif thou assaylle / wyl Castel or tour,
   With maystryes to myne / and special socour.

¹ 'alway nygh hilles, watirs / & wodys if ju may.'—14408.
Of War, and of Physiognomy.

(351)
There watrys destroy/ or ellys envenyme, 2451
Expert in language/ hane explotourys,
Them to be-traye/ be sum Sotil Engyne,
And to knowe/ alle ther labourys,
A poyn of warre/ thoughe vndir flourys,
Of peynted language/ reste the scorpion,
flor a traytour/ to be-traye is no tresoun.

(352)
Lerne this Conclusyn/ folwe my doctrine, 2458
In poynetys of warre/ take thy avayl,
And yf thou may/ thorough grace which is dyvyne,
With outhe warre/ take hede to my Counsayl,
Gete thy Entent/ or withe outhe batayl,
Off thy Enmyes/ thou owyst, as sey clerkys,
flor warre shulde be/ the laste of thy werkys.1 2464

[fol. 59 b.]
Of the Crafft of phsynomynye, and the ymage of ypocras.

(353)
Ferthere I wy/ thou knowe in this partye, 2465
the excellent science/ celestial and divine,
fiyounde be philomon/ I mene phisonymye,
Be which thou shalt/ folowyng my doctryne,
knowe disposicioyn/ in eech degree and signe,
Of al thy peple/ by polityk prudence,
Which folwy sensuallyte/ and which intelligence.

(354)
The qualitees to enserge/ and ther naturys, 2472
With othir Crafftyes/ which that be secre,
Powere of planetys/ in al Creaturys,
Dyffermacions/ of Circes and medee,
lokyng in facys/ lerne this of mee,
And of membrys/ to se proporcione,
Off eech wyght/ declaryth the disposicioyn.

(355)
In this science/ philomon Expert was, 2479
And in al partyes/ of philosophie,
In whoos tyme/ Regnyd ypocras,

1 Ar. 59. and Harl. 2251 conclude here.
Expert in phesyk / and Astronomye,
Off whoom for purpoos / and ffantasye,
To preve philomon / in his Iugement,
disciples of ypocras / thus did of entent.

(356)
Of moost wyse ypocras / they put in picture,
The ymage / in ech proporciowan,
And to philomon / they Offryd that figure,
hym be-sechyng / the disposition,
them to telle / with qualitees and condicioun,
Of that man / by his experyence,
Whoos figure they / hadde there in presence.

(357)
Poweer of planetys / and Ek the sterrys,
And of every / hevenly intelligence,
Disposition of pees / and Ek of werrys,
And of ech straunge / othir science,
As the seveme god dys / by ther influence,
Or of natural body / the transmutacioun,
Of which he droof / this conclusyoun.

(358)
This man he Seide / of natural resozm,
Was a disceyvour / lovyng leccherye,
ffor which the disciples / in that sesoun,
hym to destroye / purpoosyd ffynally,
And hym rebukyng / with woordys of velony,
They seide “ffool / this ymage prentyd was,
Afftir the figure / of moost wyse ypocras.”

(359)
This wyse philisoffre / of greet providence,
Wel disposed / seying on this manner,
With this Resoun / stood at his diffence,
And seide “this ymage / Sovereyn and entieer,
Is of ypocras / figure bright and Cleer,
Wherfore I gaff yow / not enformacioun
Of Actual dede / but disposition.”

(360)
The Answere yove / they passyd his presence,
And to ypocras / yove relacioun,
Which Men to avoid or to choose.

how they hadde attemptyd / the science
Off wyse philomon / for his disposicioun,
Which concevyng / his owne Complexion,
Seide it was trewe / be lyknesse,
Al that of hym / philomon did expresse.

(361)

ffor this dere sone / I wryte in this partye,
Rewlys abreggyd / and sufficient
In the science / of phisonomye,
Which to parseyve / looke thou be dilligent
In alle dowty / which wyl the Content,
To nature, perteynyng / in substance,
And atwen qualitees / make disseverance.

(362)

[fol. 61 a.] In sentence breeff / to wryte to thy honor,
And exclude / al superfluyte,
Avoid washy-looking men.
Man which is / feble of Colour
ffor thy avayl / looke that thou flee,
ffor he is pleyly / tak heed vnto me,
To lecchery disposed / be nature and kynde,
And othir evelys / many as I ffynde.

(363)

Choose a man who laugheth / with wyl and herte,
Just / stedfast / and trewe is of nature,
The signs of one who loves you personally,
Oute of thy presence / whych wyll not sterte,
Jut to be-holde / the deliteth in sure,
Reed, shamefast / witty and demevre,
Which with teerys / and syhyng makith moone,
Whan thou hym blamyst / louyth thy persoone.

(364)

Do not trust deformed persons,
As froom thy Enemy / fle his presence,
Which a-complyshed / in membrys Organichall
Is not / and noote this sentence,
ffor avayl / of thy excellence Royal:
ffroom hym that is / looke thou ffal,
Markyd in visage / for lerne this Conclusyoun,
he is discyvable / by disposicioun.
The Voice; the Ears; the Hair.

(365)
Best of Complexion / to ech Creature,
Is to be / briefly to expresse,
Wel proportionyd / and meene stature,
In eyen and heerys / havynge blaknesse,
Colour meene / atwen whyte and Reelnesse;
Visage rounde / boody hool and right,
With meenesse of the heed / is good in ech wyght.

(366)
Meene in voys / nouthir to lhh nor baas
In moche speche / which doth noon Offence,
Spekith in tyme / and doth no trespaas
vnto the Eerys / of the Audience,
Conveieth his mateer / be resoun and prudence,
In ech Circumstance / with discretion,
Suych a man / is best of complexion.

(367)
Eerys pleyn and soffte doon signeffye
Man to be boxom / Curteys and kynde,
Coold of brayn / trewthe to speeffye,
And the Contrarye / conserve this in mynde,
As Eerys sharpe / and thykke, as I fynde,
Be evident toknys / and signes palpable,
Of a fool / nyce and varyable.

(368)
Off heer also / whoo hath greete quantite
On wombe and breest / he is, I the sure,
Good of condiicious / in ech signe and gre,
Merveyllous of complexion / and singuleer in nature,
In whoos herte / longe doth endure
Thyng a-geyn Resoun / doo vnfeithfully
To his Rebuke / shame or velony.

(369)
Heerys blake / shewe rightwysnesse
In a man / and love and resoun,
The rede also / be signe of stoolesnesse,
Lak of providence / and discretion,
Of fretyng wretthe / with Oute Occasyoun,
The Eyes and Eyebrows.

And Colour a-twen both / to speke briefly
Of pesable man / is signe and witty.  

(370)

large eyes, And he that hath / Eyeyn Out of mesure
Ovir greete / with oute proporcioun,
He is in voys / of kynde and nature,
Slaw, vnshamefast / with oute subieccioun;
A-twen bothe / which kepe dymencioyn,
Of Colour brown / nouthir blak nor whyte,
Curteys trewe / and konnyng be of right. 

(371)

[fol. 62 b.] Eeyen longe / and extendid visage,
Signe be / of malice and Envye;
Dul of cheer / which lyst nat to rage,
But as the Asse / evir casteth his Eeye
To the Erthe / tak heed of this partye:
He is a fool / malicious, vntretabel,
Hard of kynde / and not sociable. 

(372)

shift eyes. Eeyen also / which be lightely mevyng,
visage long / with oute mesure,
Off hasty man / vntrewe and levyng,
Be signes Evident / and tooknys I the sure;
Colour reed / Causyd of blood pure,
Is signe of strengthe / and greet manlynnesse,
Which to fight / gevith greet hardynesse. 

(373)

But of this mateere / looke thou heede take,
That werst signe / in disposicioun
Is whan spottys / reede, whyte, or blake,
Mannys Eeyes / doo envirowyn,
Worst of othir / with oute comparysoun;
And whoo so heer / thykke doth bere
On the browys / is a shrewd sperekere. 

(374)

Spots round the eyes the very worst sign.

Thick eyebrows.

[fol. 63 a.] fferthere, whoo hath / moche heer dependyng
the eyebrows, A-twene the browes / is a shrewd signe,
Browys large / to templys / ech streecchyng,
The Nose, and Face generally.

Signe of hym / that falsnesse wyl mayntyne;  
Which keepe meene / tak heed of my doctryne,  
And in mooche heer / be not Abozmdyng,  
Evident signe be / of good vndirstandyng.  

(375)

Noote this mateer / Entitle it Redily,  
long noose / strecchyng vnto the mouth,  
Tokne is of man / boold and hardy,  
And he that hath / the nature that is vnkouth,  
Cammyd nose / bore in north or south,  
With gristil of nose / litel redily,  
Is sone wroth / hoot and hasty.  

(376)¹

ffurther take heed / to my doctryne,  
large nose in myddys / which doth vp ryse,  
Of a lyere / and greet spekyng is signe,  
As Oold philisofres / Clerly doth devise;  
But best he is / in ech maner wyse.  
That nose-thrylles / ne² nose, I the hete,  
Ovir litel hath / ne Ovir greete.  

(377)

In this mateere / ferthere to procede,  
And it Entitle / vnto thy good grace,  
Moo of membrys / to the it is nede  
Propirtees to knowe / in special of the face,  
Dirk ignorance / away which wyl chace;  
Which plat and pleyn / though it be specious,  
Is signe Evident / of man Envious.  

(378)

Signes be / for ful conclusyoun,  
As in wryting / philisofres seyn,  
Whan face kepith / dew proporcioun,  
These dymercious / he kepith in certeyn,  
Not engrosyd / nouthir ovir pleyn,  
Jawys and templys / in mene vp-rysing,  
Which signe is / of witt / and greet vndirstandyng.  

¹ Not in Lansd. 285.  
² 'the' in MS.
The Body, and Limbs.

(379)
The voice, Meene in voys / neythir to grete nor smalle, 2647
Signe is of trewthe / and rightwysnesse,
Who spekith soone / or ony man hym calle
Is unresounable / as philisoffres expresse:
Greet voys / signe of hastynesse,
Greet sownyng / Envyous and Angry,
ffair and hih / of wyldenesse and fiooly. 2653

(380)
Considre / Alysaunder / be dilligent labour,
Who in talkyng / Conceyve what I mene,
Handys doth meve / is a disceyvour,
He stant stable / from these is pure and clene;
With nekke to smal / in proporciown whoo be sene
Is a fool / ovir short / disceyvable,
And ovir gross / A lyeer detestable. 2660

(381)
And he that hath / wombe greet withoute mesure,
Proud, lecherous, is / and vnprouident,
brcest greet, and shuldrys / large insure,
With bak wel shape / be signes Evident
Of many wourthy / wys and provident,
Good of vndirstandyng / hardy to fight,
Who hath the Contrary / is noyous to ech wyght. 2667

(382)
Armys longe / strechchyng to the knee,
Tokne of wysdam / is and hardynesse;
Shuldrys sharpe / I mene not reysed with slevys,
Off evyl feith / is lyklynesse,
longe fyngerys / trewthe to expresse,
Craffys to lerne / yevelt disposicioun,
In Especial / of manual Operacioun. 2674

(383)
He that hath flyngres / greet and short
Is disposed / noote this doctryne,
To be a fool / nyce in his dispoort;
Whoo hath greet feet / vntrewthe wyl mayntyne,
litel and light / been evident signe 2679
The twelve Signs of a good Man.

That he is hard / of vndirstandyng,
And smale leggys / be tokne of symple konnyng. 2681
(384)
Of leggys and helys / be tokenyth largenesse 2682
Mighty to be / in strength of body;
In knees also / trewthe to expresse,
He that is ovir / moche flleshy,
Is soffe and feble / lerne this naturally;
Whoo hath litel / is evil of wyl,
In al thynges / hasty with oute skyl. 2688
(385)
To al vertu / disposed, and science,
Good and kynde / of Complexioun,
Is a man / havyng in sentence
Signes twelve / be computacioun;
flleshe soffe / of disposicioun,
Or meenely sharp / and of mene stature.
Twen whyte and Reed / in Colour kepith mesure. 2695
(386)
Swete of look / and the Eerys pleyn,
Eyen menely / grete be mesure,
The heed not greet / but a-twen tweyn,
Moche and litel / is good I the sure;
Nekke sufficient / and of good stature,
Whos shuldrys bowe / a litel mesurably,
In leggis nor kneeyss / be not moche fllesshy. 2702
(387)
Cleer of voys / and eke mesurable,
Palmys and ffyngrys / longe in suffysaunce,
Skornys to vse / is not comendable,
lawhyng visage / is good in daliaunce,
vsyd in mene / With dew Circumsaunce;
ffor affir the mateer / requerith audience,
So contenaunce to shewe / is good providence. 2709
(388)
Be oon in-sight / deme no man to soone,
In sentence breeif / folwe my doctryne,
ffor hasty demyng / where men haue to doone,
Of improvidence / is evident signe;
And this book / breffly to termyne,
In oon membir / for ful conclusyoun,
nevir deme / mannyjs dispoisicioun.

(389)
Behoold all signes / give aduertence,
Which mooyst aboundyn / to se is avaylable,
And in mynde / by polityk prudence,
nombre of them / which be most profitable,
In party best / and mooost Amyable,
Which the mvt graunte / the lord mooost imperial

Explicit. 2

Lenvoye. 2 Goo litel book / and mekely me excuse,
To alle theo that / shal the seen or rede,
Yf ony man / thy Rudnesse lyst accuse,
Make no diffence / but with lowlyhede
Pray hym reforume / wheer as he seth nede:
To that entent / I do the forth directe,
Wher thou fayliest / that men shal the correcte.

1 'of' MS. 2 Not in this MS
NOTES.

p. 1, l. 1. This Introduction is taken advantage of by some to insert the name of the king by whose orders the translation is made. Thus Shirley dedicates his translation to Henry VI, and the French translation in the king's library, printed in 1489, is dedicated to Charles VIII. The first twenty lines are Lydgate's summary of the duties of a king, founded on a couple of lines in the original, "Deus omnipotens castodiat regem nostrum ad gloriam credentium, et confirmet regnum suum ad tuendam legem divinam suam, et perdurare faciat ipsum ad exaltandum honorem et laudem bonorum."

II. 1—300 represent the prologue in the Arabic version, with the exception of 211—231, which are due to a mistake in some Latin MSS., which substitute the name of Philip of Paris for Jahja ibn al Batik.

p. 1, l. 8. The lord = God.

p. 1, l. 20. 'In your desire this processe for to here.'—Ass. of Lad. 27.
'I make an ende of this prosses.'—B. D. s. M. 848.
'And shortly of this processe for to pace.'—Leg. Ariadne 29.
'What wise I should perform the said processe
Considirynge by gode avisement
My unconnyng and my grete simplesnesse
And ayenward the straite commanndement.'—B. D. s. M. 158.
'Of this processe now forth will I procede.'

'Takith at gre, 'To take at gre.'—T. of Glas 1085.

p. 1, l. 21. 'By ther favour and supportacioun
To take in gre this rude Translacioun.'—B. D. s. M. 840.
'Accept in gre this litil short tretesse.'—C. of L. 28.

rudness of my style.
'Thy rude langage full boystously unfold.'—F. and L. 595.

p. 1, l. 24. 'Voyde of Eloquence.'
'With timerous herte & trembling hand of drede
Of cunning nakid, bare of eloquence.'—C. of L. 1.
'Destitute
Of Eloquence.'—B. D. s. M. 842.


p. 2, l. 46. The Arabic and most Latin versions have 'bicornis' or 'duo cornua habuisse dictur.' The two horns are due to the two horns with which his God-father Ammon is represented. See Wars of Alexander, p. 10. Ed. E. E. T. S.

p. 3, l. 77. Lydgate's text only justified him in saying that some of the philosophers had counted Aristotle a prophet.

p. 4, l. 89. 'Uncouth and strange,' extranea opera.' See l. 219.
'Uncouth and straung.'—Ch. Dream. 1427.
Notes to Pages 4—7; Lines 98—186.

p. 4, l. 98. *dove*. Lat. 'columna,' which in some MSS. is columba. Fr. columbe. Shirley, culvour. This opinion is attributed to the peripatetics.

p. 4, l. 104. *All hool the world*, a common use. See l. 196, &c.

'All whole in governance.'—C. of L. 373.

'Had whole achievid th' obaysaunce.'—Ch. Dr. 2.

'Whole your thought.'—Ch. Dr. 498.

p. 4, l. 110. *The Round bal*. When was the orb introduced as a royal sign?

*Septemtryoun*. Several MSS. speak of Alexander, 'qui dominatus fuit toti orb, dictusque monarcha in Septentrione.' I don't see why 'in septentrieone.'

p. 4, l. 112. *vij Clymatys*. The world was divided into seven climates by ancient geographers, such as Ptolemy. These were divisions answering to the length of the longest day. Thus the first climate was from the Equator to where the longest day was 12 hrs. 45 mins., and was named the Climate of Merœs. The second was called from Syenes, the longest day was 13½ hrs.; the third from Alexandria, 13½ hrs.; the fourth Rhodes, 14½ hrs.; the fifth Rome, 14½ hrs.; the sixth from the Black Sea, 15½ hrs.; and the seventh, North Germany, 15½ hrs., the rest of the world being reputed uninhabitable. The climates south of the Equator were called anti-Merœen, &c. &c. However, more modern writers divide the space between the Equator and the Arctic Circle in twenty-four climates, allowing a half-hour difference of longest day to each climate. See Cloverij. *Introduction in Universam Geographiam*, Lib. VII.; *Amst. Elz. 1659*, 12; p. 22; *Borrihaus in Cosmographiae Elementa*. Bos. 1555. 8°. p. 121, &c. &c.


'Withoutin grutchinge or rebellion.'—Pilgrim. 183 b; *Troy-Book, Bk. d; Comp. of Bk. Kl. 554; L. Lady f, a; T. of Glas* 424, 879.

p. 5, l. 147. *the flym of ther entent*. 'The line of his entente.'—T. and C. iii. 125.

p. 5, l. 150. *magnanymyte*. This expresses a quality not readily expressible in English. Cf. Freeman's *History of William Rufus*. These were men 'quorum actiones in regiam potentiam directae sunt.'

p. 6, l. 155. Lydgate alters his text, which expresses a desire to slay them.

p. 6, l. 160. The text might equally well be Jupartye, but it seems to me that the sense of *importing* information would do better. The other texts are little guide to what Lydgate would write. The English is, 'But only thou certifie vs bi thi lettres, as thou seemest most spedfulle vnto vs'; the Latin is, 'Quidquid igitur super hoc decreveris, nobis significat tuis scriptis'; the Arabic is, 'What do you advise in this matter?'

p. 6, l. 164. Lydgate here entirely misapprehends the sense of his text, which is that if Alexander can change the air and water of that land, and the disposition of their states, then he was to fulfil his intention; meaning, 'since you can't change the nature of the country, govern it by kindness.'

p. 6, l. 166. An allusion to the spheres of the elements. See quotation in note on line 551. They were supposed to lie immediately round the earth, which was the sphere of earth, then came air, then water, and outside that fire. Then followed the planetary spheres. But *Bart. Angl. de Prop. Rerum* puts it otherwise; see my *Medieval Lore* for some account of medieval astronomy according to him.

p. 7, l. 186. *wynges*. A favourite Middle Age symbol for the protection of a king, &c., derived from Scriptural sources. See l. 324, 'wynges of humble Obedyence.'
p. 7, l. 204. Freinsheim, in his supplement to Quintus Curtius, Lib. I., cap. iii., had this in mind when he wrote 'Eam autem Philosophiae partem, quae sibi aliis que probe imperare docet, ita colnit, ut magnanimitate, prudentia, temperantia, fortitudine, quam armis et opibus instructor, tantum imperii Persici molem subnere agressus censeatur.'

p. 7, l. 210. The mistake of attributing this to Philip of Paris arises from a shortened Latin copy, which put Philip of Tripoli's heading, and omitted his dedicatory letter to Bishop Guido. Paris seems to have been arrived at from reading the contracted form of 'Patricii' as 'Parisii.' There is no Philip of Paris who can be found likely to have had anything to do with this work.

p. 7, l. 220. sugred enspyred Eloquence. See l. 376.

'The sugred eloquence.'

Lydgate's balade of good conseil 100.

'sugred dytees.'—Troy-Book G, a.

'sugred eloquence.'—Troy-Book K, d.

'The sugred language.'—Falls of Pr. 163 d.

p. 8, l. 224. Tullius gardyn.

'The blossomes fresh of Tullius gardein sote.'—C. of L. 8.


p. 8, l. 232. Lines 232 to 301 are repeated, 603—37 more compactly. The Arabic very curiously represents Jahja ibn al Batrik as searching all the temples of the Egyptians. The differences between the two versions show us Lydgate getting over the ground, or pausing to amplify every thought, and the results.

p. 8, l. 246. Cupydes ffyr, learning under the guise of love,

p. 8, l. 249. Cyclheros tone. Is this a reference to the vats of sweet and bitter, of which each of us may take one? 'licour.'

'An auritate licour of Clie! to write.'—Balade in comendacioyn, &c., 13.

p. 9, ll. 250-5, 59, 282, &c. Here the mention of the temple of the sun leads him to use the sun as a metaphor for knowledge.

'Joure streemes clere.'—T. of Glas 1342.

'And Phebus with his bemis clere.'—In praise of women, l. 26.

p. 10, l. 301. Chalde. Syriac. The Arabic calls it 'recent' (Roman), but gives no hint as to the leader of the faithful the translation was made for.

p. 10, l. 302. This stanza is Lydgate speaking for himself, and introducing the prolog of Philip of Tripoli.

p. 10, l. 309. ll. 310-11 depend on hym, 312 et seq. follow droug.

p. 10, l. 314. Celestial, a rather badly chosen epithet.

p. 11, l. 317. Covalence. Lydgate makes Valence into Covalence, for the sake of the verse.

p. 11, l. 318. Metropolitan is a misreading of Tripolitanus. Some poor MSS, have 'tropol,' which Lydgate might have conjectured into Metropolitanae.

p. 11, l. 319, is substantially repeated in 327.

p. 11, l. 321. The seven sciences are Mathematics, Geometry, Astronomy, Music, Ethics, Physics and Metaphysics. The seven arts are Grammar, Dialectics and Rhetoric (the trivium), and Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy (the quadrivium), but the distinction was lost in Lydgate's time. The seven arts are characters in the Court of Sapience. See l. 1527. There were also seven prohibited arts, and seven mechanic arts—Lanificium, Armatura, Navigatio, Agricultura, Venatio, Medicina, and Theatra.
p. 11, l. 322. *Phillipus,* not of Paris, but of Tripoli.
p. 11, l. 331. *Astond.* Astond—not Astoned—fixed, firm.
p. 11, l. 334. *With quakyng penne,* &c., a favourite Lydgate phrase.
'Quakith my penne—my spirit supposeth,
That in my writing ye find woll offence.'
*Mother of noturce,* 50-1, and see T. of Glas.
p. 11, l. 337. *I have no Colour but oonly Chalk & sable.*
'or colouris of rhetorike.'—H. of F. ii, 351.
p. 11, ll. 341-8. *lych as the moone passith a smal sterre.*
'As of light the somer sonne shene
Passeth the sterre.'—*Parl. of F.* 299.
'As the somer sonne
Passeth the sterre with his bemes shene.'
*Flour of C.* 113; *T. of Glas* 251, 252.
p. 11, l. 343. *Arthurus and the sterrys sevne.* The Pole star Arcturus and the Great Bear. This is higher in the scheme of spheres than the seven planets.
p. 11, l. 347. *ferwent as the glede.*
'A thousande sighis hottir than the glede.'—*T. and C.* iv. 337.
p. 12, l. 352. *Ceryously,* unusual for 'in series.'
p. 12, l. 372. The next seventy lines Lydgate builds on the following—
'Adhuc in in scientris liberalibus literalissimus, in Ecclesiasticis et legibus peritissimus, in divinis et moralibus doctissimus.' One shudders to think what might have been if he had gone through the whole work in this way.
p. 12, l. 378. Like Chrysostom.
p. 13, l. 384. Perhaps Lydgate had in mind the famous Aurora, a medieval compendium of divinity by Peter of Riga, a canon of Rheims (1209), and combined this reminiscence with the meaning of daybreak.
p. 13, l. 397. The same metaphor of Phoebus for clearness, &c., as in ll. 250, &c.
p. 14, l. 414. *the hevenly influence* was the favourable aspect of the stars.
'The seven planets descending fro the spheres
Whiche hath powir of al thing generable
To rule and strete by ther gret influence
Wedir & wind, and course variable.'—*Test. of Cres.* 147.
p. 14, l. 424. Seven Wells of Philosophy. Who first used this figure?
p. 14, l. 430. See l. 722.
p. 14, l. 431. Lucan was one of the most popular poets in medieval times, due perhaps to his supernatural machinery and to the subject. He is one of the pillars in the *House of Fame,* iii, 407—16.
p. 14, l. 442. Autioch in Greece.
p. 14, l. 444. The Latin speaks of 'this most precious pearl of philosophy.'
Lydgate likes a ruby better.
'Gene of beaute! O carbouncl shining pure!'—*Craft of Lovers* 33,
'No rube riche of price.'—*C. of Love* 78.
'A fyn charboncl sette saugh I,
The stone so clere was and so bright,
That, also soone as it was nyght,
Men myghte seen to go for nede
A myle or two, in lengthe and brede.'—*Rom. of Rose.*
Neckham and Bartholomew also speak of its shining at night. See l. 552.
p. 14, l. 447. The assonance 'sent of assent.'
Notes to Pages 15, 16; Lines 454—495.

p. 15, l. 454. humble Affeccioun. There is nothing of the modern sense of affection here. It is humble disposition, 'cupiens humiliiter obedire.'

p. 15, l. 459. A Lydgate sentiment, taken from wood-cutting,—a dangerous and unhandy way of working, 'Yet since there were but few copies ever among the Arabs themselves, he would try to translate it.'

p. 15, l. 469. magnanymyte, mistake for 'magnitudinem,' your greatness.

p. 15, l. 476. This rubrie is put in without any reason; the next few stanzas are a continuation of Philip of Tripoli's prologue.

p. 16, ll. 477—483. These lines are manifestly worthless. They have neither beginning nor end, and do not join to the next. Evidently put here by Burgh because there was no other place but l. 638 perhaps.

p. 16, l. 485. a purpose take, &c., 'took a purpose.' l. 486 is in a parenthesis. The Latin is, 'Qui postulavit ab eo, ut ad ipsum veniret et secreta quarundam arietum sibi fideliter revelaret, videlicet motum, operationem et potestatem astra in astronomia, et astra alchemiae in natura, et astra cognoscendi naturas, et operandi incantationes et celantiam et geomantiam.'

p. 16, l. 491. See p. 79, ll. 2493—2498, where the lines are used again.

p. 16, ll. 491-3, are references to the astrological part of Alexander's secrets.

p. 16, l. 495. The seven gods are the seven planets. It is a part of Lydgate's learning to put them under this form.

The process of incantations in Lydgate's time was long and interesting. Suppose, for example, you want to bring anybody to a violent death, you will then want to call up the Evil Spirit of Mars. Get yourself up as a priest, or at least in clean linen vestments; prepare a pentacle, and trace it out with a consecrated sword; mark in the corners a number of sacred emblems, and then commence by asking God's blessing on the work. Then get a friend with you to read the proper lesson, and call up all the good spirits of the day to be near you. Then conjure Mars to appear under any form he thinks fit. If he is coming you will see a burning flame approach you, thunder and lightning will surround the circle, he will roar like mad bulls, and have stag's horns and griffin's claws. At last he will appear, either as an armed king riding on a wolf, or a woman holding a shield on her thigh, or a goat, or a horse, or a stag, or a red cloak, or as wool, or some one of a number of other shapes. Then command him to do what you will, and then order him to go quietly. Perhaps he won't, and then you have to pile on the imprecations till he is frightened. Very likely, however, he may not become visible at all, but don't think he is not there. If you leave your pentacle unwarily, you will most likely be torn to pieces. The safest thing to do is to keep on conjuring him till he comes, and then to send him away. Then you have to call all the good spirits you can to your aid, and when you feel you have sufficient near you, to leave the place and get home. Of course you have to choose a favourable spot. Near an old execution ground, or battlefield, is the best one for Mars. Some authors recommend making another pentacle beside your own, and conjuring the spirit into that, but then there is quite literally the devil to pay when you let him out.

'Sith that I se the brighte goddis seven.'—Visage without paintynge.
See Test. of Cres. 147 (note on l. 414).

'Gan thankin tho the blissful goddis seven.'—T. and C., iii. 1203.

'And clerkis eke which commin well
All this magike hight Naturell,
That craftily doe ther ententes
To maken in certain ascendentes,' &c.—H. of Fame, iii. 175.
The seven metals date from the earliest times. They are electrum (a natural alloy of gold and silver, counting as one of them), gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, and lead. Proclus, in his commentary on the Timaeus, refers some metals to the planets: gold to the sun, silver to the moon, lead to Saturn, and iron to Mars. Olympiodorus (see *Fab. Bibl. Graec.* V. vi.) gives the complete list: electrum to Jupiter, copper to Venus, tin to Hermes, and the others as above. When it was perfectly clear that electrum was not a metal, but an alloy, tin was assigned to Jupiter, and quicksilver was appropriated to Mercury. There does not seem to have been much distinction made between brass and copper in early times—probably they had no pure copper, but such as was found native.

This line repeated, l. 2473.

Calculations were such things as our wheel of fortune, fortune-telling cards, &c. Geomancy was originally the scattering of grains of sand on the ground, and afterwards came to the scattering of blots on a sheet of paper from a pen. There were sixteen shapes to which these blots were approximated, such as Journey, Prison, Girl, Boy, Head, Fortune, &c. &c.—*H. C. Agrippa de Oc. Phil.*, II. xlviij. The most modern form of geomancy is tea-cup tossing, an art not lost in our womankind of the middle class.


Looking on faces, Physiognomy. See the story of Democritus and the maid.

Pyromancy is Pyromancy, the art of prediction from fire, not only from comets, &c., but also glows in coals, and rushes of fire. There were four leading sorts of divination, 'Varro dicit divinationis quatuor esse genera, terram, aquam, aeream, signam.'—*Isidore Orig.*, VIII. 9.

Geomancy included originally the art of divination from earth tremblings, as hydromantia and aeromantia were presages from water and air respectively. These are added by Lydgate to Philip's list.

One does not exactly see the bearing of 'writing word.' Otherwise the remark is a commonplace of the doctrine of signatures, beginning then to be of great importance.

Cast. Cf. 'Cast about.'

*sette his herte at Ese.*

'yet sette mine herte in rest.'—*C. of L.* 1022.

'that maie her herte appese.'—*C. of L.* 397.

'In this mattir to set your herte in pese.'—*B. D.* s. *M.* 252.

 seem to have been composed as a sort of general summary of Lydgate's, probably sent to some person with a view to awakening curiosity as to the scope of the book. At any rate they do not come in here, and are founded partly, as li. 988—1008 are, on cap. 67 of the Latin version.

The mysteries Lydgate here speaks of are such as are preserved for us by Albertus Magnus in the translations made for him from the Arabic in his *Liber Aggregationis,* of the virtues of herbs, stones, and animals. He treats first of the occult virtues of sixteen plants, and further of seven more attributed to the seven planets by Alexander the emperor, but not included in the *Secreta Secretorum.* The second book treats of the virtues of stones, of which he names forty-six, and his third treats of eighteen animals. There are very few stories of the use of fish in magic. Tobit's fish is almost unique.
p. 17, l. 530. These stones were at first compounds used in medicine; then in the time of the Secreta, or soon after, became theoretical expositions of alchemy, and then seemed to have been refined away. I have no doubt but that originally compounds were made from these three sources, animal, vegetable, and mineral, e. g. bezoar, coral, &c.; and, even in the 17th century, we find continually that people were compounding mixtures out of dung, with the idea of getting the elixir out of it. Later on, stone in alchemy did not mean stone, but compound.


The Secreta Secretorum only speaks of two stones.

p. 17, l. 535. The word 'Element' does not bear the signification which we now attach to it, of being a presumably primary form of matter, but refers to the ancient division of bodies according to their primary qualities, hot, cold, moist and dry. These qualities could exist two by two in the simplest form of bodies imaginable, as cold and moist, which was then named Water, not as being anything resembling actual water, but because that representing these qualities was a convenient class name.

'Lapis dicitur habere quatuor elementa, quae exponit Arnollius. Quia cum facta est solutio, dicitur unum elementum, scilicet aqua. Et cum corpus est immundum, dicitur secundum elementum, scilicet terra. Et cum est calcinata dicta terra, dicitur ignis: et cum iterum solutus est lapis, dicitur aer.'—Rosarium Philosophorum. (A cento from Arab chemists, not later than 13th century translation) in Artis Auriferae, II., p. 288, Bas. 1572, 8°.

p. 17, l. 536. See notes on ll. 988, et seq. Here Lydgate may not mean 'in equal proportions,' but 'in just proportion.'

p. 17, l. 539. 'that men reden in the lapidaire.'—H. of Fame, iii. 262.

Many medieval collections circulated under this name. See Marbodius de Gemmis,' Evax, Albertus Magnus quoted above, Trithemius, Cardan, Bartholomew Anglics, Pliny, and many others.

p. 17, l. 541. The relation of Lydgate to the alchemical revival in the reign of Henry VI. The editor has published in The Antiquary, Sept. 1891, a number of legal documents and commissions illustrating this revival, from which it is evident that from 1444 to 1480 there was great activity in the study of alchemy. That Lydgate himself, if the ballad is his, knew some alchemists is evident from the following extract from Harl. 2251, 20 vo.

'The Alkamystre / tretith of mynaralles
And of metalles / transmutacions,
Of sulphur, mercury / Aloms and of sallis,
And of theyre sundry / generacionys:
What is cause / of theyr cominuxtions,
Why some be clene / some leperous and nat able,
fixing of spirites / with sublymacions:
Thus euery thyng / drawith to his semblable.'

That popular tradition associated alchemy with his name is evident from the prose treatise in Sl. 3708 being attributed to him.

The works of the celebrated alchemist, Raymond Lully, were translated into Latin, from Catalan, in London at the Priory of St. Bartholomew by Lambert G—; and the Editor’s copy in MS. gives the date 6th June, 1443. Later on, alchemy grew to such a point that Henry VI. appointed three Royal
Commissions to inquire into the subject, from one of which an extract is given, showing the aim of the alchemy of the time:

1456. 34 H. VI., m. 7.

'The king, etc., Greeting.

Know ye that in former times wise and famous Philosophers in their writings and books, under figures and coverings, have left on record and taught, that from wine, from precious stones, from oils, from vegetables, from animals, from metals, and the cores of minerals, many glorious and notable medicines can be made; and chiefly, that most precious medicine which some Philosophers have called the Mother and Empress of Medicines; others have named it the priceless glory, others have called it the Quintessence, others the Philosophers’ Stone and Elixir of Life; of which potion the efficacy is so certain and wonderful, that by it all infirmities whatsoever are easily curable, human life is prolonged to its natural limit, and man wonderfully preserved in health and manly strength both of body and mind, in vigour of limbs, clearness of memory, and perspicacity of talent to the same period: All kinds of wounds, too, which may be cured, are healed without difficulty, and in addition it is the best and surest remedy against all kinds of poisons; with it, too, many other advantages most useful to us and to the Commonwealth of our kingdom can be wrought, as the transmutation of metals into actual Gold and the finest Silver.'

Archbishop Neville, who died in 1470, was a great supporter of the alchemists; and one of his clients, Sir George Ripley, has left a picture of the false alchemists of the time. It seems that the sanctuary at Westminster was one of their haunting places. Ripley describes how they are hunted about the city of London:

'Folys doe folow them at the tayle, 
Promotyd to ryches wenyng to be;'

Merchants and goldsmiths lay watch for them,

'Wenyng to wyn so grete tresure
That ever in ryches they shall endure.'

But some lenders would be glad to see their goods again, and arrest the alchemists by the 'Sarjaunts':

'But when the Sarjannts do them arest
Ther Paukeners be stuffed wyth Parys balls;
Or wyth Syngnetts of Seynt Martyynes at the lest,
But as for Mony yt ys pyssyd on the walls:
Then be they led as well for them befalls
To Newgate or Ludgate as I you tell,
Because they shall in safeguard dwell.'

Then they are questioned:

'“Where ys my Mony becom?” seyth one,
“And where ys myne?” seyth he and he.'

And the result is, they talk over their creditors:

'Dotying the Merchants, that they be fayne
To let them go, but ever in vayne:’

And off they go to Westminster, where the Archdeacon is so good to them:

'And when they there syt at the wyne,
These Monks (they sey) have many a pound,
Wolde God (seyth one) that som were myne;
“Hay hoe, care away, let the cup go ronde:”
“Drynk on,” seyth another, “the mene ys founde:
I am a Master of that Arte,
I warrant us we shall have parte.’’
And so they do, for the monks believe in them; 'some bring a mazer, and some a spoon'; and Ripley ironically advises the Abbot to support people who know so well how to bring back his monks to the pristine poverty of St. Benedict.

There is some possibility that Burgh himself may have been a student of alchemy in his later years. There is a poem in the *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* of Ashmole, attributed to the Vicar of Maldon, which may have been written in the reign of Edward IV. by Burgh, who would be recognized by his best-known work, the *Distichia Moralium*, as Vicar of Maldon. Ashmole himself refers the work to an otherwise unknown Andrews.

The *Secreta Secretorum* is alluded to—without showing any knowledge of it—in the Canon's Yeoman's Tale as 'Secree of secrees' (16915). In Chancer's time no other secrets were thought of but the secrets of alchemy. It would seem that the alchemy of the *Secreta* dates back to an early period, and that it becomes prominent in the English version only because of the suppression of the remainder of the section in which it occurs, which deals with the supernatural properties of gems, and of incantations. It is, quite obviously, purely theoretical; and if it is compared with the work of Ijâber Al Koufî (Geber), who wrote on alchemy at about the same time, the distinction is most clearly marked. The Aristotelian division of elements, on which the chapter in this work is founded, is purely a theoretical conception, and no one thought of isolating them in old times, more than a modern expects to isolate the ether of our physical speculations. Yet the crude notion of separating, purifying, and combining these elements is just what a man who wished to introduce the subject into a chapter on marvels would form and put down. On the other hand, if the alchemical notions are cruder, the expectations indulged were less high-flown. Gower, in the 4th book of his *Confessio Amapatis* (ii. 86-7, ed. Pauli, 1857), speaks of the three stones thus, and he will explain our author best, as he is but amplifying his words.

'These olde Philosophres wyse,  
By wey of kinde in sondry wise;  
Thre Stones made through Clergy;  
The firste, if I shall specify,  
Was cleped *Vegetabilis*;  
Of which the propre vertue is,  
To mannes hele for to serve,  
As for to keepe, and to preserve  
The body fro sikenesses alle,  
Till deth of kinde upon hym falle.  
'The seconde Stone I the behote  
Is *Lapis Animalis* hote:  
The whose vertue, is propre and couth,  
For Ere and Eye, and Nase and Mouth;  
Whereof a man may here, and se,  
And smelle and taste, in his degre.  
And for to fele and for to go,  
It helpeth a man, of bothe two:  
The wittes five he underfongeth  
To keepe, as it to hym belongeth.  
'The thridde Stone in speciall  
by name is cleped *Minerall*,  
Which the Metalles of every mine,  
Attemptreth, till that thei ben fine;  

1 Untertakes, takes in hand.
And pureth hem by such a wey,
That all the vice goth away,
Of Rust, of Stynke, and of Hardnesse:
And when they ben of such clennesse,
This mineral, so as I finde,
Transformeth all the firste kinde,
And maketh hem able to conceive,
Through his vertue, and receive
Both in substaunce and in figure,
Of Gold and Silver the nature.'

p. 17, l. 544. Much of the practical alchemy of this time was devoted to the fabrication of precious stones.

p. 18, l. 545. A literal quotation from the Latin text.

p. 18, l. 548. medle of. Note the Latinism. Some writers have doubted Lydgate's knowledge of Latin,

= 'at my presumption.'

p. 18, l. 551. above the nyne sperys. 'Et novem sunt coeli umnum infra aliud, infra se invicem: prior ergo et superior spherarum est sphaera circundans Deum ipsum sphaera siderum. Secunda postque jam sphaera est Saturni: et sic usque ad spheram lunae: infra quam est sphaera ellementorum quattuor: quae sunt ignis, aer, aqua, et terra.'—Sec. Sec., c. 76. But no two writers arrange the nine spheres alike.

p. 18, l. 552. 'Carbunculus is a precious stone, and shyneth as fyre / whose shynyng is not overcomme by night. It shyneth in derke places / and it semeth as hit were a flame.'—Barth. Angl., xvi. 26. Trevisa's transl., ed. 1535, f. 228 a. It seems to be a popular error that the ruby shines by night, though by means of a properly constructed machine, a true phosphorescence of the ruby has been observed. Lydgate's idea of transferring the ruby to a shrine is, I think, good. See l. 444.

p. 18, l. 555. 'putte my sylf in prees,' to enter into contest. Cf. French aux prises.


p. 18, l. 556. A favourite metaphor drawn from initiation ceremonies in all time.

p. 18, l. 561 et seq. This stanza proves how much the doctrine of the four elements had been departed from in Lydgate's time. It is as who should say now, 'Separate from tin its atomic weight, atomic heat, conductivity, and other physical and chemical properties (naming them one by one); make each of these qualities equal to the corresponding one of gold, recombine them, and you will have gold.' It was equally true and impossible.


p. 18, l. 570. To 'funny' a person, i.e. to mislead them, is a vulgarism sometimes in use in the present day. It is met, I think, somewhere in Albert Smith's books. Such remarks begin to be common in alchemical writings—before this time they were rare.

p. 18, l. 572. Outragious, l. 650, Pardoner's Tale.


p. 19, l. 579. Recalls the monastic fish-ponds, of which traces can still be seen near old abbeys.

p. 19, l. 582. These lines may have been written with the experience of Lydgate's master, and of many others, in view. There can be no doubt that Chaucer had invested money in alchemy—his bitterness shows that—and that
there was a public who knew something of the technicalities of alchemy. The statute forbidding it passed in 1403.

Chaucer's words are similar:

‘Lo / swich a lucre / is in this lusty game
A mannes myrthe / it wol turne vn-to grame
And empten also / grete and heuye purses
And maken folk / for to purchacen curses,’


p. 19, l. 588. C. Y. T. 16925, ‘ignotum per ignotius.’ I cannot trace this, but it is medieval divinity.

p. 19, l. 594. Complexio. See l. 1236.

p. 19, l. 603-5. There is no doubt but that either by tradition or by some separate text, perhaps a sidenote, Lydgate had become aware of Johannes Hispalensis' connection with the Sec. Sec. He accordingly confuses John, son of Patrick (the Syrian compiler), with John Avendeath (Hispalensis), the translator of part of the treatise for Teophane. The headline, p. 20, represents Lydgate's intention. Lydgate begins in the third person, and getting tired, makes an awkward change in l. 622.

p. 20, l. 613. One MS. of the Sec. Sec. gives Herodos, others Hermes.

p. 20, l. 637. Misled by this line, the rubricator (? Burgh) has made the following an epistle of the translator. It is really—as far as it is anything—a translation of part of the preface to the Sec. Sec. See cap. IV. of the English prose version (18 A. vii., Mus. Brit.).

p. 20, l. 638. Lydgate again begins in the third person, and again changes in 663, this time in a more workman-like manner. The preface begins with an equivalent for l. 655, then excuses himself for not coming (641-51), then remarks on the sin of disclosing secrets, then goes on to ll. 652-6, a summary of the objects of some of the next chapters.

p. 22, ll. 663–679, represent the advice Lydgate thought necessary for Henry VI. and his court.

p. 22, ll. 673-4. A confusion of metaphors, brought on by looking for a metaphor for everything, an instance of the error into which some of our modern poets have fallen.

p. 22, l. 680. ‘togidre to combye’ is not here simply half a line put in to make up a rhyme, but seems to come in the sense. Confer version A., cap. IV., where the author speaks of the necessity of keeping the people in subjection.

p. 22, l. 687. Lydgate goes off again on a tangent, with a general idea of the first of the preceding prefaces, and does not return till l. 729.

p. 22, l. 689. ‘Discretion, prudence in right judgemente,
Whiche in a prince is thing most conveyable.’

Pallas to Paris of Troie, 26.

p. 22, l. 698. These lines should come in—by sense—after 98.

p. 22, l. 700. moo, ? me; very unusual.

p. 22, l. 702. ‘above the sterryd hevene,’ ad empirium coelum, Sec. Sec.

p. 22, l. 703. See l. 87.


p. 23, l. 709. See l. 112.

p. 23, l. 712. porrus, Porus, the Indian king defeated by Alexander.

p. 23, l. 713. Vows of the peacock were now a thing of the past.

p. 23, l. 722. Persons used to the precision of German scholarship often PHILOSOPHERS.
speak of the ignorance of Chaucer and Lydgate, to say nothing of other poets, in speaking of Helicon as a spring. In Add. MS. 29729, we have in the Mercer's Play, fol. 132 b, the following lines showing their ideas:

'And percius / with his furious stede
Smot on the roche / wher y* musis dwell
tyll ther sprange vp / sodenly a well
Callid the welle / of Calyope'

The fact that there were springs on the mountain of Helicon, springs haunted by the Muses (for which they had Hesiod's authority), was quite sufficient for any medieval writer.

p. 23, l. 728. There was no fear of Lydgate's revealing anything that was not patent to everybody. One may hope the reader will get some pure corn out of the chaff of these 735 lines.


It will be seen Lydgate gets the whole thing wrong as a translation. One of the Latin editions attributed this classification to Pythagoras.

p. 23, l. 738. with al ther besy cure.

'Bulade 'warning men,' &c., 22.

p. 24, l. 755. This must be put down again as Lydgate's idea of the advice needed by the English court of the day.

p. 25, ll. 789-91. These lines are not clear—in fact Lydgate seems to mean the very opposite of what he says.

p. 25, l. 792. ll. 736—791 apparently are a summary of the chapter on the four manners of kings—and now Lydgate harks back to the beginning again.

p. 26, l. 804. If there were any other authority for the word I would prefer to read 'fredain' from the French, whim, fancy, will, &c. There would be no difference in the MS.

p. 26, l. 814. There is no second extremity mentioned, and the whole stanza is doubled up hopelessly.

p. 26, l. 834. London fogs were as famous as they are now, before coal came there. Cf. 'Of ignorance the miste to chace away.'—C. of L. 25.

p. 27, l. 838. 'laureer meed of mightie conquerors.'—Ass. of Foules.

p. 27, l. 855. Lydgate returns again to the subject of lines 748-56, and this time gets it nearly right.

p. 28, ll. 876-89. Lydgate's own verses—and they shine by comparison with those around them.

p. 28, l. 883. 'That tabouren in your eris many a soun.'

Leg. G. W. 379, 390.
The tenor Round. The tenor bell is the great bell of a peal.

Flowers of Proserpina. The first use of this figure?

' discretionem ' is object to ' meddle. ' But of his owne to large is he that list

Give moche and lesin his gode name thorefore.'

B. D. s. M. 455.

' Qui vero fundit bona sui regni dignis et non indigni-
tibus: talis est depopulator reipublicae, destructor regni, incompetens regi-
минis: unde prodigius appellatur, co que procul a regno est sua prudentia.
Nomen vero avariciae multum deduceet regem, et disconvenit regiae majestati.'

—Sec. See.

Tressyl as phæbus. The sun's rays spoken of as his hair. A

new chapter begins here, which Burgh did not recognize when settling the text.

Republica is Lydgate's own word—not found in the texts.

pleyne, border on, incline to.

Fortem, justum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficum,
et liberalem esse, hae sunt regiae landes.'—Cicero, pro rege Deiot x.

Unde inveni scriptum in preceptis magni doctoris Hermo-
genis: que summa & mera bonitas: claritas intellectus: et plenitudo legis:
ac signum perfectionis est in rege: abstinentia a pecuniis: et possessionibus
subditorum. Qua fuit causa destructionis regni Chaldaorum: &c. &c.'—

Sec. Sec.

noblesse has the same double meaning as nobility, an abstract and collective

noun.

In many of the French versions there follows a translation of

the other part of the chapter, giving an account of the destruction of the

English instead of ' angelorum ' (MSS.) or ' Chaldaorum.' See above. It is a

heading in the Lambeth MS. 501.

These lines are a translation of the chapter ' De la-
pide animali vegetabili.' As it is short, and not found in one of the texts, I

add it. ' In primis O Alexander tibi tradere volo secretorum maximum secre-
tum, et divina potentia juvet te ad perficiendum propositum, et ad celandum
ad arcanum. Accipe ergo lapidem animalem vegetabilem et mineralem qui
non est laps, nec habet naturam lapidis, et iste laps quodam modo assimilat
lapidibus montium minerarum et plantarum et animalium, et reperitur in
qualibet loco, et in qualibet tempore, et in qualibet homine: et convertibilis
est in quemlibet colorum, et in se continet omnia elementa, et dicitur minor
mundus: et ego nominabo ipsum nomine suo, quo nominat ipsum vulgus
scilicet terminus ovi, hoc est dicere ovum philosophorum. Divide ergo ipsum
in quattuor partes, quaelibet pars habet num naturam; deinde compone
ipsum equaliter et proportionabiliter, itaque non sit in eo divisio nec repug-
nantia, et habebis propositum, Domino concedente. Isto modo est universalis,
se d ego dividam ipsum tibi in operationes speciales: dividitur itaque in quattuor
tuo et duobus modis sit bene et sine corruptione. Quando igitur habueris
aquam ex aere, et aereum ex igne, et ignem ex terra, tunc habebis plene artem.
Dispone ergo substantiam aeram per discretionem, et dispone substantiam
terram per humiditatem et caliditatem: donec convenient et conjungantur
sic quae nec dividantur nec discrepent: et tunc adjunge eis duas virtutes
operativas, scilicet aquam et ignem: et tunc implibitur opus tuum. Quia si
permiscueris aquam solam dealabitis, et si adjunxeris ignem rubescet, Domino
concedente.—Sec. Sec.

One is constantly coming across statements such as the

following of the good rulers in Arabic books: ' Quth-ad-din was generous; he
Notes to Pages 31—33; Lines 982—1060.

governed his people with humanity, treated merchants well, and loaded them with gifts. His subjects lived in the greatest abundance, loaded with his largesse, and fearing no damage from him.'

p. 31, l. 982. Regent: note the broader sense in which this word is used.

p. 31, ll. 988—994. This is incorrectly drawn up, and is corrected in the next two lines. The state of the lines in the MS. seems to point that this was the fair copy for presentation, destined to be personally corrected by Burgh.

p. 31, l. 995. The following explanation is given in the Rosarium Philosolorum, p. 267. 'Aristoteles in regimine principum dicit ad Alexandrum de quatuor elementis — Quando habueris aquam, id est Mercurium (perhaps mercury; perhaps the "mercury of philosophers") ex aere, id est sole (gold), et aeren ex igne, scilicet spiritum Mercurii (a volatile acid compound, corrosive sublimate, arsenic, opiment, or the like), & ignem scilicet mercurium ex terra scilicet luna (silver), tum plene habebis artem.'

p. 31, l. 999. See note on l. 561.

p. 32, l. 1002. Citron is simply gold coloured, with a purple tinge. 'Quando bonus dormitat Homerun'; and Prof. Skeat remarks in a note to his introduction to the Canon's Yeoman's Tale, on the strange alchemical scale of colour—black, red, white. This was of course the Aristotelian scale, Arist. de Sensu et Senside ii, Barth. de Prop. Rerum. xix. vii. f. 354 a, and all other colours were put somewhere in this scale—white, yellow, citrine, red, purple, green, black. The Arab commentators name sixteen colours, white and black, and two sevens, between red and white or black.

p. 32, ll. 1007-8. These lines represent the last lines of the Latin chapter, Mercury, or any compound of it, would make any metal of a silvery colour by 'amalgamating' its outside, while arsenic, opiment, &c. might redden it.

p. 32, l. 1008. This verse refers to the traditional connection between the moon and silver.

p. 32, l. 1009. The side-heading was written with the names of some French alchemists in my mind, and I hoped to have identified them, but it seems there was no ground for Lydgate's line—though, of course, Philip of Tripoli may have been French, and may have been an alchemist.

p. 32, l. 1023. 'Et pater noster Hermogenes qui est triplex in philosophia.' Sec. Sec. All followers of these mysteries were sons of Hermes. It may not be out of place to mention that Trismegistus does not mean 'thrice great' but thrice greatest, or greatest in three—places, things, sciences, &c.

p. 32, l. 1024. with seyd Philip, with the said Philip. 'Secreta' was admitted to his confidence.

p. 32, l. 1025. prevy would be the attribute of 'vertu,' I suppose. There is a chapter in the Latin text on the virtues of stones (but see the Lambeth text), 'with circumstances of Araby, Ind, & Perse.'

p. 32, l. 1030. This stanza represents the chapter 'de intentione finali quem debent habere reges.' It is probable that in this, as in many later sections, Lydgate made a kind of skeleton, beginning to translate a chapter, and letting the one stanza stand for the whole, which later on would be finished. Very difficult to scan.

p. 33, l. 1037. This stanza stands for the chapter, 'De malis quae sequuntur ex carnali appetitu.'

p. 33, ll. 1054-78 represent the chapter, 'De sapientia regis et religione.' Book II. begins here.

p. 33, l. 1060. It is very noteworthy that nothing at all is said in any text about tale-bearers, and yet Lydgate returns to the point again and again. Had he in mind the condition of the English court? There is no doubt that 'no
wit of sapience or of discretion' could have been found in Henry VI. judged by this rule, and Benedict Burgh, who supplied the headings, and was connected with a Yorkist family, may have wished to bring this prominently forward. I may say that when the title of the section is in the margin, it is so simply for convenience, and its position implies nothing else.

p. 34, l. 1065. The title would again point to Henry—more favourably this time. The stanzas have no authority in the text, and are wholly Lydgate's. Cf. XI. of the A.-text.

p. 34, l. 1079. This is the chapter 'de ornamento regis.' Lydgate makes no use of the text before him.

p. 34, l. 1085. 'Saphirus is a precious stone. & is blew in colour / mooste like to heven in faire wether & clere, & is best amonge precious stones / & most precious & most apte & able to fyngres of kinges... And this saphrire stone is thick and not passing bright, as Isid. saith... Also in Lapidario hit is sayde / that this stone doth awaye emy, and putteth of dred & feare, & maketh a man bold & hardy, & master and victor, & maketh the harte stedfast in goodnes / and maketh meke and milde, & goodwill. I wene that al this is said more in disposition than in effecte & doyng. But this suffyseth at this tyme.'—Borth. Angl. de Prop. Reb., XVI. lxxxvii. f. 337, Ed. 1535. I don't know whether Lydgate meant that a sapphire was always of one hue, for medieval writers made it a great point that if the wearer of a sapphire lost his chastity, the sapphire lost its colour... Alamins of Piedmont in his Secrets, Bas., 8°., f. 746, says that the sapphire easily loses its colour by fire. But perhaps Lydgate only referred to its hardness.

p. 34, l. 1086. Here two chapters of the text are omitted; see the A.-text. This chapter is 'de castitate.' It urgeth him to be chaste, so that he does not resemble swine. The original referred to that vice, 'not so much as to be named among Christian men,' as Blackstone says.

p. 34, l. 1091. Pallith. The sense here is midway between the active meaning of beat and the passive of becoming rapid, and includes part of both.

p. 35, l. 1093. In the Arabic Prairies d’Or (tr. B. de Meynard) I find:

'Dans l’Inde, un roi... ne se montre au peuple qu’à des époques déterminées, et seulement pour examiner les affaires de l’état: car, dans leur idées, un roi porterait atteinte à sa dignité et n’inspirerait plus le même respect s’il se montrait constamment au peuple.'

p. 35, l. 1093. This is a part of a previously omitted chapter, 'de taciturnitate regis': the point of that chapter being advice to a king to show himself to his subjects not more than once or twice a year. This is fortified by a reference to the kingdom of the Indians, which our A.-prose turns into Jews as usual, and which Lydgate, or the text he used, turns into Rome, as an example more likely to be followed than that of the Jews.

p. 35, l. 1099. yerde. The rod has been the symbol of authority from the time of the writer of Genesis to our own. The connection between the yard and the rod of 5½ yards, recognised as far back as Ed. 1.'s time legally, would be an interesting study.

Vndir a yerde.

'Sheve forthe the yerde of castigacion.'—Stedfastnesse 26.

'Undir your yerde egall to mine offenec.'—T. d. C., iii. 137.

'And mikel yake her chastisement and yerde.'—C. of L. 363.


p. 35, l. 1107. The title of these stanzas seems to have been suggested by line 1106: but there is no reason in the texts for making a new heading. All other MSS. put this heading here. It might have been better to leave it out altogether.
p. 36, l. 1121. This chapter is headed, 'de solatio musicali regis.' It advises the king to make all his intimates drunk two or three times a year to hear what their private thoughts of him and his government are.

p. 36, l. 1126. Lydgate throws in this sentiment, entirely opposed to the texts, to conciliate the commoners of England. See the A.-prose for the real sentiment.

p. 36, l. 1128. This heading also is not an original division of the text, which runs on.

p. 36, l. 1130. The memory of the king who encourages it.

p. 36, l. 1135. This is part of the chapter 'In quibus consistit obedientia Domini.' 'O Alexander, obedientia dominatoris quatuor attenditur modis, in religiositate, in dilectione, in curialitate, et reverentia.' Sec. Sec. It will be seen that our author only began the idea and did not finish it.

p. 36, l. 1140. *seyn = seen.*

'For they han seyn hir ever so vertuous.'—*M. of Law Tale* 624.

'And when they han his blissful mayden seyn.'—*M. of Law Tale* 172.

p. 36, l. 1142. This heading seems to have been put on the scrap of paper on which Burgh found stanzas 164 and 165. These stanzas are a part of the same chapter as the preceding one, and have no reference to how a king should be governed in different weather seasons, but, instead, compare the government of a king to a weather, which does good or harm to the people without their having much to say in the matter.

p. 37, l. 1154. Our author’s conclusion is his own, and is much better than that of the texts, which advise the subjects 'to grin & bear it.'

p. 37, l. 1156. This represents the chapter 'de misericordia regis.' It is again merely a stanza to represent what Lydgate doubtless intended to fill in later.

Between this and the next stanza come two chapters, one advising the king to store up grain against famine time, and then to sell it to the people; the other speaking of God’s revenge against man-slaying—even by a king. The first would have led at once to the dethronement of any English king, let alone the fact that Henry’s government never had any money, and the second would have been peculiarly unacceptable to the nobles of that day.

p. 37, l. 1163. This represents the chapter 'de fide servanda.' It is again a skeleton battalion.

p. 37, l. 1164. The reference here is to the centre of the universe—but why in one degree? I suppose Lydgate got 'mutabylite' and filled in the other two rhymes till he could get a better one. We must remember that he did not publish this.

p. 37, l. 1170. This stands for 'Quomodo Rex debet ordinare studia.' The text of the Sec. Sec. dates from before universities, and so one could hardly expect to find them mentioned in it. The Latin text begins 'Prepara gymnasia.' The whole of this section is Lydgate’s, the idea only being supplied by the Sec. Sec. See notes on l. 341.

p. 38, l. 1184. This is part of the chapter 'de hora eligendi in Astronomia.' The next hundred lines however do not follow the Sec. Sec. at all closely, or more properly do not translate it at all.

p. 38, l. 1189. *Cypryan.* Where did Lydgate get Cypryan from? Was this the St. Cyprian who was an astrologer at Antioch, who afterwards became a Bishop, and was martyred in the Diocletian persecution? The French and Latin texts at this place speak of *Plato* as referring the evils our bodies suffer from, to four contrary humours. See note on l. 1240. Lydgate quotes Cyprian, 'A garden of his flowers.' See p. 80, *Eliz. Acad.*, E. E. T. S.
p. 38, l. 1191. This seems to be founded on some lines at the end of the chapter on studies. Speaking of the Greeks, he says, 'Sane puellae in domo patris familias ex magno studio sciebant cursum anni, festa futura, solemnitates mensium, cursus planetarum, causas abreviatorias dici et noctis, revolutionem pleiadis et bootes, cirenum dierum, signa stellarum, judicia futurorum, & alia quae pertinent ad artem superiorum.'—Sec. Sec.

p. 38, l. 1198. 'O Rex clementissime, si fieri potest nec surgas, nec sedeas, nec comedas, nec bibas, nec penitus aliquid facias, sine consilio periti in astrorum arte.'—Sec. Sec.

p. 38, l. 1203 same rhyme as 1231-2.

p. 38, l. 1205. This is not in the Sec. Sec., nor is it justified by the science of the time. I should prefer to read the line,

'Saturn is slothe and malencolyous.'

And when we remember that we are dealing with fragments only we may feel ourselves free to omit Mars from the list. The following lines are from Harl. 2251, 23 b:

'Saturne disposeth / to malencolyo
Jupiter reyethe men / to hye noblesse
Sturdy Mars / to styfre werre and envye-
Phæbus to wisdom / and to highe prowesse
Mercury to chaunge / and doublessesse
The inoone maketh the man / mutable and mevynghe
How shudle man thame / be stable of livynge.'

'As Ptholomeus sayth in libro de judiciis Astrorum, he maketh a man broun and fowle, mysdoynes, slowe and heny elegyng and sory / seklome gladde and merye or laughtynge / and therfore Ptholomeus saith, they that ben subject to Saturnus, haue oft euyl drye chinnes in the hynder part of the fote. And ben yelow of colour, and broun of heere / and sharpe in all the body, and vnsene. And ben not skynous of foul and stykynge clothyng. And he loveth stykynge beastes and vnclene / soure thyngez and sharp. For of theyr complexyon Melancolyke humoure hath maysty.'—Barth. Ang. de Prop. Rerum. VIII. xxiii, fol. 126 b., Ed. 1535. See also Bapt. Porta. Coelestis Physiog., II. cap. 1, 4, 6, 7.

But.—

'O cruell Mars, full of Melancoly,
And of thy kind, hote, combust & dry.'

*Story of Thebes* iii. 1.

'Mars malencolyous.' I think it better here to add the notes about the disposition of Mars from the same source.

'And he dysposeth the soule to vnestedfastie wytte and lyghtnes / to wrathe, and to boldnes, and to other coleryke passyons. And also he dysposeth and maketh to fyrye werkes and craftes, as smythes and bakers, as Saturnus dysposeth men to be erthe tyllars, and berers of heny bourdens. And Jupiter the contrarye disposeth to lyght craftes: for he maketh men able to be pleders / chaungers, handlers of syluer, wryters / and other suche / as Misaele (Messa-hala) sayth. Ca. xii.'—B. A. VIII. xxv. See also Porta lib. cit. c. 15—21.

p. 38, l. 1206. But Lydgate elsewhere says,

'And phebus Causith / dysposyth to gladnesse.'

'Also among all planetes he disposeth the most beastes to boldnesse and to lyuellnesse.'—B. A. VIII. xxviii.

p. 38, l. 1207. 'In Rethoryk / helpith mercuryvs.'
'Fore Mercuriales cordatos, ingeniosos, cuncta discentes, modestos, mercatores, Grammaticos, Oratores, Physicos, Poetas, Musicos, Mathematicos, sortilegos, augures.'—Porta lib. cit. c. 18.

'Vnder Mercurius is conteined fortune, chaffering, & yeft: & he tokeneth wysdom & wyt.'—B. A. VIII. xxvii.

'With boke in hand than comes Mercurious
Right eloquent and ful of rethoric
With polite termis and delicious
With penne and inke to report alredie
Sething songis & singing merily.
His hode was red hechid altour his croun
Like til a poete of the olde fassioun.'

Test. of Cres. 239; T. of Glas 132.

p. 39, l. 1208. 'as Ptholomeus saythe, the moone maketh a man vnstable, chaungeable, and remenyng aboute fro place to place.'—B. A. VIII. xxx.

'item homines nullius utilitatis, qui die ac nocte desiderent ire huc illuc, nec leviter alicubi stent, instabiles, non perseverantes, habentes ex operibus legationes, aquarum et terrae amantes, voraces, extra patriam viventes,' &c.—Porta, c. 45-9.

p. 39, l. 1212. This title has nothing to do with the stanza, which does not seem to be more than a collection of clauses.

p. 39, l. 1222. the = thee.

p. 39, l. 1223. word is but wind.

'What availeth, sir, your proclamacion
of curious talking, not touching sadnes?
It is but winde.'—Craft of Lovers, 37.

'Worde is but wind brought in by enuye.'—Falls of Princes 216, and in Troy-Book. Temple of Glas 1183, which see for further references.

p. 39, l. 1226. These two stanzas really should come after the next section, of which they form a part.

p. 40, l. 1236. 'Complexioun.' The following lines are from Harl. 2251, 23 b:

'The sangwyne man / of bloode hathe hardynesse
Made to be louyng / and large of expence
The floymatyke slowe / oppressede withe dulnesse
White of coloure / rude of eloquence
And sithe there is in man / suche difference
Of complexions / diuersely tournyng
How shulde man thanne / be stable in his livyng.

The coleryke man sotyl / and disceyvable
Sklendre lene / and eytryne of coloure
Wrothe sodainly / and hastily vengeable
ffrette withe Ire / withe fury and withe rancour
Drye and adust / and a grete wastour
And disposede to many a sundry thynge
How shulde he thanne / be stable in livenge.

Malencolicus / of his complexioine
Disposede is / for to be fraudulent
Malicious frowarde / and be decepcioun
Conspiryng discourse / ay double of his entente
Whiche thynges peysede / by goode avisemente
I dare conclude / as to my felynge
ffewe men ben stable here / in theyr livyng.'
There are four complexions: sanguine, choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic, answering to the four humours, 'sanguis, cholera, phlegma, melancholia.'

p. 40, l. 1240. 'Conveniunt itaque sapientes et philosophi naturales: *quod* homo est compositus ex oppositis elementis: et ex quattuor contrariis humoribus: qui semper indigent alimentis et potibus: quibus si caret homo corrupitur eius subst[an]tia: et si his superf\textsuperscript{3}lie vtatur: vel diminuit incurrat debilitatem et infirmitatem et alia inconveniencia multa. Si vero vitur temperate: inveniet innamn vitae corporis fortitudinem, et totius suse substanti\textsuperscript{3}ae salutem.'—Sec. Sec.


'Nam cum quattuor illa sint, ex quibus compactum est corpus, Terra, Ignis, Aqua, Aer, horum contra naturam abundantia, defectu\textsuperscript{3}que, et ex loco proprio in alienum translato, per quam quod sibi conveniens est, non tenent, intestinam quandam seditionem et morbos inferunt.'—Plato in Timaeo, 1081, d. Ed. Franc\textit{f}, fo. 1602.

'Prima stat\textsuperscript{3}a potest ea, quae ex primordiis conficitur, iis, quae nonnulli elementa appellant, terram dico, aerem, aquam, ignem: sed melius fortasse dici potest, ex virtutibus confici elementorum, isque non omnibus: humiditas eum et sic\textsuperscript{3}itas, et caliditas et frigiditas. materia corporum sunt compositorum.'—Arist. de part. anim. II. i. Ed. Paris 1524, f. 6 b.

p. 40, l. 1244. tours—turnings, courses of the planets, whether their movement be direct or retrograde. Their governance in heaven causes temperate health on earth.

p. 40, l. 1246. 'in corporibus medicus sanitatem non interneceone caloris aut frigoris, sed proportione quae\textsuperscript{2}et atque conficit.'—Plut. de Sanit. tuenda.

p. 40, l. 1247. Corrupci\textsuperscript{3}on means a change, not necessarily implying our meaning. Thus when we set a stick on fire we corrupt the wood and generate fire.

p. 40, l. 1254. Cicero ad. fam. 16: 'Valetudinem postulare concoctionem, jucunditatem, deambulationem moderatam, delectionem, purgationem ventris.' The ancients summed up the points of diet in the 'six non-naturals'—air, exercise and rest, food and drink, sleep and watching, swiving, and accidents of the mind.

p. 40, l. 1254. This should be called, 'What a Leech has to do.' The next seven stanzas seem to have little to do with the Sec. Sec. They express generally some ideas in it, but Lydgate alters very much both the form and the subject matter of the work. They correspond closely to the Dietary.

p. 40, l. 1258-60. Connection of seasons and humours: flewm in autumn, see l. 1413; colera in summer, l. 1349. The following lines are taken from Harl. 2251, 23 a:

'With veer man hathe / hete and eke moysture
Atvyne bothe / by a manuer attemperaunce
In whiche tweyne / grete luste he dothe recure
If colde nat put lyym / in distemperaunce
Thus meyne with drede / is manne gouernance
Ay neuer in certeyne / by recorde of wryntyng
How shulde he thanne / be stable in livyng.

Man hath with somer / dryvenesse and heete
In theyre bookes / as auctours liste expresse
Notes to Pages 40, 41; Lines 1261—1278.

And whanne phebus / entrithe the Aryete
Digeeste humours / vpwarde don hem dresse
Pooris opyn / that season of sweetnesse
And exalacions / dïersely wyrkyng
How shulde a man / be stable in his livynge.

Autumpne to veer / is founde contrarye
As Galyen saithe / in al his qualittees
Disposyng man / that season dothe so vary
To many vukouthe / straunge Inïfrynytees
Of canyeler dayes / takyng the propirtees
By resolucione / of manyfolde chaungynge
How shulde man thanne / be stable in lyvynge.

Man hathe withe wynter / in this presente lyfe
By disposicioune / coole and humylite
Whiche season is / to fleawme nutritife
Spoylithe tree and herbe / of al theyre fresshe beaute
Closithe, constreynethe / the poore men may see
Causithe kyndely hete / inwarde to be weryngynge
How shal man thanne / be stable in his livynge.'

p. 40, l. 1261.  
Sleep nurse of digestion.  Chaucer, Sq. Tale, 2nd part, l. 1.
‘Haec eadem cubis, in venas dum diditur omnes,
Efficit, et multo soper ille gravissimus exstat,
Quem satur aut lassus capias: quia plurima tum se
Corpora conturbant magno concussa labore.'
Lucretius, IV. 952; see l. 1892.

‘The ancient rule was to put a little exercise between a meal and sleep.’—
Plutarch de Is. et Os.
‘Nos autem medicis pareamus, qui moment semper inter coenam et somnum faciendam aliquam intercapedinem: ne congestis in corpus cibis et oppresso spiritu, confestin crudo ac fervido alimento aggravemus vim concoctricem, sed respirationem & relaxationem concedamus.’—Plut. de Sanit. tuenda, fo. 133, d.

p. 41, l. 1267.  
‘And vse nooer late / for to suppe,’
‘Suffre no sur fetis.’—Dietary 8.

p. 41, ll. 1268-70.

‘Quando anima corpore admodum potentior est exultat in eo atque effectur, totum ipsum intrinseceus quatiens languoribis implet.’—Plato in Timaco.

p. 41, l. 1268.  
‘Si vis incolemen, si vis te reddere sanum
Curas tolle graves, irasci crede prophanan
Parce mero, cenato parum.’—Schola Salernitana (11th cent.).
‘Pars animam laqueo claudunt mortisque timorem
Morte fugant, ulteroquc vocant venientia fata.’—Ovid, 7 Met.

p. 41, l. 1271.  
‘Aer sit mundus, habitabilis, ac luminousus,
Nec sit infectus nec olens fetor cloaace.’—Schol. Salern.

p. 41, l. 1274.  
‘Flee mystis blake / and eyre of pestilence.’—Dietary.

p. 41, l. 1275.
‘Si tibi deficiant medici; medici tibi fiang
Haece tria: mens laeta, requies, moderata dieta.’—Schol. Salern.

p. 41, l. 1278.  In this stanza the only change from the Dietary beyond the omission of the seventh line is the substitution of ‘malencolyous’ for ‘malicious’ in the Harl. 2251 ed., which is much nearer the Latin text of Sl. 3334 than the Lamb. MS.
p. 41, l. 1282. This is the eighth stanza in the Harl. 2251 and in the Latin Dietary. It is not included in the Babee's Book text.

p. 41, l. 1289. This stanza is in both dietaries, with the exception of the two last lines.

p. 41, l. 1294. Lydgate evidently thought that if these precepts were not in the Sec. Sec. they were useful to his patron, and so runs in the old stanzas with this tag: Note the change of meaning in 'diet.'

p. 42, l. 1303. Spring begins when the sun enters Aries. This generally happens after mid-day, March 20th. In Lydgate's time the equinox fell earlier owing to the faults of the Julian Calendar. See the notes on the prose versions at this place. Their dates are not Arabic, but are due to Johannes Hispanensis.

'Spryngynge tymse is begynnyng of the yere, that begynmethe whar the son is in the fyrste party of the sygne that hyghte Aries: and begynmethe to passe vpwarde, toward the North by a ryght line, as Constantine saith in Pantegni libro quinto, capitulo tertio.'—Bart. Angl. IX. v.

p. 42, l. 1304. The sun now crosses the line, and every day becomes higher at noontide.

p. 42, l. 1305. The daisy opens now as early as the 9th of February. Alceste was turned into a daisy. See Skeat's note in Legend of Good Women.

'And aldernext was þe fressh quene
I mene Alceste, the noble trw wyfe,
And for Admete how she lost hir life,
And for hir trouth, if I shal not lie,
Hon she was turynyd to a daisie.'—T. of Glas 70-4.

p. 42, l. 1310. 'Ver est calidum et humidum et temperatum: aeri simile est, et excitatur in eo sanguis.'—Sec. Sec.

'And spryngnge tymse is betwene hotte and colde / most temperat bitwene winter and somer / meane in qualyte: and partyneth with eyther of them in qualyte.'—Bart. Angl. loc. cit.

This last is derived from Galen. Hippocrates said the qualities of spring were warm and moist, and thus it resembles the element air. The Latin text combines both ideas.

p. 42, l. 1322. I cannot find out what story is here alluded to. The cuckoo is, of course, a migratory bird, which stays with us from April to August, and his note is a love-call peculiar to the male and to the nesting season.

p. 43, l. 1334. 'han' should be 'han'; perhaps on[r] is on = one talent out of four entrusted to us.

'not onely my daies but fivefold talent.'—Rem. of Love 89.

p. 43, l. 1344. Complexion of summer.

'Then somer is hotte and drye / and bredeth Coleram.'—Bar. Angl. IX. vi.

p. 43, l. 1345. 'Aestas tune incipit cum sol ingrediit primum punctus Cancri & continet nonaginta duos dies et horam cum dimidia: et hoc est a decima die jumit usque ad decimam diem septembri.'—Sec. Sec.

The summer signs are Cancer, Leo, and Virgo.

'And somer hathe three moneths ryght as spryngynge tymse / as Constantyne sayth. The fyrste monethe longeth to the sygne that hyght Cancer / and lasteth fro the xvij daye of June to the eyghthyme daye of July: The seconde whan the somne is in Leone, and dureth from the xvij daye of July to the xvij daye of Auguste: The thyrde begynmeth whan the somme commeth in to the sygne that hyghte Virgo, and dureth fro the xvij daye of Auguste to the xvij daye of Septembre, as Constantyne sayth.'—Barth. Angl. IX. vi.
Summer now begins about midday on June 21st, and lasts to midnight on September 22nd. St. Barnabas Day is June 11th.

p. 43, l. 1348. See l. 1344.


p. 43, l. 1351. St. Bartholomew is August 24th.

p. 43, l. 1352. 'Colour'? Choler, or it may be that Clour is in apposition to Fire as Juventus to Age. For 'Juventus' read 'Juvenis.'

p. 43, l. 1354:

'Est et humor colerae qui competit impetunosis,
Hoc genus est hominum cupiens precellere cunctos.
Hi leviter discunt: multum comedit: cito crescent.
Inde magnanimum sunt largi summa petentes.
Hirsutus: fallax: irascens: prodigus: audax:

p. 43, l. 1356. Of growing slaunder, slender of growth. The other MSS. read 'slaundre,' and as this does not follow the Sec. Sec., I decided to follow their spelling. It means 'slender,' as the following extract shows:—

'And the werkynge of somer by subtileyte of heate, cometh in to the holow parties of beestes, and dryeth and wasteth humors / that bene bytwene the skynne and the fleshe: and all to sheddith theym. and maketh beestes swyfte: and so he distroyeth and wastyth superfluyte.'—Bart. Angl.

p. 44, l. 1361. June 24th is St. John the Baptist's day; June 29th is St. Peter and St. Paul; August 1st is Lammas Day, St. Peter ad Vincula, when he was released from prison by an angel, and the guards were crucified for letting him go. St. Thomas à Becket was martyred on December 29th, but the time of the year being inconvenient for pilgrims, his bones were 'translatted' to a new shrine in summer, and the anniversary was kept as his.

p. 44, ll. 1374-6. Beans and peas, purslane, and lettuce. These are not mentioned in the Sec. Sec. (see the prose version).

p. 45, l. 1395. tydy man.

'For all the traunyale of the vere is then mooste: and corn & fruytes ben gadered and brought into bernes.'—Bart. Angl. IX. vii.

One may be excused for thinking some of these stanzas really good.

p. 45, l. 1405. 'Harueste begynneth, whanne the sonne entryth and cometh in to the fyrste partye of the sygne, that hyght Libra: whan the sonne is in the ryght lyne that hyght linea equinoctialis: for he is like ferre fro the North, and fro the South, Harueste tyme hath thre monthes, that serve it as Constantyne sayth. The fyrste begynneth, whan the sonne is in Libra: and lastyth fro the xvij daye of Septemre, to the xvij daye of Octobre: and than the sonne begynneth to withdrawe in the myd daye. 'The seconde moneth is in Scorpio: & lastyth fro the xviiij, day of Octobre to the euyghten daye of Nouembre. The thryde moneth is, whan the sonne is in Sagittario: and lasteth fro the xvij (sic) daye of Nouembre, to the xviiij daye of Decembre, as Constantyne sayth.'—Bart. Angl. loc. cit.

p. 45, l. 1407. 'Harueste in his qualyte is contrarye to spryngeyne tyme: & therfore that time bredeth many eyuyl sykynesses. Galen sayth that Harueste is more pestilencyall than other tymes, and more euyl in many thinges. Fyrst for chanagyng of tyme: for now he is hote, and now he is colde / also for he comyth after somer / and findeth many hote humors / that ben full hote / because of hete that was in somer: & the colde of harueste smythyth ayen suche humours to the inner partyes: & suffre not them to passe out of the
bodyes. And so such humours rotte and brede full euyll sykenesses / & Quartayns / & Feuers that vneth ben curable.'—Bart. Angl.

p. 45, l. 1414. 'Autunmo morbi accident autississimi & funcestissimi ferè.'—Hippocrat. Aphor.

p. 45, l. 1415. Autumn is cold and dry, which are the qualities of the element earth.


p. 46, l. 1425. 'unwar' is put in before 'seknessys' in some MSS.

p. 46, l. 1433. This seems to be the only personal note in the poem, and would rather point to an elderly patron.

p. 46, l. 1440. Martinmas is Nov. 11th. This stanza belongs to autumn, and not to this section at all.

p. 46, l. 1448. 'Wynter hyghte Hyems, and hath that name of Eundo, goynge other passynge: For in wynter tyme the somne treuleth and passeth ofter in a shorter cercle than in somer tyme. And therfore he maketh shorter dayes & lenger nightes, as Isydore sayth. And as Constantin saith, wynter begynnethe, when the somne is in the sygne that hyghte Capricornus: and is ende of the descencyon and the lowynge of the somne in the middaye. And then begynnethe lytel & lytel to passe vpwarde agaynst the northe. Also wynter hath thre monthes that serue hym. The fyrsste begynneth in Capricorne / and lasteth from the eightenthe daye of December / vnto the seuenteenth daye of Januarii: The seconde is when the son is in Aquario, and lasteth from the seventeenth daye of Januarii / to the sixtenth daye of Feuerer: The thryrde month is / when the somne is in the sygne / that hyghte Pisces, and lasteth from the sixtenth daye of Februarri / to the eyghteenth daye of Marche. And wynter is colde and moyste / and nouysheth eke fleyvme.'—Bart. Angl. IX. viii.

p. 48, l. 1491. This line is one of those coincidences which look like design.
I do not know that Lydgate's epitaph has been printed lately, so here it is:

'Mortuus secolo superis superstes,
Hac jacet Lidgat tumulatus urna,
Qui fuit quondam celebra Britanniae
fama Poesis.'

p. 48, l. 1495. My lord. One would like to have had some more personal note than this, but we may feel moderately certain that 'my lord' was Earl Bourchier.

p. 48, l. 1498. Was Burgh one of the 'masters in grammar' who were made at that time? They had not taken a degree, but were examined in Latin grammar and their power of flogging, and then granted a diploma. In that case he would not have made the acquaintance of the seven arts he commemorates in this introduction.

p. 48, l. 1506. The Anticlaudian of Alanus de Insulis is one of the important books of medieval times. It deals with the perfect man warring against vices. Claudian had made a poem where the vicious Rufinus had opposed Stilico: Alanus, to oppose, named his poem the Anti-Claudian. It consists of nine books, and may be read in the Rolls Series in the second series of Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets, ed. Wright. London, 1872, or in Migne, t. 210. We may briefly summarize it thus.

Nature, perceiving its failure in bringing about perfection, decides to join in one being all the virtues and excellences possible. She therefore summons all these allegorical personages, and lays before them her plan. Prudence (Phronesis) and Reason remark that none of them can give to man the highest of all gifts—a soul, and that they must ask it from God. This mission is
imposed on them, they at first refuse it, but Concord gets them to accept it. A car is made for them by the seven liberal arts, to which five horses representing the senses are yoked. Grammar lays the framework. Logic makes the axles of the wheels, Rhetoric adorns the frame with gems and flowers of silver, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy make the wheels, and Reason drives the chariot.

They pass through the air, the clouds, the home of the evil spirits of the air, the spheres of the planets, and arrive at the firmament, when Reason faints, and the senses become useless. Theology appears, and on the condition that Reason and the senses—except that of hearing—are abandoned, offers to guide Phronesis. The firmament, the empyrean heavens, the dwellings of saints, angels, and the Mother of God are next described. Here Prudence faints, but Faith revives her, and explains the mysteries of human destiny, grace, &c.

God now orders Intelligence to frame a model of a soul such as was asked for, and making it, it is sent to Nature, who makes a body which Harmony, Music, and Arithmetic fit for and join to the soul. All the allegorical divinities add a gift—even Nobility and Fortune bring theirs—which Wisdom checks and moderates.

But Hell learning of this new creation resolves to destroy it, and Allecto unites all the vices against it. After a long battle the new man puts them all to flight, and inaugurates upon the earth the reign of Justice and Happiness.

p. 49, l. 1536. Repeated later as l. 2191.

p. 49, l. 1541. Fronescis is mother of Philology, in Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, II. 114, IX. 893.

p. 49, l. 1542. See l. 224.

p. 49, l. 1542. In the Anticlaudian, Rhetoric is described as carving and adorning the car of Phronestis with flowers and with inlaid work of silver.

p. 49, l. 1543. Who is this Petir? Burgh knew that Petrarch (1304—1374) was called Francis. (See his ballad in the Introduction.) Petrarch wrote some declamations which were regarded as models of rhetoric in the middle age.

p. 50, l. 1558. This might refer to a royal command, but most probably is a flattery of the Bourchiers, just as the first poem in the *Babee's Book* was written for noble, not for royal children. May that poem not have been written by Burgh?

p. 50, l. 1565. Allecto is the head of the infernal army raised against the perfect man in the Anticlaudian.


p. 51, l. 1609. Water Alchymyn is prepared from Cumin.

p. 51, l. 1611. A side-note in Harl. 2251, quotes from Horace

"Et gravi
Malvae salubres corpori."—Ep. 2. 48.

"Utere lactucis et mollibus utere malvis."—Mart., 3. 87.

p. 52, l. 1615. This is recommended by Hippocrates. In the prose editions I hope to investigate the relationship between this work and the schools of Arab and Greek medicine.

p. 52, l. 1625. Cf. lines 1268-70.

p. 52, l. 1638. The same thought as in l. 1248.

p. 53, l. 1648. This refers to sulphur baths. "Balnea sulfureae aquae intrare."—Sec. Sec.

p. 53, l. 1655. 'Rhasis discommends all fish, and says they breed viscosities, slimy nutriment, little and humourous nourishment.'—Burton, Anat. of Mel., Part I. ii, 2, 1.

p. 53, l. 1660. This is the beginning of the letter of Diocles (pp. 109-12, Paulus Aeginetius, Op. Med. Lugd., 1589. 8vo.). It is practically identical with one written by Antonius Musa (physician to the Emperor Augustus) to Maecenas. The letter was a favourite of our early English ancestors. See a copy in Leechdoms, &c.

p. 53, l. 1661. 'Hominis corpus in quatuor partes diducimus, caput scilicet, thoracem, ventrem, et vesicam.'—Diocles.

p. 53, l. 1669. 'Powrys Organycall' is the Virtus Animalis of medieval writers.

p. 53, l. 1670. 'The brayne ... is distinguished and departed in thre celles or dennes: ... which physytiens calle Ventriculus, small wombes. In the forrneste celle and wombe imagination is conformed and made, in the midle, reason, in the hyndermest, recordation and minde, ... For in the fyrste, shappe and lykenesse of thynes that ben felte, is gendured in the fantasie or in the imagination. Than the shap and lyknesse is sende to the mydell celle, and there ben domes made. And at the laste after dome of reson, that shappe and lyknesse is sende into the celle and wombe of Puppis, and betake to the vertue of mynde.'—Bart. Angl. de verum propr., lib. v. 3, f. 55.

p. 54, l. 1678. 'Quando ergo congregantur superfinitates poteris scire per haece signa, quae sunt; tenebrosoitae oculorum; gravitas superciliorum, repercussiones temporum; tremitus aurium, inclusio narisin.'—Sec. Sec.

'Vertigo, capitis dolor, superciliorum gravitas; aures sonant, tempora salient, oculi mane iliacrmynant, caligantique, nares oppletae odoren non sentiunt, dentium ginginiae atolluntur.'—Diocles.

'Cum a capite morbus oritur, solet capitis dolor tentari, tunc supercilia gravantur, tempora salient, aures sonant, oculi lachrymantur, nares repletae odoren non sentiunt.'—Ant. Musa ad Maceen. Nor. 4vo., 1558.

p. 54, l. 1682. 'Ales,' wormwode (18 A. viij), 'effecution, that is Eufrasy' (Lamb. 501), foenci, herbam perforatam (Latin versions), aloyne (Harl. 219, French).

p. 54, l. 1683. 'Dowset and swet wyn.'—In vino dulci.—Sec. Sec.

p. 54, l. 1685. 'Pulgichyn.' Pulgium, pennyroyal, pudding grass.

p. 54, l. 1687. 'Quum ergo ex his aliqnod accidit caput purgari oportet, nullo quidem medicamento, sed vel hyssopi, vel origami summitatibus iritis, quae in ollula cum musto, ant saepe heminae dimidio deferberint, atque hoc absorbens jejunus os colluet, et gargarizando humores ex alto deducet,' &c.—Diocles.

'Hyssopi autem coronae bululae fasiculum deferre facies, inde aquam ore continuibus, tum caput calide habueris, ut flatit pitiuita.'—Ant. Musa ad Maceen.

p. 54, l. 1696. 'Et utatur in cibo suo grano sinapis.'—Sec. Sec.

'Optime facit etiam, si sinapi multis valida dilutum jejunus absorbs gargarizet, pituitateque ex capite eliciat.'—Diocles.

p. 54, l. 1706. 'Tounge lettyd.' 'Lingua fit ponderosa: os salsum: in orificio cibum acerbum sentit; ac dolorem tuissis.'—Sec. Sec.
‘Cum autem a thorace morbus nascitur, incipit caput sudare, linguaque sit gravior, aut os amarum, aut tonsillae dolent, oscitatio sequitur sine somno et quiete, gravitas corporis, animi dolor, prurigo corporis, brachia manusque intremiscunt, subitoque tussis arida.’—*Ant. Musa ad Maecen.*

p. 55, l. 1711. ‘Vitabis vicium, si vomeris sive jejunnus, sive post coenam, vel in balneo, plus autem prodest si jejunnus bilem ejeceris, eam enim dicimus matrem morborum.’—*Ant. Musa ad Maecen.*

‘Succurrendum est prudenter hoc modo, vomitus quam optime fieri potest, post coenam sine replictione, sineque medicamento citari debet: utiles sunt et vomitiones ante cibum, quas Graeci Symmatisimos appellant. Oportet autem eum qui sic vomet, radiculas tenuies praesunere, nasiurium, erucam, sinapi, et portulacam, mox aqua tepida superbibita vomere.’—*Diocles.*

‘Oportet igitur dimittere de comestione; et uti vomitu: et post vomitum suamere zucharum rosarum cum ligno aloes et masticare, et post comestionem sumere ad magnitudinem minus mucus de electuario enison, quod est confectum ex ligno aloes et causergam.’—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 55, l. 1712. ‘Etiam uti oportet rosato aceto, vino trito, linguam asperam melle fricet, vel mentae folio, reliqua diligentia medicina permittenda sunt.’—*Ant. Musa ad Maecen.*

p. 55, l. 1716. A reminiscence of 1. 1275.

p. 55, l. 1721. The body being made up of four humours, diseases were caused by these becoming corrupt, or by any one of them being in excess.


p. 55, l. 1726-7. This is not found in the Latin nor in Diocles, but is in the French and in 18 A. vij.

p. 55, l. 1730. ‘In some copies of the Sec. Sec. there is a division ‘the eyes’ instead of this.

p. 55, l. 1734. ‘Rednesse in the kne.’ ‘Genuum dolor, inflatio, rigor.’—*Sec. Sec.* ‘De knees were grete’ (18 A. vij.).

p. 56, l. 1744. ‘Incurrer in dolorem junctorum, & tergi, in fluxum ventris, corruptionem digestionem, & applicationem epatis.’—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 56, l. 1755. ‘Pleni ex cibo modico esse videntur.’—*Diocles.* ‘Tepet appetitus.’—*Sec. Sec.*

p. 56, l. 1758. ‘Haece vita siic emendantur; Foeniculum et appium vino austerro madefacito, vel earum herbarum radices conteres, ex vino ciathis duo- bus tantundem aquae calidae vel dauci seminis, et myrrhae pusillum tritan in vino. ut supra scripsi, et bibe. Vel radices asparagi, vel herbam eraticam, vel serpillum decoque, eam aquam vino mistam bibe.’—*Ant. Musa ad Maecen.*

‘Oportet illud qui hoc sentit hoc facere ut herbam accipiat qua dicitur camomilla; et herbam qua dicitur melilotum; et de earum radici- bus: ponat radices et herbas in vino albo odorifero; et sumat ex eo quolibet mane.’—*Sec. Sec.*

‘Itaque foeniculi apilique radices, vino albo odorato made- facito, atqui huius diluti cyathos duos, mane jejunum singulis diebus propinabis cum aqua dauci, smyrnii, helenij, quodcumque horum habueris, nam omnia proficiunt: adhaec aqua ciceris macerati cum vino idem efficit.’—*Diocles.*

‘Il te convient prendre vne herbe appelle apus, et de la graine de fenoil, & de la racine de archemisce, ou autre herbe appellee
Notes to Pages 56—59; Lines 1760—1853.

achén, & tiacres, & ouece celles herbes met les racins en bon vin blanc, et
de ce vin boy chaeun matin oueç vu poy de aye et de mel.'—Harl. 219.

p. 56, l. 1760. A marginal note in Harl. 2251 gives 'Arehemise=wing-
wort' (wormwood); 'Apus is smallage' (water-parsley); 'Acheen, sainacle' (sanicle). 'Attracies is blessed thistle.' A Latin MS. reads 'achen, araneg, arrance.'

p. 56, l. 1765. Same as l. 1618.

p. 56, l. 1766. 'Ita qua sit temperatum cum aqua & melle, et abstineat a
ninìa comestione.'—Sec. Sec.

p. 57, l. 1784. 'Thre' is altered from two in all the texts: for the sake of
the verse doubtless.

p. 57, l. 1786. 'Medus vero affirmavit: quod jejuno stomacho prodest
multum sumere de granis mili.'—Sec. Sec.

p. 57, l. 1788. 'Greek' is an error; it is in the Latin 'Sane Indus indicavit

p. 57, l. 1789. Mylk seems to be a mistake of Burgh's. 18 A. vij. reads:
'who so ete the graynes of whyt mylle fastyng with water cresses;' 'mil blanco' (Harl. 219). Mastursu is then a mistake for nasturtium. Yet Pliny, 25. 8,
says: 'Arcades quidem non medicaminibus uti, sed lacte circa ver.' I had
proposed another meaning for mastursu from the Arabic.

p. 58, l. 1808. 'Alibi Aurei' was for long a trouble to n.e. It is simply a
mistake. 18 A. vij. has 'who so ete eche morwe of alibi Amei 7 dragmes,
and of sweete grapis and Reysynes,' &c. The French has no such words; and
on turning to the Latin we find 'et qui comedit quelibet meus septem dragmas
vuea passae honae dulcedinis,' which makes it clear that the words are mis-
understandings of the reading of a contracted Latin text.

p. 58, l. 1809. 'Passa uva est uva sicca solem passa.' Blanchart's Lexicon,
p. 472. Uva is a gooseberry sometimes.

p. 58, l. 1818. 'Allea, nux, ruta, pira, raffanus, et tyriaca
Haec sunt antidota contra mortale venenum.'—Sch. Sal.

Avicenna says that figs, nuts, and rue make a medicine against all poisons.
Aristotle quotes the old story about the weasel fighting with the serpent, first
eating rue to arm himself against poison, in the De Animalibus. Villanova
recommends figs, rue, and sweet almonds.

p. 58, l. 1820. This line stands for a chapter of the Latin text, 'de custodia
caloris naturalis.'

p. 58, l. 1828. Eulvmyne is an adjective used of blood.

p. 59, l. 1835. A comparison of this line with l. 1827 shows the wide limits
writers of the measure allowed themselves.

p. 59, l. 1851. Perch is Burgh's own favourite, since there is no mention
of such fish in his texts.

The Schol. Salern. says:

'Si pisces molles sunt, magno corpore tolle: 
Si pisces duri, parvi sunt plus valituri
Lucius, et perca, saxanlis, et albica, tenca,
Gormus, plagitia, cum carpa, galbio, truca.'

Perch was a favourite in the days of Ansonius. Edylliam, IX. 115—

'Nec te delicias mensarum Perca silebo,'
Annigenos inter pisces dignaude, marinis.'

p. 59, l. 1853. This seems contrary to experience. The texts only speak
PHILOSOPHERS.
of hard-skinned fish, and besides, the stews were all dead water, and yet there was no objection to the monks eating the fish in them.

p. 60, p. 1868. 'Signa quidem bonarum aquarum sunt haec, levitas, claritas, bonus color; quando facile calescunt et facile frigescunt; in talibus enim delectatur natura.'—Sec. Sec.

The six are difficult to make out, and unfortunately 18 A. vij. is defective here.

p. 60, l. 1886. 'Tarage haue of foreyn dyvers sondys': 'quia continent in se particulas terreas.'—Sec. Sec.

p. 60, l. 1892. The same as l. 1261.

p. 61, l. 1919. 'Primum vinum valet senibus et hominibus abundantis in humiditate et ilegmate: nocet vero juvenibus et calidis hominibus Primum ergo calefacit et liberat a superfluitatibus frigidis et grossis.'—Sec. Sec.

'to' should be read in, here. The last clause in l. 1924 does not seem to have much meaning in this connection.

p. 62, l. 1950. The first line refers to the lees at the bottom: 'cujus fex est in fundo depressa.'


p. 64, l. 1996. This is attributed to Hippocrates in Lamb, 501. In a Latin text: 'Sapiens quidem aristos bonum vinum commendavit ubi dixit: mirum est de homine qualiter potest inimnari vel mori: cujus cibus est panis optimi frumenti, et carnes commendabiles, et potus bonae vitis.' The root idea of this sentiment is in Galen de som. tu. I. 12, de maras. 2.

p. 64, l. 1997. See l. 1241.

p. 64, l. 2010. 'Et illum qui inebriatur vino ultra modo sumpto: ut ablatur se cum aqua calida; et sedeat super flumina curementum aquarum; et habeat salices atque mirtum; et unger debet corpus suum cum sandalo confecto; et fungare cum incensis frigidis et odoriferis. Haec est quidem ebrietatis optima medicina.'—Sec. Sec.

p. 64, l. 2014. 'Salwys' in apposition to 'wyllwys.' 'Sallies' is still a dialect name for osier willows.

p. 64, l. 2016. Sandal—‘Triasendale’ (18 A. vij.), an electuary of which the composition may be found in Villanovanus, f. 249b. Op. Om. 1520 fo.

p. 64, l. 2021-3 represent a chapter ‘Quomodo vini potu est derelinquendus.’ Eastern medicine lays stress on continuity of habit, and of making gradual changes—here it recommends taking to raisin water, and so on.

p. 64, l. 2023. Here a great gap occurs. The whole of the magic and alchemy comes between this and the next line, which begins Book III. of the Sec. Sec.

p. 64, l. 2024. The English version (18 A. vij.) nearest to Burgh’s text runs thus: 'Dere sone, rightwisnes may not ben ouyr preysid, for it is of the propir nature of glorios God, and it is made to sustene all Rewmes for helpe of his servauntis, and rightwisnes owth to kepe the royalle blood, and the richesse
of the possessioun of sugetis, and governe hem in alle her nedes; and what lord doth thus, he is in that case like unto God?

p. 65, l. 2031. A very involved stanza. It means 'Justice, sent from God to his creatures, made of understanding, a sovereign help to obedient subjects, was sent to princes that they might save their subjects from pillage.'

p. 65, l. 2049. 'Et fuit inventum scriptum in uno lapidem in lingua chaldea: quod rex & intellectus sunt frатres alter altero indigenis: nec sufficit unus sine reliquo.'—Sec. Sec. Burgh's stanza points to a contract between people and king—an idea not in any of the texts.

p. 65, l. 2052. Another gap occurs here in the text Burgh uses. This line begins Book IV. de consiliariis. The Latin advises the king to have five counsellors (like the five senses), and to listen to their advice separately.

p. 66, l. 2087. Burgh it seems had not the signs mentioned in his text. The Latin says: 'fuit ergo genesis in Venere & in Marte in gradu suo existente Geminis cum Libra. Sydera vero contraria et pessima nondum erat orta: ostendit ergo genesis, quod puer futurus erat sapiens, curialis, velocis manus, honi consiliis, diligentius a regibus.—Sec. Sec. How Lyvgate would have worked this up! I believe the story comes from Ptolemy's Centiloquium, but I have not verified my reference.

p. 66, l. 2092. 'Insight' should be one word.

p. 67, l. 2126. See l. 404.

p. 68, l. 2150. This stanza describing the properties of a good counsellor is out of place here, and should come after l. 2240.

p. 69, l. 2163. Harl. 2251 has in the margin here, 'Parva sunt arma foris, nisi sit consilium domi.'—Cicero [de off. I, xxij.]

p. 69, l. 2164. 'Et in libro cujusdam medorum mandatum est filio suo: filii, necessarium est tibi habere consilium, quoniam unus es in hominibus. Consule ergo illum qui poterit liberare a potentia: et noli parere inimico: sed quantuncunque poteris, in ipso tuam victoriam manifesta: et in quolibet tempore, cave tibi a potentia inimici.'—Sec. Sec.

p. 69, l. 2178. The quotation marks should be on this stanza; it forms part of the Mede's letter.

p. 69, l. 2188. Either of these readings would do; the meaning of the stanza is: 'take counsel; you are not bound to act on it, and you must weigh it well in any case.'

p. 69, l. 2191. The same as l. 1536.

p. 69, l. 2192. This seems to have been a not uncommon fault in 'divine right' kings. 'Sollicite & diligenter moneo & do tibi optimum consilium, nunquam constitutas bajulum in regimine loci tut.'—Sec. Sec.

p. 70, l. 2203 begins a new chapter in the texts. 'Experientia circa bajulos.'

p. 70, l. 2206. The counsellor would be put in a corner; if he advises the king to spend his own money, he does not honour him sufficiently; on the other hand, if he advises him to take his subjects', he is an enemy—so nothing is left for the counsellor but to offer the king his own money.

p. 70, l. 2212. Burgh had to translate here a curious phrase, which he misunderstands. 'Si ergo inducet te ad stritotionem eorum quae sunt in thesauro tuo, et ostendat hoc esse expedientes, seias quod nullum caput pretii ponit in te.' Sec. Sec. Lamb. 501 translates it, 'wete you hat he puttys yn be no good lernynge.'

p. 70 l. 2213-4 are not in the text.
p. 70, l. 2221-3. 'Ut pote eligens et volens confusionem sui operis pro tua gloria.' — Sec. Sec.

p. 71, l. 2248. The first mark of a good counsellor. l. 2250. The second. The third—good memory, and the fourth—powers of observation, are omitted. l. 2253. The fifth, 'curialis,' &c. l. 2255. The sixth, he should be specially skilled in arithmetic, which is the ground of all science. l. 2256. The seventh. l. 2258. The eighth.


p. 72, l. 2290. Another chapter begins here. 'Quod homo sit minor munus.'

p. 73, l. 2299. One cannot account for this line; the text is 'durus et austerus ut cornus,' and all the translations are right. Did Burgh read cornus, and make a shot at 'hart,' 'horned animal'?

p. 73, l. 2304. The Latin for 'contagious' is stolidus, 'boystous,' 'rude,' in the versions.

p. 73, l. 2305. 'Litel kyng,' 'regulus,' 'parvus rex,' 'rutel.' Fr. 'rambe,' the wren.

'The wren, the wren, the king of all birds,'
is school-boy language all over the world.

p. 73, l. 2311. A favourite phrase of Burgh's. See ll. 1562, 1894.

p. 73, l. 2317. After this comes in the texts a chapter on having servants of the same faith as oneself, with the story of the Jew and the Magian. 'Enchanter of the Orient,' Lamb. 501 calls him. In medieval Europe such advice was needless, and was dropped out in the shorter texts.

p. 73, l. 2318. This begins the fifth book of the Sec. Sec.

p. 74, l. 2336-8. Burgh misunderstands his text, which advises the king to make his secretaries feel that their security and prospects depend on his welfare.

p. 74, l. 2339. Beginning of Book VI., 'de nuntiis.'

p. 74, l. 2346. This line seems to be a shot at a translation of a line which the versions omitted: 'quia forte est juxta noctem, et ejus intentio in alio est.' The picture is of the king suddenly calling on one of his lords, charging him with his embassy, and expecting him to set off on the moment. One must leave out the line if one wishes to follow the sense.

p. 75, l. 2358. The king is warned of the Persian custom of making all ambassadors drunk.

p. 75, l. 2367. This seventh book, 'de subditis domus propriae,' seems to refer to the treatment of the king's personal following as distinct from the general body of his subjects.

p. 75, l. 2368. Chaucer is quoting from the Sec. Sec. in his L. of G. W., 379, and seq. 390.

'He must thinkin it is his liegeman
As is his tresour, and his golde in cofer
This is the sentence of the philosopher.'

p. 76, l. 2395. The complaint as to Judges being partial is later than the old translations. It is found in 18 A. vij., but not in Lamb. 501.

p. 76, l. 2401. Book 8, 'de ordine & multitudine bellatorum,' with its tale of the wonderful horn figured by Kircher from the Vatican MS., is omitted in 18 A. vij and here. See Lamb. 501 for a translation of it.

This begins book 9: 'de bello.'
Notes to Pages 76—82; Lines 2404—2590.

p. 76, l. 2404. The semicolon should be at the end of the next line.

p. 78, l. 2456. Burgh uses this metaphor again. See lines 1536 and 2191.

p. 78, l. 2465. This begins book 10 on physiognomy. It has always attracted attention, and of late years has been much studied. I hope to enter in some detail on the connection between this work and the genuine treatises of Polemon and of Aristotle. I am disposed, after some study, to attribute the whole of the remainder of the poem to Lydgate, with perhaps touches by Burgh. There would be more likelihood of this, since in many MSS, this book stands by itself as a separate work, and since it has indeed been printed as such. Sl. 3469 treats the Latin text as a separate work, and the fact of two of our MSS, omitting this part of the poem shows that there was something to mark it off from the rest of Burgh's work. The Envoi is distinctly, as I have elsewhere remarked, Lydgateian.

p. 78, l. 2466. If the remainder is Lydgateian, this stanza seems Burgh's. Compare the line-endings of 2466 and 1581; 2468 and 1539; 2469 and 1525.

p. 78, l. 2473. A Lydgate line, l. 498.

p. 78, l. 2474. A Lydgate line, l. 491.

p. 78, l. 2475. A line Lydgate has taken from Chancer (K. T., 1086), and used before, l. 500.

p. 78, l. 2476. See l. 501.

p. 78, l. 2479. This is the well-known story of Zopyrus and Socrates. See Cic. de fato, 5, 10. Tusc. IV. 37, 80. Alexand. Aphrod. de fato, 6. Enseb. prep. ev. VI. 9, 22. Polemon was the only writer on physiognomy known to the Arabs, and Socrates is not very different in its Arabic form from Hippocrates, who was far better known.

Some Arabic texts give the name as Aclimas.

p. 79, l. 2493. This stanza is identical with stanza 71, ll. 491-7, with the exception of l. 2499.

p. 80, l. 2518. Hippocrates said that what Philommon had said was true of his disposition, but that he had combatted his nature.

p. 80, l. 2530. 'Fuge ergo ab omni homine livido et flavo quoniam declivis est ad vitia et luxuriam.—Sec. Sec. One of the Hebrew texts adds: 'Inspecti tibi Germanos has ultimas proprietos possidentes, scilicet sultitiam, perfidiam, et impudentiam.'

p. 80, l. 2542. 'Cave et precave ab homine infortunato et diminuto in aliquo membro sicut cavendum est ab inimico.'—Sec. Sec.

p. 80, l. 2546-8. Not in the text.

p. 81, l. 2556. 'Et raritas verborum nisi cum necesse fuerit, mediocritas in sonoritate voce et subtillitate.'—Sec. Sec.

p. 81, l. 2563. The Latin treats of 'hairs,' but Lydgate (or Burgh) has connected with a sentence on ears in l. 2567: 'Qui habet aures magnas est valde fatum.' The text for the hair is: 'Capilli antem plani et suaves signi-

ficient mansuetudinem & frigilidades cerebri: multitudo vero capillorum super utroque humero significat sultitiam et fatuatem.'

p. 81, l. 2570. This is altogether different from the Latin text. 'Multos etiam habere pilos in ventre et pectore declarat horribilitatem, et singularitatem naturae, et diminutionem apprehensionis, et amorem injuriarum.' Probably our poet allowed his personal knowledge to correct his text.

p. 81, l. 2578. 'Love of resoun' would agree better with the texts.

p. 82, l. 2586. 'In-voys,' 'invidus est, inverecundus, piger, inobediens, et precepue si sint lividi.'

p. 82, l. 2590. Insert a comma after curteys.
p. 82, l. 2593. ‘Qui vero habet oculos similes oculis asini, insipiens est, et durae naturae.’

p. 82, l. 2600. ‘Levyng’: ‘frandulentus, latro, et infidelis.’

p. 82, l. 2611. The Latin is ‘significat ineptitudinem (or impiditionem) loquendi’: ‘evyl manere of spekyng.’ Lamb. 501.

p. 83, l. 2615. No foundation in text for this.

p. 83, l. 2621. ‘Probus et audax.’

p. 83, l. 2623. ‘Sinns est impetuosus.’

p. 83, l. 2625. ‘Valde iracundus.’

p. 83, l. 2628. ‘Verbosus et mendax.’

p. 83, l. 2637. ‘Of ignoraunce the miste to chace away.’—C. of L., 25.

p. 83, l. 2638. ‘Facies plana carens tumorositate (rugis) significat litiigious, discolum, injuriosum, et immundum.’

p. 83, l. 2644. ‘Qui vero habet faciem mediocrum in genus et temporibus vergentem ad pinguedinem: est verax, amans, intelligens, atque sapiens, scrvitialis bene dispositus ac ingeniosus.’

p. 84, l. 2647. Here should come the passage about the ears, which our poet has transposed.

Grossa vox et sonora significat bellicosus et eloquens.

Mediocris " sapiens, providus, verax, justus,

Velox in verbis " improbus, stolidus, importunus, mendax.

Grossa " viacundus et præcipitans, malae naturae.

Dulcis " invidus et suspitosus.

Pulchrinudo vocis " stoliditatem, insipientiam, et magnanimitatem.

p. 84, l. 2660. ‘Qui vero habet collum grossum est stolidus, et comester magnus.’—Sec. Sec.

p. 84, l. 2670. ‘Elevationes vero humerorum est signum asperitatis naturae, et infidelitatis.’

p. 84, l. 2678. ‘Pedes vero carnosis et grossi significant fatuitatem et amorem injuriae.’

p. 85, l. 2680. ‘Pedes vero parvi et leves significant audaciam et fortitudinem (aeduritiam).’

p. 85, l. 2682. Largenesse is subject to betokenyth.

p. 85, l. 2684. In knees follows fleshly.

p. 85, l. 2687. ‘Steps’ should be inserted after ‘hath’ (without MS. authority). ‘Et cui passus sunt breves est impetuoso est suspitosus, impotent ens in operibus, & malae voluptatis.’

p. 85, l. 2710. This piece of advice is found in all writers on physiognomy, especially in the ancient ones, such as Aristotle himself, and Rhasis.

Additional Note.

Land 416 and 673 in the Bodleian have ‘pourpartie’ for inparty in l. 160. Ashmole 46 reads as our MS., from which it is probably a copy written by the same hand.
GLOSSARY.

abovyn, 100, 423, above
abrayde, 308, sprang up
accoord, 187, agreement
accoordith, 914, 1415, agree
accoordaunce, 1357, agreement
acheen, 1760, sanicle
aforn, 634
affecyoun, 23, 198, relation to, affection
ageyn, 114 &c. before, and opposite to
aldayes, 2336, 2421, always
amorously, 257, bitterly
apus, 1758, water-parsley
archemise, 1760, wormwood;
arhemise would be nearly the correct name for the plant
assayes, 59, 157, tests, trials
attemperaunce, 184, 759, 773, 872, 895, 1246, 1261, temperance, due combination of qualities in correct proportion
atwen, 39, 521, &c. between
atwix, 305, 1099, &c.
avysed, 639 prudent, foreseeing
avyscence, 213 counsel
avyseness, 17, 374, 668, prudence
avys, 154, 176, 183, 902, 1011, 1239, prudence, advice
baas, 2556, low
bolyth, 1734, swelleth
boote, 1299, repair, remedy
brede, 1133, breadth
brosyd, 1709, bruised, injured
broyde, 737, border
brynstoun, 1648, sulphur
busshe, 2406, ambush
cas, 912, chance
camnyd, 2623, crooked
carpe, 708, say, speak
caste, 153, 516, 2213, reckon
casul, 911, 927, by chance
celerys, 1432, cellars
ceryously, 352, in series
chawyd, 1713, chewed
cherysshe, 12, 15, 189, &c., hold dear
chevysshe, 2210, procure
claperys, 1321, rabbit-burrows
clours, 1314, 1341, colours
confortatyff, 1717, strengthening
congrow, 1538, congruous
contagious, 1646, 2304, harmful
contirfeet, 404, 2126, manufactured
contyne, 419, continue
comfort, 63, 307, 332, 1150, to strengthen
courhyd, 1417, curved, bent
coveytise, 742, 763, 1042, 2406, covetousness
covennable, 2382, suitable
dar, 355, 538, 923, 1322, 1449, dare
decertys, 1141
discertys, 893, 896, 1388, deserts
declyne, 394, 395, 404
deffyse, 1623, 1833, digest
delyver, 1790, limber, nimble
demenyd, 117, governed, cf. demesne
dempye, 617, deemed
depnese, 2233, quagmire
dewyd, 99, ended
digne, 33, 135, worthy
discrate, 1213, 1231, to make up one’s mind
discure, 726, discover
doon, in Burgh is practically used as we now use the unemphatic ‘do,’ cf 1635, 1680, 1993, &c.
doon, 996, done
dowme, 2310, dumb
dowset, 1683, dulceft, sweet
dragmes, 1808, drachms
dyspayr, dispeyr, 163, 192, 284, inequality
egin, 1707, bitter
empryses, 117, 179, undertakings, 782, enterprises
ecence, 2019, incense, sweet herbs
enfoorne, 2133, inform, to mould or form
enserge, 2472, ensearch, inform, search out
entende, 805, listen
entendement, 63, understanding
equiperacion, 2367, r. equality
erst, 685, before
everychoon, 353, 1242 each
everycli, 565
exordye, 333, exordium
expert, 358, proved
expleyted, 285, filled, completed
explntuurys, 2452, exploratores, spies
feel, 2307 each
fel, 2434 fell
fervence, 248, fervour
fervent, 347, hot
feynt, 866, feigned
flick, 1746, flux
fooly, 897, folly
foltyssh, 581, 775, foolish
foly, 2407, fool-like
forthre, 398, to assist
forthryd, 283, assisted
fourthe, 1670, foremost
foysoun, 1644, abundance
gentillesse, 130, 830, 1180, gentleness, nobility
glede, 347, burning coal
gre, 21, will
grees, 1622, grease
grucchyng, 113, 775, 780, 778, grudging
gryffyd, 2373, grafted
guerdownyth, 900, 1390, rewardeth
herborwed, 2084, harboured, lodged, entertained
holly, 32, wholly
hoverith, 1184, r. behoveth
incondigne, 1532, unworthy, because untrained

inpartye. 160. See Notes; if the word is read junpartye, it can only be in a very extended sense
invoyes, 2586, envious
ioweler, 554, jeweller
joye, 2046, enjoy
inpartye, 305, 784, 1113, jeopardy, hazard
keep, 1284, 9, 11 as in housekeeping
kepyng, 799, 957 as in housekeeping
kynde, 752, nature
large, 749, 857, 917, liberal
largesse, 739, 745, 864, 869, liberality
lecture, 379, 417, reading
left, 660, lift
legis, 10, 851, lieges
lep, 1658, leprosy
lesyng, 1390, 2256, lying
lesyth, 1440, lost
letuary, 1722, electuary
levene, 705, flash of lightning
levyng, 2600, unbelieving
liges, 851, 853, 917, lieges, subjects
litel, 547 little
lyte, 762
longanymte, 361, Lat.: longanimitas, constancy
lukyr, 2398, lucre
lyst, 338, lost, 280, 422, 575, &c., 2021, like
lyve, 227, life
massageer, 479, 2341, &c., messenger
mawgre, 156, in spite of
maystryes, 2450 (magisteria), works showing in them the master's skill
mede, 670, reward, bribe
medle, 522, 548, 552, 837, 847, 898, 1657, mingle
meenesse, 2533, mediocrity
megre, 265, meagre
mekyl, 763, 1247 much
mekyl, 1226, mekyl
mewe, 2062, cage, coop
molte, 1318, melted
morwe, 1807
morwen, 1326 morning
morwening, 1763
moltees, 1378, livery
mowne, 1471, must, should
murily, 1441, ripely, in fitting time
mvt, 1167, 1260, must, ought, 2722, (optative) may
myshumours, 1922, corrupted humours from whence arose diseases

namely, 385, &c., especially nevene, 322, name
noblesse, 145, 966, nobility nyce, 2569, foolish

O, 216, 1164, 1421, one, 445, or
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